The Embroidered Bible

Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone

Edited by

Lorenzo DiTommaso
Matthias Henze
William Adler



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CHAPTER 10

Slavonic Redactions of the Apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*: Some Considerations

Florentina Badalanova Geller

The apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* was brought to the attention of the specialists in Slavonic parabiblical literature by the Bulgarian scholar Ǐordan Ivanov in 1935. In his monograph, *Old Bulgarian Tales*,[1] Ivanov offers a concise edition of the apocryphon (in modern Bulgarian), based on a miscellany compiled by Pŭrvan Vŭlchov [Първан Вълчов] in 1820 in the city of Vidin, North-Western Bulgaria,[2] and a miscellany compiled by the Priest Puncho [Поп Пунчо] in 1796 in the vicinities of Lom, North-Western Bulgaria.[3] Ivanov considers the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* to be one of Slavonic parabiblical narratives influenced by the dualist heresy of the Bogomils. The Bulgarian scholar must have discovered this composition after the publication of his seminal monograph *Books and Legends of the Bogomils*,[4] since he did not include it in the book itself (which was published ten years earlier).

In 1966, Stefan Kozhukharov [Стефан Кожухаров] unearthed in the archaeographic collection of the Church Historical and Archival Institute (in Sofia) a much earlier redaction of the apocryphon, dated to the sixteenth century (manuscript 1161). An edition of this text, along with an English translation, is given in the present publication.[5]

1 Ǐ. Ivanov, *Старобългарски разкази*: *текстове, новобългарски превод и бележки*. (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa, 1935).

2 See the Appendix, text № 2.

3 Now Sofia, Natsionalna biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiĭ," 693, fols. 28r–40v. The text is entitled "Слово ст҃аго ѿца нашего їѡана златоустаго ѡ анꙗ҆нхрнста лѫкаваго н льжнваго н безбожнаго санꙗ҆танла какъво го пленн ст҃н унноначалнкь арꙗ҆хангель мнханль, воевода васемь анꙗ҆геломь."

4 Ǐ. Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди*. (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa, 1925).

5 See the Appendix, Text 1, *infra*.

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As for the history of the text editions of the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*,[6] Anisava Miltenova in 1981 published, under the supervision of Kozhukharov (and with his assistance), the aforementioned sixteenth-century redaction of the apocryphon in manuscript 1161, along with that from the Codex of Priest Puncho.[7] In 1987 Miltenova and D. Bogdanović published fragments from another account, from the Archaeographic Collection of the Savina Monastery, which reflects an even earlier, fourteenth-century redaction of the same apocryphon.[8] In 2005, Tomislav Jovanovich published a later Serbian redaction of the text, entitled "The Fight of Archangel Michael and Satanael" (Борба арханђела Михаила са Сатанаилом).[9] He considers the sixteenth-century account from the archaeographic collection of the Church Historical and Archival Institute of the Bulgarian Patriarchate to be its protograph.

In the same year, 2005, the Russian scholar Ol'ga Afinogenova independently published a Greek redaction of an apocryphal narrative, dealing with the same topic—the combat between Archangel Michael and Satanael. This text, part of a miscellany, is preserved in Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1190 (xvi$^{2/4}$ [1542]), fols. 882–887. Erhard, who first described the manuscript in 1952,[10] suggested that it was compiled in Crete; Afinogenova also drew attention to some iconographic parallels to the same narrative, pointing out that visual renditions of the tale are attested in fourteenth-century frescoes from the monastery of St. Archangel Michael in Lesnovo.[11] She further noted that the Greek version reflects "dualistic gnostic ideas." At the same

6 For a concise survey of Slavonic sources see S. Kozhukharov and I. Bozhilov, eds., *Българската литература и книжнина през 13 век*. (Sofia: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1987), 251–252.

7 A. Miltenova, "Апокрифът за борбата на архангел Михаил със Сатанаил в две редакции," *Старобългарска литература* 9 (1981): 98–113 at 99–105. See also *eadem*, "Неизвестна редакция на апокрифа за борбата на Архангел Михаил със Сатанаил," in L. Grasheva et al., eds., *Литературознание и фолклористика: В чест на 70-годишнината на Академик Петър Динеков* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata Akademiia na naukite, 1983), 121–128.

8 D. Bogdanović and A. Miltenova, "Апокрифният сборник от манастира Савина, XIV в., в сравнение с други подобни южнославянски ръкописи," *Археографски прилози* 9 (1987): 7–30.

9 T. Jovanović, "Траг апокрифа о борби са ђаволом у српској народној књижевности," *Књижевност и језик* 43 3/4 (1995): 33–55.

10 See the discussion in O. Afinogenova, "Греческий вариант апокрифа о борьбе архангела Михаила и Сатанаила," *Scripta & e-Scripta* 3–4 (2006): 329–348 at 329–331.

11 See also in this connection S. Gabelić, "The Fall of Satan in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art," *Zograf* 23 (1993–1994): 65–73 at 65, 69–70. See also Fig. 10.1, *infra*.

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FIGURE 10.1 *The Archangel Michael Defeating* Satanail*, mural painting in the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary in the village of Kraynitsy, Bulgaria* (*nineteenth century*)

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time Afinogenova argued that the Greek redaction may have been based on an earlier Slavonic protograph, although a counter argument has been made by Georgi Minczew, who suggests a reversed scenario—that the Slavonic version of the apocryphon must have been based on an earlier Greek protograph.[12]

Last but not least, there also exists a Romanian redaction of the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*.[13] The text is part of a miscellany from București, Biblioteca Academiei Române, 1282, fols. 164r–177r, which was copied in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and, according to Cartojan, represents a translation from an earlier Bulgarian protograph. In the manuscript, the text is entitled, *Povestea lui Satanailŭ cumŭ s-au trufitŭ împotriva zidiloru̇lui D⟨u⟩mnezeu cu gîndul şi cumŭ au căzutŭ dinŭ ceriŭ de s-au făcutŭ din înger liminatŭ, de s-au făcutŭ dracu*.[14]

While analyzing some other Slavonic parabiblical texts, the present author suggested that the Old Church Slavonic *Vorlage* of the apocryphal tale of the struggle between Archangel Michael and Satan most probably originated from an earlier, heavily edited translation of a related Greek text; the purported authorship of its protograph was attributed to John Chrysostom.[15] Indeed, the tale about the contest between the two "cosmic warriors," Satan and the Archangel Michael, is central to the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*. It is intertwined with the motif of the Satanic rebellion, which is contextualised implicitly in connection with Isa 14:13–14:

> For you have said in your heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the

12 G. Minczew, "Един богомилски текст? Слово на св. Йоан Златоуст за това, как Михаил победи Сатанаил," *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 34/4 (2010): 17–46; see also G. Minczew, "John Chrysostom's Tale on How Michael Vanquished Satanael—a Bogomil text?" *Studia Ceranea* 1 (2011): 23–54. The discussion concerning the *Vorlage* of the apocryphal narrative about the combat between Archangel Michael and Satanael is far from over.

13 See the chapter "Lupta Arhanghelului Mihail cu Satanail" in N. Cartojan, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească*. 2: *Epoca influenței grecești*. (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1974), 49–52.

14 I am currently involved in the process of preparing the original Romanian text, with English translation and commentary, for publication.

15 F. Badalanova Geller, "*The Sea of Tiberias*: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition," in L. DiTommaso and C. Böttrich, eds., *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition: Continuity and Diversity* (TSAJ 140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 13–157 at 80–84. See also F. Badalanova Geller, "Cosmogonies and Mythopoesis in the Balkans and Beyond," *Slavia Meridionalis* 14 (2014): 87–147.

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> congregation, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High!

In fact, one of the earliest references to Isa 14:13 in *Slavia Orthodoxa* is to be found in *The Discourse on the Holy Trinity* by Saint Clement of Ohrid (*c.* 840–916):

> ѿ тех же бѣ еднъ земномоу ѹнноу стронтель поставленъ бг҃омъ нже горъдынею своею и оумомъ злымъ превознесъ сѧ, рече; Поставлю прстлъ свон на облацѣх и боудоу подобенъ вышнемоу. И того ради нзверженъ ѥс ѿ сана своего и свѣтлости лишн се, бы тмѣ наѹальнкъ. И со ѿстоупнымн с нм а҃гглы и своего в҃лкы ѿстоупыше, бѣсмн пременнша по своен нмъ злобѣ.[16]

Then again, a similar allusion to both Isa 14:13 and Ezek 28:13–19 is to be found in the narrative about the rebellion and the fall of Lucifer (свѣтоносецъ), who has become an adversary of the Creator in the *Slavonic Version of the Chronicle of Syncellus*, which was translated in medieval Bulgaria in the ninth or tenth century. The narrative about the fall of the most senior among the angels is presented as an introduction to the creation of heaven and earth paralleling the first chapters of *Genesis*.[17]

The motif of the revolt of God's angelic adversary is likewise featured in *2 Enoch*, in the description of the creation of the heavenly host:

> I struck a great spark from the stone [ѿ камене оусѣко ѡгнь велнкы] and I created from the fire the ranks of the incorporeal host of the ten myriads angels [ѿ ѡгнѣ сътворн ѹннн бесплътнн вон҃ı тъ а҃гг҃ль], and their fiery armaments and their garments, which were like burning flames [н ѡржжїа н ѡгнына н ѡдежде н пламн плещь]. I ordered each of them to stand according to their rank [повелѣх да стож къждо въ своем ѹнноу]; {but} one of the ranks of archangels seceded {from Me}, together with his subordinates [е҆днн же ѿ ѹнна архаг҃лскаго ѿвращı сѧ съ ѹнном сжщнм под нм], seized by the futile idea [въспрїжт мнсль немощнжѧ] to place his throne above the clouds above Earth [да поставнт прѣстоль свон выше ѡблак на

16 B.S. Angelov et al., eds., *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite, 1970–1973), 1.639.

17 A.M. Totomanova, *Славянската версия на хрониката на Георги Синкел* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski," 2008), 31.

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> землѣѫ] and to become equal to My power [да бѫдет тѫчеⷭ моѣн снлѣ]. I cast him down from the height together with his angels [ѿвръгохъ ѣго съ высотн съ аг҃лн ѣго]; and they began to fly in the air above the Abyss [бѣ лѣтаѧ по въздоухоу внижѫ врѣхоу бездни]. This is how I fixed all the heavens [сътворнх тако всѣ нб҃са] and it was the third day [бы҃дь третїн].[18]

The motif of Satan's rebellion is rendered in a similar way in the seventeenth century Bosnian apocryphal legend, *The World's Beginnings* [Почетне свнета], which is contained in a miscellany preserved in Plovdiv, Narodna biblioteka "Ivan Vazov," 116 (xvii), fols. 90–97:

> Защо Гъ Бб҃ сатворн сан свнеть? ѳтан време бнеше а҃ ангель ѳ Бога нанзабранн, кон бн названь Сатананль. Онь почѣ мнслнтн како бнѡ вєчн ѿ Га҃ Ба҃, н тон мнслєчн, седе на прнестоль гн҃ь. Н доѣе к немѳ Мнханль арханѣель, анѣель гн҃ь верни н реѵ мѳ: ѳстанн, поганн, нне тн тѳн сндетн! Н ѳдрн га ногомь, н онь паде подь землѳ, н свн анѣелн, кон веровахѳ нега, падоше с неба, еднн подь землѳ, а дрѳзн на землѳ, а третн ѡсташе под небомь на ерѳ: како се где кон поменоваше Га҃ нашего, тако н ѡнде ѡставаше. Н свн се сатворнше дїавлн, кон мншлахѳ онѳн злѳмнсаль н кон слѳжахѳ Лѳчнпетра, н за то ѥсть ѳ ѡхоластн првн грнехь.[19]

Last but not least, a similar concept is expressed in the *Secret Book of the Bogomils*; according to the twelfth-century Latin manuscript of what Ivanov called the *Codex Carcassoniensis* (i.e., *Liber Sancti Johannis*):

> [before Satanail fell] he was in such glory that he was directing the heavenly forces. I [that is, Jesus], however, was sitting next to my Father. That one [i.e. Satanail] was managing things completely in imitation of the Father, and he was descending from heaven to the depths, and ascending from the depths to the throne of the invisible Father. And he was observ-

18 This passage comes from the Bulgarian text entitled, *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [Книгн с҃тнх таннь Енохов]. This had been preserved in Beograd, Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 321 (xvi–xvii), but the manuscript was destroyed through bombardment in the Second World War. See F. Badalanova Geller, "Creation Encrypted: Ontology through Metaphor (The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just)," in M. Witte and S. Behnke, eds., *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook: The Metaphorical Use of Language in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2015), 381–409 at 399.

19 See Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, 322.

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> ing the glory which pertained to the Mover of Heavens, and he got the idea of placing his throne above the clouds of heaven, and he wanted to be like the Most High.[20]

Significantly, in the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*, the motif of Satan's fall is intertwined with the motif of Adam's veneration by the angels.[21] On the other hand, the narrative of how Satan refused to bow before man is attested in a number of Slavonic apocryphal sources. It is incorporated into a much larger cluster of narratives describing the lives of Adam and Eve and their offspring. One such apocryphal source, preserved in Odessa, Gosudarstvennaia nauchnaia biblioteka, Grigorovich collection, catalogue no. 448 (56), purportedly reports that it was,

> copied from the divine books of the diligent and God-loving men, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Damascene, concerning the most glorious debates on mysterious issues about the Eternal Lord, our God, how God Sabaoth preceded all visible and invisible creatures.[22]

According to some other recensions of the same text (occasionally entitled *The Legend of the Sea of Tiberias*), after his having created the first man, God venerates him, together with the entire heavenly host; the only one who refuses to do so is Satan; as a result, God curses him and expels him from Heaven:

> And God worshipped [i.e., bowed before] Adam and said to Satan, "You must also worship Adam." And Satan said, "I won't worship Your creation." And God said, "Cursed Devil, cunning Satan!"[23]

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20 T. Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica. A Bilingual Anthology of Bulgarian Texts from the 9th to the 19th Centuries* (Michigan Slavic Materials 41; Michigan: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1996), 191.

21 See the discussion in M.E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on The Books of Adam and Eve," G.A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," and *idem*, "Ezekiel 28, the Fall of Satan, and the Adam Books," in G.A. Anderson et al., eds., *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (SVTP 15; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 43–56, 83–110, and 133–147 respectively.

22 The original version of the Slavonic text (with English translations and commentaries) was published in F. Badalanova Geller, "These Blasphemous Rustic Scriptures: Indigenous Apocryphal Heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*," in V. Panaïotov, ed., *Triantaphyllo. In Honorem Hristo Trendafilov* (Shumen: Shumenski universitet "Konstantin Preslavski," 2013), 66–106 at 70–93.

23 Badalanova Geller, "*Sea of Tiberias*," 80–81.

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Furthermore, the motif of Satan's refusal to worship Adam is also found in some Slavonic redactions of *3 Baruch*:

> н рєᵛ Мнханлоу въстроубн да събероуть сѧ анг҃лн н да поклонѧть сѧ тварн роукоу моею ѭже створнхъ. Н въстроубн Мнханлъ анг҃лъ н собраша сѧ в҃сн анг҃лн н поклонншa сѧ в҃сн адамоу по чнноу. а сотонанлъ непоклонн сѧ н рєᵛ азъ калоу н бренннюю не поклонюю сѧ нън. н рєᵛ поставлю прᶜтлъ мон на облацѣˣ н боудоу подобенъ вышнему. да того ради бъ оᵀверже н оᵀ лнца своего н съ анг҃лъ свонмн ѭкоже рєᵛ пр҃рокъ оудалншa сѧ оᵀ лнца его в҃сн ненавндѧщн бг҃а н славы бжню.
>
> And He said to Michael, "Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of My hands which I made." And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and bowed down to Adam order by order. But Satanael did not bow down and said, "To mud and dirt I will never bow down." And he said, "I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest." Because of that, God cast him and his angels from His face just as the prophet said, "These withdrew from His face, all who hate God and the glory of God."[24]

The same idea is presented in some other apocryphal writings, such as *The Dispute between Jesus and Satan on the Mount of Olives*; the text is attested in both Greek[25] and Slavonic redactions.[26] As far as the Slavonic tradition is concerned, it is known in eight text witnesses.[27]

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24 H.E. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost his -el," *JJS* 33 (1982): 303–309 at 304–305. See also *idem*, "3 Baruch," in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 653–679. See further A. Kulik, *3 Baruch: Greek Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch* (CEJL; Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 2010), 189.

25 The Greek accounts (dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) were published by A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina: Pars Prior* (Moskva: Universitatis Caesareae, 1893), 4–10.

26 See the discussion in R.P. Cassey and R.W. Thomson, "Dialogue between Christ and the Devil." *JTS* 6 (1955): 49–65. Cf. also Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, 248–257, and D. Petkanova, ed., *Стара българска литература. 1: Апокрифна художествена проза* (Sofia: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1982), 173–176.

27 One of the oldest Slavonic copies of the text comes from a fourteenth-century miscellany, now preserved in Vienna; the text was first published by K. Radchenko, "Заметки о пергаментном сборнике № 139 (137) XIV века Венской придворной библиотеки," *IORIAS* 8 (1903), no. 4, 175–211 at 196–198.

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According to the sixteenth-century Bulgarian account from the Panagiurishte Miscellany, while summoning his hosts, the Devil declares:

> "My children, be strong because the great adversary Jesus has come. If we remove Him, then the glory will be ours. When His Father created Adam, I did not wish to kiss him, nor to bow before him. This is why His Father expelled me. I do not wish to have anything to do with Him." And then he said again to the devils, "My children, go in front of me, I am coming after you." Dust rose from the Devil's host. The disciples of God looked at the quaking mountains and shaking lakes and said to Him, "You saw the fury of the Devil and we shook when we heard his voice." And they ran away. Peter was also scared by the Devil. […] After that, the Devil fell from the sky as lightning.[28]

Obviously, the copyist/compiler of the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* was acquainted with some of the sources listed above. This may explain why the motif of the refusal of Satan to venerate Adam—which is absent from the Greek redactions of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*—has nevertheless penetrated Slavonic scribal tradition of the Byzantine Commonwealth, thus paralleling the narrative schemes attested in the Latin redactions of the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* 12.1–16.4,[29] and in midrashic tradition (e.g., *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, *Bereshit Rabbah*).[30] Finally, the motif of the refusal of Satan (Iblis) to make obeisance to Adam is also featured in the Quranic anthropogenesis.[31] One final point: this type of interpretation of parabiblical legend of the angelic adoration of Adam is also attested in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim religious art.[32]

In sum, the Slavonic redactions of the apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* are but offspring of shared traditions, the roots of which go back to the common heritage of Abrahamic faiths. Furthermore, the strong intertextuality between the *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* and the *Sea of Tiberias* is cleary

28 Author's translation.

29 See R.H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2.137.

30 A survey of sources is offered by Ginzberg in his *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1909–1938), 1. 62–64; 5.84–85, n. 35.

31 Surah 2:34–36, 7:11–19, 15:31–39, 17:61–63, 18:50, 20:116–123, and 38:71–85.

32 J. Gutmann, "On Biblical Legends in Medieval Art," *Artibus et historiae* 19/38 (1998): 137–142 at 137–138.

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shown by the resemblance of the narrative structures of these two compositions, but whether this resulted from dependence of one text upon another is not yet possible to determine. Some fragments from the *Homily* are also strongly attested in Slavonic and Balkan vernacular traditions[33]—in folklore songs and legends orally transmitted in Bulgaria,[34] Montenegro,[35] Serbia,[36] Ukraine[37] and Romania[38]—but this merits a separate study.

33 See the discussion in A.N. Veselovskiĭ, "Разыскания в области русского духовного стыха (11): Дуалистические поверья о мироздании," *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка и Словесности Императорской Академии наук* 46: 6 (1889): 1–367 at 78–94; M. Dragomanov, "Забележки върху славянските религиозно-етически легенди (2): Дуалистическото миротворение (4–6)," *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* 10 (1894): 3–68 at 14–17; D. Petkanova, *Апокрифна литература и фолклор: апокрифната художествена литература и фолклорът* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo Nauka i Izkustvo, 1978), 171–177; and T. Jovanović, "Од апокрифа ка српској народној приповеци," *Научни састанак слависта у Вукове дане* 38/2 (2009): 13–19.

34 See, for instance, Stefan Mladenov, "Към въпроса за езика и националната принадлежност на Ново Село, Видинско," *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* 18 (1901): 471–506 at 499–501; and Ivanov, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, 337–345 (texts 6, 7, and 8).

35 See the folk song recorded and published by V.S. Karadžić, *Srpske Narodne Pjesme. Skupio i na svijet izdao Vuk St. Karadžić. Knjiga druga, u kojoj su pjesme junačke najstarije. Drugo državno izdanje* (Beograd: Štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1895), 75–78, text 16 (Цар Дуклијан и Крститељ Јован).

36 See V.S. Karadžić, *Srpske Narodne Pripovijetke* (Beč [Wien], 1853), 114–116 (За што у људи ние табан раван?). The work is reproduced in M. Pantić, ed., *Sabrana Dela Vuka Karadžića* (vol. 3; Beograd: Prosveta, 1988), 39–161 at 104 (text 18). See also Karadžić, *Srpske Narodne Pjesme*, 78–79, n. 14, and M. Majzner, *Srpske narodne pripovedke* (*tekst i komentar*) (*Srpski Etnografski Zbornik* 50:4; Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1934), 96–97, text 3 (О помрачењу сунца).

37 See V. Gnatiuk, "Етнографічні материяли з Угорської Руси. Зібрав Володимир Гнатюк. 1: Легенди і новелї," *Етнографічний збірник* 3 (1897): 3–4, text 2 (Борьба св. Михайла з Люцифером).

38 See Cartojan, *Cărțile populare* 2, 51–52.

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Appendix[39]

1 *Text 1*

The text (originally entitled Слово Златоустаго Нѡ҃а Како повѣде мнхаиль. са҃танла, гл҃ъ бл҃гословн) comes from a miscellany preserved in Sofia, Tsŭrkovno-istoricheski i arkhiven institut, 1161 (xvi$^{2/2}$), fols. 40v–55r. On the basis of the linguistic characteristics of the text, it is maintained that it was compiled/copied by a Bulgarian scribe from a protograph in Resavian dialect. An earlier edition of the text (without pericopes) was published by Miltenova.[40] The digitalised version of the current text was produced with the assistance of Iva Trifonova, as part of the TOPOI research project on Slavonic Apocryphal Heritage.

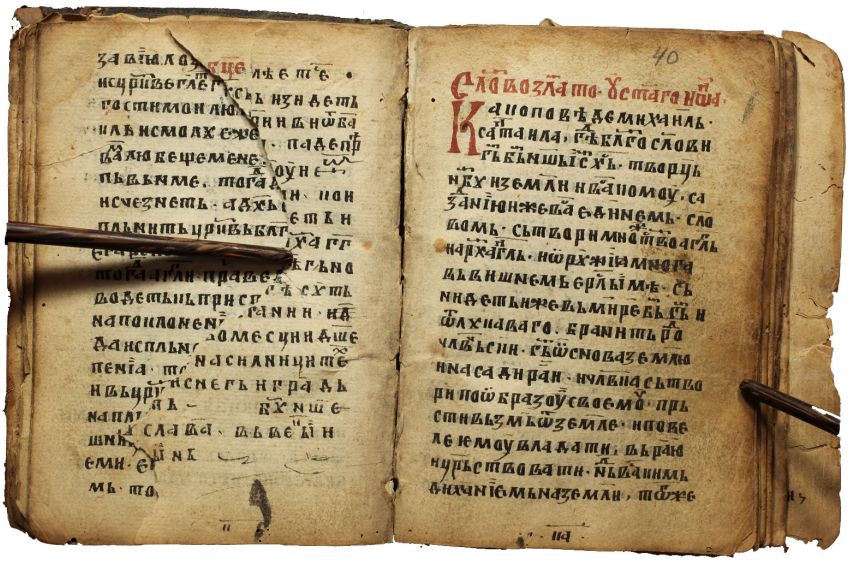


FIGURE 10.2 *MS 1161, Fol 39^{r}–40^{v}.*

39 I am grateful to the former Director of the Church Historical and Archival Institute, Prof. Khristo Temelski, who kindly granted me permission to work on the Manuscript collection kept in the Library of the Institute (Sofia, Bulgaria) in 2010; the current publication would not have been possible without his active cooperation and help.

40 *Infra*, n. 7.

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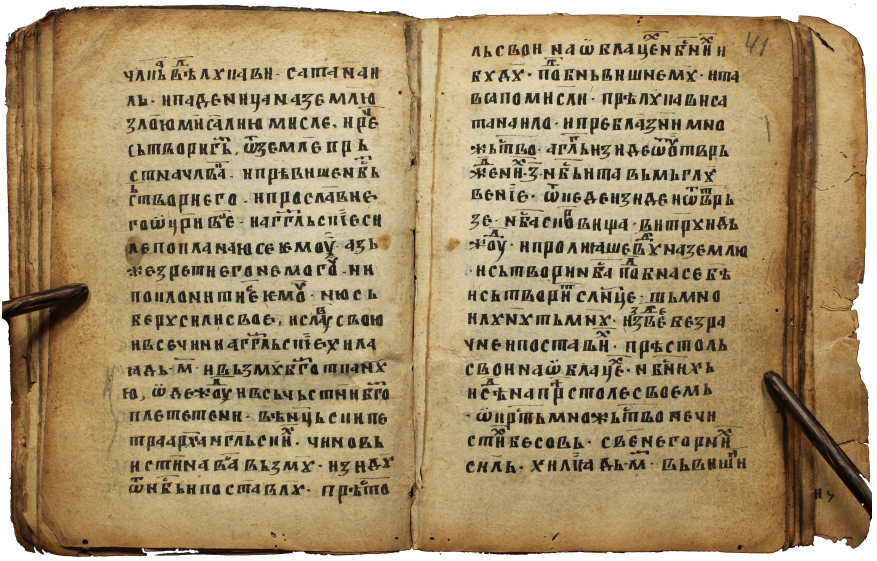


FIGURE 10.3 *MS 1161, Fol 40r–41v.*

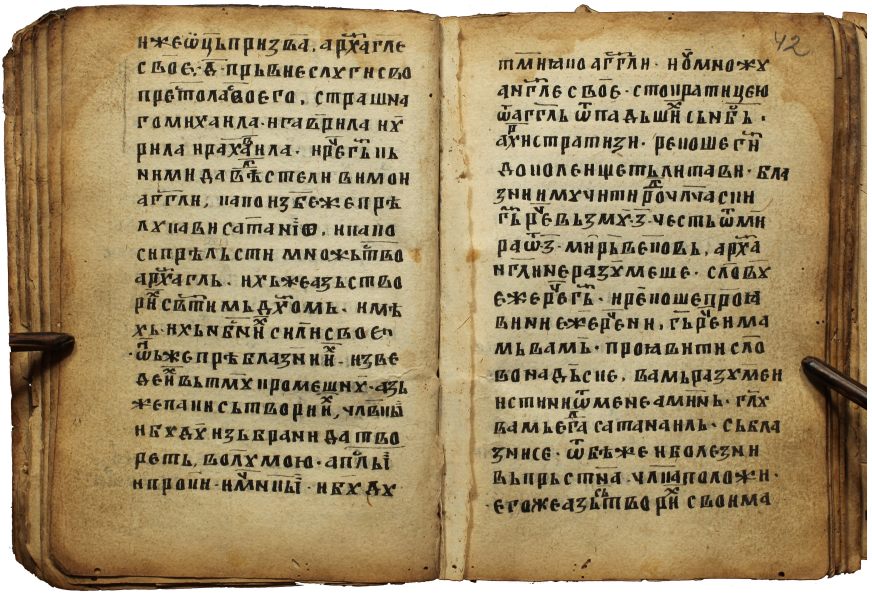


FIGURE 10.4 *MS 1161, Fol 41r–42v.*

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СЛОВО ЗЛАТОУСТАГО НѠѢА
Како повѣде (*sic*) мнханль. саѣтанла, гѦѣ блгословн

1. гѣ бѣ нїшь іс хс̃ь. творць нбѯ н землн вс̃акомоу сазаанїю нже вс̃а еднемь. словомь. сьтворн мноѫтс̃во агл̃ль н арха̃ѣгль. н ѡрѯжїꙗ многа вь вншнемь ерс̃льїмѣ. сьнндеть нже вь мнре бѣ гѣ н ѿ лѯкаваго. браннть роа улвѵ̃ьскн. гѣ ѡснова землю н насадн ран. н улвка сьтворн по ѡбразоу своемѯ. прьстн вьзмь ѿ земле. н повеле ємоу владатн, вь раю н цр̃ьствоватн. ньа вс̃акнмь днханїемь на землн, тѡг̃же улка̃ѣ вѣа̃ лѯкавн. сатанаанль н паде ннца на землю злою мнсалню мнсле. н рѵ̃е сьтворн гѣ, ѿ земле прьстна улвк̃а. н прѣвнше нбс̃ь сь̃творн его. н прославн его ѡцр̃н вс̃е. н агл̃льскїе снле покланаю се ємоу. азь же зретн его не могѯ. нн поклонятн с̃е ємѯ. ню сьберѯ снлн свое, н слв̃оу свою н все ѵннн агл̃льскїе хлаюдь .м̃. н вьзмѯ бл̃готканѯю, ѡдежаоу н всьѵьстнн бл̃гоплететенн (*sic*) вѣнць скнпетра арха̃нгл̃льскнх̃. ѵнновь нстнна вас̃ вьзмѯ. нзндѯ ѿ нбс̃ь н поставлѯ. прѣс̃толь свон на ѡблаце̃х̃ нбс̃нн̃х̃ н бѯдѯ поа̃бнь вншнемѯ.

2. н та вса помнслн. прѣлѯкавн сатананло. н преблазнн множьс̃тво. аг̃ль нзнде ѿ ѯтврьжа̃енн̃х̃ .з̃. нбс̃ь н та вь мьглѯвенїе. ѿкеде нзнде н ѿг̃врьзе. нбс̃а скр̃овнща. внтрѯ н дьжаоу. н пролнꙗше вѧѯ на землю н сьтворн нбс̃а поа̃бна себѣ н сьтворнт̃ сл̃нце. тьмно н лѯнѯ тьмнѯ.

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Homily of [Saint] John Chrysostom
on how [the Archangel] Michael defeated *Santail*,[41] Bless the Lord[42]

1. Our Lord God Jesus Christ, who begot with one word only Heaven and Earth, and every creation, fashioned multitudes of angels and archangels, and many armaments in Heavenly Jerusalem,[43] so as to descend to those who are in the world of God the Lord, and defend mankind from the cunning one. When He established the earth, the Lord planted Paradise[44] and created man in His image,[45] having taken soil from the earth[46] and ordered him to reign in Paradise[47] and to be master and king of every living creature on earth.[48] When the cunning *Satanail* found out about this man, he fell on his face to earth, being overcome by evil thought(s) and said to himself, "The Lord created man from earthly soil, and established him above all heavens; and He glorified him to be the master of all, and angelic forces are to bow before him. I cannot look at him, neither can I bow before him, but I will gather my host, my glory, and all the angelic ranks, forty thousand of them, and I will take the divine-woven garments, and the most holy divine-woven wreath of the sceptre of the ranks of archangels. Indeed, I will take everything and depart from the heavens. I will place my throne on heavenly clouds and I will resemble the Most High."[49]

2. Having considered all this, the most cunning *Satanailo* seduced many angels and departed from the arranged seven heavens;[50] [as soon as he left], in the twinkling of an eye, he opened the heavenly storehouses of the winds and rain, and water began pouring onto earth; and he created heavens in his image,[51] and he fashioned a murky sun and murky moon and stars lacking lustre. Then he

41 Should read *Satanail*.

42 The pericope division follows that suggested by Petkanova, *Стара българска литература*, 1: *Апокрифи*, 41–48.

43 In some other apocryphal texts (such as *The Sea of Tiberias*), the formulaic expression "Heavenly Jerusalem" is used to denote Paradise and/or the Garden of Eden. In Rev 3:12 and 21:2, it is part of the canonical eschatological chronotope.

44 Cf. Gen 2:8.

45 Cf. Gen 1:26–27 and 5:1.

46 Cf. Gen 2:7.

47 Cf. Gen 2:15.

48 Cf. Gen 1:28.

49 Cf. Isa 14:13–14.

50 The same division of heavens is attested in *2 Enoch*.

51 Lit. "resembling him."

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нꙁзвеᴬᴱ безраѵне н поставнˣ. прѣстоль свон на ѡблацеˣ. нбᶜнихь н сᴬѣ на прѣстоле своемь ѡкрᶜть множьᶜтво неѵнстнˣ бесовь све негорнˣ снль хнлїѧдь .м.

3. вь внш҃н нже ѡщь прнзва. арˣхагле свое .д. прьвне слѳгн сво (*sic*) преᶜтола ᶜвоего, страшнаго мнханла н гаврнла н ѳрнла н раханᴮнла. н рᵛе гъ кь ннмн да вѣᴬсте лн вн мон аггѧн, како нзбеже прѣлѳкавн сатанїѡ. н како сн прѣльстн множьᶜтво арˣхагль. нхьже азь створнˣ свтнмь дхомь. нмѣхь. нхь нбᶜннˣ снлн свое ѡ҃ть же прѣблазнн нˣ. нзведе нˣ вь тмѳ кромешнѳ. азь же пакн сьтворннˣ (*sic*), ѵлвкы н бѳдѳ нзьбранн да твореть, волѳ мою. аᶜпльї н прокн. н мᵛнкы. н бѳдѳт мн ꙗко аггѧн. н ѳмножѳ англе свое. стократнцею ѿ аггль ѿпадьшнˣ сь нбᶜъ. архнстратнзн. рекоше гн, доколе нцеть лнтавн. блазнн н мѳѵнтн роᴬ ѵлѵаскн гъ рᵛе вьзмѳ .з. ѵесть ѿ мнра ѿ .з. мнрь вековь, арханглн не разѳмеше. словѳ еже рᵛе гъ. н рекоше проꙗвн нн еже рᵛе нн, гъ рᵛе нмамь вамь. проꙗвнтн слово на дьске, вамь разѳмен нстнн ѿ мене амнн. глѳ вамь егᴬа сатананль. сьблазнн се. ѿбѣже н болезнн вь прьстна. ѵлка положн. егоже азь ᶜьтворнˣ свонма рѳкамн, нь н ть хощеть ѵастнь бнтн, вь второе мое прншастїе. тогᴬа црьствоватн, хощеть сьмрьть на[д] вᶜакомь, днханїемь по землн, на ѵлвнцеˣ н скотехь, ꙗко то н вᶜе вьсеꙗ сатананль. свонмь прѣстѳпленїемь прьсть. жело сьмрьтное, н власть сатананлова. вь тмѳ кромешнѳю, н по томь сьтворн дрѳᵍ светь безᴬанн. нже н бесмрьтнн, н безьскоѵанн. н тѳн бᴬѣть радоᶜть н жнвоть бᴬѣть. праведннцн сь мною вь црьствоу

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placed his throne on heavenly clouds and sat on his throne, while surrounded by large numbers of impure lowest demons, and his entire host comprised forty thousand.

3. In the highest heavens, the Father summoned his four archangels, the first servants of His throne, the terrifying *Mikhail* [Michael], *Gavril* [Gabriel], *Uril* [Uriel], and *Rahavil* [Raphael], and the Lord said to them, "Do you know, My angels, how the most cunning *Satanio* [= *Satanail*] ran away and how he seduced a great many archangels, which I created through the Holy Spirit? I had them as my heavenly powers, but he seduced them and led them out to the external darkness. But I created people, who will be chosen to fulfil my will [instead of the fallen angels], as apostles, prophets, and martyrs. They will be for Me like angels, and I will multiply the angelic host a hundred times more than the number of angels who fell from the sky." The Archestrategoi said, "O Lord, until when will this cunning [*Satanail*] seduce and torture mankind?" The Lord answered, "I will take a seventh part of the universe, a seventh aeon of the ages." The archangels did not understand the word(s) that God said and told Him, "Explain to us what You just said." The Lord said: "I will elucidate the [meaning of My] word(s) on a wooden slab,[52] so that you may comprehend the truth [coming] from Me, amen. I am telling you, when *Satanail* was seduced and ran away, he placed disease in earth-made man, whom I created with My own hands,[53] but he will also [become] revered [at the time of] My Second Coming. By then death will be reigning over every living creature on earth, over people and animals, because *Satanail*, has planted/seeded his crime in the soil [from which they were made, thus polluting it]. [Then] the sting of Death,[54] and satanic power [over living creatures on earth] will go to the external darkness [of Hell]. After that, I will create another world / light without toll[55] over the abyss, which will be immortal and infinite, and there will be joy, and there will be life. The righteous will

52 The text is implicitly referring to the Crucifixion narrative, as rendered in the canonical Gospels (Matt 27:37, Luke 23:38, Mark 15:26, and John 19:19–22); according to these accounts, on the cross on which Jesus was to be executed there was a piece of wood—the *titulus crucis*—on which was written (in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek), "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." [*See also the contribution by D. Anlezark in this volume—Eds.*]

53 The motif is employed in oral tradition and in apocryphal writings (e.g., *The Sea of Tiberias*).

54 An implicit allusion to the canonical stock phrase "Where, O death, is your sting?" (1Cor 15:55).

55 Lit. "levy", "disbursement."

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нб҃еноумь. а законопрѣст8пнницн нспад8ть. н 8садніше гл҃ъ глю҆ще. неүнстнвн не 8зреть славе бжїе н рекоше арх҃нстратнзн. елнко хощ҆ешь можѣшь.

4. н пакн р҃е гъ арх҃нстратнже гаврнле. тебѣ глю҆ сьнндн. кь донем8 м҃тел8. да вьзмешн ѿ него. бг҃откан8 ѡдежа҆оу н свѣтлн. вѣщь скнпетра арх҃нгл҃ьскн. ѵнновь н вс8 слав8. юже вьзеть ѿ мене. гаврнѡ р҃е велнкаı сатананль. по хнтростн8 хнтростн своен. преблазнн множьство. а҃нгль твонх҃ т҃о ра҆ бою се нтн кь нем8. вла҆ко р҃е послѳшан. повелен҃їе бжї҃е. гаврнѡ р҃е вла҆ко ıако ѿ вѣка. аглѡмь невѣдома, танна 8 тань҃твѣ н дрьжншн вь бесмрьтнон р8це бж҃ства своего. н неүнстн дхь свонмь л8каствомь. прѣделнваше кь намь. н нна вьспрнмн неүь҃тнвїе с҃нлн н вьз҆внже се. на днвно божь҃тво беше бо. в҆лко дльжно его ı҃є҃.р҃. лакать н шнрнна его ı҃є҃.н҃. лакьть н шнıа его ı҃є҃.вı҃. лакать 8ста его ıако трьпеза, велнка погледь ıако змнıа аспнда. н г҃. главе. сѣднть на немь сотона. н смрьть нконн наскрьжщ҆еть. зѳбн свонмн, н т҃г҃ѡ ра҆ вла҆ко 8страшнтн ме хощ҆еть, н т҃г҃о ра҆ прѣпослѳшаю твою снл8 да простн ме своего раба, вла҆ко р҃е ıемоу гъ добрн р҃е гаврнле. н простн же вла҆ко прѣ҆стателѳ своем8 гаврнл8.

5. н пакн р҃е гъ кь арх҃нстратнг8 мнханл8. мнрь до мнра адамь прьвн бнсть снна моего еднноро҆наго его цр҃ства. оуподобл8. тебѣ гл8 дн҃ь сьнндн кь донем8. м҃тл8 н вьзмн мн ѿ него бг҃откан8 ѡдѣжа҆8 н неѳведнмн вѣщь. скнпетра арх҃нгг҃льскн ѵнновь. нже вьзеть ѿ мене. н съствори его неславна н нелепна. ıакоже подобае н да познають сл8гн его ıако пр҃ѣблаженн с8ть, р҃е арх҃англь мнханль. вла҆ко в҃еснле тн вѣшь бо злоѳмнаго самого, ıако посрамнтн ме, хощ҆еть на повелен҃їа н бл҃гостн твое. препослѳшатн не мог8 понтн хощ8 кь донем8. м҃тл8, пос҃шн ме вла҆ко н пр҃ѣсвѣтѳю десннц8, поставн на лнце моемь. помощ҆ь мнѣ. н мл8 тн се вла҆ко гл҃ъ. нже нмамь гл҃ати да не прогневаешн се на ме гъ вндн бо в҃акне. хнтростн. сатананль нлн его ıако в҃н а҃нгл҃н его трепещ҆8 да прѣльщ҆8 его разѳмь. да ащ҆е не сьльж8 ем8. то н како прѣлащ҆8 его. гъ р҃е ем8 тн мон мнханле пондн кь

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be with Me in the Heavenly Kingdom, and the transgressors will fall away." And a voice was installed saying, "The wicked will not see God's glory." The Archestrategoi said, "Whatever You want, You can [do]".

4. And the Lord said again, "Archestrategos *Gavril* [Gabriel], I am talking to you. Descend to the Tormentor below and take from him [My] divine-woven garments and the bright wreath of the hosts of the ranks of the archangels, and the entire glory, which he took away from Me." *Gavrio* [Gabriel] said, "Great is Satanail in his sly trickery, by which he seduced many of Your angels. Because of this I am afraid to go to him." The Almighty said, "Obey the order of God." *Gavrio* replied, "O Lord, from the beginning [of the world] unknown for the angels is the secret of the mystery, which You hold in the eternal hands of Your divinity. But the impure spirit overwhelmed us with his craftiness and today, having seized the unholy powers, he rebels against the wondrous divinity. Because, O God, his length is 100 cubits, his breadth is 50 cubits, his neck is 12 cubits; his mouth is as big as the altar [throne], his look is like that of a viper-asp; he has three heads; there dwells *Sotana*. And by the gnashing of his teeth he threatens the icon [of God][56] with death. O Almighty, I will be frightened and this is why I will not obey Your power; forgive me, Your servant." The Almighty Lord said to him, "All right, Gabriel." And the Almighty forgave his servant Gabriel.

5. Then the Lord said again to the Archistrategos Michael, "Adam was My first begotten son in the world before [this] world. I will make you similar to his kingship; I am telling you: descend today to the lower Tormentor, and take from him My divine-woven garments, the unfading wreath of the hosts of angelic ranks which he took from Me. Deprive him of the beauty and glory, as should be done, so that his servants recognise that they were deceived [by him]." The Archangel Michael said, "O Almighty Master, you know that this wily [Satanail] wishes to shame me. But I cannot disobey Your order and Your goodness, and I will thus go to the lower Tormentor. Help me, Master, and place above my head[57] Your most holy hand[58] and [may it be] as my support; and please, Lord, do not be angry with me on account of the words I will tell him, because the Lord sees that because of *Satanail*'s trickery, all the angels shake in fear from him. I will mislead his thoughts; [otherwise] how can I overcome him if I do not deceive him?" The Lord replied to him, "Go, Michael, to the lower Tormentor

56 Perhaps referring to "man" / "human being" (as an icon of God); see *The Life of Adam and Eve*.

57 Lit. "on my face."

58 Lit. "right hand."

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донемѫ мѵ҃тлѫ. да ако рѵ҃ешь емоу льжѫ. да бѫде тн вь бл҃говоленїе н тако ѡпленн его. н ꙗ тн хощѫ пѫстнтн слы҃ще да тн работаеть. н ражегѫ его .з҃. честн паче сл҃нца сїꙗющаго нже бѫдеть горь н хльмн нз҃гореть н земла .н҃. лакьть. нсѫщѫ мора. две честн н пролню гневь мон. на с҃нн протнвнїе. н законопрѣстѫпнщн. мнханло рѵ҃е влако да како могѫ. ꙗ н горецїннѫ трьпетн. н гневь бл҃гостнне твое. г҃ь рѵ҃е емѯ мнханле не бон се тн. ꙗ тн пѫщѫ над врьх҃ твон. ѡблакь стѫдень. тогда мнханло паде на нозн. владнчне н простре рѫкѫ свою. прѣсветѫ н поставн на главѫ. мнханловѫ ꙗко да сьжеть главѫ. антнхрьсовѫ н всѫ снлѫ его.

6. тогда мнханло бл҃гословн се ѫ влаке ц҃ра.. н сынде на .в҃.ро нбо н зе сьмрьтосnн мачь свон. н наѡстрн его. н прострн крнлн свон .м҃. лакать вь шнр҃нѫ н потрѫбн трѫбою своею. н трепетнѫ. крнѡм҃ свонма н поде сь нб҃ьнн҃х внсоть. н т҃ сьхожденїꙗ его. н т҃ глаc҃ крнлѫ его растѫпахѫ се. нб҃а н ѫбоꙗ се земла н побеже. морь н глъбнне безданн потрьсоше се н антнхрьсть сѣдше на прѣстолн своемь. н смете се н рѵ҃е что бн ꙗко потресе се земла дн҃ь. что лн ює҃ ꙗко морь побеже. егда ює҃ гневь горнаго ѡц҃а на н҃ь. еда на рать самь гредеть н вьзревь лѫкавнмь свонмь ѡкомь. нбо н внде мнханла сьходецїа ꙗко стѫпь. ѡгньнн н позна его. крепок҃ н м҃ноголѣпно лнце его беше. н рѵ҃е сатананль слѫгамь свонмь мнханло, т҃ нб҃ь гредеть. да не вемь нлн ѡ добре нлн ѡ злн. гредеть на нзнднмо. вь сретенїе емѫ да вндмо конмь деломь ндѣть кь намь. н подоше вс҃е снле его. вь срѣтенїе мнханлѫ. н вѣнїе еже вѣше. сьмрьтноносnн (*sic*) мачь. н не смнꙗхѫ прнстѫпнтн кь немѫ. т҃ гл҃ь крнлѫ его растѫпахѫ се нб҃а н т҃падахѫ. лѫкавн бѣсн .г҃. папрнца н падахѫ ннца на землю. то же ѫвнде лѫкавн сатананль ꙗко ѡ злѣ ндеть мнханло кь немѫ. н зеть мачь свон н ѡг҃нн. н стрлн свое н лѫкь свон. напрѣже н ѫготове҃ ꙗко на брань на мнханла. тогда мнханло. слезе на камень. н знамена землю н рѵ҃е землн тако гл҃е тн г҃ь. станемь добре. станемь сь страхомь. тогда земла н ва҃ ꙗже на нен ѫкротнше҃. н бнсть тншнна по велен҃ю мнханловѫ.

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and if you tell him a lie, may it be as benevolence for you, so that you may deceive him. I will send you a sun to help you and I will ignite it seven times more than this shining sun. It will burn the mountains and hills and earth fifty cubits in depth, and it will desiccate two parts of the sea. And I will pour out my wrath on those hostile sons and transgressors." Michael asked, "Master, how will I be able to endure the heat and rage of Your goodness?" The Lord said to him, "Michael, do not be afraid. I will make a cool cloud descend above you." Then Michael fell upon the Almighty's feet and [God] stretched His most holy hand and placed it on Michael's head, so that the head of the Antichrist and his power may be burned.

6. After Michael was blessed by the Almighty King, he descended to the Second Heaven, took his lethal sword and honed it, and he stretched his wings 40 cubits wide, and he blew on his horn, and he flapped his wings and set off from the heights of heaven. The heavens shook at the sound of his wings, caused by his descent, and the earth got scared, the sea withdrew, and the bottomless abyss quaked. The Antichrist, who was sitting on his throne, was disturbed and said, "What is this, that the earth today quaked? What happened, so that the sea fled? Might it be because the Father above was furious with us? Or maybe He Himself set off in combat?" And having looked at the sky with his cunning eyes, he saw Michael descending as a fiery bolt and he recognised him because of his strong and most handsome face. And *Satanail* said to his servants, "Michael is coming from heavens but I do not know whether for good or for bad. Let us go and meet him and see the reason why he is coming to us." His entire host set off to meet Michael, and having seen his lethal sword, they did not dare step towards him. From the sound of his wings, the heavens shook, the cunning demons were pushed back three *stadia*, and they fell on their faces on earth. From this the cunning *Satanail* realised that the coming of Michael was bad tidings. He then took his fiery sword and his arrows, and stretched his bow, for battle against Michael. Michael stepped on a stone and descended to earth and made a sign [of a cross] on earth, "This is what the Lord says, *Let us stand graciously, let us stand in awe*."[59] Then the earth and everything upon it became tranquil and silence fell, at Michael's will.

59 Liturgical formula. See also the discussion in K. Ivanova, "Един литургичен паралел към апокрифа *Как Михаил победи Сатанаил*," in T. Stepanov and V. Vachkova, eds., *Civitas Divino-Humana. In honorem annorum LX Georgii Bakalov* (Sofia: TANGRA TanNakRa IK, 2004), 397–404.

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7. н вѣ᷄ нб᷒а ꙗко ледь н сл᷅нце тамно н м᷒ць блѣдь н та ва᷒ вѣ᷄ мнханло. н р᷎е льж8 похвалнтн его. н гл᷅е ѡ снне вѣ᷄хь дела твоа добра н твоꙗ хнтростн н снлн твое велнке. н дѣла твоꙗ добро сътворена. ѿ вншнаго ѡ᷅ца. а тн готовншь стрѣлн. н л8кь свон н мьчь свон ѡстрншн на ме. ꙗко на брань готовншн се на ме н не подобна. творшн азь же вѣᴬѡ самь. ꙗко в᷒акн ц᷅рь радь ѥ᷒. ег᷄а вн᷄ть вонннка ѿ т8ж᷄нхь. месть прнходещаго. нлн старншнн8. готовнть ем8 прѣстоль. н трьпез8 н ѡблобнзню его азь же прнбегьюмь ѡв᷄е бнтн с тобомь. а тн стрѣлн н мачь готовншн на ме. вндѣх бо дела твоꙗ. добра н велнке хнтростн тввое (*sic*!) н в᷄ѣхь ннб᷒а (*sic*!). 8крашена н 8тврьж᷄ена ѿ р8к8 твоею н в᷄ѣхь. сл᷅нце прѣсвѣтло н м᷒ць сїꙗюще. н в᷄ѣхь звѣз᷄е 8крашене н внтрь внющн. н в᷄ѣхь снлю твою. н то᷎ра᷄ прндоᷓк тебѣ. ег᷄а хощешн. да б8д8 с тобомь не᷒ст8пно. а по мал8 врѣмене в᷒н прнд8ть ѵннове хналїꙗдь бнтн с тобою ѡв᷄е. тог᷄а сатананль р᷎е сл8гамь свонмь р᷄оунте се дн᷒ъ сл8ге мое. н ве᷒лнте се анг᷅льмн р᷄оунте се н весели се прᷓстоле мон ве᷒лн се н тн дрьжаво моꙗ. ег᷄а бо мнханло прнде кь намь. н вс8 нстнн8 нзр᷎е намь. ꙗко в᷒е власти хотѣ прнтн. к намь н р᷎е сатананль. кь мнханл8 р᷄оун се н тн, прнкрасни мнханле звѣз᷄о, свѣтла вь .в᷅.го те сьтвор8 моен снлѣ. н повеле поставнтн мнханла на .в᷅.ромь прᷓстоле сѣ᷄ц᷋н᷐ ннма. н дрьжещнма за р8ке.

8. н повелен᷅ем б᷅жнмь. ѿврьзе се сл᷅нц8 врата. н прнгрїꙗ сль᷅це горᷓще н жегомо. н почеше горᷓтн хльмн, н землꙗ заднмн се зѣло. н нб᷒а антнхрьстова. н заднмнше᷒ в᷒е сл8ге его ѿ горᷓнїа. сл᷅нчанаго лежах8 ꙗко мрьтвн на земли. н антнхрьсь смете се, на мнханла ра᷄ не смеше поведетн горᷓнїꙗ. на себѣ мнханло вндеше знамен᷅е покрнваше его. ѡблакомь. невн᷄мо н р᷎е мнханло ѡ с᷅не что да сътворнмо ꙗко сл᷅нце гор8ће ѥ᷒. н жег8ще н᷒ъ н землꙗ днмн се. ѿ вѣлнкаго горѣнїа н ѵннове твон лежеть. ꙗко мрьтвн на земли. да повелн что да сътворнмо. да не побнемо тог᷄а сатананль р᷎е. не бон се мнханле. ѥсн лн вѣ᷄ ѡ коею хнтро᷒т᷅ю азь жнв8. н анг᷅льскїе снлн мое, не бон се ѿ ѡ᷎на сего н 8мь мон н снла моꙗ мнханло р᷎е тн снльнь ѥсн не бонш се, н8 азь горᷓщн сїе не мог8 трьпетн. не вн᷄шн лн снѡ᷍е ѥре ѡставнᷓ, горнаго ѡ᷅ца н прндоᷓ, к тебѣ н то᷎ра᷄ палнт ме ѡ᷎нь. сата-

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7. Michael beheld the icy sky and darkened sun and the murky moon, and having considered all that, he said [to himself], "I will lie and praise him!" And he said, "O Son! I have learned about your good deeds and your artistry, and your great forces. Your creations are better crafted than those of the Father above. You are preparing against me your bow and arrows and you are honing your sword, as if getting ready for combat against me, but it is not appropriate to do so. I myself know that every king rejoices when he sees that a warrior from foreign places or an elder comes toward him. He prepares a high stool[60] for him and a table to eat, and he kisses him. I have run away [from God], in order to be with you here, while you are preparing a sword and arrows against me. Because I saw your good deeds, and your great craftsmanship, and I saw the heavens, which were adorned and established by your hand, and I saw the most shining sun and bright moon, and I saw the decorated stars and the blowing wind, I recognised your power and therefore came to you. If you want, I will steadfastly be with you, and after a while myriads of [angelic] ranks will follow me and will be with you here." Then *Satanail* said to his servants, "Rejoice today and be merry, my servants, rejoice along with the angels; rejoice today, my throne. Rejoice, my estate, because Michael came to us and told us the entire truth, that all [other angelic] powers will come to us [and join us]." After this *Satanail* said to Michael, "You also rejoice, most handsome Michael, you bright star; I will place you second in my host!" And he ordered Michael to be put on a second throne and they sat holding each other's hands.

8. According to God's will, the gates of the sun opened and a hot burning sun blazed, and the hills began to burn, and the earth was overwhelmed by smoke. The Antichrist's heavens were smouldering, and all his servants were smouldering, on account of the sun's heat, and they lay down on the earth like dead. The Antichrist was astonished, but he dared not acknowledge how hot he was on account of [being ashamed of] Michael; Michael saw a sign above himself: a cloud had covered him invisibly. Then the Archangel said, "O Son, what shall we do if the sun burns like this and scorches us? The earth is smouldering from the great heat and your ranks are lying on earth as if dead. What shall we do so as not to perish?" *Satanail* then answered, "Do not be afraid, Michael; have you not realised by now, what kind of trickery I am living with, together with my angelic host? Do not be afraid of this blaze; [trust] my wisdom and my power." "You are strong", said Michael to him, "and you are not afraid, but I cannot endure this heat. Don't you see, Almighty, that this fire is burning

60 Lit. "throne."

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наль р҃е кь мнанл҃ не бон се нщ҃а, знамь езеро велнко н поѣнѣемо кь нем҃ да се ѡкѳплемо. да прнмнмо хладь дондеже заѣе сл҃нце. н поѣнмо на нстокь. н затворнѣемо слн҃ врата. да не можеть на҃ сїатн. слншавше мнанлѡ ѡ езерн н ра҃ бн҃ ере хотеше ѡпленнтн его н р҃е ем҃. снѡне понднмо на езеро. тога са҃нань. сл҃мь свонмь стрнзнте мнанла н вьпазнте много. еда како л҃каствомь. нлн льжїю вьзметь бл҃годареннїе ѿ ме҃ н сьтворнть мене. нелепа н неславна. да а҃це тако б҃деть. вь посмѣ҃ б҃а҃ сл҃гамь монмь. н гла҃тн хоте а҃гл҃н мон. се кнезь н҃шь ѳбогь н пленень ѥ҃ на мнанла н семь. азь е҃мь гъ да сметь ннкто. л҃каво сьтворнтн. н вьзмь сл҃гн свое н подоше, на езеро н бесѣдовах҃ ѡ б҃г҃. како хоте затворнтн п҃ть сл҃нц҃. н р҃е мнанло кь анднхрьст҃ г҃не поспешнмо се за сл҃нца. а по то҃ что хоцемо сьтворнтн вь скоре. н тог҃а ндоста на поспе҃, до езера н тако н р҃е сатанань кь мнанл҃ вьлѣзн да прнмншн хладь. азь же тн посл҃ж҃ ꙗко драгь мн ѥсн р҃е мнанло несть. рабь болн г҃на своего. тн на нб҃ѥхь прьвн ѥсн бнль. тн ѳбо вь гльбннн прьвн хоцешь бнтн. азь бо гльбннн езер҃ не знамь. н бою се мрьскога звѣра н змїꙗ егоже ѿц҃ь саз҃а. на тн снлань ѥсн н змїꙗ ѳкротншн снлою своею. н тог҃а азь влѣзн мене ж҃ паче подобаеть. посл҃жнтн тебѣ.

9. тог҃а сатанань сьнеть ѡ҃ѣж҃оу свою н вѣнць н вс҃ слав҃. юже беше прнель ѿ а҃гль б҃жн҃, н да҃ть мнанл҃ вь р҃це н р҃е ем҃ мнанл҃. да се не сьблазнншн ѡ мнѣ. н тог҃а мнанло р҃е кь нем҃. тако мн снле твое не нмашн л҃каства вь мене. н пакн р҃е сатанань ѡтае сл҃гамь свонмь. стрьзнте мнанла тврьдо. н вьлезе к҃патн се. вь езеро н вьлезь н пакн нзнде н в҃ѣ мнанла нм҃цаго ѡ҃нма н҃бо н готовеца се н р҃е ѥм҃. мнанле вьсе кльнешн мн се снлою моею на закльнн мн се вь вншннмь ѡц҃емь да б҃҃ бе҃пеуалань в҃ѣ мнанль ꙗко не може сьльгатн л҃каств҃ его н пакн р҃е тако мн снле твое вл҃ко н снле вь вншнаго ѿца нъ҃ть люкаства вь мнѣ тог҃а л҃кавн р҃е нъ҃ть л҃каства вь мнанл҃ н ѿложн се скрьбн н стра҃н трепетн҃ неу҃ьтнвемн крнѡма свонма н сьннде вь прѣ҃подна езер҃ н гл҃ъ н громь бы҃ вь вода҃ ѿ сьхож҃енна л҃каваго н сьтрь множьство рнбь н звѣрн земльннн҃ н морьскн҃ н ѳслнша змьн гл҃ъ грома велнкь н стоецн҃

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me because I abandon the heavenly Father and came to you?" *Satanail* said to Michael, "Do not be afraid of anything; I know a big lake; let us go there and bathe and cool down until sunset, and afterwards we will go to the East and close the gates of the sun, so that it will not shine on us any further." As soon as he heard about the lake, Michael rejoiced greatly, since it was there that he could trick [*Satanail*]. And he said to him, "O Almighty, let us go to the lake!" *Satanail* then [turned] towards his servants, "Beware of Michael and watch him well, so that he does not take away the charisma [i.e. divine presence] from me, in craftiness or lie, and thus deprive me of my beauty and glory, because if this happens, I will become a laughing-stock to my servants. My angels will say, 'Behold, our prince is impoverished and has become Michael's captive!' I am the Lord; may no one dare to act deceitfully." Leading his servants, they set off to the lake, discoursing about God and about how they intended to close the path of the sun. And he [Michael] said to the Antichrist, "Master, let us hurry on the account of the sun, and after this we will soon do whatever pleases us." Having quickly reached the lake, *Satanail* said to Michael the following, "Go in to cool yourself and I will act as your servant, because you are dear to me." To which Michael answered, "The servant is not bigger than his master. You had been first in heavens and you have to be first in the deep as well. I do not know the depth of the lake and I am afraid of the sea monster, and [that is] the dragon which the Father created. But you are strong and will tame the dragon with your power. And then I will enter [and descend to the lake], because this is how I should serve you."

9. Then *Satanail* stripped off his garment, wreath, and the entire glory which he received from the angels of God, and gave them into Michael's hands and said to him, "Do not be tempted concerning me, Michael!" Then Michael replied, "By your power [I swear], there is no trickery in me." *Satanail* said again secretly to his servants, "Watch Michael well." He went off to bathe himself in the lake. Having entered, he came back and saw Michael looking up to the heavens, preparing [to ascend]. He said to him, "Michael, you kept swearing by my power, but swear in [the name of] the heavenly Father, so that I have no worries." Michael realised that he could counter his [Satan's] trickery and said once more, "By your power, Master, and by power the heavenly Father [I swear], there is no trickery in me." Then said the cunning one, "There is no trickery in Michael." He dismissed any worry and fear and shook his unholy wings and descended to the bottom of the lake. Thunder and roaring appeared in the water, caused by the descent of the cunning one; and he [thus] killed lots of fish and beasts, both terrestrial and aquatic. And the dragon heard the voice of the powerful thunder and [spotted] Satanail standing on the bottom of the

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сатанаилѳ вь прѣсподнеⷯ гльбнна ⷯ н хватн се сь нимь н рⷱе емѳ змьн нⷩа сьтрьль ѥсн вⷣе жнвнне морьске нь подн ва гльбнин до конца гльбнне ере же нскаⷯ н ѿбрѣтоⷯ н сьнитн хощѳ до конца гльбнин

10. тогᴬа мнханло помлн се гѳ глѳтн вⷣедрьжителѳ н вѣунн црѳ нже ѡгнимь сьзᴬателѳ н невнᴬнмнмь снломь ѳправителѳ его же ѿ улвка кь нинктоᷦ нигᴬе невнᴬмо бѳдн мнѣ. помощинкь арⷯаггѳ твоемѳ, тн ѳбо црѳ свонмь хотенїемь. нн звав же емѳ ѳунтелѳ на землѳ тьн ѳбо влᴬко вⷣауьскнмь оуслншн ме вь сьн уⷣъ. н прѣклонн гльбнно сїю преклонн неноⷣа (*sic*!). н спѳⷣтн прѣⷣтвю десннцѳ свою влᴬко. да не ѡбнмнть меᴴ лѳкавн сь бесн свонмн. нь коснн се ѡрѳжно его ѭко да не похвалн се ѡ арⷯанглѣ твонмь. н помлн вⷣе мнханло. н сьтворн знаменїе вь езерн страшно. ѳ нме нбⷣнаго ѡщⷯа. н затᴮрьдн его. ледомь н трепетнѳ крнѡмь свонᴹ. н доде до прьвнⷯ нбⷣъ н тѳ н срете ѥго. гъ бѣ н ѡбрадова се ѡ ᴴемь н рⷱе рᴬоун се мнханве (*sic*!). прнносе свое нь своме. н арⷯанглыї вьзѳпнше глⷣомь велнкнмь. н рⷱе Твоя ѿ твонⷯ тебѣ. прнноснтеⷣ ѿ всеⷯ н за вⷣа. н ѳвеᴬше все снле ѭко мнханло. прнде н вьзѳпнше еднинмь глⷣомь. тебѣ поеᴹ тебе блгосвнмь. влᴬко славнм те блгосвеще. блгодарнм те влᴬко вⷣедрьжнтлѳ. млнм тн се бе нши. н вьзᴬашн хвалѳ н вѣселїе мнханлѳ н слᴮоу велїю земла же н море. н безна поколеба се.

11. н тѳн слаᴮоу. оуслнша сатанаиль прѣсподне гльбнне. н ѳвѣᴬ ѭко ѡплѣнень бы҃ⷣн смете ⷣе зѣло н борнᴬ се ᴮᴱᵂᴱ .г. уⷣьї. н тогᴬа ѿрнѳ змьа ѿ сѣбѣ. н мниь .д. нзнде на нсходь езера н ѡбрете знамнніе. нбⷣнаго н ѳбоѣ се. н вьзѳпн глⷣомь велнкнᴹ н рⷱе где сте аггᴬлн мон н не бнⷣ глаⷣ ѿ ннⷯ. нн слншанїа сьтрь ѡᴮо нⷯ беше мнханло нь ѡшьстню своемь н вᴬѣвшн лѳкавн, сатанаиль ѭко вьзбраннть емѳ знаменїе гⷣне. нзышьѡ беше нзь езера тоᵍ каменᴴ вѣлнкь дрьжнь его .с. лакьть н шнрна его .р. лакьть ѡᴴъ же ѳдарн пронорлнвн сатанаиль. вь тврьдь камень безаконнмь свонмь. врьхомь н ѿрнѳ ѿ езера каменᴴ .є. пьрнщь ѿ места. беше ᵏ гора прн езере тоᴹ. н нарⷱе се гората. тадера н досеᵍ дне. нзнде лѳкавн сатанаиль н ѡбрѣте снле свое нзбнене лежеще. ѭко мртвн н вьзѳпн гле ѳвн мнѣ. забл8днвшомѳ вⷣе снле н надежᴬ8. погѳбнⷯ н поскрьжнта зѳбн свонᴹ. н трѣпетᴴ8 крнѡᴹ свонᴹ. н стнᵏ на .г.емь нбⷣе н ѳхватн его. за стѳпало н за десн8 рѳк8. лѳᵏвою своею десннцою. н ѳхнтн мнханла за стѳпало н ѳхваташе его за стѳю н ботканѳ

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abyss and grappled with him; and the dragon said to him. "You caused all the aquatic creatures to perish; now go to the abyss, to the bottom of the abyss!" "Whatever I searched for I found, and I will descend to the end of the Abyss."

10. At that time, Michael prayed to the Lord, saying "O Pantokrator and eternal King, Creator of the [heavenly] fiery ranks and Master of invisible host, the One never seen by any man anywhere, be the helper of Your Archangel! Because You are the King, who, in accordance with your will, called him the teacher of the earth, you, the Master of everything, listen to me in this hour, and make the size of this abyss as large as heavens. And from above lay on me Your most holy hand, Master, so that the cunning one does not obstruct me with his demons and touch his weapons, so that he does nor brag [with the defeat] of Your Archangel." After praying like this, Michael made a horrendous sign in the name of the heavenly Father above the lake and froze it in ice. [After that], he flapped his wings and ascended to the First Heaven, where the Lord God met him and rejoiced. He said to him, "Rejoice, Michael, who brings to the owner what belongs to him." The archangels called out with loud voices and said, "What is Yours is presented to You from Your [host], from all [of us] to You." All the heavenly powers realised that Michael has come and they cried out in one voice, "We are singing to you, we are glorifying you, Master! And we thank you, Almighty Master! We are praying to you, our God!" And [God] gave praise and merriment and great glory to Michael, and the earth and sea and the abyss shook.

11. When *Satanail* heard this praise from the bottom of the abyss, he realised that he was tricked and was very disturbed. Having struggled for three hours, he then pushed away the dragon; he went up to the lake's surface in a distance of four leagues, and got frightened after seeing the heavenly sign. He raised his loud voice, saying "Where are you, my angels?" but he heard no sound of them, and no tidings, because Michael had destroyed them at his departure. Cunning Satan realised that the Lord's sign obstructed him from getting out; there was a large stone in the lake, the length of which was 200 cubits and the width was 100 cubits, and the cunning *Satanail* hit the stone with the hardness of his lawless head and threw it from the lake to a distance of five stadia. Next to that lake, there was a mountain, which was called *Taddera* [Tabor?], until today. The cunning *Satanail* got out and found his host demolished, all of them lying dead. He cried, "O, woe is me, I have been tricked and lost all my hosts and I also lost my hope!" And he gnashed his teeth and flapped his wings and reached the Third Heaven, caught Michael with his cunning hand by the sole of his foot and right hand. Having squeezed the sole of Michael's foot, he also

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ѡдежѧ тогѧа мнханло вьзѳпн глсомь велнкнмь, н рѵе прнзрн влѧко на своего. раба н покрн н сьхранн. прѣстателѳ своемѳ. н прострн рѳкѳ свою прнмнх скрьбь ѿ лѳкаваго. н ѳхнтн ме за шѳю ногѳ н понмлет ме, за бжствнѳ ѡдежѧѳ. тогѧа сьнндн влѧко ѡбнмн ме лѳкавн. нагѧе не ѡставн меи, раба своего погнѳтн хощѳ. вь вншнн нже влѧка рѵе глсомь велнкнм. мнханле не бон се нзмн маѵь свон. н ѳдрн его по сѳщем врьхѳ н ѿннмн мѳ снлѳ его. н поразн емѳ вѧѣнїе зрака. тагѧа мнханло рѵе гн повелн мн твоѧ. дрьжа н твоѧ млсть. да до конца погѳблѳ его. да васегѧа не смѣюща нсъ. тогѧа рѵе емѳ гь не тако. мнханле нь ѧко рекох тн. вı. снлн дах емѳ прѣжѧе ѿннмн ѿ него .є. снль, а ставн емѳ .з. снль тогѧа мнханло нзе съмрьтосnн маѵь н ѳдрн его. прѣзь врхъ н ѿпаде лѳкавн н не може порнолнвн сатананль. н ѿнде вь прѣсноднѳю. посрамлень н ѡбнажень. н ѡпленень ѧкоже пѧобаше. мнханло прѣда бготканѳ. ѡѧежѧѳ н неѳведаемн вѣщь. скнпетра. архагльскнхь унновь н прѣдасть вь рѳцѣ бжн. тако сътворн мнханло. ѧко не дає ємѳ гь. погѳбнтн сатананла до конца н прнхожѧахѳ кь архнстратнгѳ мнханлѳ. вце уннове прьвне властн. н прѣстолн н гъстнвня херовнм. н сарахнмн мног. ѡунта н жнвотна н уетвороконьуьныа. н многоѡбразна легнѡпн. аггльсцн н вце снле горпаго ерѳсалнма прнхожѧахѳ. на вѧѣнїе мнханлово. ѧко да вѧѣть воннака н ѡбрадовахѳ. се прнходеща н зрѣхѳ его поннкла лнцемь его ѧко зноѧно. н вьзѧаше ємѳ хвалѳ н радость велїю. Бѳ ншемѳ слава вь вѣкы нмнь ~ ~ ~

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caught hold of the holy God-woven garments. Then Michael called out with a loud voice and said, "Help, Master, Your servant, and shield him, protect Your warden. Stretch out Your arm because I am suffering on the account of the cunning one, who caught me by the left foot and caught hold of the divine garments. Come down, Master, because the cunning one got hold of me; do not abandon me, otherwise Your servant will perish!" The Master of high [heavens] said with great voice, "Michael, do not be afraid, take your sword and strike him on the top of his head and take away his strength, deprive him of his vision." Then Michael said, "O Lord, yours is the power and the mercy, give me the order to destroy him finally, so that he never ever dares to rise against us." But the Lord said to him, "No, Michael, don't do that, but just do what I told you. I have given him twelve powers; take away five powers and leave seven powers." Then the Archangel took his lethal sword and struck him [Satan] on the top of his head; and the treacherous one fell, and the cunning *Satanail* became powerless and went down to the Abyss, ashamed and naked, and bereft, as it was supposed to be. Michael gave the God-woven garments into God's hands, the unfading wreath of the sceptre of the host of angelic ranks; this is what Michael did, because God did not allow him to destroy Satan once and for all. Then all the ranks of supreme powers and thrones came to the Archistrategos Michael, and God's cherubim and seraphim, many-eyed, life-giving, quadruple, and many-faced angelic legions and the entire host of heavenly Jerusalem came to see Michael and to get to know the warrior; and they rejoiced. When they came, they saw his withdrawn face, as if from heat, and they paid praise to him and rejoiced greatly. Glory to our God forever. Amen.

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2 *Text 2*

The text (entitled Словѡ ст҃агѡ ѡц҃а нашего, їѡана златоустаго ѡ аньѳнхрнста лѫкаваго лъжнваго и безъбожнаго сатанла какво го, плени ст҃н ѵнноначалнїкъ архаг҃лъ мнханлъ вонвода васемъ аг҃гломъ), part of a miscellany, is perserved in Sofia, Tsŭrkovno-istoricheski i arkhiven institut, 232 (xix$^{1/4}$ [1820]), fols. 111–126r. The manuscript was compiled/copied in the city of Vidin (north-western Bulgaria) by the local scribe Pŭrvan Vŭlchov [Първан Вълчов], the aprentice of "teacher Dimitŭr" [даскал Димитър].[61] This redaction of the *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail* has never been previously published. The digitalised version was produced with the assistance of Iva Trifonova, as part of the TOPOI research project Slavonic Apocryphal Heritage.

Словѡ ст҃агѡ ѡц҃а нашего, їѡана златоустаго ѡ аньѳнхрнста лѫкаваго лъжнваго и безъбожнаго сатанла какво го, плени ст҃н ѵнноначалнїкъ архаг҃лъ мнханлъ вонвода васемъ аг҃гломъ

Послѫшанте бл҃гословени хр҃тнанї да вн скажеме за хантнхрнста, колнко е ѕло направилъ бг҃ѫ и ѡц҃ѫ небеснѡмѫ нн҃сѫ хр҃тѫ ѿ҃ѵе҃, благословн прочастн.

1. Гд҃ъ нашъ н҃їс҃ъ хр҃тосъ цѣото е направилъ н҃бо и земю и свнуклѧ ст҃ъ сасъ една дѫма негова направн. и ан҃гли и хархан҃гли и като направи тоѧ ст҃ъ та рече дазн (*sic*!) и да бранн, родъ ѵл҃вечески ѿ ѕло та заградн, една ѵдна и голема градина и насадн ран и создаде людне по негова прилнка па ѧзе землю та направн ѵл҃века ѿ землю и даде мѫ волю да ходн нпзь ран и да ц҃рѫва и свнуко днханне цѣо создаде г҃дъ да ходн по ран и ѡно тамо да стѫва и да ц҃рѫва за това премл҃тнви бг҃ъ насадн ран за праведни людне конто ходать по волѧ бж҃нѧ а тогова ѵл҃вка внде лѫкавн, и проклетн сатанлъ па сн тѫрн яко ѕла мнсалъ на паметъ и рече азъ сегн какво да ѫуннмъ като направн, г҃дъ едного ѵл҃века ѿ землю да е ѿ насъ по големъ и прославн го горнн оц҃ъ ѡногова ѵл҃века и рече свн ан҃гли да мѫ се срамѫватъ и да мѫ се поклѧнѧтъ тогнва какво ѵѫ прелѫкавн ан҃тнхрнсъ таѧ дѫма яко се рас҃рьдн и рече я тогова ѵл҃века не цѣмъ нн да погледнемъ а камо лн да мѫ се поклоннмъ и рече какво да ѫуннмъ да сн зв҃ремъ я монтѣ, слѫгн та

61 See Ivanov, *Старобългарски разкази*, 18.

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да ѿкраднемъ бг҃ѹ боготкана премена и светлн бг҃оплетенн вен҆цы и прилнкн цр҃кн и скнптнн архаг҃елскн ѵннове

2. това помнслн и направн проклетн сан҆та[на]нлъ млого аг҃глн прелъстн та гн заведе когн нзлезе ѿ небеса а ѡнъ ѡтворн вратата на ветеро и на дъждо па ѹ мнгновенне ѡко слезнѹ на земю и пролнваше водѹ на землю па сн направн нб҃о прилнѵно себе и напран сн сл҃нце темно и направн сн м҃цъ мраѵенъ и звездн несветлнвн и направн сн, престолъ и ѡколъ него млого неѵестнвн и лѹкавн бесове дїѧволе, седехѹ тамѹ слѹгѹвахѹ

3. и бг҃ѹ не бн, нпкакъ драго тогнва мл҃тнвн бг҃ъ позова пръвн слѹгн свон ѵетворнца ан҆геле цѣото дръжатъ неговъ столъ ар҆хангела мнханла и гаврнлъ и ѹрнла и рафанла и реѵе нмъ вндите лн свн мон ан҆гелн какво нзбегнѹ прелѹкавн антнрнсъ и прельстн млого ан҆гелн мон дето гн бехъ азъ д҃хомъ ст҃нмъ создалъ та мн беха снновe и слѹгн снлнн беха сотворенн ан҆гн (*sic*!) прелестн та гн заведн ва тмѹ кромеѵнѹю и ва мѹкѹ веѵнѹю да се мѹѵатъ sле увн колнко sло сторн проклетн ан҆тнхрнсь та тогнва реѵе г҃дъ ѣ цѣмъ да нзберемъ на нпхн[о] место ѿ ѵл҃веѵескн родъ цѣо сѹ нзбранн цѣото ѵннатъ моѧ волѧ цѣото сѹ бнлн пр҃роцн и ап҃лн и мѹѵннцн и преподобнн и светлн и посннцн и мѹѵеннцн таквнва ѵл҃вецн да поставнмъ да мн бѹдатъ като анелн ⁘ р҃ ⁘ пѹтн по добре ѿ ѡнїѧ цѣото ѿпадн҃ха ѿ мене тогнва реѵе ар҆хангелъ мнханлъ г҃дн докогн цѣе да прелъс[т]вѹва насъ неѵестнвн сатананлъ и да мѹѵн родъ ѵл҃веѵескн това реѵе г҃дъ седмамн бѹдетъ ѵестъ ї анделнте б҃жн не можеха да се сетатъ на таѧ дѹма и да разѹмеѧтъ амн рекоха г҃дн кажн и намъ таѧ дѹма а г҃дъ реѵе ѣ вамъ не цѣмъ да кажемъ таѧ дѹма но да се дадe вамъ разѹмъ ѿ мене да се самн сетнте не вндите лн като ѣ сторнхъ ѵл҃века ѿ землѧта хоѵе това да бѹде седмамъ ѵ҃тъ та цѣе по това да се мннатъ седамъ хнлѧдн годнnн тогнва цѣе да бѹде: второ прншествне мое та цѣе тогнва да царѹва тоѧ неѵестнвн антнхрнсъ пресъ тнѧ седъмте хнлѧдн векове тогнва цѣе да бѹде самъртъ на васоко днханне цѣото е бнлъ жнво и на лѹдне и на добнтокъ и све цѣо нма на тоѧ с҃тѹ та па когн се збере и народъ на сѹдннцѹ б҃жню та ѡѵе мл҃тнвн бг҃ъ да пожалн родъ хр҃тнанъскн а проклетн ан҆тнхрнсъ зле цѣе да мѹѵн: родъ хр҃тнан҆скн па гн се довръшатъ ⁘ тнѧ; седамъ хнлѧдн годнnн тогнва цѣе да се довръшн ан҆тнхрнсъ свнѵката лъжа и проклетнѧ и цъ҃ството негово хоѵе. г҃дъ да мѹ земе нз҆ рѹкете да го сокрѹшн и да го фрълн ва тмѹ: верннѹю у длъбоко место каквото веѵе да нема:

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анꙗтнхрнсъ властъ да властѵ҆ва та па тогнва ци҆е г҃дъ та сатворн др҃гн сѣтъ дето не ци҆е: да нма до въшъ н не ци҆е тамо да нма самръть н не ци҆е тамо да нма грнжа н млого добро ци҆е да бѵ҆де тамо н млого радостъ н млого веселба н млого жнвотъ а тнѧ ц҆ото са ѿпадн҃лн ѿ бга ѡ горкѡ нмъ ѡкаѧнн: хоуатъ да у҆ѧтъ мон гласъ н моѧта дѵ҆ма та ц҆ать млого да се покаѧтъ уе сѵ҆ ѿпадн҃лн ѿ прилнка анꙗгелска не ц҆ѵ҆ть да внд҃ѵ҆ть л҃бовъ бжнѧ

4. та тогнва ци҆е да реуе г҃дъ архангеле мнханле тебе д҃ѵ҆мамъ ндн ка долно м҃уетелю днѧволѵ҆ давно бн узелъ ѿ него моѧ бготкана премена н стлн бгоплетенн венцн н прилнкн ангелскн унновс н свнте мон сл҃ѵ҆гн ц҆ото е: узелъ антнхрнсъ ѿ мене н реуе анꙗхангелъ (*sic*!) не знаеш лн г҃дн тоѧ л҃ѵ҆кавн сатананлъ сасъ негова хнтросъ перлъстн толкова анꙗгелн ѿ прилнка анꙗгелска та затова н ѧ не смеемъ да слезнемъ прн него налн тн знаешъ г҃дн ѿ кран сѣтъ ц҆о беше утькмена анꙗгеᴬска танна н бж҃твена работа та ю дръжншъ тн. г҃дн ва бесамꙗ тн҃ю (*sic*!) твою р҃ѵ҆к҃ѵ҆ та беше ꙗко добро н прилнуно а съга като прелестн анꙗтнхрнсъ неуестнвн неговн сл҃ѵ҆гн: та се днгн҃ѵ҆ нагоремо като днвъ: на бж҃тво тн него знаешъ г҃дн защо м҃ѵ҆ е дъльжнната: сто: лактн н шнрокъ ѡсамъ лактн шнѭта м҃ѵ҆: дванаесетъ лактн н оустата м҃ѵ҆ като ѧма зѵ҆бнте м҃ѵ҆ като камене погледа м҃ѵ҆ като ѕмнѧ наспнда трн: главн стоютъ на него

5. Тогнва реуе г҃дъ сто҃м҃ѵ҆ архаѧнгел҃ѵ҆ мнханл҃ѵ҆ мнръ вамъ н добро первн воевода мон едннородни настоютелю прилнуе тебе да слезнешъ ѿ нб҃са доле прн долно м҃ѵ҆унтелѧ анꙗтнхрнста да земешъ ѿ него бготкана премене н бгоплетенн венецъ, н скнптнрн аггелскн прилнкн ц҃ото е ѵ҆зелъ ѿ мене да познаетъ сл҃ѵ҆гнтѣ, неговн кон е г҃дъ творецъ ц҃ю е создалъ нб҃о н землю н реуе архнстратнгъ, мнханлъ ѡ влᴬко въсе снлне тоѧ, л҃ѵ҆кавн н злѵ҆мнн сатананлъ ц҃ю е да ме уплашн азъ твоето повеленне н твоето доᴮро не ц҃емъ прест҃пн но тн се молнм г҃дн да т҃рншъ твою преу҃тню десннц҃ѵ҆ на мон кр҃ъ (*sic*!) на помощъ н пакъ тн се молнмъ г҃дн като ц҃емъ да ндемъ прн него а ѧ ц҃емъ да д҃ѵ҆мамъ лъжовн д҃ѵ҆мн но да се не расьрдншъ, на мене уе нелн знаешъ г҃дн защо е тоѧ санꙗтанлъ хнтаръ н л҃ѵ҆кав н снленъ н вонвода аггласкн треператъ ѿ него, ѿ зло негово разѵ҆мъ но ако го не нзълъжемъ не можемъ узе богосветлнвн променн а г҃дь реуе архагг҃ел҃ѵ҆ тн ц҃ю реуешъ нем҃ѵ҆ на льжа а тебе да бѵ҆де на благословъне токо давно бн ѡпленншъ а ѧ ц҃емъ п҃ѵ҆ц҃н слн̃цето мое да сл҃ѵ҆гѵ҆ва тебе а него да расъпалн седамъ п҃ѵ҆тн да горн като ѡгнн̃ъ н да м҃ѵ҆ нзгорн

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горето н планнѣто н землата м^{8} да нзгорн ѡсамъ лактн на длъбнлъ н да пресѫшнмъ морето, два дела делѧ н архаг҃елъ реуе ѡ вл^{а}ко васеснлне какво може^{тъ} тръпетн горестъ сл҃нуа н сръдба твоѧ г^{с}дн реуе мнханле арагг҃ле (*sic*!) да се не ѕплашншъ ѿ горестъ, сл҃нуа ѩ цѣмъ пѫщн надн тебѣ ѡблакъ стѫденъ да тн бѫде тебѣ хладовнна а ан҃тнрнстъ да не може нигде да се скрне ѿ мон пекове тогнва архаг҃гелъ падн^{8} на нозете владунн н реуе г^{с}дн бѫдн мн ва помощь тогнва сн, г^{с}дъ простре преу^{с}тню свою р^{8}к^{8} та м^{8} тѫрн б҃гоплетенн, венецъ на глав^{8} н бл҃гословн го, н реуе м^{8} мнханле пондн самнм^{ъ} н савръшн

6. Тогнва ѕзе архаг҃гл҃ смертоносни мъуъ ѕ десн^{8} р^{8}к^{8} па сн простре крнлата на шнрнне па фан^{8} да слазн ѿ н҃беса внснне н протр^{8}бн тр^{8}бою та се растр^{8}пах^{8} н҃беса н землѧ се оубоѧ н морето побегна доле у длъбнна н землѧ се потресе н ан҃тнхрнсъ като седеше на столъ а ѡнъ се, ѕле сацінса н памет м^{8} ѡтнде ѿ толнко страхъ н реуе цю бн тов^{а} та се потресе землѧта днеска нлн цю бн това знаменне н ѵ^{8}до, н морето побегна да не бѫде нецю срдба ѿ горнаго ѡц҃а на насъ дален нде мнханлъ вонвода нлн нде, сам сн горнн ѡц҃ъ н погледа ан҃тнрнсъ нагоре сасъ неговн л^{8}кавн ѡу҃н на небото н внде уе слазн архаг҃гл҃ъ мнханлъ ѿ н҃беса н позна го по пресветлнво лнце негово н реуе ан҃тнрнсъ на сл^{8}гнте сн заць нде днеска мнханлъ камто насъ дален нде за зло нлн за добро не знаеме заць нде по нзлезнете м^{8} насреща та внще за каква работа нде камто насъ н пондоха свнте сл^{8}гн антнхрнстовн насреща архаг҃гл^{8} мнханл^{8} н вндоха смертоносни мъуъ неговъ та не смеѧха да прнст^{8}пать прн него нело се съкр^{8}шнх^{8} бесовете трн погледе надоле ѿпаднах^{8} н разбра л^{8}кавн сатананлъ уе нде архаг҃гл҃ъ мнханлъ на землю сас ѡнѧ мъуъ ѡгненн тогнва науе антнхрнсъ да ѡстрн стрелн да стрелѧ, архаггела мнханла а ѡннѧ неговн: сл^{8}гн ѡцце по готовн на стрелѧне, а архаг҃гелъ реуе антнрнст^{8} ѩ ндемъ, прн васъ на землю да бѫдемъ вашь а вне готовнте на мене стрелн а цю не помнслншъ ан҃тнрнсте какво реуе г^{с}дъ станемъ добремъ станемъ станемъ (*sic*!) со страхомъ

7. там^{8} реуе таѧ д^{8}м^{а} архаг҃гл҃ъ на лъжа като да го пофалн н реуе ѧ вндохъ твоето небо като уе е летно н вндох тн сл҃це тъмно н м^{с}цъ бледавъ н ѕвездн, несветлнвн н вндох тн свнуката работа н хнтроста н снлата, твоѧ уе е бнла твоѧта расналне по голема ѿ вншнаго ѡц҃а а тн ѡснлне готовншъ на мене стрелн кат^{о} на вонск^{8} на бон не е прнлнуно така да сторншъ сасъ мене ѩ самъ вндельъ свекн ц҃ръ когн вндн некого вонна ѿ у^{8}ждн места нлн, некон старешнна ѿ др^{8}гн странн а

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ѡнъ го почете н здравн се сас него н ѳготовн мѳ престолъ н трапеза ѧ самъ пребегналъ камто тебе да самъ твон сасъ, тебе защо вндохъ твоѧ небеса украсенъ н сл҃нце н м҃ц҃ъ н звездн ѳкрасенн н ветаръ вее н ѳбосъ повече бнло ѳ тебе ѿ вншнаго ѡ҃ца та заради това ю дондохъ прн тебе юко щешъ да ме пѳщншъ да самъ н ѧ сасъ тебе н по неколнкѡ днн хочатъ свнте а҃гглн да дондатъ тѳка да са сасъ тебе тогнва рече сатананлъ ѡ слюгн мон велнкн радѳнте се н веселнте се сасъ мене а тн престолн мон радѳн се н тн държаво моѭ н веселн се защо донде мнханлъ прн насъ та нн ва нстнѳ право каза че ѡчатъ свнте а҃нгелскн чннове да дондатъ прн насъ н рече сатанлъ ѡ мнханле прекаснн ю тебе щемъ да те поставнмъ ва фторн столъ мон да сн дрѳгѳваме заедно като брѧкѧ

8. токо това нзърече аньтнхрнсъ н по б҃жїе повеленне ѿтворнхѳ се нсточнн врата н прнгреѧ сл҃нце н юко прнпече горестъ н начеха да горѳтъ планнието н хльмнето н землѧта нзгоре н нзлазеше пламенъ нзъ землѧта ѡ горестъ сл҃нцаѧ тогнва се уплашнха юко зле слѳгнте ан҃тнхрнстовн та лежахѳ свнте като мъртвн на землата н ан҃тнхрнсь се сацнса. алн нкакво не дѳма че го е срамъ ѿ ар҃хнстратн: мнханлъ н ѿ жегнѳ пѳкше анънхрнсъ н весемнлостнвн г҃дъ пѳщн ѡблакъ хладенъ надн главѳ мнханловѳ тамѳ ако беше угодно н рече арх҃ангелъ анънхрнстѳ ѡ снленье саго що да ѳчннме като гледам҃ сл҃нцето че юко пече нзъгореме жнвн ∴ ѿ жегѳ на землю н слѳгнте твон све помрошн а ѿ жегѳ но ттн (*sic*!) кажн що да ѳчннме да не погнеме ѿ тоѧ горецѧва н ан҃тнхрнсъ рече не бон се арх҃агеле: тн сн внделъ сасъ каква хнтросъ ю тѳка пребнвамъ свнте а҃нгле се мене боѧтъ но тн се ѿ тоѧ ѡгнъ не бон се рече арх҃гелъ тн есн снленъ та се не боншъ но азъ ѿ горестъ не могѳ да търпнмъ легома като ѡставнхъ ю ѿ горнѧго ѡ҃ца та заради това пални насъ толкова сл҃цето сан҃танлъ рече не бон се мнханле ю знаемъ едно големо н дълбоко езере тѳка едвам го вїдїшъ сасъ ѡ҃чн но анде да ндемо тамо да се малко ѡкѳпее н да се проладнме догде занде сл҃нце: та па да ндеме на нстокъ да затворнме: пѳтъ: на сл҃цето да не горн толкова: насъ: н като: чѳ мнханлъ: за езеро: юко се: зарадѳва: защо че тамо да мѳ: прнлегне: да го: ѡплеснн: да мѳ земе б҃готкана премена н б҃гоплетенн венецъ н рече: мнханлъ: ѡ вл҃кѡ васеснлне да ѡтндемо: на езеро: тогнва: рече сан҃танлъ на слѳгнте сн добре: пазете мнханла че е ѡнъ сасъ лѳкав҃щнна н сасъ льжа донде: прн насъ да нн ѿтъвне доброто наше: нзь рѳкете нашн: н да ѳчннн мене да станемъ неѳреденъ н неснленъ н да станемъ прн васъ слѳгн мон за смехъ н за ѳкоръ н щете да речете ете г҃даръ нашъ станѳ

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снромахъ но пазете добре мнханла да не може ннцıо да сторн на моѧ дръжава н реуе анꙗтнхрнсъ на слѳгнте сн хандате вне сасъ мене на езеро н ѡнн пондохѳ н архаг҃гелъ мнханлъ понде сасъ анꙗтнхрнста заедно н дѳмаха сн двата какво да сторатꙗ да затворатъ пѳтъ на слъ҃нцето н реуе мнханлъ анꙗтнрнстѳ ѡ влако повелн да стнгнемо до езеро скоро цıеме затворн пѳто на слъ҃нцето н достнгнахѳ до езерото н реуе сатананлъ архаг҃гелѳ влезнн мнханле ѳ езеро да се малко проладнıшъ а ѧ да тн послѳгѳвамъ зацıо мн сн млъ н на сраце мое ка тебе н реуе архаг҃гелъ анꙗтнрнстѳ ѡ влако не е робъ ѿ гс҃дара своего по големъ тн сн на небото первн тн знаешъ на езеро длъбннѧта тн пръвннъ требѳва да влезнешъ н ѧ после по тебѣ зацıо ѧ езерѳ дльбннѳ не знаемъ не знаемъ н бонм се ѿ sверне н ѿ sмїн н ѿ гадове морскн н ѿ таѧ снлна sмнѧ цıото е тебе создала но тн снлне та се не боншъ ѿ ннкого но влезнн та гн ѳкротн, сасъ твоѧта снла а мене прнлнуе да тн слѳгѳвамъ

9. н тогнва анꙗтнхрнсъ соблеуе боготканa премена н богоплетенн венецъ н скнптнрн анꙗг҃гелскн унновe н хѳбосъ сва прнлнка цıо беше, ѳзелъ хрс҃тѳ ѿ нбе҃са н дадe ю архаг҃гелѳ мнханлѳ у рѳке н реуе лѳкавн, сатананлъ архаг҃глѳ страх ме е ѿ тебѣ, да ме некакъ не нзмамнıшъ тогнва, архаггелъ реуе ѡ влако токо мн снла, твоѧ не бон се ѳ мене нема лѳкавцınнa пакъ реуе анꙗтнрнсъ на слѳгнте сн пазете го добре да вн некакъ не нзъмамн мнханлъ н влезе антнрнсъ ѳ езеро н покѳпа се малко н їзлезе на на (*sic*!) дворъ, н внде архаг҃гела уе гледа нагоре на небото н готовн се да фръкне пакь мѳ реуе анꙗтнрнсъ ѡ мнханле не заклънн се за снла моѧ но заклънн се за внıшнаго ѡ҃ца н да бѳдемъ безъгрнженъ н внде архаг҃гелъ уе не може ннкакво да го нзьлаже н реуе ѡ влако тако мн снлн твон н внıшнаго ѡ҃ца у мене нема льжа н лошннıа тогнва внде аньтнрнсъ зацıо нема лъжа ѳ архаг҃гла н ѿложн сн свата грнжа н страхъ та па когн пнсѳ н трепнѳ сасъ : вı : крнла н слезе на дно ѳ езеро н сторн се громъ н бльсакъ н гласъ големъ ѳ водата ѿ него н їзбн рнбн млого н sверове н гадове морскн н разбра sмнѧ цıо е на дно ѳ морето н уѳ гласъ големъ н їзлезе ѿ свое гнездо н стнгнѳ антнрнста ѳ дльбнн ѳ езерѳ н страшно се сплетоха сасъ него зборнхѳ се антнрнсъ ѿфрьлн sмню ѿ себе колнкото не може, да ю внднсасъ ѡун пакъ мѳ реуе sмнѧта тн сага нзбн свнте жнвнн морскн а ѧ хоуемъ тебе да затрнемъ до конецъ зацıо сага цıото сака а тн нанде н реуе sмнн сатананлъ н ѧ цıо сака н ѧ нандохъ н пакъ се сплетоха да се боратъ сасъ бжнемъ повенне слезохѳ ва безна морскаѧ

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10. и архаг҃гелъ мнхаилъ помоли се г҃ѣ и бг҃ѣ їе реуе ѡ г҃ѣ вечнѣи цр҃ѣ ѡгнени чинови создателю и невидимимъ силамъ правителю бѣди ми помощнікъ и преклони дльбоко морскѣю колкото е до небеса високо толко да стане морето дльбоко да не може анꙗтирисъ скоро да излезне из него, да ме не фане тоа безь но ти г҃ѣ пѣщи надь мене твою преучстѣю десници та ме избави да имашъ пофала ѿ твонте аггли това се помоли архаг҃глъ г҃ѣ бг҃ѣ и ѵчини знамение на езеро, сасъ страшно име несваго (*sic*!) ѡц҃а и трепна сасъ ѡниа злати крила и ва мигновение ѡко возвесе се на нбо и г҃ѣ всемилостиви виде уе иде архаг҃елъ михаилъ и носи бг҃откана премена и бг҃оплетени венецъ и прилики анг҃елски чинове и млого се зарадѣвахѣ ѡколъ него и реуе г҃ѣ радѣи се михаиле архистратиже и михаилъ тогива, возопи гласомъ велікимъ и реуе твоа: ѿ твонхъ тебе приносащи ѡва се и за васе[x] доуѣха сви сили небесни уе донде ѿ землю архаг҃глъ михаилъ тогива свите агг҃ли запеха сасъ гомъ (*sic*!) гласъ и дѣмахѣ тебе поемъ тебѣ благословимъ ва[A]ко г҃ѣ вседрьжителю и молим ти се, г҃ѣ бже нашъ и летѣтъ агг҃лите и пеютъ

11. А̃ тогива анꙗтирисъ излезе изъ, езеро и ѵ̃ като пеютъ агг҃лите на н[E]беса а немѣ ѭко зле донде и сащинса се, и реуе ѡ тешко мене и пакъ реуе ѡ зле за мене где сѣ монте сили где сѣ монте анг҃ели никого сага немамъ на помощъ а слюгите мѣ лежѣтъ като мъртви уе ги изби анꙗг҃елъ михаилъ и реуе анꙗтихристъ ѡ зле и тешко мене какво ѭ учини та си испѣщихъ свата премена и свон добро мое изъ рѣке изгѣбихъ и погледа горе на небото и виде архаг҃гела уе ѡщіе летѝ на нагоре и носи бг҃ѣ премената и приліките анг҃ески като виде анꙗтихрисъ уе ѡщіе летѝ михаилъ нагоре а ѡнъ заскръца сасъ зѣби и трепна неуестиви сатанаил сасъ ·:·вї·:· крила и за пища и за грома та се доуѣ гласъ до небо и до безнѣ морскѣю толико сило и страшно летеше анꙗтихрисъ и стигнѣ михаила на трето нбо и фирли уенгелъ та го фанѣ за стѣпало на лева нога: и фана го за десна рѣка ї фанѣ анꙗтихрисъ да надвива архаг҃елѣ михаилѣ ще да мѣ ѡтъвне бг҃откана премена и бг҃оплетени венецъ тогива вика архаг҃глъ сасъ големъ гласъ и реуе бг҃ѣ ѡ ва[A]ко погледи и на твоего ра[B]га настоателя твоего михаила уе прихехъ грижа ѿ лѣкаваго сатанла уе ме фанѣ сасъ бжествена премꙉѣ но ти ва[A]ко не ѡстави своего раба да бѣде посраменъ предъ агг҃ли слѣги твои : : :

Тогива реуе вишии ѡц҃ъ ѡ михаиле мон първи слюжителю и наималии вонводо анг҃еломъ оузми мъуъ оу десни твою рѣкѣ и ѕдарии анꙗтихриста по с[A]мя връхъ по главѣ и ѿсеуи мѣ ѿ крилата и поразни

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мѫ лицето н виденнето негово тогнва реуе архагелъ г^{с}дн дан мн волѧ да довръшнмъ тогова ан^{ı}тнхрнста до конецъ а г^{с}дъ реуе ар^{ı}аггелѫ неден го довръша до конецъ нело мѫ ѿ^{с}еун ѿ крнлата ⁘ѥ :: а : з : мѫ ѡставн тогнва архагглъ ѯзе смертоснн мъуъ н ѯдарн антнхрнста по връ по главѫ н забн мѫ слѯхъ н падн$\overline{ѫ}$ неуестнвн доле ва пропастъ ѡкрѯженъ бесь крнла н б^{е}зь даръ посраменъ н ѡголенъ каквото сн немѫ прнлнуе: архагглъ предаде боготкана премена н богоплетенн цр^{с}скн вѣнцын н скнптнрн аггелскн прнлнкн предаде, въ рѯце бгѫ н ѡнне агглн дѯмаха междѫ себе дрѯгъ дрѯгомъ добре ѡпленн арахангелъ мнханлъ, ѡногова проклетаго сатананла нлн заџо е посрьналъ сасъ лнце надоле неџо мѫ легома не е угодно, н пнта го г^{с}дъ џо сн се замнслнлъ архаггеле а ѡнь мѫ реуе ѡ г^{с}дн да мн беше далъ волѧ да довр^{ı}шнмъ до конецъ тогова кръвнпка антнхрнста да не лѯун агглн твон ѿ тебе н да не пръласт$\overline{ѫ}$ва родъ уеловеуескн да гн, водн ва мѫкѫ веунѫю тогнва реуе г^{с}дъ архаггле мон мнханле не знаеш лн за тогова сопротнвнпка заџо џе ѡнъ да џр$\overline{ѫ}$ва н да мѯун родъ уеловеуескн даже до скануанне вѣка томѫ же архагглѫ мнханлѫ слава н у^{с}тъ н поклонение, ѡ$\overline{ц}$ѫ н снн$\overline{ѫ}$ н с$\overline{т}$омѫ д$\overline{х}$ѫ н нынѣ, н прнсно н во векн вековь амынь.

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