JUDAÏSME ANCIEN
ANCIENT JUDAISM

Revue internationale d'histoire et de philologie
International Journal of History and Philology

JUDAÏSME ANCIEN / ANCIENT JUDAISM

Revue internationale d'histoire et de philologie
International Journal of History and Philology

publiée sous les auspices de la

Société pour l'étude du judaïsme ancien

Directeurs

David Hamidović
Université de Lausanne
Simon Claude Mimouni
École pratique des hautes études, Paris

Comité de lecture

Mohammed Ali Amir Moezzi (École pratique des Hautes études, Paris) – José Costa (Paris III – Sorbonne nouvelle) – Daniel A. Machiela (Université de McMaster, Hamilton) – Christophe Nihan (Université de Lausanne) – Pierluigi Piovanelli (Université d'Ottawa) –Markus Vinzent (King's College, Londres)

Comité scientifique

Philip S. Alexander (Université de Manchester) – Ehud Ben Zvi (Université d'Alberta, Edmonton) – John J. Collins (Université de Yale) – Gilles Dorival (Université d'Aix-Marseille) – Joseph Patrich (Université hébraïque de Jérusalem) – Christian Julien Robin (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) – Peter Schäfer (Université de Princeton)

Rédaction

Prof. David Hamidovic, Université de Lausanne, UNIL-Dorigny,
FTSR, Anthropole, CH-1015 Lausanne, Switzerland
david.hamidovic@unil.ch

Les manuscrits, les ouvrages pour recension et
les exemplaires d'échange doivent être
adressés à la Rédaction

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

JUDAÏSME ANCIEN
ANCIENT JUDAISM

Revue internationale d'histoire et de philologie
International Journal of History and Philology



Volume 5
2017

BREPOLS

La direction, le secrétariat, le comité de lecture, le comité scientifique et la Société pour l'étude du judaïsme ancien déclinent la responsabilité des articles publiés, laquelle appartient tout entière aux auteurs.

© 2017 Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout
All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2017/0095/150
ISBN 978-2-503-57180-5
ISSN 2294-9321
DOI 10.1484/J.JAAJ.5.113694

Printed on acid free paper

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Articles

Thomas Römer (Université de Lausanne / Collège de France), « Le lieu unique choisi par YHWH et la pluralité des temples dans l'idéologie deutéronomiste » . 1

Hervé Gonzalez (Université de Lausanne), « Zacharie 9-14 et le temple de Jérusalem. Observations sur le milieu de production d'un texte prophétique tardif » 23

Stéphanie Anthonioz & Nicolas Tenaillon (Université catholique de Lille), « La personnification de la sagesse : regards croisés philosophique et biblique » 79

Isaac W. Oliver (Bradley University, Peoria/Illinois), « Matthieu est-il plus juif que Luc ? » 111

Philip Davies (University of Sheffield), « Sukkoth and the Passion Narratives » 149

Magdalena Díaz Araujo (Universidad Nacional de Cuyo / Universidad Nacional de La Rioja,) « The Satan's Disguise: The Exoneration of Eve in the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* 17:1-2 » 159

Florentina Badalanova Geller (Topoi Excellence Cluster, Freie Universität Berlin), « Clandestine Transparencies: Retrieving *The Book of Jubilees* in *Slavia Orthodoxa* (Iconographic, Apocryphal and Folklore Witnesses) » 183

Recensions

Bernard Barc, *Siméon le Juste : l'auteur oublié de la Bible hébraïque*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, 538 pages (Judaïsme ancien et origines du christianisme 4) (Paul-Hubert Poirier) 281

Frederico Giuntoli – Konrad Schmid (éd.), *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch. New Perspectives on its Redactional Development and Theological Profiles*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015, VIII + 351 pages (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 101) (André Lemaire) 287

Sabrina Inowlocki – Baudouin Decharneux (éd.), *Philon d'Alexandrie. Un penseur à l'intersection des cultures gréco-romaine, orientale, juive et chrétienne,* Turnhout, Brepols, 2011 (Monothéismes et philosophie), 526 pages (José Costa) 292

Bart D. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery : The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics,* Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 2013, XI + 628 pages (Pierluigi Piovanelli) 297

Régis Burnet, *Les douze apôtres. Histoire de la réception des figures apostoliques dans le christianisme ancien*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, 835 pages (Judaïsme ancien et origines du christianisme 1) (Damien Labadie) 300

Pierluigi Piovanelli – Tony Burke (éd.), *Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent. New Perspectives on Early Christian and Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015, 439 pages (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 349) (Damien Lababie) 306

Thierry Murcia, *Jésus dans le Talmud et la littérature rabbinique ancienne*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, 810 pages (Judaïsme Ancien et Origines du Christianisme 2) (Emmanuel Friedheim) 314

Marie-Françoise Baslez (éd.), *Chrétiens persécuteurs. Destructions, exclusions, violences religieuses au IVe siècle.* Paris, Albin Michel, 2014, 461 pages (Bibliothèque Histoire) (Steeve Bélanger) 318

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

David S. Powers, Zayd : *the Little Known Story of Muḥammad's Adopted Son,* Philadelphie/ Pennsylvanie, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, 175 pages (Mohammad-Ali Amir-Moezzi) . . 333

Livres reçus à la rédaction

Bulletin



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

CLANDESTINE TRANSPARENCIES: RETRIEVING *THE BOOK OF JUBILEES* IN *SLAVIA ORTHODOXA* (ICONOGRAPHIC, APOCRYPHAL AND FOLKLORE WITNESSES)*

Florentina Badalanova Geller

Topoi Excellence Cluster, Freie Universität Berlin
/ The Royal Anthropological Institute, London
fgeller@campus.fu-berlin.de

Résumé

Cet article étudie la relation complexe entre l'héritage apocryphe slavon, la tradition orale et l'art religieux, en mettant l'accent sur un groupe d'interprétations parabibliques du récit fratricide (Genèse 4), dont les plus anciennes attestations se trouvent dans le Livre des Jubilés. Dans ce contexte, sont examinées des interprétations iconographiques et vernaculaires de quelques fragments apocryphes inclus dans les compilations slavonnes des Palea et dans les rédactions adaptées localement à partir de quelques chroniques byzantines (comme par exemple les traductions des Chroniques de Jean Malalas et de George Hamartolos, du grec en slavon liturgique). Ce groupe intertextuel d'interprétations littéraires, iconographiques et orales du Livre des Jubilés pose des questions méthodologiques importantes et met en discussion plusieurs présupposés concernant les mécanismes des transferts culturels par lesquels cette composition a pénétré dans le monde byzantin. Jusqu'ici, on a soutenu que

* Earlier versions of this paper were read in the summer of 2014 at the Research Seminar 'Unacknowledged Offspring of Byzantium' of the TOPOI Excellence Cluster (Freie Universität Berlin) and 'The Voice of Jacob' Conference (held in Dor Nahsholim, Israel). I am indebted to Michael Stone, William Adler, Robert Kraft, James Charlesworth, David Hamidović, Moshe Taube, Alexander Kulik, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis and Anna-Maria Totomanova for their valuable suggestions.

BREPOLS PUBLISHERS DOI 10.1484/J.JAAJ.5.113803

la recherche des protographes permettait à elle seule d'accéder à l'histoire de la réception des anciennes compositions parabibliques juives dans le « nouveau » paysage chrétien, alors que les données iconographiques et les traces de tradition orale étaient négligées et exclues du discours savant. Ici, on suggère une nouvelle approche méthodologique : la documentation iconographique y est examinée en tant que « palimpseste » visuel, permettant une clarification fiable et simple du cadre chronologique de la réception du corpus juif ancien parabiblique dans les milieux chrétiens médiévaux. Les récits slavons apocryphes, iconographiques et folkloriques sont aussi comparés et confrontés à la tradition midrashique (dont les Pirqé de-Rabbi Éliézer) et aux écrits exégétiques de l'Islam (l'Histoire des prophètes et des rois d'Al-Tabarī, les Vies des prophètes d'Al-Thálabī, etc.), qui sont à peu près contemporains des traditions byzantines ayant donné naissance aux interprétations littéraires et iconographiques slavonnes.

Summary

The article explores the complex relationship between Slavonic apocryphal heritage, oral tradition and religious art, with special emphasis on a cluster of parascriptural renditions of the fratricide narrative (Genesis 4), the earliest attestations of which are found in The Book of Jubilees. Examined in this connection are iconographic and vernacular interpretations of some apocryphal fragments incorporated into the Slavonic Palaea compilations, and into domesticated redactions of a number of Byzantine chronographic compositions (e.g. translations of the Chronicles of John Malala and George Hamartolos from Greek into Old Church Slavonic). This intertextual knot of literary, iconographic and oral renditions of the Book of Jubilees poses important methodological questions and challenges some assumptions concerning the mechanisms of cross-cultural transmission through which this work penetrated the Byzantine Commonwealth. So far it has been maintained that the search for the written protograph(s) holds the key towards the reception history of ancient Jewish parabiblical compositions into their 'new' Christian landscape(s), whilst the iconographic data and evidence from oral tradition was neglected and remained excluded from scholarly discourse. Hereby a new methodological approach is suggested, whereas the iconographic evidence is examined as a visual

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

'palimpsest', allowing a reliable, straightforward clarification of the chronological framework of the reception history of ancient Jewish parascriptural corpus in medieval Christian environments. Slavonic apocryphal, iconographic and folklore narratives are also compared and contrasted with midrashic tradition (e.g. Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer) and Islamic exegetical writings (The History of Prophets and Kings by Al-Tabarī, The Lives of the Prophets by Al-Thálabī, etc.) which are roughly contemporary with the Byzantine traditions giving rise to the Slavonic literary and iconographic interpretations.

1. Searching for evidence: frame of reference

The complex relationship between Slavonic apocryphal literature, oral tradition and iconography was first discussed by one of the most prominent scholars of nineteenth-century Russia – the renowned intellectual, philologist and art historian Fyodor Buslaev, in his *Historical Sketches of Russian Vernacular Literature and Art* [1861]. He was also one of the first to point out that among the Orthodox Christian communities, the biblical narratives were commonly transmitted through the channels of apocryphal writings (many of which were incorporated in *The Palaea,*[1] *The Cronicle of John Malalas,*[2] *The Tale of Bygone*

1. See Buslaev [1861 (1): 491], but also Porfir'ev [1877: 7-18], Gaster [1887: 151-199], Sumtsov [1888: 6-7], Istrin [1897 (2: 1): 175-209; 1897 (2: 4): 845-905; 1898: 472-531; 1905: 135-203; 1906 (11: 1): 1-43; 1906 (11: 2): 20-61; 1906 (11: 3): 418-450], Istomin [1905: 147-184; 1906: 337-374], Shakhmatov [1904: 199-272], Turdeanu [1964: 195-206], Lunt and Taube [1988: 158-159], Taube [1993: 90-114], Thomson [1998: 870-873], Alexeev [2001: 147-154; 2008: 41-57], Slavova [2002], Vodolazkin [2008: 25-28, 31-38, 55-59, 78-81, 90, 93, 96, 101-102, 128-138, 140, 144-159, 168-169, 172-179, 180-184, 193-195, 197, 205, 211-213, 219, 221-226, 239-247, 251-269, 293-294, 307-311, 317; 2009: 327-353; 2011: 453-470; 2014:175-200]; see also Flusser [1971: 48-79], Adler [2013: 585-672]. For a recent bibliographical survey of studies on the *Palaea Historica*, *Palaea Interpretata* and *Palaea Chronographica* see Tvorogov [1987a: 285-288; 1989: 160-162], Novalija [2008: 2-24], Orlov [2009: 299-306], Bulanin [2004: 822; 2012: 310-311], Adler [2013: 585-599].

2. See Buslaev [1861 (1): 487] and Porfir'ev [1877: 18-21]. The latter draws attention to the importance of *The Chronicle of John Malalas,* along with that of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* and *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes,* as repositories of Old Testament apocryphal legends. Incidentally, the Slavonic redactions of the Byzantine chronicles often preserve readings which are much more archaic than

Years,[3] etc.), iconographic schemes conventionally adopted by medieval painters[4] and oral tradition.[5] In fact, Buslaev was also the first to notice the parallel designation of the Forbidden Tree as a grapevine in vernacular Russian poetry (the spiritual stanza *Повесть о Горе-Злочастии* in its folklore and apocryphal versions) and religious art (i.e. the miniatures in the 1542 Novgorod copy of *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, fol. 1240r) [Fig. 1].[6]

---

those found in the extant Greek MSS. At the same time, the Greek chronographic corpus functioned as a channel for transmission of ideas (many of which were earlier attested in ancient Jewish parabiblical writings) into the realm of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. As pointed out by Adler, 'one important by-product of the Christian chroniclers' desire for inclusiveness was their preservation of a large and heterogenous corpus of extra-biblical sources, especially for primordial history' [1989: 3]; while seeking to find either 'independent corroboration for Genesis, or to enlarge on matters that Genesis left ambiguous or uncertain altogether' [*ibid*., p. 4], Byzantine chronographers (John Malalas, George Hamartolos, George Syncellus, etc.) consulted a wide range of Jewish parabiblical sources (e.g. *The Book of Enoch, Jubilees*, etc.); furthermore extracts from such writings (e.g. *The Book of Watchers*) survived in Greek exactly because of their incorporation into the corpus of Byzantine chronographic tradition; see Adler and Tuffin [2002: liv-lv, 15-19]. For a bibliographical survey of studies on the Slavonic redactions of *The Chronicle of John Malalas,* see Tvorogov [1987c: 471-474], Bulanin [2004: 833]; for *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos,* see Tvorogov [1987b: 467-470], Thomson [1993: 338-340], Matveenko and Shchegoleva [2000: 5-13], Bulanin [2004: 832-833], Stankov [2008: 45-103]; for the Slavonic version of *The Chronicle of George Syncellus*, see Totomanova [2008]; for *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* in the intellectual history of *Slavia Orthodoxa,* see Piotrovskaia [1987: 465-467], and Bulanin [2004: 832].

3. Buslaev's observations [1861 (1): 491, 618] mark the beginning of the discussion among the Slavonic specialists concerning *The Tale of Bygone Years* as a thesaurus of extra-canonical themes and motifs.

4. See, for instance, Buslaev's analysis of the Flood story in Slavonic folklore legends and apocryphal writings, focusing on a seventeenth-century MS illuminated Bible (« Лицевая Библия ») from the private collection of Count Uvarov [1861 (1): 439-441].

5. Cf. Buslaev [1861 (1): 491-503]; see also the discussion in Sumtsov [1888: 10-104], Kirpichnikov [1890], Mochul'skii [1886, 1887; 1894], Veselovskii [1875; 1876; 1877; 1894].

6. See further the data presented in Buslaev [1861 (1): 614-618 (esp. 617)].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.



Fig. 1

He was also the first to survey the iconographic interpretations of some parallel apocryphal and folklore *topoi* (e.g. the motif of

Adam's contract with Satan,[7] etc.); his analysis was focused on particular miniatures from some seventeenth-century illuminated Bible manuscripts (e.g. «Лицевая Библия»[8] from the collection of Count Uvarov) [Buslaev 1861 (1): 618]. Although the comparison between apocryphal, folklore and iconographic renditions of biblical (and parabiblical) motifs in Buslaev's works is carried out in a rather scattered and random manner,[9] his approach marks

7. See also Porfir'ev [1877: 40-42, 211-212], Ivanov [1925: 223-227]. The motif of Adam's cheirograph was thoroughly examined by Stone [2000: 149-166; 2002]; for interpretations in Slavonic and Balkan folklore and apocryphal literature, see Stone [2002: 4-5, 25-47]; for iconographic tradition see *ibid*., p. 47-62; see also the discussion in Badalanova Geller [2011: 100-110].

8. The closest Western counterpart of the « Лицевая Библия » is the *Piscator Bible* (*Theatrum Biblicum,* printed in 1650), which was widely disseminated in Russia and elsewhere, with insertions in Russian of poems composed (and/or translated from Latin) in 1679 by the monk and poet Mardarii Khonykov [Мардарий Хоныков/Хоников]. The impact of the *Piscator Bible* upon Russian religious literature and art is beyond the scope of this article; the topic was studied by O. Belobrova [1993: 334-435; 2014: 23-28] and others. Still, for the clarity of the discussion (see below), it is necessary to point out that the poetic commentary of Mardarii Khonykov on Gen. 4 reads as follows: 'God accepts the blessed offerings of Abel [Благи дары Бог Авеля приемлет], // but disregards the evil prayers of Cain [Каиновы же злы молбы не внемлет]. // For all this Cain is badly upset with his brother [Всем на брата зле Каин смущается], // yet he, the evil one, is rebuked by God [от Бога же зол сый обличается]. // Envying his brother, Cain kills him [Завидев Каин брата убивает], // thus he, the evil one, slays the saintly man [и свята мужа, зол сый, погубляет]. // On the account of this [crime] he receives the just penalty [За сие же мзду должну принимает] // and, being an evil one, perishes in the eternal curse [и в вечной клятве злый сей погибает]. // Bitterly are they crying for their killed son [Горце рыдают сына убиенна] // the mother and the father, when they see him dead [отец и мати, зряще умерщвленна]. // They offer to God a sacrifice on his [i.e. Abel's] account [Богу же жертву о нем приношают] // and in despair contemplate all this [и ужасшеся о сем разсуждают]' (stanzas 14-16); see Belobrova [1993: 346-347].

9. Buslaev, for instance, did not include in his study the apocryphal account about the grapevine as the Forbidden Tree planted by Satanail (which was attested in *3Baruch* and other apocryphal writings; see the discussion in Kulik [2010: 187-201]). See also in this connection the following fragment from the thirteenth–fourteenth century Serbian redaction of *3Baruch*, entitled *A Legend of Saint Baruch, When the Angel Panuil Was Sent to Him at the River Next to the Holy Mount Zion, When He Lamented on Account of the Captivity of Jerusalem; Bless Thou, O Lord!* [Оученіе сѣтго Вароха, юга послань бы к немоу

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

аггль Паноунль оу сѣ҃оу гороу Снѡню на рѣцѣ, ѥгда плака се ѡ плѣненн Ѥроусали́мьсцѣмь. Гн҃ бл҃освн], from *Dragolev Miscellany*:

> Н пакы рѣхь азь Варохь кь анг҃лоу: гн҃ покажн мн дрѣво, нже прѣльстн змнꙗ Ѥоугоу н снѣсть ѥ сама н да ѥ Ꙗдамоу, н сего ради нзьгна ѩ Бг҃ нз раꙗ. Н реуе мн анг҃ль: слышн, Вароше, ѥгда Бг҃ сьзда Ꙗдама, то повелѣ архаи́глоу Мнханлоу сьбратн двѣстѣ тнсоущь н трьѥ анг҃лы да насадеть ран, н вьсадн Мнхан҃ маслыноу, Гаврнль же ѩблань, Рапанль ктоую, Нопанль ѡрахь, Саразанль калнноу, Сатананль же оусадн лозоу, то бо ѥмоу бѣ прьвоѥ нме, по нспаденн же нареуе се такожде Сатананль, н такожде всн анг҃лн насадньше разлну҃наꙗ дрѣвеса. Н пакы рѣхь азь Варохь кь анг҃лоу: гн҃ покажн мн дрѣво ѥже прѣльстн з҃мнꙗ Ѥоугоу н Ꙗдама. Н реуе мн анг҃ль: слышн, Варохь, прьвоѥ дрѣво ѥсть лоза, вьтороѥ же дрѣво похоть грѣхов҃на ѥже нзлнꙗ Сатананль на Ѥоугоу н Ꙗдама; н сего радн проклель бѣ Гъ҃ лозоу, занѥ бѣ ю Сатананль оусадн н тою прѣльстн прьвозаньнаго Ꙗдама н Ѥоугоу. (Quoted after Иванов [1925: 196]).

> And then I, Varukh' [Baruch], said once more to the angel: 'Show me, my Lord, the tree by which the serpent seduced Yeuga [Eve], who herself ate [from its fruit] and gave [also some] to Adam. Because of this [transgression] God chased them away from Paradise'. And the angel told me: 'Listen to me, Baruch! When God created Adam, he ordered the Archangel Mikhail [Michael] to convene [the host of] angels, two hundred thousand and three of them, so that they might plant [the garden of] Paradise. Michael planted the olive-tree, Gavril' [Gabriel] — the apple-tree, Rapail' [Raphael] — the quince-tree, Nopail' — the walnut-tree, Sarazail' — the pomegranate-tree, whereas the grapevine was planted by Satanail'; that was his name originally; after the fall though he was still called Satanail'. This is how different angels planted different trees.' Then I, Baruch, once more said to the angel: 'Show me the tree where the snake seduced Eve and Adam, my Lord!' The angel told me: 'Listen to me, Baruch! First, the [forbidden] tree was a grapevine; second, that was the tree from which Satanail poured his sinful lust upon Eve and Adam. This is why the Lord cursed the grapevine, because it was planted by Satanail and by means of it he seduced the primordial Adam and Eve.' (Translated by the author).

In a similar way the vine-tree functions as an arboreal metaphor for the Fall in *The Apocalypse of Abraham* [23:5-8]; see Kulik [2004: 27], Orlov [2009: 48]. As pointed out by H. E. Gaylord, the Forbidden Tree is likewise identified as the grapevine in the *Palea Historica* [1983: 666-667, notes *O* and *Q*]. The same motif is also attested in some Russian redactions of the apocryphal *Legend About the Sea of Tiberias*; one such case is the eighteenth-century account (from the Ms. № 448 (56) from the Grigorovich's Collection at the M. Gorky Odessa State Scientific Library) entitled *Copied From the Divine Books of the Diligent and God-Loving Men, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Damascene, About the Most Glorious Debates on Mysterious Issues Concerning the Eternal Lord,*

the beginning of a discussion which – from the point of view of modern scholarship – can be described as truly interdisciplinary. No such attempt is made in the publications of any of his otherwise brilliant contemporaries (e.g. A. Pypin, I. Porfir'ev, N. Tikhonravov and I. Franko), whose editions of (and commentaries on) apocryphal writings established the foundation of Slavonic philological investigation into parabiblical literature. At the same time, the art historians from the same period concentrated on conventional schemes of Christian religious iconography, focusing predominantly on visual representations of New Testament figures and episodes;[10] the Septuagint-related themes and motifs are analysed mainly within the framework of Christological narratives. Thus in 1876 Buslaev's student and disciple Nikodim Kondakov (1844-1925) published a substantial work devoted to the *History of Byzantine Art and Iconography According to the Miniatures of Greek Illuminated Manuscripts*[11] in which he rather briefly touched upon the apocryphal background of some of the illustrations accompanying themes from *Genesis*

Our God, and How God Sabaoth Existed [lit. *Was*] *Before All Visible and Invisible Creatures* [Трудолѣбнвыхъ мужей н бг҃олюбнвыхъ спнсано нзъ божествеⷩныхъ книгъ Васнлıа Велнкаго, Грнгорнꙗ Бг҃ослова, Ꙗоаⷩна Дамаскнна о преславныхъ пренıх невѣдомых вещен о безначалнѣ Господѣ Бж҃е нашⷩм како быть Г҃сдь Савaофь прⷪжде всеꙗ вднмыꙗ н невднмыꙗ тварн]; see Badalanova Geller [2013: 80]. For a general survey of the attestation of the motif of the vine as the Forbidden Tree in Slavonic apocryphal literature, vernacular oral tradition and iconography, see Mochul'skii [1894: 98-99]; Petkanova [1978: 110-111], Badalanova Geller [2011: 87-95; 2013: 80, 89].

10. Significant in this respect is the seminal article, 'On the Influence of Apocrypha on Rituals and Icon-Painting' by one of F. Buslaev's most industrious contemporaries, Elpidorf Barsov [1885: 97-115], in which he attempted to reconstruct the process of incorporation of 'ancient Christian epic poetry' [эпическая поэзия древнейших христиан] into the corpus of some extra-canonical Gospels (*op. cit.* 98-99). Thus, while analyzing the impact of *The Protogospel of Jacob* (*Protevangelium Jacobi*) on Patristic tradition and liturgical practices of the Eastern Orthodox Church (e.g. hymnography associated with particular festivals, such as the Annunciation, Nativity, etc.), he argues for the existence of an 'inner connection' [внутренняя связь] between apocryphal writings and religious art; at the same time he maintains that apocryphal literature and iconography should be interpreted as vestiges of 'the poetry of nascent Christianity' [поэзия рождающегося христианства] (*op. cit.* 98), which was orally transmitted among the Orthodox Slavs throughout centuries.

11. In my analysis I follow the new (2012) edition (by G. Parpulov and A. Saminskii) of Kondakov's work.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

(e.g. the murder of Cain by 'the blind giant Lamech'; 'the first astronomer Enoch' – from whom 'the Death has turned away her face' – with the 12 signs of the Zodiac above him, etc.) [Kondakov 2012: 210-211]. As far as the apocryphal tradition *per se* is concerned, Kondakov's analysis concentrates on *The Protevangelium Jacobi* [*ibid*., p. 243-248], with a special emphasis on the depiction of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary – a theme to which he was to devote much attention in his later publications.[12] A similar agenda is pursued in publications of Kondakov's contemporaries and disciples;[13] among them are the renowned art historians Dmitii Ainalov (1862-1939) and Andrei Grabar (1895-1990). In fact, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 interrupted scholarly investigations in the field of religious iconography in Russia altogether; Christian art was hardly among the priorities of academic research in the Soviet Union.[14] Kondakov emigrated to Bulgaria (1920-1922), where he was appointed Professor at Sofia University; after 1922 he settled in Prague, where he founded the famous *Seminarium Kondakovianum*. It is hardly a coincidence that precisely at the same time (1919-1925) his pupil Andrei Grabar also arrived in Sofia (via Odessa and Varna), where he was appointed as curator of the Archaeological Museum. In fact, the young Grabar – encouraged by his teacher Kondakov – undertook a series of expeditions to a number of medieval churches and monasteries,[15] thus launching the first ever project in Bulgaria of cataloguing frescoes and icons. Still, the scholarly investigations of Kondakov and Grabar focused predominantly on the 'high' stratum of iconographic and hagiographic schemes employed in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine religious

12. See his work on the *Iconography of the Mother of God* [Иконография Богоматери], first published in 1914-1915.

13. It is beyond the scope of this article, however, to provide a comprehensive survey of their studies.

14. Among those silenced by the Bolshevik Revolustion was the outstanding art historian, philosopher, theologian and scientist, the Orthodox priest Pavel Florensky (1882-1937); he was executed by the KGB, after having spent many years in a labour camp in Siberia. Florensky was one of the leading representatives of Russian religious thought (along with Sergei Bulgakov, Nikolai Berdiaev and Vladimir Solovyev). His work *Iconostasis* (the manuscript of which was finished in 1922) was published first in 1972, following his rehabilitation in 1959.

15. The results of his investigations were published in 1928 in Paris, in his *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Vols 1-2).

art and literature in the Balkans and elsewhere (with explicit emphasis on the New Testament themes);[16] the Old Testament apocryphal heritage remained outside their mainstream research agenda. Among the rare exceptions to this general trend in the first half of the twentieth century were the explorations of the Serbian scholar B. Petković; of special interest are his observations on the iconographic renditions of *Genesis*, as manifested in the murals of the Dečani Monastery (now in Kosovo) [Petković 1941: 46-50].[17] Established in 1327 by the Serbian King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and decorated in 1347-1348, the monastery is considered to be one of the most significant monuments of medieval Christian art in the Balkans. As pointed out by Petković, the iconography of the *Genesis* mural cycle (to be analysed below) betrays awareness of particular themes and motifs, which were also attested in apocryphal tradition (e.g. *The Book of Jubilees, The Legend of the Sea of Tiberias*, and some erotapocritic writings) [Petković 1941: 66-67]. Still, the Serbian scholar considers this type of visual narrative as evidence for the awareness among Serbian icon painters of (the Byzantine style) iconographic schemes employed in 'the West' (e.g. the twelfth-century mosaics of Cathedral of Monreale and Cappella Palatina in Palermo, Sicily), rather than of parabiblical writings (including apocryphal literature) circulating in their native land. A similar approach was adopted by some other East European art historians in the second half of the twentieth century. While collecting the hitherto unknown iconographic materials and providing the much needed descriptions, cataloguing and classification of the empirical data, they were generally concerned either with specific features of artistic devices employed by individual icon painters,[18] or with the transmission of iconographic schemes to the Balkans from 'the West'. Thus, while describing one particular depiction of the motif of Noah summoning the animals into the Ark with a *semantron* (a long wooden plank which he holds in his left

16. The visual narratives related to *The Protogospel of James*, *The Gospel of Nicodemus, The Vision of Paul, etc.* were among the most popular iconographic texts to be intensively studied by art historians, perhaps due to their close relationship with liturgical services and Christian homiletic literature.

17. See the discussion below.

18. Typical examples of this type of painstaking research are the publications of Vasiliev [1964: 151-192], Klisarov [1992: 71-86] and others.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

hand while striking it with a mallet in his right hand), some art historians are tempted to interpret it as a borrowing from the iconographic thesaurus of Western paintings (and in particular fifteenth-century Flemish masters). Following this line of argument, they suggest that this iconographic model must have come to the Balkans through the work of the Cretan master Teodoro Pulakis (1622-1692), who depicted Noah and his Ark on an icon for the Greek Church St. George in Venice. It is further maintained that Pulakis must have been influenced by the intellectual pedigree of some of the works of the Flemish engraver Johannes Sadeler (1550-1600), who also worked in Venice several decades earlier. Then it is assumed that Sadeler, in turn, drew upon a drawing by the Antwerp painter Maarten de Vos (1532-1603).[19]

While it is true that one should not disregard the possibility of transmission of iconographic schemes from medieval Venetian painting to the Balkans (and their possible influence upon local religious art), one should not fail to consider the mutual interdependence between the artistic thesaurus of iconpainting and those of contemporary apocryphal literature and folklore tradition circulating in the region, since these three types of narrative – visual, written and oral – are bound closely together. Thus the motif of Noah gathering the animals into the Ark by a means of a *semantron* is featured in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara* (Сказаніе меѳодіѧ патарскаго),[20] an eschatological

19. See for instance the discussion in Popova [2000: 51]. For the implementation of Western iconographic schemes in the works of Teodoro Pulakis, see Kazanaki-Lappa [2009: 182-183]. Then again, on the icon painted by Pulakis Noah does not appear with a *semantron*; in fact, he holds in his right hand a staff (see *ibid.,* Plate 79), which most probably signifies his status as a patriarch.

20. A pseudepigraphic eschatological work purportedly attributed to the fourth-century martyred Bishop Methodius of Patara, originally composed in Syriac. The Old Church Slavonic translations were made from a Greek *Vorlage*. As pointed out by Thomson, the earliest translation appeared in Bulgaria in the late ninth and early tenth century 'surviving in codices from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century on, from which period later redactions also exist'; subsequently another one was produced, also in Bulgaria, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century 'which survives in codices from the later century on' [Thomson 1985: 144]; it has been argued that in fifteenth-century Russia, there appeared an 'independent Russian rendition' [оригинальная русская переработка] of the text, designated as 'the interpolated redaction' [интерполированная редакция], which became extremely popular in seventeenth-century Rus-

text which enjoyed tremendous popularity in the Byzantine Commonwealth.[21] In fact, a similar narrative is incorporated into the *Palaea*.[22] Furthermore, the legend is likewise attested in Slavonic

sia, especially among the Old Believers [Dmitriev 1987: 284]. Fragments from the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara* were inserted into the *Palaea Interpretata* and related apocryphal writings (e.g. *Visio Danielis*). Among the most significant studies on the topic are those by Veselovskii [1875 (178: 4): 283-331; (179: 5): 48-130], Istrin [1897a], Thomson [1985: 143-173], Dmitriev [1987: 283-285], Yovcheva and Taseva [1995: 22-45], and Skowronek [2011: 74-115].

21. See for instance the following fragment from the seventeenth-century Russian redaction of the apocryphon:

Посла Богъ ангела своего къ Ноевн, повѣстн ему о потопѣ Господнн, глаголѧ: хощу пустнтн потопъ на землю, занеже нсполнншасѧ землѧ безаконіѧ; глаголн людемъ, да покаютсѧ отъ грѣхъ свонхъ, н отдамъ нмъ гнѣва своего, а ты нαунн здатн ковчегъ, ѩкоже повелѣ ему ангелъ Господень. [...] Въ ѯ лѣто созда Ной ковчегъ, въ долготу т̄ лакотъ, а въ прекы н̄ лакотъ, н сшедъ з горы, велѧше людемъ покаѧтнсѧ грѣховъ свонхъ, онн же не послушаше его, н рече ангелъ Господень къ Ноевн: подн ты въ ковчегъ н жена твоѧ н сынове твон н жены сыновъ твонхъ, понмн съ собою всѧкого жнвотнаго, по двое отъ четвероногнхъ, отъ гадъ н отъ птнць по двое. Ной же рече: како могу созватн отъ всѧкого жнвотнаго? Ангелъ же Господень прннесе ему бѣл҃цо, н рече ему: бен въ бл҃цо. Н ста прѧмо ковчегу н сотворн Ной тако, ѩкоже повелѣ ему ангелъ Господень, — еже зваше всѧкнмъ ѩзыкомъ всѧко жнвотное въ ковчегъ, нс пустынн н отъ воздуха [Pypin 1862: 17].

God sent his angel to Noï [Noah] to inform him about the [commencement of the] Lord's Flood, saying: 'I will send the Flood to the earth, because the earth became full of lawlessness; tell people that if they are to repent from their sins, I will withhold My anger. As for you — start building an Ark!' This is what the angel of the Lord said to him. [...] In the thirtieth year [after that] Noah built an Ark; it was three hundred cubits long and fifty cubits wide. And having come down from the mountains, he told people to repent from their sins, but they did not listen to him; and the angel of the Lord said to Noah: 'Go to the Ark together with your wife and your sons and the wives of your sons, catch [a pair] of each kind of living creatures, from quadrupeds, reptiles and birds — two of each. Noah said: 'How can I summon [a pair of] all the animals?' The angel of the Lord brought to him a semantron and said to him, 'Drum on it!' And Noah stood opposite to the Ark, and did what the angel told him, thus summoning in each tongue each animal to the Ark from the wilderness and the air. (Translated by the author).

22. Both Porfir'ev [1877: 52, 108-109] and Slavova [2002: 269] maintain that the version of the Flood narrative in the *Palaea* is most probably influenced by contemporary Greek redactions of *The World*

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

and Balkan oral tradition.[23] There is no indication that modern art historians studying the iconographic representation of the Flood in the Byzantine Commonwealth are aware of either the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara* or related *Palaea* legends. The same applies to philological examination of some apocryphal and folklore motifs, which as a rule, are treated without reference to iconography. In fact, many philologists seem to be unaware of the research of art historians. A rare exception is the pioneering work of Michael Stone on the *Legend of Adam's contract with Satan*, in which the author bases his arguments on the three major pillars of the transmission of intellectual ideas in the field of parabiblical tradition: apocryphal literature, iconography and folklore.[24]

A similar approach is to be found in the work of Sonia Fellous, devoted to the iconographic representations of the Abrahamic cycle in Judaism, Christianity and Islam,[25] and in the monograph by Christfried Böttrich on the origin of funerary rites, in which he examines iconographic and literary sources dealing with the burial of Abel.[26] Another example of this methodology can be found in B. Murdoch's analysis of the visual counterparts of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve* in medieval Europe [2009: 239-251], and in E. Musakova's [1998: 118-129], L. Mavrodinova's [1999: 153-218] and E. Pentiuc's [2014: 263-320] investigations of the depictions of the Old Testament motifs in Eastern Orthodox iconography.

On the other hand, a number of art historians have been addressing the controversial issue of the ancient Jewish pictorial

---

Chronicle of Eutychius of Alexandria (877-940); originally written in Arabic, it was entitled *Nazm al-Jauhar* (i.e. *Row of Jewels*). See also the discussion in Vodolazkin [2009: 342-353].

23. The accounts were recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century in the city of Prilep (then part of the Ottoman Empire) by Marko Tzepenkov. One of them was published in 1894 in the Bulgarian *Miscellany of Folk-Lore, Scholarship and Literature* (*Сборникъ за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина*), Vol. 11, p. 97 (text № 3, « Нойо и магарето »); the second appeared in 1897 in Vol. 14 of the same series, p. 107-109 (text № 1, « Дѣдо Ной: мишката и змията »).

24. See Stone [2000; 2002]. In his recent study on *Palaea Historica* Adler likewise suggests that 'the Byzantine art and oral tradition provide some of the closest parallels to the stories, presented in the *Palaea*' [2013: 593]. See also the discussion in Likhachev [1966], Uspensky [1976] and Bakalova [1991: 3-20].

25. See Fellous [2006].

26. See Böttrich [1995]. However, unlike Stone, neither Fellous nor Böttrich take into consideration oral tradition.

traditions;[27] accordingly, the visual interpretations of the text of the Hebrew Bible (along with that of the Septuagint)[28] are studied within their diverse social and cultural contexts.[29] Taken into consideration is also the possible survival of Classical (Greek) mythological representations in Byzantine and Near Eastern art[30] and their impact on Christian iconography.[31] Of particular importance for the investigation of the complex relationship between the visual thesaurus of Jewish pictorial narratives and Christian iconographic lexicon is the epistemological model constructed by Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler;[32] their joint monograph on Dura synagogue frescoes [1990] is considered by many art historians to be one of the most significant landmarks in the discipline. At the same time scholars have drawn attention to a number of 'originally Jewish features in medieval Latin and Byzantine pictures cycles', aiming at exploring the impact of 'pseudoepigraphic texts, presumably illustrated, on Septuagint picture cycles' [Bernabò 1995: 329].[33] Furthermore, the discussions on the thorny matter of iconographic and scriptoral intertextuality

27. It is beyond the scope of this article to provide a survey of the literature on the topic. A most important collection of studies on iconography, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* is the title of Erwin Goodenough's 13 volume monumental work [1953-1968] (see especially volumes 5-6 on Fish, Bread, and Wine, and volumes 7-8 on Pagan Symbols in Judaism); consult also Gutmann [1971a: xi-lvii; 1971b: 232-248; 1978; 1987: 67-89]. For a brief bibliographical overview see Levine [2011: 79-81, notes 1-5]. The work of Assmann [2001: 297-311] on the grammatological aspect of iconoclasm merits special attention.

28. Crucial for the research on the subject of the illustration of the Septuagint are the contributions by Goodenough [1971: 186-199] and Weitzmann [1971a: 201-231].

29. For a general discussion on the subject see Gutmann [1987; 67-89; 1998: 137-142], Narkiss [1995: 75-80; 1997], Revel-Neher [1995: 405-413], Sed-Rajna [1995: 415-427], Kogman-Appel [1997: 451-481], Künzl [2001: 149-153], Kühnel [2001: 162-180], Levine [2011: 79-114].

30. For the use of pictorial material from the Ancient Near East for the exegesis of the biblical text see Hulster [2009].

31. For a few representatives of this approach, see Weitzmann [1981: 45-68], Barasch [2001: 3-26].

32. See further Weitzmann [1971b: 309-328], Nordström [1971: 39-81], Gutmann [1988: 25-29], Jensen [1999: 176-178, 181-189], Westenholz [2000], Nickson [2011: 75-76, 83-84].

33. For the relationship between midrashic tradition and iconography, see Gutmann [1971c: 338-343]. See also the discussion in Laderman [2013].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

have increasingly gained momentum in a number of comparative studies on Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious art.[34]

Parallel with this, during the last 20 years, after the collapse of the Soviet regime, some East European art historians began examining Slavonic and Balkan religious art in connection with parabiblical narratives (as attested in *The Palaea*)[35] and related apocryphal writings. This epistemological trend is manifested in the work of the Serbian scholar Smiljka Gabelić on the interpretation of the motif of 'The Fall of Satan in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art' in which she draws upon interdependence between some specific iconographic schemes (as employed in the frescoes in the Suzdal Cathedral from c. 1230, the Church of the Archangel Michael in Lesnovo from 1346-1347, the Mateič Church of the Virgin from the middle fourteenth century, etc.) and apocryphal writings (e.g. the Coptic *Discourse on Saint Michael the Archangel by Timothy*, the Slavonic *Homily of Saint John Chrysostom on How the Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*,[36] etc.) [Gabelić 1993-1994: 68-72]; a similar approach is detectable in the publications of some Bulgarian art historians, such as Elisaveta Musakova [1998: 119-129, esp. 121-125], Margarita Kuiumdzhieva [2002: 51-57; 2003a: 33-40; 2003b: 535-551, esp. 538], and others.

At the same time in Russia and elsewhere there appeared a cluster of publications devoted to the illuminated MSS containing the Slavonic redactions of the Byzantine chronicles (e.g. *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos*), with a special emphasis on pictoral narrative cycles concerned with specific Old Testament topics (often in their apocryphal attestations).[37]

Furthermore some Bulgarian art historians studying visual narratives on *Genesis* have recently included in their research not only apocryphal, but also relevant ethnographic and folk-

34. This will be discussed elsewhere but for preliminary data, see Ettinghausen [1971: 429-465], Gutmann [1971d: 466-488; 1988a: 107-117; 1990: 152-157], Brosh and Milstein [1991], Jackson [2007: 9-19, 22-45, 53-83,92-117, 120-132].

35. See Kuiumdzhieva [2003a: 33-40]; for a survey of related sources consult Belobrova [2014: 21].

36. The text of *The Homily of Saint John Chrysostom on How the Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* was first published by Ivanov [1935: 18-25]; see also the discussion in Afinogenova [2006: 329-348], Badalanova Geller [2011: 70,79] and Minczew [2011: 23-54].

37. Consult Podobedova [1965: 97-113], Belobrova [2014: 21].

lore data.[38] One such case is the work of Elena Popova on the representation of Noah in Slavonic and Balkan iconography and apocryphal writings,[39] where the author points out that the visual renditions of the Flood narrative were most probably influenced by *3Baruch*.[40] She suggests that the depiction of the serpent below the Ark, as featured in some Bulgarian icons (see Fig. 2), might have been based on the description of the 'Celestial/Cosmic Serpent' (i.e. the 'Great Sea Dragon'), as presented in the storyline of the *3Baruch* [4: 3-4, 5:2-3].



Fig. 2

38. See also Penkova's work on the iconography of the Last Judgement in Bulgarian religious art (XVI-XVII cent.) [1993: 21-27].

39. See Popova [2000: 46-52].

40. *Ibid.,* p. 49. This iconographic scheme may be related, however, to some Bulgarian folk legends about the Flood which contain a cluster of internationally attested motifs (e.g. A 2145.2. [*Snake preserved in ark: to stop hole with tail*] and B 527.2 [*Helpful animal stops leak in Noah's ark*]); see Thompson [1955 (1)]. See also type 825 (The Devil in Noah's ark) in the classification of A. Aarne and S. Thompson [1961: 278-279].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

'The visual grammar' of the apocalyptic imagery was further pursued in the recently published impressive work by D. Antonov and M. Maizul's [2011] in which the authors examine the iconographic representations of 'sinful and demonic' in the religious art of *Slavia Othodoxa* in historical and comparative perspective.

It is exactly the thesaurus of iconographic representations of parabiblical themes and motifs which is the focus of my analysis in this article. Visual art shows the imprint of apocryphal writings incorporated into the *Palaea* compilations, and further demonstrates the influence of the *Chronicles of John Malala* and *George Hamartolos* and related traditions upon either storytellers or icon painters.[41] Acknowledging this type of mechanism will allow us to retrieve the dormant memory of *The Book of Jubilees* in *Slavia Orthodoxa*, and investigate the channels through which it penetrated the intellectual map of the Byzantine Commonwealth.

2. Pursuing the visual storytelling: fresco as palimpsest

Let us examine the evidence. In the Dečani Monastery the first chapters of *Genesis* are represented in a cycle of frescoes in the chapel of St. Demetrius; depicted as the Creator of the Universe and man is Jesus Christ (a design which conventionally follows the prevalent cosmogonic and anthropogonic schemes of Byzantine iconography). The images concerned with the Fall and the post-Edenic life of Adam and Eve and their offspring are of particular importance for our discussion. The first scene in this cycle represents the conception and birth of Cain: Adam and Eve are shown embracing in their bed, on the left hand side[42] of which is also depicted the little Cain (Fig. 3); the inscription reads: 'and having conceived, she gave birth to Cain' (Н зачньшн родн Каннна) [Gen. 4:1].[43] Thus the two episodes (before and after

41. The visual data from Dečani Monastery is significant for the retrieving (and further clarifying) the iconographic thesaurus of Christian religious art in the Balkans, since the decoration of its frescoes preceded the appearance of the *Hermeneia* (i.e. *Painter's Manual*) by Dionysius of Fourna (1730-1734) and thus represents a much earlier stage of iconographic tradition than that attested in the latter.

42. A visual metaphor indicating Cain's sinister nature (due to the mythopoeic equation left = evil); see also Uspensky [1973: 137-145].

43. See Petković [1941: 48]. For Cain as the archetype of evil see Najman [2003: 110-113]. See also Aptowitzer [1922], Mellinkoff [1981], Aycock [1983], Kugel [1990a], Badalanova [1998-1998;

the birth of Cain) are summarized and abbreviated within one visual template, presenting in a single framework an abridged pictoral rendition of the biblical narrative.[44] Furthermore the fact that Adam and Eve are depicted embraced, sitting in their bed – an iconographic hint of childbearing activity – shows that Cain was believed to have been conceived outside of Paradise rather than within it, in contrast to some traditions (regardless whether related or not to 1 John 3: 12) claiming that he was born of the Devil.[45]



Fig. 3

1998], Kim [2001], Kuznetsova [2008], Byron [2011], Scarlata [2012].

44. See also in this connection the chapter 'Summation of the visual impression as the organizational principle of the ancient icon' in *The Semiotics of Russian Icon* [Uspensky 1976: 49-57].

45. The literature on the topic is vast; see for instance Kugel [1998: 147-148], García Martínez [2003: 27-35], Poorthius [2003: 57-64], Braude [1968: 17-18].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Westwards from this scene, at the same level – but immediately below the segment depicting the creation of Eve – Cain and Abel are portrayed, each with his conventional paraphernalia (Fig. 4). Abel stands in the middle of his flock, holding a shepherd's crook, while Cain cultivates the earth with a plough, beating two oxen harnessed to it with a stick. To the upper right (that is, symbolically marked in terms of spatial organization as 'good', positively charged) corner of the scene an altar is shown, on which there is the sacrificed lamb in flames; next to it stands the righteous Abel looking towards heaven, with his hands stretching upward.[46] The altar's fire ascends directly skyward – a palpable token signifying that his sacrifice is accepted by God.



Fig. 4

To the upper left (that is, negatively charged) corner, opposite to the altar with the lamb, another altar is depicted, on which there is wheat in flames; next to it stands the downcast Cain, who looks with dismay away from heaven, since the smoke of his fire descends – a sign indicating rejection of his offering.[47]

46. On division of labour (pastoral versus agricultural activities), as formulated in Gen. 4 and related traditions, see Kugel [1998: 147-148], Najman [2003: 113-114], Bowen [1992: 495-516].

47. See Gen. 4: 3-8; there is a special emphasis in the Slavonic redactions of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* and the apocryphal *Legend About the Sea of Tiberias* on the reason for the fratricide: Cain kills

The inscription says, 'And God looks at Abel and his offering but did not look at Cain and did not accept his offering' (Н призрѣ Гь на Ѧвела н на дарн ѥго а на Канна н дарн ѥго не вьнеть) [Gen. 4: 8].[48]

Then westwards, next to the capital, the murder of Abel is painted (Fig. 5). The inscription reads, 'And Cain rose up against Abel and killed him' (Вьста Каннь на Ѧвела н оубын) [Gen. 4: 8]. Cain is portrayed raising his hands with a stone towards Abel, who falls to the ground. (This detail will be analysed at length below.)



Fig. 5

Further to the west is the scene of how God asks Cain about the whereabouts of his brother (Fig. 6); the inscription reads, 'And God said to Cain, where is your brother Abel?' (Н рече Гь Канну гдѣ ѥсть Ѧвель брать твон) [Gen. 4: 9]. To the

his brother because his own offering was flawed and therefore not acknowledged by God, whereas Abel's sacrifice, which was blameless, was accepted. See also the discussion below (§ 3).

48. On the iconography of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, see Braude [1968: 15-28], Haney [1985: 37-38].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

right[49] stands God, who is addressing Cain, the upper part of whose body emerges from between rocks in the mountains.



Fig. 6

This particular scene represents perhaps a visual construal of the biblical narrative [Gen. 4: 10-16] concerning Cain's punishment: he is 'under a curse and driven from the ground', which 'will no longer yield its crops' for him; he is to become a 'restless wanderer on the earth', hidden from the presence of God. Next to this scene we see the lament over the dead Abel: Eve is bending over the ground, holding his dead body and kissing his face. Adam stands next to Eve, raising his hands in despair. Buildings are in the background, with an inscription above: 'You are of earth and to earth you will return' (Ѣко землѧ єсн н вь землю ндешн). Again westwards, as a separate panel, the depiction of Abel's burial is illustrated with an inscription which reads, 'And Adam buried Abel' (Н погребе Ѧдамь Ѧвела). Adam lowers Abel's body in a grave, with Eve next to it. Then

49. See above note 42.

again, to the far left of this panel is shown how Cain erects walls of a building (Fig. 7) [Gen. 4: 17]; the scene is supplemented by an inscription stating 'Cain builds a city' (Н в[з]ѣ Каннь знdатн грdдь).



Fig. 7

A total shift occurs in the description of Cain's paraphernalia; he is no longer depicted as a ploughman, but as a builder. Thus, according to the biblical text, when the Lord puts a mark on him 'so that no one who found him would kill him', Cain begets his firstborn Enoch and builds a city, which was named after his son. The cycle continues with the depiction of the narrative of the accidental murder of Cain by the blind Lamech; the latter is portrayed with his conventional accoutrements; he is shown with a bow, shooting an arrow. Next to Lamech is a lad guiding the blind hunter; he is pointing towards Cain, thinking that he was a wild animal. Again to the left, Lamech is depicted sitting in the middle of a house and to his left shoulder is a bow. He looks at this two wives, Ada and Sela, while with his right hand pointing towards the boy. Between Lamech and his wives, a dead person is shown on the ground; it is not clear whether this is Cain or the lad whom, according to some literary sources (to be examined below), Lamech killed in rage, after his having realised that his arrow shot Cain, but not a beast. Next to this panel, another two scenes are painted featuring Lamech and his two

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

wives, standing next to the murdered lad and pointing towards their husband.[50] The concluding panels of the cycle show the sinful life of Cain's offspring (playing musical instuments and dancing). Above them are the panels depicting Noah instructed by God to build the Ark, and its subsequent construction.

But what kind of narrative did the icon painters of the fresco of Dečani Monastery use as a frame of reference for their depiction of the accidental murder of Cain by the blind Lamech? The motif is only alluded to but not explicitly described in the Bible. The most plausible source is, of course, the *Palaea*.[51] As pointed out by Porfir'ev, one of the earliest attestations of the story of the killing of Cain by his blind descendant Lamech is in the *Palaea* from the Synodal Palaeographic collection No 210 (e.g. Синодальная Палея, fols 57-57r), copied in 1477 [Porfir'ev 1877: 50-51].[52] The text was first published by N. Tikhonravov [1863 (1): 24-25]. Here follows the account:

> Н ѧдѵа҃ Ламехъ жн҃ н поѭ собѣ двѣ женѣ еднѡн имѧ Нада. а второн имѧ Иселла тон же ламѣˣ бѣ слѣпь. н ловы твораше с пастыркомь хоᴬ. н нѣкогᴬа емоу ходѧщю по пустынѧмь н блатоᴹ. н водѧше н пастырь н оувндѣ тростне н трав҃ колѣблющю҃ю҃. н гл҃а ламех҃. внжю ꙗко несвѣмъ sвѣрь лн е҃. нлн птнца. н оустрон р҃к҃ ламеховоу ѧ тоую тратв҃. н ламѣхъ поустн стрѣл҃ н абне възъпн ѵл҃кь н нздыше. н прншеᴬ ламѣˣ н не вѣдѣ ѵто оубнлъ. sвѣрь нлн пьтнцю. понеже дарь бѣ емоу. не внᴬ поущѧ҃ стрѣл҃. но бж҃ïнмь повелѣннемь оустраѭше ем҃ лѡ҃ н прïнде ѧ мѣсто ндеже бытн стрѣле. н вндѣ рабь е҃ ѵл҃ка

50. See Petković [1941: 49].

51. For the attestation of this motif in the Greek *Palaea Historica*, see the discussion in Flusser [1971: 50]. On the interpretation of the name of Lamech in the Slavonic redactions of the *Palaea*, see V. Istrin [1897 (2: 1): 203]; according to the latter, the attempt of the copyist to provide an etymological explanation of the name of Lamech betrays knowledge of Hebrew.

52. Porfir'ev published a similar version of the tale, which he discovered in Ms 860 from the Palaeographic collection of the Library of the Solovetsky Monastery [1877: 105-106]. He suggests that the ultimate source for the Slavonic version of the narrative of Cain's murder by Lamech must have been the Hebrew Midrash *Sefer haYashar* [1877: 51]. As pointed out by Grypeou and Spurling [2013: 143], the tradition 'was very popular in Jewish medieval writings' (e.g. *Midrash ha-Gadol* and *Midrash Aggadah*, etc.), with the earliest rabbinic text being *Tanhuma Bereshit* 11. See also the discussion in Kugel [1990: 91-103].

лежащıа. н реүе ламѣˣ ѿтрокѡ үто е͡ц, мнаше͡т ѭко звѣрь е͡ц. ѿтрокь ж̾ ре͡ү. адамль с̄н̄ъ каннъ. ламеˣ же възстонавъ н оударн ѿтрока. н тоу ѿтрокь оумре. хожᴬаше же ламеˣ по пѡстынн. н не вндѣ камо нтн. н нѣкоторїн ѡбрѣтше н прнведоша е͡т в домь к женаᴹ. вшеᴬ же ламеˣ в доᴹ г̄л̄а к женама своима. понеж̾ каннъ[53] авела бра͡т своє͡т. н сеᴬмь мщенїн прїатъ каннъ. аз же үто створь оуспѣю. понеж̾ оубнх моужа въ ѭзю мнѣ а юношю въ врѣд. н множество словесъ г̄л̄авъ. н покаѭнне себѣ нарє͡ү. во нстнноу аще ү̄л̄кь не свѣдын грѣха согрѣшн͡т н покает са а потомь не творнть б̄л̄гъ боудє͡т. такоже н ламѣх понеже не вѣд согрѣшн. н съ бы͡ц первын покаѭнню наставнникъ в род.[54]

> And Lamech started living and took two wives; the name of the first one was Yada while the second was Isella. Lamech was blind; he used to hunt while being accompanied by a herdsman. And [once] while walking in the wilderness and marshes, he was led by the herdsman who saw the reeds and grasses moving and said to Lamech, 'I see either a beast or a bird', and he directed Lamech's hand towards this prey, and Lamech shot an arrow. A man sobbed and expired. Lamech went forward, without knowing whether he had killed an animal or a bird, because it was a gift from God that he never missed with his arrow, in spite of being blind; according to God's will he was supposed to always succeed in hunting. And he went to the place where the arrow landed, and the servant saw a man lying [on the ground], and Lamech said to the lad, 'What is this? I guess it is a beast.' The lad said, 'This is Cain, son of Adam'. Lamech cried out and struck the lad and the lad died. Lamech was wandering in the wilderness without knowing where to go, and someone found him and took him home to his wives. When in his house, he spoke to his wives, 'On the account of Cain's having killed his brother Abel, seven vengeances were sent upon him; as for me – what did I do, because I killed a man to my pain, and killed a youngster to my harm?'[55] He uttered many other words and

53. Tikhonravov's comment: За тѣмъ въ рукописи пропущено: оуби.

54. The digitalized version of the text was prepared by Dr Iva Trifonova.

55. See Gen. 4: 23-24; the canonical account, as noted by many, is tantalizingly enigmatic:

> And Lamech said to his wives,'Adah and Sella, hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, consider my words, because I have slain a man to

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

repented. Because if man commits a sin unwillingly and repents and does not [sin again], he will be blessed. The same goes for Lamech, who sinned without knowing but was the first penitent among mankind.[56]

A similar version of the tale about the killing of Cain by Lamech is incorporated in one of the fifteenth–sixteenth century Ruthenian redactions of the *Interpretative Palaea*, the *Krekhovska Palaea* [Крехівська Палея], published by Franko [1896 (1): 37]:

Н наѵат Ламех жнтн н поѭ собѣ двѣ жене: еднѵон нмѧ н Ѧда ѧ второн нмѧ н Сел҃ла. той ж[е] Ламех бѣ слепъ н ловы твора[57] н с пастырем[58] ходѧ. н некогда ем҈ ходѧщю по п҈стынѧмъ н блатом н водѧще н пастырь н ҈внде тростн н трав҈ колеблющн с[ѧ] н гл҃а Ламехоу: внжд҈ ѭко не свемь[59], зверъ нлн есть н[лн] птнца. н ҈строн р҈к҈ Ламехов҈ на т҈ю трав҈.[60] н Ламех п҈стн стрел҈. н абне възопн у҃лкъ н нздыше. н пришед Ламех н не веде[61] ѵто ҈бнлъ, зверь лн нл[н] птнцю, понеж[е] бѣ даръ ем҈: не внда п҈щалъ стрѣл҈, но б҃н[м] повеленїемъ ҈страѭше ем҈ ловъ. н прнд[е] на мѣсто ндеже бытн стреѵе н вндѣ у҃лка лежащ ра҃ъ его. н реѵ[е] Ламех отрок҈: ѵто есть? мнѧшеть ѭко зверь есть. ѿтрокъ же реѵ[е]: Ѧдамль с҃нъ Каннъ. Ламех же въспомнѧвъ[62] н ҈дарн ѿтрока н т҈ ҈мре. хожаше[63] по п҈стынн н не внде камо нтн. н нѣкоторнн обрѣтше н прнведоша ег[о] в домъ

---

my sorrow, a youth to my grief. Because vengeance has been exacted seven times on Cain's behalf, on Lamech's it shall be seventy times seven.' (LXX).

Significantly, an almost verbatim parallel to Lamech's statement, as rendered in the Slavonic text, can be found in the Hebrew *Midrash Yalqut Shim'oni* (quoted by Kugel [1990: 92, see note 6]), which reads, 'Have I killed a man for my hurt – so that I be hurt on his account? Or a boy for a bruise – that I be bruised on his account?' It is remarkable that these two texts show such resemblances, since there is no evidence for a direct translation; the Slavonic text cited here – like the Midrash – poses a question while the canonical text makes a declarative statement.

56. Author's translation.
57. Franko's comment: творѧше.
58. Franko's comment: с пастыркомь.
59. Franko's comment: несвѣмъ.
60. Franko's comment: тратв҈.
61. Franko's comment: вѣдѣ.
62. Franko's comment: възстонавъ.
63. Franko's comment: дод. Ламех.

къ женѧм. вшед же Ламехъ в домъ н гл҃а къ женамъ своимъ[64]: понеж[е] Каинъ ѳбн Ѧвела брат[а] своего н седмь мщенїн прнѧт Каинъ, аз҃ же ѵто створь оуспею, понеже ѳбнх моуж[а] въ ѩзвѳ[65] мнѣ, а ѳношю въ вредъ? н множ[е]ство словесъ гл҃авъ н покаанїе себѣ нареч[е]. въ нстнѳ аще ѵ҃лкъ не свѣде[66] грѣха съгрѣшнвъ покает са, а потомъ не творнт, бг҃ь боудет. також[е] н Ламех, понеже неведе[67] съгрѣшн. н сен бы[сть] первын покаѧнїю наставникъ в род[е] ѵ҃лческомъ].[68]

> And Lamech began living and took two wives, the first of whom was called Ada and the second was called Sella. Lamech was blind and when hunting, he used to go with a herdsman. Once he was walking in the wilderness and marshes, being led by the herdsman, who saw the reeds and grasses moving and said to Lamech, 'I cannot see quite clearly whether this is a beast or a bird.' He directed Lamech's arm towards the prey and Lamech shot an arrow. A man cried out and gave up his spirit. Lamech approached without knowing what he killed, either a beast or a bird, because he had a gift to be able to shoot an arrow without seeing, since it was God's will for him to be a successful hunter. They went to the place where the arrow landed and the servant saw a man lying there. And Lamech said to the lad, 'What is this? I guess it is a beast.' The lad said, 'This is Cain the son of Adam'. Lamech groaned and hit the lad, who died. He was walking in the wilderness without knowing where to go, but some [people] found him and brought him home to his wives. Having entered his house, Lamech said to his wives, 'Because Cain killed his brother Abel, seven vengeances were upon him. And what did I do, because I killed a man to my pain, and a youth to my harm?' And he said many other things and repented. Indeed, if man commits a sin unwittingly and repents, and then does not transgress ever again, he will be pardoned [lit. blessed]. The same is the case with Lamech, who committed a sin without knowing it, and he was the first penitent among mankind.[69]

64. Franko's comment: к женамъ своимъ.
65. Franko's comment: ѩзю.
66. Franko's comment: свѣдѣн.
67. Franko's comment: невѣд[ын].
68. The digitalized version of the text was prepared by Dr Iva Trifonova.
69. Author's translation.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

And here comes the surprise. The visual narrative from the fresco of Dečani Monastery [1347-1348] obviously predates the Russian and the Ruthenian redactions of the *Interpretative Palaea*. This, in turn, raises further questions regarding the old deliberations over its protograph – whether it was first composed among the Eastern, or among the Southern Slavs; the elaborate arguments concerning its intellectual provenance (i.e. Bulgaria versus Russia), however, are beyond the scope of the current discussion. What cannot be contested, though, is the fact that the fresco of Dečani may be considered as the earliest Slavonic attestation of the tale of the murder of Cain by the blind Lamech.[70] Hence my argument: the iconographic evidence may be approached as a visual palimpsest, allowing a reliable, straightforward clarification of chronological framework of the reception history of apocryphal writings and their further transmission in their respective socio-cultural and religious environments.[71]

3. Iconography of fratricide: silent Scriptures, tale-telling pictures

The Bible specifies no instrument of murder in the account of the fratricide; the absence of the Scriptural framework thus fostered the blossoming of exegetical interpretations.[72] As briefly mentioned above, the Dečani fresco of the fratricide (1347-1348) portrays Cain raising his hands with stones towards Abel, who falls dead to the ground (Fig. 5).

Meyer Shapiro points out that in Byzantine iconography it is frequently the stone that was chosen as the weapon of Cain[73] (which is also

70. This, in turn, will support the arguments of Shakhmatov [1904: 199-272] and Slavova [2002] concerning the South-Slavonic (Bulgarian) provenance of the Old Church Slavonic protograph of the *Interpretative Palaea*.

71. L. Ginzberg was the first to offer a survey of sources containing the account of Cain's killing by Lamech [1909 (1): 116-118; 1925 (5): 146-147]; on Jewish and Christian interpretations of the story, see the discussion in Kugel [1990: 91-103; 1998: 167], Byron [2011: 136-140], Grypeou and Spurling [2013: 113-116, 128-132, 141-145].

72. See in this connection the material presented by Emerson [1906: 853-854, 857-859], Ginzberg [1909 (1): 101, 107-113, esp. 109; 1925 (5): 139-140, note 20], Aptowitzer [1922], Byron [2011: 73-75], Grypeou and Spurling [2013: 126-128].

73. But see also the discussion in Alpatov [1927-1928: 412] and Eastmond [1999: 221]. However, it should be pointed out that in Slavonic and Balkan religious art Cain can be depicted occasionally with a

the case in Islamic art),[74] whereas in the Western Christian tradition a club or some agricultural utensil (e.g. a hoe or a scythe – construed as typical tools of Cain's description as a farmer), or a jaw-bone, are shown.[75] Among the earliest Byzantine examples is the depiction of the scene on an ivory box (Fig. 8), probably from the second half of the eleventh–early twelfth century (from the Cleveland Museum of Art, No 1924.747).



Fig. 8

stick/rod (see Fig. 11), which may be a latent reference stemming from *The Judean Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus (who, in turn, refers to the haggadic interpretation of the name of Cain as 'reed', 'measuring rod') [Feldman, Mason 2000: 22, note 132]; see also the discussion in Braude [1968: 17]. As argued by B. Angelov, there is — so far neglected — evidence suggesting that the scribes in medieval Bulgaria were aware not only of Josephus' *Judean War,* but also of his *Judean Antiquities* [1963:257].

74. See Shapiro [1942: 209-210], Böttrich [1995: 124, 129 (Plate 1)].

75. See Shapiro [1942: 204-212]. Occasionally, Cain may be depicted as biting Abel to death, which is clearly an iconographic rendition of one specific fragment from *Vita Adae et Evae* [22: 4]:

And Eve said to Adam, 'My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Avel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in is mouth. Therefore I have sorrow.' (Quoted after Charles [1913: 138]).

For the analysis of this motif, see M. Shapiro [1942: 212, note 69], as well as Nickson [2011: 71, 75, 86, note 36], Pletneva [2013: 232-233]. Nickson argues that this type of iconography of the fratricide 'was most likely invented in response to Jewish expansions of the Genesis narrative' [2011: 75]. For the Sephardic iconographic tradition of fratricide, with special emphasis the Sarajevo Haggadah (originating in Barcelona c. 1350), see Kogman-Appel [1997: 470-471].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The motif of a stone as the murder weapon is also featured in the 1547 fresco (Fig. 9) on the northern wall of the Voroneț Monastery (Romania).[76]



Fig. 9

The Russian Primary Chronicle by the Monk Nestor (*The Tale of Bygone Years*), originally compiled in Kiev in 1116 (with the oldest extant copy, the Laurentian redaction made in Novgorod, dating from 1377), is among the earliest written sources in *Slavia Orthodoxa* in which the motif of the stone as a murder weapon is attested. It is part of the narrative about the year 986 which contains the speech of the Greek scholar/philosopher, who was sent to the Russian Prince Vladimir, in order to convince him to embrace Christianity. While expounding the chronology of events from the Creation of the World to the Resurrection of Christ, the Greek scholar/philosopher finds it important to tell Vladimir the story of the fratricide; here follows the text:

родн Ѧдамъ Каннa н Ѧвелa. бѣ Каннь ратан. а Ѧвель пастухъ. н несе Каннъ ѿ плодa земли къ Ѣу. н не прнѭ Ѣъ даровъ его. Ѧвель же прннесе ѿ агнець первенець. н прнѭ Ѣъ дары Ѧвелевы. сотонa же влѣзе в Каннa н

76. See Comarnescu and Grigorescu [1959, plate 101].

пострѣкаше Каннѧ. оубнтн Ꙗвелѧ. н ре$^{\hat{v}}$ Каннъ нзндѣте нѧ поле Ꙗвелю. [н послѣша е$^{\hat{г}}$ Ꙗвель. н] ꙗко нзыдосте. въста Каннъ н хоташе оубнтн. н не оумаше. како оубнтн. н ре$^{\hat{v}}$ ему сотонѧ возмн камень н ударн. вземъ камень н оубн н. н ре$^{\hat{v}}$ Бъ Каннy кде есть братъ твон. ѡн же ре$^{\hat{v}}$ Бъ еда стражь есмь брату своему.[77]

> Adam begot Cain and Abel. Cain was a plowman, and Abel a shepherd. Now Cain offered God the fruit of the earth, but God did not accept his gift. But Abel brought him of his firstling lamb, and God accepted the offering of Abel. Then Satan entered into Cain, and incited him to kill Abel. So Cain said to Abel, 'Let us go into the field'. When they had gone forth, Cain rose up and wished to kill his brother, but he did know how to compass the deed. But Satan said, 'Take up a stone and smite him'. So Cain took a stone and killed him. Then God said to Cain, 'Where is thy brother?' and Cain replied, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'[78]

A similar motif, that it was Satan who taught Cain how to kill his brother with a stone, is included in the corpus of the Slavonic *Palaea*;[79] thus in the *Rumiantsev's Palaea* (1494), once part of the archival collection of the Rumiantsev's Museum (Ms. No 453), the fratricide is described in the following way:

Р^{v}е бо пнсанне: потомъ^{ж} прнложн пакы ро^{ан}тн Ꙗвелѧ, н бы^{с} по дн̃ех ѡнех, реѵ,[80] прннесе^{т} Каннъ Гв̃н ѿ плоꙗ̀ земных ж̀ртвоу, н Ꙗвель прннесе ѿ пръворо^{ѧ}ных агнець. Ꙗвель оубо то твораше паствоу млека ра^{ан} н вол̀ны, ма^{с}

77. See *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei* [1926: 89-90].

78. I follow the translation by Samuel Hazard Cross and Olgerd Sherbowitz-Wetzor [1953: 99-100].

79. See Slavova [2002: 267-268].

80. As pointed out by Istomin, ре^{v} (= реѵе, the aorist form of the verb рештн, meaning 'to say') was regularly and consistently employed in various redactions of *Palaea Interpretata* as a mark of citation and an indication of a reference to a certain 'original source' used in the process of the compilation of the narrative (« словомъ *рече* они всегда обозначаютъ ссылку свою на источникъ повествования ») [1906: 355]; see also the discussion in Matveenko and Shchegoleva on the similar function of the passive participle сказано [2000: 347]. Vodolazkin describes the function of the form ре^{v} as 'medieval quotation marks, pointing to the reader the source of presented data' (« это своего рода средневековые кавычки, отсылающие читателя к источнику излагаемых сведений ») [2009: 334].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

ѭденне^{ж} еще возбранено бѣаше. И призрѣ Гъ̀ Авела и на дары его, баше и призрѣ Гъ̀ на Авель пло^{ѵ} смирення, и тѣмъ хоташе стр^{с}ть свою нзобразова^{т}, а Канна^{ж} вндаше Гъ̀, ѭко моужь кровн е^{с} и пло^{ѵ} пръваго безаконня, тѣмъ^{ж} не вънат Гъ̀ на жртвоу Каннову. Томоу рче бл̀жныи Двдъ: „нспыта ѭ срдца и оутробы Бг̀ъ прдвнъ”. Ѡскорбѣ же, рче, Каннъ зѣло не ѡ своем согрѣшенни, но ѡ брат҃нн бл̀годѣянни, и нспаде лице^{м}, завндевъ бо Авелю братоу своему. И рче Каннъ ко Авелю: „понде^{м} на поле” и бы^{с} ег^{ѧ}а бытн н^{м} на полн, и оумыслн Каннъ оубнтн брата своего Авела, и не оумеѭше, не бе бо кто кого оубнлъ; но наоучн его сатана, рче: „воз҃мн камень и оударн въ главоу”, ѡн^{ж} взе^{м} камень и оубн брата своего Авела. Се оубо Авель пръвоу подобноу см̀рть стр^{с}тн Хв̀н воспрїатъ, нже завнстю до ..... ѿ брата своего Канна бес правды оубнен быс ...[81]

> For this is what was said in the Scriptures: After that, [Eve] conceived again and Abel was born. After days passed, it was said, Cain brought God fruit of the land as an offering, while Abel gave a lamb from among the first-born. Abel was shepherding for milk and wool, because eating meat was at that time forbidden. And God looked with benevolence upon Abel and his offering, and accepted it because God saw that this is the fruit of humility, by which He willed to prefigure His passion.[82] As for Cain, God knew that this man is the blood and fruit of the first transgression, which is why God did

81. Quoted after Pypin [1862: 9].

82. According to the Christian typological exegesis, Abel (along with Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, David, etc.) is allegorically perceived as one of the Old Testament prefigurations of Christ; see the discussion in Cignelli [1995: 123-126], Kugel [1990a: 182-187], Byron [2011: 196-205]. Thus Melito of Sardis (2nd century) states in his *Homily on the Pasch* the following:

> If you wish to see the mystery of the Lord, consider Abel who likewise was killed, Isaac who was likewise fettered, Joseph who likewise was sold, David who likewise persecuted, the prophets who likewise suffered because of Christ. [...]
>
> He is the Pasch of our salvation. It is He who endured many sufferings in many men. It is He who was slain in Abel, in Isaac He was fettered, in Jacob He was hireling, in Joseph He was sold, in Moses He was exposed to die, in David He was persecuted, in the prophets He was scorned. (Quoted after Deiss [1979: 104-105]).

> not accept Cain's offering.[83] This is why the blessed David said, 'the righteous God tests the heart and mind.'[84] Cain was saddened, it was said, yet not because of his transgression but because of his brother's benevolence; and he [Cain] was downcast, being jealous of his brother Abel. And Cain said to Abel, 'Let's go to the field.' When they were in the field, Cain thought of killing his brother Abel, but did not know how, since before then no one had killed anyone. But Satan taught him how, saying, 'Take a stone and hit him on the head.' He took a stone and killed his brother Abel. This is why Abel was first to be compared in his death to the passions which Christ suffered, by the jealousy..., [since] he was killed by his brother Cain lawlessly...[85]

T. Anisimova has recently indicated that the fratricide narrative (with the stone as the murder weapon) is also part of the text of one of the seventeenth-century Russian Chronographic compilations (e.g. Хронограф особого вида в списке 1691 г., fol. 410 a):

> И рече Каинъ ко Авелю: «поидевѣ на полѣ», и умысли Каинъ убити Авеля, и не знаяше, како убити. и научи его діаволъ, рекъ: «возми камень і ударі его в главу». і уби Каинъ завистію Авеля. и плака ся Адамъ и Евга 30 лѣтъ надъ Авелемъ, не умѣста бо его погрести, повелѣніемъ Божіимъ прилѣтѣста двѣ птицы, едина ею умре, а другая погребе ю. і и то видѣста Адамъ і Евга погребоста Авеля.[86]

> And Cain said to Abel, 'Let us go to the fields', and Cain thought of killing Abel but he did not know how to kill. And the Devil taught him, saying, 'Take a stone and hit him in the head.' And Cain killed Abel because of jealousy. Adam and Eve cried for Abel for 30 years but did not know how to bury him. According to God's will, two birds flew along, one of which died and the second one buried it. Having seen this, Adam and Eve buried Abel.[87]

83. See the discussion in Kugel [1998: 149-152].
84. Cf. Ps. 7: 9.
85. Author's translation.
86. See Anisimova [2009: 385].
87. Author's translation.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The motif of a stone as the murder weapon is also incorporated in some erotapocritic apocryphal texts; amongst the first to analyse them was the Russian scholar V. N. Mochul'skii, in his study *Traces of Vernacular Bible in Slavonic and Old Russian Literature* [1894: 81-82]. While surveying the attestations of this motif, he referred to the seventeenth-century Serbian recension of *The Discussion between the Three Saints* from Mss. № 76 (fol. 6, question № 6) from the Archaeographic Collection of the Library in Vienna (now Österreichische Nationalbibliotek). According to this source, Cain, who was hitherto unaware of death altogether, has a vision in which the Devil instructs him how to kill his brother with a stone:

> Кто показа Каннoу оубнтн брата своего не вѣдн что ѥсть сьмрьть? О. Дїаволь вь снѣ показа ѥмоу камень рекь: оудары сь снмь брата своего, н оубнешн ѥго, ѥже н сьтворн.[88]
>
> 'Who revealed to Cain how to kill his brother without knowing what death is?' A[nswer:] 'He saw a dream in which the Devil pointed to a stone and said, "Hit your brother with this, and you will slay him!" So that is what he did.'[89]

Then again, the motif that Cain kills his brother Abel with a stone is included in the sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the apocryphal *Legend About the Sea of Tiberias*:

> Н родн Адамъ два сына: Канна н Авела. Каннъ былъ земледѣлецъ, Авель пастоухъ. Н во врема Каннь принесе жертвоу Бг҃оу ѿ плода своего, н прежде самъ вкоусн, н Бг҃ъ же разгнѣва са на Канна н не прна жертва его. Н потомъ принесе Авель ѿ стадъ свонхъ праведныхъ. Бг҃ъ же призрѣ на жертвоу его Авелѣвоу. Н разгнѣва са Каннъ на брата своего Авела. Н не вѣдаа что сотворнти, н возва его гоулатн на поле. Дїаволъ же нсконн бѣ сотона, ненавнда добра родоу хр҃вескомоу, н оуказа Каннoу на полѣ камень, н оубн брата своего Авела.[90]

88. Quoted after Mochul'skii [1894: 81].

89. Author's translation.

90. This Russian redaction of *The Legend About the Sea of Tiberias* (entitled ѺТ Тнвернадскомъ морѣ) was first edited and published by Barsov [1886: 3-8] (hence designated as 'the Barsovian redaction') and then 40 years later reprinted by Ivanov in his *Books and Legends of the Bogomils* [1925: 290-294]; the above quoted passage is on p. 293.

> And Adam begot two sons, Cain and Abel. Cain was a farmer and Abel was a shepherd. And when Cain was making an offering to God of his fruits, he ate of them first, and God became angry with Cain and did not accept his offering. Abel made offerings from his unblemished flocks. God acknowledged Abel's sacrifice and Cain became angry with his brother Abel. Not knowing what to do, he [Cain] called him [Abel] to take a walk in the fields. The Devil, who was from the beginning Sotana, hating the wellbeing of mankind, showed Cain a stone in the field and he killed his brother Abel.[91]

The motif of the stone as a murder weapon also features in some other redactions of *The Legend About the Sea of Tiberias* (mostly copied in the eighteenth century).[92] One such case is the version entitled *Concerning the Begetting of This World, How Our Father the Lord Sabaoth Created Heaven and Earth* [Ѡ зачатін свѣта сего, како оц҃ъ нашъ г(с)дь Савао҃въ сотворилъ н҃бо и землю] (pericope VIII);[93] an almost identical rendition of the fratricide story is presented in the aforementioned eighteenth-century Russian redaction of the same apocryphon, purportedly 'copied from the divine books of the diligent and God-loving men, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Damascene about the most glorious debates on mysterious issues concerning the Eternal Lord, our God, how God Sabaoth preceded all visible and invisible creatures' [Трудолюбнвыхъ мужей и бг҃олюбнвыхъ спнсано нзъ божестве҃нныхъ книгъ Васнлıа Велнкаго, Грнгорнꙗ Бг҃ослова, Ꙗоа҃н҃а Дамаскнна о прелавныхъ пренінх невѣдомыхх вещен о бе3наалнѣ Господѣ Бж҃е наше҃м како бысть г҃сдь Савао҃фь пр҃є҃же всеꙗ внднмыꙗ и невнднмыꙗ тварн].[94]

91. Author's translation.

92. See the survey of sources in Badalanova Geller [2011: 110-111; 2013: 81].

93. The edition of the original Slavonic text, with English translation and commentaries, was published by the author [2011: 125-133 (esp. 128, 133)].

94. The edition of the original Slavonic text, with English translation and commentaries, was published by the author [2013: 71-93 (esp. 81-82, 91-92)].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The motif of Satan being Cain's 'advisor' in hatching the fratricide (with or without mentioning the murder weapon) is also attested in visual renditions of the narrative; one such example comes from the nineteenth-century frescoes in the Rila Monastery (Bulgaria). The scene of the fratricide (Fig. 11) is painted next to that of the accepted and/or rejected offering of both Cain and Abel (Fig. 10), to be followed by the panel depicting the mourning of Adam and Eve over the dead body of Abel (Fig. 12).



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

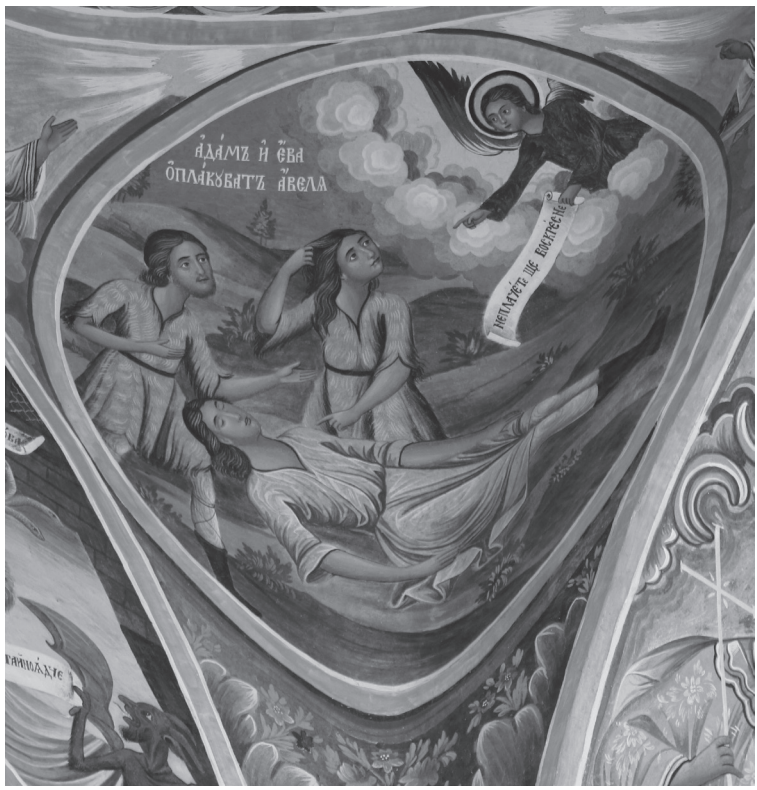


Fig. 12

There is, however, one significant detail which hitherto has escaped the attention of scholars studying the interpretation of the fratricide narrative in *Slavia Orthodoxa*: the examination of chronological framework of the written and iconographic sources testifies, in a rather unequivocal way, to the fact that the visual narratives precede their literary counterparts. Once again the fresco from Dečani provides clear-cut evidence for the earliest stages of reception history of parabiblical traditions in the Byzantine Commonwealth; even the oldest surviving MS containing the Monk Nestor's *Tale of Bygone Years* (copied in 1377) is later than the fresco of Dečani Monastery (painted in 1347-1348). The question of the land of origin of the *Vorlage* of the Slavonic translation and/or redaction of the *Palaea* repeatedly arises, and again the iconographic data indicates that

its intellectual ancestry stems from Southern rather than the Eastern part of *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

On the other hand, the conceptualisation of the idea of the stone as the murder weapon, apparent in the above quoted Slavonic texts, bears strong resemblance to rabbinic tradition, in which the motif is rather popular.[95] One such example can be found in chapter 21 of the ninth-century midrashic compilation *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*:

> Rabbi Zadok said: hatred entered Cain's heart against his brother Abel, because his offering had been accepted. Not only (on this account), but also because Abel's twin-sister was the most beautiful of women, and he desired her in his heart. Moreover he said: 'I will slay Abel my brother, and I will take his twin-sister from him,' as it is said, 'And it came to pass when they were in the field' [Gen. 4: 8]. 'In the field' means woman, who is compared to a field. He took the stone and embedded it in the forehead of Abel, and slew him, as it is said, 'And Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him.'[96]

A similar type of storyline (with a special emphasis on the stone/rock as a murder weapon) is pursued in Islamic exegetical tradition.[97] The earliest relevant example comes from *The History of Prophets and Kings* by Al-Tabarī (839-923 CE):

> Cain now sought Abel to kill him, and young Abel tried to escape from him on the mountain tops. But one day, Cain came upon him while he was herding his small cattle on a mountain and was asleep. He lifted a big rock and crushed Abel's head with it. So he died. Cain let him lie naked, not knowing about burials. God then sent two ravens that were brothers, and they fought with one another. When the one killed the other, it dug a hole for it and covered it with soil. When Cain saw that, he said, 'Woe to me! Am I incapable of being like that raven, so as to conceal the secret parts of my brother?' This is [meant by] God's word: 'And God sent a raven to scratch a hole in the earth in order to show him how to conceal the secret parts of

95. For survey of parabiblical sources consult Kugel [1998: 152-153]; see also the discussion in Grypeou and Spurling [2013: 112-113].

96. Quoted after the translation by Friedlander [1970: 154-155].

97. Cf. *The Qur'ān* [4: 27-23]; see also the discussion in Böttrich [1995: 68].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

> his brother'... When Adam returned, he found that his son had killed his brother.[98]

Another important piece of evidence, supporting this line of argument, comes from *The Lives of the Prophets,* composed probably in the early eleventh century in Baghdad by the Iranian-born Islamic exegete Abū Ishāq Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Thaʿlabī (whose native land was Nīsāpūr, which indicates that he was of Persian descent). Originally written in Arabic, Al-Thaʿlabī's *Lives of the Prophets* must have spread far beyond the native land of its author, thus becoming part of much broader cultural milieu and gravitating 'between classical, medieval and popular Islam'.[99] Al-Thaʿlabī describes the story of fratricide in the following way:

> Al-Suddi said that when Cain set out to slay Abel he was wandering among the mountain peaks. Then he came upon him one day when he was sleeping. He lifted up a rock and crushed his head with it, and he died. Ibn Jurayj said: 'Cain did not know how to kill his brother, so Iblis appeared to him and took a bird, placed its head on a stone, and then crushed it with another stone.'[100]

'Undoubtedly meant for the enjoyment of the many, while simultaneously giving religious instruction with scholarly commentary on the *Qur'ān* as a background',[101] Al-Thaʿlabī's account encompasses the affluent heritage of his indigenous oral tradition. As pointed out by some scholars, 'in some portions it uses folk literature and language that is almost playful and certainly amusing', thus indicating 'aspects of shared folk-religious beliefs of Muslim, Christians and Jews'.[102]

Quite significant in this connection is the fact that the motif of the stone as a murder weapon is also built into the storyline of some Muslim folk legends circulating in Palestine. The stone usually features in the narrative unit which connects the reason behind Cain's jealousy and anger (since he wants to marry his own twin sister rather than Abel's) with the actual scene of the fratricide; this, in turn, is followed by the episode concerning

98. Rosenthal (transl. and ed.) [1989: 308-309].
99. See Brinner [2002: xi].
100. Quoted after the translation by Brinner [2002: 77]; see also the discussion in Böttrich [1995: 73-74].
101. See Brinner [2002: xi].
102. *Ibid.*

the origin of mortuary customs. One such legend was recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century:

> Kabil and Habil, or Cain and Abel, with their two sisters, were the first children born to Adam and Eve. Adam, by Allah's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's twin sister, and that Abel should marry Cain's, for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to take place with those very near akin, such as their own sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose that they ought to take those of the remoter degree, but this Cain refused to, because his sister was the handsomer. Hereupon Adam told them to take their offerings to Allah, thereby referring the dispute to His determination. Cain's offering was a sheaf of the very worst of his corn, but Abel's a fat lamb of the best of his flock. Allah having declared His acceptance of the latter in a visible manner, Cain said to his brother, 'I will certainly kill you.' Abel was the stronger of the two, and would easily have prevailed against his brother, but he answered, 'If you stretch forth your hand against me, to slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand against you to slay you, for I fear Allah, the Lord of all creatures.' So Cain began to consider in what way he should effect the murder, and as he was doing so, the Devil appeared to him in human shape, and showed him how to do it, by crushing the head of a bird between two stones. Cain, having committed the fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body on his shoulders for a considerable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it stank horribly. And then Allah taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who, having killed another raven in his presence, dug a pit with his claws and beak and buried him therein.[103]

The examination of the content of the above mentioned narratives, be they visual (as layed out in the frescoes of Dečani from 1347-1348 and Voroneț from 1547), or written (as rendered in the Slavonic apocryphal literature, the *Palaea*, the Russian *Tale of Bygone Years,* etc., along with the midrashic compilation *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, and the accounts of Al-Tabarī's *History of Prophets and Kings,* Al-Thalabī *Lives of the Prophets,* as well as their oral counterparts) belong to a certain manifold, complex, multifaceted hyper-text. Its different strata have functioned throughout centuries independently, yet coherently bound, still

103. See Hanauer [1907: 69-70].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

evidently retaining certain inner, clandestine links of mutual interdependence, despite of the different languages and dialects through the means of which they were transmitted. The analogous interpretation of the fratricide story, with the description of the stone as the murder weapon, is just one among numerous examples revealing their common pedigree.

But where was this motif attested for the first time? It seems to take root in *The Book of Jubilees* [4: 31-32],[104] according to which Cain is killed when:

> his house fell on him and he died inside it and was killed by the stones of it, for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a just retribution, he was killed by a stone himself. There is a rule about this on the heavenly tablets, with an instrument with which one man kills another man, with the same instrument shall he be killed. If he has done a particular injury to another man, the same injury shall be done to him.[105]

It is exactly this particular statement that occurs in the opening paragraph of (some of) the Slavonic redactions of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos*.[106] While providing the list of the names of the descendants of Adam and Eve – the three sons (Cain, Abel and Seth) and the two daughters (Azura and Asuama), thus implicitly referring to the matrilineal lineage template, as outlined in *Jubilees* – the chronographer states the following:

> Ѧдамъ родн сыны .г. а дщьрн двѣ, Каннa Ѧвела н Снфа н Ѧзоуроу н Ѧсоуамоу. […] Каннъ поятъ женѣ свою сестроу .а-ю Ѧзоуроу, Снфъ же .в-ю Ѧсоуамоу. нбо

104. On Cain's death as an illustration of 'the principle of *lex talionis* engraved in the heavenly tablets,' see Stuckenbruck [2009: 297-298]; see also the discussion above.

105. Quoted after the revised (by C. Rabin) translation of Charles in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. by Sparks) [1984: 24].

106. In my analysis I follow Istrin's edition of the text, which is based on the thirteenth–fourteenth-century Bulgarian redaction of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* (MS № 100 from the Palaeohraphic Collection of the Ecclesiastical Academy in Moscow, entitled Временьникъ въпростѣ ѿ разлнчны же хронографъ же н сказатель събранъ же н сложенъ геѡргнемь грѣшьнкомь мнхомь) [Istrin 1920]. Interpolated by Istrin in the text of the Bulgarian redaction are fragments from the fifteenth century Russian redaction (MS № 1289 from the Undol'sky Collection from the Rumyantsev Museum, now part of the Archaeographic Collection of the Russian State Library in Moscow); these are marked by angle brackets <>.

Ѧвель оунотою праведенъ сы баше н пастырь ѡвцамъ, ѿ ніхъже н жертвоу бг҃у прінесе н прнятъ бы҃, оубьѣнъ бы҃ завнстію ѿ Каннa, брата своѥго. Каннъ же, ратан сын, по ѡсоуженнн злѣ пожнве, нанпервѣе унсла н оуставы н межѣ земныя замыслн. таче созда въ землн Нанньстѣн градъ <протнвоу Едема, створн емоу нма Еносъ въ нма сн҃а своего Еноса, н накоупь с'нятн свон^х ноуж^ею на бранн самъ пребываше. по снхъ ж паде са домъ его на нь н оумре. Ѧвель бо, первенца гв҃н ѡс҃тнвъ, бг҃олюв'ца негли себелюв'ца сътворн. тѣмь бл҃гою своею волею прнатъ бы҃. Канн' же, безчестнв'но собѣ прнноса ѿ первоплоˆствна, бг҃оу же вторы^х, тѣмже н ѿвер'жена бы҃. гл҃ть бо: н бы҃ по дн҃е^х, прнесе Каннъ ѿ плода земнаго. яко того ра^ан н Каннъ ѡблнченъ бы҃, яко не вер'ховъ плодоновны^х прнесе бг҃у, но по дн҃е^х вторы^х.>[107]

> Adam begot three sons and two daughters: Cain, Abel and Seth, and Azura and Asuama. [...] Cain took the first sister Azura as his wife while Seth took the second sister Asuama;[108]

107. Quoted after Istrin [1920: 31-32].

108. This account represents an inverted version of the matrilineal genealogical scheme of *Jubilees*, according to which the older daughter, Saue [Σαυὴ] (that is, Awan) became the wife of Cain [*Jub* 4: 9], while the younger, Azura [Ἀζουρᾷ], married Seth [*Jub* 4: 11]. Incidentally, the names of the two daughters (rendered as Azoura and Asuam) feature also in the Slavonic excerpt of the *Chronicle of Julius Africanus*, which is part of a compilation hitherto designated (erroneously, as pointed out by A. Totomanova) as *The Chronicle of George Syncellus*; then again, the *Chronicle of Julius Africanus* (the Greek protograph of which survived only fragmentarily) must have served as a template for the Byzantine chronographic tradition; I am grateful to Anna–Maria Totomanova for bringing this important detail to my attention; see Totomanova [2008: 408-410]. On the portrayals of Azura and Saue (Awan) as markers of the two 'antithetical' types of progenitress, see Rook [1990: 107-109], Halpern Amaru [1994: 614-618], Coblentz Bautch [2009: 342-343]; see also the discussion in Van Ruiten [2003: 7, 14-15]. It should be mentioned, however, that, apart from *Jubilees,* in parabiblical sources there existed a cluster of fluctuating templates employed in parallel labelling of matrilineal kinship (e.g. *The Cave of Treasures* [5: 20-22], etc.); see Kugel [1998: 148-149], Stillman [1974: 234], Tubach [2003: 195], Lipscomb [1978: 156-157]. On the other hand, totally absent from *Jubilees* is the account about Cain's desire for his beautiful sister (identified in different traditions either as his own twin, or as a twin of Abel). In some parabiblical narratives this 'fatal attraction' is recognized as the principal reason behind the deadly rivalry between the two brothers, and, hence, as the ultimate murder motif. For traditions concerning the daughters

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

since Abel was a virtuous juvenile [and as such remained a virgin], he was a sheep herder and from these he offered sacrifice to God, and it was accepted. He was killed by his brother Cain due to jealousy. After his having been rebuked [by God] Cain, who was a farmer, lived badly. He was the first to invent measures [lit. numbers][109] and statutes and to design field borders.[110] In the land of Nainst[111] he created a city <opposite Eden and gave it the name of Enos after the name of his son Enos. And having forced all of his [subjects] to dwell in one place, he engaged in wars. And afterwards his house fell upon him and he died. That is why Abel, who offered to God the first-born [lamb], became Lord-loving and not self-loving and that is why, because of his benevolence, he was accepted [by God]. As for Cain, he lawlessly took for himself from the firstlings and [offered] to God from the second [harvest], and that is why he was rejected, because it was said, 'And then it was, after a few days, Cain brought offerings from the fruit

---

of Adam and Eve in the Palestinian Targumim, see García Martínez [2003: 36-39, 41-45]; on the hermeneutic and the homiletic aspects of rabbinic midrashic interpretations of the 'the twin-sisters' subject, see Teugels [2003: 48-49, 51-56]. Some of these alternative matrimonial prototypes were likewise identified in Islamic exegetical writings concerned with the prehistory of mankind; see Rosenthal [1989: 317], Badalanova Geller [2008: 106-111]. The 'twin-sisters' motif will be analysed at length elsewhere.

109. See Feldman, Mason [2000: 21-22], following Ginzberg [1925 (5): 144-145, n. 41], that the idea of Cain's invention of measures is based upon the Hebrew etymology of his name (i.e. *Cain*, interpreted as 'reed' or 'measuring-rod'). Significantly *Midrash Genesis Rabbah* 22.8 records that Cain killed Abel with a measuring instrument, which further employs the pun on Cain's name. See also note 73 (above) and 110 (below).

110. A possible interpolation from Josephus' *Judean Antiquities* [I: 60-62]: 'he did not take his punishment as a warning but searched out every pleasure for his body for increase of his vice, even if it was necessary to have this through insolent behaviour with his companions, and increasing his property through a great quantity of possessions acquired through robbery and force, enticing to pleasure and robbery those who crossed paths with him. He became a teacher of them of wicked activities. And by the invention of measures and weights, he transformed the simple life with that men had previously lived, leading into knavery their life, that had been guileless and magnanimous owing to their ignorance. He was the first to set boundaries of land and built a city and fortified it with walls.' (Quoted after Feldman, Mason [2000: 21-22]).

111. Gen. 4: 16 MT has Nod, LXX has Naid, and Josephus' *Judean Antiquities* [I: 60] has Nais.

> of the land.' That is why Cain was rebuked, because he did not offer from the first fruits to God, but after a couple of days, from the second [harvest].>[112]

It is rather obvious, that the contextual framework in which the chronicler recounts the episode about the death of Cain is not chosen by chance; inserted within the list of Cain's vices and sins (e.g. the flawed sacrifice, the fratricide, the invention of weights and measures, the design of field borders, the commencement of wars), the 'accidental' fall of the house is not to be comprehended as 'accidental' at all; instead, it is presented as an allegorical manifestation of Divine Justice.[113] Following this line of argument, the chronicler is eager to clarify in his account the main reason as to why the offering of Cain was rejected: he consumed the first fruits himself while offered the left-overs to God – hence his punishment. Thus the narrative unfolds not only as an exegetical explanation, but also as a theological dispute. As noted by Kugel [1998: 158], Philo was among the first to formulate the idea 'that Cain's sacrifice was in itself flawed or inferior to Abel's – since it was offered 'after some days' and was apparently *not* of the first fruits.'[114]

In fact, some Slavonic apocryphal sources present renditions which parallel the account from *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* concerning the rejected sacrifice of Cain; emphasised in them is the motif that he consumed the fruits of the first harvest, instead of offering them to God (hence the punishment). One such case is the aforementioned[115] sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the apocryphal *Legend About the Sea of Tiberias*. In the later versions of the apocryphon, however, the motif of the flawed sacrifice triggers an additional storyline concerned with the fratricide (i.e. killing Abel with a stone) and the subsequent sufferings of Cain, who was condemned to regurgitate perpetually

112. Author's translation.
113. See note 104 above.
114. See Philo's *Question and Answers on Genesis* 1: 64:
> To give thanks to God is right in itself specifically, but it is blameworthy that He should not receive them first [that is, right away] nor receive the first of the new produce. For it is not proper to offer the best things to that which is created, namely, oneself, and the second to the All-knowing. (Quoted after Kugel [1998: 158]).

See also the discussion in Grypeou and Spurling [2013: 117-119].
115. See note 90 above.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

'the first fruit' which he failed to offer as a sacrifice to God, but consumed it himself instead. This is how the eighteenth-century redaction (entitled *Copied from the divine books of the diligent and God-loving men, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Damascene about the most glorious debates on mysterious issues concerning the Eternal Lord, our God, how God Sabaoth preceded all visible and invisible creatures* [Трудолѧбнвыхъ мужей н бг҃олюбнвыхъ спнсанo нзъ божествен҃ыхъ кннгъ Васнлıа Велнкаго, Грнгорнꙗ Бг҃ослова, Ꙗоан҃а Дамаскнна о прелавныхъ пренін[x] невѣдомы[x] вещен о бе[з]началнѣ Господѣ Бж҃е наше[м̃] како бысть Г[с]дь Савaофь прє[ж]де всеꙗ внднмыꙗ н невнднмыꙗ тварн])[116] presents the case:

> Н родншa[c] у Ѧдама два сн҃а: Ѧве[а] н Кан҃. Ѧве[а] прннесе Г[с]дь Бг҃у жертву агнецъ тученъ, а Кан҃ прннесе о[т] зе[м]лн хлѣба пре[ж]де Г[с]да са[м] вкусн[а]. Г[с]дь Ѧвелеву жертву прння[а], а Каннa о[т]рыгну[а]. Н завнде Кан҃ Ѧвелю, убн его камене[м̃]. Г[с]дь прннде н рече Канну: почто убнлъ брата своего Ѧвеля? Н заповѣда[а] Г[с]дь звѣрю трн[ж]ды на всякъ день снѣдать н вымета[тъ] н[з] себе акн знаменне трн ста лѣтъ трястн[с] по Ѧвелю, кро[в̃] о[т] кровн о[т]лнватнся.[117]
>
> And two sons were born to Adam, Abel and Cain. Abel offered the Lord God a fat lamb for sacrifice, while Cain presented grain from the earth, but ate from it beforehand. The Lord accepted Abel's sacrifice but rejected Cain's. And Cain envied Abel and killed him with a stone. The Lord came and said to Cain, 'Why did you kill your brother Abel?' And the Lord ordered the beast [i.e. Cain] to eat three times a day and regurgitate [whatever he consumed], and as a sign, to tremble for 300 years after Abel, for blood to run from blood.[118]

In some other versions of the apocryphal *Legend About the Sea of Tiberias* (also dating from the eighteenth century), the motif of 'the righteous versus flawed sacrifice', along with that of the fratricide (including the 'stone' motif) and Cain's subsequent punishment is incorporated into the legend about the origin of funerary rites (otherwise conventionally associated with the burial of Abel):

116. See note 94 above.
117. Badalanova Geller [2013: 81].
118. *Ibid.,* p. 91-92.

Н родншасѧ оу Ꙗдама два сн҃а Ꙗвель н Каннъ; Ꙗвелева дѣла праведна, Ꙗвель же нача пастн агнца а Каннъ нача землю пахать. Ꙗвель прннесе жертвоу Г(с)двн агнецъ тоученъ, а Каннъ прннесе ѿ землн хлѣвъ н прежде Бг҃а самъ вкоусн. Г(с)дь же Бг҃ъ Ꙗвелевоу жертвоу прнатъ, а Канновоу ѿрнноувъ жертву; н завндевъ Каннъ Ꙗвелю н убн его каменемъ. Г(с)дь же прніде н рече Канноу: по(у)то есн убнлъ брата своего Ꙗвела? Заповеда Г(с)дь трнжды на день снедатн, а Канновы жертвы выметыватн нзъ себѧ; н еще авнтъ Г(с)дь на Канне, гл҃етъ, въ трасенне трастнса, повеле пролнтн кровь н за(с)трелнтн Канна; внокъ Ꙗдамовъ Ломехъ, баше убо слепъ, і направнша емоу роукоу слоуга его. Каннъ же лежаше на землн трн лета н не ведаше Ꙗдамъ, что сотворнтн. Г(с)дь же посла две птнцы горлнцы; н убн горлнца горлнцоу н раскопавъ землю похороннвъ ея. Вндаще Ꙗдамъ, тако сотворнлъ, похороннвъ сына своего в землю.[119]

> And two sons are born to Adam: Abel and Cain. Abel's deeds are righteous. Abel began tending sheep whereas Cain began tilling the earth. Abel offered a juicy [lit. fat] lamb as a sacrifice to God, and Cain offered bread from the earth, but tasted it first before God [did]. The Lord God accepted Abel's sacrifice but rejected Cain's sacrifice. And Cain envied Abel and killed him with a stone. God came and said to Cain, 'Why did you kill your brother Abel?' God ordered him to eat three times per day and for Cain's offering to be regurgitated. Reportedly, God made Cain shiver in convulsions; and ordered his blood to be shed and Cain to be shot. Lamech, Adam's grandson, was blind and his servant was guiding his hand. [The dead] Cain was lying on the earth for three years, and Adam did not know what to do [with his body]. God sent two doves, and one dove killed the other and dug the earth, and buried it. Adam, having seen [the bird's burial], did the same and buried his son in the earth.[120]

To return to the storyline of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos*; having portrayed Cain – in accordance with Christian typology – as the archetypal villain, the scribe provides the list of the names of his offspring:

119. Badalanova Geller [2011: 128-129].
120. Badalanova Geller [2011: 133].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

нбо Каннъ роан Еноса, Еносъ же роан Гандада, Гандадъ же роан Малелѣила, Малелѣил же роан Мафоусанлоу, Маѳусанла же роан Ламеха, иже двѣ женѣ себе приведе, Елдиноу и Селоу, тъи роан Ноувела и Фовела. Ноувел' же явн пѣсни и гоусли, Фовел' же молотобиенна мѣдь и желѣзо, ѡв же гоусльми и пѣ͡ми диаволскими козньми замысли, се же копие и ѡроужие даати на брань сказан'нова. Каннованоу же родоу даже и до сеа памати сподоби са унсло ѿуте са, даже ни с пер'вымн утет са ни ѿ проуи исповѣданъ есть.[121]

> Then Cain begot Enos, Enos begot Gaidad, Gaidad begot Maleleil, Maleleil begot Mathusala, Mathusala begot Lamech, who married two wives, Eldina and Sella; he thus gave birth to Yuvel and Fovel. Yuvel invented songs and psalter, while Fovel – metalworking of copper and iron; the former, with psalters and devil's songs, hatched plots; the latter created lances and armour for war. That is why Cain's lineage, as commented hereby [that is, in the *Chronicle*] is to be excluded from the number [of the patriarchs]; it is neither to be counted among the first ones, nor to be mentioned afterwards.[122]

Then again, while compiling the record of the names of Cain's sinful progeny, following the general pattern of Gen. 4: 19-22 (according to which Yuvel [=Jubal] devoted himself to music, while Fovel [=Tubal-Cain] to metalworking), the chronicler finds it important to emphasise that musical instruments and songs are actually the Devil's armaments, just like metalworking produces weapons of war. Thus 'the seed of Cain' is envisaged as an embodiment of evil; hence the statement that the record of Cain's generation (and indeed his entire kin) should be erased altogether from the collective memory anchored in biblical chronology. Last, but not least – the concluding fragment of the 'Cain cycle' in the opening chapter of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* is rhetorically bound by the symbolism of *seven* as a template of Divine economy; the account is concerned with Cain's ultimate sufferings, castigation and punishment: he was pronounced guilty of seven great sins, but the one who was to kill him would be cursed seven times over. That is why Cain – upon whom seven vengeances are put – was to spend his life shaking and mourning but no one was allowed to kill him.[123]

---

121. Quoted after Istrin [1920: 32].

122. Author's translation.

123. For vernacular interpretations of some of the above listed motifs see the Appendix (texts 1.2, 1.4).

One final point. Although in the Slavonic redactions of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* there is no explicit reference to the stone as a murder weapon, the dormant memory of this detail is conveyed in the statement that Cain's house collapsed upon him, thus causing his death. This recognisable wording – which bears the hallmark of *Jubilees* – suggests that the compiler/copyist of the protograph of *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos* must have been aware of this tradition. Furthermore the contemporary apocryphal sources (e.g. *The Legend of the Sea of Tiberias* and related erotapocritic writings) – which continued to convey the *Jubilees* motif of the murder weapon in the fratricide drama being a *stone* – provide crucial evidence supporting this line of argument.

To sum up, an examination of the Slavonic witnesses provided above indicates that the scribes in *Slavia Orthodoxa* must have been aware of the *Jubilees* version of the legend of Cain's death, albeit in its much later permutations. After all, they reflect the amazing vitality of a robust tradition which originated in Jewish writings composed in second century BCE, then permeated not only Rabbbinical exegesis but also the Christian iconography of Byzantium, and finally got infiltrated into the humble indigenous apocrypha composed in the last *lingua sacra* of Europe, Old Church Slavonic. An astonishing record.

4. *Jubilees* Narrative Template in Slavonic Oral Tradition and Apocryphal Writings: Calendar As *Converted* Chronography

Not only is the *Jubilees* motif of Cain killing his brother with a stone prominently featured in Slavonic apocryphal literature and iconography, but it has also spread deeply into oral tradition. One such case is the cycle of Russian folk spiritual rhymes [духовные стихи], entitled *Concerning the Twelve Fridays*.[124] According to this type of Christian vernacular epos (presented as a calendrically anchored list of 'the Twelve Holy/Great Fridays' to be observed during the entire year), the fratricide took place on the first week of Easter Lent.[125]

On the other hand, a parallel narrative about the importance of the celebration of 'the Twelve Fridays' cycle was also attested

124. See the Appendix (text 1.1).

125. See the texts of the songs published by Bezsonov [1864: 120-131 (№ № 579-581), 138-144 (№ 584,), 148-152 (№ 586)]; see also Sumtsov [1888: 127-130].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

in apocryphal literature (represented by a cluster of writings designated as *The Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays*);[126] some scholars consider this type of composition to be the source for the oral tradition. However, although the scheme of 'the Twelve Fridays' presented in the apocryphal texts is similar to that appearing in their folklore counterparts, there is one important difference between them: the stone motif is omitted from the Cain and Abel apocryphal account, whereas it features in folk songs (thus paralleling the iconographic scheme).

The apocryphal *Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays* is known in two redactions, designated as the Eleutherian,[127] and the Clementenian,[128] with the earliest extant copies coming from the thirteenth century. The purported author of the latter is believed to be Saint Clement, while the former is attributed to a certain Christian Eleutherius, who reportedly engaged in fierce discussions with a Jew (whose name was Tarasia, a vernacular corruption of Pharisee) concerning the supremacy of their respective faiths. The story of their encounter betrays awareness of anti-Jewish polemics of *Palaea Interpretata*. The apocryphon tells us that the son of the Jew Tarasia, whose name was Malachia, attended the debates between his father and his Christian opponent; when the dispute reached its climax, the Jew asked

126. See the Appendix (part 2). For further information regarding text witnesses consult Tikhonravov [1863 (2): 323-335], Bezsonov [1864: 153-157 (№ № 587-590), Novaković [1872: 24-28], Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 326-367; 1877 (191: 5): 76-125], Sokolov [1888: 51-57], Lavrov [1899: 107-110], Franko [1906 (4): 81-88], Tzonev [1910: 102, 133, 256, 317], Salmina [1989: 358-359], Tolstaia [2005: 543-562], Rozhdestvenskaia [2000: 242-247, 392-395; 2008: 185-188, 295-297], Amosova [2012: 120-127], Lourié [2012: 136-150]; for the *Indices of Prohibited Books* in which the apocryphal *Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays* is listed, see Iatsimirskii [1921: 44-45]. For a bibliographical survey of studies on the topic, see Bulanin [2012: 368-369].

127. The Eleutherian redaction has attestations only in Slavonic witnesses; see Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 334-344; 1877 (191: 5): 76-86], Lourié [2012: 146-150]. See also the Appendix, part 2.

128. For a survey of Slavonic, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Provencal, English and German MSS containing the Clementenian redaction of the apocryphal *Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays* see Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 329-334], Lourié [2012: 139-146]; an exhaustive catalogue of the Western MSS containing the apocryphon is offered recently by S. Ivanov [2011: 561-572; 2014: 347-367].

the Christian a question as to whether he was aware of the 'cryptic account' of the legendary 'Twelve Fridays'. But before the Christian was about to acknowledge his defeat, Malachia (in his father's absence!) revealed to Eleutherius the secret: according to the boy's testimony, his ancestors learned about the 'Twelve Fridays' from a certain mysterious manuscript, once in the possession of a Christian who was captured by them and put to death; however, after their having read it, the Jews swore to never reveal its content to Christians. When Tarasia found out about Malachia's betrayal, which in fact desecrated his ancestors' covenant, he slit his son's throat and then killed himself. This violent scenario – as if emerging from the passionate fabric of classical Greek tragedy – is in fact a phenomenon which modern social anthropologists would classify as a *sui generis* rhetorical device; its symbolic discourse is that of a collective testimony to the turbulent Judaeo-Christian encounters accompanying the co-existence of the two confessions. It takes into consideration not only the dramatic rivalry between them, but also – and more importantly – argues for their mutual interdependence. The troubled history of the alleged origins of the mysterious manuscript containing 'the pristine' protograph of *The Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays* – purportedly circulating from Christian, then to Jewish, and then again to Christian hands – is interpreted as evidence confirming a certain symbolic sacred genealogy, be it that of the manuscript, or that of the people possessing it. Paradoxically enough, one simple declaration emerges from the apocryphal *Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays*, that the ritual observance of these festivals was compulsory for either Christians or Jews, regardless of their confessional identity. And last but not least, what the apocryphal *Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays* implies is that neither Jews nor Christians ever contested *the content* of the text but only its intellectual pedigree. The dispute was not about the substance of the text or about its authenticity, but about clarification of its authorship and the legitimacy of its intellectual lineage.

The analysis of both the folklore and apocryphal sources in which the tradition of 'the Twelve Fridays' is attested reveals a calendar scheme, based on a *Jubilees*-like structure (see the discussion in the Appendix, part 2). The salient point is that *The Twelve Fridays* apocryphon organises events known from the Old and New Testament and even later annals into a regular

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

chronological framework in which the basic unit of division is the week (like in *Jubilees*). In neither text is the week actually to be understood literally, since in *Jubilees* it functions as a subdivision of the jubilee-period of 49 years, while in *The Twelve Fridays* the chronology is divided into 12 weeks (indicated by Fridays) in which the most significant events happen. These are the Fall from Paradise, the Fratricide, the Crucifixion, the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the Islamic Conquest, the Babylonian Exile, the Ten Plagues in Egypt, the subsequent spread of Islam (reaching Constantinople), Beheading of John the Baptist, Moses Dividing the Red Sea, Commemoration of the Ark of the Covenant, and the Massacre of the Innocents. Each of these reminiscences is celebrated in the annual Christian calendar by festivals, and the scheme differs somewhat in oral folklore texts.

As late as 1981, the present author found among the Bulgarian Diaspora in Bessarabia hand-written calendars, which village ladies were copying for each other and these included reference to the celebrations of the 'Twelve Fridays', along the lines of the *Twelve Fridays* apocryphon.[129] The customs related to the festivals of 'the Twelve Fridays' were not, however, encouraged by the Church. Still, in an eighteenth-century compilation composed by the Bulgarian monk named Joseph the Bearded (Йосиф Братати), we find the following treatise against the observance of certain 'vernacular female festivals', among which he includes 'the Twelve Fridays'.[130] Here follows a fragment of his treatise:

> I am asking you to tell me, where did you learn about [these holidays] and who told you to celebrate such demonic festivals? No one was able to tell me from where you took it. Since you cannot tell me, let me tell you. Once upon a time there were two old women, the name of the first being Grandma Drusa, who was divining with lead and chanting over water. The name of the other was Grandma Petka,[131] who was divining with wax. These two were magicians and witches who knew much about healing; they celebrated the Twelve Fridays in the year. In those days were two priests, Torno and Migno, and the old lady Drusa came to the priest Torno and told him to write the account concerning the Twelve Fridays, since the priest Torno was literate.

129. Published in Badalanova [1990: 98, 101-102].
130. The text was published by Donka Petkanova [1990: 335-342].
131. An obvious a pun on the Slavonic word for Friday.

> Drusa was dictating and the priest Torno was writing; and he wrote the following, 'the first Friday is on the 2nd of March; the second Friday is the eve of the Annunciation; the third Friday is the eve of the Resurrection; the fourth Friday is the eve of the Feast Day of the Evangelist Mark; the fifth Friday is the eve of the Pentecost; the sixth Friday is the eve of the Feast Day of St. Peter; the seventh Friday is the eve of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary; the eighth is the eve of the beheading of John the Baptist; the ninth Friday is the eve of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; the tenth Friday is after the Exaltation of Holy Cross; the eleventh is the eve of the Feast Day of the Apostle Andrey; the twelfth Friday is the eve of the Nativity of Christ. While Priest Torno was writing this, the other old lady was divining with wax and it was revealed to her that it would be good to add in other festivals [...], including that women should not spin on Friday and some Tuesdays, along with some Mondays. This is what the priest Migno wrote, along with many other sinful things. Then the two priests, Torno and Migno, along with the two old ladies, gathered many simple people, both men and women, who were witches and magicians, as well as men who were fornicators and non-believers, who smoke and drink. Having gathered together, they arrived at a certain hill. Priests Torno and Migno – these two lawless men – put on their [priestly] garments and held a service, thus proclaiming that no one should work on these festivals.[132]

Although the approach to the festivals listed in this account is different from the Russian redactions of *The Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays*,[133] the same pattern is emerging: the scheme of the *Twelve Fridays*' cycle is similar in both accounts. Nevertheless, the very choice of this scheme is clearly calendrical in orientation, since it reflects the months of the year, as if history could be divided into the same annual pattern in which these events are celebrated in the Christian festival calendar. Another noteworthy feature of the *Twelve Fridays* are references to fluctuations in their observance, reflecting discrepancies between solar and lunar cycles, which are also relevant to the *Jubilees* calendar. In essence, *Jubilees* appears to be the model upon which the *Twelve Fridays* is based, both in written and oral renditions.

132. Author's translation based on Petkanova's publication of the text [*ibid.*, p. 342].

133. See the Appendix (Part 2).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

5. Remembering Gaster

Rabbi Moses Gaster, the Haham of the Sephardi Jewish Community in Britain, was among the first to discuss the impact of *Jubilees* upon Byzantine Christian tradition; in fact, his *Ilchester Lectures on Greeko–Slavonic Literature and Its Relation to the Folk-Lore of Europe During the Middle Ages* [1887], in which he drew attention to the contribution of Slavonic literary tradition to medieval Christian heritage, founded the study of Slavonic apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in England. In this pioneering work he argued that 'the Greek *Bible Historiale*, the original for the *Palaea*', arose out of the *Book of Jubilees*, 'which till that time was very well known, and quoted by nearly every Byzantine chronicler. [...] The *Book of Jubilees* was known to the fathers of the Church as early as the fourth century; and down to the sixth century they, as well as the Byzantine writers, cite large passages from it; while from that time no trace of that book is left. It had been absorbed by the *Bible Historiale*.'[134]

As nearly always, Gaster proved to be right.

Appendix

Part 1 - Oral tradition

Text № 1.1
Concerning the 12 Fridays

The following text of the folk spiritual stanza *Concerning the 12 Fridays* [О двѣнадцати пятницахъ] was recorded by a certain Dm. Valuev [запис. Дм. А. Валуевымъ] in the Simbirsk Guberniya of the Russian Empire; it was published in 1864 by P. Bezsonov in Part 6 (*Epic Songs*: *Biblical, Old and New* [*Стихи былевые*: *библейскіе, старшіе и младшіе*]) of his anthology of vernacular Christian poetry *Wandering Singers of Tales* [*Калѣки перехожіе* (*Сборник стихов*)], p. 120-124 (Text № 579). It represents the Clementenian redaction.

1. Come along my brothers and listen,
to God's writings and teachings
of St. Clement, Pope of Rome,
concerning the Twelve Great Fridays.

134. See Gaster [1887: 163-164].

The first Great Friday [falls]
in the first week of Easter-Lent.
On this Great Friday,
a brother killed a brother, Cain killed Abel,
killed him with a stone.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from sudden death
he will be saved and will have God's mercy.
The 2nd Great Friday
is on the eve of the Annunciation of our Lord.
On this Great Friday,
Jesus Christ Himself was incarnated
by the Holy Spirit in His Mother, the Most Holy Theotokos.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
he will be saved from inner sorrow
and will have God's mercy.
The 3rd Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of the most holy Resurrection of Christ;
on this Great Friday
Jesus Christ Himself was crucified;
Jews together with Pilates[135] crucified Christ.
Together with sages and Pharisees
they spilled His blood rapidly.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from rapid bloodshed
he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
The 4th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of the Ascension[136]
of our Lord Jesus Christ;
Christ ascended to heavens
with the heavenly host,
and with John the Baptist.

135. For Pontius Pilate's role in the events leading to the Crucifixion of Jesus, see Matthew 27: 2-24, Mark 15: 1-14, Luke 23: 1-24, John 18: 33-40. In the current song, the name of Pilate is used in plural form, thus functioning as an ethnonym (i.e. Jew —Jews; Pilate — Pilates).

136. Forty Days after Easter; see Luke 24: 50-53, Mark 16: 19, Acts 1: 9-11.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from water and flood
he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
The 5th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of the Life-Begetting Trinity;[137]
the Lord Jesus Christ Himself descended
and showed His face in Trinity,
releasing His Holy Spirit on the earth.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
he will be saved from toothache
and will have God's mercy.
The 6th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of [the Feast] of Elijah, the prophet of the Lord.[138]
On this Great Friday,
the prophet Elijah was taken to the heavens
in a fiery chariot.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from fire and from flames
he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
The 7th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of the [Feast of the] Transfiguration of our Lord the Savior.[139]
On this Great Friday,
Jesus Christ Himself transfigured
and showed His disciples His glory.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from the suffering from fever and shivering
he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.

137. The Feast of *Troitsa* [*Троица*, *Пятидесятница*, *Сошествие Святого Духа*] (or Pentecost), observed fifty days after Easter.

138. The Feast of the Holy Prophet Elijah [*Ильин день*], observed 20 July/2 August; cf. 2 Kings 2: 1-11.

139. The Feast of the Transfiguration [*Преображение*], observed 6/19 August.

The 8th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos.[140]
On this Great Friday,
the Most Holy Theotokos passed away.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from sudden death
he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
The 9th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of St. John the Baptist's beheading.[141]
On this Great Friday,
King Herod severed the head of John,
for the sake of faith in Christ.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from headache and insomnia
he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
The 10th Great Friday
[falls] on the eve of [the Feast of the] Archangel Michael.[142]
On this Great Friday,
the very [Saint] Piatnisa[143] Praskoveia[144] suffered
during [the reign of] the unholy King Max,[145]
[and] breathed her last for the faith in Christ.
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
from sudden suffering

140. Observed 15/28 August.

141. Observed 29 August /11 September.

142. The Feast of the Archangel Michael (*Собор Архистратига Михаила и прочих Небесных сил бесплотных*) is observed 8/21 November.

143. In Slavonic, the appellation 'Saint Piatnisa' (*Святая Пятница*) means 'Saint Friday'. The day of Saint *Параскева-Пятница* is observed on 14/28 October. There are several female saints under the name of Saint Paraskeva; in this case perhaps the storyteller refers to Saint Paraskevi of Iconium, a virgin martyr who suffered death during the persecution of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (303-311).

144. From the Greek Παρασκευή.

145. Perhaps Maxentius (a Roman Emperor from 306 to 312).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
On the 11th Great Friday,
Jesus Christ Himself was born
of His Mother, the Most Holy Theotokos.[146]
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
[when he is to die], then will descend from Heaven
the Most Holy Theotokos, and she
will take his soul in her hands
and take it to the Kingdom of Heaven,
and he will be saved
and will have God's mercy.
The 12th Great Friday:
on this Great Friday,
Jesus Christ Himself was baptized
in the holy River Jordan
along with the Heavenly Elijah
and Saint John the Baptist.[147]
Whoever fasts on this Friday
[and observes] fasting and praying,
his name will be [written in the Book] of Christ the Lord.
When this man dies,
he will inherit the Kingdom of the Lord,
he will be saved from eternal evil sufferings
and will have God's mercy.
Now listen, people of the Lord,
Orthodox Christians,
You may observe fasting on
the Twelve Great Fridays
along with other [holidays in the annual] cycle,
appointed [to be celebrated] in the eve of different festivals,
in faith and love,
obedience and submission,
fasting and prayer.
Whoever does not fast on these Fridays,
[and does not observe] fasting and praying,
or husband and wife have

146. The Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ (*Рождество Христово*) is observed 25 December /7 January.

147. The Feast of the Baptism of Jesus Christ (*Крещение Господне*) is observed 6 /19 January.

any encounter of the flesh,
from them an unruly child will be born,
either a thief or a brigand,
either a fornicator, or a pimp,
dominant of all [evil] deeds on earth.
When this man dies
he will not inherit the Heavenly Kingdom;
he will be condemned to eternal suffering
and cursed sins,
eternal sins.
Jesus Christ have mercy upon us!

О двѣнадцати пятницахъ

Пріидите, братія, послушайте
Писанія Божія, поученія
Святого Климента, Папы Римскаго,
Про двѣнадесять великія Пятницы.
Первая великая Пятница
На первой недѣлѣ поста Великаго:
Въ ту великую Пятницу
Убилъ братъ брата, Каинъ Авеля,
Убилъ его каменіемъ.
Кто эту Пятницу станетъ поститься
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ напраснаго отъ убійства
Сохраненъ будетъ и помилованъ отъ Бога.
Вторая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Благовѣщенья Бога нашего:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Воплотился Самъ Исусъ Христосъ
Святымъ Духомъ въ Мать Пресвятую Богородицу;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ нутреней скорби сохраненъ будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Господа.
Третья великая Пятница
Супротивъ Свѣтлаго Христова Воскресенія:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Распятъ былъ Самъ Исусъ Христосъ,
Распинали Жиды Христа со Пилатами,
Со книжницами и съ фарисеями,
Проливали кровь напрасную;

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Кто въ эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ напраснаго кроволитія
Сохраненъ же будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Четвертая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Вознесенья
Господа нашего Іисуса Христа:
Вознесся Христосъ на небеса
Со силами небесными,
Съ Іоанномъ Крестителемъ;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ воды и потопа
Сохраненъ же будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Пятая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Троицы Живоначальной:
Сходилъ Самъ Господь Исусъ Христосъ,
Показалъ Онъ въ Троицѣ лице Свое,
Пускалъ по землѣ Свой Святой Духъ;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ зубной боли сохраненъ же будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Шестая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Илія пророка Божія:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Взять Илія пророкъ на небеса,
На колесницѣ на огненной;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ огня отъ пламя
Сохраненъ же будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Седьмая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Спаса Преображенія Бога нашего:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Преобразился Самъ Исусъ Христосъ,
Показалъ Онъ славу ученикамъ Своимъ;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,

Отъ трясущей скорби[148]
Сохраненъ будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Восьмая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Успенія Пресвятой Богородицы:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Преставилась Пресветая Богородица;
И кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ напрасной смерти
Сохраненъ будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Девятая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Іоанна Предтечи,
Отсѣченія главы:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Царь Иродъ Іоанну главу отсѣкъ
За вѣру Христову;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ безсонной главной болѣзни
Сохраненъ будетъ
И помилованъ от Бога.
Десятая великая Пятница
Супротивъ Михаила Архангела:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Сама Пятница Прасковья мучилася,
У Царя у Макса она у невѣрнаго,
Умирала за вѣру Христову;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Отъ напраснаго мученія
Сохраненъ будетъ
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Первую на десять великую Пятницу
Народился Самъ Исусъ Христосъ
Отъ Матери Пресвятой Богородицы:
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою;
Тогда сойдетъ съ небесъ

148. Bezsonov's comment: Отъ трясавицы, лихорадки.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Пресвятая Богородица,
Возметъ душу на руцы,
Вознесетъ въ Царствіе Небесное,
И сохраненъ будетъ,
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
Вторая на десять великая Пятница:
Въ тую великую Пятницу
Окрестился Самъ Исусъ Христосъ
Во святой рѣкѣ во Іорданѣ,
Со Ильею со небеснымъ,
Со свѣтомъ со Іоанномъ со Крестителемъ;
Кто эту станетъ Пятницу поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Будетъ имя у Христа Бога,[149]
Тотъ умреть человѣкъ, –
И наслѣдуетъ себѣ Царствіе Божіе,
Избавленъ злой муки предвѣчныя,
И помилованъ отъ Бога.
А вы слушайте, народъ Божій,
Христіане Православные:
Поимѣйте вы посту
Двѣ на десять великія Пятницы,
Супротивъ окружныхъ[150]
Иззабранныхъ противъ праздниковъ,
Вѣрою и любовію,
Кротостью и смиреніемъ,
Постомъ и молитвою.
Кто не станетъ эти Пятницы поститися
Постомъ и молитвою,
Или мужь съ женою пребудучи
На плотское на похотѣніе,
Породится отъ нихъ дѣтище недоброе,
Либо воръ, либо разбойникъ,
Блудникъ либо сводникъ будетъ,
Всѣмъ мірскимъ дѣламъ оставщикъ;[151]
Тотъ человѣкъ умретъ, –

149. Bezsonov's comment: Т. е. написано.
150. Bezsonov's comment: Въ годовомъ кругу.
151. Bezsonov's comment: Уставщикъ: здѣсъ мірскія дѣла противупоставлены духовнымъ, душеспасительнымъ. Такъ осмыслено: но собственно должно быть «мерзкимъ дѣламъ наставщикъ».

И не наслѣдуеть себѣ Царствіе небесное,
Отрѣшенъ на муки на предвѣчныя,
На грѣхи на окаянные,
На тѣ грѣхи на предвѣчные.
Христе Боже, и помилуй насъ!

Text № 1.2
Cain and Abel

The text was first published in 1864 by P. Bezsonov in his anthology *Wandering Singers of Tales* [*Калеки Перехожие* (*Сборник стихов*)], Part 6 (*Epic Songs*: *Biblical, Old and New* [*Стихи былевые*: *библейскіе, старшіе и младшіе*]), p. 1 (Text № 525).

The Lord said to Cain,
'Where is your brother, Cain?'
'Lord, I am not
my brother's keeper.'
Then the Lord said to Cain,
'Cain, why do you speak untruth?
Do you wish to conceive something from Me?
His blood is crying out to Me.'
Then Cain confessed,
and started crying and lamenting,
'O woe is me, I transgressed!
O my Lord, I transgressed!
Don't wish for me to be killed.'
Then God put a sign
on Cain
and ordered him to walk on earth, trembling.
Cain then went along on the earth,
trembling,
and he started moaning and crying,
lamenting and bitterly weeping.

Text № 1.3
The Lament of Cain

The text was first published in 1864 by P. Bezsonov in his anthology *Wandering Singers of Tales* [*Калеки Перехожие* (*Сборник стихов*)], Part 6 (*Epic Songs*: *Biblical, Old and New* [*Стихи Былевые: Библейские, Старшие и Младшие*]), p. 2 (Text №

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

526). It comes from a seventeenth-century Ms., accompanied by a neume-type [‘на древних крюках’] music notation.

Woe is me, the sinner!
Woe is me, the outcast!
Where am I going and where am I running to?
In heavens I would have lived on my own,
and in Hell I will be with death.
In the depth of the sea,
Your hand, my Master, [will be with me],
since strong and mighty is God,
since great and most wise is the Lord.

Text № 1.4
The Lord said to Cain

The text was first was published in 1864 by P. Bezsonov in his *Wandering Singers of Tales* [*Калеки Перехожие* (*Сборник стихов*)], Part 6 (*Epic Songs*: *Biblical, Old and New* [*Стихи Былевые: Библейские, Старшие и Младшие*]); see p. 2-3 (Text № 527).

The Lord said to Cain,
‘Cain, where is your brother?’
‘My Lord, I am not
my brother’s keeper.’
God further said to Cain,
‘Cain, why are you speaking falsehoods?
Do you want to keep something secret from Me?
His blood is crying out to Me.’
Cain confessed.
He started crying and lamenting,
‘Woe is me, I transgressed!
O my Lord, I transgressed!
Don’t wish for me to be killed.’
And God put a sign
on Cain
and ordered him
to walk on the earth, staggering;
and Cain set off and walked on earth,
staggering.
He started crying and lamenting,
moaning and bitterly weeping.

'Woe is me, the sinner!
Woe is me, the outcast!
Where am I going to go and run to?
If to Heaven, to live on my own?
If to Hell, to conquer death?
In the depth of the sea
will be Your hand, my Lord,
as might and strong is God,
and great and most wise is the Lord.'

Part 2 – Apocryphal tradition

Text № 2.1
The Legend Concerning the Twelve Fridays

The text below represents the Eleutherian redaction of the apocryphon. The Ms. containing it is dated to the fifteenth century; it is kept on the Palaeographic Collection of the Russian National Library (РНБ, собр. Софийское, № 1264, fols 7-9). The account was first published by N. Tikhonravov [1863 (2): 323–327].

Account of Eleouferiia[152] Concerning the Twelve Fridays
To the West is a land called Laura,[153] in which there is a large city called Sheptail, inhabited by many Jews. They had disputes with the local Christians, occasionally in the markets or occasionally in the streets or occasionally at the city gates. They were fighting with each other during the reign of King Karian.[154] Then Jews gathered together and said to the Christians, 'For how long will we and our children quarrel? Choose among yourselves someone who is a wise philosopher, while we will find another philosopher who understands the word of God, and we will hear them out. If your philosopher overcomes ours, we will be baptised, and if some among us refuse to convert, they will be subjected by you

152. This is obviously a corrupted form of the name Eleutherius (deriving from ἐλευθερία, lit. 'Liberator').

153. This could be a corruption of Palmyra, but also a pun on *lavra* (Λαύρα) as 'monastery', since the Syrian desert was 'the classical place' of monastic settlements.

154. Can this refer to Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, legate governor of Syria (fl. 51 BCE-21 CE)? During his rule there was a census, which was resented by the Jews. In fact, Quirinius is mentioned by name in the Gospel of Luke 2: 2 in connection with the census taken at the time of Jesus' birth.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

to great tribulations. [However, if our philosopher defeats yours, you will convert to our faith.]' They said this, placing hope in their wise philosopher, and Christians liked their proposition. They chose among themselves a God-fearing man who name was El'ouferiia. As for the Jews, they chose a philosopher of their own, whose name was Tarasia[155]. They began disputing, having met in a temple, and although they had been arguing for many hours, they were never without an audience. The Jew brought along his son. When [the two philosophers] went into a deep [spiritual][156] discussion, [the Christian philosopher exclaimed], 'O Master, All-seeing, help El'feriia,[157] so that he may defeat the Jew.' The Jew became irate though, full of rage and anger, and with an angry heart and with fury in his eyes he said to the Christian, 'I know that you defeated me. Your faith is the

155. The name Tarasia is a corruption of the term Pharisee [фарисей] (with /f/ rendered as /t/).

156. In other versions of the texts an additional phrase is inserted: « въ зборѣ томъ внидоша въ глубокиѧ книги » [Tikhonravov 1863(2): 330], or « егда же вънидоше въ книжные глъбины » [Lavrov 1899: 107], etc. The Russian adjective denoting 'deep', 'profound' [глубокая] can be a cognate form of (but also a pun on) the much disputed stock epithet 'голубиная' / 'глубинная' (as in the stock phrase 'Голубиная книга'), which designates a particular cycle of Russian vernacular spiritual stanzas (духовные стихи), the title of which is conventionally interpreted as 'The Rhyme of the Book of the Dove' ['Стих о Голубиной книге']. On the other hand, the stock phrase 'Голубиная книга' may be rendered in some of the versions of the poem as 'Глубинная книга'; considering the specific semantic diapason of the Russian form for 'depth' [глубь], meaning both 'profundity' and 'wisdom', the connotation of the term 'Глубинная книга' may be thus construed accordingly as 'the Deep / Innate / Profound / Unfathomable / Impenetrable / Incomprehensible / Secret Book'; indeed, the spiritual poems marked by this title contain elaborate cosmogonies and anthropogonies relating the deep, holy secrets of Creation of the Universe and Man; they are written in a mysteriously sealed, divine Book which descends from Heaven to Earth. Then again, as pointed out by James Russell, the form 'dove' [голубь], 'referring presumably to the Holy Spirit, may have been a *narratio facilior* for an original "depth" [глубь]'; see Russell [2009: 142]. Following this line of argument, it may be suggested that the stock phrase 'Голубиная книга' may be also interpreted as 'The Book of the Holy Spirit', or perhaps, 'The Book of the Emanation of the Holy Spirit'. Therefore in the current text I am tempted to interpret the concept of 'deep' (as applied to knowledge) as 'spiritual wisdom'. See also the discussion in Rozhdestvenskaia [2000: 394].

157. Here is a different spelling of the name.

true one and ours is false. In a similar way, Moses had a vision on Mt. Sinai,[158] whereas the truth was revealed to you [i.e. Christians] through the Virgin Mary;[159] because our prophets prophesized and your apostles pointed out concerning Him [i.e. Jesus] that He came with them, taking the image of a servant.'
Having said this, the Jew told the Christian, 'I see that you are a wise man. Don't you know about the Twelve [Great] Fridays, which are for the benefit of your soul?' And having said that, he left since it was beyond his strength to remain inside, as he was sadly disturbed. But his son, whose name was Malkh, remained there and the Christian asked him, 'Do you know about the Twelve [Great] Fridays, about which your father was speaking?' He said, 'Yes, I know that our ancestors captured a certain Christian, one of your apostles, and they took a scroll from him on which it was written about the Twelve [Great] Fridays. They put him to a bitter death. Having read through the scroll, they threw it into the fire. And between us, we are still under oath to keep it [that is, the content of the scroll] secret from Christians. I know that your faith is good and my soul is thirsting for it.' And he [Malkh] began revealing it [that is, the content of the scroll] all from beginning to end.
The Jew came back and said, 'Are you disturbed by [my question] concerning the Twelve [Great] Fridays?' That one [the Christian] opened his mouth and told him everything. The Jew said to him, 'I swear by the Almighty,[160] [how is it possible for you to know] what is not known to Christians? My son must have told you about this.' He took out a knife and cut his son's throat and then killed himself.
As for me, brothers, having learned about this from the Jew, I did not keep it to myself but wrote it down for all Christians.

158. Cf. Exodus 3: 1-22.

159. In Eastern Orthodoxy 'the Burning Bush' (« Неопалимая Купина », lit. 'the bush being burnt without being consumed') is regarded as a prefiguration of the miracle of the Immaculate conception of Jesus Christ. There is a special iconographic type in *Slavia Orthodoxa* (designated as 'Theotokos the Burning Bush') depicting the Virgin Mary as the God Bearer; she is portrayed in the middle of the bush engulfed by flames but not consumed by it. It is held that the miracle of the Burning Bush took place in the vicinity of Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai.

160. Reading suggested on the basis of the wording in the Slavonic text in which the theonym ѧдѧнаи́л functions as domesticated form of Adonai.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The First [Great] Friday is on the 6th day of March, in which Adam trespassed God's order and was chased out of Paradise.[161] On the 2nd [Great] Friday, on the eve of the Feast of the Annunciation,[162] Cain killed out of jealousy his brother Abel, who was the first deceased on earth.[163] On the 3rd [Great] Friday, which is Good Friday, Jesus our Lord was crucified in the 9th hour of the day, in order to save those who were lost, according to the pledge.[164] On the 4th [Great] Friday, on the eve of the Ascension of the Lord,[165] Sodom and Gomorrah and another three cities were flooded in one day.[166] On the 5th [Great] Friday, on the eve of the Descent of the Holy Spirit [i.e. Pentecost],[167] the offspring of Hagar conquered many lands and chased their inhabitants to the island of Crete. There they ate camel flesh and drank the blood of goats, and there on this island they were multiplying.[168] On the 6th [Great] Friday, on the eve of the Shrovetide,[169] in the 2nd hour, Jerusalem was captured by Chaldaeans in the time

161. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 335].

162. Celebrated March 25/7 April; see Luke 1: 26-39.

163. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 336].

164. Cf. John 10: 1-17, 1 Peter 2: 25; see also Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 336].

165. Forty Days after Easter; see Luke 24: 50-53; Mark 16: 19; Acts 1: 9-11.

166. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 336].

167. Cf. Acts 2: 1-18.

168. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 336-337].

169. Lit. 'abstaining from meat'. This most probably refers to the pre-Lenten season, the beginning of which falls on Sunday and marks the start of the ninth week before Easter (which is also the third week before Lent). For the purposes of liturgical practices it is designated by the term *Septuagesima*, which is 'inaugurated in Roman Martyrology by the words: *Septuagesima Sunday, on which the canticle of the Lord, Alleluja, ceases to be said*' (see *Catholic Encyclopaedia*). It is followed by *Sexagesima*, the eight Sunday before Easter and the second before Lent; among Orthodox Christians it commences the period during which the consummation of meat is forbidden (hence *Dominica Carnisprivii*, the classical period for carnival celebrations, merry-making and mask rituals). Then comes *Quinquagesima*, during which commences the period of abstaining from milk products; it marks the beginning of the penitential season of Lent. The term *Quinquagesima* is also applied to the period between the Saturday after Easter to the Sunday after Pentecost (i.e. *Quinquagesima Paschae paschalis*). There are nine weeks between *Septuagesima Sunday* and Easter, which adds up to 63 days.

of the Prophet Jeremiah, when the Great Captivity took place.[170] Then Jerusalem stood [desolate] for 63 years [of the Babylonian captivity].[171] Then they [the Judeans] were sitting by the rivers of Babylon and wept, hanging up their harps.[172] Then those who took them captive asked them, 'Sing to us the songs of Zion, and of sons of Israel.' They replied, 'We are not going to sing songs before resettling in our [own] land.'[173] This is why the Catholics [lit. Romans] sing [in Latin] 'Hallelujah', instead of 'Glory to the Father and Son' [in the period starting] from the Sunday before our Shrovetide[174] until the Good Saturday,[175] which is altogether 63 days.[176] There is also a [Great] Friday which falls in the 2nd [week] of July, and it fluctuates [in the calendar]; this is the 7th [Great] Friday, [celebrated] on the eve of the Feast Day of St. Peter,[177] when the Lord sent 10 plagues on the land of the Egyptians via the hands of Moses and Aaron, turning the water in their rivers into blood, in the 5th hour of the day.[178] On the 8th [Great] Friday, on the eve of the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos,[179] Ishmaelites appeared under sail in the sea and took captive many people and lands, reaching Great Rome to the West, and ruled for 63 years, during which time they dispersed on the face of the earth according to God's will.[180]

---

170. In Christian exegesis it is held that the *Septuagesima* is an allegorical representation of the period of the Babylonian captivity 'would have it begin with this Sunday on which the Sacramentaries and Antiphonaries give the Introit *Circumdederunt me undique* and end with the Saturday after Easter, when the Church sings *Eduxit Dominus populum suum*' (see *Catholic Encyclopaedia*); the idea was formulated by Amalarius of Metz (c. 780-850) in his *Liber officialis* [I. I].

171. In other MSS the number given is 73. Cf. Jer. 29: 10: 'All but seventy years, he tells you, must have run their course before Babylon's time is up; then I will come to relieve you, and make good the promise of your return.'

172. Cf. Psalm 137: 1-2: 'There on the poplars we hung our harps'.

173. Cf. Psalm 137: 3.

174. Again referring to the pre-Lenten season, i.e. *Septuagesima* (see above).

175. In fact, according to the Roman rite, 'Hallelujah' is excluded from the liturgy during Lent; see above.

176. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 337].

177. Observed on June 29/12 July.

178. Cf. Exodus 7: 14-22. See also the discussion in Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 337].

179. Observed on August 15/28.

180. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 337].

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The 9th [Great] Friday is the eve of the beheading of John the Baptist;[181] then Herod killed the Forerunner in the 10th hour of the day.[182] The 10th [Great] Friday is after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,[183] on which Moses divided the sea with his staff and let Israelites pass through while the sea engulfed his enemies, in the first hour of the day. This [Great] Friday also fluctuates [in the calendar].[184] The 11th [Great] Friday is on the eve of the Feast Day of the Apostle Andrey [Andrew],[185] on which the *qivot* [=Ark of the Covenant] of Jeremiah the prophet was commemorated. It [the Ark of the Covenant] was taken by the angels from the city gates and put between two high pillars of the mountain, in the 9th hour of the day, to be covered by a fiery cloud until the Second Coming.[186] The 12th [Great] Friday is after Christ's Nativity,[187] in which King Herod massacred the innocents.[188] It also fluctuates [in the calendar].[189] These Twelve [Great] Fridays should be observed through fasting, prayer, singing, and eating bread and drinking water only once per day. Give charity as much as possible and withdraw from the urges of flesh. If a child is conceived [on these Fridays], it will be born unhealthy, blind, lame or with some other issue [blemish]. Keep yourself in purity and God will protect you and his kingdom, because it is possible, O brothers, not only for our sins to be pardoned but also to receive the Kingdom of Heaven through Jesus Christ.

Сказанїѥ ѣлеоу҆ферье҆во. в҃і. пѧт҆нць
В западн҃ѣ҆ѩ҆ стра́нѣ е҆҃ зе́млѧ ла́ѻ҆ура в҆ нен ѫ гра҆ велнкъ шеп҆танлъ зо́вемыѩ҆, н҆ в҆ нем҃ жнваше м҆ножест҆во жндовъ҆ѧ҆ нмѣ́ бра́нь со́ кр҆҃тьа҃ны ѡ҆҃во́г҆а҆ в҆ тор҆гу, ѡ҆во́г҆а́ во́ оу҆́лнца҂, ѡ҆҃во́г҆а же во́ врата҂ гра́ндны҂. н по́бнша҆҃ прн карїа́нѣ цр҃н събра́ша же сѧ жн҃довѣ н҆ рѣша ко́ хр҆҃тї́а́номъ до́колѣ на́мъ се с҆пнратн сѧ н҆ дѣтемъ н҃ш҃нм҃ нзбе́рнте вы себѣ

181. Observed on August 29/September 11; see Matthew 14: 1-12; Mark 6: 14-27.
182. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 337-338].
183. Observed on September 1/14.
184. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 338].
185. Observed on November 30/December 13.
186. Cf. 2 Maccabees 2. See also Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 338].
187. Observed on December 25/January 7.
188. See Matthew 2: 16.
189. See Veselovskii [1876 (185: 6): 338].

мѫжа хи́тра́ фи́лософа а̀ мы́ ѕ се́бе дрѫгаго́ фнлософа въ сло́веса ѿ бг̀а а̀ мы́ ѥ́ю по́слѫшаѣмъ. а̀ще пре́прн҃т ва́шь и́лософъ то́ мы́ всн кр̂тѝм са. а̀ще лн то́ не кр̂тнмѝ са да́ бѫдет н̀ ѿ ва̂ н̀лн ѿ на́съ вѣ́ ѥ̀рѣме н̀ велнцѣ. н̀ се же гл̀хѕ, надѣю́ще са на́ мѫдра и́лософа сво́е́го́ н̀ любо бы̂ хр̂тї̀а̀номъ сло́во н̀хъ, н̀збра́ша се́бѣ мѫжа бг̀обо́а̂̀нива н̀менемъ ѥ̀льоўферьа̂. жндовѣ же и́лосова своѣго н̀менемъ тарасьа̂. на́ча спи́ратн са. схо́да́цн са въ еди́нъ хра́мъ с̀пнраю́цнм са н̀мъ по́ мно́гы ча́сы́. ни́кога́же сни́доста са бе́з на́ро̀. жи́довнинъ же пона̀лъ с̀ собою́ сн̀а сво́е́го̀. то́гда в̀нндоста въ гл̀бокою́ по́вѣсть. ѿ̆ вла̀ко все́вн̀це по́мозн ӗ́льфѣрьѣвѣ. да́ пре́при́тн жндовнна. ра́згнѣвавъ ѫ са жндовнинъ. н̀спо́л̀нив са ю̀ро́стн н̀ гнѣва. н̀ рече кѣ хр̂тню̀́нин҃ѕ г̀нѣвли́вы́м сра̀це́м ю̀ры́м о̆́ко́м з̀наю оўже прѣпрнл̀ ма ѥ̀сн н̀стнн̀на ѥ̀сть вѣра ваша. а̀ наша не н̀сти́на. та́коже на́ го́рѣ сѝнаѩстѣѭ моѭсѣю́ стѣнь[190] ю̀вн̂ н̆̀ а̀ вамъ показа са н̆̀стнн̀на[191] ѿ̆ дв̄цѣ мр̄ї́и̇ ѥ̀го ѫ н̀ пр̂рцн нӣш н̀ а̀п̂лн пер̀с̀томъ показа са. н̀же снмъ ѿ̆бразомъ ра́бн прїи̇м҃.[192] то рек̀шю жндовнѕ. н̀ ре̂ къ кр̂тню̀́нинѕ ви́жю та мѫдра мѫжа. не́ вѣсн лн о̆́ двѕ на́ деса̀т па̀нниць ѥ̀же ѥ̀сть на́ по́л̀зу дї̄амъ ва́шнмъ. н се рекшн ѥ̀мѕ н̀зи́де во́нъ не могы сто́ю̀тн ѿ го́рестн. но́ ѿ̆ста са с̄нъ ѥ̀го ѥ̀мѕ ѫ н̀ма ма́л̀хъ н̀ ре̂ ѥ̀мѕ кр̂тїа́нинъ. ты́ ве́сн лн ѿ̆ двѕ на́ деса̀т па̀т̀нниць. н̀ ѥ̀же гл̀а ѿ̆ц̄ь твон н̀ ѿ̆̀ же ре̂ вѣдаю̀ ндѣже бѣхѕ[193] дѣдѣ на́шн хр̂тїа́нина нѣкоѣго. ѿ̆ а̀п̂лъ ва́шн҃х оў негоже вы́на̀ша сви́токъ на́ немъ ѫ ба̀ше на́пи́сано о̆́ двѕ на́ деса̀т па̀т̀нницъ а̀ самого ѫ зло̀ю́ см̄ртїю́ оўм̄ртвнша. а̀ свїтокъ проуѐт̀ше о̆́гневн пре́даша. н̄ е̂ кла̀т̀ва межн намн н̄ до́ сего́ дн̄н да́ вѣдомо[194] ѿ̆ семь кр̂т̀їа̀номъ. а̀зъ вѣдаю̀ ю̀́ко добра вѣра ва́ша, н̀ жадаѣ̀ть ѥ̆́ю[195] дї̄а моа̀ н̀ наѵавъ н̀спо́вѣда ѥ̀мѕ ѿ̄ пе́р̀ваго и́ до послѣ̀дна́го̀ вса̀. вни́дѐт жндовнинъ

190. Tikhonravov's comment: Это слово повторено два раза.

191. Tikhonravov's comment: Въ рукоп. н̆̀стнн'но.

192. Tikhonravov's comment: Мѣсто испорченое. По списку, ниже печатаему, оно должно быть исправлено такъ: ѥ̀го ѫ н̀ пр̂рцн нашн проповѣдаша, а̀п̂лн (вашн) пер̀с̀томъ показаша. н̆̀же с нимн (пребы) ѿ̆бразъ ра́бн прїи̇м҃.

193. Tikhonravov's comment: Читай: ндѣже бѣхѕ ю̀лн.

194. Tikhonravov's comment: Чит. невѣдомо.

195. Tikhonravov's comment: Это слово в рук. пропущено.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

къ хр҃тїанныѳ, и҆ ре҃ є҆мѳ смѳще҃ лн є҆сн ѡ҆́ двѳ на́ деса҃ пат҆нниць ѡ҆́ни́ же ѿвер҆зъ є҆мѳ оу҆́ста своа҃ и҆сповѣда є҆мѳ все. и҆ ре҃ є҆мѳ жи́довнъ та́ко мн а҆да́на́ла[196]. ꙗ҆́ко нѣ҃ се въ хр҃тїане҃. вѣдомо є҆сть тн ска́залъ с҃нъ мои҃, и҆зв҆ле҃ ножь и҆ за́кла҆ с҃на своег҃ и҆ са́м҆ са за́рѣза҃. а҆зъ ѫ брат҃е҆́ оу҆́вѣда҃ се ѿ жндовнна. не́ потан҃ в со́вѣ, но на́пнса҃ всѣм хр҃тїа́ном. Пе́р҆ваа҃ пат҆нница мар҆та въ .s҃. д҃нь в҆ нюже а҆да҃ пре́ст҃пн за́повѣ҃ бж҃їю и҆зг҃нанъ бы҃ нз ра́ꙗ҆́ .в҃. пат҆нн҃ц пре҃ бл҃говещенїе҃м в҆ нюж каи҃нъ оу҆бнлъ а҆вела бра́та сво́е҃го. за́ви́стн ра҃н се́ бы҃ пер҆вын҃ ме́рт҆вець на́ земл҆н. Третꙗ҆́а҃ пат҆нн҃ц страст҆наа҃ в҆ нюже распат са х҃с б҃гъ н҃ш҃ь. в .ѳ. ча҃. д҃нн по́ ѡ҆́бѣтованїю взы́скатн за́блюжьшн҃. Ѵетвер҆таа пат҃нница пре҃ возне́сенїе҃м г҃дннмъ в҆ нюже по́топлень бы҃ со́домъ и҆ го́моръ ї҆ и҆ннн҆ трн҆ гра҃н въ .а҃. д҃нн. Патаа҃ пат҆нн҃ц пре҃ сше́ст҃вне҃м с҃тго дх҃а. в нюж а҆гара́ны мно́гы стра́ны пле́нншa и҆ и҆зг҃на н҃ в҆ крат҆ковъ ѡ҆́стро҃ и҆ ꙗ҆́дахѳ ве҃блоу҃ ма҃ ко́зьюю кро́вь пїꙗ҆́хѳ и҆ тѳ са ра́с҆плодншa҃ въ ѡ҆́стровѣ. Шестаа҃ пат҃нница прѣже ма҃пѳста. в҆ нюже пле́ненъ бы҃ е҆́р҃лнмъ ѿ ха́ꙗ҆дѣн҆ в҆ то҆ж вре́ма є҆ре́мѣа҃ про҃рка въ .в҃. ча҃ се же є҆сть велнкое́ плененїе́ тѡг҃а стѡꙗ҆́ е҃.[197] лѣт .ѯ҃. н г҃. то́г҃а сѣдоша на́ рѣцѣ ва́внлон҆стїи́, н пла́кав҆ше са ѡ҆́бѣсн́в҆шеѡ҆́ р҆ганы сво́а҆. то́г҃а въсп҆росншa н҃ пле́ннв҆шн во́спо́н҆́те на́мъ ѿ пѣснїи́ сно́҆́нскн҃ и҆ ѿ с҃нвъ и҆҃злвъ ѡ҆́нн же р҆коша, нн бѳдн на҃ пѣтн ѿ пѣснїи́ н па́кы́ пѣтн до́нде҃ садемъ на́ зе́м҆лн свое́и́ и҆ сего ра҃н латынане́ по́ю҃т ꙗ҆́л҆ꙗ҆́ꙗ҆̀ а҆ нн сла҃ ѡ҆́ꙗ҆ю. и҆ с҃нѳ недѣле́ю пре҃ нашего ма҃пѳ҃, тон҃ до́ века д҃нн велнк҆и҆ сѳво҃т ѯ҃. н г҃. д҃нн[198]. сн же бы́ва҃т па҃тнн҃ц въ .в҃. їю҃. то҆ж вре́мен҆наа҆. Семаа҃ пат҃нница пре҃ пе́тро́вы҃м д҃нем҆ъ. в҆ нюж по́сла́ г҃ь деса҃т ка́з҆нїи́ на́ землю є҆гупе҃скѳю рѳкою мо́и҃сѣю и҆ а҆ро́нею превратн рѣкн н҃ въ кровь въ .е҃. ча҃ д҃нн. Осмаа҃ пат҃нница пре҃ оу҆́спенїе́мъ с҃тыа҃ бц҃а в҆ нюж в҆заша са нзмаꙗ҆́танн кри́латн по́ морю. и҆ пле́ннша мно҆жст҆во лю҃н н стра́нь и҆ до велнкагѡ рнма владѣша и҆ до́ запад҆ноп҃ стра́нѣ лѣт ѯ҃. и҆ г҃. и҆зи́доша на́ лнце все́ꙗ҆́ зе́м҆лн по́ве́лѣнїе́мъ бж҃їнм.

196. Tikhonravov's comment: Въ рук. са да́на сн́ла.

197. Tikhonravov's comment: За тѣмъ проп. е҆рс҆ламъ ѡ҆́ѳстѣ҆ꙗ҆.

198. Tikhonravov's comment: Мѣсто испорч. Слѣдуеть: прежнашего мѣс҆пѳ҆ста аж до́ велнка велнк҆и҆ сѳво҃т. (и҆ є҆сть тѣх д҃нн),ѯ҃. и҆.г҃. д҃нн.

Дéвата҃ пѧ́тьнц пре҃ оу҃сѣкновенїе҃м гла҃в ї҃ѡа҃н кр҃тла в нюж оу҃бй҃ ѝро҃ѧ пр҃тую въ .г҃. уа҃ дн҃. дéсата҃ пѧ́тьнц по въз҃внже҃ний҃ у҃тн҃г кр҃та в нюж ра́ждѣлн мóйсѣй́ мóре жéзло҃м прóведе ѝзла҃ врáгы ѥгѡ́ пóкры҃в мóре въ .а҃. уа҃ дн҃н тож врéмен҃на҃. Пéр҃ва҃ на́ дéса҃т па҃тнница пре҃ а҃н҃др҃ѣ́вы҃м дн҃емъ а҃п҃ла в҃ нюже знáмена кúвѡт ѥремѣ́ѧ҃ пр҃о҃рка, ѝзв҃ра҃т в҃зя҃тъ а҃н҃глом҃ ѝ поставлéнъ бы҃ межю двѣ́ма стóлпома гóрома въ .ѳ҃. уа҃ дн҃н ѥго҃ж покрыíе҃т ѡ҃блакъ ѡ҃гне҃ний҃ ѝ дó в҃тораго прúшест҃вїа҃. Втóра҃ на́ деса҃т па҃тнница пó рожст҃вѣ хв҃ѣ в нюж ѝро҃ц҃рь ѝзбн мла҃н҃цн тож вре҃м. сїѝ жѐ .в҃і. па҃тнцн сúце по҃обра҃т блю́стн. посто҃м ѝ мл҃твою ѝ пѣнїе҃м едúною дн҃емъ в҃кѳшатн хлѣ́ба ѝ вóды. а҃ще бо́ мóщ҃но ѝ мл҃стыínн твóра҃т пло҃тскы҃х похотей́[199] вóздер҃жатн҃. за҃в҃нет са҃[200] рóженоѐ нез҃раво бѳде҃т лю́бо слѣпо лю́бо хрóмо, ѝлн кóторою вещью́ ѝнóю. в҃ ѵнстòтѣ храннте ѝ г҃ь вáсъ ст҃блюде҃т въ цр҃твїѝ свóе҃м. а҃ще бо́ мòщ҃но е҃ брате́ то́ не то҃ю́ грѣхо҃в прóщенн бѳде҃м нó ѝ цр҃тво нб҃ноѐ полѳунм҃ ѡ҃ х҃ѣ ї҃v.

Bibliography

Aarne and Thompson 1961. A. Aarne – S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale : a Classification and Bibliography* (Helsinki, 1961) (=*Folklore Fellows Communications* № 184).

Adler 1986/1987. W. Adler, 'Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols: *Jubilees*' Tradition in Christian Chronography,' *The Jewish Quarterly Review (New Series)* 77: 2/3 (1986-1987) 95-117.

Adler 1989. W. Adler, *Time Immemorial*: *Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington/D.C., 1989).

Adler 2013. W. Adler, '*Palaea Historica* (The Old Testament History). A New Translation and Introduction,' in R. Bauckham – J. Davila – A. Panayotov, (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2013) 585-672.

Adler and Tuffin 2002. W. Adler – P. Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos*: *A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* (Oxford, 2002).

199. Tikhonravov's comment: Въ рукоп. плохотей́.

200. Tikhonravov's comment: Въ слѣд. спискѣ: а҃ще лн кто в ты пац заунет са.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Afinogenova 2006. О. Афиногенова, 'Греческий вариант апокрифа о борьбе Архангела Михаила и Сатанаила,' *Scripta & e-Scripta* 3-4 (2006) 329-348.

Albani, Frey, Lange 1997. M. Albani – J. Frey – A. Lange (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Tübingen, 1997).

Alexander 1988. P. S. Alexander, 'Retelling the Old Testament,' in D. A. Carson – H. G. M. Williamson (ed.), *It Is Written*: *Scripture Citing Scripture*: *Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (Cambridge, 1988) 99-121.

Alexeev 2001. A. Alexeev, 'Apocrypha Translated from Hebrew within the East Slavic Explanatory *Palaea*,' in W. Moscovich (ed.), *Jews and Slavs*, 9 (*Festschrift Prof. Jacob Allerhand*: *Judaeo-Slavica et Judaeo-Germanica*) (Jerusalem – Vienna, 2001) 147-154.

Alexeev 2008. А. Алексеев, 'Апокрифы Толковой Палеи, переведенные с еврейских оригиналов,' in Н.В. Понырко (ed.), *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы*, 58 (Санкт-Петербург, 2008) 41-57.

Alpatov 1927-1928. M. Alpatov, 'Les reliefs de la Sainte-Sophie de Trebizonde,' *Byzantion* 4 (1927-1928) 407-418.

Amosova 2012. С.Н. Амосова, '*Сказание о 12 пятницах*: структура, семантика и прагматика текста,' in А.С. Архипова, С.Ю. Неклюдов, Д.С. Николаев (ed.), *Фольклористика и культурная антропология сегодня. Тезисы и материалы (XII Международная молодежная научная школа « Междисциплинарные подходы и инновационные методы в фольклористике»*) (Москва, 2012) 120-127.

Anderson, Stone, Tromp 2000. G. A. Anderson – M. Stone – J. Tromp (ed.), *Literature on Adam and Eve* (Leiden, 2000).

Angelov 1963. Б.Ст. Ангелов, 'Иосиф Флавий в южнославянской литературе,' in Л.А. Дмитриев – Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Русская литература 11-17 веков среди славянских литератур* (= *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы*, 19) (Москва – Ленинград, 1963) 255-261.

Anisimova 2009. Т. Анисимова, *Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнерусских списках XIV-XV вв.* (Москва, 2009).

Antonov and Maizul's 2011. Д.И. Антонов – М.Р. Маузульс, *Демоны и грешники в древнерусской иконографии : семиотика образа* (Москва, 2011).

Aptowitzer 1922. V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada, den Apokryphen, der hellenistischen, christlichen und muhammedanischen Literatur* (Vienna – Leipzig, 1922).

Assmann 2001. J. Assmann, 'Pictures versus Letters: William Warburton's Theory of Grammatological Iconoclasm,' in J. Assmann – A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Representation in Religion. Studies in Honour of Moshe Barasch* (Leiden, 2001) 297-311.

Aycock 1983. D. A. Aycock, 'The Mark of Cain,' in E. Leach – D. A. Aycock, *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth* (Cambridge, 1983) 120-127.

Bachmann and Oliver 2009. V. Bachmann – I. W. Oliver, 'The Book of Jubilees: A Bibliography (1850-Present),' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 441-468.

Badalanova 1990. Ф. Бадаланова, 'Фолклорна реплика към *Празници Бабини или о Бабихъ Баснехъ* (Ръкописни календари на българските преселници в Бесарабия и Таврия: текстове и коментар),' *Български Фолклор* 16: 3 (1990) 95-109.

Badalanova and Miltenova 1996. Ф. Бадаланова – А. Милтенова, 'Апокрифният цикъл за Авраам във фолклора и средновековните балкански литератури,' in Р. Попов (ed.), *Етнографски проблеми на народната култура*, 4 (София, 1996) 203-250.

Badalanova 1997-1998. Ф. Бадаланова, 'Экскурсы в славянскую фольклорную Библию: Жертва Каина. (Статья первая),' *Annali Dell' Instituto Universitario Orientate di Napoli : Slavistica* 5 (1997-1998) 11-32.

Badalanova 1998. Ф. Бадаланова, 'Каин и Авель в болгарском фольклоре,' in В. Петрухин (ed.), *От Бытия к Исходу. Отражение библейских сюжетов в славянской и еврейской народной культуре* (Москва, 1998) 154-162.

Badalanova 2008. F. Badalanova, 'The Bible in the Making: Slavonic Creation Stories,' in M. Geller *et al.* (ed.), *Imagining Creation* (Leiden, 2008) 161-365.

Badalanova Geller 2008. F. Badalanova Geller, *Qur'ān in vernacular : Folk Islam in the Balkans* (Berlin, 2008).

Badalanova Geller 2011. F. Badalanova Geller, 'The Sea of Tiberias: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition,' in L. Di Tommaso – C. Böttrich (ed.), *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition*: *Continuity and Diversity* (Tübingen, 2011) 13-157.

Badalanova Geller 2013. F. Badalanova Geller, '*These Blasphemous Rustic Scriptures* (Indigenous Apocryphal Heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*),' in В. Панайотов (ed.), *TRIANTAFYLLO. In Honorem Hristo Trendafilov* (Шумен, 2013) 66-106.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Barasch 2001. M. Barasch, 'The Idol in the Icon: Some Ambiguities,' in J. Assmann – A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Representation in Religion. Studies in Honour of Moshe Barasch* (Leiden, 2001) 1-26.

Bakalova 1991. Е. Бакалова, 'Аспекти на съотношението *словесен текст – изображение* в българското Средновековие (Песенно-поетичната образност – визуални съответствия),' *Проблеми на изкуството* 1 (1991) 3-20.

Barsov 1885. Е. Барсов, 'О воздействии апокрифов на обряд и иконопись,' *Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія* (Декабрь, 1885) 97-115.

Barsov 1886. Е. Барсовъ, 'О Тивериадскомъ морѣ (по списку 16 в.),' *Чтенія въ Императорскомъ Обществѣ исторіи и древностей россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ* 2 (Апрѣль-Іюнь, 1886) 3-8.

Baumgarten 1987. J. M. Baumgarten, 'The Laws of Orlah and First Fruits in Light of Jubilees, the Qumran Writings, and the Targum Ps-Jonathan,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 38 (1987) 195-202.

Belobrova 1993. О. А. Белоброва, 'Вирши Мардария Хонькова к гравюрам Библии Пискатора,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 46 (Санкт-Петербург, 1993) 334-435.

Belobrova 2014. О. А. Белоброва, 'Иллюстрированные Библии XVI-XVII веков в русских средневековых библиотеках,' in Н.В. Понырко (ed.), *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 62 (Санкт-Петербург, 2014) 21-28.

Ben-Dov 2009. J. Ben-Dov, 'Tradition and Innovation in the Calendar of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 276-293.

Bergsma 2009. J. S. Bergsma, 'The Relationship between Jubilees and the Early Enochic Books (Astronomical Book and the Book of the Watchers),' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 36-51.

Bernabò 1995. M. Bernabò, 'Searching for Lost Sources of the Illustration of the Septuagint,' in C. Moss – K. Kiefer (ed.), *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton/New Jersey, 1995) 329-335.

Bernstein 2005. M. J. Bernstein, '*Rewritten Bible*: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?' *Textus* 22 (2005) 169-196.

Bezsonov 1864. П. Безсонов, *Калѣки перехожіе. Сборникъ стиховъ и изслѣдование П. Безсонова,* Вып. 6: *Стихи былевые : библейскіе, старшіе и младшіе* (Москва, 1864).

Boccaccini 2009. G. Boccaccini, 'From a Movement of Dissent to a Distinct Form of Judaism: The Heavenly Tablets in Jubilees as the Foundation of a Competing Halakah,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 193-210.

Böttrich 1995. C. Böttrich, '*Die Vögel des Himmels haben ihn begraben*': *Überlieferungen zu Abels Bestattung und zur Ätiologie des Grabes* (Gottingen, 1995).

Bowen 1992. J. R. Bowen, 'Elaborating Scriptures: Cain and Abel in Gayo Society,' *Man* 27 (1992) 495-516.

Braude 1968. P. J. Braude, '*Cokkel in oure Clene Corn*: Some Implications of Cain's Sacrifice,' *Gesta* 7 (1968) 15-28.

Brinner 1987. W. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk), 2: *Prophets and Patriarchs* (New York City, 1987).

Brinner 2002. W. Brinner, *'Arā'is Al-Majālis Fī Quiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' or 'Lives of the Prophets' As Recounted by Abū Ishāq Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Thalabī* (Leiden, 2002).

Brosh and Milstein 1991. N. Brosh – R. Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting* (Jerusalem, 1991).

Brooke 1997. G. J. Brooke, 'Exegetical Strategies in *Jubilees* 1-2: New Light from 4QJubilees[a],' in M. Albani – J. Frey – A. Lange (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Tübingen, 1997) 39-57.

Bulanin 1998. Д. М. Буланин (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 3.3 (Санкт-Петербург, 1998).

Bulanin 2004. Д. М. Буланин (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 3.4 (Санкт-Петербург, 2004).

Bulanin 2012. Д. М. Буланин (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности древней Руси,* 2.3 (Санкт-Петербург, 2012).

Buslaev 1861. Ф. Буслаев, *Исторические очерки русской народной словесности и искусства,* 1: *Русская народная поэзия*; 2: *Древнерусская народная литература и искусство* (Санктпетербург, 1861).

Byron 2011. J. Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition*: *Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the First Sibling Rivalry* (Leiden, 2011).

Charles 1902. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis* (London, 1902).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Charles 1913. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*: *With Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books* (Oxford, 1913).

Charles, Box 1917. R. H. Charles and G. H. Box, *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis* (London, 1917).

Charlesworth 1983-1985. J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1-2 (Garden City/New York, 1983-1985).

Charlesworth 1985. J. H. Charlesworth, 'The Date of Jubilees and of the Temple Scroll,' *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 24 (1985) 193-204.

Charlesworth 1993. J. H. Charlesworth, 'In the Crucible: The Pseudepigrapha as Biblical Interpretation,' in J. H. Charlesworth – C. Evans (ed.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield, 1993) 20-43.

Cignelli 1995. L. Cignelli, 'The sacrifice of Isaac in patristic exegesis,' in F. Manns (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Isaac in the Three Monotheistic Religions* (Jerusalem, 1995) 123-126.

Coblentz Bautch 2009. K. Coblentz Bautch, 'Amplified Roles, Idealized Depictions: Women in the Book of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 338-352.

Comarnescu, Grigorescu 1959. P. Comarnescu – D. Grigorescu, *Voroneț*: *15th and 16th Century Frescoes. Treasures of Rumanian Art* (Bucharest, 1959).

Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953. S. H. Cross – O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*: *Laurentian Text* (Cambridge/Massachusetts, 1953).

Dean 1935. J. E. Dean (ed.), *Epiphanius*' *Treatise on Weights and Measures : The Syriac Version* (Chicago/Illinois, 1935).

Deiss 1979. L. Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy* (Collegeville/Minnesota, 1979).

Dmitriev 1987. Л. А. Дмитриев, 'Откровение Мефодия Патарского,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 1 (Ленинград, 1987) 283-285.

Doering 2009. L. Doering, 'Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 261-275.

Eastmond 1999. A. Eastmond, 'Narratives of the Fall: Structure and Meaning in the Genesis Frieze at Hagia Sophia, Trebizond,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999) 219-236.

Emerson 1906. O. Emerson, 'Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 21 (1906) 831-930.

Endres 2009. J. C. Endres, 'Eschatological Impulses in Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 323-337.

Eshel 2009. E. Eshel, 'The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 82-98.

Ettinghausen 1971. R. Ettinghausen, 'Yemenite Bible Manuscripts of the 15th century,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 429-465.

Evans 2001a. C. A. Evans, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus,' in P. W. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran*: *Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2001) 67-79.

Evans 2001b. C. A. Evans, 'Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure,' in P. W. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran*: *Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2001) 149-158.

Feldman, Mason 2000. S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus : Translation and Commentary*. 3: *Judean Antiquities 1-4. Translation and Commentary* by L. Feldman (Leiden, 2000).

Fellous 2006. S. Fellous, 'Abraham dans l'iconographie des trois religions monothéiste,' in F. M. Hassine (ed.), *Dialogue des religions d'Abraham pour la tolerance et la paix* (Tunis, 2006) 55-106.

Flint 2001. P. W. Flint, 'Noncanonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Apocrypha, Other Previously Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha,' in P. W. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran*: *Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2001) 80-128.

Flusser 1971. D. Flusser, '*Palaea Historica*: An Unknown Source of Biblical Legends,' in J. Heinemann – D. Noy (ed.), *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 22 (1971) 48-79.

Franko 1896-1910. И. Франко, *Апокріфи і легенди з українских руконисів (Codex Apocryphus e manuscriptis ukraino-russicis collectus opera Dr. Joannis Franko)*, 1-5 (Львів, 1896-1910).

Friedlander 1970. G. Friedlander, *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer* (*The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great*) *According to the Text of the Manuscript Belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vi-*

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

*enna. Translated and Annotated With Introduction and Indices by Gerald Friedlande*r (New York, 1970).

Gabelić 1993-1994. S. Gabelić, 'The Fall of Satan in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art,' *Зограф* 23 (1993-1994) 65-73.

García Martínez 2003. F. García Martínez, 'Eve's Children in the Targumim,' in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children*: *The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 27-45.

Gaster 1887. M. Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic Literature and Its Relation to the Folk-Lore of Europe During the Middle Ages* (London, 1887).

Gaylord 1983. H. E. Gaylord, '3 Baruch,' in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1, (Garden City/New York, 1983) 653-679.

Gilders 2009. W. K. Gilders, 'The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 178-192.

Ginzberg 1909-1913, 1928, 1925, 1938. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 1-7 (Philadelphia/Pennsylvania, 1909-1913, 1928, 1925, 1938).

Goodenough 1953-1968. E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York, 1953-1968).

Goodenough 1971. E. R. Goodenough, 'Early Christian and Jewish Art,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 185-199.

Grabar 1928. A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928).

Grabar 1968. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton/New Jersey, 1968).

Grabar 1999. А.Н. Грабар, 'Эскиз автобиографии,' in Э. С. Смирнова (ed.), *Древнерусское искусство*: *Византия и Древняя Русь. К 100-летию Андрея Николаевича Грабара* (*1896-1990*) (Санкт-Петербург, 1999) 11-34.

Grabbe 2009. L. L. Grabbe, 'Jubilees and the Samaritan Tradition,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 145-159.

Grypeou and Spurling 2013. E. Grypeou – H. Spurling, *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity : Encounters between Jewish and Christian Exegesis* (Leiden, 2013).

Gutmann 1971a. J. Gutmann, 'Prolegomenon,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) xi-lxiii.

Gutmann 1971b. J. Gutmann, 'The Illustrated Jewish Manuscript in Antiquity: the Present State of the Question,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 232-248.

Gutmann 1971c. J. Gutmann, 'The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 329-346.

Gutmann 1971d. J. Gutmann, 'Judeo-Persian Miniatures,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 466-488.

Gutmann 1978. J. Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York, 1978).

Gutmann 1987. J. Gutmann, 'The Sacrifice of Isaac in Medieval Jewish Art,' *Artibus et Historiae* 8: 16 (1987) 67-89.

Gutmann 1988a. J. Gutmann, 'The Testing of Moses: A Comparative Study in Christian, Muslim and Jewish Art,' *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 2 (1988) 107-117.

Gutmann 1988. J. Gutmann, 'The Dura Europos Synagogue Paintings and Their Influence on Later Christian and Jewish Art,' *Artibus et Historiae* 9: 17 (1988) 25-29.

Gutmann 1990. J. Gutmann, 'Cain's Burial of Abel: A Jewish Legendary Motif in Christian and Islamic art,' *Sacred Art Journal* 11 (1990) 152-157.

Gutmann 1998. J. Gutmann, 'On Biblical Legends in Medieval Art,' *Artibus et Historiae* 19: 38 (1998) 137-142.

Halpern Amaru 1994. B. Halpern Amaru, 'The First Woman, Wives, and Mothers in *Jubilees*,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 113: 4 (1994) 609-626.

Halpern Amaru 2009. B. Halpern Amaru, 'The Festivals of *Pesah* and *Massot* in the Book of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 309-322.

Hanauer 1907. J. E. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*: *Moslem, Christian, and Jew* (London, 1907).

Haney 1985. K. E. Haney, 'Old Testament Pictures in the Psalter of Henry of Blois,' *Gesta* 24: 1 (1985) 33-45.

Henze 2009. M. Henze, 'Daniel and Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 52-66.

Hetherington 1974. P. Hetherington, '*The Painter's Manual*' *of Dionysius of Fourna*: *An English Translation* [*from*

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

the Greek] *with Commentary of Cod. Gr. 708 in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library* (London, 1974).

Himmelfarb 2009. M. Himmelfarb, '*The Book of Jubilees* and Early Jewish Mysticism,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 384-394.

Hulster 2009. I. J. Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis and Third Isaiah* (Tübingen, 2009).

Iatsimirskii 1921. А.И. Яцимирский, *Библиографический обзор апокрифов в южнославянской и русской письменности* (*Списки памятников*) (Петроград, 1921).

Idel 2001. M. Idel, 'Torah: Between Presence and Representation of the Divine in Jewish Mysticism,' in J. Assmann – A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Representation in Religion. Studies in Honour of Moshe Barasch* (Leiden, 2001) 197-235.

Istomin 1905. К.К. Истомин, 'К вопросу о редакциях Толковой Палеи (1): Современная постановка вопроса; (2): Значение киновари при анализе списков Толковой Палеи; (3): Вопрос о целях Толковой Палеи по спискам хронографического и Колломенского типов; (4): Вопрос о протографе Толковой Палеи и о литературных приемах его компилятора,' *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук* 10: 1 (1905) 147-184.

Istomin 1906. К.К. Истомин, 'К вопросу о редакциях Толковой Палеи (5): Мнимые случаи полноты Коломенской Палеи по сравнению с хронографическими списками; (6): Действительные случаи полноты Коломенской Палеи по сравнению с хронографическими списками,' *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук* 11: 1 (1906) 337-374.

Istrin 1897. В.М. Истрин, 'Замечания о Составе Толковой Палеи' (1-3); 'Замечания о Составе Толковой Палеи' (4), *Известия Отделения Русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук* 2: 1 (1897) 175-209; 2: 4 (1897) 845-905.

Istrin 1897a. В.М. Истрин, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского и апокрифические видения Даниила в византийской и славяно-русской литературах. Исследование и тексты* (Москва, 1897).

Istrin 1898. В.М. Истрин, 'Замечания о Составе Толковой Палеи' (5-6), *Известия Отделения Русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук* 3: 2 (1898) 472-531.

Istrin 1905. В.М. Истрин, 'Редакции Толковой Палеи (1): Описание полной и краткой Палеи,' *Известия Отделения Русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук* 10: 4 (1905) 135-203.

Istrin 1906. В.М. Истрин, 'Редакции Толковой Палеи (2): Взаимоотношение полной и краткой Палеи в пределах текста Палеи Коломенской'; 'Редакции Толковой Палеи (3): Хронографическая часть полной и краткой Палеи и «Хронограф по великому изложению»'; 'Редакции Толковой Палеи (4-5): Общие выводы, Таблицы,' *Известия Отделения Русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук* 11: 1 (1906) 1-43; 11: 2 (1906) 20-61; 11: 3 (1906) 418-450.

Istrin 1920. В.М. Истрин, *Книгы временьныѧ и образныѧ Гєѡргиѧ Мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе. Текст, исследование и словарь*, 1 (Петроград, 1920).

Ivanov 1925. Й. Иванов, *Богомилски книги и легенди* (София, 1925).

Ivanov 1935. Й. Иванов, *Старобългарски разкази : текстове, новобългарски превод и бележки* (София, 1935).

Ivanov 2011. S. V. Ivanov, 'The Legend of the Twelve Golden Fridays in the Western Manuscripts (Part 1: Latin),' in N. N. Kazansky (ed.), *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*, 7.1 (St. Petersburg, 2011) 561-572.

Ivanov 2014. S. V. Ivanov, 'The Legend of the Twelve Golden Fridays in the Western Manuscripts (Part 1: Latin. Addenda et Corrigenda. Part 2: Vernacular-2.1.French, 2.2. Italian),' in N. N. Kazansky (ed.), *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana,* 10.1 (St. Petersburg, 2014) 347-367.

Jackson 2007. D. Jackson, *Marvelous to Behold*: *Miracles in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 2007).

Jackson 2009. D. R. Jackson, 'Jubilees and Enochic Judaism,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 411-425.

Jensen 1999. R. M. Jensen, 'The Dura Europos Synagogue, Early-Christian Art, and Religious Life in Dura Europos,' in S. Fine (ed.), *Jews, Christians and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue. Cultural Interaciton During the Greco-Roman Period* (London, 1999) 174-189.

Kazanaki-Lappa 2009. М. Казанаки-Лаппа, *Византийское и поствизантийское искусство в Венеции. Музей икон Греческого института византийских и поствизантийских исследований в Венеции* (Венеция, 2009).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Kim 2001. A. Y. Kim, 'Cain and Abel in the Light of Envy: a Study in the History of the Interpretation of Envy in Genesis 4.1-16,' *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 12: 1 (2001) 65-84.

Kirpichnikov 1890. А. Кирпичников, 'Взаимодействие иконописи и словесности народной и книжной,' in *Труды 8 Археологического съезда в Москве* (*1890 г.*), 2 (Москва, 1895) 213-229.

Klisarov 1992. Н. Клисаров, 'Стенописци от Асеновград в средните Родопи (19 век),' *Проблеми на изкуството* 3-4 (1992) 71-86.

Kodov 1971. Хр. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Българската академия на науките* (София, 1971).

Kogman-Appel 1997. K. Kogman-Appel, 'The Sephardic Picture Cycles and the Rabbinic Tradition: Continuity and Innovation in Jewish Iconography,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60: 4 (1997) 451-481.

Kondakov 1929. Н.П. Кондаков, *Очерки и заметки по истории средневекового искусства и культуры* (Прага, 1929).

Kondakov 2012. Н. П. Кондаков, *История византийского искусства и иконографии по миниатюрам греческих рукописей. Подготовили к печати по авторскому экземпляру первого издания 1876 года Г. Парпулов и А. Саминский* (Пловдив, 2012); first publ. in *Записки Императорского Новороссийского университета* (Одесса) 21 (1876).

Knibb 2003. M. A. Knibb, 'Which Parts of *1 Enoch* Were Known to *Jubilees*? A Note on the Interpretation of *Jubilees* 4.16-25,' in J. Cheryl Exum – H. G. M. Williamson – D. J. A. Clines (ed.), *Reading from Right to Left*: *Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J. A. Clines* (London – New York, 2003) 254-262.

Kugel 1990. J. L. Kugel, 'Why was Lamech blind?' *Hebrew Annual Review* 12 (1990) 91-103.

Kugel 1990a. J. L. Kugel, 'Cain and Abel in Fact and Fable: *Genesis* 4:1-16,' in R. Brooks –J. Collins (ed.), *Hebrew Bible or Old Testament*? *Studying the Bible in Judaism and Christianity* (Notre Dame, 1990) 167-190.

Kugel 1997. J. L. Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge/Massachusetts – London, 1997).

Kugel 1998. J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible : A Guide to The Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge/Massachusetts – London, 1998).

Kugel 2012. J. L. Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*: *Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation* (Leiden, 2012).

Kühnel 2001. B. Kühnel, 'Jewish Art and "Iconoclasm": The Case of Sepporis,' in J. Assmann – A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Representation in Religion. Studies in Honour of Moshe Barasch* (Leiden, 2001) 161-180.

Kuiumdzhieva 2002. М. Куюмджиева, 'Дългия живот на един мит (Житийният цикъл на Йосиф Прекрасни в галерията на църквата «Рождество Христово» в Арбанаси,' *Проблеми на изкуството* 1 (2002) 51-57

Kuiumdzhieva 2003a. М. Куюмджиева, 'Цикълът по историята на пророк Моисей в галерията на църквата "Рождество Христово' в Арбанаси," *Проблеми на изкуството* 2 (2003) 33-40.

Kuiumdzhieva 2003b. М. Куюмджиева, 'Още веднъж за Давид. Сцени по историята на Цар Давид в галерията на църквата «Рождество Христово» в Арбанаси,' in С. Бърлиева – А. Милтенова – Е. Тончева (ed.), *Пъти Достоитъ. Сборник в Памет на Стефан Кожухаров* (София, 2003) 535-551.

Kulik 2004-2005. A. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*: *Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham* (Atlanta/Georgia, 2004; Leiden, 2005).

Kulik 2010. A. Kulik, *3 Baruch : Greek Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch* (Berlin, 2010).

Kuznetsova 2008. В. Кузнецова, 'Фольклорные версии библейских легенд как проявление «закона переживания старины»: Каин и Авел, Давид и Голиаф,' *Критика и семиотика* 12 (2008) 72-83.

Künzl 2001. H. Künzl, 'Jewish Artists and the Representation of God,' in J. Assmann – A. Baumgarten (ed.), *Representation in Religion : Studies in Honour of Moshe Barasch* (Leiden, 2001) 149-159.

Kvanvig 2009. H. S. Kvanvig, 'Enochic Judaism – a Judaism Without the Torah and the Temple?' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 163-177.

Laderman 2013. S. Laderman, *Images of Cosmology in Jewish and Byzantine Art* (Leiden –Boston, 2013).

Larson 2009. E. Larson, 'Worship in Jubilees and Enoch,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 369-383.

Lavrov 1899. П. А. Лавров, *Апокрифические тексты* (= *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Императорской Академии наук* 67: 3 (1899); monographic issue).

Levine 2011. L. I. Levine, 'Synagogue Art and the Rabbis in Late Antiquity,' *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 2:1 (2011) 79-114.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Likhachev 1966. Д. С. Лихачев (ed.), *Взаимодействие литературы и изобразительного искусства в Древней Руси* (Москва-Ленинград, 1966).

Likhachev 1987. Д. С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 1 (Ленинград, 1987).

Likhachev 1988. Д. С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 2.1 (Ленинград, 1988).

Likhachev 1989. Д. С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 2.2 (Ленинград, 1989).

Likhachev *et al.* 1999. Д. С. Лихачев – Л. А. Дмитриев – А. А. Алексеев – Н. В. Понырко, *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси,* 3 (Санкт-Петербург, 1999).

Lipscomb 1978. W. L. Lipscomb, 'A Tradition from the *Book of Jubilees* in Armenian,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978) 149-163.

Lourié 2012. B. Lourié. 'Friday Veneration in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Christianity and Christian Legends about the Conversion of Naǧrān,' in C. Segovia – B. Lourié (ed.), *The Coming of the Comforter : When, Where, and to Whom ?* (Studies on the Rise of Islam and Various Other Topics in Memory of John Wansborough) (Piscataway/NJ, 2012) 131-230.

Lunt and Taube 1988. H. G. Lunt – M. Taube, 'Early East Slavic Translations from Hebrew?' *Russian Linguistics* 12: 2 (1988) 147-187.

Matveenko and Shchegoleva 2000. В. Матвеенко – Л. Щеголева, *Временник Георгия Монаха* (*Хроника Георгия Амартола*). *Русский текст, комментарий, указатели* (Москва, 2000).

Mavrodinova 1999. Л. Мавродинова, 'Старозаветни лица и събития в средновековната стенна живопис по българските земи (IX-XIV в.),' in Б. Велчева – Е. Дограмаджиева – С. Николова, Г. Попов (ed.), *Кирило-Методиевски студии* (София, 1999) 153-218.

Mellinkoff 1981. R. Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (Berkeley, 1981).

Minczew 2011. G. Minczew, 'John Chrysostom's Tale on How Michael Vanquished Satanael: a Bogomil Text?' *Studia Ceranea* 1 (2011) 23-54.

Mochul'skii 1886, 1887. В. Мочульский, 'Историко-литературный анализ стиха о Голубиной книге,' *Русскій Филологическій Вѣстникъ* 16: 4 (1886) 197-219; 17: 1 (1887) 113-180; 17: 2 (1887) 365-406; 18: 3 (1887) 41-142; 18: 4 (1887) 171-188.

Mochul'skii 1894. В.Н. Мочульский, 'Слѣды Народной Библіи в славянской и древне-русской письменности,'

Записки Императорскаго Новороссійскаго Университета (Одесса) 61 (1894) 1-282.

Mouriki 1995. D. Mouriki, 'A Moses Cycle on a Sinai Icon of the Early Thirteenth Century,' in C. Moss – K. Kiefer (ed.), *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995) 531-546.

Murdoch 2009. B. Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe*: *Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford, 2009).

Musakova 1998. Е. Мусакова, 'Надписи и изображения Шестоднева в болгарских рукописях и церковной живописи XVII-XIX веков,' in В. Петрухин (ed.), *От Бытия к Исходу. Отражение библейских сюжетов в славянской и еврейской народной культуре* (Москва, 1998) 118-129.

Najman 2003. H. Najman, 'Cain and Abel as Characters Traits,' in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children*: *The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 107-118.

Najman 2009. H. Najman, 'Reconsidering Jubilees: Prophecy and Exemplarity,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/ Michigan, 2009) 229-243.

Narkiss 1995. B. Narkiss, '*Living the Dead Became*: the Prophet Elijah as a Holy Image in Early Jewish Art,' in C. Moss – K. Kiefer (ed.), *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995) 75-80.

Narkiss 1997. B. Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah* (London, 1997).

Nickson 2011. T. Nickson, 'Reframing the Bible: Genesis and Exodus on Toledo Cathedral's Fourteenth Century Choir Screen,' *Gesta* 50: 1 (2011) 71-89.

Nikolova 2002. С. Николова, 'Летописни традиции в старобългарската литература,' in Л. Грашева (ed.), *Старобългарско книжовно наследство* (София, 2002) 141-152.

Nordström 1971. C.-O. Nordström, 'The Temple Miniatures in the Peter Comestor Manuscript at Madrid,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 39-74.

Novaković 1872. S. Novaković, 'Dvanaeset petaka,' *Starine* 4 (1872) 24-28.

Novalija 2008. A. Novalija, *The World Through the Eyes of the Tolkovaya Paleya. The Story of Original Sin in the Hilandar Manuscript* (Saarbrücken, 2008).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Noy 1954. D. Neuman (Noy), *Motif-Index of Talmudic-Midrashic Literature* (Manuscript submitted to the Graduate Faculty for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Folklore, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1954).

Noy 1998. D. Noy, 'The Story of Abel's Burial: the Interpretation of Myth and Custom,' in В. Петрухин (ed.), *От Бытия к Исходу. Отражение библейских сюжетов в славянской и еврейской народной культуре* (Москва, 1998) 138-153.

Obolensky 1971. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*: *Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (New York, 1971).

Orlov 2009. A. A. Orlov, *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (Leiden, 2009).

Osinkina 2011. Л. В. Осинкина, 'Отражение литературного сюжета в произведениях изобразительного искусства (на материале апокрифического «Завета Иова»),' in Е.Н. Мещерская (ed.), *Священное Писание как фактор языкового и литературного развития* (Санкт-Петербург, 2002) 64-100.

Penkova 1993. Б. Пенкова, '*Тия мои най-малки братя* в поствизантийската иконография на Страшния съд и в контекста на балканската народна култура,' *Проблеми на изкуството* 4 (1993) 21-27.

Penkova 2010. Б. Пенкова, 'Към идейния контекст на Страшния съд в българските паметници от XVI-XVII век. Съпътстващи теми,' in М. Сантова – Б. Пенкова – И. Станоева – М. Иванова (ed.), *От Честния пояс на Богородица до коланчето за рожба. Изследвания по изкуствознание и културна антропология в чест на проф. Елка Бакалова* (София, 2010) 47-59.

Pennington 1985. A. Pennington, 'The Apocalypse of Abraham,' in H. F. Davis Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, 1985) 363-392.

Pentiuc 2014. E. J. Pentiuc, *The Old Testament in Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (Oxford, 2014).

Petkanova 1978. Д. Петканова, *Апокрифна литература и фолклор*: *апокрифната художествена проза и фолклорът* (София, 1978).

Petkanova 1990. Д. Петканова, *Народното четиво през XVI-XVIII век* (София, 1990).

Petković *et al*. 1941. В. Петковић – Ђ. Бошковић, *Манастир Дечани* (2). *Стари Југословенски уметнички Споменици. Део Први : Стари Српски Уметнички Споменици, Књига 2* (Београд, 1941).

Petrukhin 1998. В. Петрухин (ed.), *От Бытия к Исходу. Отражение библейских сюжетов в славянской и еврейской народной культуре* (Москва, 1998).

Piotrovskaia 1987. Е.К. Пиотровская, '*Христианская топография* Козьмы Индикоплова,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси*, 1 (Ленинград, 1987) 465-467.

Pletneva 2013. А.А. Плетнева, 'Сотворение мира в версии Библии Кореня: вопросы языка и текста,' in *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка* (2012-2013) (Москва, 2013) 226-239.

Podobedova 1965. О.И. Подобедова, *Миниатюры исторических рукописей*: *К истории русского лицевого летописания* (Москва, 1965).

Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei 1926. *Полное собрание русских летописей*, 1. *Лаврентьевская летопись*. Вып. 1: *Повесть временных лет* (Ленинград, 1926).

Poorthius 2003. M. Poorthius, 'Eve's Demonic offspring: A Jewish Motif in German Literature,' in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children*: *The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 57-74.

Popov 1866. *Обзоръ хронографовъ русской редакции Андрея Попова* (Москва, 1866).

Popova 2000. Е. Попова, 'Праотец Ной: култ, икони, апокрифи,' *Проблеми на изкуството* 4 (2000) 46-52.

Porfir'ev 1877. И.Я. Порфирьев, *Апокрифические сказания о ветхозаветных лицах и событиях по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки* (= *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Императорской Академии наук* 17: 1 (1877); *monographic issue*).

Protas'eva 1968. Т.Н. Протасьева, 'Псковская Палея 1477 года,' in В.Н. Лазарев – О.И. Подобедова – В.В. Косточкин (ed.), *Древнерусское искусство*: *Художественная культура Пскова*, 4 (Москва, 1968) 97-108.

Pypin 1862. А.Н. Пыпин, *Памятники старинной русской литературы, издаваемые Графом Григорием Кушелевым-Безбородко. Выпуск третий. Ложные и отреченные книги русской старины, собранные А. Н. Пыпиным* (Санктпетербург, 1862).

Rabin 1984. C. Rabin, '*Jubilees*,' in H. F. Davis Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, 1984) 1-139.

Regev 2009. E. Regev, 'Jubilees, Qumran, and the Essenes,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 426-440.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Revel-Neher 1995. E. Revel-Neher, 'On the Hypothetical Models of the Byzantine Iconography of the Ark of the Covenant,' in C. Moss – K. Kiefer (ed.), *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995) 405-414.

Rook 1990. J. Rook, 'The Names of the Wives from Adam to Abraham in the Book of Jubilees,' *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* 7 (1990) 105-117.

Rosenthal 1989. F. Rosenthal (ed.), *The History of Prophets and Kings* (Tarīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk) *by Al-Tabarī. From the Creation to the Flood.* 1 (Albany/New York, 1989).

Rozhdestvenskaia 2000. М. Рождественская, 'Сказание о двенадцати пятницах' (Подготовка текста, перевод и комментарий), in Д.С. Лихачев – Л.А. Дмитриев – А.А. Алексеев – Н.В. Понырко (ed.), *Библиотека Литературы Древней Руси,* 3 (Санкт- Петербург, 2000) 242-247, 392-395.

Rozhdestvenskaia 2008. М. Рождественская, *Апокрифы Древней Руси* (Санкт-Петербург, 2008).

Russell 2009. J. Russell, '*The Rhyme of the Book of the Dove* (*Stikh o Golubinoi Knige*): From Zoroastrian Cosmology and Armenian Heresiology to the Russian Novel,' in Ch. Allison *et al.* (ed.), *From Daena to Dîn. Religion, Kultur und Sprache in der iranischen Welt. Festschrift für Philip Kreyenbroek zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2009) 141-208.

Salmina 1989. М. А. Салмина, 'Сказание о двенадцати пятницах,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 2.2 (Ленинград, 1989) 358-359.

Scarlata 2012. M. W. Scarlata, *Outside of Eden*: *Cain in the Ancient Versions of Genesis 4 : 1-16* (New York, 2012).

Schiffman 2009. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 99-115.

Scott 2009. J. M. Scott, 'The Chronologies of the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Book of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 67-81.

Sed-Rajna 1995. G. Sed-Rajna, 'Haggadah and Aggadah: Reconsidering the Origins of the Biblical Illustrations in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts,' in C. Moss – K. Kiefer (ed.), *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995) 415-427.

Segal 2007. M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*: *Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden, 2007).

Segal 2009. M. Segal, 'The Composition of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 22-35.

Shakhmatov 1904. А. А. Шахматов, 'Толковая Палея и русская летопись,' in А. А. Шахматов (ed.), *Статьи по славяноведению* (Санктпетербург, 1904) 199-272.

Shapiro 1942. M. Shapiro, 'Cain's Jaw-Bone that Did the First Murder,' *The Art Bulletin* 24: 3 (1942) 205-212.

Shemesh 2009. A. Shemesh, '4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of Jubilees at Qumran,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 247-260.

Skowronek 2011. М. Сковронэк, 'О списке «Апокалипсиса» Псевдо-Мефодия Патарского о последних временах Государственного Архива в Бухаресте,' *Старобългаристика* (*Palaeobuilgarica*) 35: 3 (2011) 74-115.

Slavova 2002. Т. Славова, *Тълковната Палея в контекста на старобългарската книжнина* (София, 2002).

Smirnova 1999. Э.С. Смирнова, 'Библиография печатных работ А. Н. Грабара,' in Э. С. Смирнова (ed.), *Древнерусское искусство. Византия и Древняя Русь. К 100-летию Андрея Николаевича Грабара* (1896-1990). (Санкт- Петербург, 1999) 34-51.

Sokolov 1888. М. Соколов, *Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе* (Москва, 1888).

Solcanu 2002. I. I. Solcanu, *Artă și societate Romanească* (*sec. 14-18*) (București, 2002).

Sparks 1984. H. F. Davis Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, 1984).

Stankov 2008. Р. Станков, 'Древнеболгарский перевод Хроники Георгия Амартола в древнерусской письменной традиции,' *Старобългарска литература* 39-40 (2008) 45-103.

Stillman 1974. N. A. Stillman, 'The Story of Cain and Abel in the Qur'ān and the Muslim Commentators: Some Observations,' *Journal of Semitic Studies* 19 (1974) 231-239.

Stoianov 1964-1971. М. Стоянов – Хр. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, 3 (№ 830-1137); 4 (№ 1138-1352) (София, 1964-1971).

Stone 2000. M. Stone, 'The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam,' in G. A. Anderson *et al.* (ed.), *Literature on Adam and Eve* (Leiden, 2000) 149-166.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Stone 2002. M. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*: *The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington, 2002).

Stratton 1995. B. Stratton, *Out of Eden, Reading, Rhetoric and Ideology in Genesis 2-3.* (Sheffield, 1995).

Stuckenbruck 2009. L. T. Stuckenbruck, 'The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 294-308.

Sumtsov 1888. Н. Сумцов, *Очерки исторіи южнорусскихъ апокрифическихъ сказаній и пѣсенъ* (Kiев, 1888).

Suter 2009. D. W. Suter, 'Jubilees, the Temple, and the Aaronite Priesthood,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 397-410.

Taube 1993. M. Taube, 'The Slavic *Life of Moses* and Its Hebrew Sources,' in W. Moskovich *et al.* (ed.), *Jews and Slavs,* 1 (Jerusalem – St. Petersburg, 1993) 84-119.

Teugels 2003. L. M. Teugels, 'The Twin Sisters of Cain and Abel: a Survey of the Rabbinic Sources,' in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children : The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 47-56.

Thomson 1985. F. J. Thomson, 'The Slavonic Translations of Pseudo-Methodius of Olympus' *Apocalypsis*,' in А. Давидов – В. Тъпкова-Заимова – Н. Дончева-Панайотова – Н. Драгова, Й. Андреев (ed.), *Търновска книжовна школа*, 4 (София, 1985) 143-173.

Thomson 1993. F. J. Thomson, '*Made in Russia*: A Survey of the Translations Allegedly Made in Kievan Russia,' in G. Birkfellner (ed.), *Millenium Russiae Christianae : Tausend Jahre Christliches Russland 988-1988. Vorträge des Symposiums anläßlich der Tausendjahrfeier der Christianierung Rußlands in Münster vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1988* (Köln, 1993) 295-354.

Thomson 1998. F. J. Thomson, 'The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament,' in J. Krašovec (ed.), *Interpretation of the Bible* (Ljubljana – Sheffield, 1998) 605-920.

Thompson 1955-1958. S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends*, 1-6 (Copenhagen, 1955-1958).

Tikhonravov 1863. Н.С. Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, 1-2 (Санктпетербург – Москва, 1863).

Tolstaia 2005. С.М. Толстая, 'Следы древнеславянской апокрифической традиции в полесском фольклоре: *Сказание о 12 пятницах*,' in С. Толстая, *Полесский народный календарь* (Москва, 2005) 543-562.

Totomanova 2008. А.-М. Тотоманова, *Славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел* (София, 2008).

Tubach 2003. J. Tubach, 'Seth and the Sethites in Early Syriac Literature,' in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children : The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 187-202.

Turdeanu 1964. É. Turdeanu, 'La "*Palaea*" byzantine chez les Slaves du Sud et chez les Roumains,' *Revue des Études slaves* 40: 1 (1964) 195-206.

Tvorogov 1987a. О.В. Творогов, 'Палея Толковая,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 1 (Ленинград, 1987) 285-288.

Tvorogov 1987b. О.В. Творогов, 'Хроника Георгия Амартола,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 1 (Ленинград, 1987) 467-470.

Tvorogov 1987c. О.В. Творогов, 'Хроника Иоанна Малалы,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси,* 1 (Ленинград, 1987) 471-474.

Tvorogov 1989. О.В. Творогов, 'Палея Историческая,' in Д.С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси*, 2.2 (Ленинград, 1989) 160-162.

Tzonev 1910. Б. Цонев, *Опис на ръкописите и старопечатните книги на Народната библиотека в София*, 1 (№ 1-451) (София, 1910).

Tzonev 1916. Б. Цонев, *Славянските ръкописи в Българската академия на науките* (= *Сборник на Българската Академия на Науките* 6 (1916); m*onographic issue*).

Tzonev 1920. Б. Цонев, *Опис на славянските ръкописи и старопечатните книги в Пловдивската народна библиотека* (№ 1-138) (София, 1920).

Tzonev 1923. Б. Цонев, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, 2 (№ 452-829) (София, 1923).

Uspensky 1973. Б. Успенский, '*Правое* и *левое* в иконописном изображении,' in Ю.М. Лотман (ed.), *Сборник статей по вторичным моделирующим системам* (Тарту, 1973) 137-145.

Uspensky 1976. B. A. Uspensky, *The Semiotics of the Russian Icon* (Ghent, 1976).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Utley 1968. F. L. Utley, 'Rabghuzi – Fourteenth-Century Turkish Folklorist: a Contribution to Biblical-Koranic apocrypha and to the Bible of the Folk,' in F. Harkort – K. Peeters – R. Wildhaber (ed.), *Volksüberlieferung. Festschrift für Kurt Ranke zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres* (Göttingen, 1968) 373-400.

Van Ruiten 2003. J. van Ruiten, 'Eve's Pain in Childbearing? Interpretations of Gen 3:16a in Biblical and Early Jewish Texts,' in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children : The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 3-26.

Van Ruiten 2009. J. van Ruiten, 'Abram's Prayer: The Coherence of the Pericopes in Jubilees 12: 16-27,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2009) 211-228.

VanderKam 1977. J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula/Montana, 1977).

VanderKam 1978. J. C. VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources,' *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 13: 1 (1978) 229-251.

VanderKam 1989. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 510-511, Scriptores Aethiopici 87-88*) (Louvain, 1989).

VanderKam and Milik 1991. J. C. VanderKam – J. T. Milik, 'The First *Jubilees* Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110: 2 (1991) 243-270.

VanderKam 1991. J. C. VanderKam, 'The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4,' in J. C. Trebolle Barrera – L. Vegas Montaner (ed.), *The Madrid Qumran Congress*: *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991*, 2 (Leiden, 1992) 635-648.

VanderKam and Milik 1992. J. C. VanderKam – J. T. Milik, 'A Preliminary Publication of a Jubilees Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: 4QJub^{d} (4Q219),' *Biblica* 73 (1992) 62-83.

VanderKam 1993. J. C. VanderKam, 'Biblical Interpretation in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*,' in J. H. Charlesworth – C. Evans (ed.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield, 1993) 96-125.

VanderKam 1997. J. C. VanderKam, 'The Aqedah, Jubilees, and PseudoJubilees,' in C. A. Evans – S. Talmon (ed.), *The Quest for Context and Meaning*: *Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Leiden, 1997) 241-261.

VanderKam 2001. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield, 2001).

VanderKam 2001a. J. C. VanderKam, 'The Interpretation of Genesis in *1 Enoch*,' in P. W. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran*: *Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2001) 129-148.

VanderKam 2009. J. C. VanderKam, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees,' in G. Boccaccini – G. Ibba (ed.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah : The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids/Michigan – Cambridge/UK, 2009) 3-21.

VanderKam 2013. J. C. VanderKam, 'The Book of the Covenant: A New Translation and Introduction,' in R. Bauckham *et al.* (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha : More Noncanonical Scriptures* (Grand Rapids/Michigan, 2013) 28-32.

Vasiliev 1964. А. Василиев, 'Проучвания на изобразителните изкуства из някои селища по долината на Струма,' *Известия на Института за изобразителни изкуства* 7 (1964) 151-192.

Vermes 1961. G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism : Haggadic Studies* (Leiden, 1961).

Veselovskii 1875. А.Н. Веселовский, 'Опыты по исторіи развиія христіанской легенды (I): Откровенія Мефодія и византійско-германская императорская сага'; 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II): Легенда о возвращающемся императорѣ,' *Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія* 178: 4 (1875) 283-331; 179: 5 (1875) 48-130.

Veselovskii 1876. А.Н. Веселовский, 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II. I): Берта, Анастасія и Пятница. (Опытъ мифологическаго анализа)'; 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II. II): Берта, Анастасія и Пятница. (Эпистолия о недѣлѣ)'; 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II. III): Берта, Анастасія и Пятница. (Сонъ Богородицы и сводныя редакціи эпистолиіи)'; 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II. IV): Сказание о 12-ти пятницахъ,' *Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія* 183: 2 (1876) 241-288; 184: 3 (1876) 50-116; 185: 4 (1876) 341-363; 185: 6 (1876) 326-367.

Veselovskii 1877. А.Н. Веселовский, 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II. V): Берта, Анастасія и Пятница. Недѣля-Анастасія (Domenica-Anastasia) и Пятница-Параскева'; 'Опыты по исторіи развитія христіанской легенды (II. VI): Берта, Анастасія и Пятница. (Опытъ мифологическаго анализа). Freiheit – Элевферій,' *Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія* 189: 2 (1877) 186-252; 191: 5 (1877) 76-125.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Veselovskii 1894. А.Н. Веселовский, '*Следы народной Библии в славянской и древнерусской письменности*: исследование В. Н. Мочульского (Одесса, 1893),' *Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія* 291: 2 (1894) 413-427.

Vodolazkin 2008. Е.Г. Водолазкин, *Всемирная история в литературе Древней Руси* (*На материале хронографического и палейного повествования XI-XV веков*). 2-е издание (переработанное и дополненное) (Санкт-Петербург, 2008).

Vodolazkin 2009. Е.Г. Водолазкин, 'Как создавалась Полная Хронографическая Палея' (1), in Н.В. Понырко (ed.), *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, 60 (Санкт-Петербург, 2009) 327-353.

Vodolazkin 2011. E. G. Vodolazkin, 'Zu einer Rohfassung der Polnaja Chronografičeskaja Paleja und zum Verhältnis zwischen den verschiedenen Paleja-Redactionen,' in L. DiTommaso – C. Böttrich (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*. (Tübingen, 2011) 453-470.

Vodolazkin 2014. Е.Г. Водолазкин, 'Как создавалась Полная Хронографическая Палея' (2), in Н.В. Понырко (ed.), *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, 62 (Санкт-Петербург, 2014) 175-200.

Weitzmann 1971a. K. Weitzmann, 'The Illustration of the Septuagint,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 201-231.

Weitzmann 1971b. K. Weitzmann, 'The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration,' in J. Gutmann (ed.), *No Graven Images : Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1971) 309-328.

Weitzmann 1981. K. Weitzmann, 'The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and Their Impact on Christian Iconography,' in K. Weitzmann, *Classical Heritage on Byzantine and Near Eastern Art* (London, 1981) 45-68.

Weitzmann, Kessler 1990. K. Weitzmann – H. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington/D.C., 1990).

Westenholz 2000. J. G. Westenholz (ed.), *Images of Inspiration : the Old Testament in Early Christian Art* (Jerusalem, 2000).

Wintermute 1985. O. S. Wintermute, 'Jubilees,' in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 (Garden City/New York, 1985) 35-142.

Yovcheva and Taseva 1995. М. Йовчева – Л. Тасева, 'Двата старобългарски превода на Псевдо-Методиевото

Откровение,' in Е. Дограмаджиева – С. Николова – Г. Попов (ed.), *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, 10 (София, 1995) 22-45.

List of illustrations

Fig. 1. ***Vine as the Forbidden Tree***; line drawing of a miniature from the illuminated MS № 997 (Fol. 1240r) from the Library of the Holy Synod (Moscow) containing *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (copied in 1542 in the city of Novgorod, Northern Russia). Reproduced from: Ф. Буслаев, *Исторические очерки русской народной словесности и искусства,* 1: *Русская народная поэзия* (Санктпетербург, 1861), p. 617a.

Fig. 2. ***Noah, the Ark, and the Serpent***; fragment from Patriarch Noah's *Vita* Icon (early 19th century), The Icon Museum, the city of Triavna, Bulgaria.

Fig. 3. "***And having conceived, she gave birth to Cain***"; fresco, Dečani Monastery (Kosovo), 1347-1348. Courtesy of BLAGO Fund, Inc. P.O. Box 60524, Palo Alto, CA 94306 (info@srpskoblago.org; http://www.srpskoblago.org/; http://www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Decani/index.html). Special thanks to Prof. Jelena Erdeljan (the Department of Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade) and Prof. Miodrag Markovic (the Director of the Institute for Art History, the Department of Art History, University of Belgrade) for their assistance in obtaining the image.

Fig. 4. "***And God looks at Abel and his offering but did not look at Cain and did not accept his offering***"; fresco, Dečani Monastery (Kosovo), 1347-1348. Courtesy of BLAGO Fund, Inc. P.O. Box 60524, Palo Alto, CA 94306 (info@srpskoblago.org; http://www.srpskoblago.org/; http://www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Decani/index.html). Special thanks to Prof. Jelena Erdeljan and Prof. Miodrag Markovic for their assistance in obtaining the image.

Fig. 5. "***And Cain rose up against Abel and killed him***"; fresco, Dečani Monastery (Kosovo), 1347-1348. Courtesy of BLAGO Fund, Inc. P.O. Box 60524, Palo Alto, CA 94306 (info@srpskoblago.org; http://www.srpskoblago.org/; http://www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Decani/index.html). Special thanks to Prof. Jelena

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Erdeljan and Prof. Miodrag Markovic for their assistance in obtaining the image.

Fig. 6. ***"And God said to Cain, where is your brother Abel?"***; fresco, Dečani Monastery (Kosovo), 1347-1348. Courtesy of BLAGO Fund, Inc. P.O. Box 60524, Palo Alto, CA 94306 (info@srpskoblago.org; http://www.srpskoblago.org/; http://www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Decani/index.html). Special thanks to Prof. Jelena Erdeljan and Prof. Miodrag Markovic for their assistance in obtaining the image.

Fig. 7. ***Cain builds a city***; fresco, Dečani Monastery (Kosovo), 1347-1348. Courtesy of BLAGO Fund, Inc. P.O. Box 60524, Palo Alto, CA 94306 (info@srpskoblago.org; http://www.srpskoblago.org/; http://www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Decani/index.html). Special thanks to Prof. Jelena Erdeljan and Prof. Miodrag Markovic for their assistance in obtaining the image.

Fig. 8. ***Cain murders Abel with stones***; detail from an ivory box with scenes of Adam and Eve, 1000–1100s. Byzantium, Constantinople, Byzantine period, 11th –12th century. Ivory, wood; overall: 14.30 x 46.67 x 20.32 cm (5 5/8 x 18 5/16 x 8 inches). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of W. G. Mather, F. F. Prentiss, John L. Severance, J. H. Wade 1924.747. ©Cleveland Museum of Art.

Fig. 9. ***Cain murders Abel with stones***; fresco (northern wall), Voroneț Monastery (Romania), 1547. Reproduced from: P. Comarnescu – D. Grigorescu, *Voroneț: 15th and 16th Century Frescoes. Treasures of Rumanian Art* (Bucharest, 1959), plate 101.

Fig. 10. ***The offerings of Cain and Abel***; fresco, narthex of the Rila Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Mary (Bulgaria), 1846.

Fig. 11. ***Cain kills Abel***; fresco, narthex of the Rila Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Mary (Bulgaria), 1846.

Fig. 12. ***Adam and Eve lamenting over dead Abel***; fresco, narthex of the Rila Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Mary (Bulgaria), 1846.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.