Imagining Creation

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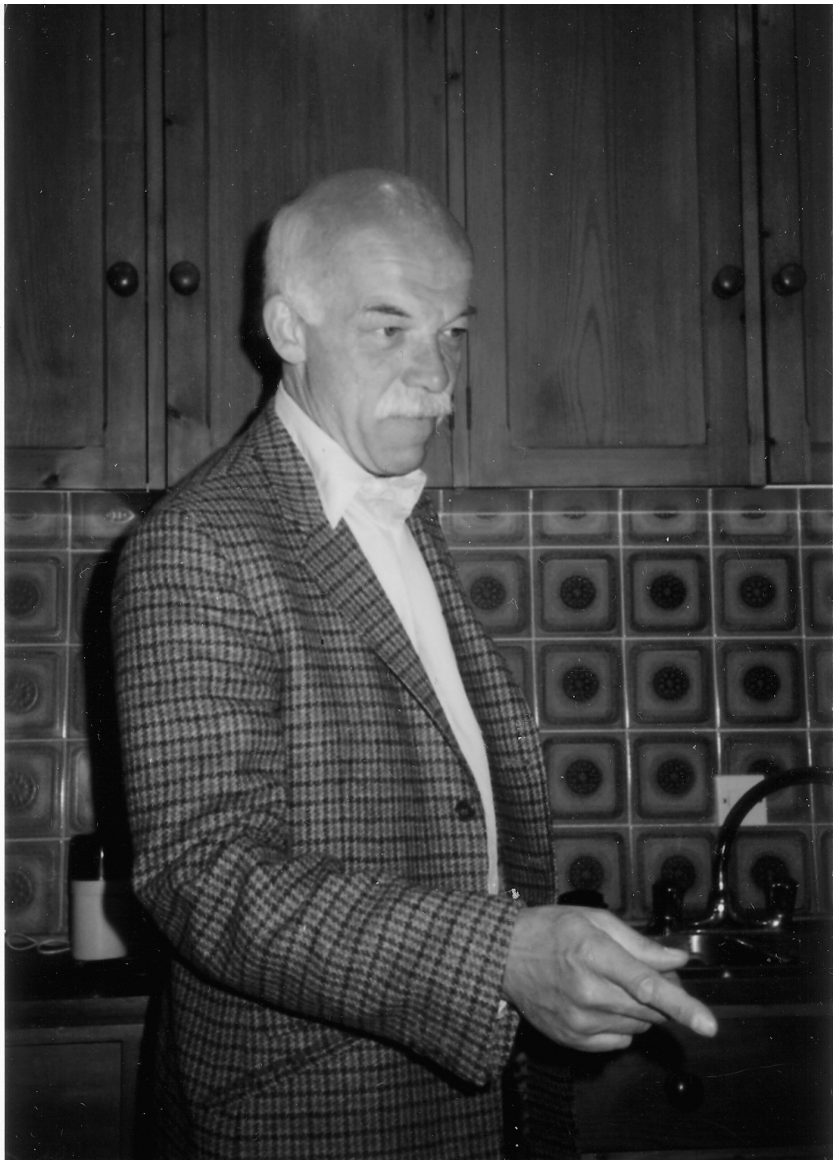
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In Memoriam

John Edward Wansbrough
February 19, 1928–June 10, 2002
(photo: David Eisenberg)

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IMAGINING CREATION

Edited by

Markham J. Geller and Mineke Schipper

with an introduction by

Mary Douglas



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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE BIBLE IN THE MAKING: SLAVONIC CREATION STORIES

Florentina Badalanova

1. *The Unwritten Holy Writ: Slavonic Ethnohermeneutics*

This essay focuses on the interface between the Biblical Creation account and Slavonic folk cosmogony, as mirrored in oral tradition.[1] Exploring the encounter between the Holy Scriptures and ethnopoetics,[2] it approaches phenomena of popular faith which exemplify correspondences between the written accounts of the Book of Genesis

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[1] This publication incorporates some results of a broader research project on which I have been working since 1974, collecting folklore data and analysing the parameters of vernacular religious beliefs in Slavonic traditional culture. The project, entitled *The Folk Bible: Oral Tradition and Holy Writ*, concentrates on the description of popular dimensions of Christianity. The work is based on texts I recorded during field research in Bulgaria and in the former Soviet Union in the period 1974–1994. The Slavonic (Bulgarian) version of *The Folk Bible: Oral Tradition and Holy Writ* manuscript, containing the original transcripts of my folklore recordings, was deposited in 1995 in the Department of Ethnolinguistics and Folklore at the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. In 1998–1999 my work on the project was kindly supported by a grant from the Modern Humanities Research Association. I acknowledge with gratitude that during the duration of this grant I produced the English translations of the original Bulgarian transcripts; these are now included in the Appendix. The audio-tapes containing the actual sound-recordings of my folklore texts are stored at the Archives of the Institute of Folklore of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Folklore of Moscow State University, and in the private archives of Joan Sheffler and myself.

The present essay includes some of the author's earlier observations and comments on the relationship between folk religion and the Biblical text [Badalanova 1994: 5–21; 1997–1998: 11–32; 1998: 154–162; 2001: 37–56; 2002: 47–67; 2003a: 159–203; 2003b: 1–22].

[2] For general discussion on "the interface between the written and the oral", see Goody [1987], as well as Aune [1991], and Damrosch [1987]. On the "hermeneutics of speaking and writing" (with special regard to synoptic tradition), see Kelber [1983]. For folklore methodology implied in studies on relationship between oral tradition and the biblical text, see Niditch [1993], Dundes [1999], Kirkpatrick [1988], Noy [1998]; see also T. H. Gaster [1969]. On the structuralist approach to the biblical text, see Leach and Aykock [1983], Greenwood [1985]. On anthropological approaches to the Bible, see Douglas [1966; 1970; 1999], Rogerson [1978] and Lang [1985].

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(both canonical and apocryphal versions), and their oral expression through the vernacular language(s). In this, it examines the relationship between Holy Writ and its oral counterparts (sheltered within folklore tradition of non-literate peasant communities in Eastern Europe)—an approach that acknowledges the heterogeneity of cultural patterns constituting the confessional paradigm of Pax Slavia Christiana, and its ethnohermeneutics. It could be argued that Slavonic folklore versions of the Book of Genesis not only exemplify the encounter between the written canon and the local oral traditions, but also represent the unfolding of a certain oral Ur-hypertext, the earliest existence of which preceded the actual formation of the Biblical text itself.[3] In my view, it was this Ur-hypertext that both provided the fabric, and created the context from which the written text of the Bible eventually sprang. Moreover, this Ur-hypertext did not only beget, foster and nourish the corpus of texts which later formed the written body of "The Bible", but also survived to the present day in oral traditions of many religious communities as clusters of verbal and ritual texts constituting the framework of their belief systems. Slavonic oral tradition represents one such case. The attached Appendix (below) is an attempt to provide evidence supporting this statement. It consists of English translations of both literary (i.e. apocryphal Old Testament) texts, the first written versions of which can be traced back as early as 2nd–1st cent. B.C. (such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*,[4] for instance), and oral

[3] In fact, the Bible represents only one among many of the subsequent metamorphoses of this oral Ur-hypertext, traces of which can be found in later Judaic tradition (i.e. in some midrashim, and in the Aggadah), in Christian tradition (i.e. in a number of apocryphal texts, as well as in Patristic writings) and in Islamic tradition (the Koran and the Hadith) respectively. It can be further argued that these written 'offspring' of the original oral Ur-hypertext have their folklore counterparts which have never ceased to exist in vernacular traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam; many modern folklore texts (samples of which can be found in the attached Appendix) represent the same case.

[4] *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* was originally composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic probably no later than the 1st century B.C. It survived in three versions: Ethiopic (also known as *Enoch 1*), Slavonic (known as *Enoch 2*) and Hebrew (*Enoch 3*). Extant Aramaic fragments from Qumran parallel the Ethiopic version, see Bhayro [2005]. *Enoch 2* originates from a Greek Vorlage which may have been based on a Hebrew or Aramaic original from the 1st century A.D. The first translation of 'the Slavonic Enoch' into English was accomplished by W. R. Morfill; it was edited by R. H. Charles and published as a monograph (with his introduction, notes and indices); for further details, see Morfill and Charles [1896]. Recensions of *Enoch 2* were recently published by Charlesworth [1983: 91–221] and Sparks [1984: 169–362]. It is argued that the earliest

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(folklore) texts recently recorded. The fabric of the texts published in the Appendix demonstrates that a certain cultural continuity exists among both men of letters and illiterate believers for centuries; in this, the oral and the written modes of knowledge transmission, together with that of the visual arts (i.e. iconography), put forward many facets of the main Ur-hypertext.

Some of the accounts on which this article is based were registered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by a number of folklorists. In addition, I also provide some new empirical evidence derived from recent field-work amongst rural communities in the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus), in Bulgaria, and in Bulgarian diaspora villages in Bessarabia and Taurida provinces of the former Russian Empire (respectively today Moldova and Ukraine),[5] together with iconographic material. These texts show how the language of icon-painting is related to the language of storytelling, since it appears that verbal and iconic texts are perceived by illiterate Christians as two interdependent hypostases of the "Divine Word". As B. Uspenskii points out,

> The semiotic, i.e., lingual, nature of the icon was clearly realised and even proclaimed as dogma by the Fathers of the Church. Particularly characteristic in this respect are the comparisons made, from extremely ancient times (in fact, almost from the epoch of the birth of the icon), between icon painting and language, and between the icon and the verbal text. Thus, St Nilus of Sinai wrote as early as the fifth century that icons are placed in churches 'so that illiterate who are unable to read the Holy Scriptures, may, by gazing at the pictures, become mindful' of the faith. One finds the same thought, expressed in practically the same words, in a letter of Pope Gregory the Great to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles: 'What a book is to those who can read, a picture is to the ignorant people who look at it. Because in a picture even the unlearned may see what

version of *Enoch 2* appeared in medieval Bulgaria in the 10th century [Petkanova 1982: 351; Miltenova 1992b: 228]; Iordan Ivanov suggests as *terminus ante quem* 11th–12th cent. [1925: 167]. There also exists an opinion (put forward by A. S. D. Maunder) that *Enoch 2* is a "Bogomil work, written originally in Bulgarian, between the 12th and the 15th centuries" [Sparks 1984: 323]. Iordan Ivanov takes a more cautious approach, arguing that the author(s) of the *Sacred Book of the Bogomils* must have been aware of the *Book of Enoch*, which would explain many of the apparent similarities between the two texts [Ivanov 1925: 187–191]. For further details, see Sokolov [1899] and Ivanov [1925: 72, 165–191], as well as A. Pennington's *Introduction* to her translation of *Enoch 2* in Sparks [ibid., 321–326] and F. Andersen's introductory notes to his translation in Charlesworth [1983: 91–100]. See also the discussion below (in Section 2.1). An extract from *Enoch 2* is offered in the Appendix (see text No. 1.3).

[5] Samples of these are included in the Appendix.

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> example they should follow; in a picture they who know no letters may yet read'. [Uspenskii 1976: 9–10]

One can find the same idea in the words of St John Damascene (8th century): "icons are for unlearned people what books are for those who know how to read; they are to the eye what speech is to the ear."[6]

However, while analysing the Creation stories in Slavonic Christendom, one should not forget the Early Church Fathers' discussions on the power of the tradition "recorded not on paper but in one's heart".[7] It was St. Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–200) who stated,

> Many barbarian peoples who believed in Christ [...] possess salvation, written without paper or ink by the Spirit in their hearts, and diligently observe the ancient tradition. They believe in one God, maker of heaven and earth and everything in them [...]. Those who have believed this faith without letters are "barbarians in relation to our language" (Cor. 14:11) but most wise, because of the faith, as to thinking, customs, and way of life, and they please God as they live in complete justice, chastity, and wisdom [translation by Grant 1997: 127].

Incidentally, the spiritual teacher of St Irenaeus of Lyons was St Polycarp of Smyrna—one of the disciples of St John the Apostle himself. While recollecting his youth, St Irenaeus confessed:

> I remember the events of those days better than recent ones, for childhood learning grows up with the soul and is united with it, so I can speak of the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and discussed, his entrances and exits and the character of his life, the appearance of his body, the discourses he made to the multitude, how he related his life together with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, and how he remembered their words, and what he heard about the Lord from them, about his miracles and teaching—how Polycarp received this from the eyewitnesses of the life of the Word and proclaimed it all in accordance with the Scriptures. Because of God's mercy given to me I heard these things eagerly even then, and I recorded them not on paper but in my heart, and I meditate on them accurately by God's favour [trans. Grant 1997: 2].

The above passage indicates that Irenaeus' strategy for preserving and disseminating "the Word of God, by the word of mouth"—a strategy which was significant for and relevant to the early apostolic age—paralleled the general rules for knowledge transmission in classical folklore

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[6] For further discussion, see Uspenskii [1976: 10].

[7] A quotation from St Irenaeus' letter to Florinus, which was partly saved in Eusebius *Church History*. For further details, see Grant [1997: 2].

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convention, i.e. the rules which are implied in the process of learning, memorising, preserving, and performing traditional oral texts.[8]

It is appropriate to note that for the men of letters in medieval Slavia Orthodoxa and Slavia Romana,[9] Christianity was solely the religion of the book. The act of writing and reading acquired the status of a sacred undertaking in which "the Lord's Body" was being constituted "through the Divine Word". At the same time, for the unlettered peasantry, it was not only the written, but also the oral text that was considered to be the emanation of God. Orality was considered "holy" and therefore chanting, storytelling and singing were regarded as a sacred performance. In other words, if, for the upper levels of society, Christianity was considered to be merely the religion of the book and, respectively, writing and reading were regarded as a holy deed, likewise for "simple folk" storytelling and singing functioned as a divine incarnation.

This essay is based on stories narrated by "those who cannot read", but who, to paraphrase Irenaeus, are "most wise"; they believe that their legends come "straight from the Bible itself", and thus they are perceived as an oral counterpart of the Holy Writ, equally holy and sacrosanct as their canonical counterpart. Because, together with the "written" text of the Bible,[10] among the Slavs there also existed

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[8] On the relation between oral tradition and "books and readers", with special regard to the history of Early Christian texts, see Gamble [1997]. Relevant to our field of study is the discussion on "primary orality" and "residual orality" (or "residual primary orality"); for a comprehensive review of scholarship on this topic, see Christine M. Thomas [1992: 125–164].

[9] The terms "Slavia Orthodoxa" and "Slavia Romana" were introduced by the Italian scholar R. Picchio. In defining them, he puts an emphasis on "the impact of ethno-linguistic factors on the formation of Slavic cultural systems in Central and Eastern Europe" [Picchio 1984: 1], and highlights the fact that as a "point of departure" he takes "the division of historical Slavdom into two main areas, belonging to the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Churches (*Slavia Orthodoxa*) and to that of the Roman Church (*Slavia Romana*) respectively". At the same time, he points out that "the boundary lines between the two cultural areas of Orthodox Slavdom and Roman Slavdom were never fixed in a definite way. Thus, we can speak of zones of mixed or overlapping influence (for example, Great Moravia, the Glagolithic area in Croatia, Bosnia, the Ukraine and Belarus). This means that the concepts of *Slavia Orthodoxa* and of *Slavia Romana* apply to cultural traditions rather than to territorial or administrative units. Within each of these two main areas of civilisation, the self-identification of the Slavs with certain cultural and linguistic systems was directly affected by the ideological and linguistic models that the ecclesiastical organisations introduced into their spiritual patrimony" [Picchio 1984: 3]. For further information consult N. Tolstoi's articles on the same topic [1998: 10–21, 30–42, 49–63].

[10] For a general survey of Old Church Slavonic Bible translations, and of the editions of canonical Biblical text within the context of medieval Slavonic scholastic tradition see I. Gritsevskaia [1990: 39–48].

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another Bible—a "folk Bible"—which was orally transmitted among the illiterate believers, and which changed its appearance at every new performance. Unlike its written counterpart, this unwritten "Holy Writ" was extant in many oral versions. As already stated above, some of them were first registered during the nineteenth century, and published in a number of ethnographic and folklore collections. The results of recent anthropological field research in the area indicate that traces of these texts can still be found in the Slavonic folklore tradition,[11] and many new versions can be encountered. These can either relate the canonical and apocryphal accounts of the Book of Genesis, or offer renderings alternative to them,[12] thereby revealing a new, previously unknown, cluster of folklore texts related to the Holy Writ. They, in turn, present a picture of the Slavonic folk Bible, which appears to be rather elaborate and complex.

The analysis of the materials collected among the Slavs indicates that "the folk Bible" renderings never offer a word-for-word reproduction of any of the stories of Holy Writ. Instead, they put forward a specific frame of reference in which the local system of religious beliefs, together with some universal cultural myths about the Creation of the Universe, are incorporated. Often narrators compress and abbreviate the text of the Biblical account, putting together various fragments into only one story-line; in this, different segments of Holy Writ (in either their canonical or apocryphal versions) are condensed and pressed together into a single tale which varies at any new performance. An excellent example of this kind of rendering is the text entitled "The Lord and the Devil" (to be analysed below); the tale was narrated by Stepan Hrihor'ev, a forty-five year old illiterate inhabitant of the village of Vylev, Homel' area, and published in 1891.[13]

In this type of texts, the episodes about the origin of the Universe and the creation of Adam and his helpmate Eve are usually, but not necessarily, followed by elaborate instalments about the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, about Original Sin and the Fall of Mankind, about the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, about the Lament of the First People over the Paradise Lost, about the Origin of Clothes, and many other topics. In most cases,

[11] See Badalanova [1994: 5–21], Tolstaia [1998], Kabakova [1999], Belova [2001], Hrudnitski [2001: 141–147], Dubianetski [2001: 147–151].

[12] See Tolstoi [1995: 245–249; 250–269; 359–363].

[13] See the fourth volume of E. R. Romanov's *Belarusian Collection* [Romanov 1891 IV: 1–5]; see also text No. 2.1.1 in the Appendix.

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however, the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary and the Nativity of Jesus narratives mark the climax of the story-line, thus spelling out in the vernacular the soteriological idea of the forthcoming Salvation of Mankind, and revealing the Slavonic folklore understanding of the Christian concept of the redemption of the human race through the sacrifice of Christ.

Recent anthropological field research in the area indicates that, together with these rather elaborate religious narratives (which, as a rule, are offered by the most gifted storytellers of the local community), it is equally possible to encounter many short, dense renderings in which the entire plot is focused on only one motif, or on a limited number of motifs. Amongst the most popular of such motifs are: "The Universe created in six days",[14] "Creation of the sky",[15] "Creation of man",[16] "Man created in Creator's image",[17] "Man made from clay/earth",[18] "Creation of first woman from man's rib",[19] "The Devil in serpent form tempts first woman",[20] etc. On the other hand, the renderings consisting of only canonical biblical themes and motifs are virtually non-existent in the legendary repertoire of the villages studied. As a rule, the canonical plot co-exists and intertwines with a parallel group of themes and motifs which offer variations alternative to the Biblical Creation narrative; these are usually focused upon a cluster of universal cosmogonic motifs, such as "Primeval chaos,"[21] "God and Devil fly together

[14] Cf. entry A 601.2 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* [1955]; see also text No. 2.2.1 in the Appendix, as well as the text recorded by E. A. Bukreeva in 1979 in the village of Podrozh'e, Volyn region and published by O. Belova in her "Biblical plots in the legends of the Eastern Slavs" [2001: 130].

[15] Cf. entry A 701 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[16] Cf. entry A 1200 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[17] Cf. entry A 1212 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[18] Cf. entry A 1241 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also the text recorded by R. Malchev in 1983 in the village of Zamfirovo (North-Western Bulgaria) and published by Badalanova [1993: 125–126].

[19] Cf. entry A 1275.1 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also the text recorded by T. V. Rozhdestvenskaia in 1982 in the village of Grabovka, Gomel' region and published by O. Belova [2001: 130], as well as the Bulgarian folklore text "Eve was born of Adam" recorded and published by Badalanova [1993: 122].

[20] Cf. entry A 63.6 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also the legend narrated by the Bulgarian storyteller D. Tashev from the village of Zadunaevka, in the region of Odessa, Ukraine; the text was recorded and published by Badalanova [1993: 152–153].

[21] Cf. entry A 605 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also text No. 2.2.1 in the Appendix.

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over primeval water,"[22] "The Devil as Earth Diver,"[23] "Animals created through opposition of Devil to God,"[24] "Revolt of evil angels against God,"[25] "Raising of the sky,"[26] etc. Thus, some Slavonic folklore legends of the creation of the Universe offer a cluster of versions which are much closer to the heterodox Christian (and even "heretical" Bogomil) cosmogonic traditions than to the canonical biblical account. In these dualistic legends (or shall we call them "combat myths"?), the genesis of "the dry land" and "the water" are revealed as a divine competition between two demiurges—God and another celestial deity, who is believed to be His friend or enemy (called usually "Дявол", "Гявол", "Лукавый", "Сатана", "Краса", etc.), and who dives to the bottom of the primordial sea in order to bring (either in his hand, or in his mouth) a seed/grain of earth to the surface.[27] This "seed of earth" is then sown and blessed by God, and thus the "dry land" emerges. In this way the creation of the earth is projected not only as a rivalry between the two creators, but also as an agricultural activity. Of crucial importance here is the image of the seed/grain as an 'embryo' of the Universe, an 'embryo' in which the dormant energy of Creation itself is hidden. These renderings reveal also some important features of religious dualism immanent in the Slavonic world, traces of which may be found in the apocryphal *Sea of Tiberias* (see below).[28] Similar interpretations of this legendary cluster of Creation texts are recently

[22] Cf. entry A 810.1 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also text No. 2.2.9 in the Appendix.

[23] Cf. entry A 812.1 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also text No. 2.1.1 and text No. 2.2.9 in the Appendix.

[24] Cf. entry A 1750 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also texts No. 2.1.1 and No. 2.1.2 in the Appendix, and the discussion below.

[25] Cf. entry A 106.2 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also texts Nos 2.1.3 and 2.2.10 in the Appendix, and the discussion below.

[26] Cf. entry A 625.2 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see also text 34 "Why the sky is high?" in Nicoloff's *Bulgarian Folktales* [1979: 105–106, 226], and the discussion below.

[27] An excellent survey of Slavonic dualistic themes and motifs related to the creation of earth out of primordial ocean by two deities is offered by M. Dragomanov [1892: 257–314]; see also I. Ivanov [1925: 287–290], D. Dimitrova-Marinova [1998: 38–57], V. Kuznetsova [1998: 59–78], Z. Smitek [1998: 111–123], Y. Stoyanov [2001: 19–22].

[28] For the range of extra-canonical themes and motifs contained in medieval Slavonic manuscripts of *The Sea of Tiberias*, see Ivanov [1925: 290–326]; see also the apocryphal text No. 1.1 (which offers an English translation of *The Sea of Tiberias*), as well as folklore text No. 2.2.7 in the Appendix.

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registered in many Bulgarian, Serbian, Belarusian, Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Croatian and Polish villages.[29]

On the other hand, it should not be assumed that themes and motifs appearing in Slavonic creation stories are entirely "unique" and can be registered in Slavonic folklore exclusively; if there exists such a thing as "unique" Slavonic cosmogony, it is only "the plot constellations" and the actual settings in which these themes and motifs appear that can be considered truly unique. I will also argue that the Creation stories, as narrated among the Slavs, are incorporated into a thematic cluster of texts which are recognised by the storytellers as "The Bible" stories, as the folk "Book of Genesis". The aetiological legends about various plants—trees, flowers and herbs, about insects and birds, fish and reptiles, wild beasts, as well as domesticated animals, are anchored in "biblical" time, the time of the ultimate beginning, and capsulated in "biblical" space. Thus Slavonic ethnobotany and ethnozoology transform local cosmogonies into palpable reality. Creation becomes tangible. Myth is envisaged as habitat. As such, it acquires colours, flavours, odours, sounds. It can be touched and seen, heard and smelled. It may be verbalised or visualised—captured in either anthropomorphic, or floral, or zoomorphic imagery. It may be embodied in familiar landscapes, or expressed via the indigenous iconographic "language" of ornaments embroidered in native textiles. It may be sheltered in folk stories and songs about local rivers and lakes, mountains and valleys, and retained in tales and poems about plants growing there and animals inhabiting them. It can be uttered, sung, and even danced. It may be further articulated by the "language" of the indigenous cuisine. It may be thus processed as ritual food and transformed into a ceremonial dish—cooked as a festive meal with the meat of a sacrificed animal, baked as a bread, or drunk as a beverage. Hence it may get converted into a specific comestible reality and consumed by the members of the community during various celebrations of calendar/seasonal festivals, family customs, social occasions, etc., each time spelling out, via the "language" of the local ritual food, the indigenous—manifold, versatile, multifaceted—notions of Creation.

[29] See also the folklore texts published in Section Two ("God and Devil: good and evil") in the Second Division of the Appendix.

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In this article it will be shown how the Creation is experienced in everyday lives of "unlettered believers" from Pax Slavia Christiana, how it is envisaged and story-told by them, and how it is celebrated in some of their customs and festivals.

1.1. *Primordial Plants: Slavonic Ethnobotany Accommodating Creation*

Among the Bulgarians it is believed that the first plant ever created by God was the walnut-tree (*Juglans regia*). Its emergence was preceded only by the creation of the earth itself. According to the folk legend recorded in the village of Vakarel (Sofia region, Western Bulgaria) by Iordan Kovachev,[30] for instance, the creation of the walnut-tree heralds the creation of earthly vegetation. When God makes the earth from the sea-foam (which is taken from the borders of the Universe, "where the seas beat at each other"), it is initially as small as a round, flat unleavened loaf (Bulg. "пита"); then it becomes bigger, as a bread-baking pot (Bulg. "тепсия"), and later grows "to the size of a threshing floor" (Bulg. "харман"); then, in the middle of the newly created earth, God plants a walnut-tree upon which He ties a golden hammock and begins to swing. Being the first plant of Creation, the walnut-tree is thus considered to be holy. Besides, it is regarded as "God's chosen tree". As such, it is believed to be sacred: no one may cut it down. Thus in the vicinities of Lom (North-Western Bulgaria) it is maintained that whoever breaks this taboo is condemned to die by a violent death, while his offspring are to be further punished by God, until the entire lineage ceases to exist.

Moreover, the space around the walnut-tree is likewise considered to be consecrated. Many healing ceremonies are performed around it, in the ritualized space marked by its roots [Kulisić, Petrović, Pantelić 1998: 339]. Ethnographic data from nineteenth-century Bulgaria and Serbia indicates that the walnut-tree may also function as an "obrok" (i.e. votive) tree under which "kurban" sacrificial offerings are made [Marinov 1984: 574]; these ceremonies are usually performed on various Christian holidays (such as St George's Day, Ascension Day, Pentecost, the Day of the Holy Prophet Elijah, the Day of the Dormition of the

[30] This folk legend was first published in Vol. 30 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1914: 49–50]; it was later reprinted by Iordan Ivanov [1925: 334–336, text 3], and subsequently translated into English by Assen Nicoloff [1979: 104–105].

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Virgin, etc.), "for good health and prosperity" of the members of the entire village community. Furthermore, the very fact that on the territory of the village grows a votive "obrok" tree is considered to be a good omen and a sign of God's protection. People living in these villages believe that no natural disasters would ever strike their territory, provided the necessary ceremonies under the "obrok" votive tree are performed "in the name of God Almighty". The walnut-tree thus becomes one of the tangible symbols of God's might and omnipresence. Storytellers frequently point out in this connection that the wood of the walnut-tree should be used only for special purposes, as the very act of cutting it is considered to be equal to the sacrificial offerings; correspondingly, it should only be used as raw material for the preparation of specific ritual objects used in a number of sacred ceremonies. Besides, the results of my own field research among Christian communities in the Balkans indicate that most of internal church decoration is made of walnut-tree, including the iconostasis, as well as the religious woodcarvings representing various scenes related to both Old and New Testament. These are usually carved on the plinth panels, under the iconostasis, in the naos (nave) of the church. As one of the storytellers interviewed by me pointed out, the walnut-tree is blessed by God Himself to be the ultimate substance used to build His "earthly abode"—the churches, due to the fact that it was created first among the other plants, and by the virtue of its supremacy over them.

In a similar way storytellers may explain the origin of various flowers, herbs and medicinal plants, intertwining the tales about their creation into the fabric of much larger accounts about the time of "the ultimate beginning", thus producing a vibrant cluster of the local folklore versions of the "Book of Genesis", constantly changing at each and every new performance.

Among Bulgarians and Serbs it is held that the first flower created by God was the geranium (*Geranium macrorrhizum*) [Ivanov 1925: 335; Nicoloff 1979: 104], which is why the geranium (Bulg. "здравец", Serb. "здравац") is regarded as "the health-flower" (a notion encoded in its name), believed to have been consecrated by God at the time of "the ultimate beginning".[31] Correspondingly, it is maintained that the

[31] On the other hand, among the mountainous population in the Western Balkan ranges (North-Western Bulgaria) it is maintained that the first geranium sprang from the blood dripping from Mary the Mother of God after her having delivered the baby Jesus; that is why the flower is believed to be a source of health and strength;

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geranium is supposed to have healing and apotropaic properties, and to be one of the flower-amulets protecting from evil eye, black magic and demonic forces. On the basis of the Slavonic folklore data from the Balkans it could be argued that the geranium is regarded as one of the classical floral symbols of Creation.[32]

According to some Bulgarian and Serbian folklore cosmogonical texts the first herb[33] created by God was "the sweet basil" (*Ocimum basilicum*) [Ivanov 1925: 335; Nicoloff 1979: 104]; hence, it is considered to be "the most holy herb" offering protection from witchcraft and any kind of misfortune [Gerov 1895: 64–65; Kulisić, Petrović, Pantelić 1998: 60–61]. As such, it is used in healing ceremonies as a means for conveying the restorative, curative power of the Holy Spirit. It is also among the mandatory magic plants and flowers-amulets employed in various rites of passage [Marinov 1981: 102; 1984: 496]. Furthermore, it is used in all life-cycle rituals (baptismal ceremonies, marriage and mortuary customs) as a "herbal icon" of God's dominion; it is likewise used in traditional folklore feasts marking the beginning and the end of the harvest-tide, as well as in religious ceremonies of the Christian calendar. Moreover, in the Balkans it is widely used in Church ceremonies by the Orthodox priests who sprinkle their flock with a nosegay of consecrated basil soaked in blessed water. In this the basil nosegay functions as a plant-mediator conveying the ultimate power of the Holy Spirit. Bulgarian folklore tradition also maintains that the "sweet basil" was not only the first herb to be created by God at the time of the ultimate beginning, but also that it was through the intercession of this herb that God begot His Son. According to some folklore legends, the Virgin Mary conceived by smelling it [Ivanov 1925: 329–333, text No. 1; Badalanova 1993: 150–152]. Thus Bulgarian ethnohermeneutics bind the knot between the Old and New Testament notions of Creation.

The above quoted accounts provide just a selection of examples of how ethnobotany accommodates folk cosmogony.[34]

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hence the custom among the local people to carry geraniums as a nosegay attached to one's headgear or clothes. These texts will be published in the author's forthcoming *Folk Bible*.

[32] For further information see Gerov [1897: 147–148], Marinov [1981: 105–106], as well as Kulisić, Petrović, Pantelić [1998: 192–193].

[33] Further on the creation of herbs, see Ivanov [1925: 334–336, text No. 3; 336–337, text No. 5], as well as text No. 2.2.20 in the Appendix.

[34] Interesting data can be found in some Russian ethnobotanical sources; see Annenkov [1878], Dubrovina [1999], Kovalenko and Manzhura [1891], Sumtsov [1889], Vierzhbitskii [1898], Vinogradov [1915].

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1.2. *Primordial Animals: Slavonic Ethnozoology Accommodating Creation*

1.2.1. *Aquatic Animals*

Among the Balkan Slavs it is believed that the fish was the first living being created by God at "the time of the ultimate beginning", and the only one that was not meant to be destroyed by the flood "as it was sinless"; that is why fish can be consumed during periods of fast, as "its blood is most pure". According to legends narrated among the fishermen from the city of Lom (Western Bulgaria), the first fish created by God was the carp (*Cyprinus carpio*). That is why the bone on the top of its head is marked by God with a cross (i.e. the sign of divine blessing), whereas the carp itself is believed to be an attribute of "the oldest" (i.e. the senior and hence most superior) among the saints, St Nicholas,[35] to whom it is offered as a *kurban* sacrifice on his feast day (December 6th).[36] Thus "the first ever created" aquatic animal becomes an emblem of "the first ever" saint, his zoomorphic icon. Related data is provided by the Bulgarian ethnographer D. Marinov, according to whom the bone on the top of the carp's head is called "a cross" ["кръхче"], and is used as an amulet protecting against black magic and the evil eye [Marinov 1981: 711].[37] Similar beliefs about fish as a "holy being" created by God are registered among Serbs [Kulisić, Petrović, Pantelić 1998: 381].

Furthermore in some areas of Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia it is maintained that St Nicholas, whose cult and image are associated with the ritual offerings of the carp, is not only the oldest among the saints, but also the one who is considered to be the lord of the "nautical universe" and custodian of harmonious co-existence between the two main cosmic domains—the aquatic and the terrestrial. Some Bulgarian ritual songs (which are performed on his feast day, 6th December) portray him as a demiurgic figure dwelling in the middle of primordial sea; while he is asleep, the world becomes a barren, still, numb place—the sun does not shine, the wind does not blow, and there

[35] Further on Slavonic interpretations of the image of St Nicholas as the oldest and thus most superior among the saints, see Uspenskii [1982].

[36] This information is contained in the author's field-work files from the region. Further on ritual practices in which the carp is offered as a *kurban* sacrifice, see Marinov [1981: 174, 704–711]; see also Gura [1997: 751, 756–757]. Among Czechs and Poles, however, the carp is considered to be one of the mandatory Christmas meals, thus spelling out, in terms of indigenous ethnoculinary code, the symbolic dimensions of this feast as "the feast of the ultimate beginning".

[37] See also Gura [1997: 756].

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is no rain. His awakening triggers the renascence, the re-Creation of this lifeless, motionless world, and its eventual transformation into a blossoming habitat. This cosmic metamorphosis from fruitlessness into fruitfulness is allegorically described as agricultural activity performed by St Nicholas himself, who starts strewing sand over the barren universe, thereby creating the fertile land:

Заспал, задрямал свети Никола	St Nicholas has fallen asleep, he has dozed off
во среде море на мермер плоча.	in the middle of the sea on a marble-slab.
Малко ми поспал той—три години.	He slept for a while, for three years.
До три години слънце не огря,	For three years, the sun did not shine,
до три години вятър не вя,	for three years, no wind blew,
до три години дъжд не ми връна,	for three years, no rain fell,
та се не роди нищо берекет,	so there was no harvest: nothing was born,
та ми станала тежка скъпия.	and everything became very dear.
Тука помина Богородица,	The Virgin Mary passed by,
та си разбуди свети Никола:	and woke up St Nicholas:
—Стани ми, стани, свети Никола.	"Wake up, wake up, St Nicholas!"
От сън ми стана и се поклони.	He woke up and bowed before her.
—Що ме дигаш, Света Майко?	"Why are you waking me, Holy Mother?"
—Да е станала тежка гладия:	"Because hunger has fallen on the earth.
ти да си земеш кола с волови,	Take a cart with oxen,
да си напълниш от море песък,	fill it with sand from the sea
от да си тръгнеш по сета земя;	and go around the whole world.
къде си минеш се да си сееш!	Wherever you pass, you must sow."
Той пак си впрегна кола с волови,	He harnessed the oxen to the cart
оту си тръгна по сета земя;	and set off around the world
със малко семе много берекет.	with a little sand/seed and lot of [potential] harvest.
Къде със ръка, къде с два пръста,	In some places he was strewing handfuls, and in other places he used two fingers,

по малко фърля,	and while strewing he was
благословуват:	blessing.
—От малко семе много	"From a small seed, a lot of
берекет!	harvest!"
Той ми изшетал по сета земя:	So he went around the whole world.
къде със ръка, къде с два	In some places he was strewing
пръста,	handfuls and in other places he used two fingers,
във пусто Скопие със сета кола.	but in Skopie he strew the entire cart (of sand/seed).[38]

A similar cosmogonic motif (as briefly mentioned above) is registered in some Slavonic apocryphal texts (such as *The Sea of Tiberias*)[39] and etiological folklore legends.[40] In this kind of tales, the strewer of sand is either God (or a saint who acts as His substitute),[41] or God's ultimate enemy—the Devil.[42] In either case, the image of the "strewing demiurge"—be it the Creator-protagonists (i.e. God, or St Nicholas), or his negative, evil counterpart, the anti-Creator, the Creator-antagonists (i.e. the Satan)—functions as the backbone of such stories. Some of these accounts concern the emergence of "the Universe-made-by-God", that is, the appearance of the cultivated dry land out of the chaos of the primordial waters, or the origins of "the blessed insects (bees)", as well as the creation of "the good beasts" and "helpful domestic animals", etc. Other stories describe the beginnings of "the Other" world, the anti-Universe of mischievous beings, concerning the creation of polluted spots on Earth, the appearance of impure landscapes as habitats of demonological beings, or the origins of "the cursed insects (wasps/mosquitoes)", of "bad birds", etc. All the above cosmogonic narratives are bound by the image of the "sand/seed strewing demiurge".

The fact that Bulgarian ritual songs associate the image of the elderly St Nicholas as the strewer of sand/seed with the Creation topic is significant. Reinforced implicitly in such songs is the folklore idea of him being not only "the oldest" among the saints, but also the saint of the

[38] The song was performed in the village of Tresanche (in the neighbourhood of Debarsko) and hence Skopie was mentioned as the largest city in the region; see Atanas T. Iliev's *Miscellany of Folk Literature, Customs, etc. (Part One). Folk Songs* [1889: 134–135], text No. 92.

[39] See text No. 1.1 in the Appendix.

[40] See texts Nos 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 in the Appendix.

[41] See texts Nos 1.1 and 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 in the Appendix.

[42] See text No. 2.1.2 in the Appendix.

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oldest among the animals—the carp, which is offered to him, on his day, as a "kurban" sacrifice. The cosmogonic role of the carp as the ultimate sacrificial animal appears to be transparent here, in this otherwise clandestine cosmic scenario performed each year on December 6th, on the feast day of St Nicholas. Accordingly, the body of the carp as a sacrificial victim is envisaged by those participating in this ritual as a substance from which "the New Creation" takes shape and body. The cosmogonic drama is thus spelled out in a direct, straightforward way, via the language of the indigenous cuisine, by means of ritual foods. On the other hand, the Day of St Nicholas marks the beginning of Christmastide among the Bulgarians. As such, it is considered to be the feast heralding the New Year. Rites and ceremonies performed on this day may hence be envisaged as specific ritual texts relating the Creation pattern to the sphere of the annual cycle. Therefore, the ceremonial sacrifice of the carp on this day may be regarded as a ritual offering marking the temporal threshold of Creation's repetitious, seasonal rhythmical commencement.

Together with the image of the carp as one of the fundamental (yet always positive) cosmogonic emblems, there is one more aquatic/amphibian creature which Slavonic oral tradition recognises as one of the most popular zoomorphic symbols of Creation. This is the frog.[43] However, unlike the carp, it is usually regarded by Slavonic storytellers as an ambiguous animal in which both good and evil, celestial and terrestrial, are intertwined together.[44] As a rule, the aetiological legends about the origins of the frog are incorporated into the story-line of local folklore interpretation of the Book of Genesis.[45]

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[43] Further on Slavonic popular beliefs about the frog, see Gura [1997: 380–391].

[44] See for instance text No. 11 from A. Serzhputovskii's collection of folk tales from the area of Belarusian Polessie [1911: 22–23], as well as text No. 583 ("The [origin of] Frogs") from M. Federowski's collection *Belarusian People in Lithuanian Russia* ("Lud Bialoruski na Rusi Litewskiei") [1897: 176–177]. There also exists a number of recently recorded folklore narratives in which the theme of the origin of the frogs is incorporated in the legends about the origin of the stork; they were registered in 1983 in Homel' area by M. I. Serebryanaya, O. A. Ternovskaya, E. Krapivskaya [Belova 2001: 136–140]. According to these accounts, the emergence of frogs is described as one of the consequences of the original sin of disobedience to God's command not to open and look inside of the forbidden bag, committed by Adam (who himself was transformed by God, as a punishment for his sin, into a stork).

[45] Some of the specific instances will be mentioned below.

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1.2.2. *Terrestrial Animals*

The Bulgarian folklore cosmogony maintains that the hedgehog is "the most ancient and thus the wisest" among all terrestrial animals, hence the appellation "Hedgehog the Old Faith" [Marinov 1981: 142–143]. As such, it is considered to be the ultimate wizard of the Universe. Being the custodian of its deepest secrets, some of which are unknown even to God, the hedgehog is regarded as the most mysterious creature on earth, as its last prophet and memory-keeper contemplating both terrestrial and celestial realms, and bethinking human and divine deeds. Its existence is not constrained by time and age, as it possesses the knowledge of herbs granting immortality [Gura 1997: 257–258]. In fact, its life-span is imagined as timeless and ageless, and its earthly presence is bound by no temporal boundaries [Marinov 1981: 143]. It never dies (unless killed by man or by eagles) [ibid.]. Moreover, among Southern Slavs it is believed that the hedgehog possesses spiritual and intellectual power which is mightier than the power of God [Gura 1997: 257–258]. Correspondingly, many cosmogonic narratives about the creation of the Universe (and in particular the legends about how the Sky and the Earth were made compatible, as well as the legends about the appearance of hills and mountains on the surface of the Earth) describe this animal as "the supreme Creator", whereas God is defined as its subordinate. Furthermore according to some of these dualistic cosmogonic texts about the creation of the Earth and the Sky (which can still be encountered among the Bulgarians),[46] the hedgehog is "the accomplished Master" and God is "its ignorant apprentice". Thus, "at the time of the ultimate beginning", when God first shaped the Earth and the Sky, the Earth was much bigger and larger than the Sky, and the Sky could not cover it (as it should have done). How to correct God's mistake? How to make the Earth shrink so that the sky could cover it? Those are the questions to which God did not have an answer. Yet the "Hedgehog the Old Faith" did. Hence, with the help of the hedgehog, God solves the problem. On certain occasions He does it by squeezing the freshly kneaded, still smooth, soft and malleable Earth—which was made either of dough, or of clay (see below)—thus shrinking it, which is why the earth is in the shape of a hedgehog when it is curled up

[46] See for instance the text recorded among the Bulgarians from the region of Banat (Romania) by K.Telbizov and M. Vekova-Telbizova [1963: 184]; see also A. Gura [1997: 258], as well as commentaries accompanying text No. 2.2.3 in the Appendix.

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in a ball [Kovachev 1914: 53]. Thus the hedgehog "normalises" the relationship between the Earth and the Sky, and makes it possible for them to live together in harmony and contentment, marking the first ever emergence of the union of "husband and wife".[47]

In a similar way, some South Slavonic (Balkan) cosmogonic narratives explain the origins of the hills and mountains on Earth's surface.[48] According to them, when God first moulded the Earth and the Sky, there occurred a certain miscalculation. As a result, He encountered a serious problem: the earth became much bigger than the Sky; and since it was the divine intention to make the Sky cover the Earth, it became clear that the Creation could not be completed successfully unless the original miscalculation was corrected. The only creature who knew how to do it was the hedgehog,[49] who advised God to squeeze the primordial "Terra Mater". Thus the surface of the Earth shrank, as a result of which hills and mountains, valleys and abysses appeared. This, in turn, marked the successful completion of the Creation of the Universe. Although this cosmogonic scenario recognises the activities of two demiurgic figures, it is still the hedgehog who was described as the Superior, not God.

Parallel to this type of texts, there exists a number of (recently recorded) Bulgarian cosmogonic accounts which offer some quite curious interpretations of the above motif.[50] According to them, when God seeks advice from various animals as to how to shrink the Earth ("so that it could go under the Sky, or else there will be no rain, and

[47] See also the commentaries accompanying text No. 2.2.5 in the Appendix.

[48] Similar folklore accounts are registered in Lithuania; further on the image of the "Hedgehog in Cosmogonic and Aetiological Legends of the Balto-Balkanic area", with special regard to the motif of the creation of Earth landscape and the appearance of hills and mountains as a direct result of the hedgehog's intervention, see D. Razauskas and T. Tsiv'ian [2004: 81–84].

[49] In some of these legends the hedgehog is described as "devil's friend and companion". On certain occasions, the figure of the hedgehog may be substituted by that of the devil; these legends often describe the rivalry between the two main creators, yet the figure of "the Other" demiurge (i.e. the hedgehog or the devil) does not always acquire negative qualities; see also D. Razauskas and T. Tsiviian [2004: 83–84].

[50] This information is contained in the author's field-work files from the region of the Mountain of Sakar (South-Eastern Bulgaria); the texts were recorded in the villages of Branitsa, Bulgarin, Glavan, Dositeevo, Nevestino, Oriakhovo, Rogozinovo in the period between 1976–1978. They are stored in the "Students' Fieldwork Materials" Section of the Institute of Folklore, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. See also the text of the legend "How God made the Earth", which was recorded by Evgeniia Mitseva in the village of Sakar, and published in Vol. 62 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [SbNU 2002, 251, text 295]. The account is given by Maria Ivanova Staikova.

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therefore no life on it"), the hedgehog suggests: "God, take me by my navel and shake me with all Your strength!" As soon as God does that, the Earth shivers and wrinkles up, and mountains and valleys appear on its body. As a reward, God grants the hedgehog a "garment of sharp needles", so that nobody can attack and harm it.

On the other hand, apart from the legends in which God and the hedgehog are portrayed as two rival demiurges functioning in various degrees of antagonism, yet still free of negative or evil qualities, some cosmogonic narratives depict God as a crafty trickster who (often in a cunning way, by cheating and swindling, and sending "a spy" to the hedgehog's abode) attempts to obtain the secret knowledge about the mysteries of the Macrocosm.[51] In some of these aetiological folklore texts God may be described as a negative power. Furthermore story-tellers may portray Him as an aggressive, destructive force. He may even act as an evil adversary whose defeat becomes a necessity. In fact, hedgehog's victory over Him may be regarded as the ultimate cosmogonic act. Having attributed to this animal the role of the Creator of the Universe, the Slavonic folk Bible stories may also praise him as its Saviour.

Correspondingly, the "Hedgehog the Old Faith" becomes the ultimate Creator in these texts, not God. In this way the South-Slavonic folk cosmogonies recognise in the image of the "Hedgehog the Old Faith" one of the most powerful zoomorphic symbols of Creation.

Besides drawing on local folklore legends about the origins of the Universe, the hedgehog-stories relate other cosmogonic matters, such as the re-Creation of the Universe after the Flood. Bulgarians consider the hedgehog to be the only primordial animal (apart from fish) which is believed to have survived this calamity. Thus according to the legend I recorded in 1988 in the village of Replyana, Belogradchik region (North-Western Bulgaria) from the sixty-year-old woman by the name of Vita Georgieva Tsvetina, when Noah was told by God that the Flood was about to start,

> he caught a pair of every animal except for the hedgehogs, as he forgot about them. So, when the Flood started, the hedgehog curled up and the waters carried it along for forty days and forty nights. It floated in

[51] See the text of the Bulgarian legend "How God made valleys and hills on Earth"; it was recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century in the region of Etropole by Iliya Danev, and published in Vol. 4 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [SbNU 1891: 129, text 2].

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> the water for forty days and forty nights, being the only living creature outside of the ark! That is why the hedgehog is called "the Old Faith", and that's why it is considered to be the most wise living creature on earth, and it is much more intelligent than man indeed.

On the other hand, together with the "hedgehog's cycle", Slavonic and Balkan creation stories concern issues related to the origins of some other wild beasts,[52] as well as domesticated animals.[53] These folklore legends usually unfold local ethnohermeneutics, offering indigenous counterparts and interpretations of the biblical Creation account. A more detailed analysis of this kind of traditional cosmogonic texts will be offered elsewhere.

1.2.3. *Airborne Animals (Birds and Flying Insects)*

The concept that the bee is one of the very first animals whose creation coincides with the creation of the Earth is typical of Slavonic folklore cosmogony; hence the belief that this insect is holy [Marinov 1981: 170–171; Ivanov 1925: 330; Gura 1997: 448–456]. The bee is considered to be God's ultimate wondrous helper assisting Him in defeating the Devil.[54] Various texts about the bee as one of the principal allies supporting God's will to create a perfect world are registered among all Slavonic peoples.[55] In these folklore texts the bee always is

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[52] See text No. 187 from the Province of Vitebsk and text No. 188 from the Province of Grodno, both "About the Origins of the Bear" [Shein 1893: 343]; see also text No. 190 ("About the Origins of the Wolf"), which was recorded in the Province of Vitebsk and published in the same collection [Shein 1893: 344]. A similar cosmogonical tale containing the motif of the creation of the wolf is registered among the Bulgarians [Nicoloff 1979: 104–105, text No. 33].

[53] See text No. 185 ("About the Origins of the Horse") from the Province of Grodno [Shein 1893: 342], as well as the legend entitled "The Lord and the Devil" (containing the cosmogonical motif about the creation of the cow and the goat as a rivalry between two demiurges, God and another celestial deity); the latter was published in the fourth volume of E. R. Romanov's *Belarusian Miscellany* [Romanov IV 1891: 1–5].

[54] See also text No. 2.2.8 in the Appendix (together with the commentaries accompanying it).

[55] Further on tendency to bind Biblical Creation account with folk cosmogonical legends about the origin of various insects, see texts No. 202 and No. 203 ("About the [Origins of] Bees"), text No. 204 ("About the [Origins of] Wasps and Hornets") and text No. 205 ("About [the Origins] of Lice") in the second volume of P. Shein's *Materials on Life-Style and Language of Russian People From the North-Western Region* [1893: 353–55]. An interesting cosmological motif about the origins of "mischievous" insects offers text No. 2218 from A. K. Serzhputovskii's collection of *Tales and Folk Beliefs of People of Belarusian Polessie* (printed in Minsk in 1930, with the name of the author appearing in its Belarusian transliteration, i.e. A. K. Serzhputoŭski [1930: 255]; see

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considered to be a sacred creature [Gura 1997: 448–452]. Even the bee's "excrements"—honey and wax—are regarded as consecrated. Storytellers often find it important to underline this detail in describing the character of the bee as a holy being producing the matter from which not only church candles are made, but also the honey which is regarded to be the purest substance in the Universe.

It is important to note that in some Slavonic dialects words denoting 'bee' on the one hand, and 'uterus' or 'womb' on the other, may be interchangeable [Badalanova 1995: 200–202]. In modern Bulgarian, for instance, the word "матка" means 'queen-bee', but also 'uterus' (or 'womb'), while in Polish the same word, i.e. "matka", means 'mother'. These forms correspond to the Old Church Slavonic lexeme матн ('mother') referring to the Proto-Slavonic forms *matka, *māti (with the nominative stem *māter-) and relating to the Latin *materia* ('substance') and *māter* ('mother', 'spring (water)'/'outflow of ground water'/'well'/'stream'). All these forms are descendants from the Indo-European form **mater* that once embraced a certain initial cluster of meanings gravitating towards the semantic kernel 'genesis', 'origin'; for more on the etymology of the lexeme "матка" ('mother', 'womb', 'uterus' and/or 'queen-bee'), see the third volume of *Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary* [Georgiev *et al.* 1986: 684–687]. In some villages in north-western Bulgaria (Belogradchik area), for example, the formulaic expression, "My beehive has sent out a swarm" ["роило ми се кошерчето"], is recited by grandmothers of new-born children while inviting female guests to the celebration of the confinement (which is to take place no later than three days after the event). It is also believed that the souls of the dead ancestors buzz like bees in the womb of Mother-Earth, and on Ascension Day one can hear them while visiting their graves.

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also text No. 2.1. 2 in the Appendix). This text can also be compared to text No. 183 "About the Origins of Devil and Swamps" in the Second Volume of P. Shein's *Materials on Life-Style and Language of Russian People From the North-Western Region* [Shein 1893: 340–341]; see text 2.1.3 in the Appendix. A similar theme is revealed also in text No. 184 "Why Devils Live in the Swamps" from the same collection (again from Minsk Province) [Shein 1893: 341–342]. In this the "combat motif", i.e. the cosmogonical concept of the eternal battle between good and evil (i.e. God and Devil) functions as a kernel of the story-line; God creates the "good insects", whereas the Satan creates "the bad ones"; for dualistic tales about the creation of God's vs. Devil's animals see also texts Nos. 2.1.1 ("The Lord and the Devil") and 2.1.2 ("How flies, mosquitoes and all kinds of gnats appeared in the world") in the Appendix. See also Nicoloff [1979: 104–105], text 33 ("How the World was Created").

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Thus, the woman's womb is envisaged as a universal, life-giving vessel of honey, whereas the child is portrayed as a bee descending from her "hive". This image also frames the texts of the legends about the genesis of the vagina, as presented in the Appendix below.[56]

Finally, some folk stories about the origins of the bees (and their anti-image, the wasps) may also be associated with some apocryphal texts about the creation of heavenly hosts, and about fallen angels respectively. Similarly, some Slavonic aetiological legends explain the appearance of various "good/sinless" and "bad/sinful" birds. According to some Bulgarian folklore tales, the swallow was initially an angel, which was later transformed by God into a (wo)man, as a punishment for committed sin [Marinov 1984: 54]. Cognate legends are narrated about the origins of the owl [ibid.]. Some Bulgarian legends about the origins of the stork expound a similar cosmogonical theme [Marinov 1984: 54].[57]

The texts cited above merely provide a selection of examples of how ethnozoology accommodates folk cosmogony.

1.3. *The Language of Creation*

Storytellers often identify the "very first language", the language of Holy Writ, with their native tongue; as such, it is implicitly recognised as sacred. Thus in Russia, for instance, it was believed that Adam and Eve spoke Russian. This concept is implied in a number of traditional Russian religious tales and songs. According to one of the most popular *Dukhovnye stikhi* ["Духовные стихи"] folklore spiritual stanzas, the stanza of "The Book of the Dove" ["Голубиная книга"], published in the collection "Old Russian Poems Collected by Kirsha Danilov", a firm statement is made that the people of Holy Russia are direct descendants of Adam and Eve:[58]

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[56] For further information on "honey"/"bee" metaphors employed in the verbal code of traditional birth/rebirth ceremonies amongst the Bulgarians, see my materials from the village of Replyana, Belogradchik area, stored in the Archives of the Institute of Folklore of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

[57] See also texts No. 196, No. 197 and No. 198 ("About the Origins of the Stork") in the second volume of P. Shein's Materials on Life-Style and Language of Russian People From the North-Western Region [1893: 350–352], as well as text No. 200 ("About the Origins of the Woodpecker") from the same collection [Shein 1893: 352–353].

[58] See Kirsha Danilov's collection [1938: 274].

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От того колена от Адамова,	From the very knee of Adam himself,
от того ребра от Еввина	From the very rib of Eve herself,
пошли христиане православные	Sprang righteous Christians
по всей земли Святорусския.	Around all the land of Holy Russia.

A similar belief is known in Bulgaria; many storytellers maintained that the language of Adam and Eve was Bulgarian;[59] hence every local dialect "becomes" the language of God, and acquires status equal to the language of Creation. Furthermore people storytelling the Bible consider themselves "a chosen people", while their native tongue is distinguished as the language of Holy Scriptures, and their land is regarded as the Holy Land. Indicative in this respect are some folklore counterparts of the biblical account of "Adam's taxonomy" [Gn 2:19–20].[60] Thus the legends recounting the episode of how God brings all living creatures before Adam so that he can give each of them its own name (an act preceding the creation of woman), build their story-line as a knot of onomatopoeic inventions, based upon folk etymological stems which, in turn, grow from the "vernacular soil" of some specific dialectal features of the native tongue of the narrator. Thus, according to the legend "Adam gives names to all God's creatures",[61] the ant was the first animal to be named by Adam, because it was the smallest. Hence its name, "mravichka" ["мравичка"], which in the storyteller's dialect resembles the word denoting 'small', i.e. "malechka" ["малечка"]. The phonetic similarity between the two lexemes produces the foundation for a causal connection between the concepts they denote; folk cosmogony runs as folk etymology. The same strategy is employed in defining the

[59] This idea is encapsulated in a number of Bulgarian aetiological legends; these will be published in the author's forthcoming *Folk Bible*.

[60] For the iconography of "Adam's taxonomy" [Gn 2: 19–20] see the plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (18th cent.) [Fig. 6], as well as the plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the same village (19th cent.) [Fig. 7].

[61] The text "Adam gives names to all God's creatures" was recorded by Marko Tsepenkov in the region of Prilep, and published in Vol. 8 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1892: 180–181]; it was also analysed by Iv. Shishmanov in his study "Prolegomena to the Bulgarian Folk Etymology", published in the next, Vol. 9, of the *SbNU Collection* [Shishmanov 1893: 590–591].

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names of other animals. When the worm's turn to be named came, it was called "tsrăv" ["цржв"], since it was crawling on its abdomen, i.e. "na tsrevo" ["на црево"]. The phonetic resemblance between the two words, for 'worm' and 'abdomen', is seen as evidence for binding them together in a "causal nexus" which functions as a substructure for local ethnohermeneutics. According to the same folklore text, Adam gives names to the rest of the animals (the cat, the donkey, the dove, the raven, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, etc.) according to the languages they speak, i.e. the sounds they produce. Thus onomatopoeic devices become vehicle for conveying "the encoded mystery" contained in this cosmogonical narrative. The correspondence between different sounds produced by various living creatures, and the acoustic characteristics of the words used in the text (in this case, the aetiological legend) to portray them, i.e. to name them (whereas the act of naming is regarded as analogous to the act of creation), are perceived as a clear connection between the language of the storyteller and the language spoken by Adam. Furthermore, the creation of Eve is also described in this legend within the framework of "the first naming ceremony". After naming all the animals which God brings before him, Adam takes a nap; while he is asleep, God makes the woman whom Adam calls upon as soon as he wakes up; the words he utters while approaching her are, "Come, come, come here, as you are dear to my heart!" Hence the name of Eve, which in the local dialect is pronounced as "Eva" ["Ева"], is bound to the imperative form of the verb "to come"—"ela!" ["ела"]. Thus the name of first woman is perceived as a vernacular anthroponymic reference to the language of Creation.

A similar rendition of the legend about the origin of the name of the "mother of all living", Eve ["Ева"], was registered in the village of Iadreich, in the former Smolensk Guberniya of the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century; the story was published by V. Dobrovol'skii in 1891 in the first volume of his *Ethnographic Miscellany from Smolensk* [text No. 14] under the title "Why did Adam give his wife the name of Eve" [Dobrovol'skii 1891: 235]. According to this legend, after creating Adam in Heaven, God decides to give him a companion (as he was lonely); therewith the Creator takes the ninth rib of the sleeping man, from which He creates the woman, and puts her next to him. When Adam wakes up, he exclaims: "Lo and behold! What is the meaning of all that? I was one when falling asleep, and now there are two of us!" In the local dialect the expression "Lo and behold" is pronounced as "E-vo!" hence the name "Eva" ("Eve") and

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this, in turn, indicates that the storyteller of this legend imagined the language of Creation as identical to his local dialect.[62]

Even aetiological legends about the local landscape are considered to be stories coming straight from Holy Scripture. Thus in the village of Vărbovo, in Western Balkan Ranges (Bulgaria), I was given the following account:

> The saying goes that when Granddad Lord created the world, at the beginning he walked [on Earth], just like we do now, and the stones followed him round. And he blessed them, thus stopping them. And when the stones stopped dead, he summoned sheep, goats, cows, cattle—all living things. Cats and dogs, too. And it was over our village of Vărbovo, it happened over there, by the mangers; if you go there and look at those rocks, you'll see a footprint left from each beast…[63] The stones were soft then, when God created the World, and as the footprints hardened, they became embedded in rocks. That's how it was…There's human footprints, too…That's how it was when stones were soft, when God created the world. That's what I know. It was written in the Bible too…[64]

Similar accounts can be encountered in many other regions of Pax Slavia Christiana; in this, the Book of Genesis (or rather the folklore idea of Genesis) is built into the real life of the village community and biblical legends become folkloric aetiological texts.

2. *The Slavonic Folk Bible: A Nexus of Written and Oral Legacy*

As stated above, the analysis of the relationship between Biblical Creation account and its oral counterparts indicates that the substance

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[62] See also in this connection the texts of some Bulgarian legends about the origins of the dog which were recorded by Kuzman Shapkarev in the second half of the nineteenth century [Shapkarev 1973: 264–266; first published in 1885]. According to these legends, the dogs are believed to have sprung from Cain's dead body—hence the phonetic similarity between their "language" and the name of the biblical character from whose flesh they originated. While "speaking", they are believed to be calling the name of Cain (spelled in Bulgarian as "Kain"). Thus the sounds of dog's barking ("Kaine! Kaine!") are perceived as a vocative form of the name of Cain (with the case ending -e typical for the Bulgarian language, i.e. "Kaine!"). Incidentally, the vocative case is the only case that survived in the Bulgarian language. See also N. Nachov's comments on this text [Nachov 1894: 132].

[63] See references in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*, entries A 975 (Why stones became hard), A 901 (Topographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero/demigod/deity), A 970 (Origins of rocks and stones), A 972 (Indentions on rocks from prints left by man/beast).

[64] For the full text of the legend see the author's forthcoming *Folk Bible.*

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of Slavonic Folk Bible encompasses a much larger scope of themes and motifs than the canonical Book of Genesis. These can often be found in some extra-canonical texts, such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*,[65] *The Book of Jubilees*,[66] *The Life of Adam and Eve*,[67] *The Sea of Tiberias*,[68] etc. which, together with the canonical Book of Genesis, were regarded as the most comprehensive compendia of cosmological knowledge. Palpable traces of their (now lost) protographs can be still found in Slavonic and Balkan oral tradition.

In the present article we will examine only some, but not all, of these extra-canonical texts; a more detailed analysis of other relevant apocryphal sources will be offered elsewhere.

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[65] On *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in Slavonic apocryphal tradition, see Alexander [1998: 101–104, 116–117], as well as A. Pennington's introduction to her translation of the text (together with the commentaries accompanying it) in Sparks (ed.) [1984: 321–362]; see also footnote No. 4 above, as well as text No. 1. 3 in the Appendix. See also the discussion below.

[66] Further on *The Book of Jubilees* (also known as *The Little Genesis*), see Sparks (ed.) [1984: 1–140]. It was originally composed in Hebrew, although some scholars argue that the language of the protograph was Aramaic. Extracts from a now lost Greek version of the apocryphon have survived "mainly in Epiphanius and the Byzantine chroniclers Syncellus and Cedrenus" [ibid., p. 6]; this version was later translated into both Latin and Ethiopic. According to some scholars, the Slavonic recensions of *The Life of Adam and Eve* still bear traces of common origin with *The Book of Jubilees* [Petkanova 1982: 348].

[67] See the general commentaries on *The Life of Adam and Eve* in the introduction to the English translation (by L. S. A. Wells, revised by M. Whittaker) of the Latin version of the text in Sparks (ed.) [1984: 144–167]; see also the bibliography provided there. For further discussion on the Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) recensions of the apocryphon *The Life of Adam and Eve*, see I. Ivanov [1925: 207–227], D. Dimitrova [1982: 70–81], D. Petkanova [1982: 35–41, 348–349]; see also the extensive bibliography on the subject provided by A. Miltenova in her entry "*The Life of Adam and Eve* apocryphon" in D. Petkanova's (ed.) *Old Bulgarian Literature Encyclopaedic Dictionary* [1992: 417–418]. The text of *The Life of Adam and Eve* was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic no later than 10th century [Petkanova 1982: 348–349]. It has been argued that the Old Church Slavonic version of the text was either based on a now lost Greek protograph, or was a compilation of texts akin to "The Apocalypse of Moses" [Dimitrova 1982: 70–71]. The latter is identified by some scholars as the Greek descendant of *The Book of Jubilees* (or, *The Little Genesis*) [Sparks 1984: 5–6; see in particular footnotes 35 and 36 on p. 6]. There is no surviving Greek protograph identical with the Old Church Slavonic recensions of the apocryphon.

The Life of Adam and Eve was registered in all indices of prohibited literature in medieval Slavonic Christendom. In fact, it was put first in the list of the banned books in *Simeon's First Miscellany (Florilegium)*, which was regarded as one of the basic compendia of Christian knowledge in medieval Pax Slavia Christiana. [Petkanova 1982: 348].

[68] See text No. 1.1. in the Appendix, as well as commentaries accompanying it.

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2.1. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just *and Slavonic Ethnohermeneutics*

As pointed out earlier in this paper, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, which was "well known in pre-Christian Judaism and in the primitive Church" [Sparks 1984: 169], was first translated into Old Church Slavonic in Medieval Bulgaria in the 10th century.[69] The analysis of surviving Old Church Slavonic manuscripts containing this text indicates that the apocryphal *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* was one of the main sources of extra-canonical "historiography" of Creation. It seems likely that the secret book of the taking up of Enoch the Just was the ultimate source of cosmogonical knowledge for many medieval readers contemplating mysteries of Creation and "the signs of Heaven". There they could find overwhelming knowledge about the origins of the universe and the begetting of light;[70] about the celestial bodies and the rules shaping their movements;[71] about mystical appearance of incorporeal heavenly hosts and the nature of "flying spirits,"[72] about the foundation of heaven and the divine act of setting "the eternal boundary between the earth and the sea, so that it should not be burst by the waters",[73] etc. This knowledge was believed to have been put in writing by Enoch himself, after his having been received "on the Seventh heaven" by God, at the impressive age of three hundred and sixty five years,[74] so that he

[69] See also footnotes Nos 4 and 65 above, as well as commentaries accompanying text No. 2.2.2 in the Appendix.

[70] See Chapter Eleven of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in Sparks (ed.) [1984: 339–340].

[71] Of particular interest in this respect is Chapter Six of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* [Sparks 1984: 332–334] in which the Prophet sees "four great stars hanging on the right of the sun's chariot", and the twelve-winged "flying spirits" (where the number of their wings equals the number of months in one solar year); those are "the angels going before the sun's chariot, […] carrying the dew and the heat, when the Lord commands" [ibid., p. 332]. In "the east of heaven" Enoch is shown "the doors through which the sun goes according to the times appointed; and according to the circuits of the moon of the whole year, and according to the shortening and lengthening of the days and the nights" [ibid., pp. 332–333]. The number of these doors is, of course, twelve: six are situated to the east of heaven and the other six—to the west of heaven [ibid., p. 333]. In the same way, he is shown the orbit of the moon, "and the chariot on which she goes up", and "all her movements" and "her numbering", "and all her circuits and her doors" [ibid., pp. 333–334].

[72] Ibid., pp. 338–340.

[73] Ibid., p. 340.

[74] Ibid., p. 329; there is probably a hidden message encapsulated in the details describing the age of Enoch. His 365 years on earth (which precede his "taking up") reflect the idea of the (origins of the) solar calendar.

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"might be an eyewitness of the life above."[75] It was also "in the Seventh Heaven" that the Prophet Enoch, who was set by God "on His left hand, nearer than Gabriel",[76] learned the mystery of the Creation of Man. In fact, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* is regarded as one of the best sources of esoteric knowledge concerning the mystery of Adam's Creation, and the origins of elements used by God in assembling his body.[77] After all, its author was believed to have composed it before the face of God and under his command. To a certain extent, this detail can explain as to why this visionary text captivated the imagination of generations of believers for more than two millennia, enjoying respect and popularity from both Jews and Christians, and exercising a long-lasting influential impact upon their cultural heritage.[78]

On the other hand, like many other cosmological traditions contemporary to the period of the composition of its protograph, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* is dominated by the theme of the inner relationship and mutual reciprocity between the Macrocosm and Microcosm.[79]

According to one of the 16th-century Bulgarian redactions of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, Adam is seen as a creature having a likeness with the Universe: his flesh is of earth, his blood is from dew and sun, his bones from stone, his eyes from "the abyss of the sea",[80] his thoughts from "angelic alacrity and from clouds", his sinews (and hair)

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[75] Ibid., p. 328.

[76] Ibid., p. 339.

[77] See text No. 1.3 in the Appendix in which we offer a translation of this fragment of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (with commentaries).

[78] See also footnotes Nos 278 and 281 below.

[79] A similar idea can be found in the 6th–4th cent. B.C. work in the Hippocratic corpus known as *De Hebdomadibus*. M. L. West comments on this work that "the first twelve chapters are cosmological. They are dominated by two ideas: that everything in nature is arranged in groups of seven, and that the human body is constructed on the same pattern as the whole world" [West 1971: 365]. He also points out parallels between *2 Enoch* [30: 8] and *De Hebdomadibus*, in which the Hippocratic text states that "the stony interior of the earth corresponds to the bones, the weaker parts surrounding it to the flesh. The terrestrial waters correspond to the liquid parts of man: hot springs to the spinal marrow and semen […], rivers to the veins; ponds and marshes to the bowels; seas to the visceral fluids. The air is the breath in the body" [West 1971: 377]. West concludes that this imagery remained current in the Middle Ages and can be found in modern folklore [ibid. 386].

[80] It is most intriguing that some apocryphal Old Church Slavonic sources often mix up the description of components of Adam's blood with the components for the eyes. Thus, in some texts the blood is described as a substance which originates from the sea, whereas the eyes are "from the sun and dew"; see text No. 1.2 and text No. 1.3 in the Appendix.

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"from the grasses of the earth", his soul[81] "from God's Spirit and from wind". The first man is also given seven traits: hearing, seeing, olfaction, taste, "durability of his bones", and "pleasure of his thoughts".[82] In this cosmogonical text the symbolism of numbers appears to play a significant role. The number seven is sought as the emblematic number of Creation, based no doubt upon the same numerological layout which is implied in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis. This, in turn, would suggest that certain numbers can be found throughout the Universe as a manifestation of Divine Wisdom. In terms of ethnohermeneutics it would mean that counting, i.e. creating patterns through the language of numbers, is regarded as an act analogous to the act of Creation, whereas numerology is seen as "secret lore" concealing the cosmogonical mysteries of the Universe. In this the Microcosm and Macrocosm are perceived as analogous. Man and World are beings alike, as the scenario of the origin of the latter follows that of the former; i.e. they both share the same pattern of Creation.

The creation of Adam's body as a micro-model of the Creation of the Universe is revealed and similarly interpreted in some other Old Church Slavonic apocryphal sources, such as *The Sea of Tiberias*,[83] as well as *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik*,[84] *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz* and *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* texts (see below), as well as in some folklore texts. Thus, the idea about mystical reciprocity between the Macrocosm and Microcosm is implied in a number of traditional Russian religious songs and chants. According to one of them, "The Scroll of Jerusalem" ["Свиток Ерусалимский"],[85] the body of the first man was made of seven parts: his bones are of stone, his flesh is of earth, his blood ["руда"] is of the Black Sea (i.e. the sea marking

[81] In some other MSS, the word "soul" is replaced by "breath"; see Text No. 1.2 in the Appendix.

[82] See Text No. 1.3 in the Appendix; compare this to some Hippocratic works dealing with the concept "the seven senses" [West 1971: 380].

[83] See Section Three of the apocryphal *Sea of Tiberias* (Text No. 1.1 in the Appendix).

[84] See text No. 1.2 in the Appendix in which we offer a translation of one such fragment from a sixteenth-century Bulgarian MS containing *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik* apocryphal text. In this text, the human body is composed of eight components, the symbolism of which will be discussed elsewhere.

[85] The text was recorded by P. Yakushkin in the Ryazan province of the Russian Empire, and published by P. Bessonov in Vol. 6 of his collection *Wandering Crippled Singers of Tales* [1864, text No. 564]; it was later reprinted by F. Selivanov in his *Spiritual Stanzas* ("Стихи Духовные") [Selivanov 1991: 175–179].

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the boundary of the "Holy Russia"), his breath comes from the wind, his thoughts from the clouds, his eyes from the sun, his reason from the Holy Spirit [Selivanov 1991: 178].

Moreover, among Bulgarians and Russians it is maintained that Enoch (who is believed to have composed this text "by divine inspiration", as a mere description of his own vision) never died, but was taken by God alive into heaven (cf. Gn 5:18f.). Folklore sources compare him to the Prophet Elijah,[86] whose forthcoming murder "would herald the birth of the Antichrist, and the beginning of the Apocalypse itself".[87] The belief that Enoch is alive, and dwells in Heaven, is stated explicitly in some traditional Russian *Dukhovnye stikhi* ["Духовные стихи"] religious songs.[88] "His day" is to be observed each year on Friday before the feast day of the Prophet Elijah (also known as the "Sixth Holy Friday"). According to the popular religious songs, that was the day when these two prophets were taken alive to Heaven.[89] Furthermore, it is believed that those observing the "Friday of the Holy Prophet Enoch" would never be struck by lightning, or hit by a thunderbolt [ibid.].

On the other hand, Bulgarians consider the composer of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* to be one of the "three living saints" they honour. Together with the Prophet Elijah and St John the Theologian,[90] Enoch is believed to be dwelling in heaven "in flesh", as all of them were taken by God with their earthly bodies, and "neither of them ever tasted death". In one small mountain village in the Western Balkan Ranges (Bulgaria) I was even told by one of the local women that she observes one day each week in honour of these "three living saints":

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[86] See in this connection the following Russian folk riddles: "Who was born and has never died? (Enoch and Elijah)" [Sadovnikov 1986: 533, text No. *2196]; "He was created, and he did die. He was born, yet did not die. (Adam and Enoch)" [ibid.: 528, text No. *2175]; "He who was born did not die. He who was not born did die. The one who did die did not rot. (Enoch, Adam and Lot's wife)" [ibid.: 530–531, text No. *2184] and "He was born yet did not die. He was created, and he did die. The one who did die did not rot. (Enoch, Adam and Lot's wife)" [ibid.: 530–531, text No. *2184a].

[87] According to both apocryphal and folklore tradition, the Prophet Elijah is expected to be killed during his "Second Coming", when he descends down to earth again.

[88] See the folklore spiritual stanza of "The Twelve Fridays" [Selivanov 1991: 180–183].

[89] See the Russian text in Selivanov [1991: 181]: "В ту Пятницу взят был Илья и Еног вживе на небеса".

[90] In some Bulgarian and Russian villages it is believed that "the three living saints" are Enoch, Elijah and the Virgin Mary. A similar idea is spelled out in the following Russian folk riddle: "How many saints are there in heaven in flesh? (Elijah, Enoch and the Mother of God)" [Sadovnikov 1986: 533, text No. *2197].

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> There are three saints alive, I have always honoured them during the week. There are three living saints! These are Prophet *Onof* [Enoch], Prophet *Iliya* [Elijah], and St *Ivan Bogoslov* [John the Theologian]. The three of them are alive in Heaven. God feeds them with Spirit. The three of them are alive in Heaven! It is not from hearsay what I am telling you now. I have read it! They are alive! […] Prophet *Onof* is one of them, along with Saint *Iliya*, with the Prophet *Ilia*. And St *Ivan Bogoslov*. All three are alive in Heaven! As to *Onof*, I do not know much about Him. His story is written so, I have also heard it from women who knew a lot about him, they were telling me about God's Prophet *Onof*. […] It is all God's doing. We say "up above", [while talking about the heavens]. As for the heavens—they are different! The heavens are not the same! There is a heaven for saints, then a heaven for angels, then a heaven for others whoever they are, and also, there is a heaven for prophets…[91]

In the Balkans, it is still possible for anthropologists to encounter storytellers who do not fail to remember the name of the prophet whose work is regarded as one of the most influential apocryphal sources. It indicates that below the surface of the actual performance of folklore narratives about the creation of the Universe there exists an invisible current of traditional knowledge that has remained intact for centuries. Its strategies for culture transmission challenge modern scholars for explanations.

2.2. *Apocryphal Slavonic* Erotapokriseis *and Traditional Folk Exegesis*

Some of the Slavonic folklore counterparts of the Book of Genesis combine various stock features (e.g. the "Sun as God's creature image", as viewed in local cosmological traditions)[92] with apparent improvisations associated with erotapocritic medieval writings.[93] From the perspective

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[91] I recorded this story in May 1991, in the village of Kopilovtsi, Chiprovtsi area, North-Western Bulgaria; it was narrated by Roza Ilieva Ubina (born 1921 in the same village), in the presence of her neighbour and friend Petkana Tsenkova Perkina (born 1914).

[92] See for instance text No. 382 in Federowki's collection *Belarusian People in Lithuanian Russia*; it was registered in the second half of the nineteenth century by M. Federowski in the village of Suchowola, and published in the first volume of his collection of Belarusian folklore and ethnographic materials, Section 2 ("Beliefs about the Universe") [Federowski 1897: 148].

[93] Compare this with the beginning of *The Lovchansky Miscellany* (XVI cent.)—one of the earliest available Bulgarian copies of *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik* ["Разоумникъ"]. The text consists of 65 questions encompassing the Old Testament account predominantly. Thus the answer to the third question, "From what did God create the Sun and the Moon?" ["а ѡт что сътвори бь слнцє и мць"], is:

of structural typology, these writings can be compared to midrashic texts. In fact, it can be argued that they represent the Christian counterpart to Jewish hermeneutic tradition—an approach that has never been applied so far in the process of their scholarly investigation. It is my conviction that further comparative studies of midrashic texts and erotapocritic writings as cognate phenomena would prove that they share similarities not only at the level of their structure and content (i.e. the thematic scope of concepts covered), but also at the level of

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> When God created the Sky and the Earth, He thought of how He would create man, and how He would be fathered by Him, and how He would be crucified and put to death. But when the Lord thought of death, then a tear dropped from God's eye, and God called this tear 'Sun'. The Moon was created from God's throne, stars—from God's flesh, angels—from Holy Spirit and from fire. [translated by FB]
>
> Егда сътвори Б(ог)ь н(є)бо и зємлѧ тогда помислы како да сътвори члка и како родити сѧ от нєго и како хощєть распєть быти и съмрти прѣдати сѧ. Да єгда ѡ съмрти помысли Б(ог)ь тогда сльза падє изь ока г(оспод)нѣ и ть сльзж нарєчє Б(ог)ь сл(ь)нцє. м(ѣ)с(ѧ)ць жє ѡт прѣстола г(оспод)нѣ єсть. Sвѣзды жє от пльти г(оспод)нѧ сж аггли сжть ѡт дха Б(ож)їа и ѡт огнѣ. (Quoted after I. Ivanov's publication of the text of *The Lovchanski Miscellany* [1925: 259]).

The seventeenth-century "(Р)азоумник ѡ всє упросє ѡ(т)чє" text, as presented in *The Tikveshky Miscellany* (see N. A. Nachov's publication in the *ShNU* series, vol. VIII [1892: 389–405]) offers a similar interpretation of the same etiological motif—the Sun as God's tear. According to this manuscript, the Sun emerged when the Lord contemplated the creation of Man and His encounter with Death; and again the scene of the Crucifixion functions as a climax of the composition of the text. The story-line follows the general plot development, as observed in *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik* ["Разоумникъ"] of *The Lovchansky Miscellany*:

> єгда сътвори Б(ог)ь н(є)бо и зємлю и ієгда помисли како да сътворить члвка и како да сє родит от нєго и како хотє распєти сє и съмрти прѣдати сє. и ієгда ѡ смрти помисли г(оспод)ь тогда сльза испадє изь ѡка г(оспоп)на. ть бо сльзє нар(є)чє г(оспод)ь сл(ь)нцє. м(ѣсѧ)ць ѡт пєтрахиѧ г(осѧоп)на ієсть. (Quoted after N. Nachov's publication of the text of *The Tikveshky Miscellany* [1892: 402]).

This text can be compared with another seventeenth/eighteenth-century work—*The Belovsky Miscellany*, the following fragment of which contains particles from *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz, The Erotapokriseis Razumnik* and "The Story from the Book of Genesis, or the Words of Christ, How [God] Created Everything. Father, Bless [us]" [Miltenova 1992c: 334–350]. Thus, according to *The Belovsky Miscellany* manuscript, the answer to the question "From what did God make the Sun and the Moon" is:

> After creating the Earth and the Sky, God thought of how He would create Man, but also of how he [i.e., the Man] would be crucified, and how he would be handed over for execution. And, as soon as the thought of Death sprung to God's mind, tears fell from His eyes, and God called the [first] tear "Sun". As for the moon, it originated from God's throne [Miltenova 1992c: 334; the passage is translated by FB].

The "Creation from creator's tears" motif is classified by Stith Thompson as A 613.

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their thesaurus, as well as the use of poetic devices. This, in turn, would suggest that, at some stage of their evolution, midrashic texts and erotapocritic writings must have shared certain common roots, which at the beginning of this study we defined as the "oral Ur-hypertext, the earliest existence of which preceded the actual formation of the biblical text itself" (see above).

The titles under which the Old Church Slavonic erotapocritic texts were copied by the medieval scribes varied; the most preferred among them were *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz, The Erotapokriseis Razumnik, The Discussion Between the Three Saints*, etc. The texts of the third type are often attributed to the three Holy Hierarchs of the Eastern Church—St Basil the Great, St John Chrysostom and St Gregory of Nazianzus—who were believed to be the actual participants in the dialogue.

Among medieval Slavs the erotapocritic genre was represented by a series of diverse and divergent works.[94] The copies available in Old Church Slavonic,[95] which are extant in various manuscripts in the Medieval Slavonic domain,[96] do not appear to be entirely consistent with any genre classification, nor can any of them offer the ideal typological pattern for these literary texts. On the whole, all the manuscripts represent a merger between *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz, The Erotapokriseis Razumnik* and *The Discussion between the Three Saints*.[97]

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[94] See the texts published by N. Tikhonravov in the second volume of his *Monuments of Proscribed Russian Literature* [1863: 433–438; 442–444; 446–447], as well as texts published by I. Porfir'ev [1890: 384–395] and A. Pypin [1862: 169–178].

[95] According to A. Miltenova, in the Balkans there existed approximately eighty copies of the Old Church Slavonic erotapocritic texts, most of which were composed in the period between 13th and 19th centuries [2004: 340–341].

[96] Further on the erotapocritic genre in Slavia Orthodoxa, see the monograph by V. Tăpkova-Zaimova and A. Miltenova on the historical-apocalyptic literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria [1996: 277–308], as well as D. Petkanova's article on the "Questions and Answers" writings in the medieval Slavonic apocryphal tradition [1987: 3–25]. Cf. the general survey of this topic and the fundamental bibliography on erotapocritic texts available in the medieval European Christian domain (with special regard to Slavonic tradition) in V. V. Mochul'skii [1893: 1–172]; see also I. Ivanov [1925: 259–272], D. Dimitrova-Marinova [1998: 41–45], A. Miltenova [1986: 20–44; 1992a: 98–99]; the latter has recently produced an excellent monograph on *Erotapokriseis writings in Old Bulgarian literature*; for further discussion on the subject, see Miltenova [2004]. Consult also Ts. Kristanov and I. Duichev [1954: 380–381], as well as D. Petkanova's anthology of Bulgarian apocryphal texts [1982: 331–342; 409–412]. Of particular interest is N. A. Nachov's publication of the seventeenth century "(Р)азоумник ѡ всє упросє ѡ(т)чє" text in *The Tikveshky Miscellany* (see vol. VIII of the *ShNU* series [Nachov 1892: 402–405]; further on the content of this manuscript, see volume 9 and 10 of the *ShNU* series).

[97] See V. Tăpkova Zaimova and A. Miltenova [1996: 277–308].

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Following the archetypal riddle composition—concealing knowledge from all but the "enlightened insiders"—these texts are constructed as a chain of questions and answers. Implementing the discourse of parables, they bind together oral legacy and biblical textuality. They contemplate cosmogonical, cosmological, eschatological, prophetic, apocalyptic and political themes. Their miscellaneous content presents interpretations of motifs from both the canonical and apocryphal texts. In the middle ages, they served as "cosmogonical compendia" containing a vast corpus of information about the commencement of primordial matter and its elemental constituents, about the begetting of light and about the genesis of celestial bodies; about the Creation of Adam and Eve; about the origin of fire;[98] the origin of moonlight and moon-spots (i.e. why Cain is placed by God on the Moon),[99] etc. In some of them it is maintained that on "Monday God created the Sun, the Moon and the Earth, as well as all the heavenly bodies",[100] whereas "on Tuesday He planted the Garden of Eden (i.e. Paradise), on Wednesday He created the waters according to their measure, on Thursday He ordered all the animals, reptiles, and the feathered birds to be created, on Friday He created Adam and on Saturday He breathed into him life-giving spirit."[101]

In the Old Church Slavonic erotapocritic writings one can find answers to questions such as: "From what did God create the Earth?" ("It was taken from the cream of the waters, and it coagulated. Then God created the sky and the earth, and on Monday he created the

[98] See Question No. 64 from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms*. from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev [Ivanov 1925: 264]; see also the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 340].

[99] See Question No. 59 from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms.* from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev [Ivanov 1925: 263]; see also the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 339]. The same idea forms the kernel of many folklore legends; see for instance text No. 394 in Federowski's collection *Belarusian People in Lithuanian Russia*, Vol. 1, Section 2 ("Beliefs about the Universe") [1897: 149]; further on "Cain in the moon" texts reflecting the relationship between Slavonic folklore and apocryphal tradition, see Badalanova [1997–1998: 11–32; 1998: 154–162].

[100] An extract from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms.* from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev (Question No. 1). The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th cent. text [Ivanov 1925: 259]; see also the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 335].

[101] An extract from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms.* from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev (Question No. 12). The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th cent. text [Ivanov 1925: 260]; see also the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 336].

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Moon, the stars and all the heavenly bodies");[102] "From what are the Sun and the Moon created?" ("The Moon is created from the throne, the stars are from the flesh of God, whereas the Angels are from the Spirit of God and from fire");[103] "From what are the Angels created?" ("The Spirit of God");[104] "From what do the lightning and the thunderbolt come?" ("There are two Angels in charge of thunderbolts and two Angels in charge of the lightning");[105] "How was the Devil created?" ("After He had created Heaven and Earth, God saw his shadow in the water, and said: 'Come, brother, and be with me! And he came out of the water as a man and God gave him the name of Samail (Самаила");[106] Who was [the human being who was] not born by a mother?" (Adam);[107] "When was Adam created by God?" ("On the 25th of March, 6th hour");[108] "Who was the one who grew old without being born, yet returned to his mother's womb?" ("Adam, as he was created from earth and returned to earth");[109] "Who was the one who tasted death without being born, and who was the one who

[102] An extract from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms.* from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev (Question No. 1). The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th cent. text [Ivanov 1925: 259]; see also the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 335].

[103] An extract from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms*. from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev (Question No. 1). The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th cent. text [Ivanov 1925: 259]; see also the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 335].

[104] See the text of "The Discussion between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 332]; its Greek protograph was originally composed in fifth cent. A.D.

[105] See the text of "The Discussion Between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 332].

[106] An extract from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms.* from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev (Question No. 15). The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th cent. text [Ivanov 1925: 260]; see the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 336]. The same motif is registered in Bulgarian oral tradition; see the text of the legend recorded by N. Bonchev in the region of Panagiurishte, Southern Bulgaria [Bonchev 1942: 171–173].

[107] See the text of "The Discussion between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 333]; compare also this question to the following Russian folk riddles about Adam and Eve: "Wasn't born but died" [Sadovnikov 1986: 528, text No. *2174] and "Who wasn't born yet died?" [ibid., text No *2174 a].

[108] See the text of "The Discussion between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 334]; the texts implies that Adam was created on the same day that Jesus was conceived; in this the Annunciation is perceived as "the New Creation", comparable to the First Creation, the Creation of Adam. Thus the text confirms the doctrine of Jesus being the New Adam.

[109] See the text of "The Discussion between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 333].

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was born and never tasted death?" ("Adam died without being born and Prophet Elijah was born to stay alive);[110] "How was the name of Adam created?" ("God sent his angel and he took four letters [i.e. words], from the four corners of the Universe");[111] "How many clans are there on earth?" ("Two: of Adam and Eve"),[112] etc.

The Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz, The Erotapokriseis Razumnik and *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* texts, themselves being on the boundary between folklore and literature,[113] appear in Old Church Slavonic as early as the 11th century [Petkanova 1987: 4; footnote 2; Miltenova 2004: 20–21, 27, 73, 317], and their content indicates not only the presence of some specific fragments from various original Old Church Slavonic writings, but also—and largely—translations and compilations accomplished on the basis of a number of Greek sources. Certainly, these compositions are most closely related to the Byzantine tradition of "Questions and Answers" writings (Ἐρωταποκρισεις, Ἐρωτησεις και αποκρισεις, etc.) and as such are considered to be their Slavonic successors and/or counterparts.[114] In the western Christian tradition such texts are defined as "Joca monachorum" (i.e. "Friar's Jokes", or "Monastic Banters"), with some of their earliest copies being dated back as early as the seventh-eighth centuries.[115] In the Latin sources they are most often entitled "Interrogationes variae et rarae valde", "Problemata", "Elucidarius" (or "Lucidarius"), etc. Although some of the Latin manuscripts are older than the earliest (available now) Greek copies, there is a long-standing convention in medieval scholarship that the Latin versions did, most probably, originate from a certain corpus of now lost Greek protographs.

On the other hand, as mentioned briefly above, the erotapocritic texts can be typologically compared (as regards their form, nature and

[110] See the text of "The Discussion between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 333]. Compare also this question to the following Russian folk riddle: "Who was born yet did not die? (The Prophet Elijah)" [Sadovnikov 1986: 533, text No. *2195]; see also riddles Nos *2196 and *2197 in the same collection.

[111] See the text of "The Discussion between the Three Saints" in D. Petkanova [1982: 333].

[112] An extract from the 16th cent. *Lovchansky Ms.* from the collection of the Bulgarian teacher M. Nedelchev (Question No. 14). The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th cent. text [Ivanov 1925: 260]; see the text of "The Razumnik" in D. Petkanova [1982: 336].

[113] See D. Petkanova [1982: 409–412; 1987: 3–25].

[114] See Ivanov [1925: 266].

[115] See Ivanov [1925: 264–266].

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function) to folklore riddles; indeed, these writings are composed as written counterparts of traditional (i.e. orally transmitted) riddles, one of the most popular and widespread folklore texts in Eastern Europe. This is, perhaps, one of the possible explanations of the vast spread of the erotapocritic literature among the Slavonic people in the Middle Ages. Being presented as a string of puzzling questions and answers, the erotapocritic writings play with a cluster of concepts, thus framing the popular exegesis of the Scriptural text. In other words, the riddle functions as a "cosmogonical tool" facilitating the accomplishment of the "Eternal Reason"; it encapsulates and encodes the myths of Creation, turning them into a crypto-text. The rites of initiation would, in turn, provide the secret knowledge of how to decipher it. As such, the riddle can be regarded not only as a "compressed version" of the Creation myth, but also as its "clandestine" expression. The knowledge of how to resolve it is a secret one; it comes through the means of rites of passage.[116] In fact, the very Old Church Slavonic term "Razumnik" [разоумникь, разоумникъ] is a derivative formed from the Slavonic lexeme "razum", meaning 'reason', 'sense', 'knowledge', 'wisdom'. Thus those who put the questions and those who answer them become involved in a mystical participation in the divine Creation.[117]

The fact that folklore counterparts of the Book of Genesis (recorded among the Slavs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) incorporate fragments from the "Erotapokriseis texts" (composed in written form centuries earlier) indicates that the interaction between oral tradition and Holy Writ, between the world of speaking and that of writing, has been an active, long-lasting process shaping the ideological paradigm

[116] On the correlation between riddle and myth, see V. Toporov's "Notes on the Riddle" [1994: 10–117]; the latter corresponds with V. Vs. Ivanov's analysis of the structure of certain Indo-European riddles (with regard to their role in the mythopoeic tradition [1994: 118–142]) and with A. Golovacheva's work "On the problem of the pragmatism of the riddle" [1994: 195–214]; see also M. Lekomtseva's examination of the "Semiotic aspects of the 'indexical' folk riddle" (on the basis of the Russian tradition, with particular emphasis on some correspondences between the Slavonic material and the Biblical and Vedic traditions) [1994: 214–225]; and T. Tsiv'ian's analysis of the internal structure of the riddle as an "anthropocentric" text, with special regard to the metaphor as a "condensed" riddle [1994: 178–194].

[117] Further on ritual function of riddles in Bulgarian tradition, with special regard to marriage customs, see the folklore materials from the region of Perushtitsa, Plovdiv area, published in the *ShNU Folklore Collection*, Vol. 10 [1894: 62]; see also the folklore text published by Badalanova [1993: 266–276; 1995: 393–404; 1996: 47–48]; on the role of the riddles within the story-line of some fairy tales and their connection to the wedding rituals, see E. N. Eleonskaia [1994: 79–89].

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of popular Christianity in Eastern Europe for centuries. In this respect it is worth drawing attention to the fact that many Slavonic tales, such as some of the accounts about the origin of the universe, about the creation of Adam's body out of celestial and terrestrial elements, about the spots on the Moon, etc., together with some of the texts of the *Dukhovnye stikhi* spiritual poems, and especially *Golubinaya Kniga* and *The Lament of Adam over the Paradise Lost*,[118] are very closely related to a particular cluster of themes and motifs developed in "Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz", "Erotapokriseis Razumnik" and "The Discussion Between the Three Saints" writings.[119]

2.3. *The* Palaeia *and the Folk Bible*

Some of the folklore legends related to the Book of Genesis, as recorded among the Slavs during the last two centuries, often incorporate themes and motifs (such as the creation of angels, the revolt of the Prince of the fallen angels Satanail, or Lucifer, against the authority of the Lord, etc.) which originate from a number of exegetical medieval writings translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic, and in particular from the *Palaeia* "which enjoyed enormous popularity and widespread circulation" [Gaster 1887: 26].[120] The origins of the *Palaeia* (which was compiled in Byzantium no later than the tenth century)[121] can be traced

[118] See in this respect text No. 736 ("A Song of the Expulsion of Adam from Paradise") and text No. 737 ("The Repentance of Adam") which were recorded and published by P. V. Shein [1874: 400–401] in his *Belarusian Folk Songs* collection, as well as text No. 35, text No. 37 and text No. 38 published in the fifth volume of Romanov's *Belarusian Miscellany* [1891: 378–381].

[119] Segments of "Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz", "Erotapokriseis Razumnik" and "The Discussion Between the Three Saints" writings can still be found in some contemporary folklore riddles; see Petkanova [1987: 9–11].

[120] As Gaster points out, this book "is a kind of Biblical history, wherein Genesis and Exodus are completed by numerous ancient legends, which are mostly incorporated without alteration. Thus the Biblical history becomes a Biblical romance; truth and fiction are inextricably mixed, and form together a complete Bible adapted to pious readers" [Gaster 1887: 26]; see also Istrin [1897: 175–209, 845–905; 1898: 472–531; 1905: 135–203; 1906(1): 1–42; 1906(2): 20–61; 1906(3): 418–450]. Further on the spread and circulation of the *Palaeia* manuscripts in medieval Slavonic Christendom, see M. Gaster [1887: 23–43, 150–208], A. N. Popov [1881], V. P. Adrianova [1910], R. Stankov [1986: 55–63], T. Slavova [1991: 57–69] and E. Turdeanu [1964: 195–206]. See also the extensive bibliography on the subject provided by A. Miltenova in the entry "The *Palaeia*" in D. Petkanova's (ed.) *Old Bulgarian Literature Encyclopaedic Dictionary* [1992: 314–316].

[121] See Sparks [1984: 364].

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back to a number of sources, including some Jewish exegetical texts, such as Haggadic writings, and in particular to a book called *Sepher Hayashar* [Gaster 1887: 26]. These works, together with the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Apocalypse of Moses*, formed the backbone of the major thematic content of the *Palaeia interpretata*.[122]

In this way the Slavonic oral tradition captivated, absorbed and preserved in the living memory of peasant communities not only the biblical Creation account (in the either canonical or apocryphal versions), but also traces of a number of other Judaeo-Christian literary sources, as well as various pre-Christian cosmogonical folklore narratives whose content originates from a certain universal cultural thesaurus of themes and motifs appearing in many Creation myths registered all around the world.

3. *Storytelling the Creation*

3.1. *"Let There Be light!"*

According to some of the Slavonic Creation stories, "at the beginning" there was nothing but an everlasting night, and "the eternal God" (who was believed to be either "God the Father", or the Holy Spirit, or even Jesus Christ) was dwelling in the darkness of "a bottomless abyss".[123] God's first blessing, "Let there be light!", was usually portrayed by the storytellers as the primordial begetting of "the light" itself; as such, it was often described by them as a sunrise. Thus, according to the account given to me in July 1975 in the village of Pevtsite, Karlovo area, Plovdiv region (Central Bulgaria), by the local storyteller Stoyna Ivanova Petkova (born 1878 in the same village),

> Once there was no world and no light. Darkness was everywhere. All around was blackness. Then God said: "Let there be day!"… Then the Sun rose. That's how the world emerged. Isn't a bright shining eye seen on the icons?[124] There it is on the icons—an eye! It belongs to God!

[122] See the bibliography provided by T. Slavova [1991: 57–69].

[123] See for example the text recorded in 1982 by T. V. Rozhdestvenskaia in the village of Hrabauka, Homel' area [Belova 2001: 130].

[124] In his structural-semiotics analysis of the ideographical representational devices, and the principles of spatial organisation in Medieval Orthodox icon-painting, B.Uspenskii emphasises the symbolic dimensions of this detail in both historical and typological perspective:

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> This is God's eye![125] God can see everything from up there. Only He knows everything! He sees everything and He knows everything. That's it…After that on the Earth there was night, and day. This is how God created the world—first He separated the day from the night, then—the earth from the water…[126]

> Quite significant […] is the fact that in ancient pictorial art we sometimes find the symbolic depiction of an eye which seems to be quite unrelated to the subject of the painting. This phenomenon is encountered particularly in Egyptian art, in classical art, and, finally, in medieval art; it may have been preserved to a fairly recent date in a certain tradition of icon painting. It is quite probable that this eye symbolizes the viewpoint of an abstract viewer within the represented reality, who might be identified, in some cases, as the Divine Observer from whose position the image is presented. We should mention in this respect that Russian icon-painters, as late as the nineteenth century, had the custom of painting the so-called "great eye" [velikij glaz] on the icon, and writing the word "God" beneath it [Uspenskii 1976: 38–39].

The present text, as narrated by Stoyna Petkova, indicates that this motif has survived until recently not only in the Bulgarian iconographical tradition, but also in the verbal art. See also in this connection fig. 18.

The same "bright shining eye" is painted on one of the nineteenth century icons in the "Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary" nunnery situated in the nearby city of Sopot [Bozhilov, Tuleshkov and Prashkov 1997: 241]. The icon depicts the actual scene of the Presentation of the Infant Theotokos to the Temple (Feast day 21 November). In its centre, on the very top, above the delineation of the earthly temple, there is an image of an eye—as if it is observing, from above, how Sts Joachim and Anne (who are portrayed in the middle of the composition) offer their daughter to the Temple in the presence of the house of Israel, and how the little Mary is received and blessed by the high priest Zacharias. The entire composition is, thus, as if "projected" before the earthly eyes from the divine perspective of the "great eye" from Heaven. Whether this detail suggests that the present folklore account was "born" as a mere interpretation of this particular icon, is an issue of little import. What really matters is the fact that both the iconographical tradition and the folklore narration share a certain common language of expressive devices. Obviously, the icon-painter and the storyteller operate with one and the same image—the image of the "bright shining eye"—as a sign of God's omnipresence. These two types of texts—pictorial and verbal—appear to be therefore offspring of a certain general, rather than individual, semantic convention.

Further, in some Bulgarian icons (depicting themes from the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis and the motif of the Creation of Eve in particular) the first people are shown in quite an intriguing way: instead of navels, in the middle of their bodies Adam and Eve have the same "omnipresent eye" (see for instance the nineteenth century representation of the Creation of Eve in one of the churches in North-Western Bulgaria [Badalanova 1996: Fig. 10; photo: S. Badalanov]); in other words, through the "navel = God's eye" concept, the human body is presented as an earthly counterpart of the divine matrix and as such, as a replica of the "flesh of God", and as an affirmation of the eternal reality. The microcosm resembles the macrocosm whereas the man—being in God's "image and likeness"—becomes His "living icon" manifesting the union of heaven and earth.

[125] Further on the concept "Sun = God's eye", as represented in the system of South-Slavonic cosmogonical notions, see Šmitek [1998: 123].

[126] It is significant that the Creation of the Universe is envisaged by the narrator as a series of divisions, the first of which is the separation of the day from the night,

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Indeed, in traditional Slavonic culture the crack of dawn is symbolically equalised to the re-emergence, that is, re-creation of the world; it is imagined as a day-by-day repetition of God's first deed, as initially accomplished by Him at the moment of the ultimate beginning. The "Let there be light!" divine precedent is, thus, believed to have been taking place each morning ever since the Creation, and perpetually repeating itself day by day. The popular Slavonic eschatological tradition asserts that this sacred "remaking" will continue until the end of the days, that is, until the Last Judgement day;[127] in other words, sunrise is portrayed as a mystical "restoration" of the Universe that comes to pass every day, following the collapse of the night/dark period. The daybreak, saluted by the roosters, is hence imagined as an earthly counterpart of the "Let there be light!" blessing. The crack of dawn brings forth the "blessed time", the "beginning" of life for both the Universe and man.[128] Of particular importance in this respect are some Slavonic magic rites embedded in certain agricultural activities that are supposed to be performed at daybreak,[129] when the Lord's blessing "Let there be light!" takes place, which is believed to ensure a good harvest, and guarantee the enduring of the divine harmony in the Universe, as originally created by "Our Father". Thus the story of the creation of the world is experienced every day as a "matter-of-fact" participation in the Biblical myth, with the crack of dawn marking its "happening" here and now. In this way, everyday life is imagined as a repetition of the cosmic rhythm, as established in Genesis.

According to these accounts, it is also believed that by dividing the light from the darkness, and by calling the light Day and the darkness Night [Gn 1: 3–5], God had created "time" itself, had defined it and established its confines. The creation of light and/or time is believed to be God's first action inaugurating the existence of "all things visible and invisible".

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followed by the separation of the earth from the water. The syntax of the sentence concerned suggests that the "day" (and/or the 'light') category is equated to the "dry land" category, and this paradigm is regarded as a counterpoint to the "night"/"water" complex, as framed by the 'dark'/'damp' category.

[127] Among the Balkan Slavs it is believed that "when the Apocalypse comes", it will bring forth "the new beginning" and "the new eternity".

[128] Further on the archaic semantics of sunrise in the traditional Slavonic culture, see Georgieva [1993: 22, 77–79, 84, footnote 49] and Bartminski & Niebrzegowska [1996: 144–150].

[129] For further information, see Marinov [1984: 765–6].

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The creation of the heavenly bodies[130] signifies the emergence of time measurement. The creation of the Sun, the Moon and the stars stands for time's segmentation into particular sequels [Gn 1:14–19], and this motif becomes the focal point of many Slavonic aetiological legends explaining the origin of the seasons. In fact, in Slavonic languages the word for time (Belarusian "вереме", Russian "время", Ukrainian "вереме", Bulgarian "време", etc.),[131] may be used with the meaning of 'season' and 'weather'. The word denoting 'time' can also signify 'the span of human life', and thus spell out the folklore idea of homogeneity of the macrocosm and microcosm.

According to Genesis, the opening sequence of God's work has to do with the creation of heavenly bodies, whilst the final act—the creation of man in His image—takes place on the sixth day, and these two cosmogonical actions establish the folklore framework of the first chapter of Genesis and the temporal dimensions of the first week. The end of divine labours is marked by the day of rest, which, according to both the canonical Biblical account and the traditional Slavonic folklore beliefs, is to be observed as holy. This concept constitutes the system of ethics, rules of religious conduct and moral values: men, being created in God's image, are to work, just like Him, only for six days; the last day of the week, is to be observed by them—as its very name indicates—as a "work-free" time;[132] resting on this day is believed to be a moral code following the will of God [Dovnar-Zapol'skii 1909: 293–294].

3.2. *The Dough-earth and the Man of Dough*

It has already been mentioned that in Slavonic apocryphal and folklore tradition the Creation of the dry land is often described as a rivalry between God and Satan (see above), who dives to the bottom of the primordial sea and brings from there "a handful of soil",[133] from which later God moulds both the earth and man. However, according to some other dualistic legends, the primordial substance that Devil brings to (his rival and friend) God is not soil, but dough-like matter from which

[130] See I. Georgieva [1993: 17–33], D. Marinov [1981: 39–58; 1984: 49–53], J. Bartminski and S. Niebrzegowska [1996: 85–263].

[131] See Fasmer I 1986: 361.

[132] See Polish niedziela, Czech nedêle, Slovak nedel'a, Bulgarian неделя, Serbo-Croat nedjelja, Slovenian nedelja, Belarusian недзеля, Ukr. неділя [Fasmer III 1987: 57].

[133] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*, entry A 812.1 (Devil as Earth Diver).

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God kneads the bread-like earth. Thus, according to the legend "How the World was created" from the Bulgarian village of Vakarel (which was discussed above), the Creation of the Universe is described as "bread-making" work. The "kneading" itself is triggered by a discussion between God and the Devil during which the two of them "touched upon how to make the earth". According to this account, the Devil brings "some foam" from "where the seas beat at each other" (i.e. from the edge of the Universe), and from this primordial substance God kneads a round, flat unleavened *pita* bread (Bulg. "пита"), which He throws on the surface of primeval waters, and it becomes earth [Nicoloff 1979: 104].

A similar Creation-concept (i.e. Creation via kneading) shapes the story-line of other Slavonic aetiological narratives in which it is maintained that "in the beginning, when God created the earth, it was like dough for a puff-pastry pie rolled out into a large circle."[134] According to the legend recorded by the author in 1994 in the village of Zlatia, Lom area, Bulgaria, from an eighty-year old woman by the name of Iskrena Gergova:

> Once the earth was like dough! […] Look at it now—look at how I smooth it out, how I roll it to make a "*banitsa*" puff-pastry pie—the same way the Earth was rolled out. But the sky couldn't cover it. […] So when the Lord saw that the sky was smaller, He took the Earth by the belly button and shook it, and the Earth shrunk and wrinkled like pastry, and it was then covered by the sky. You see that now there are mountains, and valleys, and all sort of things are on the Earth… That's how the world came to be—the sky on top, the earth below.[135]

It has to be pointed out that, apart from being just an "utilitarian" and "pragmatic"—and as such, a "down-to-earth"—activity, the process of *banitsa* puff-pastry making (and/or dough-kneading) has certain symbolic (i.e. mythological) meanings. It is regarded, as some Slavonic folklore riddles indicate, as an emblematic framework for allegorical description of the male-female encounter,[136] thus referring to the concept of

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[134] Extensive data related to this concept is contained in the author's field-work files from the region of North-Western Bulgaria.

[135] The full text of the legend is published in the Appendix (see text No. 2.2.5).

[136] Slavonic folklore riddles often portray "Creation" as a *sui generis* sexual encounter in which the emergence of the universe is clearly imagined as an act with strong erotic connotations. Thus, according to one Russian riddle from Samara Province, the encounter between "Spirit and Earth" is described in the following unequivocal manner: "A lad comes up to a girl: 'Girl! Girl! Give me yours; I'll put mine into yours;

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'child-conceiving'. Similarly, some folklore riddles define the rolling of dough in accordance with it: "The Father pushes the Mother and the Mother stretches."[137] At the same time, the *banitsa* puff-pastry is one of the compulsory "wedding meals"; in traditional Bulgarian culture it signifies the "feast time" and spells out (in terms of conventional culinary code) the concept of "the ultimate beginning", cooked on Christmas Eve,[138] New Year's Eve[139] and Epiphany.[140] It is also obligatory for the celebration marking the beginning of Lent.[141] In other words, it marks the 'New Year' in terms of both solar (Christmas-centered) and lunar (Easter-centered) festivities. The same could be said about the symbolic meaning of the "ritual bread" as a tangible emblem of 'the beginning'.[142] In this the concept of dough as a prefiguration of the earth's substance (i.e. the primordial matter),[143] frames the culinary

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when the time comes you'll take yours back and I'll take mine back" [Sadovnikov 1986: 528, text No. *2173]. Indicative in this respect is the fact that many folklore aetiological texts about the origin of the sexual intercourse describe it as "knowledge" acquired with God's blessing, assistance and wondrous help; see texts No. 2.2. 35, 2.2. 36, 2.2. 37 in the Appendix. In this type of texts the sexual encounter is perceived as cosmogonical action.

[137] See the Bulgarian text "Татко мама обтега, майката се разтега"; this folklore text is preserved in the author's field-work files from the region of North-Western Bulgaria; see also "Granddad pushes Grandma and Grandma stretches" ("Дедо баба наблега, бабата се разтега") in Stoikova [1970: 421, text 2578]. Some Russian riddles provide an interesting parallel to the above mentioned Bulgarian riddle texts. Thus "kneading the dough" can be described as follows "The mortar is hewn, the pestle isn't forged; it pounds and it thrashes, and a woman sighs" [Sadovnikov 1986: 117, text No. 467a]; or, "The woman huffs, and puffs, and lays down a hairless head" [ibid., text No. 468]; "Two knead and two jiggle" [ibid., text No. 469]; "In the evening he started punching, at midnight he started going "khorrrr", in the morning he got up and rolled up his sleeves" [ibid., text No. 470]; "In the evening she started fussing, towards morning she did some pushing" [ibid., 118, text No. 470a]; "In the evening they start punching, toward midnight they start going "khorrrrr", when it starts to dawn they'll start to shove" [ibid., text No. 470b], "In the evening it started shifting, toward midnight it started twitching, toward morning it finally tired and stopped going about" [ibid., text No. 470c]. At the same time, a "childless marriage" is metaphorically described as follows: "The dough has been kneaded, but it isn't rising" [ibid., 512, text No. *2102].

[138] This folklore material is preserved in the author's field-work files from the region of North-Western Bulgaria; see also D. Marinov [1984: 100].

[139] This folklore material is preserved in the author's field-work files from the region of North-Western Bulgaria; see also Marinov [1981: 461–462].

[140] This folklore material is preserved in the author's field-work files from the region of North-Western Bulgaria.

[141] See D. Marinov [1981: 496].

[142] See D. Marinov [1981: 393–419].

[143] This belief corresponds to a similar concept in medieval Hebrew commentaries (and in particular in the explanations of Rashi, a 10th century Bible commentator)

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code of rites and ceremonies, which, according to the indigenous ethnohermeneutics, are supposed to mark and indeed celebrate the accomplishment of the "the Creation".[144]

In many Bulgarian, Belarusian and Ukrainian folklore narratives not only the appearance of earth, but also the creation of mankind is described like a "bread-kneading" action.[145] According to this kind of texts, people were initially "kneaded" by God, not "moulded". They were made of dough, not clay. In other words, if—according to the canonical text and its apocryphal interpretations—God made Adam out of (water and) dust, in some areas of Slavonic Christendom it was believed that humankind had been originally made out of (water and) flour. However, having seen that when made of dough His creation was too vulnerable, God makes the man once more, but this time—out of mud.[146]

At the same time, in some Slavonic aetiological legends the idea of the origins of menstruation and/or childbirth[147] is often revealed in conjunction with (and in terms of) bread-making activities.[148] Correspondingly, the "child = bread" metaphor correlates with the archaic semantics of the "oven" as a 'womb'; in this, some aetiological legends about the origins of the first menstruation bind the bread-kneading activities with

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according to which the act of creation was regarded as identical to the act of kneading; in this, the Creator was seen as a "kneader", whereas His creation was perceived as substance originating from a dough-like "materia prima".

[144] In this the ritual loaf is usually described both as "writ", and as an "icon" made by a woman. It is significant to note here that in some Slavonic dialects the lexemes denoting "an instrument for writing and/or painting" (i.e. "pen" or "brush"), and a "tool for bread decoration" coincide; the same applies to words denoting "letter", "writ", "icon", and "bread decoration" ["писмо"].

[145] These are classified in the *Comparative Index of East Slavonic Folk Tales* as type K 777 [Barag et al. 1979: 195].

[146] Further on the scope of this motif in Slavonic oral tradition, see Tolstaia [1998: 27]. An interesting approach to the "kneaded man" (that is, the "earth = dough") topic can be found in the fifth chapter of V. Kuznetsova's PhD monograph on the creation myth among the Eastern Slavs; it offers a comprehensive analysis of the "dough = earth = man" concept, with special regard to some dualistic legends [1995: 134, 136, 140].

[147] See text No. 2.2. 47 ("Dough and blood") in the Appendix; consult also the rest of the texts published in Section Six ("The Menstruating Adam") of the Second Division of the Appendix.

[148] Further on ritual symbolism of bread-making activities, see Nikolova [1997: 29–36]; Ivanova [1997: 22–28]; Lozanova [1997: 37–47]; Ianeva [1997: 85–93]. On the "child = bread" synonymy in Slavonic ritual vocabulary (with special regard to the birth = harvest parallelism), see Ternovskaia and Badalanova-Pokrovska [1995: 63–79].

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"the female paradigm", thus spelling out the vernacular idea about the origins of gender in terms of both biological and social activities (including sexual division of labour).

On the other hand, Slavonic Creation stories of the "First Adam being dough" are enveloped in a much broader cosmological concept, i.e. the "bread-is-flesh" concept.[149] In this the "bread = flesh" parallelism (as represented in the oral legacy of Eastern and Southern, that is, the Orthodox, Slavs) is implemented in the vernacular comprehension of the idea that the Eucharistic bread is the Body of Jesus.[150] This concept functions as an underlying code in the basic structures of the Eucharistic ritual (in which bread and wine are regarded as tangible symbols of the body and the blood of the "New Adam"—Christ), and recalls His words at the institution of the liturgical celebration of Eucharist at the Last Supper: "And He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me" [Lk 22:19]. As emphasised by the Orthodox scholastic thought, it is quite significant that

> [t]he Byzantines understood the Eucharistic bread to be necessarily *consubstantial* with humanity, while Latin medieval piety emphasized its 'supersubstantiality', its otherworldliness. The use of ordinary bread, identical with the bread used as everyday food, was the sign of true incarnation. […] The Byzantines did not see the substance of the bread somehow changed in the Eucharist mystery into another substance—the Body of Christ—but viewed this bread as the "type" of humanity: our humanity changed into the transfigured humanity of Christ. […] The last word on Eucharist, in Byzantine theology, is thus anthropological and soteriological understanding of the mystery [Meyendorff 1979: 204–205].[151]

The results of the anthropological field research in the Slavonic Orthodox domain show the vernacular scope of this Christian idea. As the folklore dimensions of the 'bread' as a body of either (the first) Adam, or the "Second/New Adam—Christ" concept indicate,

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[149] See for instance the following Russian folk riddle about the bread: "Without sinews and without bones, yet it comes up" [Sadovnikov 1986: 116, text No. 461b].

[150] On the "passions of bread" as Christ's passions, see N. Tolstoi's "Vita Herbae et Vita Rei" [1994: 139–167]; see also the riddle "Without hands, without feet, he prays to God" [Sadovnikov 1986: 116, text No. *460f].

[151] Quoting J. H. Erikson's comments on the Orthodox interpretation of the Eucharistic bread, Meyendorff concludes his analysis with the following statement: "In approaching the Eucharist, the Byzantines began not with bread *qua* bread, but with bread *qua* man" [Meyendorff 1979: 205].

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the "bread *qua* man" idea reveals itself not only in terms of doctrinal teaching, but also in everyday life. As the Slavonic oral legacy indicates, the Christian concept "flesh = bread"—spelled out in terms of the indigenous ethnopoetics—functions as a backbone of a number of aetiological legends. So, if the earth was believed to be initially made out of dough, then likewise the first people were supposed to be made out of the same substance. Therefore, when the earth was like a kneaded bread, Adam and Eve were like loaves as well.

The idea that the first people were originally created by God like two—male and female—loaves can be compared with the ritual convention of making both male and female bread for each and every Christian feast. Incidentally, this kind of gendered division as applied to ritual loaves can be typologically compared, as the Russian semiotician Olga Freidenberg suggests, with the Christian tradition of portraying the "artos" as the male hypostasis of the consecrated bread, and "Panagia"—as the "female" [Freidenberg 1997: 54]. As the Slavonic aetiological legends indicate, the folklore image of the "dough = earth" is related to the image of the "dough = man". Thus the image of "the first Adam" as "dough" parallels the image of the "New Adam" as the "ultimate bread" for the earthly people. Consumed during the mystery of the Eucharist as a "life-giving" substance, the Body of Christ is believed to restore "Paradise Lost", cancelling the original sin of the First Adam and bringing forth the divine harmony of the ultimate beginning.

3.3. *"Man of the Dust of the Ground": Biblical Anthropogenesis and Traditional Slavonic Anthropogony*

The legend of the creation of the first people out of clay is one of the most widespread cosmogonical stories forming the Slavonic Folk Bible, and it is also among those tales that are best attested. The story-line embraces not only themes and motifs originating from the Book of Genesis (and its apocryphal counterparts, such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just, The Book of Jubilees, The Life of Adam and Eve, The Sea of Tiberias*, etc.), but also certain typical dualistic narrative patterns (some of which could be classified as the Slavonic folklore offspring of the original, proto-Biblical, oral Ur hyper-text).[152]

[152] See the discussion above.

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Thus, unlike the Biblical account, where, after having formed man of the dust of the ground, God "breathes into his nostrils the breath of life, and man becomes a living soul" [Gn 2:7], in some Slavonic folklore legends God makes Adam not only out of earth, but also out of His own spittle (i.e. God spits on the dust from which He moulds man);[153] He then breathes not into his nostrils, but into his mouth, whereby the man becomes not only a living soul, but also a speaking being. This is one of the most often registered idiosyncrasies of traditional Slavonic ethnohermeneutics: vernacular folklore anthropogenesis maintains that "speech" is of divine origin, just like the "soul", since both of them came straight from the mouth of the Creator. Evidently, from the point of view of the storyteller, "soul" and "speech" share the same nature, as they were "inhaled" by the first man via his mouth. Both "soul" and "speech" are given to Adam together with the ability to breathe, being "inserted" into him via the organ of speech, i.e., via his mouth.

On the other hand, the story of the Creation of the woman, i.e. the ultimate matriarch (to be analysed below) is the only one that appears in the Book of Genesis in two versions [Gn 1:26–28 and in Gn 2: 21–25], and the fact that it is narrated twice in the canonical text, and in two different ways, is significant. Thus, according to Gn 1:26–28, the first woman is created simultaneously together with man, and as his equal counterpart. Neither of them is designed with any special characteristics of supremacy, as they both are created in the image of God. However, this canonical Biblical segment does not state anything about the substance from which the first people are made. In contrast to Gn 2, where it is stated that the first man was "formed from the

[153] See texts No. 2.2.21 and No. 2.2.22 in the Appendix. Many folklore texts identify God's spittle with "man's strength" (i.e. the sperm), known also as "the white blood" (possessed only by the male half of mankind), in contrast to "the red blood" which is shared by both men and women. Correspondingly, the male offspring of Adam are considered to be earthly containers of God's spittle, whereas human reproduction is imagined as a terrestrial replica of the creation of Adam.

On the other hand, in Slavonic folklore tradition there exists a parallel belief that the first people are moulded of clay made of dust containing not God's, but the Devil's spittle. Accordingly, the Devil is portrayed as a demiurge possessing creative power equal to the power of God. In addition, there exists a number of legends about how one may learn to speak and understand the language of various animals; one can do this by making a snake, "the most subtle and wise among all the animals" spit into one's mouth. Besides, there is an interesting colloquial expression in Bulgaria which is believed to be related to this legend: to have "spat into one another's mouths" ("плюли са си в устата") means that two people say the same things, they spin the same yarn, they speak the same language.

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dust of the ground", nowhere in Gn 1 is it mentioned that the first people were made of mud, or clay, or ashes, or other earth-related components.

It can be argued that the absence of this detail is of great importance for oral traditions, as it leaves room for further speculation. The "materia prima" from which the first people are believed to have been made is not always imagined to be earth.[154] The Slavonic folklore texts cover a range of cosmogonical themes and motifs that is much larger than their canonical (or even apocryphal) counterparts. According to some Bulgarian folklore texts, for instance, the first people were made out of textile,[155] or appear from a primordial egg from which they were subsequently hatched,[156] or grow from mushrooms,[157] etc. Indicative in this respect are the strategies of vernacular Slavonic ethno-paedagogy; according to its dictum, the Biblical creation is explained to children as a framework of local ethno-history and indeed family history. Hence, the aetiological legends related to the origin of mankind are revealed as sacred texts about indigenous clans and lineages about "our blood" and kinship relations (both matrilineal and patrilineal). Accordingly, the Book of Genesis becomes a source for "Family-Tree Stories" which are believed to have come straight from Holy Scripture, while the origin of mankind is fixed firmly, via the indigenous narratives, to the local landscape, inasmuch as the first people are believed to have appeared in the local neighbourhood of the storytellers. Thus Biblical mythopoeic imagery encompasses not only the vernacular ethno-poetics, but also the regional identity.

3.4. *The Origins of Gender*

The issue of "gender" is presented in Slavonic Folk Bible in a way which leads us to believe that both "male" and "female" characteristics are encompassed by God's nature. However, the comparison between the Biblical story about the creation of "male and female" human beings (as revealed in Gn 1:27), and the previous lines of the same canonical

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[154] This is also the case with some extra-canonical sources, and in particular with *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, *The Sea of Tiberias*, etc.; see also the discussion above.

[155] See text No. 2.2.29 ("God's Thread") in the Appendix.

[156] See text No. 2.2.11 ("People to be Hatched From Eggs") in the Appendix.

[157] See "The Holy Mushroom" Section in the Appendix (texts No. 2.2.12, 2.2.13, 2.2.14, 2.2.15, 2.2.16, 2.2.17, 2.2.18, 2.2.19).

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account (in which the creation of various animals is described, such as the creation of birds flying in the firmament of heaven, or the sea-monsters [Gn 1:21], or the animals living upon earth [Gn 1:24], etc.) shows that in the account preceding Gn 1:27 there is no mentioning of "male-female" division. The animals seem to be genderless, regardless of the "be fruitful and multiply" formulaic expression marking the end of the segment describing their creation. This detail also indicates that the issue of gender becomes an issue only in relation to Biblical anthropogenesis; only human beings have gender, not animals. This, in turn, suggests that in Genesis the gender category is not regarded as biological but cultural.

On the other hand, in contrast to the first version of the creation of woman [Gn 1:27], according to which she is made simultaneously with her male counterpart, the second version of the canonical account of the creation of the "mother of all living" [Gn 2:21–25] maintains that, having created man, God intends to create a helpmate for him, "as he was alone". But none of the living creatures to whom man gives names is suitable to become his helpmate. In fact, it is at this moment that for the first time the Biblical text refers to the man as Adam; here, in Gn 2:20, he is named for the first time, in the episode preceding the creation of woman:

> But for Adam there was not found a helpmate for him. And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; and He [God] took one of his ribs, and closed up the place with flesh instead thereof. And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from the man, made He a woman, and brought her unto the man. And the man said: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

It is also in this paragraph that the woman is given a social status—the status of a wife [Gn 2:21–24]; still, in Paradise she would never have a proper name. The woman in the Garden of Eden is nameless, being called "Eve" only at the beginning of Gn 4.

While comparing the first [Gn 1:26–28] and the second [Gn 2:21–24] version of the creation of mankind, the following points ought to be emphasised:

1. In the second version [i.e. Gn 2:21–24] the creation of man preceded the creation of woman, which implicitly indicates that, since the male was made first, it was the male gender that was granted the supremacy over the female one.

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2. Man was formed by God of the dust of the ground (Gn 2:7), whereas woman was created from man's body as a secondary product (Gn 2:21–24).
3. God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life and man thus became a living soul, a detail which, again implicitly, indicates, that the "breath of life" was given to man only, not to woman.[158]

The concept of the inferior status of the first woman in comparison to that of first man is likewise spelled out in many folklore narratives. Thus, according to the text recorded by M. Federowski in the second half of the nineteenth century in Poland, the first woman, the mother of all living, Eve, was created not from the rib, but from another, much "lower", part of man's body; i.e. she was made out of the tail he was believed to have had at the beginning, when God had first brought him into being:

> When God made Adam in the beginning, he made him with a tail, but then He realised that it was not appropriate for both animals and men to have tails. He sent Adam to sleep, cut off his tail, placed it next to him, and this is how Eve came into being. That's why the saying goes that women originate from a man's tail [Federowski 1897: 201; text 781].

During the last twenty years, new counterparts of the Biblical story about the creation of Eve have been registered in Slavonic villages by a number of scholars. In many of them indigenous mythopoeic imagery is intertwined with Judaeo-Christian tradition in a specific, unique way, thus shaping a distinct system of religious beliefs which shapes the everyday life of Slavonic peasant communities, as well as their cultural identity and ethno-philosophy.[159]

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[158] There were many attempts to describe, explain and justify the discrepancies between the two canonical accounts of the creation of woman. One explanation can be traced to early medieval Hebrew midrashic sources, and to *The Alphabet of Ben Sira* (around 10th cent A.D.) in particular. According to this text, Gn 1 relates to the creation of the first wife of Adam, namely Lilith, who wanted to dominate her husband by having sex with him in the superior position; she wanted to be on top. Once Adam was rid of Lilith, he then took Eve as his wife. Subsequently Lilith became the prototype of a demon dangerous to Eve and all other women hereafter.

[159] An interesting parallel can be drawn here with the issue of gender as a grammatical category, which, at vernacular level, is perceived as related to the Biblical account of the creation of mankind. In some Slavonic languages and dialects, and in Polish in particular, apart from the case endings which are gender inclusive, there is a special plural verbal ending for past tense forms indicating whether the subjects are male or non-male. In this, a special sub-gender category, often ironically described by philologists as "females-animals-objects" category is implied. Moreover, when referring to only male (animate or inanimate) subjects, the verb has one type of ending, the masculine ending; when referring to only female animate or inanimate subjects, or animals, or

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The analysis of these Slavonic folklore texts indicates that the creation of woman may follow either the pattern of Gn 2, that is, the story-line according to which the woman was created out of man's body, or the pattern of Gn 1, according to which the "Mother-of-All-living Eve" was created together with her husband Adam. In most of the cases, the folklore counterparts of both Gn 1 and Gn 2 would usually focus on the vernacular dimensions of the idea of the sexual division of labour; while narrating them, the storytellers would hardly ever fail to emphasise that the account of "How God divided work between Adam and Eve" is one of the focal components of the Biblical creation story, a component which explains the origins of socio-cultural ramifications defining male-female relations. Man is to plough, woman is to spin and weave.[160] She is also the one who was supposed to give birth to children. The gendered division of labour is thus seen as a framework for biological reproduction.

Parallel to the story of the creation of man and woman out of mud, in Slavonic oral tradition there also exists, as briefly mentioned above, a corpus of texts in which it was believed that the first people were like cloth tailored in the Creator's hands. This type of text also provides the framework for the plot of the origin of sexual intercourse as a "textile-producing" activity.[161] At the same time, in Slavonic oral tradition there exists a number of bawdy texts functioning as a vernacular counterpart of God's blessing "Be fruitful and multiply". This type of texts describes the creation of the sexual organs by God Himself.[162] In some of them the creation of the vagina is described as a joint venture in which a group of wise animals helps God in His endeavours.[163] Furthermore, some of these legends interpret the concept of the divine origin of

objects, the verb has another type of ending, the non-masculine one. However, when the group consists of at least one male being plus "the others", regardless whether these are female beings (animate or inanimate), or animals, or objects, the ending would be again masculine. The same is the case in Hebrew, as in many other languages. This may be the reason that, in some villages in Eastern Europe, I was told that, "that's why only men can be priests, not women, as the Spirit of God entered him, not her". However, apart from this type of texts, a vast amount of other narratives, implying the opposite idea, that both male and female bodies were regarded as vessels of the Holy Spirit, can be encountered among Slavonic peoples.

[160] See for instance text No. 2.2. 24 in the Appendix.

[161] See Badalanova [1993: 122–123], as well as text No. 2.2.29 in the Appendix.

[162] See the Appendix (text No. 2.2.29, text No. 2.2.32, text No. 2.2.33, text No. 2.2.34).

[163] See the Appendix (text No. 2.2.32).

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sexual intercourse,[164] as well as the idea of the celestial commencement of sperm.[165] Thus, according to some recently recorded folklore texts, among Bulgarian peasants it is maintained that human semen emanates from God's saliva. It is considered to be identical with the divine phlegm (i.e. "men's sperm" = "God's spittle"), which means that it may be released in the realm of men only under His power. In this way, the conception of children is perceived as a divine intervention whereby God's fluids, via men's sperm, make women fruitful, bringing forth progeny and recreating mankind. Alternatively, the lack of divine intervention is believed to be the cause for infertility. Therefore pregnancy is regarded as a manifestation of divine intervention into the human realm. Sexual intercourse is hence considered to be an act during which celestial and terrestrial come together, thus restating the process of the original Creation. Each human being thus becomes an embodiment of the unity between human and divine, as established at the time of the ultimate beginning.

The Slavonic oral traditions add important new insights into Biblical narratives about the origin of gender and the creation of both man and woman. The sex roles and stereotypes usually associated with the Bible story are often presented in an alternative way. The oral traditions cover both of the Biblical Creation accounts (Gn 1 and 2) and harmonise some of the contradictions which appear in the canonical text. They also add new details not found in the canonical text, such as creation from dough rather than clay, or from textile, etc. (see discussion above), thus making the stories familiar parts of local cultural heritage.

3.5. *The Fall of Mankind: Some Unanswered Questions*

According to the canonical Biblical text [Gn 2:8], after having created man God plants the Garden of Eden, and places him in it so that he can be its keeper; this statement leads, in turn, to the following puzzling detail, i.e. that when "God commanded man, saying 'Of every tree of the Garden you may freely eat, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat thereof you shall surely die'" [Gn 2:16–17], the woman was not yet created.

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[164] See the Appendix: text No. 2.2.29, text No. 2.2.35, text No. 2.2.36, text No. 2.2.37 (together with the commentaries accompanying them).

[165] See the Appendix (text No. 2.2.21).

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Here an important, but often neglected aspect of the Biblical text becomes "visible". How did the woman learn of God's command? Who told her and when? The only indication that she was aware of the taboo related to the act of eating fruits from "the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil" appears much later, in the dialogue between her and the serpent, in Gn 3:2. It seems to me that the question of woman's awareness of God's prohibition is one of the unsolved puzzles in post-Biblical interpretation of the canonical Biblical account of the creation of mankind, which is also related to the issue of the constitution of Original Sin and of identifying woman as the one who first trespassed God's command.

The story is extremely widespread among the Slavs of how God set Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, where they lived in a state of innocence and grace, naked and unashamed, until the Serpent, who "was more subtle [and wise] than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made" [Gn 3:1] tempted them to eat the forbidden fruit (believed to be an apple). In this the idea of the nature of Original Sin is of crucial importance. Sin, from the point of view of the storytellers, is to wish and desire to know more than you are supposed to know. One commits sin if and when one trespasses the limits of knowledge, as defined by God. In other words, knowledge is believed to be creative only when it is offered by the Creator; the transgression of the limits of knowledge brings forth destruction. Knowledge itself has limits, and its creative power rests on its limits.

4. *Between "The Book of Genesis" and the "Big Bang": Cosmogony in the Making*

Although recorded recently, the Slavonic Creation stories reflect a centuries-old oral tradition. They either complement or act as alternatives to the Biblical text, either in its canonical or apocryphal versions. Further, these materials capture different stages in the tradition's development. In fact, some of the folklore materials, though recorded recently, can actually be regarded as fossil texts, still preserving and maintaining some of the original characteristics of the oral Ur-hypertext, from which the Bible eventually sprung. As previously argued, the existence of this oral Ur-hypertext pre-dated the transition of initial biblical proto-texts to the written text. As such, these folklore materials hold particular fascination. They further testify that folklore tradition was not only an

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universal source of ritual and narrative religious paradigms, but it was also a cradle for the emergence and maturation of Holy Writ until it became the Bible (i.e. the Book) itself.

Meanwhile, contemporary Slavonic folk versions of the Book of Genesis also demonstrate the reverse trend, the metamorphosis of Holy Writ into oral tradition. This process epitomises a reversion to the Bible's primary function as a sacred oral message in song, chant, verse and narrative.

And last but not least, the study of oral tradition in Eastern Europe indicates that modern children have their own creation myths, and their own interpretation of the Book of Genesis. The following story (narrated by five-year old girl Tsveta Pokrovska from the city of Lom, Bulgaria) gives us one of the possible versions of it:

> In the very beginning there was nothing—neither the Sun, nor the Earth.[166] There was only the universe! There were lots of different types of stones and dust. They gathered together and a new star emerged—it was the Sun, while the planets came into existence from other similar things. The Sun whirled—it was fiery. And asteroids rained down. The very first thing to appear was the water, however, and the Sun moved over it. The water came into being by itself—just like that! And then storms and rain appeared. The Earth was so hot, that one couldn't step on it…And from the water creatures came into being. They climbed up into the heavens to become the sky. There these creatures awoke—and that was God! There were also other creatures—and that was the Devil! God and the Devil were friends and they flew in the sky together…That is all…Then I was born. That's the story of the world. All of it!

According to this story, the self-created primordial water (that "came into being by itself—just like that!") was the universal "begetter" of everything, including God. This "universal dampness" consisted of "sleeping creatures" who climbed up into the heavens where they "woke up" (that is, 'came to life') and turned into Heaven, that is, into God and the Devil. Obviously, from the point of view of the child, the Devil is not regarded as an embodiment of evil, simply because the very concept of evil is not there. Neither is the concept of death. This particular detail also indicates that, apart from the aetiological theme, in children's interpretations of Genesis there exists a further—deeply

[166] See also Thompson's *Motif-Index* of Folk-Literature: the motif of "Primeval chaos" is classified as A 605 whereas the motif of "Spontaneous creation of Universe"—as A 620.

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encoded—message referring to certain dimensions of the "world in which we live". What children's stories about Creation imply is that, in the beginning, there was no evil, because even the Devil was an embodiment of good, and as such he was placed in heaven, just like God. Instead of employing the concept of death, the child refers to the universal symbolic (that is, mythological) division—'being asleep' versus 'being awake'.

The story told by Tzveta Pokrovska represents one of the typical modern versions of children's *ad hoc* narrative approaches to the theme of the Creation wherein the subject-matter of Gn 1:1–31 is spelled out through inventive children's imagery. The actual core of this cosmological narrative, its "belief-nucleus" [Degh 1995: 235] is the concept of the "natural" co-existence of the theory of the "Big Bang" and Genesis.[167] The story of the beginnings of the universe is composed as a deliberation over the most fundamental matter (from the point of view of any child of this age), "How did I, that is, (my) God come into being?" In this the individualised microcosm encompasses the macrocosm, and their common aetiology is recognized by the narrator as a transparent manifestation of God's existence. In other words, the creed

[167] The concept of the natural co-existence of the theory of the "Big Bang" and Genesis, and the question of their compatibility has been in the firing line for some time. Children's texts merely reverberate the realm of adults. Obviously, this type of account is just a specific projection of the perplexing confrontation between the scientists (astrophysicists, etc.) and the theologians. As might be expected, however, the dispute between these two diametrically opposite worldviews cannot be constrained within the bounds of either of them. It can be localised neither in entirely theological nor in scientific domains. It is always on the verge affecting both scientific deliberation and religious thought, and going even further, naturally penetrating into the realm of the modern legend repertoire where material and spiritual embrace and create a new concept of reality. In this way, the above quoted legend is a self-portrayal targeting one's origin, and thus creating the framework of one's selfhood. (Speaking of modern legends that any anthropologist can encounter without even leaving the city, this essential feature becomes even more transparent.) People need "their" legends so that they may reveal the truth of "their own" identity and spell out "their" creed in front of "others". As Linda Degh and Andrew Vazsonyi (referring to Will-Erich Peuckert's comments on the same topic) emphasise in one of their joint articles, "the legend is more conversational than other genres, and a true legend-telling event is not therefore the solo performance of one accredited person to whom the others passively listen. It is a dispute—a dialectic duel of ideas, principles, beliefs, and passions." [Degh 1995: 152]. For further information, see L. Degh's article (written together with A. Vazsonyi) "The Crack on the Red Goblet, or Truth in Modern Legend" [Degh 1995: 152–170], first published in R. Dorson's (Ed.) *Folklore in the Modern World* [Dorson 1978: 252–272]; see also L. Degh's earlier notes on "Legend Genres" (forming a separate chapter in her study on "Folk Narrative"), published in *Folklore and Folklife*, also edited by R. Dorson [1972: 53–83]; on the characteristics of folk legend, see pp. 72–77 in particular.

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of the child who narrated the present tale—and indeed of any child for that matter—appears to be, "I exist, therefore God does too". The story about the origin of the world—and, of course, the nativity of God Himself—is formulated as a self-centred rendering in which the Biblical legend is transformed into a tale answering the most intimate query, "How did I come into existence?" The birth of the child, that is, the narrator, is seen as being parallel to the very birth of the Universe. In this the child and the Universe—and indeed God Himself—are considered to be infants who happened to be born simultaneously. In fact, they—God, the Universe and the storyteller—are believed to be the same age. Thus the boundless Universe is completely enclosed and defined by what appears to be the actual child's self-imagined perception of "Me, God and the others". At the same time, the present account embodies the encounter between the "Big Bang", as interpreted within the context of children's storytelling, and the Biblical account [Gn 1:1–31],[168] as recounted in its extra-canonical, dualistic version; it also

[168] As far as the Orthodox Slavonic domain is concerned, the concept of the co-existence of the theory of the "Big Bang" and Genesis that emerges today in children's imagination as a framework of their aetiological reflections has its intriguing pre-history. The tendency of reconciliation between religious philosophy and astrophysics—which, according to the rumour going around in Brezhnev's era, was metaphorically described by the Soviet physicist and dissident Andrei Sakharov as "*sui generis* metaphysics"—has its fascinating roots in some trends in Orthodox religious philosophy from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Thus the Russian "philosopher-cosmist" ["Философ-космист"] Nikolai Fedorov (1828–1903) imagined the Christian idea of "Raising of the Dead" ["воскрешение мертвых"] as an appeal to search for technical devices facilitating the conquering of death, and bringing dead ancestors ["предков"] back to life; see in this respect his work "Философия Общего Дела" [1907–1913]. According to Sergei Bulgakov (1871–1944), N. Fedorov's teaching stands for "the last word of the Neo-European humanism" ["это учение является последним словом новоевропейского гуманизма"]; in comparison with his magnificent idea even the utopia designed by Karl Marx appears to be "tantalisingly indecisive and tentative" [Bulgakov 1994: 314]. "He was a dreamer", commented another Russian philosopher, G. Florovskii, who sees in N. Fedorov's ideas the spark of the eighteenth century's Enlightenment with its "too benign, imperturbable and merry optimism" ["у него каким-то странным образом оживает весь этот слишком благодушный, невозмутимый и счастливый оптимизм Просвещения"]. G. Florovskii defines it as a specific resemblance of Leo Tolstoy's outlook on life [Florovskii 1988: 322]. According to G. Florovskii, the "Question of Death" for N. Fedorov "is more like a riddle than a mystery" [Florovskii 1988: 323]. In fact, N. Fedorov's disciple (who was apparently also his step-son), the prominent Russian astrophysicist K. Tsiolkovskii [1857–1935], seems to have tried to find the answer to this very same riddle. His attempt to "domesticate" the heavenly bodies—thus enlarging the domain of Homo Sapiens towards the stars—is an astrophysicist's Creation story, a continuation of the search for a new territory that will be "the ultimate Home" of mankind; in this, Tsiolkovskii's scientific programme can be also understood as a specific projection of what N. Fedorov might

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manifests how the imagination of the modern child constructs his/her own cosmogony and/or theogony, and produces new myths. Children are not just analysing their ancestors' religious experience, but also synthesizing it, thus creating new systems of beliefs and giving them proof of identity. Storytelling the Creation is itself a cosmogonical myth in the making.

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have thought to be the solution to the fundamental and so far unresolvable problem of mankind—creating space for the dead brought back to life. In a way, Tsiolkovskii's concept of the Universe as the ultimate home of mankind (wherein the cosmic studies are regarded just as a technical part of the agenda) appears to provide the missing link in his stepfather's teaching—that is, it provides an answer to the question of how to equip mankind with territory on which the resurrection of the ancestors will be taking place, and on which both the quick and the dead will be embraced to dwell. Further on Nikolai Fedorovich Fedorov's teaching, see S. Bulgakov [1994: 184, 257, 259, 269, 310–316, 343, 360] and G. Florovskii [1988: 288, 308, 322–330, 464–465, 557].

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APPENDIX

The English translations below follow the following conventions:
{} indicate conjectural additions in the English translation;
<> mark Slavonic words from the original language.

Division One
Written Tradition: Apocryphal Texts

Text 1. 1
The Sea of Tiberias

An extract from a 16th cent. MS published by E. V. Barsov in 1886. The MS is a Russian redaction of *The Sea of Tiberias*. The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original text which follows the earlier (E. V. Barsov's) publication of the MS [Ivanov 1925: 290–294]. To my knowledge, there is no previous translation of this text into English.

The only known South Slavonic (Serbo-Bulgarian) redaction of the apocryphon *The Sea of Tiberias* was discovered in 1845 by the Russian scholar V. I. Grigorovich in the manuscript collection of the Slepche monastery in Macedonia. Unfortunately, this manuscript is now lost. An excerpt, based on V. Grigorovich's notes, was published twenty years later by Ia. N. Shchapov and once again, in 1925, by Iordan Ivanov [1925: 288–9]; for the English translation, see Nicoloff [1979: 103, text 32; 225]. *The Sea of Tiberias* is now extant in Eastern Slavonic (predominantly Russian) manuscripts. However, these surviving written accounts show similarities with South Slavonic oral tradition, and in particular with certain dualistic cosmogonic legends (often related to the Christian dualist heresy of the Bogomilism). Some of these texts, as the current appendix shows, can still be recounted among storytellers in the Balkans. On the other hand, as Stoyanov points out, there were "obvious links" between the surviving manuscripts of *The Sea of Tiberias* and "the apocryphal literature translated, compiled or created in the South Slavonic world, not all of which found its way to the Eastern Slavonic world." This suggests that the protograph of *The Sea*

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of Tiberias "belongs to the tradition of original South Slavonic literature (Old Bulgarian in particular) and most probably dates from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries when other original Old Bulgarian apocrypha, borrowing and reinterpreting earlier apocryphal and apocalyptic traditions, were written" [Stoyanov 2001: 20–21].[169]

The earliest review of the extant Slavonic manuscripts of the text of *The Sea of Tiberias*, together with an extensive commentary apparatus, is put forward by I. Ivanov [1925: 287–326], followed by D. Petkanova [1978: 155–161] and D. Dimitrova-Marinova [1998: 38–57]; on the relationship between written (apocryphal) and oral (folklore) versions of *The Sea of Tiberias* (with special regard to the palaeography of the dualistic cosmogonic motif of the diving demiurge, as attested in Judaeo-Christian extra-canonical tradition and the oral tradition of Eurasia), see M. Dragomanov [1894: 10–35, 45–52], R. Tomicki [1976: 86–95; 1979: 174–175; 1980: 51–62, 70–117], V. Kuznetsova [1998: 59–78], Yu. Stoyanov [2001: 19–33; 2004: 192–194] and F. Badalanova [2003b]; for a general survey of dualistic themes and motifs in Slavonic folklore, within the context of Eurasian archaic cosmogonies, see Dragomanov [1892].

I. When there was neither sky nor earth, there was only the Sea of Tiberias <морє Тивириадскоє>, and it did not have any banks.[170] And the Lord descended from {lit. through} the air {above} down to the Sea of Tiberias, and the Lord saw on the Sea a duck <гоголь> swimming, and this duck was Sotana-il <Сотанаилъ> {i.e. Satan}, wrapped in sea-foam.[171] And the Lord said to Sotana-il, as if He did not know him, "Who are you?",[172] and Sotana-il said, "I am God". {And

[169] For further corroborating evidence regarding the Old Bulgarian provenance of the apocryphon, see Ivanov [1925: 303], D. Dimitrova [1985: 184–192], Stoyanov [2001: 20–23; 2004: 192–194].

[170] For an iconographic representation of the theme of the "Creation of the Universe", see Fig. 1.

[171] Consult Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* [1955]: see A 114.1 (Deity born from sea-foam), as well as G 303.1.2.3. (God discovers the Devil in a piece of solid foam) and G 303.1.3.3. (The Devil is created out of sea-foam).

[172] This interrogative form of address usually marks the beginning of the dialogue between the two rival demiurges. It is typical for Slavonic Creation stories and occurs in many cosmogonic tales registered during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in Central and Eastern Europe; see also the proem of the legend, "The Lord and The Devil", published in 1891 in the fourth volume of E. R. Romanov's *Belarusian Miscellany*. For a larger excerpt from the same legend, see the Appendix (text 2.1.1).

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God asked}, "What are you going to call Me {then}?" and Sotana-il answered, "You are the God of Gods and Lord of Lords".

If Sotona-il[173] had not said these words to the Lord, He would have immediately removed {lit. uprooted, eradicated} him from the Sea of Tiberias.

And God said, "Sotona-il, dive[174] into the Sea and bring me up earth[175] and flint!" Sotana-il obeyed the Lord and dove into the Sea and brought up earth and flint. And the Lord then took earth and sand and scattered it along the Sea of Tiberias and said, "May the earth be rich {lit. "fat", "thick"} and broad on the Sea!"[176] And God took the flint from Sotana-il and broke it into two and He kept what was in His right hand[177] for Himself and what was in His left hand[178] He gave to Sotana-il. God then took His staff <посохъ> and began beating the flint,[179] saying, "Fly out from this flint—angels and archangels—in My fleshless form and image!"[180] Fiery forces started to fly out from this flint, and God created angels and archangels and all nine ranks {of angels}.

Sotana-il saw what God created and began to beat the flint which God gave him from His left hand. Sotana-il's angels began to fly out and he created for himself great forces.[181] God made him {Sotana-il}

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[173] The form "Sotona-il" is an alternative (parallel to "Sotana-il") spelling of the Old Church Slavonic version of the name of Satan. In this text the name of God's antagonist appears in two different spellings.

[174] See A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[175] See A 811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[176] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 814.2 (Earth from sand strewn on primeval water); see also discussion above.

[177] As common in other cultures, in Slavonic cosmogonies "the right hand" (or, more general, "the right side") is regarded as "positive", "good", "correct", "righteous", "rightful", "holy", "divine"; see also the next footnote.

[178] As in other cultures, in Slavonic creation stories "the left hand" (and "the left side") is associated with "negative", "evil", "corrupt", "harmful", "sinister", "demonic", "diabolical", "Satanic".

[179] This detail indicates that the creation is imagined as hammering, and the Creator as a smith, hence the idea that holy angels and archangels are crafted by God.

[180] Cf. A 52 (Creation of angels) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[181] It is significant that the creation of the "diabolical forces" by Sotana-il (i.e. "the Other" smith), is described as an imitation of God's creation. However, if "God's angels and archangels" originate from the right half of the primordial flint, the "cunning forces" are forged from its left part. This detail retains the archetypal mythic scenario of the creation of a certain "binary Universe" by two (not necessarily antagonistic) demiurges, a scenario which in some archaic cultures is associated with the cult of the divine twins. Consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 50.1 (Creation of angels and devils), as well as G 303.1. (The Origin of the Devil and his companions) and G 303.1.4.2 (Devils are created from sparks produced by Satan's striking two stones together).

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the head of all angel ranks, and he himself came to the ninth rank {of angels}.

II. {When} Sotana-il saw how {all angelic forces} originated from God and how He was glorified by all the angels, he thought of being equal to God and thought in his pride, "I will place {my} throne <прєстолъ> in the clouds and I will be like the Most High One".[182] Knowing his cunning thoughts, God wished to throw him {Sotana-il} down to earth with all his cunning forces, and God sent Michael <Михайла>[183] to Sotana-il.[184] Michael <Михайлъ> went to him and was burned by Sotana-il's fire. Michael came to God. "I did what you requested, {but} Sotana-il's fire burned me". {Then} God cut his hair and {thus} made him a monk[185] <постриже въ чєрньцы> and gave him the name, "Micha-il" <Михаилъ>. Sotana-il was called "Sotona" <сотона>, as a result of God sending his angel. Michael was ordered to hit Sotana-il with the sceptre and to push him to earth {together} with all his cunning forces.[186] Sotana-il was deprived of the "il" {ending of his name}, which was given by God to Michael, and he was called "Archangel Micha-il", whereas Sotana-il became "Sotona".[187] God sent Michael to Sotona, and before he let Michael approach his throne, Sotona was stricken.

Archangel Michael came and hit Sotona with his sceptre <скипєтромъ>, and struck him down to earth together with his {Satanic} powers.[188] His powers fell for three days and nights like raindrops. On the third day, angels were assembled in a {celestial} council and God put the Archangel Michael above all the angelic host, and the angels related to God where the fire {i.e. the Satanic horde} had stopped.

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[182] Cf. A 106.2. (Revolt of evil angels against God) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[183] The name of Michael is in the accusative case, with the typical -a ending for masculine anthroponyms.

[184] The above-mentioned legend "The Lord and The Devil" contains a similar motif [Romanov IV 1891: 1–2]; for a larger excerpt from the same legend, see the Appendix (text No. 2.1.1).

[185] The Old Church Slavonic word "пострижєниє" denotes the Christian ceremony of ritual cutting of the hair of those taking monastic vows (or taking the veil); hence the expression "to cut one's hair" (i.e. 'to become ordained', 'to take orders', as well as 'to make someone a nun, a friar or a monk').

[186] Cf. G303.8.1 (Devil driven from heaven) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[187] According to I. Ivanov, this detail betrays the influence of the Christian dualist heresy of Bogomilism [Ivanov 1925: 308].

[188] See also A 106.2.2. (Satan's fall from heaven) and G 303.8. (Devil's expulsion from heaven and his present haunts) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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Some {of the diabolical fiery forces fell} in the mountains, some of them {plunged} in the abyss, some {kept} flying in the air, and some {found themselves swimming} in the swamps thrusting with their arms and legs. Wherever each of them stopped {when struck by the Archangel Michael}, this is where they dwell until today.[189]

III. And then God created Eden to the East and thought of creating the very first man,[190] Adam. And He created his body from seven parts.[191] He made his flesh {lit. body} of earth, his bones of stone, his blood of the sea, his eyes from the sun, his thoughts from the cloud,

[189] For further details see I. Ivanov's commentaries on this passage [1925: 308]; the motif of the fallen angels is also registered in some other Slavonic apocryphal texts, such as *The Book of the Secrets of the Enoch the Just* [Ivanov 1925: 169, 172], as well as in oral tradition. In fact Slavonic creation stories may often appear as demonological tales or parts thereof. Thus in Slavonic folk cosmogony the motif of the revolt of Lucifer against God is frequently related to the motif of the origin of the terrestrial dwellings of satanic forces; accordingly, the earthly abode of the fallen angels is regarded as polluted, dangerous territory. This concept of "impure habitat" represents one of the basic components of traditional folklore demonology. Furthermore in Slavonic oral tradition there exist many different versions of the aetiological legend about the metamorphosis of fallen angels into Satanic forces; see in this connection text No. 183 in the Second Volume of P. Shein's *Materials on Life-Style and Language of Russian People From the North-Western Region* (text 2.1.3 in the Appendix), as well as text No. 184 in the same collection [Shein 1893: 341–342]. Similar (yet much shorter) legendary narratives about the origin of diabolic beings and their dwellings on earth were recently registered in many Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian villages [Tolstoi 1995: 245–249; 250–269]. In 1977 the Russian folklorist S. Bushkevich was told a kindred tale on the same topic in the village of Lukovo, Malorit district [Belova 2001: 131]. In 1982, in the village of Hrabauka, Homel' area, T. V. Rozhdestvenskaia recorded another parallel version of the origin of the diabolic forces [ibid.: 130], which was presented to her as a *sui generis* demonological tale. In 1982, the Russian folklorist M. I. Serebryanaya recorded one more version of the same legend; this time, it was presented as an aetiological tale about the origin of frogs [ibid.: 130]; quite important in connection with this is the fact that according to the local folklore belief, frogs and/or snakes are regarded as embodiments of witch spirits and evil forces incarnate [Tolstoi 1995: 359–363]. Consult also A 106.2.2. (Satan's fall from Heaven), G 303.1. (The origin of the Devil and his companions) and G 303.8. (Devil's expulsion from heaven and his present haunts) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[190] Cf. entry A 1200 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index;* for the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

[191] Cf. entry A 1260.1.4 (Seven substances employed in composition of human body) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*. The same motif, that the body of Adam consists of seven components, is contained in some other apocryphal sources, such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (see text No. 1.3 in the Appendix). At the same time, some erotapocritic medieval writings, and the "Erotapokriseis Razumnik " texts in particular, maintain that the body of Adam was made of eight parts (see text No. 1.2 in the Appendix). For further details see I. Ivanov's commentaries on the above passage [1925: 308–309]; see also M. Dragomanov [1894: 55], D. Petkanova [2005: 24–28] and A. Miltenova [2004: 254–255, 335, 344–345]. See as well the discussion above.

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his breath from the wind, his warmth from fire. {Then} God[192] went to the sky, to his Father, for Adam's soul.[193] Not knowing what to do to him, Sotona pierced Adam's body with his fingers.[194] God came to His creation, to Adam's body and saw that his body was all pierced, and God said, "O Devil, how did you dare do this to My creation?" The Devil answered, "God, as soon as man has an ache somewhere, he will mention Your name." God then turned Adam inside-out, with his sores inside, and that is how illness originated.[195] This is what Sotona did, {and that's why} when someone is ill, he would sigh and say, "Oh, oh God, have mercy upon me!"

God brought Adam to life and gave him to reign in heaven over all the birds, beasts, and domestic animals.[196] And God saw that it was not convenient for Adam to be on his own in heaven and He decided to create a spouse for him. He put Adam to sleep and took a rib from him and created a wife for him.[197] And God asked Adam, "Adam, what did you see in your dream?" And Adam said, "God, I saw the Apostle Peter in Rome being crucified with his head down and {I saw} the Apostle Paul in Damascus. I saw John in Edessa and You, God, in Jerusalem on Golgotha being crucified on a cross and pierced with a lance in Your rib."

Then Adam planted three trees. The first tree was in his part {of heaven}, the second tree was in Eve's part, and in the middle was the tree of God. And God ordered Adam to eat of all trees, but from one

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[192] This statement implies the idea that it was Jesus Christ who created the universe (and made Adam), not God the Father, an idea which is widespread not only in apocryphal, but also in folklore tradition; see also text No. 2.2.65 in the Appendix.

[193] Cf. A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[194] Compare this to texts No. 2.2.20 and text No. 2.2.23 in the Appendix; see also the text of the legend recorded by Iordan Kovachev in the village of Vakarel, and published by him in 1914 in Vol. 30 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1914: 49]; in connection with the above, consult Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*, and in particular A 60 ("Marplot" at creation: an evil opponent attempts to undo or mar the work of the creator), and A 63 (Devil as "marplot" at creation).

[195] Further on Slavonic apocryphal and folklore interpretation of the theme of the origin of diseases, see M. Dragomanov [1894: 55–57], D. Petkanova [1978: 157–159], R. Tomicki [1980: 51–56].

[196] For the iconographic representations of the motif of "Adam's dominion over the animals" (also known as "Adam's Taxonomy"), see Fig. 1, Fig. 6 and Fig. 7.

[197] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1. (Creation of first woman from man's rib). For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of first woman", see Fig. 2 and Fig. 14.

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tree He ordered him not to eat.[198] He commanded him, "Adam, if you try {the fruit} from this tree, you will surely die."

IV. At that time in Eden the serpent was the most reputable among animals and the most handsome. The serpent went out of Eden for a walk.

Sotona from the very beginning <искони> hated the good in mankind, and Sotona turned himself into a worm and crawled to the serpent and said to the serpent, "Eat me!" It[199] ate the worm and took it into Eden. The serpent then coiled around the forbidden tree and Sotona started calling out <вопити> from {lit. via, through} the serpent's mouth <Змиєвыми оустами>,[200] "O Eve, what did your God order you to eat?"[201] And Eve said, "The Lord commanded us to eat from all the trees but from this tree God did not wish us to eat, or we will suffer death". And Sotona said, "You will not suffer death but will be like gods, knowing good from evil."[202] And Eve saw {what was} the unsuitable tree; and that is what she saw.[203] And Eve picked fruit and ate a bit of it, and gave it to Adam to eat.[204] And Adam got unwrapped {lit. unclothed, stripped} from God's Word {and became naked} and he saw his own shame <срамоту свою>[205] {i.e. his shameful parts, genitalia}[206] and took three fig leaves and made for himself a shirt of

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[198] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: C 621.1. (Tree of knowledge forbidden) and J 165 (Tree of knowledge).

[199] In Old Church Slavonic the noun denoting 'serpent' (змиа) is feminine.

[200] For the iconographic representation of this motif see one of the plinth panels of the iconostasis in the Preobrazhenski Monastery, Northern Bulgaria (Fig. 11) where Satan is portrayed as a (horned?) dark-grey demonic creature emerging from the serpent's mouth whilst calling out and offering Eve the forbidden fruit. For additional information regarding the iconography of the motif of "Satan as a male being emerging from the serpent's mouth", see Musakova [1998: 124–125].

[201] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63. 6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve), B176.1.1 (Serpent as deceiver in paradise) and G 303.6.2.11 (Devil appears to Eve).

[202] Compare this to folklore interpretations of the dialogue between Eve and the Serpent; see also text No. 2.2. 10 in the Appendix.

[203] There is a *lectio difficilior* in the text in which words have been incorrectly divided by the copyist of the manuscript.

[204] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Original Sin", see Fig. 2, Fig. 8, Fig. 9 and Fig. 11.

[205] The word denoting 'shame' can also mean 'disgrace', as well as 'embarrassment'.

[206] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313 (Origin of sex organs) and A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).

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figs,[207] so that his shame was not seen, and he covered himself. God then entered and called out, "Adam, Adam, where are you?"[208] And Adam answered, "God, I sinned, I trespassed." And Adam answered, "Lord, my wife enticed me." And He {God} said to Eve, "You forlorn one <окаанаа>! What did you do?" {lit. "What did you create?"} And Eve answered, "Lord, the serpent enticed me!" And the Lord said, "You, the most cunning, what did you do?" {lit. "What did you create?"} And the serpent answered, "Lord, Sotona enticed me!" And the Lord said to Adam, "From now on, you will earn your bread with the

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[207] See Gn 3: 7; on the other hand, *The Book of Jubilees* (second century B.C.) clearly hints at the fig-tree being the "forbidden Tree of Knowledge", since Eve covers herself "with the leaves of the aforementioned fig"; see the comments by R. H. Charles and C. Rabin in Sparks (ed.) *The Apocryphal Old Testament* [1984: 20, footnote 14]. This idea is made even stronger in some early Christian extra-canonical texts, and in some Old Testament pseudepigrapha, such as the Greek versions of *The Life of Adam and Eve* from the 4th century, also known as *The Apocalypse of Moses*, the earliest Old Church Slavonic version of which appeared in Bulgaria in the 10th century [Petkanova 1982: 37–38, 348–349]. According to one of the 16th-cent. Bulgarian versions, after Eve had tried the fruit of the Forbidden Tree which was in the middle of Paradise, the only tree that does not withdraw its leaves from her is that very tree, again identified as the fig tree; the story of the Fall is presented as a monologue delivered by Eve in front of her sons:

> "And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked. And I wept… […] I looked for leaves so that I might cover my shame, but I did not find any from the trees of Paradise, since while I ate, the leaves of all the trees of my portion fell, except those of the fig tree only. And I took its leaves and made for myself skirts; they were from the same plants of which I ate" [Ivanov 1925: 214; Petkanova 1982: 37; translation FB].

As we can see, the text is quite clear that it is the fig tree—i. e. the same one from which Eve eats—that is believed to have borne the "Forbidden Fruit". As such, it appears to be recognized by the author(s) of *The Life of Adam and Eve* as identical with the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil".

The belief that the Tree of Knowledge was indeed the fig-tree, as presented in the above mentioned apocryphal sources (*The Book of Jubilees, The Apocalypse of Moses* and *The Life of Adam and Eve*), appears to have influenced the formation and constitution of the classical thesaurus of Christian symbolic language. Having acquired distinct metaphorical dimensions in the early Christian period, the fig-tree later becomes one of the most powerful cultural emblems of Original Sin in both literature and art. One of the earliest iconographic representations of the Fall in which Eve covers her nakedness with a fig leaf is dated as early as the third century: this scene can be seen painted on the walls of the Roman catacomb of Priscila [Duchet-Suchaux and Pastoreau 1994: 19]; similar iconographic representations of the Fall can be found in many churches in the Balkans, and this detail indicates once again that the motif of the fig-tree functions as one of the preferred symbols of Paradise Lost for centuries.

[208] In the original text the pronoun "you" (вы) is given in plural form. In Slavonic languages there exist two separate forms of the second person personal pronouns (i.e. singular and plural forms). However, when describing how God approaches Adam, the scribe uses the plural form of the pronoun (вы), but when he describes how God approaches Eve, he uses the singular form (ты).

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sweat of your brow.[209] And you, forlorn Eve, will give birth to children in sorrow.[210] And you, most cunning, from now on will crawl on your belly until the end of your days on earth." And the Lord commanded Adam and Eve to be thrown out from Eden.[211] Then, two parts of Eden fell off; Adam's part fell into the Euphrates and Eve's part fell into the Tigris. God's tree remained in Eden.

V. And Adam cried for thirty years. And the Lord saw Adam's tears and wanted to reprieve him. If Adam had not been righteous, he would have perished. And the Lord sent his archangel Michael to command him to plough the earth.[212] And Adam began ploughing the earth, and Sotona came to him and said to Adam, "What are you doing?" Adam said to him, "I am ploughing the earth." And Sotona said, "Who ordered you to do so?" Adam replied, "The Lord ordered me to do so." And Sotona said, "Heaven is God's, and the earth is mine. If you want to plough the earth, you {must} give me a writ <рукописанїє> for yourself and for all of the descendants after you." And Adam said, "Since the earth is yours, I am also yours." And Adam wrote a writ for himself and for all of his descendants after him and gave it to Sotona.[213] Sotona rejoiced and took it to Hell. According to this writ,

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[209] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1346 (Man to earn bread by sweat of his brow).

[210] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1351.1. (Origin of childbirth pains).

[211] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1331.1. (Paradise lost because of forbidden fruit). For the iconographic representation of the motif of the "Expulsion of the First People from the Garden of Eden", see Fig. 4 and Fig. 12.

[212] For iconographic interpretations of the motif "An Angel teaches Adam and Eve how to work", see the last piece of the "Hexameron" four-icon ensemble (eighteenth century) from the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum in the city of Elena, Bulgaria (which represents the themes of the "Expulsion of the first people from the Garden by the Fiery Angel", "Adam and Eve driven from the Garden of Eden and lamenting over the Paradise lost", "The Angel orders the first people to work: Adam is to till the land whereas Eve is to spin" and "Cain and Abel") [Fig. 4], and the plinth panel ("An Angel teaches Adam and Eve how to work") of the iconostasis of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (19th cent.) [Fig. 13].

[213] For the iconographic parallels to this apocryphal motif (with special regard to Slavonic and Balkan religious art and folklore), see Stone [2002: 57–62]. The image of the ploughing Adam is often (but not always) depicted together with that of the spinning Eve, and this iconographic pattern reflects also the canonical biblical text according to which Adam is "to till the ground from whence he was taken" [Gn 3: 23]. In the Book of Genesis, however, the labours of Eve are defined solely as "bringing forth children in pain", without specifying her duty to spin and weave clothes for their offspring. For visual representations of the first people working, see Fig. 4, Fig. 13, Fig. 14, Fig. 15, Fig. 16 and Fig. 17; see also the previous footnote.

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from Adam's death until Christ's crucifixion, the Devil received both the righteous and sinful and took them to Hell, regardless.[214]

VI. And Adam gave birth to 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[215] flocks. God acknowledged Abel's sacrifices 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 good in mankind, showed Cain a stone in the field and he killed his brother Abel.[216]

Adam saw his son killed. Adam and Eve cried over Abel's body there. Abel's body was lying on the field, and Adam and Eve were constantly crying without cease, and they did not know what do with it {Abel's body}. And the Lord saw Adam's tears and sent two doves which were flying over Abel's body. And one of the birds fell dead on the earth, in the mountains, and the second bird, which was flying above it, took it and dug the earth with its talons so that it could bury that one with

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[214] The motif of Adam's cheirograph (i.e. "written agreement", or "written contract" with Satan), according to which Adam was to pledge that all dead people were to belong to Satan, is also registered in many Slavonic folklore legendary texts; see the story recorded by Marko Tsepenkov in the area of Prilep and published in 1891 in Vol. 6 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1891: 113, text No. 1], as well as texts No. 6, No. 10 and No. 14, all published by Iordan Ivanov in the "Bulgarian folklore dualistic legends" chapter of his monograph *Books and legends of the Bogomils* [1925: 337–357]. A peculiar interpretation of the motif of "Adam's writ" offers text No. 14 [ibid., pp. 351–354], which was first published in Vol. 7 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1892: 167–169, text 1]. It was narrated by a certain Filip Yanev from Prilep, and recorded by M. Tsepenkov. According to this text, Adam signs the writ (which, in fact, is a covenant with the Devil) before dawn, at the end of his first night out of Eden, as he was afraid that he would never see daylight again. Deceived by the Devil (who promises to deliver sunshine and to build a house), he signs a hand-written agreement with him in order to have access to light. The legend "The Lord and The Devil", published in 1891 in Vol. 4 of E. R. Romanov's *Belarusian Miscellany*, contains a similar motif [Romanov IV 1891: 3]; see text 2.1.1. in the Appendix.

Further on Slavonic apocryphal and folklore interpretations of the motif of the "written agreement" between Adam and Satan, see Dragomanov [1894: 17–18, 32–33], Nachov [1894: 97], Ivanov [1925: 223–227], Petkanova [1978: 42, 70, 109–110; 163–168] and Tomicki [1976: 90–92]; see also the material presented and discussed in M. Stone [2002: 1–6, 25–62; with further comments on pp. 148–166].

[215] The same adjective <правьдьнъ> can also denote 'just', and 'righteous' (in relation to people).

[216] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1336 (Origin of murder), F 839.3 (Cain slays Abel with bone of camel) and Q 566.2.1 (The mark of Cain).

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its talons, and flew away. Adam and Eve saw that, and did the same with Abel's body. They buried it in the earth, and from then on Adam and Eve stopped crying for Abel.[217] After that, God gave Adam a son, Seth, in Abel's place. God sent a letter <грамоту>.[218]

VII. And Adam lived 930 years[219] and became sick. His head started to ache and he sent his youngest son. "Go home, my child, and bring me the branches of the Paradise-tree from Eden". And Seth set off and started crying in front of Eden, and when the angel saw him crying, asked him why. And Seth said, "Master, my father Adam is sick and he asked me to bring branches from the Paradise-tree, but I cannot enter Eden." The Lord's angel took branches off the Paradise-tree. Seth went with joy to his father Adam. And Seth met Sotona who said to him,

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[217] This apocryphal account (which explores the theme of the origin of funerary rites) can be compared to some Slavonic folklore legendary texts; see the story "How the sparrows taught Cain what to do with Abel", recorded by S. Bozhov in the area of Demir-Hisar, and published in 1893 in Vol. 9 of the *ShNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, with a special editorial note referring to possible apocryphal counterparts [1893: 164–167]. For Slavonic apocryphal and folklore interpretations of the motif of the origin of mortuary customs, see Petkanova [1978: 169–171]; on the Aggadic theme of Abel's burial, see Noy [1998: 138–153]. Consult also Stith Thompson's Motif-Index: see in particular his commentary on A 176 (God ordains ceremonies and regulations), A1500 (Origin of customs) and A 1591 (Origin of burial).

[218] The motif of the divine letter (epistle, scroll, parchment, scripture, book, etc.) descending from God's abode down to earth, and landing either on the Holy Mount Sinai, or on the Holy Mount Tabor, or in the city of Jerusalem, can be found in many Russian folk religious songs and spiritual stanzas ["духовные стихи"]. According to some of them, one such parchment is "The Book of the Dove" ["Голубиная книга"], the title of which can be deciphered as "The Book of the Holy Spirit" (since the Dove is considered the ultimate Christian symbol of the Holy Spirit). Folklore songs maintain that this divine scroll contains the mysteries of the Creation of the universe. It descends from Heaven, after the death of Adam, and falls next to his skull, which is buried on the Holy Mount Sinai; see the "Old Russian Poems Collected by Kirsha Danilov" [Danilov 1938: 274–278]. Another such heavenly parchment is the "Scroll of Jerusalem", which is believed to be a divine letter produced by the Holy Spirit, by God the Father and Jesus Christ Himself; see the text of "The Scroll of Jerusalem" ("Свиток Ерусалимский") spiritual song, recorded by P. Yakushkin in the Ryazan province of the Russian Empire, and published by P. Bessonov in Vol. 6 of his collection "Wandering Crippled Singers of Tales" [1864, text No. 564], later reprinted by F. Selivanov in his "Spiritual Stanzas" ("Стихи Духовные") [1991: 175–179].

On the other hand, the semantic coverage of the Old Church Slavonic word грамота includes not only 'letter', 'writ', 'epistle', 'notation' (i.e. 'any written message', or 'message conveyed via the means of letters'), but also 'literacy' (i.e. 'the ability to write and read'), see V. Dal's *Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Vol. 1) [1880: 390]. Here the use of the word грамота is intended to suggest that "writing" was one of the acts of creation.

[219] Cf. A 1323 (Long span of life for first man) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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"Seth, where have you been?" And Seth said, "I was in Eden, carrying back branches from the Paradise-tree. My father is sick." And Sotona heard that and wanted to destroy Seth and Adam. And Sotona said, "Seth, go to the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and there is a tree from the parts {which had fallen from Eden, the parts} of your father and mother. Then take {branches} from these trees and they will heal your father." Seth, not knowing that it was Sotona, obeyed him and went to the Euphrates and saw a lot of branches lying close to the river. And Seth took from all parts and went to his father, bringing branches from all parts. Adam took them from him, made a wreath and then Adam died and was buried with this wreath. And Sotona took Adam's soul and took it away, according to his writ, to Hell.

VIII. And from this wreath, three trees grew, and from these three trees, one tree grew. […] On this tree, our Messiah will be crucified.

Text 1. 2
Questions and Answers

An extract from the Lovchanski Miscellany from the collection of M. Nedelchev, a Bulgarian teacher from the city of Lovech, Bulgaria. B. Angelov and M. Genov (who published the original Old Bulgarian version of the text for the first time in 1922) give 1618 as the year when the manuscript was composed [Angelov and Genov 1922: 360]. The translation (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original text which follows the earlier (by B. Angelov and M. Genov) publication of the MS [1922: 360–362].[220] According to Ivanov, however, the text was composed in the 16th cent. [Ivanov 1925: 260][221] To my knowledge, there is no previous translation of this Bulgarian recension of the text of the Разоумникъ into English.

Question {No. 13:} "From how many components did God create Adam?"[222]

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[220] For further information see the recent publication of the same extract from the Lovchanski Miscellany by A. Miltenova [2004: 430–432] who provides parallel Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian) texts for comparison. According to Miltenova, in the medieval Slavonic domain there existed 28 copies of texts dealing with the question "From how many components did God create Adam?" [ibid., pp. 344–345].

[221] See also Ivanov's commentaries on the text [Ivanov 1925: 257–272].

[222] Cf. entry A 1200 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index;* for the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

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Answer: "From eight components: one, his flesh {lit. body} from earth; two, his blood from the sea; three, his bones from stone; five, his breath from the wind and Holy Spirit; six, his reason from cloud; seven, his eyes from the sun and dew; eight, his thoughts from angelic alacrity, and [. . .][223] from laughter, and from crying. And from all these the Holy Spirit created one entity and said, 'If in the seed {i.e. progeny} which comes from this man supremacy were given to one component, {say} only to sea, (s)he {i.e. the offspring} would be greedy; if only to the sun, (s)he would be wise and reasonable and honourable. If {supremacy were given} only to the cloud, (s)he would be attracted to everything; if only to wind, (s)he would be angry. If only to the stone, (s)he would be merciful. If only to angelic alacrity, (s)he would be humble and good towards everybody'."[224]

Text 1. 3
The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just
(An extract from a 16th–17th cent. MS preserved in the National Library in Belgrade, record No. 321, fol. 269–323)

This MS was bequeathed by Iordan Khadzhi Konstantinov-Dzhinot, a teacher in Macedonia [Ivanov 1925: 165]. Attention was first drawn to it by the Russian scholar M. Sokolov in 1886. The MS was published by him 13 years later, along with Latin translation and an extensive apparatus, recording also the variants of the earlier recension of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, as retained in the 15th cent. MS from Uvarov's collection, and a contemporary South Russian recension registered in the Poltava MS, written in 1679. The MS in question is a Bulgarian redaction of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* [see Morfill and Charles 1896: xiii–xiv; Ivanov 1925: 165–166; Sparks 1984: 321], and represents the "long recension" of the apocryphon. To my knowledge, there is no previous translation of this Bulgarian recension of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* into English, although W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles offer some parallel readings from the Belgrade

[223] B. Angelov and M. Genov indicate that there is a *lectio difficilior* in the text of this paragraph of the manuscript.

[224] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1260.1.3. (Adam's body made of eight (or four) components: body—from earth, bones—from stones, veins—from roots, blood—from water, hair—from grass, thoughts—from winds, spirit—from clouds, warmth—from fire, cold—from air, dryness—from earth, instability—from water). See also Nachov [1894: 129–130].

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MS (supplied by Sokolov) in their publication of the "long recension" of Slavonic Enoch. As far as Morfill's translation is concerned, it is based on Popov's edition of the Poltava MS and hence contains an extended account about the creation of man from seven substances.[225] The recent English translation of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* by A. Pennington, on the other hand, follows the "short recension" (as given in A. Vaillant's edition in 1952), and therefore contains no extended description of the creation of man; the anthropogenesis is concisely related in a tantalisingly brief account [Sparks 1984: 340, line 21 F. Andersen also translates Mss. BAN 13.3.25 and BAN 45.13.4 in Petersburg [Charlesworth 1983:91ff.].

The translation offered below (by FB) is made from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the original 16th–17th cent. text which follows the earlier (Sokolov) publication of the MS [Ivanov 1925: 167–180; the abstract translated below is to be found on pp. 177–178]. It concerns the creation of man, as related in the Bulgarian recension of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*.

Regarding the dating of the first Old Church Slavonic translation of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, we share the view of D. Petkanova and A. Miltenova that it appeared in medieval Bulgaria, probably in the 10th century. See also the above discussion in Section 2.1 (as well as footnote No. 4).

On the sixth day, I ordered My wisdom to create man,[226] from seven components: his flesh from earth, his blood from dew and sun, his eyes from the abyss of the sea, his bones from stone, his thoughts from angelic alacrity and from clouds, his sinews[227] and hair from the grasses of the earth, his soul from My spirit and from the wind.[228] And I gave him {man} seven traits: hearing[229]

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[225] For further information consult Morfill and Charles [1896: 39–47]; see also in this connection Charles [1976: 425, 448–451].

[226] Cf. entry A 1200 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index;* for the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

[227] Referring to tendons, veins, or ligaments.

[228] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul).

[229] Linguistic data from Slavonic dialects suggests that the modern equivalents of the word "слоух" (the direct meaning of which is 'physical ability to hear'), have broad semantic coverage. According to V. Dal's *Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Vol. 4) [1882: 225–226], the word "слух" not only means 'hearing' (i.e. 'sensation', 'ability to perceive sounds through one's ears'), but also 'sense' in general (with emphasis on the ability to feel things physically, especially through the senses of touch). Thus the verb "слышать" (i.e. hearing, the act of exercising the sense of "слух") can mean 'to

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of[230] {his} flesh, seeing[231] of his eyes {i.e. the physical ability of sight}, spiritual smell,[232] touch of the sinews, taste of {his} blood, the durability[233] of {his} bones, pleasure[234] of his thoughts.[235] I thought of saying this wise[236] word: from an invisible and visible nature,[237] I created man, from two {things}—death and life. The image came to know the Word and a new small creature {came into being}—small in {his} greatness and great in {his} smallness. And I placed him on earth, as a second angel, honourable, great and glorious. And I put him as king on the earth, having My wisdom, and there was no equal to him on earth among My existing creatures.[238] And I gave him a name from four components: from East, West, North, and South.[239]

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have the physical abilities of smell, hearing, touch and taste', excluding only 'sight': "*слышать*—иногда вообще чувствовать, осязать, особенно обонять; и говорится о четырех чувствах, кроме зрения" [Dal' 1882: 226]. On the other hand, however, the semantic coverage of the noun "слух" ('hearing', 'perceiving sounds via one's ears') and its counterpart, the verb "слышать" ('to hear'), can also include the "sixth sense" (i.e. 'the ability to know things instinctively or intuitively, without any direct evidence of them'). To "sense" (i.e. "hear") something means 'to be aware of something, to realize it, without having any sensory evidence supporting it'. The "слух" ('hearing', 'perceiving sounds via one's ears') and "слышать" ('to hear') concepts also encompass the idea of "common sense" (understood as natural ability to make good judgements and to behave in a practical and sensible way. At the same time, the "слух"/"слышать" semantic cluster also covers the notions of 'reason' (or 'comprehension') and 'understanding' (i.e. 'intuition'). Furthermore, some cognate lexemes (such as Russian "слушать", Bulgarian "слушам", etc.) imply the idea of 'listening', 'hearing', 'obeying'. Thus the Bulgarian word denoting "novice", "neophyte" is "послушник"; see also the "слух", "слушать" and "слых" entries in the third volume of Fasmer's *Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language* [1987: 178–680].

On the other hand, the "слух"/"слышать" semantic cluster encompasses also the idea of 'something, or somebody, being in a good (healthy) condition' (very much like in English "to be sound").

[230] Or "to", "towards"; but also "for", as well as "about".

[231] Or "sight".

[232] Referring to the nose being the passage of the soul through breathing or smelling; lit. "olfaction of the soul"; one possible translation of this expression would be "spiritual sensation".

[233] Or "tangibility".

[234] Alternatively: "enjoyment", or "sweetness".

[235] Or "intentions".

[236] Alternatively: "crafty", or "clever".

[237] Alternatively, "substance", or "character".

[238] For the iconographic representations of the motif of "Adam's dominion over the animals" (also known as "Adam's Taxonomy"), see Fig. 1, Fig. 6 and Fig. 7.

[239] These come from the Greek words denoting the four corners of the universe:

A→ Ἀ ν α τ ο λ ή (East),
D→ Δ ύ σ ι ς (West),
A→ Ἄ ρ κ τ ο σ (North),
M→ Μ ε σ η μ β ρ ί α (South).

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And I gave him four special stars and I called him the name 'Adam'[240] and I gave him his free will.[241] And I showed him two paths—the light and the darkness, and I told him, "Here is the Good, and here is the Evil," so that I could find out whether he has love or hate for Me, so that someone[242] who loves me appears among his kin.[243] I saw his nature, but he did not know his own nature, and because of this lack of knowledge, the grave trespass[244] took place, and I told him that after the trespass, there is nothing but death. And I gave him a shadow, and I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him, the sleeping one, a rib and created woman for him,[245] so that his death comes through woman. And I took the last letter from him {i.e. the letter M} and called her the name "Mother", which is to say, "Eve": Adam and Mother, Earthly and Life.[246] I then created a garden in Eden to the East so that they keep the covenant and observe {My} commands. And I created for him heavens so that he could see the angels singing the song of glory.[247] There was eternal light without darkness in Paradise, and the Devil realised that I want to create another world which was to obey Adam on earth and to be ruled by him. Being the demon[248] of the Lower World, the Devil, by running away from the Heavens, became Sotona, since initially his name was Sotana-il.[249] With this he differed from angels. He did not change his nature but changed his thoughts, as is the case with the mind of the

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Further on medieval Greek and Slavonic sources interpreting the same idea, i.e. that the name of ADAM was an acronym composed of the initial letters of the words denoting the four corners of the Universe (East, West, North and South), see Morfill and Charles [1896: xvi, xxvii] and Dimitrova-Marinova [1998: 45, 50 (footnote 30)]. Consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1241.5. (Man made of earth brought from four different places).

[240] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1281.6. (Adam at first nameless).

[241] Or "will-power".

[242] Or "the one".

[243] Or "later generations", "progeny".

[244] Or "sin".

[245] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1. (Creation of first woman from man's rib). For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of first woman", see Fig. 2 and Fig. 14.

[246] This is a play on words in Hebrew: Adam and *adamah* (earth), and Eve and 'life' (Chava/*chay*).

[247] Lit. "victory".

[248] Or "beast".

[249] See above fn. 187.

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righteous and sinful. With his intention[250] he {the Devil} committed sin, just as he had transgressed beforehand as well. And that is why he decided to do something {evil} to Adam. He entered Paradise like a thief and enticed Eve without at the same time affecting[251] Adam. Because of her ignorance, I cursed {both of} them, but what I previously blessed I did not curse, nor did I curse what I previously did not bless. I did not curse man nor the earth, nor other creatures, but the evil fruits of mankind, which are the deeds of the good but are fruit against {My} labours. I told him, "You are dust and will return to dust, since I took you from it and will not destroy you, but I will send you there from where I took you. From there I may take you, at my Second Coming." I blessed all My creatures, visible and invisible, on the seventh day on which I rested from all My work. On the eighth day, I made[252] this eighth day the first creation of My week, so that it turns[253] in the shape[254] of 7000 and 8000 {years} so that it may be at the beginning of the week as the first day, as well as the eighth day, and always return like this.

Division Two
Oral Tradition: Folklore Texts

Chapter 1
Folklore Texts Previously Published

Text 2.1. 1
The Lord and The Devil[255]

Selected excerpts from the text of a legend published in 1891 in the fourth volume of E. R. Romanov's *Belarusian Miscellany*. The translation (by FB) is made from the original text.

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[250] Or "mind".
[251] Or "touch".
[252] Or "appointed".
[253] The verb is reflexive; it can also be translated as "return", "revolve".
[254] Or "image".
[255] Consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see A 50. (Conflict of good and evil Creators).

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Once upon a time God walked upon the air, just like that. He saw a bubble[256]—it was just hanging there, and inside this bubble, something was chirping. God asked it, "What are you, that chirps in this bubble?" and it answered "{I am} God". "Then who am I?", {God asked}, and the bubble replied: "And you are the God of Gods." "Then since I am the God of Gods…" {said God}, and ripped apart the bubble. From it, from this bubble, a man came out, and walked alongside it. He walked {away from it}. And this is what God told him then: "How will we now find earth? Because even if we {think that we} can do without earth, in fact we cannot." {Then} He said: "In the bottomless ocean, there is earth.[257] Go there and take some. You can do this!" So said God to His friend. Well, then he {Satan} went down,[258] took some earth in his hand and hid {part of it} in his mouth. The earth that he held in his hand, he gave to God, but the rest, {that he kept in his mouth}, he kept hidden. Therewith God said: "Well, now we will be sowing the soil-seeds!" {As soon as} God sowed the earth,[259] the earth began to grow, and it started growing in his {the Devil's} mouth too. It became really hard for him at that point. Then, with much effort, he ran away from God and started coughing and choking and spitting earth from his mouth.[260] Where he spat out larger morsels, there grew hills and mounds—{that is what was happening when he} discharged a lot of earth from {his} mouth. Where the morsels he expectorated were smaller, there {appeared} valleys. Where his spittle fell, it formed moss and swamps. Despite this, the earth inside his mouth did not lessen, but kept growing instead {and he could not be rid of it}. Then God {came and} said to him: "O, Cursed One <Окаянный>, why have you done this to Me {and tried to deceive Me}? You are my first {and highest in rank}, and yet you act in such a dishonest way! A Conniving One <Лукавый> are you!"

And from fear, he said to {both God and} himself: "I will do as you do {and as you want me to do}, Lord!"

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[256] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: G 303.1.3.2. (The Devil is created out of a bubble).

[257] See A 811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[258] See A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[259] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 814.2 (Earth from sand strewn on primeval water).

[260] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 618.2 (Universe created by spitting).

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After that, God ascended {to Heaven}, and started building Himself an abode; when he finished, He called upon the Archangel Michael: "Go and chase away the Cursed One, for he is scheming and sly." {But} Michael got scared, he descended and did nothing to him {i.e. to the Devil}. Then God said thus to Michael: "Michael, you will be an Archangel, but he {Satan} must be taken away from there, so he can do no more harm." {Yet} Michael became scared once more, and so returned a second time to the Lord and told Him: "Lord," he said, "Your name is mighty, Your power is mighty, but I cannot {chase away the Cursed One}". Then God said to Michael: "You will be {the leader of the Hosts of Heaven,} the Archistrategos <вастрастиль, i.e. архистратиг>, though we must be rid of him." You see now, He offered him {Michael} a higher rank, so that he {the Devil} was pushed down. So thereupon Michael gathered his strength and hit him {the Devil} with his fire and was victorious. The Devil was defeated and fled from there.[261] Then the Cursed One went to God once more and said to Him: "God, do not leave me, I will obey You." And He replied: "What is it you have planned to do, Devil?" And then he {the Devil} grew horns and a tail. Before this time, he had none. But when God called him "Devil", the horns and tail {appeared}. Thereupon God said: "May you be cursed! You have angered your God! You watch now, oh Cursed One, what your God will do!"

And He took some red clay, and from this red clay He made man.[262] Then God turned to one side, and at this time, the sly Devil opened {turned inside out?} the Man and spat into it. That's {what} he, the Sly One {did}. Then God said: "O Deceitful One, you {are once again trying to} deceive {Me}. Watch now what {your} God will do!" And He put a soul inside this man, wise and eternal, and thereupon God said one more thing: "Watch, you Sly One, what I will do now. Look at how man will be fed." Then God took some more clay and made man's friend—the cow. {After that} He turned to the Devil and asked him: "Why, O Sly One, do you do nothing but stare at what I create?" {The Devil} answered: "I have grown fearful of you, God, and I can think of nothing. If you will let me, God, at least I would like to make a goat. If you will let me, God." God said to him:

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[261] Cf. G303.8.1 (Devil driven from heaven) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[262] Cf. entry A 1200 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index;* for the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

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"All right, O Cursed One, make yourself a goat, I allow you." And after God allowed him to make a goat, he began to make it. So, God's cow and his {the Devil's} goat lay side by side. God breathed on His cow, and she stood and walked. {Then He said to the Devil:} "O, Cursed One, come breathe on your goat, so that it too may walk." The Cursed One breathed, but it did not move. It just lay there {still}. And he {the Devil} said: "O Lord, my God, please breathe on my goat, so that she too may walk. I give up! {There is no other way for me to revive it}!" And God breathed on it, and it walked.

After this, God gave the first man a name—Adam. He breathed on him, and he stood, alive, and went to live with God in Heaven. {But} soon afterward he became lonely and sad. When God found out that Man was lonely in Heaven, He waited until Adam was asleep, and appeared in his sleep, and took one of his ribs from his right side, and made him a woman called Eve.

After that these two lived together and knew no {hardship, neither did they} sin. Then the Sly One begun venturing, he started trying to get there and to tempt them. The Devil touched the tree which God had forbidden to all, and thus became a snake.[263] As he touched the tree, he said {to Eve}: "{Come and} take an apple from the forbidden tree, try it." God found out about this venture and ordered this tree to lift up its branches, so that they could not be reached. And then the snake appeared {before the Woman} once more, {and said:} "Eve", he said, "try this apple from this tree." {Then} Eve asked him, the snake: "What will happen if I do?" "You will become God. What God knows, you too will know." Thereupon Eve replied: "How can I, O cursed snake, when the branches have lifted so high above me?" Then the snake told her that he has the power to do it: "I can get you an apple." "Well, if you can, then get me one." And he got one. She took a bite from this apple, from the forbidden tree, and she became as we are now, the sinful ones. The first people had skin like our nails, and later it {the skin} became like we are today. Now, she covered her body with grass, for she was ashamed. She went then to Adam and said to him: "Come and eat, try of what I have eaten!" Adam listened to her, and tried it, and so he too sinned. He covered himself with grass as well. You see, he then received {from God} everything necessary, including the

[263] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve) and B176.1.1. (Serpent as deceiver in paradise).

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"tiutka" <тютька> {male private} part, and everything {so his body became} as ours, the sinners' {bodies} now. The same goes for her, she got breasts <цьщки>, and everything which a woman is supposed to have, including the "tipka" <типка> {female private} part.

Well, then God came and called upon them: "Adam and Eve, come here." Adam answered Him, saying: "God, we have sinned." "Although you have sinned, still, come here." Then they came to Him, covered with grass, and God asked: "Adam, what has happened, what tempted you?" He answered: "{Oh} God, Eve gave me half the apple to eat, and because of this, I too am a sinner." God asked her: "Eve, what tempted you?" "God, the snake came and began these adventures." Then God said: "Snake, come here." So, the snake came to God. God told him: "Snake, because of this, men will always tread on you. And you, Adam, here is a shovel, go to the Earth and leave Heaven. Go and till the earth. And you, Eve, you will bear fruit by your husband, you will obey him, and your life will be hard." Then he {Adam} cried as he left Heaven, and he turned to God and said to Him: "Thank you God, {but} I will no longer see the light of Your Heaven, nor hear Your Godly voice".[264]

What happened after that, when Adam descended to earth? Adam built a big house, and in this house one could live well. But then in this home there appeared a lot of smoke and stink, in the house Adam built, a lot of smoke and stink got there. Then he said, not knowing whom to ask, "It used to be so nice in my home, who would make this trouble for me?" He was calling out with a loud voice, {"Who is it that brings this horrible smoke into my home?"}.

In answer to this enraged question, a certain gentleman appeared and said: "It is I who make this smoke and stink." "And why do you do so? It is difficult and burdensome to live in my house like this." "I do this, so that you may sign an agreement with me." "What is this agreement you speak of, Sir?" "Do you know what it is? Do you think that it is fair that you rule both the living and the dead? I should have something too…" Then Adam said to him: "Wait a while, I must go and pray to my God." And he prayed and prayed until blood ran from his eyes, and then God's angel appeared and said: "Sign this

[264] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1331 (Paradise lost).

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agreement with Satan,[265] Adam, so that you may rule the living, and he may rule the dead. And from your very kin, after seven generations of yours—don't you be afraid, Adam—Jesus Christ will be born, and He will break this curse…" [Romanov IV 1891: 1–3].

Text 2.1. 2
How flies, mosquitoes, and all kinds of gnats appeared in the world

An excerpt from a legend about the origins of some "mischievous" insects from A. K. Serzhputovskii's collection of *Tales and Folk Beliefs of People of Belarusian Polessie* (text No. 2218); it was first published in 1930, although its Preface suggests that the manuscript was submitted in 1924. The text of the legend translated below (by FB) is taken from the original 1930 version of Serzhputovskii's book, in which the name of the author appears in its Belarusian transliteration. This is a story of how "all beasts and birds," together with all "flies, mosquitoes, and all kind of gnats appeared in the world"; it was recorded at the turn of the twentieth century in the village of Buchcha (Slutsk district, Minsk Guberniya) from one of the local storytellers, Gryshko Bondar:

This is how flies, mosquitoes, and all kind of gnats appeared in the world. When God was creating all beasts and birds, the Devil was looking at Him from a distance with curiosity. And lo and behold, God took a handful of sand, threw it against the wind and said "Fly you, all kind of birds!" And birds started flying around, and twittering, and chirping in the air.

Having seen that, the Devil wished to compete with God and be equal to Him. He also took a handful of sand, and threw it up {towards the sky}, and said, "Fly!", but forgot to say who was supposed to fly. And lo and behold—the flies poured out, and mosquitoes, and all kinds of gnats, and they all attacked the Devil, and started stinging him, and he was whirling, and twisting, and spinning, and running, and they were flying after him in swarms. He saw that there was no way to escape from them, and jumped in the water.[266]

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[265] Compare this to the fifth paragraph of *The Sea of Tiberias* apocryphon (see text No. 1.1. in the present Appendix)

[266] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63. 4 (Devil and God create animals).

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Then the swarms of mosquitoes and gnats ran there to look out for his return from the water. From this time until now mosquitoes, flies, and all kinds of gnats always hover and spin above the water [Serzhputoŭski 1930: 255].

Text 2.1. 3
About the Origins of the Devil and Swamps[267]

The legend translated below (by FB) was published (in Russian) in the Second Volume of P. Shein's *Materials on Life-Style and Language of Russian People From the North-Western Region* (text No. 183). The legend was first recorded in the Province of Minsk (Borisovskii bishopric) by a certain Christian priest by the name of Simeon Nechaev, and was subsequently published by him in 1874 in the local *Minsk Ecclesiastical News* periodical (issue No. 7, p. 231), from which it was later re-printed by Shein [Shein 1893: 340–341]; see also the discussion above.

The Saviour <Спасъ> walked upon the blue sea, and He saw that foam began to form upon it,[268] and that magnificent waves crashed into one another, and from this rose a huge pillar of water. The Saviour walked towards this pillar, looked inside it and saw a living giant there, who was turning round and round but could not get up. The Saviour grabbed this giant and hurled him onto the beach. And he became a handsome man, whose beauty was so striking that even the Saviour was astonished by it. And the Saviour made this handsome man the leader of all the angels. But this handsome man began to convince the angels to disobey God: "Why," he said, "should we obey God? What is so wondrous about Him creating Man? We ourselves, too, could make a man, and an even better one."[269] Some of the angels were tempted by the words of this giant, and they thought to themselves: "It is true, why should we obey God? Let us go ourselves and make such a man." And off they went and stirred up some smallish lakes and rivers. They worked so hard that their faces blackened like coal. For a long time they muddied rivers and lakes, and all sorts of insects and reptiles

[267] Consult Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 51 (Creation of devils).
[268] Cf. G 303.1.2.3 (God discovers the Devil in a piece of solid foam) and G 303. 1.3.3. (The Devil is created out of sea-foam).
[269] See also A 106.2. (Revolt of evil angels against God) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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and crawling creatures appeared, but they could not make a man. Then the Saviour came to them and looked with rage. The faces of these disobedient {angels} became fearsome, from their heads they grew horns, and instead of tongues they had burning stings {like fire}. When the other angels saw them, they were scared and leapt back. And those {who had made the swamps} were left to live there. Since it was they who muddied the waters thus turning them into swamps, it was also for them to live there. Since then and until now, these black {angels} have been living in the swamps, in the places made by them. Subsequently, with time going by, these black {angels} have been given many names: Chert <чёрт>[270] being, Devil, Satan, Bes <бѣс>[271] being and many others. The various names were given to the black {angels} because during the earthly life of the Saviour they tried to tempt God in many different ways. [Shein 1893: 340–341].

Chapter 2

Folklore Texts Published For The First Time

Folklore materials presented in this part of the appendix were recorded by me in Eastern Europe (in Bulgaria and among the Bulgarian Diaspora in the former Soviet Union). My field-work in Bulgaria was conducted with support from the Bulgarian Academy of Science's Institute of Folklore, and the Slavonic Philology Faculty of Sofia University. It was part of the following research projects: *Folklore Culture of Mountain-dwellers in the Middle Balkan Ranges* (1975); *Folklore Culture in the Villages of the Sakar Mountain* (1976); *Folklore Culture of Mountain-dwellers in the Eastern Balkan Ranges* (1977); *Folklore Culture in the Villages of the Thracian Lowland* (1978); *Traditional Culture of the Population of the Western Balkan Ranges* (1987–1992); and *Bulgarian Mask Rituals* (1986–1994). The latter was carried out together with Joan Sheffler, USA. Within the territory of the former Soviet Union my field-research was part of two different projects. From 1981 to 1984, during my PhD studies at Moscow State University, I conducted a series of expeditions amongst the

[270] One of the Russian demonic beings often identified with Satan.
[271] One of the Russian demonic beings often identified with Satan.

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Bulgarian settlers in the region of Bessarabia (then within the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic).[272] I carried out further field research in the region of Taurida (then within the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) in the spring of 1989 as a member of a team consisting of scholars from the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Folklore and Literature (the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev), and the Institute of Folklore (the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia) working on the joint project "The Popular Culture of the Bulgarian Settlers in the Soviet Union".

The language and culture of the Bulgarian Diaspora in Bessarabia and Taurida are of great importance and interest. Their exodus from Bulgaria (at that time part of the Ottoman Empire) was a consequence of the series of Russo-Turkish wars in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They had to abandon their land as it was located in the path of the retreating Russian army they supported. Bulgarian language and folklore culture from that period has been uniquely preserved in their villages despite the multi-lingual and multi-cultural environment, and has survived great political pressure, particularly under Soviet rule [Tolstoi 1953: 110–149].

According to the local oral tradition and ethnohistory, the first refugees from Bulgaria settled in Bessarabia and Taurida as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. Later, according to the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), the region of Bessarabia was annexed by the Russian Empire, but after the Crimean War (1856) the southern part of Bessarabia was given to Moldavia. (It was also then when the territory was flooded by thousands of Bulgarian refugees from the Ottoman Empire). However, in 1878 the Russian Empire reacquired all of Bessarabia, which thus became one of its administrative units (known as the Bessarabian Guberniya). After the 1917 Russian Revolution, Bessarabia declared itself an autonomous independent republic, which later united with Romania—a union recognised by the Treaty of Paris (1920) but never accepted by the Soviet Union. Later on, in 1940, the territory of Bessarabia was occupied by the Red Army, and divided between Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (now the Republic of

[272] Further on social and cultural history, ethnography and folklore of the Bulgarian Diaspora in the former Russian Empire (the Provinces of Bessarabia, Taurida and Chersones), see N. S. Derzhavin [1914].

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Moldova) and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (now the Republic of Ukraine). At that time, the Bulgarians living in Taurida were already made citizens of the Soviet Union, which was hardly their personal choice (as it is often the case in this part of Europe). The geographical location of the region in which their villages were situated shaped their future history. Having escaped from the Ottoman Empire, they found themselves under the yoke of much more severe slavery—that of the Soviet Empire (which never stopped being suspicious about their loyalty). Thus, many of the fellow-villagers of the storytellers, whose legends are published in this appendix, were sent to Siberia, as Bulgarians were regarded as enemies of the Soviet regime. This publication is a tribute to them.

Section I
In The Beginning

Text 2.2. 1
The Water and the Earth were Once not Divided in Two

The Lord had a hard job on His hands when He divided[273] in two the earth from the water, since the water and the earth were once not divided in two.[274] {He had} a difficult job on His hands! He worked for six days,[275] and felt extremely exhausted, and left the seventh day, Saturday {the Sabbath}, as a holy day.[276] But Saturday {the Sabbath} is not honoured nowadays {anymore}.... So, He worked {all} Sunday, Monday, all through Friday. Saturday {the Sabbath} is the seventh day; that's when the seventh day falls {when the Lord rested}. He started {working} on Sunday. He worked for six days, and on the seventh, {Saturday,} He rested. And {for this reason} He left Saturday {as a holy

[273] Or 'separated', 'split'; note that in the local dialect the word denoting 'to divide in two' ("удвоя") is the same that would be used to denote 'to multiply by two'; see the original Bulgarian text: "Бог, кога е удвоил землята—уд водата кога е удвоил—много видел зор Бог, що земята и водата не били удвоени."

[274] For an iconographic representation of the theme of the "Creation of the Universe", see Fig. 1.

[275] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 601.2 (Universe created in six days).

[276] Cf. A. 1541.4. (Origin of Sabbath) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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day in which one has} to rest.[277] And afterwards, when Jesus Christ rose from the dead on Sunday, they [?] turned Sunday {into the holy day} and undid the Saturday {the Sabbath}. Sunday became a holy day, and Saturday {the Sabbath} was not considered to be one anymore. But {I believe that} the Saturday {the Sabbath} should be observed as a holy day too…It should be observed! We {Christians} do not observe the Saturdays, however, we observe the Sundays instead.

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Dafina Atanasova Angelova, born 1909

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 2
When the Lord Divided in Two the Earth from the Water

When the Lord divided in two the earth, when He divided {it} in two from the water, He made an ice sky[278] too…Yes, there is an ice

[277] See Gn 2: 1–3.

[278] In the local dialect the word "небе" (i.e. 'sky') denotes both 'sky' and 'heavens'. The "ice sky" motif (together with the motif of the manifold, seven-layered heavens) are common to the local folklore cosmological concepts. It is significant that the same motifs exist also in some medieval Slavonic and Balkan apocryphal texts, such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* (which itself is a description of a journey-ascent from the earthly world up to the celestial realms above, where the prophet visits the seven heavens and talks to angelic forces and to God). Thus, according to one of the 16th–17th cent. Bulgarian versions of this apocryphal text, Enoch sees on the first heaven the "snow and ice treasure depots" <скровища снѣжна и голотнаа> which are kept safe by angels who are the guardians of the heavenly storehouses "from which clouds rise and go out" [Ivanov 1925: 168]. A similar motif can be found in other Slavonic recensions of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*; for further information see A. Pennington's translation of A. Vaillant's edition of the text in Sparks [1984: 330, paragraph III]; for the "ice sky" motif in medieval Bulgarian versions of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, see I. Ivanov [1925: 168–170] and D. Petkanova [1982: 50–51]. The "heaven-of-ice" theme appears once again in *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* in the paragraph dealing with the description of a certain "very terrible place" situated in the north (of the third) heaven; this place is prepared for all those "who did not acknowledge their creator" by committing various sins in their earthly lives [Sparks 1984: 331–332, paragraph V]:

> Every kind of torment and torture is in that place, and darkness and mist; and there is no light there, but a dark fire flaming up eternally in that place, and a river of fire rising up against all that place. And there are cold and ice and prisons in that place, and fierce and cruel angels who carry weapons and inflict torments without mercy [ibid.].

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sky—that is where the Lord sends people who have committed suicide, up to the ice heavens. Whoever dares to kill themselves,[279] are put by God up there, in the ice sky, where hail comes from.[280] Everything is in the heavens though—both Paradise and Hell are placed up there. Everything is {situated} up there, in the heavens.[281]

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Dafina Atanasova Angelova, born 1909

Apparently, this "very terrible place" is situated next to Paradise itself, which is also located on the third heaven. The concept of Paradise and Hell being placed next to each other "up there in Heaven above" appears to be present in both Bulgarian folklore beliefs and in the apocryphal tradition; see also the discussion above.

[279] The Bulgarian expression is "Кой сегне да си земе самичък душата", which means 'who[ever] dares to take away his/her own soul'. The expression is related to the Biblical story of the creation of Adam [Gn 2:7], according to which man was lifeless clay until God breathed into his nostrils and gave him 'soul' (also corresponding to the Heb. *nishmat chaim*, lit. 'soul of life'). Suicide can thus be considered an annulment of God's creative act, whereas those who commit it could be regarded as sinners "who did not acknowledge their Creator" (see also the previous footnote).

[280] According to traditional folk belief, hailstorm clouds are led by (the souls of) those who had committed suicide; so when the storm starts, people pray to them asking them to send the cloud away from the cultivated village fields to the wasteland: "Take it to the wild forest, where a plough does not plough, and where a cockerel does not crow!" <"Води го в пуста гора—там, дето рало не ходи, там, дето петел не пее!">. On the vernacular scope of phraseological expressions "wild forest" <"пуста гора">, "where a plough does not plough" <"там, дето радо не ходи">, "where a cockerel does not crow" <"там, дето петел не пее"> see the folklore incantation texts published in 1889 in the first volume of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* in the "Spells, charms and healing customs" section: p. 78 (text 1), p. 83 (text 6), p. 92 (text 1); see also the incantation text "against evil eye" recorded by A. P. Stoilov and published in the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. V [1891: 120, text 2].

[281] Lit. "In the sky/heavens is everything—both Paradise (Eden) and Hell; everything exists up there in the sky"; see the Bulg. expression "на небето е сичко—и Рая, и Адата; сичко е на небето." Compare this to the interpretation of the same motif in the Slavonic versions of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* [Sparks (ed) 1984: 331–332, paragraph V]; for the Bulgarian redaction of the text see Ivanov [1925: 169–170, paragraph V]. See also the above discussion.

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Text 2.2. 3
At the Beginning, the Earth was Smooth and Even[282]

My granny said that at the beginning, the earth was {smooth and} even.[283] And the sky couldn't cover[284] *her*,[285] because it was not big enough to do this.

Then the Lord reached out for the earth from somewhere {from His abode}. He caught her by her navel[286] and shook her, and thus *her* folds appeared and the sky covered *her*.

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[282] Cf. A 852 (Making the earth smaller: earth made too large) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[283] This variant retains the archetypal concept that at the beginning the earth was smooth (flat, even, level, plane, unwrinkled). In the Bulgarian oral tradition the theme is conveyed in many aetiological legends [Kuzmanova & Kotseva 1983: 151; 180–181; 507]. It often functions as an introduction to some narratives with dualistic content; see, for example the text recorded by Vasilka Kuzmanova in the village of Igralishte, Sandanski region, South-Western Bulgaria from a forty-eight year old storyteller by the name of Stoyan Yankov [Kuzmanova & Kotseva 1983: 180–181, 517], as well as the aetiological legend from the village of Prekolnitsa, Kyustendil area, Western Bulgaria [Kuzmanova & Kotseva 1983: 152, 508] in which the motif of the "flat-surface earth" functions in a similar way—as a formulaic "standby" opening the actual narrative string.

In this particular case, however, the text is built as a simple composition without any dualistic notions. See also texts 2.2. 4 and 2.2. 5 in the present Appendix.

[284] In Bulgarian the word "cover" ("покрия", "покривам") means also 'mount', and as such carries unequivocal sexual connotations. Incorporated in this passage is an archaic concept of *hieros gamos* between the female Earth and the male Sky that often frames the symbolic language of traditional Slavonic and Balkan fertility rites; further on the "Earth = Bride" and "Sky = Bridegroom" concepts in the context of Slavonic and Balkan folklore, see N. I. Tolstoi's work on "Serbian Mythopoeic *Cloud—Bridegroom*" [1981: 170–171], as well as S. M. Tolstaia and N. I. Tolstoi's "Notes on Slavonic Paganism. Rain-making Rituals in the region of Polessie" [1978: 95–130]. On variation and geographical distribution of the motif of "Father-Sky" and "Mother-Earth", see Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*, A 625 (World parents: sky-father and earth-mother).

[285] In Bulgarian the lexeme "earth" ("земя"), meaning the 'planet Earth', 'the globe', 'the world', 'terra' on the one hand, and 'earth', 'land', 'ground', 'ashes', 'dust', 'soil' on the other, together with the related terms "soil" ("пръст", "почва"), "clay" ("глина") are gender-inclusive; they are all feminine. In this particular text the gender-specific translation of "she" for "earth" is preserved. Please note that in all the following accounts of the Appendix, the translation follows the English convention and uses the neutral form, exclusive of gender. From here on, the "it" for "earth" usage applies.

[286] This passage represents an archaic belief that the earth—just like people—has a navel. In other words, man and earth are considered homogenous not only because human beings are made *from* earth, but because they are made *like* the earth. Indeed, they not only share the same "flesh", but the same shape as well. Compare this with the previously mentioned account from the village of Igralishte, Sandanski region, South-Western Bulgaria [Kuzmanova & Kotseva 1983: 180–181, 517]. In the

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That's how it has been until today.[287]

July 1975
the village of Pevtsite
Karlovo area, Plovdiv region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Velika Gencheva Vlaeva, born 1900

Igralishte variant, however, it was Satan, not Granddad God who knew how to make the earth—whose surface was originally "as flat as a baking-dish"—uneven: it needed to be caught by its navel and strongly shaken so that the mountains and hills might appear. Further on the motif of the "Navel of the earth", consult Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 875.1.

[287] Known throughout Bulgaria, this story is usually narrated as an elaborated introduction to various folklore adaptations of the first chapters of the Book of Genesis. However, as the present account shows, it can be presented as a self-contained aetiological narrative. Although its thematic content is alternative to the biblical story, the legend that the earth was originally bigger than the sky, and that God made it shrink so that the sky could cover it, is nevertheless widely believed. Frequently the storytellers who are retelling it claim that "it comes right from the Book of Genesis". As such, this story represents one of the most widespread narrative versions of the creation myth amongst the Bulgarians. Compare this account with the story recorded by Marko Tsepenkov in the area of Prilep (published in 1889 in the first volume of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1889: 105, text 1]). The theme of how the flat earth became uneven frames the plot of a series of many other aetiological texts amongst the Bulgarians; a number of them were published by Iordan Kovachev in his study on traditional ethnoastronomy (Vol. 30 of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1914: 1–85]) and Iordan Ivanov in his work on dualistic legends [1925: 327–382]. These accounts were given by storytellers from the villages of Khalovo, Kula area and Vakarel, Sofia area [Kovachev 1914: 49–50; Ivanov 1925: 333–334], the villages of Kraevo and Rashkovo, Orkhaniisko area (now vicinity of the city of Botevgrad) [Kovachev 1914: 53], the village of Beglezh, Pleven area and the village of Kalkovo, Samokov area [Kovachev 1914: 53]. Of particular interest are the versions recorded in 1868 amongst the Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia (the village of Dyulmeni) [Ivanov 1925: 329–333] and in Banat (published in the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. 51, p. 51). Note that in some cases the bee is the animal helping God [Ivanov 1925: 329–333; Kuzmanova & Kotseva 1983: 151–152, 507–508; 180–181, 517]. These texts can be typologically compared to the stories of the aborted marriage of the Sun (wherein the hedgehog or the bee have a similar function: they warn God that the world would burn out if more Suns are born, after which He stops the wedding ceremony). For this reason, in Bulgaria the hedgehog is traditionally called "the Old Faith" [Marinov: 1981: 43; 142–143; Marinov 1984: 50] and believed to be the oldest and the wisest among all the living creatures in the world, wiser even than the Lord Himself (see the discussion above). Similarly, the bee is regarded as the purest amongst the animals and the most loyal of God's helpers in all His endeavours; see also text 2.2.8 in the present Appendix.

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Text 2.2. 4
The Sky wasn't Big enough to Cover the Earth

When the Lord created the sky[288] and the earth,[289] He saw that the sky wasn't big enough to cover the earth.[290] Why couldn't the sky cover the earth? Was it too small? It was probably much smaller than the earth… Nobody was born at that time and nobody saw it, therefore nobody can say how things were, but still that's how the story goes, as people would say… And then God took the earth by its navel and shook it like this, and it started shriveling, and wriggling—in the same way that a snake does[291]—and shrinking, so it became smaller than the

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[288] Cf. entry A 701 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[289] For an iconographic representation of the theme of the "Creation of the Universe", see Fig. 1.

[290] Cf. A 852 (Making the earth smaller: earth made too large) and A 875 (Earth wheel-shaped: flat and round) in St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[291] In Slavonic languages there exists a word play (paronomasia) between the lexemes denoting 'earth' (Bulg. "земя", Russ. and Ukr. "земля", Belarus. "зямля", Serbo-Croat "земља", Sloven. zemlja, Pol. "ziemia", Czech "zeme", etc.), and the lexemes denoting 'snake' (Bulg. "змия", Rus. "змея", Ukr. "змія", Serbo-Croat "змија", Czech "zmije", etc.); see Georgiev, Zaimov, Ilchev [1971: 634–5; 647–648; 667] and Fasmer II [1986: 93; 100]. Moreover, in some dialects the two lexemes may be identical, and this homonymy is adequately acknowledged by the native ethnohermeneutics. Linked by substance and assonance, the "earth" and the "snake" create thus a certain mythopoeic equation which is further explored in folk cosmogonic narratives (as in the present text where the storyteller compares the freshly created earth to a wriggling snake). Hence, the origin of the earth is embedded in "reptilian" imagery. On the other hand, the Proto-Slavonic lexeme **zmja* (i.e. 'snake') is a derivative from **zemja* ('earth'). Accordingly, the noun denoting 'snake' is regarded as a taboo appellation meaning 'the one who crawls on the earth and lives inside of it' ≥ i.e. 'earthbound' ≥ i.e. 'earthen'. Amongst Bulgarians it is believed that the earth itself is bound by a snake whose head and tail are twisted in a knot, so that "the land stays in one piece" and does not break while shouldering the weight of the people and animals, seas and mountains [Marinov 1981: 75; Georgieva 1993: 32, 62–63, 88]. In this, etymology and aetiology are parallel in revealing the "earth = snake" concept. A similar concept frames the description of the Universe in the apocryphal *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* [Sparks 1984: 906]—with the oldest version of its translation into Old Church Slavonic being dated in the XI century [Ivanov 1925: 195–196, 203; Petkanova 1982: 353–354]. Thus, according to one of the Old Church Slavonic texts (the Dragolev Miscellany, XIII century), when the angel Panuil takes St Baruch with him to the third heaven, the Prophet is shown

> [a] large meadow which the human mind could not comprehend. On this meadow there was a very high mountain and on this mountain there lay a serpent, stretching from the east to the west. It bent down and every day it drank from the sea so that the sea-level fell the distance of a human arm from the tip of the fingers to the elbow, and it ate the land as if it was hay. I, Baruch, said to the angel: "My lord, how is it that although this serpent drinks the length of a human arm from the tip

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sky. So then the sky was finally able to cover it. Before that it could not… That's why the earth isn't smooth, but has hills and mountains.[292] So that it can be covered by the sky. That's God's blessing!

Do you know where the navel of the earth is?[293] You don't know, for you are young. But I know, because I am old. I am going to tell you about that too. Although I haven't been there, I still know… My mother told me that Jerusalem <Йерусалим> is the navel of the earth.[294] The Holy Sepulchre is right at the navel of the world…

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of the fingers to the elbow from the sea every day, the sea-level never falls?" And the angel told me: "Listen Baruch, God made 344 big rivers […] and they all flow into the sea. It is because of them that the Lord created this serpent and ordered that every day it should drink enough water from the sea so that the sea-level falls the length of a human arm from the tip of the fingers to the elbow. If it wasn't for the serpent then there would be no dry land. That is why God made it so the serpent's intestines would be big enough for it to be able to drink an elbow's length of water, so that the water doesn't increase, but doesn't decrease either." And I, Baruch, said to the angel: "My lord, how big is this serpent's intestine, that it should be able to drink an elbow's length from the sea and eat the land as if it was hay?" The angel answered me: "The intestines of this serpent are as wide and as deep as Hell itself." (Translated by FB from Iordan Ivanov's publication of the text of "The Dragolev Miscellany" [1925: 195–196]).

Further on *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* in medieval (Greek and/or Old Church Slavonic) apocryphal tradition, see Sparks [1984: 897–914], Ivanov [1925: 191–207], Petkanova [1982: 71–76, 353–354], as well as A. Miltenova's entry "The Apocalypse of Baruch" in D. Petkanova's (Ed.) *Old Bulgarian Literature Encyclopaedic Dictionary* [1992: 304–305]. It should be noted, however, that the Bulgarian oral tradition also—just like the medieval apocryphal writings—portrays Hell ["ада несита", "геената огнена"] in terms of "reptilian" imagery [Marinov, 1981: 81, 166]. The same applies to the icon painting Orthodox tradition where Hell is represented as a huge serpent (and/or dragon) too; see for instance the depiction of the "Flames of Hell" (as a fragment of the scene of the "Last Judgement") and the "Heavenly Ladder of St John Climacus" on the southern facade of the catholicon of the Rozhen monastery, South-Western Bulgaria (beginning of the seventeenth century) [Gerov, Penkova, Bozhinov 1993: 58, 62–65]. Thus, both the description of "this" and "that world" refer to the same pattern—the pattern framed by the mytheme of the snake-like 'materia prima'.

At the same time, the ethnolinguistic data related to the "earth = snake" equation further reveals the archaic semantics of this parallelism. Among the Bulgarians in Banat (Romania), for instance, the lexemes denoting 'earth' and 'snake' relate to the terms denoting 'bun' ("змнышка"); see in this respect Georgiev, Zaimov, Ilchev [1971: 667], as well as text No. 2.2.5 in the present Appendix, in which the creation of the earth is described as a dough-kneading activity.

[292] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 960 (Creation of mountains and hills).

[293] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 875.1. (Navel of the earth: omphalos, the central point of the earth) and H 681.3. (Riddle: what is the center of the earth?).

[294] Compare this with the following detail from the "Rasumnik-Ukaz" apocryphal text from the *Belovsky Miscellany* manuscript (17th–18th cent.): "Which city is placed in the middle of the Earth? Jerusalem" [Miltenova 1992c: 341]; the *Belovsky Miscellany* contains fragments from the "Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz" and the "Story from the Book of Genesis, or the Words of Christ, How [God] Created Everything.

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That's where the Lord was born, that's where He was crucified, that's where He rose from the dead. He was born on Christmas Day, He was crucified and He breathed His last on Good Friday, and He rose from the dead at Easter. Jesus Christ! He is the only God in the world. This is the way it is.

And from then on it was known that He was born in Jerusalem[295]—the navel of the world… That's where the Lord was born, that's where He died, that's where He was buried, that's where He rose from the dead. That's where the beginning and the end of His life took place… That's where everything {happened}… That's why Jerusalem is the navel of the world, because all the important things happened there… Right now there is a war again, violence… They are killing each other all the time there, and there is no peace there… Why do you think these people are killing each other over there? Because it was said in the Bible—whoever reigns in Jerusalem, he would rule the entire world and be the tsar of tsars… And now they are looking to see who's going to win and dominate there… Whoever rules over the navel of the world—he would be the Master of the earth! That's how I know it. That's how this yarn has been spun to me, and this is how I spin it back to you…

August 1975
the city of Lom (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Gospodina Mitrikova Badalanova
[maiden name Gadzhalova], born 1909

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Father, Bless [us]" [Miltenova 1992c: 334–350]. The same idea is revealed in some Russian and Ukrainian folklore texts [Tosltaia 1997: 31, Fialkova 1997: 36]. A similar concept—that Mount Zion is the navel of the earth—is to be found in the text of *The Book of Jubilees* [8: 19]; see Sparks [1984: 38].

[295] According to the canonical text [Mt 1:18–2:12; Lk 2:1–20], Jesus was born in Bethlehem, not in Jerusalem. None the less, most of the oral interpretations of the Nativity theme in Slavia Orthodoxa, and in Bulgaria in particular, affirm that He was born in Jerusalem. This detail is common to many Christmas carols and popular religious narratives (see "The New Testament" chapter in the author's forthcoming *Folk Bible*).

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Text 2.2. 5
Once the Earth was Like Dough

Once the earth was like dough[296] {for a puff-pastry pie} rolled out into a large circle.[297] A huge circle of dough! Look at it now—look at how I smooth it out, how I roll it to make a *banitsa* puff-pastry pie—the same way the earth was rolled out. But {it became so large, that} the sky couldn't cover it.[298] The sky was like a *vrăshnik*[299] {lid} over the earth.

Do you know what a *vrăshnik* is? Once the bread was baked like this, {in an earthenware pot covered by a *vrăshnik* lid} so that it could come out all nice and tasty![300]

So when the Lord saw that the sky was smaller {than the earth}, He took the earth by the navel and shook it, and the earth shrank and wrinkled like pastry, and it was then covered by the lid of the sky.[301] You see that now there are mountains,[302] and valleys, and all sort of things are on the earth…

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[296] Compare this with the legend published by D. Marinov in 1914 in the first volume of his *Popular Faith and Religious Folk Customs* [1981: 74]; see also the analysis of this theme in some other works on traditional beliefs amongst the Bulgarians [Boneva 1997: 199–200; Ivanova 1997: 24; Nikolova 1997: 30]. According to some aetiological texts, while creating the world, the Lord acted the way a woman does when making bread [Boneva: 1997: 200]; further on the semantics of kneading as a cosmogonic action, see MacDermott [1998: 110–112].

[297] The noun "обга" (see the Bulgarian text) denotes a piece of dough which is rolled out very thinly in a circle, and then used, as one of many, to be a layer of the *banitsa* puff-pastry (which is stuffed with cheese, eggs, oil and yoghurt) [Marinov 1984: 713–714]. The noun "обга" is also related to the verb "обгърна"/"обгръщам" meaning 'cover', 'enwrap', 'blanket', 'swaddle', 'surround', 'enfold', 'envelop', 'embrace', 'comprise', 'encompass', and this lexeme often performs as a semantic kernel of many folklore riddles and formulaic expressions playing with the "male sky versus female earth" mytheme. On the other hand, the circumference—being with neither beginning nor end—is regarded as a universal symbol of eternity and God. In traditional Bulgarian culture, the circle is likewise considered to be the standard manifestation of "the sacred"; accordingly, in many ceremonies the ritual bread and/or puff-pastry meal is to be round.

[298] Cf. St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 852 (Making the earth smaller: earth made too large).

[299] Further on the concept of "the sky as an earthenware lid" ("връшник"), see D. Marinov [1981: 74; 1984: 53], N. Gerov [1895: 165], S. Tolstaia [1998: 23] and I. Georgieva [1993: 17–19].

[300] Further on the technology of baking bread, *banitsa* puff-pastry, etc. in an earthenware pot covered by a lid, see Marinov [1984: 714].

[301] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 852 (Making the earth smaller: earth made too large).

[302] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 960 (Creation of mountains/hills).

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That's how the world came to be—the sky on top, the earth below.

July 1994
the village of Zlatia
Lom area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Iskrena Mitrikova Gergova,[303]
[maiden name Gadzhalova], born 1913

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 6
The World is Like a Loom

You {women} folk shouldn't work on Wednesday and Friday… We should honour Friday {as a feast} too, because once it was considered to be the "Holy Sunday".

When the Lord created the world and man, it was on Friday, on {a day that was honoured the way we honour} the "Holy Sunday"… After that God added {to the period of five days he had worked} two days more {for rest}, so {the week ended} on Sunday. I read this in {my textbook in Religious Education entitled} "God's Law". That's how I know it—{if I hadn't read it myself,} nobody would have told me. What I read, {I accept as the truth}… So once {the order of the days of the week ended with Friday and} it was regarded as the day of rest…

Then God added two more days—Saturday and Sunday… Thus {the week} became seven days long. Whereas once {the week} was five days long. I read this {in books}…

The world develops and people develop too, don't they? […]

{Just like the cloth that goes} from this side {of the loom, from the yarn-beam}, to that side over there {to the forebeam}, winding on there, and winding off here. Perhaps in the same way the Lord spins the yarn of the world… From the old yarn-beam {of forefathers} to the new forebeam {of their offspring}, winding on there, and winding off here, so that new yarn is winding on, covering the old one. Doesn't it go like that?

Thus the world goes {like cloth woven on the loom}… There is cloth spun on the forebeam that grows old, yet there is cloth which is being

[303] This story was recounted by Iskrena Mitrikova Gergova—the youngest sister of Gospodina Mitrikova Badalanova (who gave the previous account); the text was taken down by hand from the dictation of the narrator while she was making a *"banitsa"* puff-pastry pie.

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rolled on the yarn-beam too, and this is the present generation… Isn't that right? That's how I make it out. The old winds off, the young winds on… Well, the youngsters nowadays have really wound it up indeed! Heaven forbid! Such lechery, such drunkenness… {The world is like a} loom, a loom! […]

May 1989
the village of Palauzovka, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Berdyansk region, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Irina Vasilievna Zalosh, born 1907

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Section II
God and the Devil: Good and Evil

Text 2.2. 7
God and the Devil were Friends[304]

God and the Devil were friends for a while {once}, but the Devil would always try to vanquish God and remain on his own… They walked and walked and did whatever they did, and were caught by the onset of nightfall. They were making the Earth; and God rolled out a pellet from under His nails, and He threw {it, and it became} the water. It grew, and so water was made. They worked, and worked, for six days,[305] and sat on the seventh to rest. And the earth had grown enough so that they could lie down and rest. The Devil said, "Let's rest!"

Then the Devil {wanted} to make sure that he could vanquish God. He started pushing Him, and pushing Him towards the water, towards the sea, so that God would drown.[306] He {the Devil} pushed, and pushed Him further on {towards the water, and the more he pushed Him}—the larger the earth {was becoming}. He {the Devil} would turn around, and the water would be right by the earth; he would then go back. He {the Devil} would go back and start pushing again,

[304] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 37 (Joint creators), A 43 (Devil as adviser of God), and A 63 (Devil as marplot at creation).
[305] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 601.2 (Universe created in six days).
[306] See A 63.2. (Devil plans to drown God at time of creation) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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and pushing again. And the earth would grow further, and grow. And then God woke up and said, "What are you doing?"

And then God blessed Water and Earth by making a cross in the air and set them apart.

And when God sets apart those who have sinned from the righteous, He will give the Devil his share. He will give him his own share, when He divides {the people}. Those who have sinned will be under his {the Devil's} arm. That is the strength God gives to him {to the Devil}.

As for the righteous, they will remain with God, and go to Heaven, to the Kingdom {lit. Tsardom} Above. As for the others, they will go to Eternal Sorrow.

April 1981
the village of Valya Perzhey, the former USSR
(once the Bessarabia Province of the Russian Empire)
Chadar-Lunga region (now Moldova)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Vasilii Vasilievich Stoev,
born 1923

Text 2.2. 8
Whether the Devil was Stronger or Wiser than God, I Don't Know

I remember hearing from the old folk… They were saying that the Lord created the earth. Yet there was no water. And the Devil {was there too, but}, I don't know whether he was stronger or wiser than God.[307] It seems to me that he must have been stronger…

God sent the bee[308] {and said}: "You alight on a leaf and listen to what the Devil is saying!"

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[307] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 37 (Joint creators) and A 43 (Devil as adviser of God).

[308] See also Marinov [1981: 170–171], as well as texts published by Iordan Ivanov in the "Bulgarian folklore dualistic legends" chapter of his monograph *Books and Legends of the Bogomils* [1925: 327–382], and in particular text No. 1 [ibid.: 330], text No. 4 [ibid.: 336] and text No. 12 [ibid.: 348–349]. Text No. 4 in Ivanov's publication is a reprinted version of a legend recorded by Iliya Danev in the region of Etropole, first published in the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. 4 [1891: 129, text No. 2], whereas text No. 12 is a reprinted version of a legend recorded by D. Stoykov in the region of Sofia (Bulgaria), first published in the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. 9 [1893: 134–135, text No. 2]. A similar version of the dualistic cosmogonical legend about the bee being God's best helpmate is recorded by D. Ikimov in the region of Samokov, and published in the same volume (9) of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1893: 167, text No. 1]. See also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33.3.1. (Bee as God's spy overhears Devil's secrets).

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The bee went and sat on a sapling and listened to what the Devil would say.

The Devil said, "How strong and how unwise God is! Couldn't He take a stick and make a cross and say, 'Enough land![309] Let there be water!'"

When the bee heard this, it started buzzing. It was about to fly away. Then the Devil said, "Whoever sent you may eat your excrement!"

The bee left and told {to God what happened,} "Well, it was so and so"…

And God said, "What else did he say to you?"

"I am even ashamed to say."

"There is no need to be ashamed. Tell me!"

"May whoever sent me eat my excrement!"

And God said, "From now on, may there be nothing sweeter than your excrement!"

And so, because of this, there is nothing sweeter than honey.[310]

April 1981
the village of Valya Perzhey, the former USSR
(once the Bessarabia Province of the Russian Empire)
Chadar-Lunga region (now Moldova)

Story told by:
Ulyan Nikolaevich Staykov,
born 1912

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 9
In the Beginning the Devil and Granddad Lord were a Pair

I have heard it like this; that in the beginning the Devil and Granddad Lord[311] were a pair.[312] Everything was sea! Sea—nowhere was there land for a person to step on. And they flew together, through the air.[313] Yet Granddad Lord and the Devil had a competition to see who was craftier. Well, Granddad Lord was able to do everything, but He did not want to hurt the Devil.

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[309] Cf. St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 852 (Making the Earth smaller: Earth made too large; God learns from Devil by trickery how to make it smaller).

[310] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2385.3 (Honey as excrement of bees), A 2541.1 (Why bee is sacred), A 2813 (Origin of honey).

[311] The appellation "Granddad Lord" is a stock phrase in Bulgarian folklore.

[312] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 37 (Joint creators) and A 43 (Devil as adviser of God).

[313] See A 810.1 (God and Devil fly together over primeval water) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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They kept going, kept going, flew, and flew, and flew in the air, but it became boring for them. They got bored. It is impossible {to fly} in the air all the time…

And the Devil said: "Hey, Granddad Lord! You are the Lord, but I am the Devil. Make some land, why don't you, for us to sit on. To sit a bit, and have a bit of a rest."[314]

Granddad Lord said: "All right. Since you are willing, let us do it. But you are the Devil, you go down to the bottom of the sea,[315] and remove a handful of sand. And from that sand, I will make land."[316] And the Devil went down. He took a handful of sand, and brought it to Granddad Lord. And Granddad Lord made two square metres of land. Two square metres of land {made He}. And thus He said: "Well, now sit on that land!"

They sat and rested a bit, because they were tired of flying through the air. And then they sat there, and decided to lie down and sleep for a bit.

And the Devil, oh what a Devil, may he be cursed for what he is…, {he set about doing some deviltry}…And Granddad Lord pretended to be asleep.[317] But He was not asleep. And the Devil did not want to sleep. And he looked and looked round, and he was cross {about having to share the Universe with the Lord}: "We will have to split this land with the Lord! Let me drown Granddad Lord![318] Let me drown Him, so that the land will be left for me!"

So he grabbed Granddad Lord and carried Him, and carried Him, and carried Him, to throw Him in the water. And when he was about to throw Him down in the water, the water under the Lord became land. And he was not able to drown Him! He went on and on, the Devil, and started sweating, and became all wet. And at the end, before the Devil gave up, Granddad Lord woke up and said: "Hey, what is going on, Devil?"

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[314] See A 5.1 (Gods make earth to have place to rest their feet) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[315] See A 812.1 (Devil as Earth diver) in St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*. Consult also the Slavonic folklore material presented and discussed by R. Tomicki [1976: 47–60; 1979: 169–175].

[316] See A 811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water) in St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[317] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.1. (Devil works during God's sleep at creation).

[318] See A 63. 2. (Devil plans to drown God at time of creation) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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"Oh, Granddad Lord, you made two metres of land, and look how much land I made! Here, see how much land I have made!"

That's it…

That means that even today the Devil has power to rule. He doesn't want there to be anyone else like him; he wants to be alone in his power. But he could not drown Granddad Lord and that is that. {But the Lord knew well that} two square metres were necessary for one person, so that when he dies, they could place him in it. The Devil, however, made a lot of land later. He decided to drown Granddad Lord in the water, but it became land. {As soon as} he would try to throw Him in the water, there would become land under Him. And the land became big, very big…

As for the Devil, he got tired at last, and gave up.

And after that the world came into being.

First, Granddad Lord made Granddad Adam[319] and Granny Eve. He made them from earth. But first He made Granddad Adam. He made him from dust and breathed in his mouth[320] to give him a soul, and bring him to life.[321] And after that He took a rib from Granddad Adam and made Granny Eve.[322] Was Granny Eve the left rib of Adam, or wasn't she?…{She was made} out of Granddad Adam anyway…These two were {the first people}, there were no other {human beings at the beginning}. And it went on like that, right? Those two. Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were already like man and wife, and were fruitful. They had five sons one after the other: from the first to the fifth, all sons. From the sixth to the tenth child, all were daughters. And they grew up and became all ready to get married. And now Granddad Lord came by, and they asked Him: "What shall we do with these children? We have to marry them off!"

But they were related to each other, weren't they? Brothers and sisters.

And thus, Granddad Lord said: "The first son {is to be wedded} to the first daughter!"

Because he was the first, while she was the sixth child in the family.

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[319] Cf. entry A 1200 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; for the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

[320] See discussion above.

[321] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul).

[322] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1. (Creation of first woman from man's rib). For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of first woman", see Fig. 2 and Fig. 14.

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"Marry them off! Then the second son will wed the seventh {child}, while the third son—the eighth, and you will marry them off!"

And thus they made the world fruitful. That is what I have heard. {Hence, people have been left with this custom: not to marry off their children out of order.}[323] It is necessary for the first to get married first…They may not get married out of order. Nowadays, however, they start getting married out of order, {but in the old days} they waited for their turn. And they lived a life as long as three hundred multiplied by three years.

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Georgi Latinov Antonov, born 1900

Section III
The Revolt Of The Evil Angel *Denitsa* Against God[324]

Text 2.2. 10
Thus Man and God were Separated

At first God created man to live on Earth without working—not like we work now. He gave them everything and told them, "Don't eat the fruit of the Tree of Life[325] or you will die."

Meanwhile God the Father was preparing Jesus Christ <Исус Христос> to be the God's-Son-on-Earth. But *Denitsa* <Деница>,[326] who was the Chief Angel, their commander and master, gathered all his subordinates and told them, "You will create a revolt asking for me to be the Son of God! Not Jesus Christ!"

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[323] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 176 (God ordains ceremonies and regulations), A 1500 (Origin of customs), and in particular A 1550 (Origin of customs of courtship and marriage).

[324] Compare to A 106.2. (Revolt of evil angels against God) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[325] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: C 621.1. (Tree of knowledge forbidden).

[326] The name "Denitsa" [Деница] is etymologically related to the noun "ден" (denoting "day", i.e. "light"); thus the name "Denitsa" becomes a "Bulgarised" version of the name Lucifer.

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And God punished him and he was called *Satana* <Сатана, i. e. Satan>.[327]

At that time {when *Denitsa* turned against the will of God the Father}, Archangel Michael had the lowest rank. He didn't agree {with *Denitsa*'s plans for revolt} and went to God and said, "I want to be free! I don't want to go on in this way!"

And He told him, "You will be the Chief of the Angels!"

Thus He made Archangel Michael the Chief of the Angels.

Then {God the Father} sent *Denitsa* down {to Earth} and called him *Satana*.[328] And *Denitsa* turned himself into a serpent and climbed the Tree of Life. *Denitsa* is *Satana*. And he tempted Eve <Ева> to eat the fruit of the Tree of Life, "You will not die but will know about Good and Evil!"[329]

Afterwards God asked them why they had done it. And the woman replied that the serpent, *Satana* had lied to them. And He told the serpent, "You will crawl on your belly, you will eat soil and the man will crush your head!"[330] And God said to the man, "You will eat! You will earn your bread with hard work and sweat!"[331] {Thus their life became} just the opposite of the one they had before…

Thus man and God were separated…From then on people have had to work to earn their bread…But this wasn't God's original intention. At first He wanted everybody to live freely and not be obliged to work.

November 1989
the village of Chereshovitsa
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Yanachko Kŭrkov Yanachkov, born 1911

[327] Compare this to the second paragraph of the apocryphon *The Sea of Tiberias* (text 1.1 in this Appendix).

[328] Cf. A 106.2.2. (Satan's fall from heaven) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[329] Compare this to the fourth paragraph of the apocryphon *The Sea of Tiberias* (see text 1.1 in this Appendix). See also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*. A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve).

[330] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*. A 2585.1 (Origin of enmity between serpent and man).

[331] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1346 (Man to earn bread by sweat of his brow).

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Section IV
Who Were The First People And What Were They Like

Part One:
The Primeval Egg

Text 2.2. 11
People to be Hatched from Eggs

When the Lord created the world,[332] He gave a blessing for people to be hatched from eggs.[333] Out of eggs… Like the way it is {with birds} now—when the egg is laid, the hen would hatch it, and thus the chicken would emerge, and that would be it…

Man came into existence in a similar way. From an egg. As for the nails,[334] the saying goes that they were left from the {broken} shell of

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[332] For an iconographic representation of the theme of the "Creation of the Universe", see Fig. 1.

[333] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1222 (Mankind originates from eggs) and T 542 (Birth of human being from an egg).

[334] For additional versions of the legend about the origin of nails, see Tomicki [1980: 68–70]. According to traditional Slavonic anthropogony, the nails originate from primordial heavenly garments which the first people were to wear in Paradise before the Original Sin. The emergence of their "post-Fall", new "coats of skins" (Gn 3: 21) which came to replace the old, Edenic "nail-skin garments", heralds the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. Accordingly, human nails were believed to have special purpose "in the beyond", after one's death, as the soul was supposed to acquire back its primordial, "pre-Fall" "nail-skin garment". Hence the widespread belief that people "should keep in a safe place" all the pieces of nails which were cut during their life-span, instead of throwing them away. Furthermore it is maintained that when the souls appear before God to be judged for their good and bad deeds, they will be asked: "Where is your first body?" [Tomicki 1980: 69]. Those who have their nails collected in one place would have fewer obstacles in getting into Heaven; as for those souls who cannot present their "first bodies", they would have to pass many burdensome ordeals. It is also believed that the nails would further facilitate one's inevitable journey in the hereafter, since the most difficult part of this trip includes climbing a certain heavenly, slippery mountain (often defined as "Mount Sinai") which would be easily done with the help of the nails one cuts during one's lifetime. Finally, it is maintained that the length of people's life on earth depends on how long the necessary quantity of nail-substance is produced; when it reaches the amount required for the first body (i.e. the Edenic "nail-skin garment") to be re-assembled, the life ends. (Hence the belief that nails contain special power which can be (mis)used for magic purposes). Further on the motif of "nail-skin garments" in post-biblical Jewish writings, see Lambden [1992: 85–86].

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that egg. Man has nails on both fingers and toes, right? They were left over from the shell of that egg, and as such survived till today.

April 1994
the village of Mokresh
Lom area (Bulgaria)

The storyteller wished to remain anonymous

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Part Two
The Holy Mushroom

Text 2.2. 12
Man is from a Mushroom, from the Earth, and that is why the Earth takes Him Back

When {we were children}, we used to ask our granny: "Granny, what is man made of?"

And she would say: "Man originated from a mushroom.[335] Mushrooms sprang up there—it was over there, in the field. They came up from underneath—and a human was formed. Man comes from a mushroom, from the earth—and that's why the earth takes him back. Earth has made him and earth takes him in…"

So my granny used to tell me {this story}…Male and female mushrooms sprang up—and then the world was made. And they also gave birth to children, a generation—and later, after them, the world was founded.

December 1988
the village of Replyana
Belogradchik region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Vita Georgieva Tsvetina, born 1928

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

[335] I was not able to find the motif "Mankind originates from mushroom(s)" in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see, however A 1234 (Mankind emerges from ground) and T 543.4 (Birth from fungus).

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Text 2.2. 13
Man Arose from a Mushroom

We used to ask our granny: "Granny, where did man come from? And how was man created?"

And she would answer: "Long, long ago, a long time ago, I was told, that man originated from a mushroom. Two mushrooms grew. And one was male, while the other—female. And then they gave rise to their offspring. And they settled there—between two mountains—and started building a village. They started building a village—and things kept going this way, and kept going, and kept going—{thus} the world came into being. From generation to generation—and that's how it is. They spread over the meadows, over the meadows they spread… From the earth they sprang up, from underneath."

Our granny used to tell us stories about the old times…[…] Man {arose} from a mushroom. That's what our granny told us—that man came from mushrooms. There was no world at all, there was no one anywhere. Everything was {empty}… there was nothing anywhere. And then these {mushrooms} grew—and the world emerged, and that was generated by them. And from generation to generation a whole world came into being little by little. And when they grew up—they became people or who knows what? That's how it is…

When they sprang up—in what sort of shape they appeared and what they were like, I can't tell you… I can't tell you anything specific about it, because I haven't seen it. That is what I've heard…

December 1988
the village of Replyana
Belogradchik region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Vita Georgieva Tsvetina, born 1928

Text 2.2. 14
Man Sprouted Forth from the Earth and Will Turn into Earth again Someday

People sprang from the earth,[336] it was said: the first people of old. The folk of yore… That's what I've heard: man sprouted forth from the earth and would turn into earth again…

[336] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1234 (Mankind emerges from ground).

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December 1988
the village of Replyana
Belogradchik region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Zvezditsa Mikhaylova Popova, born 1923

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 15
Adam and Eve Grew from Mushrooms

A long time ago, Adam and Eve grew from mushrooms and then created this world. All from mushrooms—out of the ground…They sprouted up as mushrooms. And from these two mushrooms one was a boy, and the other was a girl…And so mankind was begotten {by them}. People were created. Children were born. They all came from Granny Eve and Granddad Adam. And so folks began to procreate, from one day to the next, and from the next—to the day after…From mushrooms. That's what I've heard—it all started with mushrooms sprouting up from the ground. They began a generation. A whole generation—from Adam and Eve. Have you heard it said too? That is {the story} that has been told since times of yore…And mushrooms are born of the ground. There they are, ready for us to pick—simply sprouting from the ground…There's some mushrooms you can eat. And yet there's others you can't. The *Chervenki* mushrooms[337] you can eat, the *Magareshki* mushrooms[338] you can eat, and the *Cheladinki* mushrooms[339] you can eat too…

November 1989
the village of Leskovets
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by
Magdalena Ilieva Todorova, born 1908

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

[337] Lit. "Reddish mushrooms" (*Agaricus campestrus*).
[338] Lit. "Donkey's mushrooms".
[339] Lit. "Offspring" (or "Brood") mushrooms (*Hypholoma fasciculare*).

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Text 2.2. 16
The World was Bred from Mushrooms[340]

The world was bred from mushrooms. It sprouted from the ground and thus people multiplied.[341] When the world sprang up, there sprouted mushrooms.[342] Two mushrooms grew—and that was it… That is the story we've heard, it has been told that the creators of this world—the first people—were Adam and Eve.[343] And they were of earth, of earth were they…

And they ate only fruit, in those early days… That is how I've understood it, that they came to eat an apple. Well, in those days, there were some kinds of apples that you shouldn't eat.[344] But Adam[345] reached up and picked an apple from a tree he was not supposed to touch. Then Eve caught him just as he bit into it. So in his haste to hide the apple, he gulped it down in one bite and it stuck here, in his windpipe.[346] I heard this said many years ago…

November 1989
the village of Leskovets
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Ivan Tinkov Mitov, born 1910;
with interjections by his wife
Ivana Kamenova Mitova, born 1909

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

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[340] The sound-recording of this story is preserved in the Phono-archives of the Institute of Folklore (the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia); storage location: Фн АИФ - I - ФБ - 1989 - XV - II.

[341] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1234 (Mankind emerges from ground).

[342] The above text is constituted upon an implicit parallelism between the first people and the primordial mushrooms; as we can see, Adam and Eve are portrayed as mushrooms emerging from the ground.

[343] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2.2. (First human pair as creators).

[344] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: C 621.1. (Tree of knowledge forbidden).

[345] This account offers a peculiar interpretation of the story of the Original Sin; in this, it is not Eve, but Adam who touches the forbidden fruit which the first people were not supposed to taste; moreover, it is not God, but Eve who catches Adam in the act of breaking the taboo. Accordingly, it is not the first woman, but the first man who is considered to be "the original sinner".

[346] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1319.1. (Origin of Adam's apple: forbidden fruit sticks in Adam's throat).

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Text 2.2. 17
Granny Eve and Granddad Adam Sprouted Forth from the Earth[347]

Granny Eve and Granddad Adam sprouted forth from the earth.[348] It was said that Adam and Eve were the creators of mankind and of the entire world![349] And that Adam and Eve created it all! And it was said, as I recall, that this bulge here, in {men's} throats, was {caused} by some poisoned apple that they ate; he first bit into it, and when Granny Eve saw him, he gulped {the piece he had bitten from} the apple, and—as the saying goes—it got stuck here {in the throat, where the Adam's apple is now}…This is where it got stuck—see how this bone is blocked-up![350]

[…]

That is what I've heard—that folk sprung forth from two mushrooms…They sprang from the ground…As I told you, I've heard this, but I haven't seen it with my own eyes, so {I cannot clear it up, can I}…?

They sprang forth from the ground. Where did they grow? What were they? Of the earth…Two mushrooms sprang forth from the ground and later the world came into being…

They used to tell these tales when I was this small…

I don't know what happened after that…

There were more tales told about it, but I've forgotten them…

Mushrooms…They didn't have a name. Either they had no name, or else I didn't hear it said…So, that's all {I can say} about Granny Eve and Granddad Adam—two mushrooms sprouted forth and that's how folk came about, that's how they multiplied and that's it. What came later, I don't know.

November 1989
the village of Leskovets
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Ivana Kamenova Mitova, born 1909; with interjections by husband Ivan Tinkov Mitov

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[347] The sound-recording of this account is preserved in the Phono-archives of the Institute of Folklore (the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia); storage location: Фн АИФ - I - ФБ - 1989 - XV - II.

[348] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1234 (Mankind emerges from ground).

[349] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2.2. (First human pair as creators).

[350] Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1319.1. (Origin of Adam's apple: forbidden fruit sticks in Adam's throat).

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Text 2.2. 18
Man Comes from a Mushroom

I've heard that man comes from a mushroom. Man sprouted. {As} mushrooms sprout forth, {so} man too sprouted forth. Man was created from a mushroom. I heard this from my grandmother. This is what my granny told me long, long ago… We would ask her, "What is man made of?" And she would say, "Man was made from a mushroom. Two mushrooms sprouted and went on to produce offspring".

December 1988
the village of Replyana
Belogradchik region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Rusa Yakimova Vankova,
[maiden name Shunina], born 1928

Text 2.2. 19
Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were Mushrooms[351]

I've heard that Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were mushrooms… When the world came into existence, both of them were mushrooms. Now I don't know their story all that well but I have heard that there was once such a thing…

November 1989
the village of Leskovets
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Eva Todorova Rangelova, born 1911

[351] The sound-recording of the present text is preserved in the Phono-archives of the Institute of Folklore (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia); storage location: Фн АИФ - I - ФБ - 1989 - XIV - II.

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Part Three
"Let Us Make Man In Our Image"[352]

Text 2.2. 20
About Adam, Eve and the Origin of Herbs

First the light was created out of the darkness—let it be light! It was God Who separated them. He called the light "day" and the darkness "night." Then He begot the earth, the water, the animals—everything. And then He begot the sky,[353] the sun, the stars, He begot everything.[354] And He invented everything… Then He wondered: "How can I stay in a wasteland? I'll create man too!"

He begot man out of mud.[355] When He created him, He worked on him for a whole day, {until} he was completely ready. But He didn't give him a soul because he hadn't dried yet…, since he was made of mud, and he hadn't dried yet… He hadn't dried yet. "Well," He said, "tomorrow I'll give him a soul and I'll let him go!"[356]

Well, when He went there in the morning, and He found that holes had been made everywhere {in man's body}—hole by hole. He took a look at him and said, "This can also be fixed!"… He picked herbs, filled in the holes, and again picked herbs and once more filled in the holes, and after that He covered them with mud {and hence sickness in Adam's body}.[357]

That's why remedies are all made of herbs {as they were used by the Lord to cover the holes which were made in man's body by the

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[352] Prevalent in the folklore texts from this part of the Appendix are the following motifs from Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1210 (Creation of man by Creator) and A 1212 (Man created in Creator's image); for the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

[353] Cf. entry A 701 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[354] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 700 (Creation of the heavenly bodies). For an iconographic representation of the theme of the "Creation of the Universe", see Fig. 1.

[355] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1241 (Man made from clay/earth).

[356] A similar motif, that God does not give a soul to Adam on the day of his creation (i.e. Friday), but gives it to him on the following day (i.e. Saturday), is contained in some apocryphal texts; see Petkanova [1987: 15–17].

[357] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1293 (Devil in God's absence puts sickness in Adam's body), A 1337 (Origin of diseases) and A 1438 (Origin of medicine/healing).

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Devil}.[358] There are no other remedies! None! There exist five types of the herbs[359] which you must always have with you and keep hold of, especially if you have a child! If your child gets scared over there on the road, you can wash him/her {with these herbs} and it will pass. These herbs are quite healing and curative…

That's how God created {the first} man…He filled the holes, fixed him, and brought him to life. He brought him to life. And then He wondered, "How will man live by himself alone? I will make him a wife!"[360]

When He made them He took them to…, to the Heavenly Garden. There were only trees {in this Garden} there. It is called the Heavenly Garden, {it is} up there in Heaven.

He said, "You may eat {the fruit of} all these trees, but there is only one tree from which you shouldn't eat.[361] From only {one tree} you shouldn't eat {fruit}!"

And they {agreed they} wouldn't. He {the man} said to his wife that they wouldn't eat…And the Lord would walk around every day to see how they were doing.

But once, when the Lord called "Adam, Adam! Where are you?", then he {the man} said, "I do hear you, my Lord, but we are ashamed to come out before You!"

Because once upon a time, we {the people} were dressed as cats—covered only with fur[362] <коса>;[363] and when she {Eve} picked it {the forbidden fruit}, it was the Devil who pushed her to do it, as he told her, "He {God} did not allow you to eat {the fruit of this tree} because you would become gods like Him!"

This was the Devil, the Devil had entered the snake,[364] and the snake prompted them {to do it}…

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[358] Elsewhere the storyteller indicated that the holes were made by the Devil; compare this with the third paragraph of *The Sea of Tiberias* apocryphal text which contains the same motif; see text 1.1. in the present Appendix.

[359] According to the informant, "those five herbs" with magic properties are "sadolen" (a local plant name), "nadolen" (a local plant name), harefoot, blue gentian, hollyhock and mellilot.

[360] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275 (Creation of first man's mate).

[361] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: C 621.1. (Tree of knowledge forbidden).

[362] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1281.2. (Man at first covered with hair).

[363] The Bulgarian word "коса" means here both 'hair' and 'fur'.

[364] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve).

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Then He said, "Who told you this?"

"Well, it was the snake!"

The Devil had entered it!

Then He cursed her[365] {the snake}, "The man and the woman may raise their children by labour and sweat,[366] but the snake must crawl all its life on its belly, and anyone who sees it may kill it!"[367]

And so it has been ever since then…Who knows how long ago this happened! A million years perhaps. And then later the people became quite wicked. Then He thought over it {and said}: "I will wipe out these folk![368] I must renew these people—so they will become clever and righteous! The only way in which I can accomplish this is by a flood!"

And there was just one righteous man, what did they call him? *Noy* {Noah}! Noah and his wife and his family {were to be saved by the Lord}.

And God told him: "You will make an ark![369] But you won't tell your wife! You shouldn't tell your wife! Make an ark like a ship, for all {the people} will perish, but you will survive and you will populate the world!"

And he began to build. He was building it for one day, two days, three days on…But we women, damned tongues we have, don't we? We can't stand being quiet! So she scolds him: "Where do you go? Why shouldn't I know?! How's that?"…

So, he went and blurted out the secret. Then he got muddled up and he was building it for three years.

When the flood started, it rained incessantly for forty nights and forty days. It rained ceaselessly so the earth and the water got mixed together. All the Balkans[370] were covered and only the ark was swaying over the

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[365] In Bulgarian the noun "змия" denoting 'snake' (or 'serpent') is feminine.

[366] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1346 (Man to earn bread by sweat of his brow).

[367] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2585.1 (Origin of enmity between serpent and man).

[368] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1018 (Flood as punishment).

[369] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1021 (Deluge: escape in boat/ark).

[370] According to the current account, the Flood is believed to have taken place in the Balkan ranges in Bulgaria. The same belief, that Noah's ark "stopped" in the region where the storytellers live, is to be found in many other legends; see the story entitled "Лубен и Пелистер планина" ('Luben and the Pelister mountain'), recorded by Marko Tsepenkov in the area of Prilep, published in the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. IV [1891: 155, text 5]; as well as "Кораб-Планина, Кърчин, Бистра,

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water. So which {part of the} Balkan {ranges} did it stop on? Well, I have remembered it! On some peak in the Balkan {ranges the ark stopped}…And when it stopped, the water dried up and he {Noah} leaped out and people were bred.[371] And so it was—up to now.

And now they say there will be a Doomsday—some change there will be, but I don't know what is going to happen…Will it be dangerous and frightening? Doomsday! There will come a day when all the weapons will fire, and what is left after that will be thrown into the water {of the seas} and the people will swear that there will not be war anymore! Still I don't know what is going to happen…Perhaps I won't be alive then…From now, there are thirteen years[372] till Doomsday…There are thirteen years till the year 2000…So I don't know how it will be. But still, what is going to happen to all the people, the same will happen to us as well. Sing and whistle—and don't you even think of worrying about this! Am I right? What is going to happen to all the people, that will happen to us! {But} I won't live to see it…

March 1988
the village of Borovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Zorka Georgieva Ivanova, born 1882

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 21
Man Comes from His Spittle

God gathered a little soil, spat[373] into it and made mud. And first He made Adam.[374] He spat into the ash, and spat—so that He could make

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Шар и Песьак" ('The Ship Mountain, the Karchin Mountain, the river Bistra, the Shar Mountain and Pesiak-Mountain') published in the seventh volume of the same collection [1892: 189, text 5]. A similar idea frames the story-line of text 127, 128 and 139 in the author's forthcoming *Folk Bible*; see also text No. 2.2.24 and text No. 2.2.65 in this Appendix. As Michael Stone points out, "this type of domestication of traditions has been shown to exist in other instances in apocryphal texts" [Stone 2002: 162, footnote 16]; for further details see bibliography provided there.

[371] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1006 (Renewal of world after world calamity) and A 1021 (Deluge: escape in boat/ark).

[372] It was believed that Doomsday would take place in the year 2000, at the beginning of the third millennium.

[373] Compare to A 618.2 (Universe created by spitting) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[374] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

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mud, to make a body. Man comes from His spittle.[375] He spat, and wet His hands, and moulded[376] the body, and made man. He made him just like {one would make} a doll and then breathed into his mouth. He breathed life into him.[377] Then, seeing that all creation is split into male and female, He thought He'd make Eve, too. So Adam would be in keeping with everything else, that is. He took a rib from Adam and made a woman.[378] That is how man came to have one rib less than woman. I've tried to find out whether they are the same number on this side and on that side. I've tried to count mine: there are as many this side as there are the other. I have counted the old woman's too, hers are even, too. But, as the saying goes, man has one rib less than woman on one side. And that which is man's strength {i.e. the sperm}, is God's spittle.[379] That is God's blessing forever more: man shall conceive from His spittle. And man shall return to dust, having come from dust. Yet until God's spittle leaves man, no man shall be conceived.[380] That's why the saying goes—man is the seed, and woman is the kernel.

November 1989
the village of Gaganitsa
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

The storyteller wished to remain anonymous

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 22
Once God Gathered a Little Dust…

Once God gathered a little dust, scraped it off from under His nails,[381] spat[382] into it and out of this spittle {mixed with the dust} He made

[375] See A 1211.3 (Man from spittle of Creator) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[376] Cf. A 141 (God as craftsman) and A 15.4.1. (Potter as Creator) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[377] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1241.3. (Man made from clay image and vivified).
[378] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1. (Creation of first woman from man's rib). For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of first woman", see Fig. 2 and Fig. 14.
[379] Incorporated in this passage is the Bulgarian folklore concept that sperm is of divine origin; i.e. man's sperm emanates from God's saliva.
[380] Compare this to T 533 (Conception from spittle) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[381] Cf. A 1211.5. (Man made from dirt rubbed from Creator's body) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[382] Cf. A 618.2 (Universe created by spitting) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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clay.[383] {From this clay} He made a man[384] and a woman, two of them.[385] And then He breathed into them, and the Holy Spirit went into them. And they became living people. That is why the saying goes that we are dust and will return to dust. And they became alive, out of dust. They were like beasts, with hair all over.[386] They were in the forest, and were told: "You will eat in the woods, you will be My people! But, there is a tree in the middle of Heaven, from which you shall not eat![387] These apples you shall not eat. You shall not sin!"

They were there for a week or two…

Then a serpent came and said, "On this tree, the apples are the best! Eat from it! Do not listen to God! He is lying!"

The serpent, it was the Devil![388]

And Eve said: "Let's try and see! If the serpent says so!"

At that time the serpent walked upright, like the beasts, on all four legs. She took an apple, had a bite, and gave it to Adam to try.[389] And as they ate, their hair started falling off. They were left naked. And then—what could they do? They covered here {the private parts} with one hand, and their heads with the other.[390] That is why we have hair there {on the genitals},[391] on the head, and in the armpits. Well, Adam did so—{put} one hand on there {covering those parts to be private}, and the other—on his head…{Eve did that too.} They felt ashamed to look at each other, for they were naked.[392] Yet God knew about them, He knew how they did it. He knows everything. He descended and said: "Adam! Eve! Where are you?"

They knew not what to do…And they said, "Lord! We are here! But we have sinned! We are too shy to come out! We are naked!"

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[383] Cf. A 1241 (Man made from clay/earth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[384] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

[385] Cf. A 1211.3 (Man from spittle of Creator), A 15.4.1 (Potter as Creator) and A 141 (God as craftsman) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[386] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1281.2. (Man at first covered with hair).

[387] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: C 621.1. (Tree of knowledge forbidden).

[388] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve) and B 176.1.1 (Serpent as deceiver in paradise).

[389] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Original Sin", see Fig. 2, Fig. 8, Fig. 9 and Fig. 11.

[390] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1315 (Origin of hair and beard).

[391] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1315.5 (Origin of pubic hairs).

[392] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).

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"Come out", He said. "I know! I knew it already! I knew it before you! What is your sin?"

And they said, "We ate from this tree!"

"Who made you eat?"

"No one!"

"Not true! It was the serpent who made you!"

And He cast a curse on the serpent: "You will walk by crawling on the earth and whoever sees you will kill you!"[393]

So the story says, if you kill a serpent you are absolved of forty sins.

And God said to them, {to Adam and Eve}, "You will work and sweat to cover your bodies![394] And you will be the masters of all this!"[395]

That is to say that they were to become the ancestors of all of mankind, and man would be the master of everything. What is it that man does not do? It is all God-given. So He said, and so it has been since.

April 1981
the village of Korten, the former MSSR
(once the Bessarabia Province of the Russian Empire)
Chadar-Lunga region (now Moldova)

Story told by:
Nadezhda Dimitrovna Petkova,
born 1921

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 23
That is Why we have Navels

That's what I know. The Lord created the {first} people—Granny Eve and Granddad Adam—from clay.[396] One was made a woman, the other a man, this was the way Granddad Lord created them. He gave them a soul by breathing into their mouths.[397] But the Devil was envious: why would God be better at doing things than he! So he stuck his finger in their abdomens to make a hole, so that when God would breathe a

[393] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2585.1 (Origin of enmity between serpent and man).

[394] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1346 (Man to earn bread by sweat of his brow).

[395] Cf. the motif of "Adam's dominion over the animals" (also known as "Adam's Taxonomy").

[396] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 15.4.1 (Potter as Creator).

[397] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul).

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soul into their bodies, it would escape.[398] Yet God saw that the Devil wanted to waste the people, and He took them by the bellies, pulled and twisted the flesh, so that the hole would close and the soul would stay until He said it was time for it to leave.[399]

And thus God made man's navel. That is why we have navels. The Devil wanted to do us harm, but God outwitted him and saved us…

May 1990
the village of Govezhda
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Malina Atanasova Spasova, born 22.3.1926

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 24
Every Man has an Adam's Apple

{First} God created the Earth, {then} He made Adam out of earth.[400] He made Adam and let him into Eden to eat of all the fruit there…All kinds of fruit were to be found there.

"But there is one apple tree," He said {to Adam}, "you may not eat from! You are not to eat the fruit of the best apple tree!"

And he did not eat. That's how it was…When Adam had lived for some time alone God said to Himself: "I cannot keep this man on his own! Life should develop on this Earth!"

He took one rib out of Adam's left side[401]—now men have one rib less on the left side! Only the men! While women have all their ribs, men have one rib less! He took one rib out of the man, Adam, one rib, and made the Virgin Mary out of earth.[402] He made her too and

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[398] Consult Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*, and in particular A 60 ("Marplot" at creation: an evil opponent attempts to undo or mar the work of the Creator), and A 63 (Devil as "marplot" at creation).

[399] Compare this with the third paragraph of *The Sea of Tiberias* apocryphal text which contains the same motif; see text No. 1.1. in the present Appendix.

[400] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of Adam", see Fig. 1, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.

[401] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1. (Creation of first woman from man's rib). For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Creation of first woman", see Fig. 2 and Fig. 14.

[402] It is indicative that in the above text the name of the "Mother of all living", Eve, is replaced by the name of Mary the Mother of God; furthermore these two images, the image of the first biblical matriarch, Eve, and the image of Mary as the Second Eve, are obviously perceived as interchangeable. This text does not present an isolated case in Bulgarian oral tradition. The "Eve-Mary" parallelism frequently functions as an underlying structure of many narrative texts, thus forming the fabric

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breathed into her and she awoke. He breathed into her too, and He made her out of earth, too. He had made Adam in the same way and had breathed into him and he awoke. He made her the same way. And He told them: "You shall stay here, you shall eat everything but the fruits of that apple tree over there!"

And there were lots of fruits there! And they ate only fruits like animals… And they did not work as we do, so that we may eat bread and stew. And then a serpent, a big serpent, wrapped herself around the apple tree that God did not allow them to eat from… And he did not eat, neither did she! God had told them so, and they obeyed! And they were clothed {the way goats are now}! We used to be like goats! They were covered all over with hair like goats![403] We were like goats! They were like {goats} too… And when He said, "You shall not eat!" the serpent asked, "Why do you eat every fruit but these here?"[404] And then she {Eve} picked an apple, cut it {into two}, and gave some to Adam, and told him to eat too. And she, being a woman, was more nimble and swallowed it… She swallowed it… {Because} the serpent went: " Why don't you eat?" And they went: "God told us not to eat from this tree!"

"God does not allow you {to eat} because you will become gods like Him! That's why! But you may eat! Why not?"

And they thought that they would indeed become gods—the serpent deceived them! And they ate! She picked {an apple} and ate. He ate too…[405]

But he had not swallowed when {God came}…

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of both the folklore versions of Genesis 1–4 (related to the fate of the "Mother of all living" Eve), and the episodes concerned with the life of the Virgin Mary according to the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew 1–2; Mark 3, 31; Luke 1–20). Accordingly, in some of the folklore versions of Genesis, the name of the Mother of God would replace that of the first woman, while the name of the "Mother of all living" would be used in the Annunciation texts to denote the Virgin Mary; the act of Creation would concurrently follow the pattern of the description of the Annunciation, and so on. For further information see Badalanova [2003a: 162–163; 183–185]; see also text No. 2.2.31 in the present Appendix.

[403] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1281.2. (Man at first covered with hair).

[404] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve) and B 176.1.1 (Serpent as deceiver in paradise).

[405] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Original Sin", see Fig. 2, Fig. 8, Fig. 9 and Fig. 11.

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That's why men have {bulging} windpipes here, up here {men have an Adam's apple}[406]—the windpipes…Every man has his windpipe {bulged out} …While the woman doesn't, you see…Actually, she also has one but {hers is not that protruding} because she swallowed her apple. While his apple-morsel had reached until there {his windpipe}, when God came to them; {that's why men have prominent} windpipes. All men have {Adam's apples ever since}. So you can see how big men's throats are, while women are no such…And the reason is the apple that Adam ate and did not swallow! So it got that far and thus men remained with bulging throats, and women have no such thing…

And they undressed…When they had eaten of the apple, the hair fell off their bodies and they hid in their hole, where they lived, the cave they were living in. There was a cave and they lived in it. And they were ashamed to come out.[407]

But God called them: "Adam! Eve! Where are you?"

They were hiding.

{Then God asked,} "Why don't you come out before Me?"

"We are ashamed to come out!"

"And why not?"

"Because it hurts!"

Because they were ashamed to come out. And they told Him that the serpent had deceived them and He said, "Curse be those who see it and do not kill it! It has bedeviled both of you!" And they said, "It told us that we would become Gods like you! That is why we ate {the fruit}!" {Then He said,} "Cursed be the one who sees it and does not kill it!" God cursed the snake, "Let it creep on the ground!" For they—the serpents—used to walk and from then on He cursed the serpent to drag on the ground and whoever saw it, to kill it.[408] For it bedeviled them—lied to them, deceived them and beguiled them, beguiled them into eating! And they undressed!

So, God told Adam and Eve the following, "Since you listen to the serpent, now you must plough, dig and reap! You must work! You must

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[406] See Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1319.1. (Origin of Adam's apple: forbidden fruit sticks in Adam's throat).

[407] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).

[408] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2585.1 (Origin of enmity between serpent and man).

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spin and weave to clothe your children![409] And he will have to plough and to dig in order to feed them!"

And from then on that's how we {people} stayed. So, we women are spinning, weaving and knitting all the time to clothe {the children}. And men have to plough, and to sow and plant, so that there may be children born, and they may be fed.[410] That's what I have heard. This story exists in writing too…

As for this {pointing towards her hair}, it was left by God, so that one might know what is the head, what is…something else.[411] The hair we have on our heads—that's all that remained {from the original hair which covered the first people's bodies}.[412] Everything else fell off, this fell off, that fell off…The hair remained only there. It remained only there in order to remind us that once upon a time there was hair on our body. There isn't any hair left further down, there was some hair left only on the head and everything else fell off. And before that people had been covered all over with hair…

So, that was what they did and it is because of them that we now have to plough, to dig, to work! And also to spin, weave, in order to be able to raise children…

And afterwards they raised two boys—Cain and Abel. And Cain killed Abel—so that there may be war.[413] So that there may be war afterwards; they fought in this way, so that there might be war. So that

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[409] Compare this with the miniatures of the spinning Eve and ploughing Adam from an illuminated manuscript dated from 1796, written and designed by the Priest Puncho from the village of Mocresh, Lom area, North-Western Bulgaria [Fig. 14 and Fig. 15]; a similar theme is presented on one of the plinth panels of the iconostasis of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (19th cent.) [Fig. 13]; the images of the spinning Eve and tilling Adam are depicted also on one of the plinth panels of the iconostasis of the Church of Saint Nicholas in the village of Musomishte, Gotse Delchev area, South-Western Bulgaria (late 19th century) [Fig. 16], on the murals in the open gallery of the principal church in the Rila Monastery, South-Western Bulgaria (19th century) [Fig. 17] and in many other churches all around Bulgaria; see also the fourth piece of the "Hexameron" icon-ensemble (18th cent.) [Fig. 4]. This piece represents the themes of the "Expulsion of the First People from the Garden by the Fiery Angel" [Gn 3:8–24], "Adam and Eve driven from the Garden of Eden and lamenting over the Paradise Lost", the "Expiation of the First People: Adam is to work the land whereas Eve is to spin" and last, "Cain and Abel". The icon is preserved in the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum of Bulgarian National Revival in the city of Elena, Bulgaria.

[410] Cf. A 1472 (Beginning of division of labour) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[411] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1315. (Origin of hair and beard).

[412] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1281.2. (Man at first covered with hair).

[413] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1335 (Origin of death), A 1336 (Origin of murder) and A 1341 (Origin of war among men).

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people were purified. Cain and Abel declared the first war ever. One was Cain, the other one—Abel. That's what I was told—Cain and Abel. They were the first children of Granny Eve and Granddad Adam. And Cain killed Abel. It was God's will for there to be wars! Look how it is now—there is war and fighting! Like that. [. . .]

Then {the world} started to grow.

Then the first people used to live seven hundred, eight hundred years.[414] Those were the first people . . . [. . .] Once people lived long lives . . . Once upon a time they used to get married at the age of seventy. I would still be unmarried. Folks used to get married at the age of seventy. There is even a story about that. One man wanted to marry a maiden, but she was fifty. Her mother said: "Oh, she is too young! She is only fifty years of age!"

Such were the first people! They married when old and they lived a long time! They gave birth to great numbers of children . . . [. . .]

When God created the first people, they knew nothing! They did not wear clothes—men and women used to wrap themselves in cloths! There were no dresses, no skirts, no blouses, nothing! They were wrapped in plain cloths. They could weave but they didn't know how to sew. Such were the first people. Later they started making clothes . . . God showed them the way, who else would teach them? God taught them. He created them and He taught them.[415] This is what the legends say . . . And to this day we, people, are like this. We have to plough, dig, reap . . . To work. Spin and weave . . . Keep house.

Look now, how easily the year has passed! Why does the year pass so easily? Look how easily the year has rolled off! And another is approaching! Years get shorter, God makes them shorter! No one else. God makes the years shorter. God knows why they are to become short like this. He knows why. Because people have no faith. The Devil has got into them. The Devil has got into us and we are speaking against God, and we are working against God and that's why God cuts our years shorter. Nowadays people do not believe in God. They don't believe in Him. People had a strong faith once. And when they stopped believing in Him, He shortened their years . . . Once upon a time people used to work with God, the ones who lived long . . . Afterwards people couldn't

[414] Cf. A 1323 (Long span of life for first man) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[415] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1403 (God teaches people to work) and A 1437 (Acquisition of clothing).

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live that long anymore as they always are against Him, and do things out of spite! Besides, they have also evil thoughts… […]

And there was a flood…

The villages of *Kotenovtsi* and *Chereshovitsa* were cities once.[416] The cities were surrounded by a city wall. The wall was all around. There was a place for the guests to get through the wall and this place was the gate…

And once there were some {strangers} coming. They were coming as guests. And there was a man waiting for them, I forgot his name. Ah, *Noya* {Noah} was his name, *Noya*. Noah—the one with the ark! This was Noah and he said that {he wanted to invite them to stay with him}, and he sheltered them…

But these were angels. And to test him they pretended to be mortals coming as guests. He put them up and they told him to prepare an ark and put all his possessions in it as there would be a flood. And he did as they bid. He had two daughters. They had lovers.

He told them, "Take your beloved with you and come in the ark! And the flood will come when you sit down to eat at a glass table!"

And it was harvest time and the folks were reaping and reaping and reaping. And it started raining so heavily that it began overflowing and overflowing. There was no dry place in the field where they could eat and they needed their lunch. So they put their sickles into the ground and used them as props for a cloth to make a table. They put the bread on it and started eating…And then Noah remembered the prophecy about the glass table. There was the glass table {as the water looked like glass}! And this table was not only of glass but iron too! An iron table! Here it was—the table of iron and glass!

Noah said then, "This is what I made the ark for. Now we know this is the Flood!"

And then he explained them, "Since we started eating at a glass table so the Flood is coming! A table of glass and iron!"

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[416] It is significant that the storyteller replaces the names of the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah with the names of the local settlements Kotenovtsi and Chereshovitsa; the informant herself was born in the village of Chereshovitsa and married in the nearby village of Kotenovtsi; incidentally, the text of the present legend was also recorded in the village of Kotenovtsi. Thus the Biblical toponymy was domesticated by the indigenous oral tradition and transformed by the local storytellers into their native landscape. A similar tendency is observed in text No. 2.2.20 and text No. 2.2. 65 in the present Appendix.

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And it rained the whole night through and the water overflowed ever more. So, he prepared the ark as he was ordered by God. As the prophecy of the strangers came true, he knew the time of the Flood had come… They had told him {also} that the Flood would come when they would start eating at a table of {glass and} iron. Then would the Flood begin… And they were gathering the harvest and they had no table to eat on. There was water everywhere! The water was overflowing and the soil would not take it any more. Then the harvesters stuck their sickles in the ground, covered them with a cloth and start eating. They were eating standing up and their bread was on the sickles. And Noah told them, "This will be the Flood!" That was what their father Noah said.

And so he made an ark and put food provisions in it. And he took a male and female sparrow and his daughters there. He took a pair of birds of all kinds, a pair of birds of all kinds, and pigeons and doves too… But I don't know whether he took a snake… I haven't heard of a snake. Did he take a snake? I can't tell you about the snake. But of all other animals he took a pair. As it started raining he opened the ark and they all got in, and the ark was floating on the water.

And it rained and rained. And the ark rose and reached the Balkan ranges, it reached a mountain. And there it landed—the ark stopped when it touched dry land. Noah and his daughters remained there… He had told them to take their lovers with them too, but they didn't want to do so. And what happened with Noah's family?

[…]

And how did his daughters find men to marry in order to procreate and start the world again?

They planted a vineyard. When they landed they started a vineyard. They got their father drunk with the wine and one night one of them slept with him and the other night the other daughter slept with him… But he was drunk. Thus they got pregnant. {The daughters} got pregnant {by their father} and both of them gave birth to a child…

And I don't know where they found later husbands to marry but I know that their first children were by their father.

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Dafina Atanasova Angelova, born 1909

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Text 2.2. 25
The Man was Made out of Earth and will Become Earth

Adam and *Yeva* {Eve}—they were made of earth. This is the way we know it—man has come from the earth and will become earth again. Well, as it is—Adam and Eve were made by Him out of earth, and then Granddad Lord breathed in them and they became alive. And He posted them to guard that apple tree there.

That's how I learnt it—but was it so?

And they were dressed all over in hair[417] like animals.

He told them the following, "That's how you will subsist! You shall guard this apple tree—you shall not work! Should you pick those apples, you will lose everything {that covers your body} and you will have to work, labour, and put on clothes!"[418]

All right, but they could not abstain from picking one off the tree. As soon as they picked it,[419] they were startled. Then He cried out at them… Someone cried out at them… Was it Our Lord {the One Who cried out at them}? Who was that? I don't know exactly how it was, so {I can't tell you}…

And they, as they were startled, that's how the story goes now, they clutched themselves here {on their private parts and the head}—this one {did it}, then the other one {did the same thing}—and it was just these places that stayed {hairy}. Just on the head and down there.[420] They clutched themselves there—and just there {hair} remained, and now we have to work, put on clothes, and cover ourselves lest people see us. That's the way we know it…

While now people even go naked, have no shame… You see it on the TV, don't you, it's really terrible, isn't it.

There was in our time a flower, it was called *"Sramniche"* {'bashful flower'}. {It is} white all over and red in the middle. Our grandmother used to say that a day would come when the red would be gone—which would mean that shame would have gone from people, and this would be the end. That is, when the world is coming to an end, at the finish of the world, shame fades away…

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[417] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1281.2. (Man at first covered with hair).
[418] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1437 (Acquisition of clothes).
[419] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Original Sin", see Fig. 2, Fig. 8, Fig. 9 and Fig. 11.
[420] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1315.5 (Origin of pubic hairs).

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Don't you see that this *"Sramniche"*, this flower has no more red in the middle! Shame is no more. And when shame is no more, this means that it is already time for the world to come to an end… If there is shame, there will be a world, too. If shame is gone, consider that the world has gone too… Look—it is already obvious that the end of the world is coming. When the year 2000 comes, the world will be finished… But how could I know how it will finish? {People say that} there would come years of drought… My granny used to say, "Years will come, when there will be no water! The water will run out! People will be avid for lucre, and there will only be the lustre of lucre. Water will not gleam, but instead there will be the lustre of lucre. So you will run after a gleam of light in search for water—and there will be nothing but money! Let this world have plenty of money, but may it remain thirsty!

You see, lass, don't you, the years of drought coming?

Some places—lots of floods, while here—drought! Yet—you know, earth with no rain and woman with no man bear no fruit…[421]

That's why the world will come to an end!

Let it resign itself to money at last… And yet—remain thirsty!

Long ago I used to say {to my grandmother}, "Granny, granny! We have wells, don't we? We shall make our wells deep!"

"But they'll run out, lass, you know!"

"Well, we'll fill up casks, won't we! We'll fill up a lot of casks, just to make sure there will be enough water, just in case!"

"Well, but they would also run out, dear!"…

That's what she was telling us. Water will run out. And look, here they are, those years of drought… It has happened just as she said. Here they are, those {years of drought}. What else we shall yet live to see, I don't know. We are already nearing our end. Let the young

[421] Compare this to the Biblical approach to the "rain" topic, as presented in the Book of Genesis. Thus, at the beginning of the second chapter, the motif of the creation of rain frames the motif of the creation of man: "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground." [Gn 2:4–5]. According to the Book of Genesis, the existence of mankind is projected as a counterpart of God's blessing for rainfall; correspondingly, the forthcoming end of the human race is spelled out as a drought cast upon the Universe, and the lack of rain is understood as a lack of His blessing, i.e. as God's curse cast upon mankind; this concept functions as the core of many rituals and folk narratives.

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ones, who are coming after us look at what's happening. As for our life, it's over. We are close to sunset. The young ones will have to think about all that.

February 1994
the village of Vezenkovo
Karnobat region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Stoilka Georgieva Toneva, born 1925

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 26
Among the Flowers

Adam and *Eva* {Eve}—it was from them that the world started, they created this world.[422] Adam and Eve were the first to be created {by God}. And then He put them in the Garden, the two of them {were placed} among the flowers…Then they gave birth to two sons. Thus the world came into existence.

July 1994
the village of Vinogradi
Melnik region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Petra Ivanova Păkhneva, born 1914

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova, Stanislav Badalanov and Tsveta Pokrovska

Text 2.2. 27
Adam and Eve were Brother and Sister

Although these two were brother and sister,[423] they happened to create offspring…Adam and Eva {Eve} were brother and sister, but as to what they did to create progeny, I wouldn't know.

Anyway, that's the way it was, and that's the way I know it.…The Lord was both their mother and father, and He was their one and only relative.[424] Otherwise Adam and Eve were brother and sister.

May 1990
the village of Kopilovtsi
Chiprovtsi region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Zonka Ivanova Mikhova, born 1909

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

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[422] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2.2 (First human pair as creators).
[423] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1273.1. (Incestuous first parents).
[424] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1271.3 (First parents children of god).

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Text 2.2. 28
And He Turned into Stone

Adam and *Eva* {Eve}…And God.

They were naked at that time…While they were in Heaven, God did not let them live together. Adam was told not to pick apples, any of the apples that were there, "Do not pick and eat them!"[425]

But she {Eve} tempted him. She said, "Come on! Let's pick an apple and eat it!"…

So he[426] picked an apple and bit into it,[427] and—what then?! He turned into stone.[428] How old he was, and what he did afterwards, I do not know, I cannot tell. But he turned {into stone}. So he bit a piece {and later turned into stone}, since God had forbidden them; it was she who tempted him saying, "Let's pick one and eat it!" So when he had done this, he turned into stone.

And what happened to her later, I do not know. I know only of him, that when he had a nibble he turned into stone, and I do not know what became of her. When he turned into a stone he prayed, and God allowed so many years to pass, and then let him become a man again, because He had already punished them for their sins…God punished both of them—both Adam and Eve—to redeem their sins…

This is the way I know it: when he bit off a piece, he turned into stone. And for how long he was {stone}, that I don't know and cannot tell you…

Then there was a Flood, and there was a man, he was in the ark, and…he was told, God told him to take {a male and a female} of everything that exists, to take a pair of all the living creatures, horses, cows, doves, {and to put them in the ark}. So he let the doves free {when the rain stopped}, and where they landed, he followed them there. He sailed and sailed, after he had taken {a pair} of every creature. And he took a snake into the ark as well…And he sailed and sailed…Then he saw a dry spot, a little piece of land, I do not know how big {this land} was. Then he settled down to live there and all procreated there—cows,

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[425] Cf. C.621.1. (The tree of knowledge forbidden) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[426] Note that in the above legend it is not Eve, but Adam who picks the forbidden fruit.

[427] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Original Sin", see Fig. 2, Fig. 8, Fig. 9 and Fig. 11.

[428] Cf. D 231 (Transformation: man to stone) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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horses, people. Only I can't tell you about {how many people he took} from his family; {I just know} that he took his wife and children; and all {the other people who didn't belong to his family} drowned. But he survived. So all people now descend from his seed…

May 1989
the village of Novi Troyani, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Aksinia Simeonovna Gerchenova,
born 1917

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Section V
"Be Fruitful And Multiply"

Text 2.2. 29
God's Thread

When God started creating the {first} man, He thought it over this way. The body was in two halves, and they were as if taken out of a cast. And Granddad Lord took a length of thread <кончец> and sewed them together.[429] But then there was a piece of thread left <конъца му артисал манко> and He said, "Well, I shan't cut it off! May it hang like this in front of the man's body.[430] Let it be his only soft spot <това да му е кусура>!"…And that is how Granddad Adam came to be. And that is why men have no blemish, yet still "this" {i.e. penis} may be their only soft spot <затова мъж кусур нема на друго място—само там може да е кусурлия>.

So God started on another human being: this time it would be perfect <рекъл Господ да повтори—да праи още един път човек, белким го догоди без грешка>.[431] And He took some thread again and made

[429] Cf. A 141 (God as craftsman) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[430] Cf. A 1313.1 (Origin of male sex organs) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[431] Rabbinical exegesis also considers the concept of Eve being the improved version of Adam, and the text of the early fifth century midrash "Genesis Rabbah" [18: 1] offers one of the most palpable exemplifications of this type of approach to the image of the first woman. When God creates Eve, He does it with more understanding, comprehension and discernment than when Adam is made; this detail views the rabbinical Eve as the last, that is, the most highly developed piece of God's work. The same concept envelopes the Bulgarian folk narratives contemplating the "who-is-to-give-birth" issue. According to them, after He has given menstruation and childbirth

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sure that it would be shorter. Off he went sewing—but this time he ended up short of thread {to complete the body of the woman}. And thus Granny Eve ended up with a bit of a gash under there.[432] So you see: there was a bit {of thread} left over in Granddad Adam, and a bit {of thread} left under for her.[433] That's why the saying goes: that God was short of a bit of thread when He created woman <за жената кончеца на Господ не е стигнал>. And it was left to man to make it up <затова е останало мъжа да го надонажда>. But how was he to make it up <как ше го донади>? He would make it up by making love to her <ше го донади като я оноди>.[434] Then the thread which was apparently redundant found its rightful place <тогава кончеца си е таман на местото>. That's how it happened that men and women connect their thread <Затова е останало мъжко и женско да се оножда̀т>.[435] That's how folk were begotten <Така земал да се ражда народ>.

That's the story of God's thread.[436]

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to men, God realises that they cannot cope with these duties and entrusts them to women who appear to be more sensible, intelligent and wise; see also Section VI ("The menstruating Adam") in the present Appendix.

[432] Cf. A 1313.2. (Origin of female sex organs) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[433] This theme is scattered throughout the entire Slavonic domain. Another two accounts (offering answers to the same question, as to why a woman's body has a bit of a gash below while for a man's body there was a piece of thread left) were published in 1904 in Leipzig, by Friedrich S. Krauss, in the first volume of his ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΦΥΤΕΙΑ: *Jahrbuch für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen, zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral*'; see ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΦΥΤΕΙΑ I [1904: 134–135, text 111; 135–136, text 112], as well as Badalanova [1993: 122–123; 1995: 144–145].

[434] In the original Bulgarian text there is a word-play between 'futuere' <онодя/оножда̀м> and 'fixing the thread' <донадя/донажда̀м>; in this the concept of "creating progeny" is imagined as a "cloth producing" activity. Compare this with text No. 2.2.6 ("The world is like a loom") in the present Appendix in which the world is envisioned as a divine loom weaving the fabric of humankind.

[435] Lit. "That's why it remained for man and woman to make love". See also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1352 (Origin of sexual intercourse).

[436] A similar interpretation of the motif of "God's thread" functions as a semantic kernel of a series of proverbial settings and formulaic expressions in Slavonic and Balkan folklore. Significant in this respect are some accounts published by one of the most prominent Bulgarian collectors of folk paraemiology and narratives from the period of the National Revival, Petko Rachev Slaveykov. In one of his collections he publishes the curse: "May he run out of thread!" (meaning 'May he die!') [Slaveykov 1982: 83]. In this, the concept marked by the lexeme "конецъ" ['thread'] is allegorically associated with traditional folklore belief that "one's life is a yarn", which is spun by three wise divine women [Arnaudov 1969: 614–620; MacDermot 1998: 85, 90; Marinov 1981: 253–57; 1984: 58–59]. Accordingly, the act of divine spinning is also regarded as an act of divine writing; while producing the "textile" of one's life-span, the three spinning female deities are also writing the "text" of one's destiny (i.e. one's life-story),

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And it is so to this day.

November 1990 *The storyteller wished to remain anonymous*
the village of Gaganitsa
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 30
Adam and Eve called the Animals to Help

Oh God, I don't know how {to tell you} about this…I know that Adam and *Yeva* {Eve} got together and they made, they created {the first male and female} human bodies.[437] Whether they made them from an animal or something else, {I don't know,} but they gave them everything {necessary}. And when they were to put {onto the female body} "this thing" {i.e. the vagina},[438] they called the animals to help.[439]

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which remains as a prophetic text inscribed with invisible letters on one's forehead, a text which contains the mystery of life, unknown to anybody but the divine spinners themselves. In the same fashion, the womb of the pregnant woman is often allegorically described as a spindle producing the yarn of life [Stoikova 1970: 375, text 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204]. Related data about the semantic shift of the lexeme "конець" ['thread'] is presented by another Bulgarian intellectual from the turn of the century—Naiden Gerov, in the second volume of his *Dictionary of Bulgarian Language* [Gerov 1897: 393]. The results of my own field-research in Bulgaria indicate, however, that apart from the meaning suggested by P. Slaveykov and N. Gerov, the curse "May he run out of his thread!" has a parallel meaning which refers to men's sexual abilities. Apparently, the expression "May you run out of thread!" (when said to a man) can also mean, 'May you become impotent!' On the other hand, Petko Slaveykov's collection of folklore narratives indicates that a similar verbal pattern often functions as a backbone of a series of erotic tales. According to one of them, "God left them [the first man and woman] to sew each other, because once, when He created humankind—and when people looked very much like rag dolls—He did not finish sewing their bodies; it was left for them to complete His job" [Slaveykov 1982: 146]. According to another legend, also published by Slaveykov, "as God was sewing the woman, His thread was not enough, and when he sewed the man, He had more thread than needed, and then He said, 'Let them sew each other!'" [Slaveykov 1982: 250]; for further information, see Vol. 6 of the full edition of his Collected Works [Slaveykov 1982].

Linguistic data can further elucidate and reveal some additional—otherwise deeply encoded—semantic parameters of the lexeme "конець", which are hidden beneath the manifest sense of the narrative. Within the context of Slavonic traditional culture, the lexeme "конець" can denote both 'the beginning' and 'the end' of both 'space' and 'time' [Gerov 1897: 393; Dal' 1881: 150–151; Fasmer II 1986: 310].

[437] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2.2. (First human pair as creators).

[438] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.2 (Origin of female sex organs).

[439] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33 (Animal as Creator's companion).

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The goat was first to step and form it {and that is why the vagina has the shape of a goat's hoof}.[440] And then came the other {animals}…It was either the wolf or the bear who put the hair on.[441] Then came the cock[442] and added the little comb {i.e. the clitoris}.[443] What else? The honey was {the gift} of the bee. She came and put it on. And at last came the hoopoe and he hid in {the vagina}…

My husband Dancho said that the hoopoe came to look for the honey. I {also} know that it {the hoopoe-bird} came for the honey…Because as the bee dropped the honey "this thing" {i.e. the vagina} got very sweet.

When all was said and done they decided to christen it. Who was to be the Godfather? God will be the Godfather. How to name her? He said, "Whichever animal calls out first I will name *her* {the vagina} after it." And before God could finish, the hoopoe called out from inside, "Poe, poe, poe!"; and so they named {the vagina} after {the song of} the hoopoe.[444] And that's why it was called *putka*. And since the hoopoe is a stinking bird, *she* smells like it.

This is the whole story. The goat gave {the vagina its shape} by stepping {on it}. The bear gave the hair. The cock gave the little comb. The bee gave the honey—that's why the entire world knows that *she* is as sweet as honey. And the hoopoe made a hole to look for the honey. After having found it {the honey} inside, the hoopoe hid there. That's why the hoopoe called out first after God's words. And God was her Godfather. And because the female part was named after the hoopoe, she smells like it, they are of kindred nature.[445]

February 1994
the village of Vasil Levski
Karlovo area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Lalka Dancheva Ivanova, born 1929

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova, Kiril Badalanov and Joan Sheffler

[440] See also text No. 2.2. 32 in the present Appendix.
[441] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33.1 (Beast as Creator's companion).
[442] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33.2 (Bird as Creator's companion).
[443] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.2.1. (Origin of clitoris).
[444] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33.2 (Bird as Creator's companion) and A 2426.2.4 (Hoopoe's song); further on the symbolism of the hoopoe in Slavonic folk beliefs, see Gura [1997: 22, 33, 36, 44, 48–49, 51, 54–55, 63, 72, 82, 86, 95, 112, 258, 326, 527, 529, 579–580, 598–603, 636, 683, 708, 713, 717, 737, 760].
[445] Lit. 'faith', 'religion'.

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Text 2.2. 31
About the Hoopoe's Song and the Creation of the World

{This is what happened} when *Ganka* was born… *Ganka* {was the name of the newly-created vagina}…That is how *she* was called, when *she* was a new-born. *She* was called *Ganka* and that was her name. Nowadays we give the name of *Kushla* {to a new-born female}, while {once people} used to call her *Ganka*. That being so, all living creatures gathered once in order to give *her* a {Christian} name, to christen *her.*[446] And it was said that whosoever called out first, *she* would be named after him. All of the living souls were gathered there—the hoopoe,[447] the cuckoo,[448] the turtle-dove,[449] the kite,[450] the screech-owl,[451] the nightingale,[452] the yellowhammer[453]—all living creatures were there.[454] I believe that ants were also there, and lizards were there too—all living creatures were certainly assembled. And after they all got together, it was announced, "Whoever calls out first, we will name her after him!"

Well, the hoopoe called out first, "Poe, poe, poe, poe, poe, poe, poe!"

They kept their word anyway. All of them laughed and gave her the name of *putka* {which sounds like the hoopoe's song}.[455]

[…]

And that's why, the saying goes, *her* name is "*Ganka* the Stinky Hoopoe". From then on she was called "Hoopoe"! She is not {called} *Ganka* any more but *Putka*. That's why it stinks, people say… […] Well, is it because it smells like a hoopoe or what—I don't know, but *she*…after all, carries hoopoe's name…

[So the female part is called "Hoopoe" too?—F.B.]

The *putkata* {female part} is "Hoopoe".

[But does the hoopoe stink?—F.B.]

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[446] In the above story the creation of the vagina is presented as a naming ceremony; in this the act of naming is regarded as an act of creation.

[447] *Upupa epops.*

[448] *Cuculus canorus.*

[449] *Columba turtur.*

[450] *Falco tinunculus*; see N. Gerov (1895), Vol. 1, p. 213.

[451] *Strix.*

[452] *Motacilla liscinia.*

[453] *Emberiza.*

[454] Consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33.2 (Bird as Creator's companion).

[455] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 33.2 (Bird as Creator's companion) and A 2426.2.4. (Hoopoe's song).

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Oh yes, the hoopoe does stink, it stinks. The hoopoe stinks, and it is not edible.

And there was something else I wanted to tell you… What was it I meant to tell you?

Oh yes, I meant to tell you how it came about that man and woman "came together".

Once upon a time {when the world was created} there were Saint Adam and Saint (Holy) Virgin Mary.[456] They were {the first living creatures} and were made out of mud. Then they got together and became people. Then Granddad Lord and the Holy Theotokos, that is, the Holy Virgin Mary…, hold on, I am all confused… They made… No, they created, they made a man and a woman out of mud. And they made the man to have a *pishka* {male part}[457] and the woman to have a *putka* {female part}.[458] And at first, {the man and the woman} were both blind.[459] They couldn't see, because God hadn't blessed them to see yet. And He willed them to be blind at first, but after some time passed, God said, "The Blessed Virgin Mary and Adam are to come here before Me!"…

Well, but they {had sinned} before that… Ah, {I forgot to tell you}! God had told them not to eat anything {in Paradise}. But the serpent had passed by before that. When the serpent passed by, it saw them and told them to eat {fruit} from a tree.[460] It was an apple tree. They replied that they were told {to eat} nothing…

Then the serpent told them, "Eat!"…

In those days the snake {did not crawl, it} stood upright. But when the snake told them to eat the apple and they tasted it,[461] they were not blind any more and could see. And when their eyes opened, God called them to {come to} Him, "Saint Virgin Mary and Saint Adam are to come here before Me!"

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[456] Once again the name of the "Mother of all living", Eve, is replaced by the name of Mary the Mother of God; see also text No. 2.2.24 in the present Appendix.

[457] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.1. (Origin of male sex organs).

[458] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.2. (Origin of female sex organs).

[459] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1316.3.3 (Men originally blind). At the same time, some apocryphal Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) sources maintain that once people were able to conceive progeny in an "incorporeal manner", via their eyes. See the text published by A. Miltenova [1986: 39].

[460] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve) and B176.1.1. (Serpent as deceiver in paradise).

[461] For the iconographic representations of the motif of the "Original Sin", see Fig. 2, Fig. 8, Fig. 9 and Fig. 11.

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Then they looked at each other and saw that he had a *patka* {male groin}, and she had a *pute* {female part}. They were ashamed to go to God as they have eaten {the forbidden fruit and hence became naked}.

Then {God} said again, "Come to me!"

They said, "We would like to come, but we are ashamed."

"Why are you ashamed?"

"Because we are naked."[462]

They were naked.

And He said the following… He gave them some wool here {to cover their private parts}[463] and for the armpits, and He gave them hair for the head, so that they could cover themselves and go to Him. When they went to Him, He said, "What made you {able to} see? Who told you?"

"Well, the serpent passed and told us, we ate from the tree and we could see!"

And then He said, "It is God's will that from now the serpent should crawl on its belly!"

God said that {the serpent} must crawl and not walk anymore.

And after that {the first people were driven from Paradise}…

That is why nowadays the serpent crawls on its belly. But once it used to walk upright…

And then God created them {as mortal people, they were not immortal anymore}… He gave them {knowledge} to dress, and He let them know how folk are supposed to live. So, having given them male and female private parts,[464] He blessed them to come together in order to create future generations…

That is why they came together. They gave birth to their offspring, so now there are girls and boys. So, {that's how Adam and Eve became mortal} people. From them, all people originated, that is what I know.

But some {people} now say that {mankind} originates from the monkey, but {I don't believe it}… We know that it is not the monkey we came from… That is what we were {taught} at one time…

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[462] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).
[463] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1315.5 (Origin of pubic hairs).
[464] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313 (Origin of sex organs).

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My sister-in-law used to be a teacher and read many, many books. And she rendered {this tale} this way, so did my mother, as well as everybody else. That is how mankind was created. It started from Adam and *Yeva* {Eve}…[…]

Granddad Lord blessed them as I told you…Many people say this story is so and this is how it is in the Bible. He blessed them so and people were created. By {from?} Adam and Eve…

And when it was the end of mankind, God put all the animals together in a chest, with a man, a woman, and children.[465] He put them all in a chest and dropped it in the sea. And when they stopped all kinds of animals were there. And there was food for all of them too…And then they were thrown out of the water, the sea or the river in which He dropped them, and somehow they were found and so people began procreating once more…

February 1994
the village of Momina Banya,
Hisar area, Plovdiv region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Stana Todorova Kasărova, born 10.10.1912

Text 2.2. 32
God Decided to Create the *Pizhulina* Female Part

God decided to create the *pizhulina* {female part}.[466] He brought together the goat,[467] and the bee,[468] and the fox,[469] and the polecat,[470] and the donkey.[471] So they were wondering and wondering where to put it. Where would they decide to put it? If they put it on the forehead, everyone will want to reach out and touch it, everyone will make a grab for it: it is an easy place. Then God said: "Let there be a nosegay here! Yet whoever desires to touch the *pizhulina*, should desire to touch the nosegay beforehand!"[472]

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[465] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1006 (Renewal of world after world calamity) and A 1021 (Deluge: escape in a boat/ark).

[466] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.2. (Origin of female sex organs).

[467] See also text No. 2.2.30 in the present Appendix.

[468] *Apis mellifera*.

[469] *Canis vulpes.*

[470] *Mustela putorius.*

[471] *Oniscus asellus*.

[472] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1550 (Origin of customs of courtship and marriage). According to traditional Bulgarian norms of courtship, acquiring the nosegay

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So they {decided to} move it further down {putting it on the neck}, but it was still quite easy to reach. Then God said: "Let there be a necklace here, but not the *pizhulina*! Yet whoever desires to touch the *pizhulina*, he should desire to touch the necklace beforehand!"[473]

Then they went further down. They considered putting it between the breasts. But God found the place to be too easy again. You reach into the bosom and there it is…Anyone would be willing to do it. And God said again, "It will not be here! It will be further down! Yet whoever desires to reach the *pizhulina,* will desire to reach for the bosom beforehand!"[474]

So they went further down. They thought of putting it right in the midriff. But if they put it on the navel, it would still be easy {to reach}. So God decreed so, "It shall not be here! It shall be further down! There will be a waistband here, but not the *pizhulina*! Yet whoever desires to reach for the *pizhulina* shall desire to undo the waistband beforehand!"[475]

(which is usually attached to the kerchief of the beloved girl) is considered to be the first step which any young unmarried man should make in order to express his feelings. If the flower is refused, it means that the girl has no intention of getting involved into an emotional relationship with this particular man. Incorporated in this legend is the folklore knowledge about the rules of traditional non-verbal communication between young unmarried people; see also the next footnotes.

[473] Cf. Stith Thompson's Motif-Index: A 1550 (Origin of customs of courtship and marriage). According to traditional Bulgarian courtship etiquette, after his having received a nosegay from his sweetheart, the young man may be encouraged to present her a necklace which later he may be allowed to put on her neck, provided she wishes to continue the relationship with him. If the woman refuses to accept the necklace, it means that she is not willing to commit herself further in this relationship.

[474] Cf. Stith Thompson's Motif-Index: A 1550 (Origin of customs of courtship and marriage). Having successfully passed the first two steps in entering into a love-relationship with his beloved girl, the young man may be allowed (as suggested in the above paragraph) to touch her bosom. In this the traditional knowledge of a certain specific symbolic body-language of communication with the opposite sex appears to be crucial. Elsewhere the same informant pointed out that, "apart from making one laugh", the act of storytelling "these funny dirty tales" had an additional, "very important, and indeed very serious task: to teach young people the art of love-making". Hence the act of narration of certain creation stories (and in particular the bawdy ones) functions as an important tool in sex-educating young people and teaching them social skills.

[475] Cf. Stith Thompson's Motif-Index: A 1550 (Origin of customs of courtship and marriage). "Undoing the waistband" is obviously the last step in accomplishing the task initiated with the acquisition of the nosegay (see above). In this the knowledge of how to conduct oneself during the ritualised process of non-verbal communication between the two sexes is presented as a legendary text. The above account also shows how native ethnopaedagogy can be spelled out via allegorical language of "the bawdy" creation stories.

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They went further down to the place which is the least possible to reach, to the most secret place. Yes indeed—it is such a hard place to get at! But it was God who said—it was to be in a hidden, secret place, so that these things would not be done so easily. So, at length they decided: it would be underneath, between the legs.

Thereupon the goat said, "I will tread on it to give it its shape!"

You understand, right? The goat stepped in between the woman's legs. And when it did so, there was a mound of earth in between the hooves, there was some earth between the hooves, and that earth came off and shaped the *pizhulina*.[476]

Then the fox said, "I will brush it with my tail and put hair on it! So it will be as soft as my tail!"

And God gave His blessing, "So let it be!"

And the fox went over the *pizhulina* and brushed {it with} its tail, making it as soft as the fox's tail.

And the bee said, "I will hum so that it will be as sweet as honey!"

Then God gave His blessing, "So let it be!"

And the bee hummed and the *pizhulina* became as sweet as honey.

But the polecat watched and wondered, "Well, a very fine job came out of it all, and a very sweet one, too! Although it is tucked away in a place so hidden and so hard to get hold of, everyone will still wish to reach out and touch it. Men will not look for anything else: they will never take their minds off it! I'd better go through so it will smell {like me}!"

Then God gave His blessing, "So let it be!"

And the polecat went through it. And it began to smell like it!

And the donkey said, "*Lele!*"[477]

Seeing how lovely and sweet a thing it was, {the donkey} made straight for it! So it kicked and said, "And I will kick it, and it will be bottomless!"

So {the donkey} broke through her bottom with his hoof. And this happened just as God was about to give His approval, "Let it be!"; so {before God's blessing} the donkey kicked through her bottom.

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[476] The motif that the vagina has the shape of a goat's cloven hoof is widespread in Bulgarian oral tradition; as in text 2.2.20, in the above account it is stated that the female sex organ appears from the imprints of the hoof of the goat who steps into the soft clay of the newly shaped, still soft body of the first female human being.

[477] Perhaps the closest English equivalent to this exclamation would be "Oh my!"

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And, true enough, there is no bottom to the *pizhulina*. To this day, nobody has ever reached its bottom. Such is God's blessing.

May 1990
the village of Govezhda
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Malina Atanasova Spasova, born 22.3.1926

Text 2.2. 33
It was also He who Created Women's Private Parts

The Lord created it all—everything visible and everything invisible. He created the world, He created the light, He created everything. It was also He who created women's private parts. From the bear, He took a piece of ear, then He took a tendon of a deer; and last, He took the rooster's comb. That is why a woman's groin never wears out: a {deer's} tendon never tears, nor gets worn. And woman's groin doesn't go bald or threadbare because a bear's ear is always soft and its fur—strong. And, God brightened the middle {of the female groin} with the rooster's scarlet comb.[478] Afterwards Granddad Lord smeared on some honey—that is why the woman's groin is sweet: God Himself smeared it with honey. But then He took the smell of the polecat…just so the female groin wouldn't be too perfect: someone might put the evil eye on it, and spoil it.

These are the things God brought together to create woman's groin: it is made of five parts, of five "faiths":[479] the bear's ear, the deer's tendon, the rooster's comb, the bee's honey and the polecat's odour.

Five animals have a part in this story, each giving God what it could to help Him make woman's private parts. That's why it is so cleverly thought up and in so masterly a fashion finished. No blemish there.

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[478] Stith Thompson's Motif-Index: A 1313.2.1. (Origin of clitoris).

[479] In some Slavonic formulaic expressions, and in Bulgarian dialects in particular, the word "вяра/вера" ('faith') denotes not only 'religion', but also 'nationality', as well as 'component', 'part', 'form', 'type', 'sort', 'kind', 'variety', 'class', 'classification', 'category', 'group', 'pattern'.

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Let me tell you, as a man—there's nothing wrong with woman's private parts—now the rest of her is a different story!

November 1990
the village of Gaganitsa
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Kostadin Tsekov Tsvetkov, born 1929

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 34
It was also God who made Women's Private Parts

God made folks out of clay.[480] It was also God who made women's private parts… He cut a woman's body {underneath} with an axe,[481] while He stuck a bit {of the remaining clay}[482] to {the body of} the boy at the same place, so that he could become a man. This is how He created them. He split her underneath with an axe, and added a bit to him. Then He said, "This will be for a *patka* {penis}, and that will be for a *pichka* {vagina}. And there you are, all ready!"

And this is how it has been ever since. He cut up the woman's body underneath with an axe, and put both *mudentsa* {testicles} and a *patka* {penis} on the body of the man—and that's all…

God creates {people} from whatever He would wish them to be created. Because He is our Lord, isn't He? He made both man and woman out of clay—so they became people. Just in the same way children make a snow-man out of snow, don't they? So, He made {people} out of clay, then he breathed into this one, and breathed into that one…

While breathing into her, he said, "May you be a woman!"

And He breathed into him and said, "May you be a man!"

And He shaped their bottoms, as well as a *patka* for him, and this and that {for her}; and a mouth, and this and that; and He gave them speech, and they began speaking. Thus He made folks.

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[480] See also A 15.4.1 (Potter as Creator) and A 141 (God as craftsman) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[481] See also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.2. (Origin of female sex organs).

[482] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1313.1. (Origin of male sex organs). About the creation of "the male sinful part" (i.e. the penis) from the left-overs of the primeval clay from which God moulded the body of Adam, see Dragomanov [1894: 54].

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So He struck *Eva* {Eve} underneath {with an axe}, while for him He made male private parts out of clay and attached them to his body. So, these {two} began {living together like husband and wife}, and that's how matters were. You know what these things are like, don't you!

Yet there is a particular spot {the perineum} which is placed underneath the female body, and this spot belongs to the *muda* {testicles}, because they have to stay there while "he" {i.e. penis} enters "her" {the vagina}…This spot {between the anus and vagina} had remained disputable. This is still a disputable place {according to the legend; because there was a quarrel once between the vagina and the anus about this spot, they were arguing about it.} Then the testicles said: "This is our place!" …As the vagina and the anus quarreled for that place. While they quarreled, and quarreled, the *uyo* {the penis} said, "Stop quarrelling, for this place belongs to {my} testicles. This spot belongs to the testicles. They should stay there when man and woman are doing these things."

That's how it is…

And this is true—when he gets on top of her, he leaves his bags there. Those two bags of his…

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Dimitar Filipov Ivanov, born 1920

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 35
The First Sexual Intercourse[483]

Granny *Eva* {Eve} and Granddad *Adam* {Adam} came out from one of God's ribs.[484] And they lived like brother and sister in the Garden of Heaven, and Adam, as he was quicker, he started thinking of it,

[483] This account can be compared to the some Slavonic folklore legends published by Friedrich S. Krauss in the early twentieth century; see text No. 148 "Kako je Adam izjebao prvi put Evu" ("How Adam made love to Eve for the first time") in the first volume of his *ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΦΥΤΕΙΑ* [1904: 180], as well as text No. 1 "Kdyz Adam zacal mrdat" ("When Adam began to make love"), published in the sixth volume of *ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΦΥΤΕΙΑ* [1909: 369]. See also the texts recorded by the author in the region of Montana, North-Western Bulgaria [Badalanova 1993: 130–133]; compare them to the following texts No. 2.2.36 and No. 2.2. 37.

[484] See also A 1211 (Man made from Creator's body) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index.*

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took to touching Granny Eve here and there—he was all over her, he wanted to do it…As all living people do, right…But he did not know where and what {he was supposed to do}, so…He turned here, turned there but no-o-o-othing came out of it! Yet he wanted to do it so much—he would die of desire!

So, God was watching from above {how the man was trying in vain to make love to Eve} and finally He said, "Oh, God! They will die of this urge! Oh, bother![485] The world will come to naught! Oh, bother! All my work will be in vain! Oh, bother!"

As it was Him Who made people anyway!

And as the Lord sat by the fire getting warm, He shot a spark {from his abode}, and it stung Granddad Adam's bottom {while he was on top of Eve}. And when the man was stung {his body moved forward and}—yes! At the end, he finally managed to hit what he targeted.[486]

And this is how it has been ever since—men will always feel the fire in their bottom, and will always feel like doing it.

March 1988
the village of Borovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Keva Dafinova Borisova, born 1924

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 36
They Knew Nothing

Once upon a time when God made man and woman, they knew nothing;[487] {they had desire and need but could do nothing.} And the man wanted to make love, and the woman wanted to make love too. Yet no-o-othing {happened}! And God took pity on them. So, He decided to teach them {how to do it}.[488] As He was God He knew everything, and there were no secrets for Him. But God's will was that the man would be on top of the woman. As the man is always greater and above the woman. And she would be beneath him. As she is less than him. This is the way things must be done. And so it is until today.

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[485] The meaning in Bulgarian is an expletive.
[486] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1352 (Origin of sexual intercourse).
[487] See also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1270.1. (Primeval human pair live in innocence).
[488] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1352 (Origin of sexual intercourse).

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So, they started to do it. The man started cuddling the woman as he was supposed to. But they were still ignorant and they didn't have an idea how or what to do…And then God threw an ember from the fire and hit the man on his bottom. And when the man twitched and said "Ow!" then it finally happened…And so it was.

December 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Anka Nikolova Iordanova, born 1924

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 37
Once Upon a Time Men and Women Didn't Know How to Get Together

Once upon a time men and women didn't know how to get together. Who would teach them? God will teach them, only He has this power…

So the man grabbed the woman but nothing was happening…And Granddad Lord gave him a bash on his bottom and that was it! Thus the man finally hit the target at which he aimed.[489]

May 1990
the village of Melyane
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

The storyteller wished to remain anonymous; occupation: peasant farmer and shepherd

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 38
Each Man Should Have a Wife of His Own!

Adam and *Yeva* {Eve} were like brother and sister. That is how it was, that is how God created them…And they started cuddling each other. And saint *Yovan* {John} saw them and said: "By God, I would say each man should have a wife of his own!" Then the Lord pronounced: "{Saint} John, may your lips turn into gold for thinking of that!" Then the mouth of St John became golden. So God blessed this day, so that it could be remembered—that's why we have the feast of St John the Golden-mouthed…[490]

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[489] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1352 (Origin of sexual intercourse).

[490] The feast day of St John Chrysostom is celebrated on 27th January. According to the present account, it was on this day when St John Chrysostom blessed the union

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May 1990
the village of Kopilovtsi
Chiprovtsi region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Anna Borisova Tsenkina, born 1902

Text 2.2. 39
Man and Woman to Conceive a Child[491]

When the time came to decide how man should be created, all the saints got together—Saint *Dimitar* {Demetrius}, and Saint *Georgi* {George}, and Saint *Ivan* {John}, and all kinds of saints.[492] There were lots of saints there… They gathered and began discussing. One of them said, "Let man be made out of mud". Another saint put forward the idea of transforming some animal {into man}. A third saint suggested something else. There were all kinds of ideas… Eventually Saint *Ivan Zlatoust* {St John Chrysostom}[493] said that man and woman should unite in order to conceive a child![494] Then one of the Holy Virgins <Богородиците> {lit. plural form of "Theotokos", with the definite article}[495] rose and said, "Saint John, may your lips be of gold!"…

For his suggestion was the best, you see.

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between Adam and Eve; see also in this connection the folklore legends published by Badalanova [1993: 140–142, 150].

[491] A similar version of this legend was published in the *ShNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. V [1891: 150, text 1]. It was recorded by D. Stoykov in the vicinity of Sofia.

[492] Consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*; see A 37 (Joint creators). According to the present folklore account, the creation of mankind, together with the issue of childbirth, were discussed by the council of saints at the time of the ultimate beginning; the participation of the most venerated among the Bulgarian "male" saints, such as St Demetrius, St George, St John Chrysostom, accompanied by the Virgin(s), i.e. the Holy Theotokos herself, is a motif which is widespread in Bulgarian creation stories dealing with anthropogenesis.

[493] Lit. "John the Golden-Mouthed", or "John of the Golden Lips".

[494] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1350 (Origin of sex functions), A 1351 (Origin of childbirth), A 1352 (Origin of sexual intercourse).

[495] According to traditional folk beliefs, together with the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos (Богородица), there also exist some other "Virgins"; when asked who these "Virgins" might be, the storytellers usually refer to different Christian feasts related to various moments of the life of Mary the Mother of God (her Nativity, her Dormition, etc.); thus "the Little Theotokos" <Малка Богородица> is related to the feast day of the Nativity of the Mother of God (celebrated on September 8th), whereas "the Elderly Virgin" <Голяма Богородица> is related to the feast day of the Dormition of the Mother of God (celebrated on August 28th).

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So then the saints said: "May Saint John be the one with the lips of gold!"…

You cannot find the name of St John the Golden-mouthed in the church calendars; nevertheless, this is the name we know him by. So St John became the Golden-mouthed because of this story…On hearing him say just how children should be made, she rose, and embraced him, and kissed him on his mouth, saying: "John, may your lips be gold!"…

So his idea was the best. It was liked most.

February 1994
the village of Sigmen
Karnobat area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Elena Zhecheva Karazhecheva, born 1920

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova, Kiril Badalanov and Joan Sheffler

Section VI
The Menstruating Adam

Text 2.2. 40
God Gave "It" First to Men

At the beginning God gave "it"[496] to men <гу дал Господь на мъжети>,[497] but they were unable to hide "this thing" <а пък те не можали да гу скрият "това нящу" у себе си>. They couldn't hide "it"…And so—He gave "it" to the women <Айде—Той дава гу на жените>. As the woman could hide "it" <жената може да гу скрие>…

My granny told me this story…But one forgets things…And the story goes like this. The men were not good enough at hiding "it"; in fact, one of them even put "it" up on the chimney <той на кумина гу качил>. When it happened {and the man started bleeding}, he put "it" up there, on the chimney. And the people were staring at "this" {and everyone new that he was impure, while it was supposed to be

[496] While referring to "menstruation", the storytellers would use either the pronoun "it", or a number of euphemisms (such as the lexemes "washing" <пране>, "womanly" <женщина>, "monthlies" <месец>, etc.).

[497] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

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kept secret}…And even He {God} became ashamed of him! And so God gave "it" to women afterwards…As women could hide "it"…

Our people call "it" {menstruation} "washing" <пранье>, and God gave "it" first to men…

May 1989
the village of Gyunevka, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Primorsk area, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Todora Kirilova Lebechenkova,
born 1908

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 41
At First He Gave "It" to the Man

At first, when God gave "it", He gave "it" to the man.[498] When "this thing" was over, he took off his pants, stuck them on {his} pitchfork, and went to the pond—where the water has stopped flowing, and the river forms a pool—to wash them. He started rinsing them out in the water. When God saw the way he was rinsing "it" away, He said, "This is not a good idea at all! I shall give "it" to woman, because she will take care of all "this" discretely!"

This is how it is now: a woman will always try to conceal when she has "this thing". So that no one will know.

April 1981
the village of Tvarditsa, the former USSR
(once the Bessarabia Province of
the Russian Empire)
Chadar-Lunga region (now Moldova)

Story told by:
Pena Todorova Zaykova, born 1913
(also known as "Granny Tanasitsa")

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 42
Once Men Used to Wear Women's Dresses and Menstruate

Once upon a time, men "had to do the washing".[499]

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[498] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

[499] "To do the washing"—a euphemism meaning 'to menstruate', often used in conjunction with the verb "to blossom" (which has the same allegorical meaning as "to do the washing", i.e. 'to menstruate'). Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355

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Once one of them was ploughing {while getting his period}, and he became completely smeared {with blood}. At that time {men} used to wear women's dresses—that's the way I was told the story, and that's the way I should tell it to you. Well, since this chap was not able to do "the washing", and he did not know {how} to deal with "the washing", Granddad Lord decreed that things work the other way around—"this" was to become a women's problem. For men cannot deal with "the washing".

And from then on "this" was given to women; once things were like that…

In those days a man would plough with oxen. And he was ploughing with the oxen {this way}: he would lift the plough {and put it on his shoulders} here, {at this end of the field,} and then take it down there, to that end {of the field}, and he would start ploughing {from that end towards this end}; and then again, {after his having finished the furrow here}, he would take {the plough and the oxen} back there, {so that he could start again ploughing from there, from that end, and lead the oxen to plough to this end {while carrying all the time the plough from the right to the left edge and ploughing from the left to the right edge}…Granddad God passed by and said: "Why are you doing it like this, My child?" He said, "Why are you overworking and killing yourself?"

"Well, how I am supposed to do it, old man?" he asked.

"Do the ploughing {in the way I am going to show you}, do the ploughing like this! No use {doing like you were}, My son!" He said, "Come on, begin from here, {from the end of the old furrow you have already done}, and turn the oxen round, {and whistle to them like this:} "Fiuu—fiuu—fiuu—fiuu!"[500] That is all {you need to know} to make things work properly! So here we are—you plough on to over there! At that point you turn back the oxen, and whistle {like I taught you}: 'Fiuu—fiuu!', and there you are!"[501]

(Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

[500] "Fiuu—fiuu—fiuu—fiuu!"—an onomatopoeic expression; here the storyteller is imitating how the ploughman was whistling with his mouth while ploughing, after God's having taught him to do it properly.

[501] Cf. A 1403 (God teaches people to work), A 1441.1. (Origin of ploughing) and C 53.1. (People taught by God to work) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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And then the ploughman said: "Oho-o-o, old man, it must be very easy to plough like this!"[502]

Thereupon He went to the woman, as she was weaving.

"My child", He said, "why do you weave like this? Why do you cast the shuttle from over there?"

"Come on, come on", she said, "old bearded man! How can you teach me? I know what to do!"

"Well, then", He said, "My child", He said, "may you weave for three years and afterward may you carry it {i.e., the textile you have made for these three years} under your armpit!"

{That's why} we women have been condemned.[503] Yet he, the ploughman, he has been blessed.

"My child", He said to him, "may you plough for one day and may you eat {the fruits of your one day's work} for the whole year! May you plough for a day, and eat the harvest from that day for a whole year! May you make just one furrow, and may your labour be seen even from the distant mountain!"

Well, you see now how things are—when the ploughman blazes a trail, everyone can see the furrow. But it doesn't work the same way with the women's efforts. We women have been condemned, we spin, and spin, and spin and weave—and so what? Does everyone see it? No one would take any notice of it {except for the very woman who does the spinning and the weaving}![504]

[...]

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[502] The legend of "How Jesus Christ taught the ignorant ploughman the way to plough his fields with oxen" is also contained in the apocryphal text "The Story about the Tree of the Holy Cross"; it was created in the 10th century in Bulgaria, by the local Priest Eremiya; compare the above account to the text of one of the surviving 13th century copies of Priest Eremiya's work, which was first published by V. Jagic in 1873, and subsequently edited and produced in modern Bulgarian by D. Petkanova [1982: 282, paragraph XIV].

[503] Cf. A 1403 (God teaches people to work), A 1372.8. (Why women never have leisure) and C 53.1. (People taught by God to work) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[504] Similar versions of the same legendary plot, "How God the Father (or Jesus Christ) taught the ploughman to plough and the weaver to weave" are registered in many regions of Bulgaria; see also the tales entitled "The Lord God and the Ploughman" ("Госпот со орачо") and "When the Lord was wandering around the world, he saw the woman weaving and taught her how to weave" ("Госпот кога шетал по земява видел жената како ткаи и іа научи"), both recorded by Marko Tsepenkov in the area of Prilep, and published by him in the first volume of the *SbNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection* [1889: 106, text 3 and text 4]. In the *Catalogue of Bulgarian Folk Tales* these legends are classified as Type *830D*; see Daskalova-Perkovska *et al.* [1994: 292].

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As for the men, what I was telling you {about menstruation}—that happened during the ploughing-time, you see. He had gone to the fields.[505] He went to the field {and began bleeding there}, and Granddad Lord felt sorry for him.

So He declared, "Well, well! May "it" {the menstruation} be allotted to females, for they will keep themselves clean, and keep "it" a secret!"

And here we are! You can see—it's a secret issue, isn't it? During "this season" every woman would put on panties {which would not otherwise be the case}[506]… For we were not used to wearing any otherwise… But still, let me say, you would wear a "koshulya" dress,[507] and on top a "saya" dress,[508] and so everything is covered up… But once upon a time it was the man who had to go through this; so it happened while he was ploughing, and Granddad Lord didn't like this[509]…

"Well", He says, "May the man wear the "vlashka nosiya"[510] from now on, and let him be clean {and pure}![511] May man be clean {and pure}!

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[505] In some villages of Bulgaria (and in the Thracian region in particular) it is believed that "fertile women" are supposed to go to the fields during their menstruation, so that the blood may drip to the soil thus bringing virility to the land; "blood" and "fecundity", on the one hand, and "woman" and "soil" on the other, form the symbolic framework of the language of this ritual. Regarded as a "strictly feminine issue", this particular custom has escaped the attention of ethnographers collecting data during the 19th and the 20th cent.; the evidence about it is scarce, scattered in personal narratives of elderly women relating stories about their youth. See my fieldwork notes from North-Western and Southern Bulgaria deposited in the Archive of the Institute of Folklore (the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia).

[506] According to my own fieldwork data, until the beginning of the 20th century, Bulgarian women from rural areas were to wear underwear only on their wedding night and during menstruation. See my fieldwork notes from South-Western and North-Western Bulgaria deposited in the Archive of the Institute of Folklore (the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia).

[507] The "koshulya" <кошуля> dress is part of traditional female costume in the region in which this legend was recorded.

[508] The "saya" <сая> dress is part of traditional female costume in the region in which this legend was recorded.

[509] See the original Bulgarian text: "Тогай мъжо, тогай той бил "на тия редове"; а случило се на орането–и на Дедо Господ му се е видело грозно…"

[510] The local term "vlashka nosiya" <"влашка носия"> denotes 'male clothes', 'men's wear'.

[511] In Bulgarian the word denoting 'clean' means 'pure' too; see the original Bulgarian text: "чист да си е, да си е чист!"

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Let him be without any secrets![512] And may "it" belong to women, and girls![513] They will hide "it", so that no one would see "it"![514]

That's how it is, my child!

When you are in "this state"[515] of being, you are {loose} like a basket, my child! At that time all your body is disjointed…

This is what our mothers used to say: "You must not carry anything heavy now, my child", they would say, "Now you are like a basket! Your body becomes loose {both when you have your period, and after childbirth, i.e.—while bleeding}! Your body becomes loose, since you are a lying-in woman <"родилка">, therefore you should not do this, you should not carry anything heavy!"

So you mustn't carry anything that weighs more than three kilo…

July 25, 1990
the village of Struma
Sandanski region (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Rosa Ivanova Yankova, born 1916

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova and Tsveta Pokrovska

Text 2.2. 43
At the Beginning God Decreed that Granddad Adam Should Get "It"

Once upon a time God ordered first that men were to do "the washing" <пранье>,[516] that was how it was once upon a time…That is how I heard it—at the beginning God decreed that Granddad Adam should get "it". Initially Granddad Adam was to get "the washing" <отпърво Деда Адъм бил праничав>, poor thing…Yet when men got "it", they took their clothes off and carried them round the streets and made a mess! And people laughed at them!

Hence God said, "Males can't cope <Това не може мъжете да връше>! Let us give it to females, since they know how to keep things covered up! <Я дай да дадеме на жените, че они знаат да кутат!> For they know how to keep a secret <Знаат да пазат тайна>!"

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[512] Lit. "Let him have everything apparent!" <"на открито">.

[513] See the original Bulgarian text: "А нека е на жените, на момите!"

[514] See the original Bulgarian text: "Они ке го закриват, никой да не го види!"

[515] The phraseological expression "in this state" <"на тия редове"> means 'to menstruate', 'to be impure', 'to bleed'; it could apply to either menstrual bleeding, or the bleeding after the childbirth.

[516] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

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That's why it has been devolved {by the Lord} onto the women.

Well, that's how things were. A long time ago, it was called the "washing" <пранье>, when men had "it", when Granddad Adam had "it". But when God gave "it" to women, He called "it" "womanly" <женщина>[517] instead. It is so called until today.

Well, the word "womanly" has the same meaning as the word "washing".

In fact, these two words—"washing" and "womanly" mean one and the same thing. Still "it" would be more often called "washing", so that it would be remembered that initially Granddad Adam was to do the "washing" and it was only later that God gave "it" to Granny *Eva* {Eve}. Afterwards she started doing the "washing", and, because of this, "it" was named after her, so it became "womanly". Because the woman had to do the "washing" but not the man anymore. It turned out to be Eve but not Adam who would have "to wash" from then on. For she was a woman, they called the "washing" after her, by her name—"womanly". That is, {menstruation} has her name, the name of Granny Eve.

May 1990
the village of Kopilovtsi
Chiprovtsi region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Maria Zakharieva Stoyanova, born 1923

Text 2.2. 44
Once Upon a Time God Gave "The Washing" to Males

Once upon a time God gave "the washing" to males.[518] Well, there was a man who had "it", and as he was walking around, his trousers were all covered in blood…And he placed them on his shoulder and went down to the stream there to wash them. That's how I have heard the story.

Thereupon God gave "it" to women, since they can hide {the signs} and wash themselves. {That's why} He gave "it" to females. They wouldn't enter a church during the "washing"-time. People used to say, "It isn't a good idea to go to church during menstruation!" If there is a wedding ceremony, and the bride has her period, it brings bad luck.

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[517] Traditional expression denoting the period of menstruation.

[518] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

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She must know when she will have "the washing", she must keep count, mustn't she? You know when your "monthlies" are due, don't you? You know when "you are to be seen",[519] right? So what they do is postpone the wedding {if the bride has her period}. People were simple before.

April 1989
the village of Preslav, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Primorisk region, Zaporozhie district
(now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Raisa Alekseevna Gagunskaya
(also known as "Granny Rayka the Sorceress"), born 1909

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 45
Initially God Gave "It" to Adam

Initially God gave "it" {the menstruation} to Adam, He gave "it" first to the man.[520] But once he jumped over "the tail" {the rear-end} of the cart and smeared it. As God saw this, He said, "I will give "it" to the woman."

Then God gave "it" to *Eva* {Eve}…

April 1981
the village of Tvarditsa, the former USSR
(once the Bessarabia Province of the Russian Empire)
Chadar-Lunga region (now Moldova)

Story told by:
Paraskeva Ilichna Paskalova,
born 1914

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 46
Once Upon a Time, "It" was Given to Men

That's what people say, that's what I have heard…I heard a story that once upon a time, "it" was given to men.[521] However, they have to yoke {oxen and horses} to the carts, don't they? Well, {there was a man who had his period, and} he jumped over "the tail" {the rear-end} of the cart and smeared it {with blood}. Whereupon "it" was {taken from

[519] Traditional expression denoting the period of menstruation.
[520] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).
[521] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

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men} and given to women. That's {the story} I have heard {about menstruation}. Whether it is true or not {I don't know}…

So He gave "it" to women for it shouldn't belong to men anymore, because "it" doesn't suit them…"It" has to belong to women! Well, you know what men are like! They would go dirty, and they would {cause a mess}, while women are much more capable of concealing everything.

May 1989
the village of Gyunevka, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Primorsk region, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Paraskeva Borissova Zheynova,
born 1912

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 47
Dough and Blood

[…] I've heard that at first God gave "this thing" to the man.[522] Just like that, He gave "it" to the man. But the man, {while kneading dough for bread}, he got himself dirty, dirty {all blood-stained}…Even his eyes were smeared {with blood and dough}…

Before that, God had called upon him and had ordered him to do women's work, and had given him women's burdens…He had given him women's curse {i.e. the menstruation} too…

So, the man had started baking bread. As he'd been making dough while blood was flowing, he got the dough all {bloody}, and he was all covered in blood {and dough}…

Then God summoned him and said, "May you work for ages without help {and rest}! And I will give your present duties to the woman. But you will work all the time to feed your children!"

That was God's will. And this is why the man works on and on…And as the man works on and on and on, so the woman is at home.[523] Because she has taken over his duties: she has to give birth, "to wash herself" {i.e. 'to menstruate'}, to keep clean, knead the dough for bread, and do everything {in the house}…[524]

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[522] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

[523] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1440.2 (Origin of distribution of work) and A 1472 (Beginning of division of labour).

[524] According to traditional social norms, gender roles are rigorously confined and defined, and a certain stereotyped pattern of precise rules justifying sexual division

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But {once upon a time, the story goes,} God asked the man to appear before Him {while he was menstruating}, and the man went, but he was all covered with dough and blood, all dirty he appeared before God. Well, God summoned him, and he went. When God saw the man, He said, "Oh, you man, I will give you the kind of work that you will do for a century! But you won't have to do {what you have been doing up till now}! And from now on the woman will have {periods}, she will stay at home and take care of the children!"

As you can see from this story, "the washing" {i.e. 'menstruation'} was man's duty once. Woman was doing man's work then. Woman was given man's work to do, and man was given woman's work…And I was told that later God changed these ways and gave the burden {of periods} to woman and he ordered the man thus, "You will work forever! All the time!"

{As God was saying that,} the man was all covered in "that" {blood} and dough and {even} his eyes were smeared. Seeing the man was so dirty, God realised that man couldn't cope with "it" {menstruation} and said, "Man cannot manage it. Let woman carry it between her legs!" This is how it happened. This is what I was told by some old women. I heard it from various old women. This is the story…

May 1989
the village of Novi Troyani, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Berdyansk area, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Valentina Simeonovna Telcharova,
born 1932

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

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of labour is maintained, strictly sanctioned by the community itself. According to this pattern, the conventional stereotype of "female labour" includes "kneading the dough for bread", pregnancy, childbirth and, of course, menstruating. Moreover, bread-making activities are often perceived in conjunction with childbirth and/or menstruating, as is the case in the present text. The "dough-kneading" = "menstruating" parallelism can be detected in Rabbinic tradition as well. Compare this to the following paragraph from Midrash Rabbah (XVII. 8): "And why was the precept of menstruation given to her?", "Because she shed the blood of Adam [by causing death], therefore was the precept of menstruation given to her". "And why was the precept of "dough" given to her?" "Because she corrupted Adam, who was the dough of the world, therefore was the precept of dough given to her" [Midrash Rabbah, Genesis I: 139]. Hence the Jewish custom, according to which woman is obligated to pinch off some dough when baking "hallah" (bread) and burn it.

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Text 2.2. 48
It was Written in the Gospels

{In our village girls get their} "washing" {periods} when they are twelve or thirteen…They used to be also told, "This happened to you because the rooster pecked you {there}!"

This is God's will. {Let me tell you} how it was at first…At the beginning God let people be very simple, very, very simple! People were very ignorant and simple! Then God made women and men menstruate.

And what did men do?

{As I told you, at first God made} men and women equal.[525] Whatever the man {could} do the woman could too. And they had to do everything together, everything at the same time. All their duties were the same and they had "to wash" {to have their monthly periods} at the same time. And what did the man do then? When he got "this thing", his pants, his underwear {became} red…And what did he do then? Everything got stained red. And what did he do? Man! What could he do!? He took {his blood-stained clothes and} put them on his pitchfork and went to the river to wash them. And everybody was watching him {and wondering} what he was carrying. Why was he washing it there? And then God said, "Do you know what {I intend to do}? I will take this duty off men. Men will not have it but will work day and night like oxen!"[526]

There was a saying once, "May you be {like} an ox!"

{This means} that he has to work {as hard as an ox}. On the other hand woman was {cursed} never to see the end of her work. She works day and night, she works without rest! As you can see housework never ends. First you do one thing, then another. As soon as you finish one job, you start another. Woman {is cursed} never to know rest, never to stop working! Nothing like this she knows! And man {is assigned} with men's jobs, taking care of the horses, cattle, sheep, pigs. These are his duties. Women's duties are mainly in the house. She has to wash,

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[525] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1350 (Origin of sex functions), A 1440.2. (Origin of distribution of work), A 1472 (Beginning of division of labour).

[526] Compare this with the text of the incantation chanted by young girls experiencing their first menstruation: "May I be a cow during the winter, and may I be an ox during the summer!" See my fieldwork notes from North-Western Bulgaria deposited in the Archive of the Institute of Folklore (the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia).

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paint the walls, knit and sew, she has to look after the house! {To take care of} everything![527]

This is how God created the world then… He took "it" {menstruation} away from men and left only women with "it".

This is what happened at one time…

We read this in the Gospels once.[528] It was written in the Gospels. As I told you, I had the Gospels once, and I gave it to a woman, but later she lost it, and after that she died and these Gospels were lost… {Her relatives} did not give it back to me… If I had it, I would give it to you to see what it said. Everything is written there… It was also written about the end of the world too. Everything was written there {in that book}!

April 1989
the village of Zelenovka, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Primorsk area, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Olga Dmitrievna Ivanova,
an old woman

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 49
God Gave "The Washing" and Childbirth to the Man

God gave "the washing" to the man.[529] Yet he was a shepherd. He threw his {blood-stained} shirt on his crook and went to wash it. And everyone saw him carrying "this thing" {the blood-stained shirt} on his crook and setting off for the river to scrub it.

Then God gave "it" to the woman because she wore a skirt and would conceal it.

And there is something else—at one time man was made to bear children as well. But the pain was so strong that the man climbed a tree. The child was born in the tree, fell down to the ground and died. Yes. Then God assigned the duty of birth to woman.[530] Because woman is long-suffering and patient, she can bear pain. He assigned the duty of

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[527] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1440.2 (Origin of distribution of work) and A 1472 (Beginning of division of labour).

[528] Often storytellers refer to the Bible as the ultimate source of the legends narrated by them.

[529] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

[530] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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birth to woman because she was much more patient than man. This was God's will, that woman will give birth and everything will be hidden. Man cannot bear pain. Man can't bear anything. So, he climbed the tree and gave birth there and the child fell and was killed. Then God gave the duty of birth to woman, and blessed her, "I will give it to woman! She is long-suffering and patient!"

May 1989
the village of Palauzovka, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Berdyansk region, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Irina Vasilievna Zalosh,
born 1907

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 50
Men Bore Children Once

Men gave birth at one time.[531] Men gave birth once, and when it was time for one of them to give birth he climbed a tree. And he started to push, "Oh, Oh"… He had climbed a tree! But a woman took pity on him. She went to the tree, opened her skirt and when the baby was born she caught the little one in her skirt and took the child with her. And God said, "Ah! It is clear who has the gift of giving birth! Let women carry the children in their skirts and give birth!" And from then on women bear children. Yet it was men who bore children at one time. But because man decided to give birth in a tree God gave childbearing to women…

March 1989
the village of Kliment
Karlovo area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Maria Gencheva Redzhova, born 1914

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 51
God Decreed that Men be Impure and Give Birth

At first God decreed that the men should be impure. You understand what I mean, don't you? You've heard that for forty days after childbirth woman is unclean, she is bleeding, she is "dirty"… But once, a long time

[531] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index.*

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ago, God gave this "washing" to men.[532] Men had "to do the washing". However, men couldn't hide the fact that they were "becoming dirty"…And woman was telling him to cover himself as it was "dirty", as it was ugly. Then God realised she knew better and gave "the washing" to her. But when He passed "it" from men to women, He named it "womanly thing" so that it was clear "it" was their duty. And since then, woman takes care of the baby, dresses it and takes care of it; and she has to do "the washing" because man is not capable. Because the men are scatterbrained and are not up to these duties. Woman is more intelligent and sensible than man. Even though men always put us down and say, "And what do you know?"

But do they know? It is obvious how much they know…

Even though according to them we don't know anything, everything happens as we say. Because we think it over from all sides and we can tell what will go wrong. Even God himself admitted that. He did, didn't He? Since He declared that it is the woman who should give birth…

If men were to give birth the world would come to an end immediately.

May 1990
the village of Diva Slatina
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Maria Borisova Ivanova, born 1930

Text 2.2. 52
At that Time Men were to Give Birth

When God created the universe, and Granddad Adam and Granny Eve too…, He…{gave a blessing that} at that time men were to give birth.[533] Well, when one of them was in labour, he climbed up a tree, a pear-tree {because of the pain}. So he was in the top of the tree during childbirth, while the woman was {waiting} below holding her apron {for the new-born baby to be dropped into it}, "Oh! You are going to kill the child! Oh my, oh my, oh my, you are going to kill the child!"

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[532] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

[533] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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And {every time} when {her man was to give birth to their children} she would hold her apron for them to fall in—so that the baby should not fall on the ground and die. The days passed by {with children all born in the same fashion}, and finally God said, "You'd better give birth yourself! And so long as you are alive…, may you always desire the man!" I am even ashamed to repeat this. And God also said, "And let man be a man and you bear the children!"

{From then on} it was the woman {who was to bear children}!

And so it is…

Once upon a time when the world was created, God decreed that males should give birth. That's why He made women like men are now. They had to be just like men, gather wood, and harvest. While men had to give birth to children. And the man would always climb a pear-tree to give birth there. Once, twice, thrice—this way children were all killed falling to the ground. And meanwhile the woman {shouted beneath the tree,} "Oh, my, you will kill him…Oh, my, you will kill him…"

And then God said, "Let the woman give birth to children!"

When the world was first created Granddad Adam said that man and woman should come together only once. But the woman liked it and said, "Let's do it again, I don't care about the consequences!"

She loved it even more then {and she said,} "Wow! Let's do it again!"

And then he went {to God and asked Him to allow them to do it more often}…

Then God said to Adam, "May you copulate and never have enough of this!"

That's why the women always want to make love, it is never enough for them.

And then God told {the woman}, "You will give birth to children since it is you who feels sorry for them when the man kills them as they fall from the tree!"

This was God's blessing as He created the world. He said {to the first people}, "May you make love and never have enough of this! May you never nave enough of coming together!"

May 1993
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Anka Nikolova Iordanova, born 1924

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Text 2.2. 53
Let the One with the Apron give Birth!

Once a man climbed a tree to give birth. His wife stood under the tree and went like this—{she held her apron out} to catch the baby. Then God said that women should give birth from then on, since it was the woman who had caught[534] the baby in her apron. This was {God's decree}, "Whoever had the apron, she was to give birth!"[535] This is what I heard… {This is what people used to say} at one time… I know no more.

November 1989
the village of Gaganitsa
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Mitana Todorova Istatkova, born 1914

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 54
God Blessed Men to Bear Children Once

My granddaughter just asked me why men don't give birth. Since men are believed to be stronger why shouldn't they give birth but leave women to suffer? And really, why not…

Because they were not capable of doing it…

Well, once upon a time God did decree that men should give birth…[536] And when one man was in labour, he climbed a pear tree; his wife ran after him and held her apron under the tree so that when the child was born it would fall into the apron and not on the ground…

As the new-born baby fell into her apron, God called from above and said that men are no good at this job. Since woman was the one who cared for the child rather than the man, so God decreed that woman should bear children from then on.

I can't say whether this is a blessing or curse. I wonder. Don't you?

May 1990
the village of Diva Slatina
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Erina Ivanova Madova, born 1923

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

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[534] In the local dialect the verb "to catch" also means 'to get pregnant'.
[535] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index.*
[536] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index.*

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Text 2.2. 55
When Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were Creating the World

Once men gave birth…[537] I haven't seen it myself but I heard about it…Man used to climb a pear tree to give birth there. This happened in the times when Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were creating the world.[538] The woman stood beneath the tree and held her apron out for the child to fall into. Otherwise the child would have fallen and been killed. But she held her skirts out to save the child from being dashed on the ground.

Then God said, "Well, since she is the one who cares, let the woman give birth!"

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Dafina Atanasova Angelova, born 1909

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 56
And He Moaned and Lamented

"The cockerel pecked her" <"клъвнало я пителчиту">, that's what people used to say {of a girl experiencing her first menstruation}…They would wash "it" <"съ операт"> and throw {the water} by a fruitful tree or by the fence <и туй го излеят на фиданата или под дуваръ>, so that cattle would not step on it, as it would get sick <да ни стъпнело добитък, жъ болей>. […]

Once it was men who had "to do the washing" <мъжети били праничуви>.[539] Men were "to do the washing" <Било на мъжети туй, пранету>. But, then, they actually never washed themselves, they walked around all dirty and soiled <Сетне тий ни съ пиряли, одили омазани, мръсни>…So God gave "it" to women…[540] […] Once it

[537] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[538] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 2.2. (First human pair as Creators).

[539] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

[540] The storyteller plays in this legendary text with both the metaphorical and the literal meanings of the word "пране"; as already pointed out, they are related to either 'menstruating', or 'washing' (see also the discussion above). While the beginning of the paragraph (i.e. the statement that once men were "to do the washing") brings forth the secondary, metaphorical meaning of the word "пране" (i.e. the one referring to 'menstruation'), the following part of the text alludes to its literal meaning (related to

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was men who used to give birth to children.[541] Not that I believe it's true… This is just a story, I think… That it was given by God {that men should give birth}… So that He would give them a lesson {so they would know what it was like}. You know {how hard it is for women to give birth}, don't you? Women suffer a lot during delivery. And men would not believe that. That's why He made men give birth once, and when one of them was in labour, he moaned and lamented. And when it was over, he said: "We can't do this! I will work night and day to look after my children with what I have earned, and all I can afford! I will do anything, if only we don't have to give birth. Let woman give birth!"[542]

So God made women give birth, and men had to feed their children through hard work, they must toil and gather so as to feed them.

Thus once men were put through this ordeal {and experienced labour pains}, in order to try and see whether childbirth was easy or difficult. One of them tried once, and gave birth. But he complained, "I will work night and day! But please {God}—may labour be given to women!", because he didn't want to give birth anymore!

Old women used to tell us various tales, and we would listen…

May 1989
the village of Novi Troyani, the former USSR
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Berdyansk region, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Ana Filipovna Boncheva,
born 1914

Text 2.2. 57
In Days of Yore

The "washing" {menstruation} hasn't always been a woman's {problem}—once, in days of yore, it belonged to men.[543]

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verbs like 'to scrub', 'to clean'); so, the incapability of men to do the actual washing (and thus, to observe "cleanness") is considered to be the main reason for God's decision to cancel their duty "to do the washing" in its secondary, 'metaphorical' sense (i.e. 'to menstruate').

[541] Cf. A 1351 (Origin of childbirth) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index.*

[542] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1440.2 (Origin of distribution of work), and A 1472 (Beginning of division of labour).

[543] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1355 (Origin of menstruation), A 1355.3. (Previously men menstruated) and F 569.2. (Men menstruate).

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When men went ploughing they put their trousers over their ox-goads[544] and set out for the fields. As they were walking along, God saw them and said, "Let me change this! I shall assign "it" {the menstruation} to women as they will keep it hidden and no one will see!"

It was like that once, men had "it". Men had "the washing" in those days of yore.

Besides, in those days firewood was delivered by itself, {people did not need to go to the forest to gather it}…[545]

And once a woman was cooking a *banitsa* cheesecake. She was rolling the dough. But the wood for the oven was late. And, she needed to bake the cheesecake. Meanwhile her baby dirtied itself. And what did she do then? Instead of cleaning the baby with a cloth she cleaned him with a piece of pastry. She cleaned the baby and God cursed her.[546] He cursed her as He said, "You have to eat the excrement {of your baby} since you cleaned up your child with pastry!"…

That's why children still dirty themselves until they are three, while the woman has to wash, clean and take care of them…She has to clean their bottoms…This has been her punishment since olden times!

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[544] The ox-goad <остен> which is traditionally belonging to the man, is a sharp, pointed stick, used for driving cattle; there exists a strict taboo against taking it into the house (i.e. into the "female territory"); see in this connection the riddle given by N. Gerov in the third volume of his Dictionary of Bulgarian Language [1899: 392].

[545] A similar motif forms the framework of the legend published in the *ShNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. V [1891: 109, text 2]. It was recorded by D. Stoykov in the vicinity of Sofia. According to the account given to him by an anonymous narrator, in times past, firewood used to come to people's fireplaces by itself, but once a woman insulted it by sitting on it and forcing it to carry her home. After His having seen that, God got angry with mankind and added an additional burden to people's duties, that, from then on, firewood was to be carried by people.

[546] Among Bulgarians there exist many versions of the legend about the woman who, while kneading, offends God by cleaning the excrement of her child with dough, thus polluting the process of creation of bread. In some accounts the motif of child's excrement can be replaced by another motif (which will also relate to a certain "uncleanness", even sinfulness of a woman's conduct; she may, for instance, clean her dirty hands using the cloth of the "sky garment", or hit the sky with an ox-goad, etc.). In these texts an additional motif can be introduced, the motif of the sky which was originally close to earth, but which was subsequently raised by God as a punishment for woman's sinful actions; see in this respect the text of the legend "Why the sky is high?" [Kuzmanova and Kotseva 1983: 153, 508–509]. Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index* A 625.2 (Raising the sky). Furthermore, these motifs can be intertwined with the motif of the primordial ear of wheat which used to stretch from earth to heaven, but the size of which was reduced by God as a result of the above-mentioned actions of the sinful woman [Kuzmanova and Kotseva 1983: 152, 508].

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And as I said the wood used to come by itself {from the forest to the fire-place}. And once, when it was late, a woman sat on the wood for a ride, to carry her instead of the other way around. She sat on the wood to punish it for being late. She said, "Since you are late, I can't bake my cake!"…She went and rode the wood, and it carried her. But God then decreed, "From now on you will carry the wood on your back! You will carry it! Instead of the wood carrying you, you will be the one carrying it. The wood will ride you!"

That's why nowadays we go for wood to the forest. This is why we carry the wood on our backs or on a donkey. And when the baby does his business, it is woman's business. And the "washing" is woman's business too.

August 1990
the village of Novo Khodzhovo
Sandanski area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Stoyna Ivanova Laleva, born 1910

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova and Tsveta Pokrovska

Text 2.2. 58
Has the Child Grown Out of a Stump?

I don't know whether when the world and people were created they were not created from a tree. This is {part of} nature too, was it created by the Lord or what…And a child was on a tree…Who gave birth to it? Did it grow by itself? From a tree? And woman—because she is woman!—watched the child so that he wouldn't fall {on earth and die}, and she caught it. Then God told her, "You shall give birth and man can feed them!"…

That is how it was {when the world was created}…This is how it happened: a child was born somewhere—maybe in a tree or somewhere else…And the child was about to fall down to the ground…, and hurt itself and die…But then the woman rushed forward and caught him. She caught the child, caught him in her apron…And the man was with her at that time too but he wouldn't catch the baby. As for the child, people say that once it used to fall out of a tree. It fell from a tree. The woman wasn't pregnant…There wasn't anything like that…From a tree. Yet the man wouldn't go to catch the child; it was she who caught him and put him in her apron. And then Granddad Lord said, "Let woman give birth! Man will work to feed them!"

But this {first} child—how it was created I don't know…This is how the story was…There was something there {happening}…Had

the child grown from a stump or something else, I don't know. This is the story. {But once upon a time it wasn't as it is now,} women didn't give birth…

This is what I heard once.

And then it was said that since the man didn't catch the child but the woman, woman would be the one to bear children…

So, the first people were under some tree, a child appeared out of that tree, the man did not catch him but the woman did. And because she did, that was the end, and the woman began to give birth.

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Todorka Ivanova Ivanova, born 1920

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Section VII
The Flood As The New Genesis

Text 2.2. 59
And From Then on There were Hills on the Earth

{Nowadays there are hills} on the Earth, and they appeared after the Flood. Once upon a time the earth was flat. Then there was a Flood. When the water overflowed, only *Noia* {Noah} was left. Only *Noia* was saved and from then on there appeared hills on the ground. As the water flowed it formed hills on the ground.[547]

July 1984
the village of Tvarditsa, the former USSR
(once the Bessarabia Province of the Russian Empire)
Chadar-Lunga area (now Moldova)

Story told by:
Dona Dimitrovna Baltadzhi,
born 1935

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

[547] Cf. A 1006 (Renewal of world after world calamity) and A 1010 (Deluge) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index.*

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Text 2.2. 60
Once Upon a Time there was a Flood

In olden times there was a Flood. The whole world came to an end.[548] People were exterminated down to the very last one. There was only water, as far as the eye could see. And when the waters receded—and slime remained. From the slime—mushrooms sprang up, from underneath. Male and female mushrooms sprang up—and thus the world was created anew.

December 1988
the village of Replyana
Belogradchik region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Rusa Ilieva Ogorelichova, born 1906

Text 2.2. 61
Only Two People Survived the Flood—only Granddad Adam and Granny Eve

Once, the world came to an end—there was a Flood. The world was destroyed and only two {people} survived—only Granddad Adam and Granny *Eva* {Eve} remained alive.[549] And they were very far away from each other—they could see each other, but not hear each other. And one remained on one summit, the other remained on another…

The world had come to an end, people had been entirely annihilated…

And then Granddad Adam and Granny *Eva* came together to create a new world. And they gave birth to one {child}, and then to another. And this is how it goes—you have a boy, and then you have a girl, and the one of them gets married, and then the other gets married too, and they have their own children…And this is how the world was created anew.

[548] Cf. A 1006 (Renewal of world after world calamity) and A 1010 (Deluge) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.
[549] Cf. A 1006.1 (New race from single pair after world calamity) and A 1010 (Deluge) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

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Is that why the world was created again, so that we suffer so badly now?

November 1989
the village of Kotenovtsi
Berkovitsa region (Bulgaria)

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Story told by:
Anka Nikolova Iordanova, born 1924

Text 2.2. 62
Medicines are Made from Herbs

This happened long ago in days of old. There was a Flood.[550] There was a deluge. There was nothing left. Nothing! And immediately after that God created everything again! He created people, herbs, woods, created water, He created everything. Then people were recreated.[551] They say that God made a man out of mud. He made him of mud and said, "This is man!"… But then the Devil came and tore holes in the human's body.[552] A lot of holes! And God filled the holes with herbs. And therefore they say that herbs became healing and medicines are made from herbs—all kinds of medicines are made from herbs… The herbs became healing. That's why herbs can heal.[553]

And when the Devil tore holes in the man's body God told Himself, "Only the Devil could do this…" And then God said, "I created man out of mud, out of earth! May his body go back to the earth!" As far as the soul is concerned—it entered man when God breathed in him. God gave the man a soul[554] and said, "At a later time I will take this soul back to the heavens! To the beyond!"…

People say—there is Paradise up in the heavens. Paradise is up there in Heaven, and it is so nice there! So God says, "I am going to take care of the soul! May the body go back to the dust for it has been made from dust!"…

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[550] Cf. A 1010 (Deluge) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[551] CF. A 1006 (Renewal of world after world calamity) in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[552] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 60 ("Marplot" at creation: an evil opponent attempts to undo or mar the work of the creator) and A 63 (Devil as "marplot" at creation). Compare the above account to the third paragraph of the apocryphon *The Sea of Tiberias* (text No. 1.1. in the first division of the present Appendix); see also the tale entitled *About Adam, Eve and the origin of herbs* (text No. 2.2. 20 in the second division of the Appendix).

[553] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1438 (Origin of medicine/healing).

[554] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul).

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And so the body goes back to earth and the soul is taken by Him to Heaven.

August 1989
the village of Smolichano
Kyustendil area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Verdzhinia Davidkova Manova, born 1928

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

Text 2.2. 63
Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were in the Ark

It kept raining and it kept raining for forty days and forty nights! It kept raining, and the Earth sank, and God made an ark. And He put pairs of all kinds of living beings into the ark. And when the ark set sail it sailed, and sailed, and it sailed; somewhere at some hillside the ark stopped and the waters began to recede. When the waters subsided, the Lord sent out a small dove—to go out and see whether there was somewhere some dry land or not. It went—it kept flying but it couldn't find dry land anywhere, so it came back. He sent it out for the second time; and having found dry land, it returned no more. And Granddad Adam and Granny Eve were in the ark. They had to be progenitors of the world… This is what we know about the Flood—the world was recreated after that.

The Lord told Adam, He told Granddad Adam and Granny *Eva*, "You must not eat fruit from this tree!"

There was a tree there.

"You must not eat!" He said, "because you will die!"…

And when the Lord left them, the serpent went to the woman, to Granny Eve and told her, in a way deceiving her: "This tree is edible!" it says; "Why", it says, "shouldn't you eat from it?"[555]

And so she ate from the tree and gave her husband, Granddad Adam, some as well, she gave him to eat some too. And so they ate.

The Lord came back and asked, "Adam, where are you?"

"I'm here", he says, "but I'm naked! I am ashamed", he says, "to come out!"[556]

And He says, "Didn't I tell you", He says, "not to eat from this tree?!"…And he replied, "Well, the Serpent", he says, "enticed us!"

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[555] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6 (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve) and B176.1.1 (Serpent as deceiver in paradise).

[556] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).

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And the Lord said to the serpent, "A curse upon you that you may crawl on your belly, since you know about eating this!"…

And they left {Paradise}, and they lived again.

And this is a tale from the days of yore, my child, this story has been existing here {in our village} for ages and ages…These stories are {our} tales…

July 1990
village of Struma
Sandanski area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Dimităr Bozhinov Yankov, born 1915 in the nearby village of Krăstiltsi, and his wife Rossa Ivanova Yankova, born 1916

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova, Stanislav Badalanov and Tsveta Pokrovska

Text 2.2. 64
Only Adam and Eve had Survived the Flood

There was a Flood all over the world…And the people who survived were watching the doves to see if there was {dry} land. They were watching to see if there was an end to the waters. And these people followed the doves and so Adam and *Iova* {Eve} were the only ones in the world to survive. And they were naked and covered themselves with leaves and grass.[557] I don't know how they covered themselves, but they sinned…

This is what my granny told me…And what else did she tell me? I've forgotten…

And when the Flood was over Adam and Eve were the only who survived.

May 1989
the village of Novi Troyani, the former USSR;
(once the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire)
Berdyansk area, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine)

Story told by:
Marina Ivanovna Uzunova, born 1911

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova

[557] Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).

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Text 2.2. 65
He was the Beginning

It was Jesus Christ who divided the water and the land… He divided the water from the land so that people would have space to live in. He gave water and land to the people to live on it…

And He warned *Noi* {Noah} before the First Flood. You know about this don't you? You know about *Noi* who made an ark, don't you?

God told him, "*Noi*, you have to gather all the animals together because there will be a Flood! There will be a Flood but some life should be left afterwards!" And he replied, "How can I gather all the animals so that there is two of each kind!"

God said, "Very easy!"

He taught him a magic spell how to gather the animals and these magic words were like the ones they use to catch snakes. And as Jesus Christ told him the words and as he {Noah} breathed them out a pair of all animals appeared and they walked into the ark. This is what the old folk told me…

But the Devil didn't like it and dropped a rat into Noah's ark. The Devil dropped a rat in it. And the rat gnawed a hole in the ark so that water would leak in and all the creatures inside would drown.[558] Then Jesus Christ took His glove off and gave it the name of 'cat'. And He stopped up the hole. Thus the Devil couldn't do anything. Everything happened {as God had ordered it to be}. And he {Noah} survived… Someone told me that the ark stopped somewhere in the *Predela*[559] valley in our area… Or maybe it was around the *Eltepe*[560] summit {in the Pirin mountains}? Where did the ark land?… I am not certain about it and cannot say… Was it somewhere here in Bulgaria on one of our mountains or was it on other mountains? But the ark touched land on the highest place and remained there. All of them were together in the ark. There was enough food and water for him

[558] See also the text published in the *ShNU Bulgarian Folklore Collection*, Vol. 14, p. 107, Text No. 1, from Prilep area; according to *The Bulgarian Folk Tales Catalogue*, the motif of the rat (mouse) who made a hole in Noah's ark is classified as type 825; see L. Daskalova-Perkovska, D. Dobreva, I. Kotseva, E. Mitseva, *Bălgarski Folklorni Prikazki: Katalog* [1994].

[559] *Predela* is a local toponym; see also text No. 2.2.20 and text No. 2.2.24 in this Appendix.

[560] *Eltepe* is one of the summits of the Pirin mountains, at the foot of which this text was recorded; see also the previous footnote.

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and the animals for the required period of time. And thus there was enough left for all the species to breed again.

That's what I heard…

February 1994
village of Krupnik
Sandanski area (Bulgaria)

Story told by:
Zoitsa Todorova Spasova, born 1918

Recorded by Florentina Badalanova and Kiril Badalanov

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List of Storytellers

Aksinia Simeonovna Gerchenova, a woman born in 1917 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Sofievka (which was then in the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire, and later became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Berdyansk region, Zaporozhie district (now independent Republic of Ukraine); married in the nearby village of Novi Troyani; peasant farmer.

Ana Filipovna Boncheva, a woman born in 1914 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Novi Troyani (which was then in the Taurida Province of the Russian Empire, and later became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Berdyansk region, Zaporozhie district (now independent Republic of Ukraine); no formal education; peasant farmer.

Anka Nikolova Iordanova, a woman born in 1924 in the mountain village of Kotenovtsi, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess; a lady with sharp memory and sense of humour. One of the most talented storytellers in the region.

Anna Borisova Tsenkina, a woman born in 1902 in the village of Kopilovtsi, Chiprovtsi region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer.

Dafina Atanasova Angelova, a woman born in 1909 in the mountain village of Chereshovitsa, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; married in the nearby village of Kotenovtsi; peasant farmer and shepherdess; a gifted storyteller with incredible memory, talent and good heart.

Dimităr Filipov Ivanov, a man born in 1920 in the mountain village of Kotenovtsi, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; one year's schooling; peasant farmer and shepherd.

Dimităr Bozhinov Yankov, a man born in 1915 in the village of Krăstiltsi, Sandanski area, South-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer, shepherd and bee-keeper.

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Dona Dimitrovna Baltadzhi, a woman born in 1935 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Tvarditsa, Chadar-Lunga area, the region of Bessarabia (then in Romania). When she was five, the territory of Bessarabia was occupied by the Soviet Union, and divided between Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (now the Republic of Moldova) and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (now the Republic of Ukraine). The villagers of Tvarditsa became citizens of MSSR (now republic of Moldova). Dona Dimitrovna Baltadzhi attended the local school for four years, which was then accepted to be the "normal" level of education for girls. A lady with warm personality and inner wisdom, she was considered to be one of the memory-keepers of the local Bulgarian community.

The village of Tvarditsa is one of the biggest rural settlements of the Bulgarian Diaspora in Bessarabia. According to the local oral history, it was found in 1830 by Bulgarian refugees from the village of Tvarditsa, Sliven area (then part of the Ottoman Empire). After their exodus from "the old Tvarditsa", the refugees gave their new settlement the same name, "so that their offspring did not forget their homeland and their roots".

Elena Zhecheva Karazhecheva, a woman born in 1920 in the village of Zimen (which was then known as Kashlăkyoy) Karnobat area, Southern Bulgaria; she married a man from the neighbouring village of Sygmen, where she later settled; as a child, she attended the local school for four years, but had to interrupt her education because of family problems (she had to work in order to support her younger siblings); occupation: peasant farmer. Despite the fact that she was a newcomer from another village, Elena Zhecheva Karazhecheva became one of the most influential leaders of the local community, due to her sharp mind, inner wisdom and moral integrity.

Erina Ivanova Madova, a woman born in 1923 in the village of Diva Slatina, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; one year's schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

Eva Todorova Rangelova, a woman born in 1911 in the village of Leskovets, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; one year of schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

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Georgy Latinov Antonov, a man born in 1900 in the mountain village of Kotenovtsi, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria, three years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherd; one of the oldest and the most gifted singers and storytellers in his village, where he goes under the nickname of "the great wag of Kotenovtsi".

Gospodina Mitrikova Badalanova, (maiden name Gadzhalova), a woman born in 1909 in the village of Chuchan (now the village of Stanevo), Lom area, Bulgaria. Her father was the mayor of the village, but also a merchant and tavern-keeper. She only had four years' formal education, since she had to leave school following the premature death of her mother, in order to take care of her younger siblings. In 1927 she married Tsvetan [Floro] Badalan, who was a fish-merchant of Lom, and became a housewife. After the Second World War and the collectivisation, they lost everything and her husband was forced to change from being a merchant to become a peddler. Gospodina Badalanova died in 1984.

Irina Vasilievna Zalosh, a woman born in 1907 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Palauzovka, Berdyansk region, Zaporozhie district, the former Taurida Province of the Russian Empire; during the Soviet period the area was part of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, now Ukraine. The village of Palauzovka is one among the many rural settlements of the Bulgarian Diaspora in the area of Taurida Province. Irina Zalosh is a peasant farmer and a weaver; she is also the village healer, midwife, sorceress, and fortune-teller.

Iskrena Mitrikova Gergova (maiden name Gadzhalova), one of the younger sisters of **Gospodina Mitrikova Badalanova** (see above). She was born in 1913, and attended the local school for four years only. She was compelled by local custom to marry at the young age of sixteen. Her husband was Mladen Gergov, who was a rich peasant farmer from the neighbouring village of Zlatia, Lom area. After the Second World War and the collectivisation, they lost everything and her husband was forced to become a member of the cooperative farm. Iskrena Gergova died in 2002.

Ivan Tinkov Mitov, a man born in 1910 in the village of Leskovets, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherd.

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Ivana Kamenova Mitova, a woman born in 1909 in the village of Leskovets, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; no formal education; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

Keva Dafinova Borisova, a woman born in 1924 in the village of Borovtsi, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; peasant farmer.

Kostadin Tsekov Tsvetkov, a man born in 1929 in the village of Gaganitsa, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria, secondary education; peasant farmer.

Lalka Dancheva Ivanova, a woman born in 1929 in the village of Mitirizovo (the name of which was later changed to "Vasil Levski"), Karlovo area, Central Bulgaria; peasant farmer.

Magdalena Ilieva Todorova, a woman born in 1908 in the village of Leskovets, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; no formal education; farmer and shepherdess.

Malina Atanasova Spasova, a woman born March 22, 1926 in the village of Govezhda, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria, seven years' schooling; the first professional cook in the village; when the recording was made she was working in the local nursery as a cook, cleaner and nanny.

Maria Borisova Ivanova, a woman born in 1930 in the village of Diva Slatina, Berkovitsa area, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

Maria Gencheva Redzhova, a woman born in 1914 in the village of Kliment, Karlovo area, Central Bulgaria; seven years' education; peasant farmer.

Maria Zakharieva Stoyanova, a woman born in 1923 in the village of Kopilovtsi, Chiprovtsi region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

Marina Ivanovna Uzunova, a woman born in 1911 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Novi Troyani, Berdyansk area,

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Zaporozhie district, Taurida Province of the former Russian Empire (now republic of Ukraine); no formal education; peasant farmer.

Mitana Todorova Istatkova, a woman born in 1914 in the village of Gaganitsa, Berkovitsa area, North-Western Bulgaria; two years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

Nadezhda Dimitrovna Petkova, a woman born in 1921 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Korten, Chadar-Lunga region, Bessarabia region (now Moldova), no formal education; peasant farmer.

Olga Dmitrievna Ivanova, a woman born into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Zelenovka, (once the Taurida Province of the former Russian Empire, later USSR), Primorsk area, Zaporozhie district (now Republic of Ukraine); no formal education; peasant farmer.

Paraskeva Borissova Zheynova, a woman born in 1912 in a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Gyunevka, Primorsk region, Zaporozhie district, Taurida Province (now Ukraine); no formal education; peasant farmer.

Paraskeva Ilichna (**Ilieva**) **Paskalova**, a woman born in 1914 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Tvarditsa, then the Bessarabia Province (Guberniya) of the Russian Empire. She never attended the local school, as her parents believed that it was "an useless exercise for a girl anyway". Paraskeva Paskalova spent her childhood and youth "under the Romanian government"; when she was twenty-six, the territory of Bessarabia was occupied by the Soviet Union, and she became a citizen of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Once she mentioned with irony, "I lived in so many states without even leaving my village."

Pena Todorova Zaykova (Granny Tanasitsa), a woman born in 1913 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Tvarditsa, then the Bessarabia Province (Guberniya) of the Russian Empire; immediately after the Revolution in 1917, Bessarabia became an autonomous independent republic, and subsequently united with Romania. Pena Todorova Zaykova spent her formative years "under Romanian

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government", which meant that she attended Romanian school where all the subjects were taught in Romanian. She had eight years of schooling, and was regarded by her fellow-villagers "as one of the smartest Bulgarians ever born". Later on, in 1940, when she was twenty-seven, the territory of Bessarabia was occupied by the Soviet Union, and she became a citizen of Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Petra Ivanova Păkhneva, a woman born in 1914 in the mountain village of Vinogradi, Melnik region, South-Western Bulgaria; no formal education; peasant farmer.

Raisa Alekseevna Gagunskaya (Granny Rayka the Sorceress), born 1909 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Preslav, then in former Taurida Province of the Russian Empire; during the Soviet period the area was part of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Primorisk region, Zaporozhie district (now the Republic of Ukraine); one year of schooling; peasant farmer. Granny Rayka the Sorceress (as her nickname indicated) was the healer, the fortune-teller and the sorceress of the village.

Rosa Ivanova Yankova, a woman born in 1916 in the Pirin mountain village of Krăstiltsi, Sandanski region, South-Western Bulgaria; married in the neighbouring village of Struma, four years' schooling; peasant farmer, shepherdess and bee-keeper.

Rusa Ilieva Ogorelichova, a woman born in 1906 in the village of Replyana, Belogradchik region, North-Western Bulgaria; shepherdess and goatherd.

Rusa Yakimova Vankova, (maiden name Shunina), a woman born in 1928 in the village of Replyana, Belogradchik region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and goatherd.

Stana Todorova Kasărova, a woman born 10.10.1912 in the village of Momina Banya, Hissar area, Plovdiv region, Central Bulgaria (Thracian Lowland), no formal education, peasant farmer. Because she was a girl, she was prevented from attending school. However, she became the informal leader of the local village community, as she was a lady possessing sharp mind, moral integrity, and last but not least, a beautiful voice. She was considered to be the best singer and storyteller in the region.

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Stoilka Georgieva Toneva, a woman born in 1925 in the village of Vezenkovo, Karnobat region, Southern Bulgaria, five years' schooling; occupation: peasant farmer.

Stoyna Ivanova Laleva, a woman born in 1910 in the village of Novo Khodzhovo, Sandanski area, South-Western Bulgaria; peasant farmer.

Todora Kirilova Lebechenkova, a woman born in 1908 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Gyunevka, Zaporozhie district, Primorsk area, Taurida Province of the former Russian Empire (now the Republic of Ukraine); four years' schooling; peasant farmer.

Todorka Ivanova Ivanova, a woman born in 1920 the village of Kotenovtsi, Berkovitsa area, North-Western Bulgaria, four years' schooling; peasant farmer.

Ulyan Nikolaevich Staykov, a man born in 1912 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Valya Perzhey, Chadar-Lunga region, Bessarabia Province of the former Russian Empire (now Republic of Moldova), two years' schooling; peasant farmer; working also as a watchman at the local sewing workshop in the "Kolkhoz" collective farm.

The village of Valya Perzhey is situated in Southern Moldova; the first Bulgarian refugees arrived from the Ottoman Empire (from Nova Zagora) in 1816. Initially the community was small, consisting of only 814 people.

Valentina Simeonovna Telcharova, a woman born in 1932 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the city of Kutsata (nowadays Lunacharsk), Taurida Province, Berdyansk area, Zaporozhie district (now Ukraine); she married and settled in the neighbouring village of Novi Troyani; education: high-school graduate; peasant farmer.

Vasilii Vasilievich Stoev, a man born in 1923 into a family of Bulgarian settlers in the village of Valya Perzhey, Chadar-Lunga region, Bessarabia (then part of Romania). He spent his formative years "under Romanian government"; he attended "the Romanian school" for five years. In 1940, when he was seventeen, the territory of Bessarabia was occupied by the Soviet Union, and he became a citizen of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (now the Republic of Moldova). When the sound-recordings of his legendary stories were made, Vasilii

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Vasilievich Stoev was employed by the local "Kolkhoz" collective farm as an agricultural worker.

Verdzhinia Davidkova Manova, a woman born in 1928 in the "Rekalite" neighbourhood of the village of Smolichano, Kyustendil area, Western Bulgaria, four years' schooling; peasant farmer.

Vita Georgieva Tsvetina, a woman born in 1928 in the mountain village of Replyana, Belogradchik region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

Velika Gencheva Vlaeva, a woman born in 1900 in the village of Pevtsite, Karlovo area, Plovdiv region, Bulgaria; no formal education; peasant farmer.

Yanachko Kirkov Yanachkov, a man born in 1911 in the village of Chereshovitsa, Berkovitsa area, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; shepherd and farmer; member of the local church choir and a sexton.

Zonka Ivanova Mikhova, a woman born in 1909 in the mountain village of Kopilovtsi, Chiprovtsi region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer, shepherdess, goatherd and carpet-weaver.

Zoitsa Todorova Spasova (Granny Zona), born 1918 in the village of Krupnik, Sandanski area, four years' schooling; the sexton of the local church and the warden of the Holy Shrine of St John of Rila (situated in the nearby forest); the shrine was found by her mother, who was believed to be "the spiritual sister of St John of Rila". The local legends maintain that she often used to "see" the saint and "speak to him" in her prophetic visions. Local people are convinced that Zoitsa's mother was a "holy woman and a prophetess", and describe her as "a living saint".

Zorka Georgieva Ivanova, a woman born in 1882 in the mountain village of Chereshovitsa, Berkovitsa region, North-Western Bulgaria; married in the neighbouring village of Borovtsi; peasant farmer, village sorceress and midwife.

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Zvezditsa Mikhaylova Popova, a woman born in 1923 in the mountain village of Replyana, Belogradchik region, North-Western Bulgaria; four years' schooling; peasant farmer and shepherdess.

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Fig. 1. "Hexameron", an eighteenth century four-icon ensemble. The first piece represents the themes of the "Creation of the Universe", the "Creation of Adam" [Gn 2:7], "Adam in the Garden of Eden" and "Adam's dominion over the animals" (also known as "Adam's Taxonomy" or "Adam Naming the Animals" scene) [Gn 2:20]. The icon is preserved in the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum of Bulgarian National Revival in the city of Elena, Bulgaria.

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Fig. 2. "Hexameron", an eighteenth-century four-icon ensemble. The second piece represents the themes of the "Creation of Eve" [Gn 2:21–23], "Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden", the "Temptation of Eve" and the "Fall of the First People" [Gn 3:1–7]. The icon is preserved in the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum of Bulgarian National Revival in the city of Elena, Bulgaria.



Fig. 3. "Hexameron", an eighteenth-century four-icon ensemble. The third piece represents the themes of "Adam and Eve recognise their nakedness and are ashamed to appear before God", "God interrogates Adam who is to explain how the Fall took place", "Eve describing to God her meeting with the Snake in the Garden of Eden", the "Judgement and Condemnation". The icon is preserved in the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum of Bulgarian National Revival in the city of Elena, Bulgaria.

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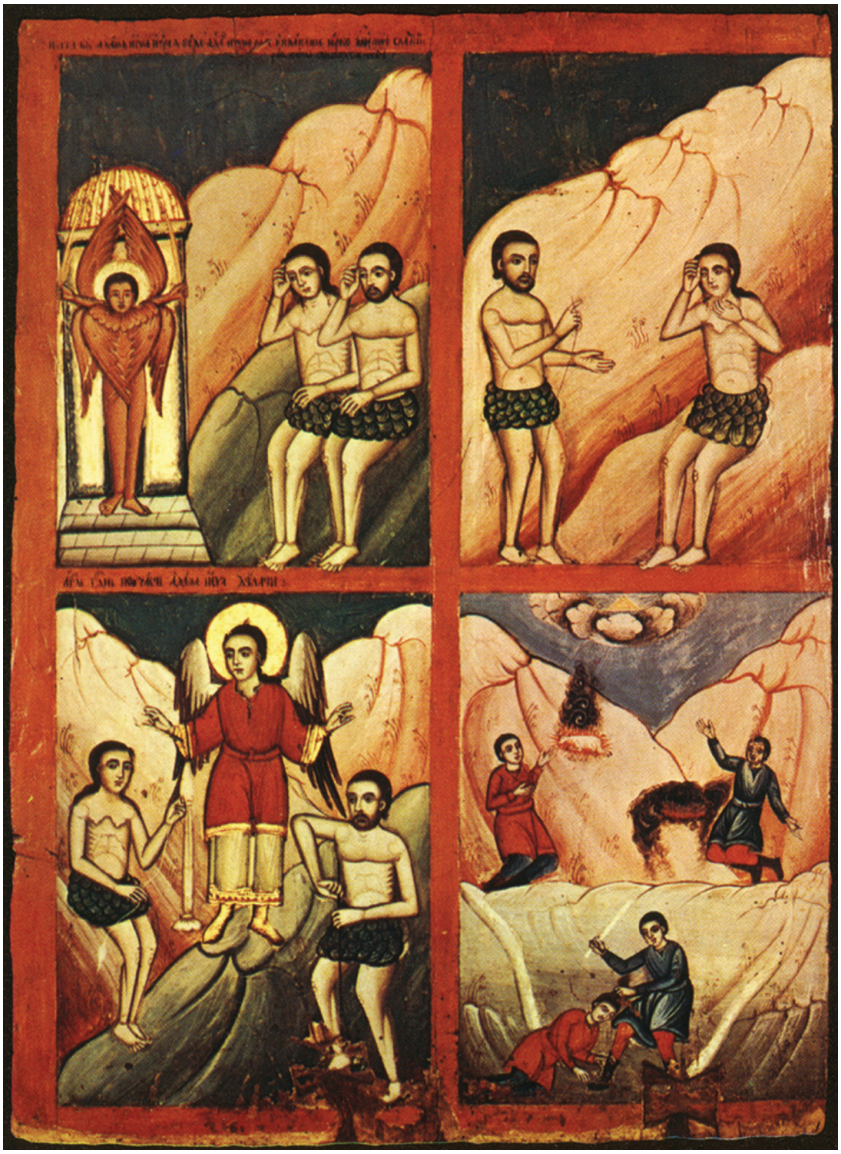


Fig. 4. "Hexameron", an eighteenth-century four-icon ensemble. The fourth piece represents the themes of the "Expulsion of the First People from the Garden by the Fiery Angel" [Gn 3:8–24], "Adam and Eve driven from the Garden of Eden and lamenting over Paradise Lost", the "Expiation of the First People: Adam is to work the land whereas Eve is to spin" and last, "Cain and Abel". The icon is preserved in the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum of Bulgarian National Revival in the city of Elena, Bulgaria.

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Fig. 5. "The Creation of Adam", a wood-carving from the lowest level of the iconostasis of the Church of St Demetrius in the village of Teshevo, Gotse Delchev area, South-Western Bulgaria, 1884.

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Fig. 6. "Creation of Adam and Adam's taxonomy" [Gn 2:19–20], a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (18th cent.).

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Fig. 7. "Adam's taxonomy" [Gn 2:19–20], a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (19th cent.).

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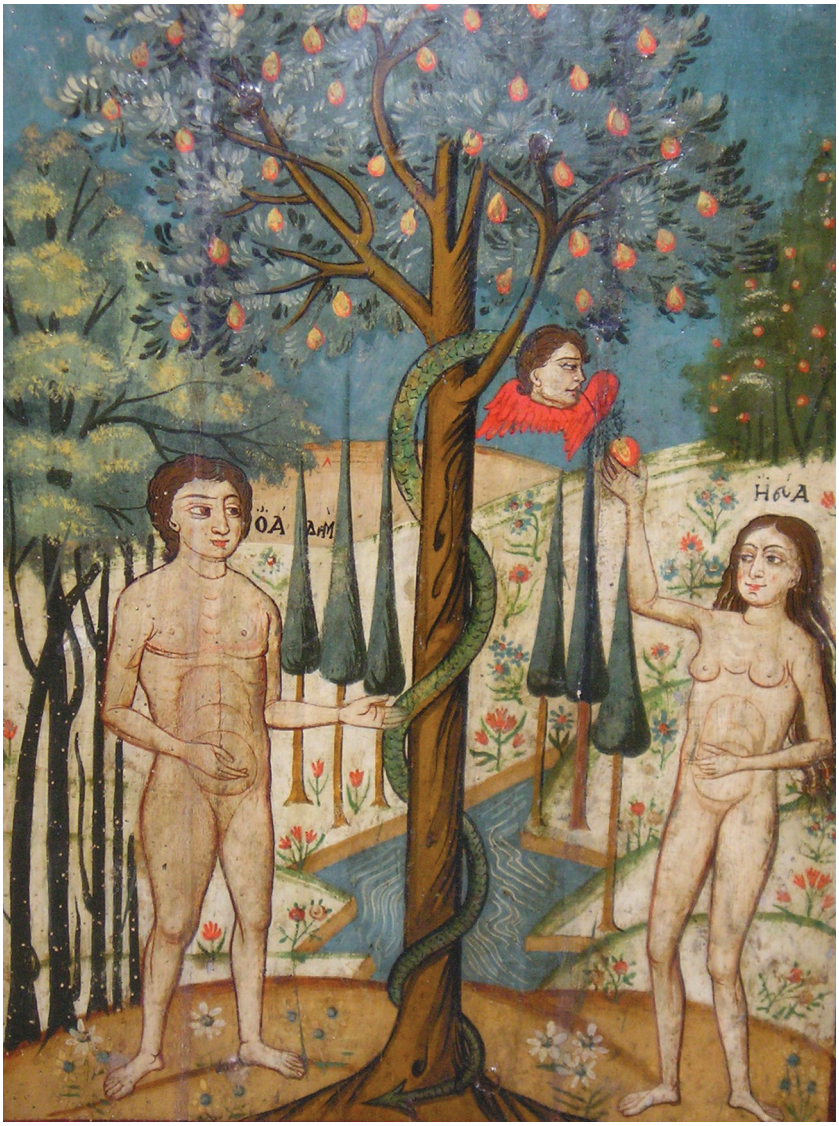


Fig. 8. "Original Sin", a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (18th cent.).

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Fig. 9. "Original Sin", a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the St Athanasius in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (c. late 17th cent.).

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Fig. 10. "Before Original Sin: God, Adam, Eve and the Forbidden Tree", a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Preobrazhenski Monastery, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (19th cent.).

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Fig. 11. "Original Sin: the temptation of Eve", a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Preobrazhenski Monastery, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (19th cent.).



Fig. 12. "Expulsion of the First People from the Garden by the Fiery Angel" [Gn 3:8–24], a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (18th cent.).

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Fig. 13. "An Angel Teaches Adam and Eve how to work", a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tărnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (19th cent.).

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Fig. 14. A composition consisting of two scenes: "The Creation of Eve" and "Adam ploughs" from the illuminated manuscript, written and designed by Priest Puncho from the village of Mocresh, Lom area, North-Western Bulgaria, in 1796; page 280 b. The manuscript is preserved in the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library of Bulgaria under signature No 693.



Fig. 15. "The Spinning Eve", from the illuminated manuscript, written and designed by Priest Puncho from the village of Mocresh, Lom area, North-Western Bulgaria, in 1796; page 281a. The manuscript is preserved in the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library of Bulgaria under signature No 693.

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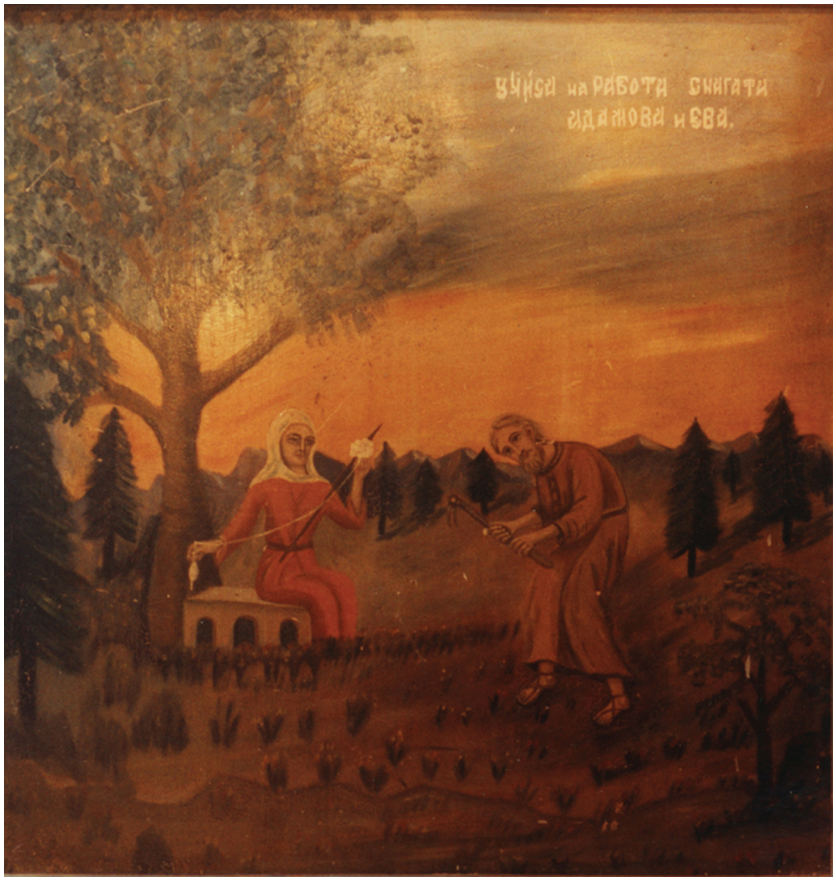


Fig. 16. "Adam and Eve After the Expulsion" ("Adam and Spinning Eve"), a plinth panel from the Church of St Nicholas in the village of Musomishte, Gotse Delchev area, South-Western Bulgaria, late 19th century. The inscription of the icon says: "The bodies of Adam and Eve learn to work".

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Fig. 17. "Adam and Eve After the Expulsion" ("Adam and Spinning Eve"), a fresco in the open gallery of the principal church in the Rila Monastery, South-Western Bulgaria (19th century).

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Fig. 18. "The Eye of God", a fresco in the naos (the northern wall, top of a window niche) of the Church of St Demetrius in the village of Teshevo, Gotse Delchev area, South-Western Bulgaria (19th century).

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