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The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition

Continuity and Diversity

Edited by

Lorenzo DiTommaso and Christfried Böttrich

with the assistance of Marina Swoboda

Mohr Siebeck

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The Sea of Tiberias: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition*

Florentina Badalanova Geller

1. Introduction[1]

In 1921, four years after the Bolshevik Revolution, the renowned Russian scholar A. I. Iatsimirskii published his monumental *Bibliographical Survey of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature: Catalogue of Monuments* (*Old Testament Apocrypha*),[2] still considered by specialists to be an exhaustive source-compendium encompassing most of the extant manuscripts containing the extra-canonical heritage of *Slavia orthodoxa*. However, *The Sea of Tiberias* (hereafter *SoT*) was not among the texts listed and described by Iatsimirskii, nor in fact was it even mentioned in his otherwise wide-ranging survey. A scholar of such magnitude and impressive depth of knowledge could not have been unaware of the earlier publication of various redactions of the *SoT* by Ia. Shchapov,[3] I. Porfir'ev,[4] E. Barsov,[5] V. Mochul'skii,[6] and V. Sreznevskii.[7] He would have known, too,

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* For Boris Uspensky, *от души языческой.*

[1] Work on this paper was carried out at the Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Berlin, as part of my project "Unholy Scriptures: Apocryphal Heritage of *Slavia orthodoxa*."

[2] A. I. Iatsimirskii, *Bibliograficheskii obzor apokrifov v iuzhnoslavianskoi i russkoi pis'mennosti.* Spiski pamiatnikov. Apokrify Vetkhozavetnye, vyp. 1. (Petrograd: Izdanie Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Akademicheskaia Tipografiia, 1921).

[3] Ia. Shchapov, "Istoricheskie ocherki narodnago mirosozertsaniia i sueveriia (Pravoslavnago i Staroobriadcheskago)," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia* 117, 4 (March 1863), 91.

[4] I.A. Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia o Vetkhozavetnykh litsakh i sobytiiakh po rukopis'iam Solovetskoi biblioteki," *SbORIS* 17, 1 (1877), 87–9.

[5] E. Barsov, "O Tiveriadskom More. (Po spisku XVI v.)," *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete.* Povremennoe Izdanie pod Zavedyvaniem E. V. Barsova, 2 (Aprel'-Iun', 1886), 5–8.

[6] V. Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz Stikha o Golubinoi Knige," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173–7.

[7] The discovery of this version of *The Sea of Tiberias* was one of the important outcomes of the palaeographic expedition which Sreznevskii carried out in 1902 in Olonets (now the Republic of Karelia), Vologda, and Perm Gubernias of the Russian Empire. The aim of this trip was to gather, describe and catalogue surviving Church Slavonic MSS from the region of

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about the important contributions of A. Veselovskii[8] (an indisputable authority in the domain of pre-revolutionary Russian philology, whose observations are still valid), as well as the many works devoted to a philological analysis of the *SoT* or the issues of its origin, redactions, and *Vorlage*. The problem of recovering the *Urtext* of the *SoT* was pursued within the complex, intricate context of Slavonic apocrypha, with special emphasis on the possible impact of *The Life of Adam and Eve*,[9] *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*,[10] *The Apocalypse of*

Northern Russia. In his "Report to the Department of Russian Language and Literature at the Imperial Academy of Sciences Regarding the Expedition to the Olonetskaia, Vologodskaia and Perm Gubernias Carried out in June 1902: List of Acquired MSS" Sreznevskii offered detailed descriptions of MS collections discovered by him during the journey, along with publications of some of the texts (either in full, or in part). *The Sea of Tiberias* was among these texts. See V. Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk o Poezdke v Olonetskuiu, Vologodskuiu i Permskuiu Gubernii. (Iun' 1902). Perechen' Priobretennykh Rukopisei," *IORIS* 9, 1 (1904), 242; 9, 3 (1904), 99–104.

[8] See his "Explorations in the realm of the Russian spiritual stanzas: dualistic beliefs about the creation of the Universe" ("Razyskaniia v oblasti russkago dukhovnago stikha (XI): Dualisticheskia poveriia o mirozdanii," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 1–116, esp. 40–116), and his earlier study of Latin, Greek (Byzantine), and Slavonic recensions of the *Legend of the Holy Rood* and their correlation with the Slavonic versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* and other apocrypha ("Razyskaniia v oblasti russkago dukhovnago stikha (VI–X): Zapadnye legendy o dreve kresta i slovo Grigoriia o trekh krestnykh drevakh," *SbORIS* 32, 4 (1883), 367–424).

[9] For a bibliographic survey of Adam and Eve apocrypha in medieval Slavonic literature, see A. I. Iatsimirskii, "K istorii apokrifov i legend v iuzhno-slavianskoi pis'mennosti," *IORIS* 14, 2 (1909), 288–90; *idem*, *Bibliograficheskii obzor,* 76–81; see also A. N. Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny.* Sobrannyia A. N. Pypinym. Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury, izdavaemye Grafom Grigoriem Kushelevym-Bezborodko, vyp. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1862), 1–8, 12–14; N. Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaia pol'za," 1863), 1–18, 298–304, I. A. Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 34–47, 90–6, 204–16, 245–50; V. Jagić, "Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apokryphen. I. Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuches," *Denkschriften des kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Classe*, 42 (Vienna, 1893), 1–104; R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2. Pseudepigrapha (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 123–54; Yordan Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi* (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa, 1925), 207–27; Donka Petkanova, ed., *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* vol. 1: Apokrifi (Sofia: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1982), 35–41, 348–49; D. Dimitrova, "Kŭm vuprosa za istoriiata na teksta na apokrifa *Slovo za Adam i Eva*," *SL* 12 (1982), 70–71; G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone, eds., *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (SBLEJL; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994); *Literature on Adam and Eve* (eds. G. A. Anderson, M. E. Stone and J. Tromp; Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2000); A. A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (JSJSup 114; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 7–9; B. Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the* Vita Adae et Evae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 192–207.

[10] For a survey of Slavonic MSS of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* (*2 Enoch*), see A. I. Iatsimirskii, *Bibliograficheskii obzor*, 81–8; M. Sokolov, *Materialy i zametki po starinnoi slavianskoi literature,* vyp. 3 (vii): Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha. II (= *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete*, Kn. 4; Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1899); *idem,* "Feniks v apokrifakh ob Enokhe i Varukhe," *Novyi sbornik statei po slavianovedeniiu, sostavlennyi i izdannyi uchenikami V. I. Lamanskago pri uchastii ikh uchenikov po sluchaiu 50-letiia ego ucheno-literaturnoi deiatel'nosti* (St. Peters-

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Baruch,[11] *The Legend of the Holy Rood*,[12] and some erotapocritic writings (*The Discussion Between the Three Saints*, *etc*.) on the formation of the *SoT*. Likewise considered was the potential influence of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils*,[13] as well as the indigenous, vernacular oral tradition(s) and dualistic folklore cos-

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burg, 1905), 395–97, 399–402; *idem, Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha Pravednago* (Posthumous publication of the unfinished MS, ed. M. N. Speranskii; Moscow, 1910). See also Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 15–16; Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury,* vol. 1, 19–23; Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 51–2; W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch.* (Translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill and ed., with introduction, notes and indices by R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896); Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, 425–69; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 165–91; Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.49–63, 350–52; F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP,* 1. 91–221; *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H. F. D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 321–62; A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoch (Henoc eslavo)," *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, Tomo 4. Ciclo de Henoc (ed. A. D. Macho, *et. al*.; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1984), 147–202; C. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos: eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995); *idem*., *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Bd 5, Apokalypsen, Lfg. 7; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996); P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformation of Biblical Enoch," *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (eds. M. Stone and T. Bergen; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 1998), 101–04, 116–17; M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's penance", *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 45–8; G. A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *ibid.*, 99–102; Orlov, *From Apocalypticism,* 19–35, 133–268; F. Badalanova, "The Bible in the making: Slavonic Creation Stories," *Imagining Creation* (eds. M. Geller *et al*.; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 162–3, 186–91, 231–35.

[11] For a survey of Slavonic MSS of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*3 Baruch*), see Iatsimirskii, *Bibliograficheskii obzor,* 227–32; Sokolov, "Feniks v apokrifakh," 397–99; see also P. A. Lavrov, "Apokrificheskie teksty," *SbORIS* 67, 3 (1899), 149–51; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 191–207; Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.71–6, 353–54; Orlov, *From Apocalypticism,* 63–4, 289–308.

[12] For the Slavonic redactions of *The Legend of the Holy Rood and the Two Brigands* (attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus), see: Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury,* vol. 1, 305–13; Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 47–50, 96–103; Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1. 169–73, 378–79; Orlov, *From Apocalypticism,* 12–14; see also Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 32, 4 (1883), 367–424. For *The Legend of the Holy Rood* by the Bulgarian priest Jeremiah (composed in the tenth century), see M. Sokolov, *Materialy i zametki po starinnoi slavianskoi literature,* vyp. 1 (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1888), 72–211; Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.274–88, 398–99. For the interplay between the apocryphal accounts of the *Legend of the Holy Rood* and Bulgarian folklore tradition, see A. T. Iliev, "Rastitelnoto tsarstvo v narodnata poeziia, obichaite, obredite i poveriiata na bŭlgarite," *SbNU* 7 (1892), 328–40.

[13] See Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 303–311. For a general bibliographic survey of studies on Bogomilism and Slavonic apocrypha, see D. Petkanova, "Bogomilstvoto i apokrifnata literatura" in her *Po knizhovniia drum na minaloto* (Sofia: Vreme, 2005), 89–105, and Orlov, *From Apocalypticism*, 96–9; see also the discussion in A. I. Iatsimirskii, "K istorii apokrifov i legend v iuzhno-slavianskoi pis'mennosti," *IORIS* 15, 1 (1910), 48–56, V. Panaiotov, "Svedeniia za bogomilstvoto v *Pismoto do Panko* na Atanasii Ierusalimski," *Starobŭlgaristika* (*Palaeobulgarica*) 3 (1987), 84–91 and Y. Stoyanov, *The Hidden Tradition in Europe: The Secret History of Medieval Christian Heresy* (London: Arkana, Penguin Books, 1994), 212–19.

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mogonies. The contributions of scholars such as A. Potebnia,[14] V. Mochul'skii,[15] M. Dragomanov,[16] K. Radchenko,[17] A. Markov,[18] and N. Korobka,[19] combined

[14] See chapter 75 of his "Survey of Poetic Motifs in Christmas Carols," in which he explores mythopoeic imagery employed in the representation of the "Creation of the World" theme in Slavonic ritual songs. The interpretation of certain cosmogonic motifs in Ukrainian oral tradition was compared to their treatment in apocryphal literature, and in the *SoT* in particular. The folklore material presented by Potebnia, one of the very first to apply ethnolinguistic methods of analysis in the area of comparative mythology, was widely quoted by many of his contemporaries (including Veselovskii, Dragomanov, Mochul'skii, *etc*.) in a number of fundamental publications on Creation sagas from the region of Eurasia and elsewhere. See: A. Potebnia, "Obzor poeticheskikh motivov koliadok i shchedrivok. (LXXV) Nachalo sveta," *RFV* 16, 4 (1886), 273–5 (738–40).

[15] Particularly significant is V. Mochul'skii's monograph "Vestiges of the folk Bible in Slavonic and Old Russian literature" ("Sledy narodnoi Biblii v slavianskoi i v drevnerusskoi pis'mennosti," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Novorossiiskago Universiteta,* vol. 61 (1894), 1–282) as well as the series of articles (written by him eight years earlier) on the correlation between the Slavonic "apocryphal Bible" and Russian spiritual folklore stanzas concerning the *Book of the Dove,* see Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz Stikha o Golubinoi Knige," *RFV* 16, 4 (1886): 197–219; 17, 1 (1887): 113–180; 17, 2 (1887): 365–406; *RFV* 18, 3 (1887): 41–142; 18, 4 (1887): 171–188. In fact, it is in the final article of this series that he published one of the versions of the *SoT* (which he designates as a "prohibited Book of Genesis"); this version was edited and published by Ivanov 38 years later in his fundamental *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 294–99. Unfortunately, Ivanov erroneously (perhaps the only time in this remarkable study!) gives this text as belonging to volume 17 of *RFV* rather than volume 18. However, Ivanov's error was faithfully copied by others; see Miltenova's entry in *Encyclopaedia Lexicon of Old Bulgarian Literature* on *The Sea of Tiberias* ("Tiveriadskoto more"), *Stara bŭlgarska literatura*: *Entsiklopedichen rechnik* (ed. D. Petkanova; Sofia: Petŭr Beron Press, 1992), 463–4.

[16] Further on M. Dragomanov's cross-cultural analysis of the *SoT*, see his "Zabelezhki vŭrkhu slavianskite religiozno-eticheski legendi. Dualisticheskoto mirotvorenie," *SbNU* 10 (1894), 10–62. In his study (written in Bulgarian and originally published in Sofia, in vols. 8 (1892), 257–314 and 10 (1894) 3–68 of *SbNU*) he drew upon the earlier contributions of Veselovskii and Mochul'skii, and took into consideration a wide range of folklore data (cosmogonic tales and songs rendering myths of origin from Eurasia and the Americas). This work was subsequently translated into English by Earl W. Count, whose Ph.D. dissertation, "The Earth Diver: An Attempt at an Asiatic-American Correlation" (University of California, Berkeley, 1935) dealt with issues closely related to those discussed by Dragomanov. Through Count's translation (published in 1961), Dragomanov became one of the most quoted Slavonic scholars in the West; he enjoyed tremendous popularity and had a significant impact upon the work of many renowned folklorists, anthropologists and ethnographers. Among the many influenced by him were Elli Kaija Köngäs, "The Earth-Diver (Th. A 812)," *Ethnohistory* 7 (1960), 151–80 and Alan Dundes, "Earth-Diver: creation of mythopoeic male," *AA* 64, 5/1 (October, 1962), 1032–51.

[17] Konstantin Radchenko was one of those hidden talents of Russia, whose greatness was only recognised after his death (April 22, 1908). He spent most of his short and difficult life in a small, remote provincial city of Nezhin, far away from prestigious universities and libraries, totally disconnected from renowned centres of learning. The fact that he was living on the periphery of the Russian academic establishment did not prevent him from being at the pinnacle of contemporary scholarship. His contributions were not fully acknowledged during his lifetime, despite the fact that his publications were considered by some of his colleagues to be a source of inspirational ideas. The name of Konstantin Radchenko still stands as a symbol of the intellectual power of *fin de siècle* Russia. His work "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu: narodnyia kosmogonicheskiia

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methods of literary criticism with those of comparative religious studies and mythology.

It is against this tremendously rich background of academic publications on the *SoT* in Russia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe at the turn of the twentieth century that Iatsimirskii's utter silence poses such an intriguing question. One of the aims of this study is to provide an answer.

2. *The Sea of Tiberias*: Texts and Taxonomy

2.1. Surveys of Sources

Recently, two scholars, D. Dimitrova-Marinova[20] and V. Kuznetsova,[21] have independently prepared a survey of MSS containing the *SoT*. Kuznetsova suggests that the number of textual witnesses is twenty.[22] In fact, this number is much higher, as Kuznetsova does not take into consideration some of the sources used by Dimitrova-Marinova. The same applies to Dimitrova-Marinova's survey, since, as we shall see, some sources she uses do not coincide with those upon which Kuznetsova's arguments are constructed.

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legendy slavian v ikh otnoshenii k Bogomil'stvu," *IORIS* 15, 4 (1910), 73–131, which is the last in a series of excellent articles on Dualism and Bogomilism, influenced many scholars studying the *SoT*; it was published posthumously by his colleague and friend M. N. Speranskii.

[18] See his stimulating article "More Tiveriadskoe v dualisticheskoi legende o sotvorenii mira," *EO* 1–2 (1913), 64–75, which is based on extensive data from folklore (oral) sources and apocryphal writings. It poses an intriguing question, namely why the primordial sea, into which ornithomorphic Satan dives to fetch sand and flint, is believed to be the Sea of Tiberias (*i.e.*, Lake of Galilee).

[19] See his two-part study on "The image of the bird creating the world in Russian folk poetry and in literature: the legend of the Sea of Tiberias and Christmas carols about the two doves creating the world", in which he comments on A. Veselovskii's and M. Dragomanov's readings of the *SoT*; see N. I. Korobka, "Obraz ptitsy tvoriashchei mir v russkoi narodnoi poezii i pis'mennosti: *Skazanie o Tiveriadskom More* i koliadki o dvukh golubiakh, tvoriashchikh mir. a) Obraz ptitsy, tvoriashchei mir v *Skazanii o Tiveriadskom more*," *IORIS* 14, 4 (1909), 175–95 and *idem,* "Obraz ptitsy, tvoriashchei mir v russkoi narodnoi poezii i pis'mennosti: *Skazanie o Tiveriadskom More* i koliadki o dvukh golubiakh, tvoriashchikh mir. b) Koliadki o golubiakh, tvoriashchikh mir," *IORIS* 15, 1 (1910), 105–47.

[20] D. Dimitrova, "Kosmogonichnata legenda za Tiveriadskoto more i starobŭlgarskata apokrifna traditsiia," *SL* 18 (1985), 184–92; D. Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia v drevneslavianskoi literaturnoi traditsii," *Ot Bytiia k Iskhodu. Otrazhenie Bibleiskikh siuzhetov v slavianskoi i evreiskoi narodnoi kul'ture.* Sbornik statei (eds. V. Petrukhin *et al.*; Moscow: GEOS, 1998), 48–9.

[21] V. Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy o sotvorenii mira v vostochnoslavianskoi fol'klornoi traditsii* (Novosibirsk: Sibirskoe Otdelenie Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 1998), 192–99.

[22] *Ibid.,* 192.

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2.1.1. Kuznetsova's Survey of Sources

Kuznetsova divides the witnesses into three categories: the Barsovian redaction (after Barsov's publication), the Cheboksary redaction (after the place in which one of the MSS was found), and a miscellaneous redaction.

The Barsovian redaction of the *SoT* is represented by eight texts:[23]

i. The account published in 1886 by Barsov himself, from MS № 1418, now part of the Barsov Collection at the State Historical Museum (*Государственный Исторический Музей*) in Moscow, fols. 75–92; on some of the pages are inscriptions made by peasants from the region of Rostov; it is part of a Miscellany, attributed by Kuznetsova to the seventeenth century. According to Yordan Ivanov, however, this account – the original Slavonic text of which he published (following Barsov's edition) in 1925 – was composed in the sixteenth century.[24] It was designated by him as "the first Russian version of *The Sea of Tiberias*." The Appendix, *infra*, provides an English translation along with the original Slavonic text of Barsov's edition (see Text 1).

ii. The account from MS № 21.11.3 (fols. 85–97) from the Archaeographic Collection of the Library of the Academy of Sciences (*Библиотека Академии наук, Рукописный отдел*) in St. Petersburg; it is part of a Miscellany, compiled in 1776–1780 by a certain "Andrey Fedorov, the son of Malyuta, a peasant from the village of Nefedovo, Vologodsky Uezd."

iii. Another eighteenth-century account (from MS № 21.7.9, fols. 111–18) from the same collection in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg; it is part of a Miscellany, compiled in 1748 by Ivan Ustinov; the MS was acquired in the region of Olonetsk.

iv. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 436 (fols. 130–35) of the Vakhrameev Collection in the State Historical Museum in Moscow, from a Miscellany compiled in the Danilovskii region by "Nikita Afonas'ev, the son of a peasant."

v. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 240 (fols. 59–67) of the Tikhonravov Collection of the former Lenin State Library (*Государственная библиотека им. В.И. Ленина*), now the Russian State Library (*Российская государственная библиотека*), Moscow.

vi. The nineteenth-century account from MS № 32.16.14 (fols. 1–12) from the Archaeographic Collection kept in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg; it is part of a Miscellany purchased in Kadnikovsky Uezd.

vii. The eighteenth-century account entitled "A tale about the creation of the world" (Сказание о создании мира), published by Shchapov in *Pravoslavnyi Sobesednik* (1861, April, part 1), pp. 263–5.

viii. A nineteenth-century account from a MS preserved in the archives of the Ecclesiastical Academy of the city of Perm; it was also published by Shchapov in *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik* (1861, April, part 1), p. 261.

[23] *Ibid.,* 193–5.

[24] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 290–94.

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The Cheboksary redaction contains eleven textual witnesses:[25]

i. The eighteenth-century account discovered by V. Grigorovich in Cheboksary (MS № 56 in his archives); it was later published by V. Mochul'skii[26] and again by Y. Ivanov.[27] According to Ivanov, this account represents the second Russian version of *The Sea of Tiberias*.[28]

ii. The seventeenth/eighteenth-century account from MS № Q-XVII-22 (fols. 966–74) preserved in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (*Государственная публичная библиотека им. Салтыкова-Щедрина*), now Russian National Library (*Российская национальная библиотека*), St. Petersburg. The text is titled: *Сказание трудолюбезных и боголюбивых мужей, списана з божественных книг Василия Великаго, Григория Богослова, Иоанна Дамаскина о предивных вещей, о безначальнем Господе нашем, како был един Господь Саваоф прежде всея твари видимыя и невидимыя и прежде небесе и земли*.

iii. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 135 (fols. 47–60) from the collection of the Kievan Ecclesiastical Academy, now located in the Central Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

iv. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 45.8.190 (fols. 1–12), purchased in Kargopol' and submitted to the Archaeographic Collection of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg; the text was subsequently published by V. Sreznevskii.[29] The Appendix, *infra*, provides an English translation of this version, along with the original Slavonic text of Sreznevskii's edition (see Text 2).

v. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 32.16.11 (fols. 1–8), very similar to the above mentioned MS № 45.8.190 (fols. 1–12); both MSS are held in the same collection. Excerpts from the current text were used by Sreznevskii to reconstruct the content of the missing pages in MS № 45.8.190 (see above).

vi. The now-lost MS from the Slepche Monastery, discovered by V. Grigorovich, whose notes were later published by Shchapov[30] and Ivanov;[31] this text is analysed at length below.

vii. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 2486a (fols.16–24) from the Barsov Collection, kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

viii. A similar eighteenth-century account from MS № 2486b (fols.1–7), also from the Barsov Collection, kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

ix. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 495 (fols.1–8) from the Zabelin Collection, kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

x. The eighteenth-century account from MS № 2967 (fols.176–183) from the Muzeiskoe Collection, kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

xi. The seventeenth/eighteenth-century account from MS № 18 (fols. 4–10), kept in the Tikhonravov Collection, held in the Russian State Library, Moscow.

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[25] Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 196–7.
[26] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173–7.
[27] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 294–9.
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 1 (1904), 242; 9, 3 (1904), 99–104.
[30] Shchapov, "Istoricheskie ocherki," 91.
[31] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 289.

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Kuznetsova's third category is miscellaneous ("*смешанная редакция*").[32] To this she allocates the text entitled *Bundle of Divine Books* ("*Свитокъ божественныхъ книгъ*"), published by Pypin, first in *Русское Слово*[33] and later in his *История славянских литератур* (co-authored with Spasovich).[34] In her survey, the two cosmogonic accounts from the Solovetskaia Library, both from MS № 1138, *i.e.*, the *Legend of the Seven Planets* ("*Сказаніе о седми планитахъ*," fols. 148–58) and *The Tale of Sts. Andrew and Epiphanius regarding Questions and Answers* ("*Повесть стго Андрѣя со Епифаниемъ о вопросѣхъ и отвѣтехъ*," fols. 174–77), both previously published by Porfir'ev,[35] are listed separately from the *SoT* index, in two consecutive rubrics. This classification differs from the position previously expressed by Yordan Ivanov; according to him, the text of *The Tale of Sts. Andrew and Epiphanius regarding Questions and Answers* represents the third Russian version of the *SoT*.[36]

2.1.2. Dimitrova-Marinova's Survey of Sources

D. Dimitrova-Marinova states that her analysis is based on published and unpublished texts,[37] which she divides into three categories: the long recension, the short recension, and the concise recension.

Dimitrova-Marinova considers the following witnesses to be representative of the long recension of the *SoT*:[38]

i. The eighteenth-century Russian account discovered by Viktor Grigorovich in Cheboksary (MS № 56), first published by V. Mochul'skii;[39] in Kuznetsova's survey classified as "Cheboksary redaction" (text i).
ii. The eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 45.8.190 (fols. 1–12) from the Archaeographic Collection of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (first published by V. Sreznevskii);[40] Kuznetsova classifies it as "Cheboksary redaction" (text iv); see also Text 2 in the Appendix, *infra*.
iii. The Russian account from MS № 488 (fols.127a–32b), composed in 1714, from the Zabelin Collection, currently kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow.
iv. The eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 32.16.11 (fols. 16a–17b), obtained and described by V. Sreznevskii, currently kept in the archives of the Library of the Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg); Kuznetsova classifies it as "Cheboksary redaction" (text v).
v. An account from MS № 1938 (fols. 38a–52b) of the Russian State Library.

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[32] Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 192, 198.
[33] *Russkoe Slovo* 2 (1862), 53–6.
[34] A. N. Pypin *et al.*, *Istoriia slavianskikh literatur,* vol. 1 (Moscow, 1879), 79–80.
[35] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 86–9.
[36] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 299–301.
[37] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 48–9, notes 17 and 19.
[38] *Ibid.,* 48, note 17.
[39] *Cf.* Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173–77.
[40] *Cf.* Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 1 (1904), 242; 9, 3 (1904), 99–104.

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vi. The seventeenth-century Russian account from MS № 162 (fols. 195–204) from the Bol'shakov Collection of the Russian State Library.
vii. A seventeenth/eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 18 (fols. 4a–10b) of the Tikhonravov Collection, held in the Russian State Library, Moscow; Kuznetsova classifies it as "Cheboksary redaction" (text xi).
viii. The eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 68 (fols. 137–142) from the Popov Collection, held at the Russian State Library.
ix. A Russian account from Fragment № 39 from the Zykin Collection, dated 1714; kept in the Department of Palaeography of the Institute of Russian Literature.
x. The Slepche account;[41] in Kuznetsova's survey classified as "Cheboksary redaction" (text vi).

Dimitrova-Marinova lists the following witnesses as representatives of the short recension:[42]

i. The sixteenth-century Russian account from MS № 1418 (fols. 75–92), published in 1886 by Barsov (now in the holdings of the State Historical Museum in Moscow);[43] see also Text 1 in the Appendix, *infra*.
ii. The early eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 240 (fols. 59–67) of the Tikhonravov Collection (№ 299), held in the Russian State Library.
iii. The early eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 1495 (fol. 2) of the Undol'skii Collection (No 310), from the Russian State Library.
iv. The seventeenth-century Russian account from MS № 154 (fols. 145–150) of the Piskarev Collection (№ 228), from the Russian State Library.
v. The eighteenth-century Russian account from MS № 21.7.9 [272] (fols. 111b–117) of the Olonetsk Collection of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.
vi. The account from MS № 21.11.3 (fols. 3–4b) of the Sreznevskii Collection kept in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.
vii. The nineteenth-century account from MS № 32.16.14 (fols. 1–12) from the Archaeographic Collection in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.[44]

According to Dimitrova-Marinova, there is a third, intermediate category, which includes texts of the abridged, concise redaction ("*съкратена редакция*") of the *SoT*.[45] As an example she gives *The Tale of Sts. Andrew and Epiphanius regarding Questions and Answers* ("*Повесть стꙋго Андрѣя со Епифаниемъ о вопросѣхъ и отвѣтехъ*") from MS № 1138 (fols. 174–177) from the Solovetskaia Library.[46] According to Ivanov, this represents the third Russian version of the *SoT,*[47] whereas Kuznetsova lists it in a separate category from those in her index of the *SoT* accounts.[48]

[41] *Cf.* Shchapov, "Istoricheskie ocherki," 91; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 289.
[42] *Cf.* Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 49, note 19.
[43] *Cf.* Kuznetsova = "Barsovian redaction" (text i); see *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 193.
[44] *Cf.* Kuznetsova = "Barsovian redaction" (text vi), *ibid.* 194–5.
[45] *Cf.* Dimitrova, "Kosmogonichnata legenda za Tiveriadskoto more," 185.
[46] *Cf.* Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 87–9.
[47] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 299–301.
[48] Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,*198.

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It should be added that Dimitrova-Marinova had the vigour to unearth and the luck to discover in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg a new text witness of the *SoT*; she also had the courage and diligence to publish it (a challenging task very few are up to, considering the fact that the last time such an attempt was made was in 1904, by the industrious Russian palaeographer V. Sreznevskii). The account, entitled "*This scroll is from the Book of Palaea*" ("*Сеи Списокъ ис Книги Пале*[*и*]"), comes from MS № 566 in the Arkhangel'sk Collection, dated to the eighteenth century. Dimitrova-Marinova considers this text to be representative of the "long recension of the *SoT*."[49]

2.1.3. Brief Remarks

An assessment of the classifications proposed by Kuznetsova and Dimitrova-Marinova indicates that they have not always examined the same texts, and thus the range of the accounts on the basis of which each builds her arguments is different. The fact that we lack a single, comprehensive index of the MSS containing the apocryphal *SoT* suggests that further efforts should be made towards the palaeographic clarification of the sources. In the present study, however, I do not aim to provide further descriptions of the MSS in which various editions of the *SoT* were preserved. My intention is to focus on an analysis of the narrative content of these texts.[50]

2.2. Classification and Taxonomy of Sources

Regarding the classification of the texts into separate categories, my position shares certain principles in common with those of Ivanov,[51] which I consider to be more straightforward than the typologies suggested by Kuznetsova and Dimitrova-Marinova. The term "first Russian version" in Ivanov (= the text published by Barsov) corresponds to Dimitrova-Marinova's "short recension,"[52] and Kuznetsova's "Barsovian redaction."[53] The term "second Russian version" in Ivanov (= the text discovered in Cheboksary by Grigorovich and published by Mochul'skii) corresponds to Dimitrova-Marinova's "long recension"[54] and to Kuznetsova's "Cheboksary redaction."[55] Kuznetsova, however, considers the

[49] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51–7.

[50] My work is based on previously published versions of the text, with the assumption that they reflect the same range of themes and motifs as in the unpublished ones. When necessary, I will refer to unpublished texts, but purely as complementary evidence.

[51] *Cf.* Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 287–301.

[52] *Cf.* Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 42, 49 (note 19).

[53] *Cf.* Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,*192–5.

[54] *Cf.* Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 38, 42, 47 (note 6), 48 (note 17), 51–7.

[55] *Cf.* Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 195–7.

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Slepche version to be part of the same typological cluster of texts as the Cheboksary account.[56] Her position differs from the opinions expressed by Ivanov, who considers the Slepche version to be a separate category. In fact, it was Ivanov who first called it "the Bulgarian version of *The Sea of Tiberias*." As for the type described by Ivanov as "the third Russian version" (= *The Tale of Sts. Andrew and Epiphanius regarding Questions and Answers* from MS № 1138 from the Solovetskaia Library),[57] Dimitrova-Marinova calls it "the abridged redaction,"[58] while in Kuznetsova's classification it is an independent type, which she lists separately from the *SoT* texts.[59]

In my analysis I will follow the following taxonomy:

Type A-1: represented by the Bulgarian version of the *SoT* (*i.e.*, the Slepche version).

Type A-2: comprising the Russian accounts of the *SoT* published by Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova (*i.e.*, Ivanov's "second Russian version" = Kuznetsova's "Cheboksary redaction" = Dimitrova-Marinova's "long recension").

Type B: comprising the type of Russian accounts parallel to Barsov's publication of the *SoT* (*i.e*., Ivanov's "first Russian version" = Kuznetsova's "Barsovian redaction" = Dimitrova-Marinova's "short recension").

Type C: represented by *The Tale of Sts. Andrew and Epiphanius regarding Questions and Answers* (*i.e*., Ivanov's "third Russian redaction" = Dimitrova-Marinova's "abridged redaction" = Kuznetsova's "miscellaneous redaction").

3. Textual Analysis

3.1. The South-Slavonic Version

3.1.1. Archaeographic Search and Philological Research

In 1845, the Russian philologist Viktor Grigorovich discovered among the Slavonic manuscripts stored in the archives of the Slepche Monastery (now in the Republic of Macedonia) a text, which he considered to be a fragment from the erotapocritic *Discussion between the Three Saints*, and believed by him to be a Bulgarian/Serbian redaction of the text. He copied it, and his notes were subsequently published by Ia. Shchapov in 1861 and 1863.[60] Since it was more than

[56] *Ibid*., 197.

[57] *Cf.* Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 87–9.

[58] *Cf.* Dimitrova, "Kosmogonichnata legenda za Tiveriadskoto more," 185.

[59] *Cf.* Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 198.

[60] We follow the later publication; see Shchapov, "Istoricheskie ocherki," 91. Note that in Miltenova's entry on *The Sea of Tiberias* in the *Encyclopaedia Lexicon of Old Bulgarian Literature* the year of Shchapov's publication given (1963) should read 1863; the page number given (75) should also be amended to 91; see: "Tiveriadskoto more," *Stara bŭlgarska literatura*: *Entsiklopedichen rechnik* (ed. D. Petkanova), 463–64.

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140 years ago when this rare publication appeared,[61] I consider it appropriate to publish Grigorovich's notes again, with an English translation:

[П]режь земли бысть Господь Саваофъ – въ трехъ комарехъ на воздусѣхъ. И помысли себѣ Господь Саваофъ, безначальный отецъ, и тако отригну отъ сердца и роди возлюбленнаго сына Божія господа нашего Іисуса Христа, изъ устъ своихъ Духъ свой святой испусти о голубинѣ образѣ. И рече Господь: буди небо хрустальное на столпѣхъ желѣзныхъ, и на седмидесяти тьмахъ тысящь и будите озера и облаки и звѣзды и свѣтъ и вѣтръ, и дуну изъ нѣдръ своихъ, раи на востоцѣ насади; мразъ – от лица Господня, а громъ – гласъ господень въ колесницѣ огненнѣй утвержденъ, а молнія – слово Господне изъ устъ Божіихъ исходитъ, а солнце – отъ нутреннія ризы господни, понеже Господь […] лицу своему. И рече Господь: буди тма столповъ на воздусѣхъ. И рече Господь: буди на земли море тивиріадское, вода соленая. И сниде господь по воздуху на море тивиріадское и узрѣ господь плавающаго на томъ морѣ гоголя, и ста надъ нимъ Господь и рече ему: гоголе, ты кто еси? И рече: сатана азь есмь. И рече господь сатанѣ, понурися въ море, и вынь земли и камень, и преломи на двое, изъ лѣвыя руки дасть сатанѣ половину камени, удари Господь жезломъ на камень. И сотвори Богъ отъ искрь огненныхъ Михаила архангела и Гавріила – взлетѣли ангели. Сатана жъ изъ камени (сотвори) бѣсовскую бесчисленную силу богов. И рече господь: будите тридесять три кита на морѣ тивиріадскомъ, и буди на тѣхъ китахъ земля.

Before Earth there was [only] the Lord Sabaoth, [residing] in three chambers in the air. The Lord Sabaoth, the Father uncreated, pondered within Himself and thus begot His beloved Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who emanated from His heart. From His lips He released His Holy Spirit in the image of a dove. The Lord said, "May there be a crystal sky on iron pillars, seventy thousand myriads of them. May there be lakes and clouds and stars and light and wind." He exhaled from his bosom and planted Eden in the East. Frost is from the face of the Lord, thunder is from the voice of the Lord installed in the fiery chariot, and lightning is the Word of the Lord coming out from God's lips. The sun is from the inner garment of the Lord, because the Lord [touched it] to His face. Then the Lord said, "May there be a myriad of pillars in the air." The Lord said, "May there be salty water on the Earth, the Sea of Tiberias" and God went down via the air to the Sea of Tiberias. The Lord saw there on the Sea a [bird-]diver[62] swimming, and the Lord stood

[61] Yordan Ivanov published only the Bulgarian translation of Grigorovich's notes in his *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 289.

[62] I am rather reluctant in this case to render *gogol'* (гоголь) as "duck," despite the seemingly straightforward translation of the Russian noun *gogol'* as "a water bird" (traditionally imagined as "a duck") for the following reason. In some Russian folklore texts it is explicitly pointed out that *Gogol'* is the personal name of the anthropomorphic angel-demiurge (created from God's spittle) who ascends to Heaven, following God's command, to bring on his wings earth, which is later scattered over the waters of the primordial sea, causing the emergence of dry land. One such example comes from the text of the Russian folklore cosmogonic legend entitled "О сотвореніи міра"; it was recorded in 1910 in the region of Saratov (Volga river basin) by the local peasant Gavril Kirillovich Zavaritskii. The legend was narrated by his father. The text was published six years later; see "O tom svete i ob etom. Razskazy Saratovskogo Povolzh'ia," *EO* 1–2 (1916), 67–9; see also note 112, *infra*. A similar motif appears in some Belarusian folklore legends about the creation of the world. According to the account published in 1891 by E. R. Romanov in the fourth volume of his *Belarusian Miscellany* (*Cosmogonic Tales and Legends*),

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above it and said, "Diver, who are you?"; and [it] said, "I am Satan." [*or* and Satan said, "I am."] The Lord said to Satan, "Dive into the sea and fetch earth and stone." Then He cut [the stone] into two and half the piece from the left hand He gave to Satan. The Lord hit [His half of] the stone with [His] sceptre and thus God created from the fiery sparks the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the angels ascended. Satan created from the stone countless demonic forces of gods, and the Lord said, "May there be thirty-three whales in the Sea of Tiberias, and may the Earth be [supported] on these whales."

The MS that Viktor Grigorovich discovered was later lost, and his notes represent the only surviving evidence for the existence of this unique South Slavonic version of the *SoT* (=Type A-1). His brief comments indicate that the apocryphal text, which he found in the Slepche Monastery in 1845, must have contained an ornate cosmogonic account of the origins of the Universe and the initial stages of Creation, which heralded the emergence of the Earth. According to the Slepche version of the *SoT* (as rendered in Grigorovich's notes), prior to the "crafting" of the dry land – an act which was a result of combined efforts of two demiurges, God Sabaoth and Satan – all early phases of Creation were accomplished solely by God Sabaoth.

There is one detail in the text quoted above which has so far gone unnoticed, since its original meaning cannot adequately be determined by the modern punctuation in the version we have, by Grigorivich. Satan's reply to God's question, "Who are you?" could either be interpreted as: "he said, *I am Satan*", or "Satan said, *I am*." The latter meaning could have alluded to Exodus 3.14 (where God identifies Himself as "I am that I am"); hence the above passage from the Slepche version of the *SoT* could have been implicitly suggesting that what Satan actually declared was *that he himself is God* (see also the discussion *infra,* § 3.2.3).

3.1.2. The Signs of Heaven

The text starts with a description of God's heavenly abode. He dwelt in the air, resting upon *three* chambers (an unequivocal allegorical icon of the Holy Trinity). This detail also surfaces in some other versions of the *SoT*. The same description of God's "three-chambered habitat" can be found in the first paragraph of the eighteenth-century text from the MS discovered, again by V. Grigorovich, in Cheboksary,[63] and in the *incipit* of the eighteenth-century Russian recension of the *SoT* from MS № 566 from the Arkhangel'sk Collection of the Library of the

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the demiurge who, obeying God's command, dives into the bottom of the primordial sea to fetch some earth, from which the dry land would later appear, is also depicted as an anthropomorphic, not as an ornithomorphic being; see *Belorusskii Sbornik.* vol. 4: *Skazki kosmogonicheskiia i kul'turnyia* (Vitebsk: Tipo-litografiia G.A. Malkina, 1891), 1–3. For an English translation of this account, see F. Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 235–40.

[63] See Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173; the MS was indexed in the archive collection of Grigorovich's MSS as № 56 (see also §§ 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 *supra* and § 3.2.1 *infra*).

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Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.[64] On the other hand, the opening passage from the Slepche version of the *SoT* bears a close resemblance to seventeenth/eighteenth-century Slavonic redactions of some erotapocritic apocryphal writings. Thus, in one of the Russian versions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints – Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom: Questions and Answers Copied from the Paterikon* ("*Бѣседа Трiехъ Святителей Василiя Великаго, Григорiя Богослова, Iоанна Златоустаго, Вопрошение съ Толкованiемъ. Списано съ Патерика Римскаго"*), God's heavenly abode is described in a similar manner. The three chambers are regarded as a metaphorical image of the Holy Trinity:

В[асилій] р[ече]: Гдѣ Богъ первѣя жилъ, иже не бысть свѣта? – І[оаннъ] р[ече]: Суть каморы три на воздусѣхъ, ту бяше Господь въ трехъ каморехъ, агнцемъ, а свѣту тогда не бысть.
Григорій рече: Протолкуй ми Троицу въ трехъ каморехъ. – І[оаннъ] р[ече]: Отецъ, Сынъ и святый Духъ, единъ свѣтъ, трое огнь.[65]

[Saint] Basil said, "Where did God dwell at the beginning before there was no world/light?"[66] – [Saint] John said, "There are three chambers in the air and God was in these three chambers [in an image] of a lamb. There was no world/light at that time." [Saint] Gregory said, "Explain to me, what is the [Holy] Trinity in three chambers?" – John said, "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. One world/Holy [God], three fires."

These examples make it evident that, according to the thesaurus of Slavonic apocryphal writings, the image of the celestial "three-chambered habitat" encompasses the three concurrent hypostases of God (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) and symbolises their "oneness" ("*Троица единосущная*").[67] As in the versions published by Mochul'skii and Dimitrova-Marinova, the parable of the "three chambers" in the Slepche version of the *SoT* is followed by a larger narrative unit, relating how the eternal Lord, God the Father, from His heart via His Rea-

[64] The text was recently published by D. Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51–7. See also § 2.1.2, *supra*.

[65] Quoted from A. N. Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 169.

[66] As in other medieval Slavonic texts, there is a certain amount of ambiguity in this account, since the word used to denote "world"/"universe" (*свѣтъ*) is a homonym not only of the word for "light" (*свѣтъ*), but also of the word for "holy"/"divine" (*Сватъ/Свiатъ*); see I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia Slovaria Drevne-Russkogo Iazyka po Pis'mennym Pamiatnikam,* vol. 3 (Sankt-Peterburg: Izdanie Otdelenia Russkogo Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1903), 295–302 and V. Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivago velikorusskago iazyka,* vol. 4 (St. Petersburg/Moscow: Izdanie knigoprodavtsa-tipografa M. O. Vol'fa, 1882), 156–59. Therefore it is unclear whether St. Basil's query refers to primordial times when there was no world, or no light; it is also unclear if St. John's answer to the second question envisages the three hypostases of God (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) as "Triune Fire", *i.e.* one essence in three hypostases. See also notes 136 and 250, *infra*.

[67] For the doctrine of the Trinity, see "The Triune God" in John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1983), 180–90.

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son, begot (lit. "gave birth to") His Son, Jesus Christ, and brought Him into being through the power of the Word (*i.e.*, Logos), which He exhaled from within Himself.[68] There followed the emanation of the Holy Spirit, which emerged from His mouth in the image of a dove.[69] Thereupon, the story goes, with the power of God's creative Word, a crystal[70] sky was fashioned, resting upon seventy thousand myriads of iron pillars, along with celestial lakes containing the heavenly waters (from which the rain would originate and subsequently fall to earth?), as well as stars, clouds and winds. After that God Sabaoth exhaled His breath from His bosom, thus planting Paradise in the East. The cosmogonic motif of the

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[68] This detail is interpreted in a similar way in some medieval Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian recensions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*. One such case is the opening paragraph of the *Interpretative Account Regarding Heaven and Earth* ("*Слово ѡ небесн и ѡ ꙁемлн протлькь*") from a medieval Serbian MS preserved in the Library of the Patriarchy of Karlovac; it starts with the question "What was the first thing to come out from God's mouth?" ("*Ꙋто прьво нꙁнде нꙁь ѥсть Божінхь*?"), followed by the answer "*Слово сынь Божін*" ("Logos, the Son of God"), see V. Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 52. The same question and answer, in slightly abbreviated form, appear in another version (entitled "*Слѡво ѡ небесн и ѡ ꙁемлн*") from a sixteenth-century Serbian Synaksarion preserved in the National Museum in Prague (MS № 12, fol. 115): "What was the first thing to come out from God's mouth?" "Logos, the Son of God" ("*Ꙋто прьво нꙁыде нꙁь ѥсть Божінхь*? *Слово, сынь Божін*") [*ibid.,* 54]. Another example comes from the seventeenth-century *Tale from the Book of Genesis* ("*Скаꙁанїе ѿ Бытїа*") from a Serbian Miscellany in the National Library in Belgrade (MS № 273, fol. 171) [*Ibid.,* 58]. For Latin parallels ("Quis primus ex Deo processit? Verbum"), see R. Nachtigall, "Ein Beitrag zu den Forschungen über die sogenannte 'Бесѣда трехъ святителей' (Gespräch dreier Heiligen)," *ASPh* 24 (1902), 324 (Question № 1). See also Tg. Onkelos on Gen 3:8 ("They [Adam and Eve] heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the Garden"), translating the verse as "they heard the sound of the Logos of the Lord God who was walking in the Garden." This parallel will be discussed elsewhere.

[69] See the interpretation of this detail in two eighteenth-century versions of the *SoT* published respectively by Mochul'skii ("Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173) and Dimitrova-Marinova ("Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51).

[70] On the image of the crystal as a celestial ingredient comprising two opposite characteristics, *i.e.*, "wetness" and "dryness," see the following cosmogonic account from the sixteenth-century Bulgarian redaction of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*:

Н основа^{х} свѣто^{м} окржгоу водꙑ н сътворн^{х} ꙁ̑ кржг̑ въноутрьждоу н въобраꙁн^{х} ꙗко хроусталь, мокро н соухо снрѣ^{ѵ} стъкло н ледь ѡбхождєнїа вода^{м} ннмъ стнхїа^{м}. (Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 176.)

The MS (record № 321, National Library in Belgrade) was discovered by the Russian scholar M. Sokolov in 1886 and published by him 13 years later. Hereafter I refer to Ivanov's publication of the original Church Slavonic text of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* ("Кннгн ст̑н^{х} таннь Єнохо^{в}, мжжа мждра н велнка хждожннка, ѣгоже прїа^{т} Гъ̑ н въꙁлюбнть ѣго, да внднъ вышнаж жнтнїе н прѣмждраго н велнкаго н недомꙑслнмаго н непрѣмѣнnаго цр̑тва Ба̑ въседръжнтелѣ, н прѣднвнаго н славнаго н свѣтлаго н многосѳ̈унтаго стоанїа слоугь гн̑ѣ, н неподвн[жнмаго пр̑тла гн̑ѣ, н степенн, н ѡбꙑавленїе] воннь бесплътнн, н нескаꙁаемаго сложенїа мнοго мн̑жьства стӱхїн, н раꙁлнчнаа внднїа н ненсповѣднмаа пѣнїе хероувнмскꙑ^{х} вон, н свѣта беꙁь мѣрна самовндець бытн" following Sokolov's publication of the apocryphon); see *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 167–80. A similar cosmographic concept, that the sky is made of "thick glass," is attested in Bulgarian oral tradition; see Y. Kovachev, "Narodna astronomiia i meteorologiia," *SbNU* 30 (1914), 15.

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Garden of Eden emerging from the Creator's breath also features in the versions published by Mochul'skii,[71] Sreznevskii,[72] and Dimitrova-Marinova (*i.e.* Type A-2).[73] In the account published by Barsov (*i.e.* Type B),[74] however, the creation of Eden is not a direct product of God's breath; still, Paradise appears as a result of God's divine action. The chronological dimensions of the creation of the Garden of Eden in Barsov's account are also different: it is fashioned after the fall of Satan and before the creation of Adam. There is one detail about the origins of Paradise appearing in all four versions of the *SoT* that parallels the Slepche version: Paradise is located at the eastern corner of the celestial Universe, thus marking the heart of God's abode ("Бг҃ъ сѣдитъ на вос(т)оцѣ").[75] This detail appears likewise in some Slavonic recensions of *Vita Adae et Evae*; one such case is the fifteenth/sixteenth-century text entitled *"ѠЭ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучл(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*" from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany* (MS № 358).[76]

A further detail from the Slepche version of the *SoT,* which is interpreted in an identical manner in the accounts published by Mochul'skii[77] and Sreznevskii,[78] is that of the genesis of frost originating from God's face.[79] As for the thunder, it is featured as God's voice ensconced in a fiery chariot.[80] Kindred mythopoeic

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[71] Mochulskii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174.

[72] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99.

[73] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51.

[74] Barsov, "O Tiveriadskom More," 5–8; see also Appendix, Text 1, § 3, *infra*.

[75] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51.

[76] Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 1.

[77] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174.

[78] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99.

[79] The motif of the frost as an attribute of the incorporeal heavenly host occurs likewise in the sixteenth-century Bulgarian redaction of the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (*Enoch 2*) from MS № 321 in the National Library in Belgrade:

И въꙁва Гъ ѣдиного ѿ агг҃ль старѣишиⁿˣ, страшна и гроꙁна, и поставн ѣго 8 мене. И вндѣиїе агг҃ла того вѣло ꙗко снѣгь, и ржцѣ ѣго леᴬ вндѣиїеᴹ нмаца стоудень велнкж. И оустѳде лнце мое, ꙁане не тръпѣˣ страха гн҃ѣ, ꙗко же нѣ̂ моцино тръпѣтн ѡгнѣ пецинаго и ꙁноа слънеунаго и мраꙁа въꙁдоушнаго. И реᵛ Гъ къ мн҃ѣ: Еноше, аще не оустоудн са лнце твоа ꙁде, не можеᵀ ѵа҃кь ꙁрѣтн лнца твоѣго. И реᵛ Гъ мжжема ѡнѣма, въꙁведшнма ма прѣжде: да съндеᵀ Енохˣ на ꙁемла съ вама, и пождта ѣго до оурочуаго д҃не. (Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 179).

[80] K. Radchenko points out in this connection that in the Bible thunder and lightning are regarded as God's attributes; he refers to *Exodus* 29 (from verse 19 onwards), and to *Job* (36: 32; 37: 2, etc.); see Radchenko, "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 77. In fact, related celestial imagery is employed in *Psalm 104*, in which Yahweh, the Mighty Creator – "clothed with honour and majesty" – is praised and glorified in a similar manner: "He covers himself with light as with a garment. | He stretches out the heavens like a curtain. | He lays the beams of his rooms in the waters. | He makes the clouds his chariot. | He walks on the wings of the wind. | He makes his messengers winds; | His servants – flames of fire. | He laid the foundations of the earth, | That it should not be moved forever. | You covered it with the deep as with a cloak. | The waters stood above the mountains. | At your rebuke they fled. | At the voice of your thunder they hurried away. | The mountains rose, the valleys sank down, | To the place which you had assigned to

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imagery is employed in the accounts published by Mochul'skii,[81] Sreznevskii,[82] and Dimitrova-Marinova.[83] A similar description of thunder as the mighty voice of God carried in a fiery chariot moving across the firmament is also present in one of the seventeenth/eighteenth-century Slavonic versions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints – Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom: Questions and Answers,* the compiler of which purports to have copied it from the *Paterikon* (*Vitae Patrum*) itself ("*Бѣсѣда Трiехъ Святителей Василiя Великаго, Григорiя Богослова, Iоанна Златоустаго, Вопрошенiе съ Толкованiемъ. Списано съ Патерика Римскаго"*):

I[оаннъ] р[ече]: Отъ чего громъ и молнiя сотворена бысть? – В[асилiй] р[ече]: Гласъ Господень въ колесницѣ огненной утвержденъ и ангела гр(ом)ная приставлена.[84]

[Saint] John said, "From what are thunder and lightning created?" – [Saint] Basil said, "The voice of God is embedded in a fiery chariot and thundering angels are fixed to it."[85]

According to the cosmogonical pattern followed in the Slepche version of the *SoT*, the Word of God is considered to be lightning issued forth from His mouth,[86] while the Sun is believed to have emerged from His inner garment, a result of God having wiped His face;[87] thereupon a myriad of pillars came to

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them. | You have set a boundary that they may not pass over; | That they do not turn again to cover the earth."

On the other hand, some Slavonic apocryphal prayers, incantations and spells, recited during thunderstorms as magical rites, attribute thunder and lightning to God as His weapons against Satan; see in this connection Iatsimirskii, "K istorii lozhnykh molitv v iuzhno-slavianskoi pis'mennosti, " *IORIS* 18, 4 (1913/1914), 53–71. See also the discussion, *infra*.

[81] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174.

[82] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99.

[83] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51–2.

[84] Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 169.

[85] According to the Slavonic *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the celestial fiery chariot drawn by four angels is imagined to be carrying the Sun itself; see Sokolov, "Feniks v apokrifakh," 399–402. Further on the origin of thunder, see the text entitled *Razumnik: Questions of John, Basil and Gregory ("А се разумникъ. выпросн Іоана н Васнлiа н Грнгорiа")*, from the sixteenth-century miscellany preserved in the Bulgarian National Library, under record № 68 (Fol. 152 rev.), in A. S. Arkhangel'skii, "K istorii iuzhnoslavianskoi i drevnerusskoi apokrificheskoi literatury. Dva liubopytnykh sbornika Sofiiskoi Narodnoi Biblioteki v Bolgarii. Opisanie rukopisei i teksty," *IORIS* 4, 1 (1899), 121.

[86] Parallel representations can be found in the versions published by Mochul'skii ("Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174), Sreznevskii ("Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99) and Dimitrova-Marinova ("Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 52).

[87] According to the current account, the Sun is considered to be an imprint of God's face upon the fabric of the Universe; it is imagined as an icon of God. A similar motif of "the miraculous icon not painted by human hands" appears in the legends about Saint Veronica, the pious woman who accompanied Christ to Calvary and gave Him a piece of cloth to wipe His face; He did so and an imprint of His image was left miraculously on the towel. In Slavonic religious art there is a special iconographic type related to this image, known as "*Спас Нерукотворный*" (or "*Ubrus*"). In West European regions of Christendom this iconographic type is called "Veronica" (*i.e.*, *vera icon* = "true image"). According to this text, the Sun is considered to be God Sabaoth's *vera icon*. The notion that the Sun is an emanation of God's splendour is expressed

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stand in the air in accordance with His command. Finally, God uttered: "May there be the Sea of Tiberias on Earth, a body of salty water!" and descended from the high heavens down to the Sea of Tiberias. Only then did He encounter the "other creator," who was described as a (bird-)diver swimming in the primordial sea; this motif becomes one of the hallmarks of the *SoT* as attested in all the extant versions.[88]

3.1.3. The Two Creators: God and Satan

According to the Slepche version, both God Sabaoth and Satan, His heavenly companion (who has not yet become a hostile antagonist!), appear to have been self-created and existing prior to the beginnings of the Universe. They both are therefore regarded in the Slepche narrative as compatible celestial beings and not enemies. Still, Satan is subject to God's power and acts under His instructions. However, unlike some other apocryphal narratives dealing with the origins of the Earth, in this case Satan is not portrayed as God's adversary. According to the Slepche version, he does not play the role of God's antagonist, at least not at this stage of Creation. He is just a mediator between the upper and lower spheres of the universe.[89] The encounter between the two creators is marked by a typical, for this kind of cosmogonical account, formulaic exchange of greetings in the form of a dialogue: "Who are you?" – "I am God" (or "I am Satan"); afterwards the ornithomorphic demiurge is asked by God to dive to the bottom of the primordial salty sea and to fetch earth and flint. God then breaks the stone into two, and gives the half in His left hand[90] to Satan. He then hits the piece in His right hand with His sceptre; this causes the emergence of fiery sparks, from which

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in the sixteenth-century Bulgarian apocryphal *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* ("*Раꙁоумникъ*") from the *Lovchansky Miscellany*: "Въпросъ: кажн мн, что є҃ сѧ́нце? – ѿ.: лѣпота ѣ́жїа н жнвоть мнрѳ н ꙁемлн." (Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 259).

[88] This motif is also a vital component of vernacular cosmogonies among peoples of Eurasia and elsewhere; it is classified as type A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver) in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955). See also the discussion at §§ 3.1.3 (*The Two Creators: God and Satan*) and 3.2.3.1 (*The Diving Creator*), *infra*.

[89] On the image of Satan as mediator (as presented in Bulgarian oral tradition, *The Secret Book of the Bogomils*, the *SoT* and *The Combat Between Archangel Michael and Satanail*), see D. Dimitrova, "Mediatorŭt v starobŭlgarskata apokrifna traditsiia i v bŭlgarskiia folklor: vŭprosi na tipologiiata," *Medievistika i kulturna antropologiia.* Sbornik v chest na 40-godishnata tvorcheska deinost na Prof. Donka Petkanova (eds. A. Angusheva-Tikhanova and A. Miltenova; Sofia: Mnemozina, 1998), 376–82.

[90] As is common in other Eurasian myths of origin, in Slavonic cosmogonies the "left hand" is regarded as "harmful/evil/negative," whereas the "right hand" symbolises "righteous/good/positive"; respectively the "right side" is considered to be related to God and angelic beings, whereas the "left side" is associated with Satan and his diabolical creatures. See N.I. Tolstoy, "Binarnye protivopostavleniia tipa pravyi-levyi, muzhskoi-zhenskii," *Iazyk i narodnaia kul'tura* (Moscow: Indrik, 1995), 151–66; *idem*., "Iz geografii slavianskikh slov: pravyi-levyi,"

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God creates the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, along with His angelic host. As for Satan, he fashions "countless devilish forces"[91] from the half of the stone given to him by God.[92] A similar idea, that the angels are created of fire ignited from stones, is developed in some other extra-canonical writings.[93] According to *2 Enoch*, on the second day of Creation God strikes up a great fire from the primordial hard stones and from this fire He creates the heavenly host; one of these angels is later to become the Fallen One:

Тогда бы҃ вечрь н пакъı оутро, н бы҃ дн҃ь .в҃. Н къ всѣ͜м же свон͜м нб҃нъı͜мωбразова͜х ωгнъно е҃ство. Възрѣ око мое на тврьдн н мнοго жестокъı камень н ѿ ωблнстанїа ока моёго н въспрнжт͜ н млънн етс҃во водноа, н ωгнь въ водѣ н вода въ ωгнн, нн сын ωного оугашаат͜, нн ωно 8соушажт͜, то҃ родн млънїа слн҃чнаго ωзаренїе ωстрѣншїе н свѣтлѣншїа е҃ н мекка вода тврьжда камене жестокаго е҃. Н ѿ каменеж͜ оусѣкох ωгнь велнкъı н ѿ ωгнѣ сътворнх чнн бесплътнн͜х вон҃ı тъ͜м аг҃ль, н ωржжїа нх ωгнъна н ωдежде нх пламн палещь; н повелѣх да стож къждо въ свое͜м чнноу. Ѥднн же ѿ чна архаг҃каго ѿвраці са съ чноͫ сжцнн͜м под нн͜м, въспрїжт͜ мнсль немощнжа, да поставнт͜ прѣстоль свон въше ωбла͜к на͜ ѕемлеа, да бжде͜т тжче҃͜ моён снлѣ. Н ѿвръго͜х ёго съ въсотн съ аг҃лн ёго. Н бѣ лѣтаа по въздоухоу внн͜ж врьхоу беѕдн. Н сътворн͜х тако всѣ нб҃са, н бы҃ дн҃ь третїн.[94]

It was evening and it was the second day. In all My heavenly objects I created a fiery nature. My eye looked at the firm and the very hard stone, and lightning received its aquatic nature from the sparkle of My eyes. Fire in water and water in fire, neither does the water extinguish the fire nor the fire dry out the water. This is why lightning is sharper and brighter than sunbeams, and soft water is harder than hard stone. I struck up a great fire from stones and I created from fire the ranks of My incorporeal host of ten angels, along with their fiery weapons, and their garments which were burning flames. I ordered each of them to stay in their rank. But one of the angelic ranks separated himself along with his subordinates, being obsessed by the sick idea of placing his throne above the clouds above the earth, and to become equal to My power. I expelled him from the

Izbrannye trudy. Slavianskaia leksikologiia i semasiologiia, vol. 1 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 1997), 144–52.

[91] The appearance of the plural form of the noun "*бог*" ("god") is quite peculiar here (see the actual phrase: "*Сатана жъ изъ камени сотвори бѣсовскую бесчисленную силу богов*"). As a norm in Slavonic languages, the nouns denoting "God" (*i.e. Бог, Господь,* etc.) are *singularia tantum*; they are also gender inclusive (always masculine). The same is true for Hebrew *elohim*. The plural (or feminine) forms of the Slavonic lexemes denoting "god" may occur in folklore tradition, where they function as euphemistic names of various demonic forces or pagan deities, or diseases; see O.V. Sannikova and V.V. Usacheva, "Boginki," *Slavianskie Drevnosti*, vol. 1 (ed. N.I. Tolstoi; Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia, 1995), 215–17. Among the mountain peoples of North-Western Balkan ranges in Bulgaria, for instance, measles is known as "boginki" (*богинки* = "goddesses"), a plural (diminutive) form of the feminine version of the appellation "*Бог*" (God). This detail indicates that the compiler(s) of the present apocryphal text must have been aware of the vernacular vocabulary of indigenous demonology.

[92] For a comprehensive survey of the Slavonic folklore texts in which this motif appears, see Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy*, 151–53, 157–59.

[93] See Radchenko, "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 83.

[94] This fragment is an extract from a sixteenth-century Bulgarian redaction of *2 Enoch* (MS № 321 in the National Library in Belgrade); Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 176.

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heights together with his angels. He began to fly in the air above the abyss. This is how I arranged all the heavens and it became the third day.

The Enochic interpretation of the idea about the origin of angels from fire ignited from stones[95] significantly differs from the way in which it is construed in the *SoT*. While in the *SoT* there are two parallel "creators of the heavenly host," God and Satan, who act simultaneously and fashion angels and demons respectively, in *2 Enoch* all angels (including those who will become "the fallen ones", *i.e.* the future demons) are created by God alone. Moreover, in *2 Enoch* the angels are fashioned before the creation of Paradise, while the Slepche version of the *SoT* offers the reverse cosmogonic scenario: the emergence of the Garden of Eden precedes the appearance of celestial beings. The same chronological pattern occurs in the versions published by Mochul'skii,[96] Sreznevskii[97] and Dimitrova-Marinova[98] (Type A-2).

On the other hand, the concept that the angels are created of fire is well attested in midrashic tradition.[99] It is also distinctly present in the Qur'ān (Sūrah 7:11 and Sūrah 38:77), and in some Islamic exegetical writings,[100] along with popular Islamic oral tradition. At the same time, great varieties of Slavonic folklore narratives (in particular dualistic cosmogonic legends related to Bogomilism) touch upon the matter of angels being created from fire as well. It is important to point out, however, that the Slepche version does not know the motif of "Satan's fall," in contrast to *2 Enoch*,[101] the *Palaea* accounts of the origins of diabolical forces,[102] and versions of the *SoT* published by Barsov, Mochul'skii, Porfir'ev, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova. Instead, we have a narrative about the parallel emergence of "angelic" and "demonic" forces, produced by God and Satan from the right and the left halves of the primordial flint respectively; most

[95] Further on the impact of *2 Enoch* on vernacular Slavonic angelology and demonology, and on its role as the "ultimate source for the Lucifer legend" in folklore tradition, see F. L. Utley, "The Bible of the Folk," *California Folklore Quarterly* 4, 1 (Jan. 1945), 6.

[96] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174.

[97] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99.

[98] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51.

[99] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909), 16.

[100] Consult in this connection Al-Tabarī, *The History of Prophets and Kings (Tarīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* vol. 1: *From the Creation to the Flood* (ed./tr. F. Rosenthal; Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), 252–3, and Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets (Qisas al-Anbiyā')* (ed./tr. by H. E. Boeschoten, *et al*.; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 11–13 (fol. 4 r).

[101] See the discussion in Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 308.

[102] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 21–31, 83–5; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 69; Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy*, 89, 91–5; D. Dimitrova-Marinova, "Kosmogonichno-eskhatologichniiat tsikŭl v starobŭlgarskata knizhovna traditsiia i bŭlgarskata traditsionna slovesnost (problemi na resakralizatsiiata i khristiianskata nominatsiia)," *V tŭrsene na mitichnata tŭkan* (eds. N. Kapralova, M. Vrinat -Nikolov and D. Dimitrova-Marinova; Sofia: Izdatelska kŭshta Boian Penev, 2002), 102–9.

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importantly, this flint (the narrative states) was delivered from the bottom of the Sea of Tiberias by Satan, but under God's command. Angelology and demonology are bound up in a dualistic knot here. In contrast to the *Palaea* tradition, concepts of origins of angels and demons are complementary in this narrative. After the creation of angels and archangels by God and demonic forces by Satan, the concluding phase of Creation takes place: God speaks and creates with the power of His word, "May there be thirty-three whales,[103] and may there be land on top of these whales."

3.1.4. The Thirty-Three Whales Holding up the Earth

The motif of the thirty-three whales supporting the Earth is to be found in the versions of the *SoT* published by Mochul'skii[104] and Sreznevskii.[105] In Mochul'skii's version it is further claimed that these whales are fed by angels who bring them food from Paradise itself:

А китом тем повелѣ пищу Гдь ангелом от рая приносити, на нихже утверждена земля, и не подвизается ни в которую сторону.[106]

God ordered angels to deliver to these whales nutrition from Paradise, [since] the earth itself is based on them and does not shake in any direction.

A similar cosmological concept appears in an eighteenth-century Russian version of the erotapocritic *Discussion Between the Three Saints* ("*Вопросы и ѿвѣты Свѧты*^{x} *василия великаго, григория б(о)гослова, иоан*^{и}*а златоустаго пророче*^{с}*тва выписано о*^{т} *Библии о*^{т} *евангелиста и апостола*").[107] According to this account, the foundation of the Earth rests upon three large and thirty small whales, which are nourished by the odour of Paradise:

В[опрос]. На че(м) земля основана бысть. О(т)[вет]. На тре(х) кита(х) велики(х) и на тридесяти малыхъ. В[опрос]. О(т) чего тѣ киты суть бываю(т). О(т)[вет]. Находятъ онѣ раиское благоухание. Вынимаю(т) о(т) того десяту часть на пропитание.[108]

Question: On what is the Earth founded? Answer: On three great whales and thirty small ones. Question: From what do these whales exist? Answer: They find a heavenly scent and take a tenth part of it for [their] sustenance.

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[103] See Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 44; she suggests that in this context the reference to the thirty-three whales on which the Earth rests is an amplification of NT symbolism: Christ was crucified when He was thirty-three years old.

[104] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174–5.

[105] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 100.

[106] See Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 175.

[107] In fact, it comes from the same MS № 56 from the Grigorovich Collection, which also contains the version of the *SoT* published by Mochul'skii; *idem.*, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 177–88. In this MS the text of the *Discussion Between the Three Saints* immediately follows the *SoT* account; *ibid.*, 177, note 1.

[108] *Ibid.,* 179; see also the discussion *infra* (note 129).

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According to the fifteenth-century Serbian recension of the *Razumnik* ("*Разѣмникъ*"), an erotapocritic apocryphal text from the Grigorovich collection, the number of whales supporting the foundations of the Earth is four. This account, in a form of a dialogue having the structure of cumulative tales, explains that the Earth is positioned on high waters; these waters are resting upon a vast flat stone; this flat stone is located on four whales; these whales rest upon a fiery river; this fiery river is itself positioned above another fire, which is twice hotter than the fiery river; this hottest fire is held by an iron oak, which was planted before anything existed; its roots are resting upon the power of God:

Въпро^{c}. да скажн мн цıо дрьжнть ꙁемлıю. ре^{v}. вода внсока. Да цıо дръжнть водѳ. ѿвѣ^{т}. камень плосень велмн. Да ѵто дрьжнть камень. ре^{v} камень дрьжн^{т}.д҃. кнтове ꙁлатꙑ. Да ѵто дрьжнть кѵ̀тове ꙁлатꙑ. реѵе рѣка ѡгньнnаа. Да ѵто дрьжн^{т} того ѡгнıа. ре^{v} дрѳгн огнь еже і҆є͡ пожеѵь того .в҃. огнıа ѵестн. Да ѵто дрьжнть того огнıа. ре^{v} доубь желѣꙁнꙑ. ієже і҆є͡прьво посаж^{A}ень. ѿ вьсегоже коренїе. на снле бжїен стон^{т}.[109]

The motif of the whales upon which the dry land rests also has iconographic and vernacular oral interpretations.[110] According to some Russian cosmogonic legends, God kneaded the Earth out of the primordial substance brought to him by Satan (in either ornithomorphic or anthropomorphic form) from the bottom of

[109] Quoted from Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 2, 443; see the text "Questions regarding the number of components from which Adam was created" ("*Вопросы, отъ сколькнхъ ѵастей соꙁданъ былъ Адамъ*") in his *Monuments of Proscribed Russian Literature*. After the above quoted passage follows a series of questions and answers revealing the sequence of cosmogonic acts accomplished by God (*i.e.*, on Tuesday He planted Paradise, on Wednesday He added the sea, on Thursday He ordered animals and beasts to appear, on Friday He created Adam, on Saturday He gave the first man the spirit of life). What this account implicitly indicates is that the day of God's rest was considered to be Sunday, not Saturday (contrary to what is suggested in many other apocryphal texts). This also shows that in this text the first day of Creation was considered to be Monday, not Sunday. It was on Monday, therefore, that the Earth was established on high waters (resting upon the vast flat stone, located on four whales, placed upon the fiery river positioned above the fire, twice hotter than the fiery river, etc.), not Sunday. A similar account is to be found in the sixteenth-century Bulgarian apocryphal *Razumnik Erotapokriseis* ("*Раꙁоумнникъ*") from the *Lovchansky Miscellany*; see Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 260. For the attestation of this cosmographic pattern in accounts from various Slavonic recensions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* apocrypha, see Nachtigall, "Ein Beitrag," *ASPh* 24, 324–5 (Question № 8), esp. note 8; see also Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 17, 1 (1887), 159–62. Veselovskii compares the cosmographic motifs employed in Serbian and Bulgarian recensions of the *Razumnik Erotapokriseis* apocryphal texts, along with some Slavonic versions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* (and their Latin counterparts), to the narrative blocks building the framework of the creation account of the Mochul'skii version of the *SoT*; see *idem.*, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 42–5.

[110] For an iconographic representation of this motif, see A. Vasiliu, *Monastères de Moldavie XIV–XVI siècles: les Architectures de l'image* (Paris: Mediterranée, 1998), Fig. 132; further on apocryphal and folklore renditions of the motif of the whales upon which the dry land rests, see Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 3 (1887), 41–8, and Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy*, 68; see also notes 111 and 112, *infra*.

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the sea[111] or from the high heavens.[112] When it started to grow, like rising dough mixed with yeast,[113] the Creator summoned three/seven gigantic whales and placed the loaf (Earth) on their heads. According to these texts, the Earth has been resting on these whales ever since. It is believed, the storytellers maintain, that the end of the world will come when the primordial configuration of these three/seven whales disintegrates and breaks up under the weight of the Earth. The motif of the whales upon which the dry land rests is also well represented in the Russian folk spiritual stanzas of *The Book of the Dove* ("*Голубиная Книга*"),[114]

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[111] One such legend was recorded in Western Siberia, in the village of Plekhanov, Tiumen' County (Uezd) of the Russian Empire, at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was narrated by the seventy-nine year old storyteller, singer and healer Dmitrii Nikoforovich Plekhanov, born in the same village. According to Plekhanov's account, when Satanail dived to the bottom of the primordial waters, in the form of a bird, and fetched some earth, he gave part of it to God Sabaoth, so that He might create dry land, while the other part he kept in his beak; having taken the substance given to Him by His companion, God kneaded it and made it like a small flat loaf. That was the Earth. Thereupon He ordered that three gigantic whales appear from the sea bottom; on their heads the Creator placed the loaf = Earth which carried on enlarging. It became so heavy, that the three whales were not able to carry it anymore, and God ordered four more whales to appear. This came to pass, and the Earth has been resting ever since on the heads of these seven whales. When this world comes to its end, the earth will have become so heavy that the seven whales will not be able to support it anymore. They will then go back to the waters from which they emerged at the beginning of Creation, and the Earth will vanish. See P.A. Gorodtsov, "Zapadno-sibirskiia narodnyia legendy o tvorenii mira i bor'be dukhov," *EO* 1 (1909), 52–3 (text 1); see also the Appendix, Text 3, *infra*.

[112] See the Russian folklore legend "О сотвореніи міра" recorded in 1910 in the region of Saratov (Volga river basin) by the local peasant Gavril Kirillovich Zavaritskii, "O tom svete i ob etom," *EO* 1–2 (1916), 67–9 (Text 1). According to this cosmogonic narrative, when the Creator fashioned the dry land, He was assisted by a gigantic anthropomorphic angelic being – called Гоголь (Gogol'), meaning also "duck" in the local Russian dialect – which had appeared from primordial waters, out of God's spittle; the Lord then asked him to fly to the high heavens and take from there some dust/earth. This celestial substance was subsequently scattered by God over the surface of the primordial waters, and it started expanding like dough mixed with yeast; that was how the dry land emerged. Initially it was spotless, smooth and even as a table, floating on the surface of the waters; still, God was concerned that it might have become too heavy. To maintain the Earth's primordial integrity, He made a vast plate of stone and placed it on top of three gigantic whales; then He placed the Earth on this stone and ordered the whales to carry it forever. Here follows the fragment from the account concerned:

Богъ взялъ землю и раскидалъ ее по водѣ. Вдругъ пошли пузыри; земля стала киснуть и быстро расти. Выросла ровна, гладка, как столъ. "Вотъ это будетъ хорошо. Но она кабы слишкомъ не была чижола: ей надо на чомъ нибудь держаться." И вотъ Богъ сдѣлалъ изъ камня огромную плиту и устроилъ три огромныхъ кита, и положилъ на нихъ плиту, и на плиту ужъ положилъ землю, и велѣлъ китамъ ее носить на своихъ хребтахъ во-веки-вечни-бесконечни [*ibid.,* 68].

[113] The verb used in this type of cosmogonic narrative is "*киснуть*" ("ferment," "rise"); it is usually applied to denote the growth of dough kneaded with yeast. In some Bulgarian legends the substance brought by Satan is called "yeast" (*мая, квас*); see Yordan Kovachev, "Narodna astronomiia i meteorologiia," *SbNU* 30 (1914), 50 (Text 4 in the Appendix, *infra*). On the motif of "creation via kneading" in vernacular cosmogonies and anthropogonies, see Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 202–7.

[114] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 3 (1887), 41–8.

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where the whale is not only considered to be a fish, but also "the mother of all fish, because the whole moist earth along with the entire underworld rests upon three big and thirty small whales" ("*у насъ китъ рыба надъ рыбамъ мать; на трехъ китахъ на рыбинахъ, на тридцати было на малыхъ, основана на нихь вся сыра земля и содержится вся подселенная*").[115] Like the Slavonic oral vernacular legends, some Russian religious folk poems maintain that the end of the world will come when the whales upon which the earth rests turn over:

Китъ рыба всѣмъ рыбамъ мати. | На китахъ – рыбахъ земля основана. | Стоитъ Китъ рыба – не сворохнется; | Когда же Китъ рыба поворотится, | Тогда мать земля вся восколыбнется, | Тогда бѣлый светъ нашъ покончится. | Потому Китъ рыба всѣмъ рыбамъ мати.[116]

The whale is the mother of all fish. | The Earth is founded upon the whales. | When the whale stands still, so does Earth. | When the whale will turn over, | Then all of Mother

[115] *Ibid.,* 41.

[116] *Ibid.*, 46. See also ll. 141–4 in "The Dove-Book which was forty spans in length" ("*Голубиная книга сорока пядень*"), a folklore spiritual stanza (text № 59) in K. Danilov, *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia sobrannye Kirsheiu Danilovym* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1938), 277:

The whale is the mother of all fish.
Why is the whale the mother of all fish?
The whale is the mother of all fish, because
The Earth is founded upon seven whales.

A similar idea is expressed in another version of "The Book of the Dove" folklore spiritual stanza (ll. 212–21), published in A. V. Oksenov's collection of Russian folk poetry, *Narodnaia poeziia. Byliny, pesni, skazki, poslovitsy, dukhovnye stikhi, povesti, s ocherkami glavneishikh otdelov russkoi narodnoi poezii, ob'iasnitel'nym slovarem i obraztsami napevov narodnykh pesen* (St. Petersburg, 1908), 304–11:

The whale is the mother of all fish.
Why is the whale the mother of all fish?
The Earth is founded upon three whales.
When the whale stands still, so does Earth
When the whale will turn over,
Then all of Mother Earth will shake,
And then our world will come to an end.
This is why the whale is the mother of all fish.
The Earth is founded by the Holy Spirit
And sustained by the Word of God.

See also P. Bessonov, *Kaleki Perekhozhie*. Sbornik stikhov, Vyp. 2, Part 1 (Moscow: Tipografiia A. Semena, 1861), 269–74 (text 76, ll. 125–30), 274–8 (text 77, ll. 82–6). In fact, A. Veselovskii suggests that the wandering singers ("калѣки перехожие") who performed this kind of religious folklore spiritual stanzas were related to the Bogomils; *idem*., "Kaleki perekhozhie i bogomil'skie stranniki," *Vestnik Evropy* 2 (1872), 683–722. Veselovskii's observations were independently confirmed by Radchenko in his "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 120–1, 126. See also the discussion in K. Mikhailova, *Stranstvashtiiat sliap pevets prosiak vŭv folklornata kultura na slavianite* (Sofia: AB Izdatelsko Atelie, 2006), 105, 201–2.

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Earth will shake, | And then our world will come to an end. | This is why the whale is the mother of all fish.

Last but not least, ichthiomorphic imagery is a significant component of the cosmological model of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* (*Liber Sancti Johannis*).[117] This issue is explored in the following section.

3.1.5. The Fish Holding up the Earth in Bogomil Cosmogony

The Secret Book of the Bogomils survived only in Latin, although its *Vorlage* must have been originally composed in Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian). Written in the form of a dialogue between Jesus Christ and John the Evangelist during the Last Supper, it has two extant text-witnesses, found in two different MSS.[118] The *Codex Carcassoniensis* (discovered in the Archives of the Inquisition in Carcassonne, France) comes from the fourteenth century. An inscription at its end records that it was brought from Bulgaria to Concorezzo, near Milan, by Bishop Nazarius, "who was leader of the Cathar sect in Northern Italy."[119] The other version comes from a twelfth-century Vienna MS; it is not identical with the version found in the *Codex Carcassoniensis*. Ivanov suggests that these two Latin text-witnesses come from different protographs.

I do not share the opinion, tentatively suggested by some scholars, that the *Secret Book* might never have had a protograph in Old Church Slavonic, and could have been composed originally in Latin for the purposes of the spiritual edification of converted neophytes. This assertion does not rest on any corroborating evidence; actually, it is argued *ex silentio* in the absence of text-witnesses in Church Slavonic. (Similarly, the fact that *2 Enoch* survived only in Church Slavonic does not mean that it was originally composed in Old Church Slavonic.) It is hardly surprising that the *Secret Book* has no extant Slavonic versions. Bogomilism was severely persecuted by both State and Church for centuries. There is abundant evidence suggesting that the ecclesiastical establishment fought ferociously against its ideology, adherents and writings. It is plausible to expect, therefore, that no MS written in Old Church Slavonic by followers of Bogomilism would survive, since their books were strictly prohibited and systematically removed from circulation.[120] Bogomilism meanwhile spread from

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[117] See Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 3 (1887), 43; Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889) 44–6; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 307–8; Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 39–42; I. Nagy, "The Earth-Diver Myth (Mot. 812) and the Apocryphal Legend of the Tiberian Sea," *AEH* 51, 3–4 (2006), 299–300.

[118] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 60–1, 73–87.

[119] *Ibid*., 66–8; see also T. Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica: A Bilingual Anthology of Bulgarian Texts from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1996), 187–8, 199 note 2.

[120] See N. Tolstoy, "Etnicheskoe i kul'turnoe samosoznanie u serbov v sviazi s razvitiem pis'mennosti (literatury) i literaturnogo iazyka v XII–XIV vv.," *Izbrannye trudy. Slavianskaia*

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Bulgaria to western Christendom, via Bosnia to Northern Italy and Southern France, and presumably texts conveying its theology were translated from Old Church Slavonic into Latin, the *lingua sacra* of medieval Western Europe. Latin MSS containing evidence of Bogomil teachings would have been preserved among its adherents in Italy and France. Indeed, as noted, this is exactly where the only two extant witnesses of the *Secret Book* were discovered. As for the oral counterparts to the *Secret Book*, these are still in circulation in Slavonic and Balkan folklore traditions. The *SoT*, I will argue, was born as a result of their textual amalgamation and further incorporation into the heterodox heritage of *Slavia orthodoxa*, a substantial part of which was formed by some contemporary apocryphal writings.

To return to our discussion of ichthiomorphic imagery, according to the *Codex Carcassoniensis*, the cosmographic concept of "the earth resting upon fish" is revealed in the following manner. In the beginning, before his fall, Satan "was in such glory that he was directing the heavenly forces" (*in tali gloria erat, quod ordinabat virtutes coelorum*); however, he was "managing things completely in imitation of the Father" (*ipse erat ordinans omnem imitatorem Patris*). Just like the anti-demiurge in vernacular Slavonic dualistic cosmogonies, he was able to descend "from heaven to the depths" (*de coelo in infimum*), and ascend "from the depths to the throne of the invisible Father" (*ab infimis usque ad thronum invisibilis Patris*). However, unlike folklore legends which recognise in Satan merely the "other creator," the compiler(s) of the *Codex* expressed more radical views. While in vernacular cosmogonies, Satanail – both liminal and limitless – is a rival-demiurge who crosses the boundaries of the Universe but is not an adversary of God, in the *Codex* he is portrayed as the supreme antagonist of the "Supreme Mover of the Heavens." He is the "anti-God," the transgressor who trespasses rules and boundaries established by "the Most High." According to *The Secret Book*, when Satan "got the idea of placing his throne above the clouds of heaven," since "he wanted to be like the Most High," he transcended to the gateway of waters and ordered the angel who was in charge to open it. Eventually:

> Et transcendens, invenit universam faciem terrae cooperam aquis. Et transcendens subtus terram, invenit duos pisces jacentes super aquas, et erant sicut boves juncti ad arandum, tenentes totam terram, invisibilis Patris praecepto, ab occasu usque ad solis ortum.[121]
>
> Moving farther on he [*i.e.* Satan] found the whole face of the earth covered with water. And moving farther, beneath the earth, he found two fish lying above the water and they were like oxen harnessed for ploughing, holding up the whole earth by order of the invisible Father, from the setting to the rising of the sun.[122]

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literaturno-iazykovaia situatsiia, vol. 2 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 1998), 198.

[121] *Cf.* Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 74.

[122] See Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica*, 191.

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Strangely enough, the participle used in the *Codex* to describe Satan's movements is *transcendens*. It derives from a compound verb *transcendo* (*trans* + *scendo*, "to climb"/"to pass over"/"to step over"), which implies either horizontal motion, or ascent, but not descent. Only in the second clause does it become clear that the direction of Satan's passage is in fact motion down, "beneath the earth" (*subtus terram*); still, Satan's journey appears to be more like crossing certain unspecified boundaries ("hanging in the air," betwixt and between) rather than descending beneath them. In the corresponding passage from the Vienna MS, which was composed two centuries earlier, the detail related to the direction of Satan's journey is made much more straightforward. In this case it is explicitly stated that Satan descends from above down to the face of the earth covered with water:

Descendens, invenit totam terram cooperatam de aquis, et ambulans per subter, invenit duos pisces jacentes super aquas et erant quidem vincti substinentes totam terram per praeceptum Patris invisibilis.[123]

Descending, he found the whole earth covered with water, and walking beneath he found two fish lying above the waters and they were ones fettered, supporting the whole earth, according to the command of the invisible Father.

The scribe of the Vienna MS adds an important marginal note next to the above passage:

Verum est, quod sunt pisces, et non est alius, sed significant evangelium et epistolam, quae sustinent ecclessiasm, sicut illi sustinent terram, quae ecclisia manet in VII columnis, id est VII candelabris.[124]

It is true that these fish do nothing else but signify the Gospel and Epistles, which hold up the Church, exactly in the way they sustain the earth, and the Church stays on seven columns, that is on seven candelabras.

Thus the two fish upon which the Universe stands are symbolically identified with the two main constituents of the "Holy Scriptures" upon which Bogomilism rests: the *Gospels* and *The Apostle*.[125] On the other hand, as the Byzantine theologian and polemicist Euthymius Zigabenus points out in his *Panoplia Dogmatica*, the adherents of Bogomilism did not recognise most of the OT books (and in particular the Pentateuch), but the *Psalter* was held in great esteem.[126] This detail underscores an intriguing parallel between the above quoted glosses from the margins of the Vienna MS and canonical biblical text, since both *The Secret Book* and *Psalms* employ ichthiomorphic imagery in their cosmologies. Thus the tantalisingly brief cosmogonic scenario in *Psalm* 104:24–26 describes the divine

[123] Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 74.

[124] *Ibid.,* 74, note 1.

[125] The *Apostle* comprises *The Acts/Deeds of the Apostles* and the *Epistles.* For the scriptural tradition upon which Bogomilism builds its ideological framework, see Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 87–96 and Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 35–51.

[126] See also Radchenko, "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 122.

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construction of the universe as heralded by the creation of the primordial fish Leviathan, formed by Yahweh to play in "the great and wide sea": "O, Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches. So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. There go the ships: there is that Leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein." (KJV)

Leviathan was popular in medieval para-biblical traditions, judging by numerous creation-oriented texts both Christian and Jewish. Leviathan was mentioned in the *Book of Enoch* (the Ethiopic version),[127] as well as in rabbinic literature (*e.g.*, midrash *Yalkut*, *Genesis* 12).[128] In fact, the Babylonian Talmud specifies that there is an explicit connection between the Sea of Tiberias (Lake of Galilee) and Leviathan, since its waters were said to flow straight into Leviathan's mouth. The same source maintains that Leviathan's head is placed in the Garden of Eden.[129] As a general rule, midrashic tradition maintains that in the beginning there were two Leviathans, male and female, fashioned by God on the fifth day of Creation out of two elements, fire and water. Originally they were a pair, later to be separated by their Creator so that they could not breed, since they threatened to destroy the harmony of the universe (a cosmogonic theme appearing in pre-biblical tradition as well). It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the details of the separation of the two Leviathans, nor is it my intention to present the ongoing deliberations concerning versions of this motif in pre-biblical and para-biblical literature. What is important for our discussion is the verbal icon of Leviathan's primordial union (the matrimonial nature of which seems to be indisputable) and the way in which this cosmogonic male-female conjugal bond is described. Slavonic marital terminology brings useful results here.[130]

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[127] *1 En* 60.7–8.

[128] This is amply discussed in Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 1 (1909), 26–30, 34, 41, 82–3; vol. 3 (1911) 420; vol. 4 (1913), 249–50; vol. 5 (1925), 41–9, 311–12; vol. 6 (1928), 350.

[129] See *Tractate Baba Bathra* 74b–75a; the same text states that if Leviathan "were not to put his head into the Garden of Eden, no creature could stand his odour; for it is said: He maketh a path through the sea like a spiced broth." This is how "the sweet odours of the Garden of Eden perfume the sea." A similar cosmological concept – that the foundation of the Earth rests upon primordial aquatic creatures nourished by the *odour* of Paradise – is found some twelve centuries later in a number of Slavonic apocryphal accounts (such as the aforementioned eighteenth-century Russian version of the erotapocritic *Discussion Between the Three Saints* from MS № 56 of the Grigorovich Collection); see Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 179; see also § *3.1.4, supra.* Such a resemblance between the sixth-century Babylonian Talmud and the eighteenth-century Slavonic apocryphal writings is remarkable. This type of cross-cultural correspondence indicates a systematic intertextual interference between Jewish and Christian extra-canonical Creation accounts for centuries. It resulted in textual similarities encapsulated in a cluster of resistant, resilient "fossil-narratives," which continued to exist as surviving witnesses to a Judaeo-Christian common lineage.

[130] Indicative in this respect is the semantic scope of Slavonic terms denoting "marriage" (*супружество*), "nuptial" (*сопружный, съпружьныи = супружеский*), "husband"

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The Slavonic words denoting "husband" (*супружникъ*) and "wife" (*супружница*) are *nomina agentis*, whereas marriage (*супружество*) is described in agricultural terms, as a union between two "co-harnessed" individuals, who are tied together and strapped up like two oxen, sharing the same yoke and ploughing the same furrow. The wedding is metaphorically perceived as harnessing, with sexual intercourse equated to ploughing (and sowing), whereas childbirth is symbolically associated with harvesting.[131] The mythopoeic imagery metaphorically equating "nuptials" and "harnessing," as well as "yoke" and "marriage," is obvious. In fact, this is exactly how the two fish (which Satan encountered when descending "beneath the earth") are described in Latin in the *Codex Carcassoniensis*: "like oxen harnessed for ploughing." The use of such phraseology in this case is neither coincidental nor accidental. It is a descriptive, or even overly literal translation into Latin of the original Old Church Slavonic lexeme denoting "spouses," the reconstructed connotation of which would be "two creatures co-harnessed like oxen for ploughing." Through the image of these two aquatic creatures, still tied together in a matrimonial union and yet to be divided by the Creator, the Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian) protograph of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* must have been implicitly referring to the mythopoeic imagery of biblical cosmogony, as found in the *Psalter* and in medieval para-biblical literature.[132]

(*супружникъ = супруг, муж*), "wife" (*супружница, сопряженица, съпраженица = супруга, жена*), "married man" (*сопряженный, съпряженыи = женатый, состоящий в браке*), "getting married" (*сопружествитися, сопрязати, спрязати, съпряжать = жениться, обвенчаться*), "marrying off someone" (*сопрящи въ жену = выдать, отдавать замуж*) etc.; see Bogatova *et al.*, *Slovar' Russkogo Iazyka XI–XVII Vekov*, Vyp. 26 (Moscow: Nauka, 2002*),* 174–75. The linguistic evidence shows that such Slavonic matrimonial terms are related to agricultural and pastoral activities. Thus in some dialects the noun denoting "husband" (*i.e.*, *сопругъ*, also attested as *съпругъ*/*спруг*/*сопряженникъ*) can be a synonym of the noun denoting "a couple of animals harnessed together to work" (*упряжка*). Accordingly, the verb *запрячь* can mean either "to harness animals together," or "to marry off someone". Further on related terminology in vernacular Russian, see V. Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivago velikorusskago iazyka,* vol. 4, 362; for Ukrainian, see B. D. Grinchenko, *Slovar' ukrainskago iazyka, sobrannyi redaktsiei zhurnala 'Kievskaia Starina'* (Redaktiroval, s dobavleniem sobstvennykh materialov, B. D. Grinchenko), vol. 4 (Kiev, 1909), 230. For cognate lexemes in Polish and Cashubian languages (*prążek, prąg, pręg, pręga*/*prąga*, etc.), see W. Borys, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo literackie, 2005), 481–3. The above lexemes are etymologically related to the proto-Slavonic **pręgti* = "to labour"/"to work hard"/"to strive"/"to exert."

[131] For the linguistic and ritual parallelism between *harvesting* and *childbirth*, see O. Ternovskaia and F. Badalanova-Pokrovska, "*Zhatvennyi rebenochek*: k probleme bolgaro-lekhitskikh sootvetstvii," *Etnolingwistyka* 7 (1995), 63–79.

[132] On the other hand, in Bulgarian oral tradition there exists a (typologically) similar concept of the "prevented procreation" of a mythical being, the breeding of which would have threatened the existence of the universe; it is revealed in a cycle of dualistic legendary accounts dealing with the prevented marriage of the Sun, which are intertwined with stories about the creation of the world by two combating demiurges, God and Satan. In many cases, the stories about the interrupted marriage of the Sun parallel the oral renditions of the *SoT*. Further on this type of Slavonic cosmogonies, see Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 177–80.

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Comparison between the versions of the ichthiomorphic model of the world in the cosmogonic accounts of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* and the *SoT*, along with Slavonic apocryphal erotapocritic writings and their oral counterparts, reveals palpable parallels between them. The question whether these similarities reflect inter-textual encounters or cross-cultural influence is still open.[133] Do these cosmogonic accounts share a certain common lineage? Are their (now lost) protographs to be considered cognate offspring of an Ur-hypertext, which facilitated the appearance of their *Vorlagen*? What is undisputable is that all these texts operate with the same meta-image of primordial ichthiomorphic beasts, which hold up the Earth by order of the Creator. Even the laconic passage in the *Codex Carcassoniensis* states firmly that the two fish were only encountered by Satan, but not created by him. Clearly, their creation is imagined to have taken place before Satan's descent. This particular detail indicates that, like in the *SoT*, the monotheistic phase of Creation in the *Secret Book* (at least according to the *Codex*) is believed to have heralded the dualistic one.

3.1.6. Creation via Exhaling: Ethnolinguistic Considerations

The ethnolinguistic analysis of the cosmogonic narrative of the Slepche version of the *SoT* (based on the notes of Grigorovich) allows us to sharpen the focus of semantic dimensions of the "vocabulary of Creation" employed in this text, and the ethno-cultural thesaurus in which it is embedded.

The first part of the cosmogonic narrative operates with a cluster of parallel verb-synonyms denoting "exhalation" (of God's breath, or His Word/Logos, or His Spirit). In fact, in Slavonic languages the appellation "Holy Spirit" ("*Сѫтый Духъ*"/"*Свѣтый Доухъ*") is itself unequivocally related to the con-

[133] Although many scholars apply comparative methods in analysing the functional/structural allegiance of a certain motif-nucleus to a particular type of narrative, in my view one must also take into consideration the intricate substructure of the plot of these narratives, and the complex morphology of their storyline. What should matter in comparative studies of this kind is not the descriptive recognition of the *parallel* existence of *parallel* motifs in *parallel* cultures (which may or may not be cognate), but the detection of a certain continuum of PARALLEL NARRATIVE STRUCTURES appearing in quite specific PATTERNS OF CONTEXT. Most importantly, one should identify, as accurately as possible, the strict conceptual paradigm modeling these patterns – their semiotic code. This is why I am reluctant to include in the present discussion (at least at this stage) the amorphic cluster of scattered empirical data dealing with the mythopoeic image of fish in various Slavonic and Finno-Ugric folklore traditions. These beliefs are widespread in Eurasia, where they function as part of indigenous vernacular water cosmologies. The image of the "primordial fish" is registered among Slavonic and Finno-Ugric peoples; it is attested in South-Eastern Europe, Central and Eastern Europe (especially the regions of the Carpathian mountains, Galicia and Bukovina), and further to the East, via Ukraine and Russia to Siberia. On the geographical distribution of the motif, see Z. Šmitek, "Slovenske ljudske predstave o stvarjenju sveta," *Traditiones: Acta Instituti Ethnographiae Slovenorum* 27 (1998), 111–23, and A. Mianecki, "Ludowe kosmogonie a problem religii słowiań zachodnich," *Literatura Ludowa* 46 (2002), 21–9, but their methodology is too general and vague to be of use in the present study.

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cept of "exhaling" (see, *e.g.*, the Bulg. *духна/духам*, meaning "to blow"/"to breathe out").[134] On the other hand, the idea of Creation as divine exhalation is common in Slavonic vernacular tradition and in ritual songs in particular. Thus, according to some Ukrainian Christmas carols (sung to the *paterfamilias*), the creation of the Universe is triggered by God's breath "blown from the Holy Spirit" over the pristine "nothingness" before anything (apart from the primordial *arbor mundi*) existed. In fact, the idea of Creation as divine exhalation is outlined in the very refrain of these ritual songs (*cf.* "Blow, blow, O Lord, From the Holy Spirit around the world!"), thus exhorting the cosmogonic scenario revealed in them. The idea of the creative power of God's breath is metaphorically reinforced by the image of the dove,[135] a transparent symbol of the Holy Spirit.

Коли небыло з-нещада світа, [*var.* Колись-то было з початку світа],[136] | *Подуй-же, подуй, Господи* | *Изъ Святымъ Духомъ по земли!* | Тогди небыло неба, ни земли | Ано лемъ было синое море, | А середъ моря зелений явіръ [*var.* два дубойки], | На яворойку два [*var.* три] голубойки, | Два [*var.* три] голубойки радойку радятъ, | Радойку радятъ, якъ світъ сновати. | "Та спустиме ся на дно до моря, | Вынесеме си дрібного піску, | Дрібного піску, синего каміньця; | Дрібный пісочокъ посіеме мы, | Синій каменець подунеме мы, [*var.* Золотый камінь посіеме мы]. | З дрібного піску – чорна землиця, | Студена водиця, зелена травиця; | З синего каміньця – синее небо, | Світле сонейко, ясен місячок. […] | Ясня зірниця, дрібни звіздойки."[137]

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[134] In Bulgarian oral tradition this verb can also mean "to father in a miraculous way," "to fecundate," "to impregnate"; thus, according to some folk legends, the Immaculate Conception is believed to have taken place when God the Father blew over the Virgin's bosom. In a similar way, in some Bulgarian epic songs the wondrous hero is born as a result of God's having blown over the bosom of a righteous virgin (or a widow). This concept also has an interesting ritual expression. Certain magic ceremonies were performed by infertile women on the feast day of the Holy Spirit (*Свети Дух, Духовден*), which is celebrated on the first Monday after Pentecost (*i.e.*, Whit Monday). On this day women, who wish to become pregnant, would go at sunrise to the top of the highest hill in the neighbourhood (usually accompanied by a female healer, who would recite a special incantation-request for a child) and, having lifted their skirts, would bend down (lit. "нагъзят"), so that "the wind may blow into them" ("да ги надуе вятърът"). Boys born after the performance of such a ritual request to the Holy Spirit would be called "Bogdan," while girls would be given the name of "Bogdana" (the literal meaning of which is "Given-by-God"). The imagined target of the magic rites performed on the feast day of the Holy Spirit (*Свети Дух, Духовден*), *i.e.* the birth of a child, shows the vernacular conceptualisation of the name of this Christian festival, and its ritualised reading.

[135] According to Ukrainian Christmas carols of this type, the Creation of the world is accomplished by two (or three) doves who dive to the bottom of the primordial sea to fetch sand and flint from which Earth and heavens would emerge.

[136] This Ukrainian dialect employs the same word for "world" and "light"; see also notes Nos. 66, *supra* and 250, *infra*.

[137] See Potebnia, "Obzor poeticheskikh motivov," *RFV* 16, 4 (1886) 273–4 (738–9); his analysis is based on a combined meta-account consisting of fragments from two Ukrainian Christmas carols (from the collections of folk poetry published by Golovatskii and Kostomarov in 1843). He also points out that mythopoeic imagery employed in ritual songs of this type (and especially the motif of sand and stone fetched from the bottom of the primordial sea from which the Universe eventually emerges) is closely related to the Creation scenario of the apocryphal

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When there was no world/light [*var.* It happened at the beginning of the world/light], |*Blow, blow, O Lord,* | *From the Holy Spirit around the world!* | When there was neither sky nor earth, | There was only blue sea. | In the middle of the sea was a green sycamore tree [*var.* two oak trees]. | On this sycamore tree were two [var. three] doves. | These two [*var.* three] doves were conversing, | Discussing how to found the world. | "Let's descend to the bottom of the sea | To fetch fine sand, | Fine sand and blue [*var.* gold] stone. | We will sow the fine sand | And blow into the blue stone. [*var.* We will sow the gold stone]. | Black soil will appear from the fine sand, | Along with cold water and green grass. | Blue skies will appear from the blue stone, | Along with the bright sun and a shining moon, […] | The radiating dawn and fine stars."

In a similar way, the subsequent fashioning of Adam's body and the act of God's vivifying it by breathing into his nostrils (Gen 2:7) or his mouth (in vernacular traditions),[138] thus inserting His Spirit into him, is also understood as divine "exhaling." God blows out the celestial substance which penetrates the terrestrial matter = flesh = human body and gives it a spiritual component: Adam inhales what God exhales, thus becoming "alive." In some Slavonic languages verbs euphemistically denoting the "influx of death" (*e.g.*, Bulg. *издъхна/издъхвам*) likewise play with the concept of "breathing," except that this time the breath goes out: man "expires." Death is seen as an exhalation of the soul/spirit previously inhaled (*i.e.*, death is a reversed version of creation).[139] The end of human life is thus regarded as a cosmic mystery, accomplished by the act of exhaling/expiring. It is perceived as a separation of flesh from the soul/spirit, when matter = body returns to earth from which it was taken, following the departure = "breathing out" of the soul/spirit, which goes back to the Creator by whom it was exhaled. Almost all versions of the *SoT* lay emphasis on this motif in one way or another. At the same time, according to the vernacular cosmogonies attested in Slavonic oral traditions, the creation of man firmly follows the paradigm of the creation of the universe. The origin of mankind replicates the emergence of the world, in which the act of "exhaling" marks the beginnings of creation. This concept of creation via exhaling was likewise made explicit in the Slepche version of the *SoT*. Throughout the text, cosmogony is described as "breathing out"/"blowing," but also as "speaking," "articulating," "saying," "uttering (words)," and "thinking." The breather/speaker/thinker is the Creator; what is exhaled/spoken/thought is His creation. The concept of "creation via breathing," along with "creation via speaking," is a leitmotif throughout the entire first part of the narrative of the Slepche version. When describing how "the Lord Sabaoth, the Father uncreated" ("*Господь Саваофъ, безначальный*

SoT. Further on Christmas carols of this type, see Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 1–5 and Korobka, "Obraz ptitsy," *IORIS* 15, 1 (1910), 105–147.

[138] Further on the interpretation of this motif in Slavonic cosmogonic and anthropogonic narratives, see Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 208, 271–74.

[139] The metaphorical/euphemistic description of death via the concept of breathing is likewise attested in many other Indo-European languages and cultures.

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отецъ") pondered within Himself ("*помысли себѣ*") and thus begot His beloved Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who emanated from His heart" ("*и тако отригну отъ сердца и роди возлюбленнаго сына Божія господа нашего Іисуса Христа*"), the compiler uses the verb "*отригнуть*" (the closest English equivalent of which would be "to emanate"). Incidentally, the same phraseology appears in the versions of the *SoT* published by Mochul'skii[140] and Dimitrova-Marinova,[141] indicating that the presence of the verb "отригнуть" (= "to emanate") in the Slepche version should not be regarded as an odd idiosyncrasy. Clearly, it reflects the consistent use of a certain standard lexicon, which is typical for this group of apocryphal texts. It should be considered therefore to be a reflection of the norm, and not an exception.

On the other hand, ethnolinguistic data suggests that the cognate forms of the Old Church Slavonic verb "ѡтърнгноутн" (also attested as "отърнгноутн," "отърръгнжтн," "отърръгатн," "отръгатн," "отрнгатн," *etc*.)[142] have a rich and profuse semantic coverage in Slavonic languages.[143] Lexicographic sources point out that the verb "ѡтърнгноутн" ("отърнгноутн," "отърыгатн," "отърыгнжтн," "отрнгатн," "отръгатн", *etc*.) occurs frequently in medieval Slavonic renditions of *Lev* 11:3*, Pss* 18:3, 44:2*,* and *Matt* 13:35. It also has attestations in a number of medieval texts of *Минея* and *Минея Праздничная*, in various hagiographical writings (such as the thirteenth-century *Житие Андрея Юродивого*, *etc*.), in the *Palaea* and in other (predominantly polemical and exegetical) texts. While Psalms and Matthew demonstrate the use of the highest, most solemn register of its semantic scope, Leviticus marks the stratum of dietary laws (abominations and pollution notions) and rituals of separation.[144]

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[140] See the relevant passage in Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173: "помыслн севѣ Гд҃ь саваофъ бе(ꙁ)нача(л)нъын о(т)ць тако о(т)ргну(л) о(т) сердца н родн(х) [sic] во(ꙁ)любленнагѡ сына божнꙗ Гд҃а нашегѡ нн(с)а хр(с)а […]."

[141] In Dimitrova-Marinova ("Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51) the passage in question reads as follows: "Гд҃ь Савасѡфъ бе(ꙁ)началнъы ѡц҃ъ нашъ ѡрыгнутъ о ср(д)ца своего і радн севѣ Божнꙗ Нц҃а Хр(с)та нꙁ оусть свон(х) превыспреннъыа с высотъı нспу(с)тн на него внд҃ьнне голубнно" […].

[142] See I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia slovaria,* vol. 2, 1895, 762, 766–767. Consult also T. A. Lysaght, *Material towards the Compilation of a Concise Old Church Slavonic Dictionary* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1978), 257 and R. M. Tseitlin, *et al*., *Staroslavianskii slovar' po rukopisiam X–XI vekov* (Moscow: Russkii iazyk, 1994), 433. For the semantic coverage of the verbs "отърнгатн"/"отърнгноутн" and the nouns "отърнганнıє"/"отърнгновенıє" in medieval Russian, see *Slovar' Drevnerusskogo Iazyka XI–XIV vekov,* vol. 6 (ed. I. S. Ulukhanov; Moscow: Azbukovnik, 2000), 276–7.

[143] This coverage stretches from the spiritual/intellectual realm of "exhaling," "breathing out," "speaking," "saying," "talking," "expressing," "producing," "creating" to the carnal domain of "ejaculating," "spitting," "belching forth," "vomiting forth," "throwing up"; when used as a metaphor, this verb can also mean "to disgorge," "to repel," "to cast out."

[144] My analysis of Church Slavonic renditions of *Leviticus* benefits from Mary Douglas' seminal ideas and observations on anthropological readings in the biblical text; see "The Abominations of Leviticus" in *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 41–57. According to her, "the only way in which

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In the latter case the verb "*отърыгнѫти*"/"*отъригати*" (= "to ruminate," "to belch," "to vomit") is related to animal taxonomy and classification (*i.e.* kosher vs. non-kosher), and to the religious prescriptions and arbitrary rules observed by people in relation to the animal world. By the same token, in some Church Slavonic polemical writings the verb "*отърыгнѫти*"/"*отъригати*" is used to designate not only faunal division and classification, but also the categories of social organisation and societal conduct (including anti-social behaviour).[145] In vernacular tradition, it may likewise denote both dietary norms (either endorsement or prohibition) and social rules, spelling out the divine order of creation. Thus the nineteenth-century lexicographer V. Dal' points out that "отрыгать"/"отрыгнуть" can be part of the high register of *sacrum* (Church/Scriptural lexis), but can equally be associated with the low register of *profanum*, that of vulgarity and sacrilege. The ecclesiastical context would unlock its high semantic register (*i.e.*, "отрыгнуть слово" = "сказать," "произнести"), in which case it would mean "to say" or "to utter a (godly) word." The same verb can have a secular, mundane meaning, which would mark the neutral stratum of semantic coverage. It may thus denote "renewal," "restoration," "revitalization," "revival" in relation to both plants ("оправиться', "ожить, дав отростки") and people ("старая любовь отрыгается"). Finally, the verb "отрыгать"/"отрыгнуть" can be part of the expletive thesaurus of bawdy, vulgar idioms, and phraseological expressions (*i.e.* "изрыгнуть" = "сказать что либо бранное и скверное"), associated with swearing or committing blasphemy.[146] This bottom register marks the lowest level of the semantic scope of "отърыгнѫти" (= ἐρεύγομαι); in oral

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pollution ideas make sense is in reference to a total structure of thoughts whose key-stone, boundaries, margins and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation" (41). See also *idem*, *Natural Symbols* (New York: Random House, 1970), and *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[145] The verb forms "ѿригати"/"отъригати" (= to belch, κατερεύγεσθαι) often appears in Medieval treaties against drinking clergymen, usually written by priests in the form of a dialogue addressing the "wrong-doers" among them. One such form is attested in a fifteenth-century text: "Мы же, бра(т)е, яжьмы и пиими в славу Б(ож)ью оуреченую мѣру, а не ѿригати парою пьянственною на ѡлтарь Б(ож)ьи"; see Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia slovaria*, vol. 2, 767; see also the attestations of "отъригати" in Ulukhanov (ed.), *Slovar' Drevnerusskogo iazyka,* vol. 6, 276.

[146] See Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar'*, vol. 2, 1881, 753. Further data is provided in *Slovar' Drevnerusskogo Iazyka,* vol. 6, 276–77; see also in this connection *Slovar' Akademii Rossiiskoi po Azbuchnomu Poriadku Raspolozhennyi*, Chast' 4 (Sankt Peterburg: Pri Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1822), and the 24th volume of *Slovar' russkikh narodnykh govorov* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1989), 306–07; for Ukrainian, see Grinchenko, *Slovar' Ukrainskago Iazyka,* vol. 4, 15. For Serbian and Croatian forms, see *Rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika*, vol. 13 (ed. S. Bosanac *et al.*; Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znatnosti i Umjetnosti, 1953), 949–952. For Bulgarian dialectal forms, see "отрыгамь", "да отрыгнѫ" (= *ructare*, *ruttare*, *vomitare*) in N. Gerov, *Rechnik na Blŭgarskyi Iazyk s Tlŭkuvanie Rechi-ty na Blŭgarsky i na Russky,* vol. 3 (Plovdiv: Druzhestvena Pechatnitsa "Sŭglasie", 1899), 423; the meaning suggested there for the verbal noun "рыганѥ" is *ructus*/*vomitus* ("съ урыгванѥ изкарвамъ из стомаха си нечто"). It also indicates that the verb can be reflexive (*e.g.,* "урыгвамся"). For Polish, see J. Karłowicz,

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tradition it may refer to the anti-world, the inverted universe whose "Lord" is Satan (who is hence envisaged as anti-creator). The latter case is important for our analysis, as it directly relates to some dualistic Slavonic folklore legends about the creation of the Earth by two deities, God and Satan. According to them, after His having asked the "other creator" to dive to the bottom of the primordial sea and fetch sand/earth/yeast from which the land would be fashioned, Satan does not give God the entire piece of primordial substance, but only part of it. The rest remains in the Devil's mouth. However, when God puts into His palm the portion of this primordial substance (or starts kneading it) and blows His breath over it, thus making it grow, the portion in Satan's mouth begins expanding as well. The Devil starts spitting and vomiting, thus creating[147] the impure, polluted landscape: marshes, swamps, mountains, and hills.[148] In this way the earth emerges as a final product fashioned by two creators in two different ways: Satan creates via spitting/vomiting and cursing, while God acts via exhaling/breathing out and blessing.[149]

Słownik Gwar Polskich. vol. 5 (Cracow: Nakład Akademii Umiejętności, 1907), 92 and Boryś, *Słownik Etymologiczny*, 536.

[147] Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index*, entry A 618. 2 (Universe created by spitting).

[148] See the Bulgarian cosmogonic legends from the villages of Slatina and Lokorsko, published by Y. Kovachev, "Narodna astronomiia i meteorologiia," *SbNU* 30 (1914), 54 (in the Appendix *infra*, Text 4). A similar cosmogonic motif about the origins of the impure spots on the surface of the Earth is registered in a Russian folklore legend from Western Siberia (fragments of which are to be found in the Appendix *infra*, Text 3); see P.A. Gorodtsov, "Zapadnosibirskiia narodnyia legendy," *EO* 1 (1909), 52–53 (text 1). According to this account, when Satanail, in the form of a bird, dived to the bottom of the primordial waters to fetch some earth, he secretly kept part of it in his mouth. The rest was given to God Sabaoth, who blessed it and thus the dry land appeared. With the power of the Creator's blessing, this primordial land which resided upon the seven gigantic whales, began spreading out and expanding. God's blessing, however, made the morsel of earth, which Satan hid in his mouth, swell and grow as well. This made the Devil's cheeks bulge and almost forced his jaws to burst. The Lord noticed that the face of his companion became distended and figured out why. After Satan confessed his misdeeds, God asked him to spit out the morsel of hidden earth. The Devil obeyed this command. What he discharged from his mouth fell onto the hitherto immaculate land and "polluted spots" emerged on it, "devilish sites" and "evil places" created by Satan's spittle. Similar cosmogonic motifs appear in the Belarusian folk narrative, *The Lord and the Devil,* published in 1891 by Romanov in *Belorusskii Sbornik,* vol. 4, 1–5. See also the Ukrainian folk legends *Z choho vyishly hory, mohily ta dolyny na Zemli*, *Yak Boh sotvoryv vsesvit* and *Boh izhaniaie Satanaila z neba* from Dmytro Yavornyts'kyi's MS collection "Ukrainskyi prostoliud v ioho tvorchosti", *NTE* 5 (2005), 7–8. The above quoted folk tales are typical examples of vernacular Slavonic narratives interpreting the cosmogonic motif of the origins of polluted landscapes from Satan's spittle; see further Dragomanov, "Zabelezhki vŭrkhu slavianskite religiozno-eticheski legendi," *SbNU* 8 (1892), 264.

[149] In some dualistic cosmogonic/anthropogonic narratives, however, God may also create by spitting. According to this kind of vernacular legends, it is either the "other creator" (*i.e*., the Devil) who emerges from His mouth-fluids (see for instance Text 3 in the Appendix, *infra*), or Adam. In the latter case, the Lord creates the body of man after releasing His saliva into the dry dust, thus making it moist and malleable. The idea of consubstantiality of human flesh and the "Mother Earth" ("Мать Сыра Земля") is further reinforced by the exclusive feminine gender

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The concept of (anti-)creation via spitting is likewise found in the *Secret Book of the Bogomils*. According to the twelfth century Vienna MS of *Joannis et Apostoli et Evangelistae Interrogatio*, when the Devil fashioned his anti-paradise, in the middle of which he planted reeds, he spat; from this spittle originated the serpent: *Diabolus introivit in paradisum et plantavit arundinem in medio paradisi, et de sputo suo fecit serpentum*.[150] This detail is absent from the *Codex Carcassoniensis*. However, both versions of the Bogomils' *Secret Book* maintain that after his having ordered the serpent to go into the reeds (so that he could hide his evil intentions), the Devil entered the serpent's body and thus seduced the angel who was in the form of a woman:

Et ideo dicuntur filii Diaboli et filii serpentis facientes concupiscentiam Diaboli patris eorum usque ad consummationem hujus saeculi. Et iterum effudit[151] Diabolus in angelo, qui erat in Adam, venenum suum et concupiscentiam quae generat filios serpentis et filios Diaboli usque ad consummationem hujus saeculi.[152]

That is why those who give vent to the lust of the Devil, their father, are called 'Sons of the Devil and of the Serpent', even to the end of this age. And again the Devil poured out[153] his poison and lust into the angel who was in Adam, creating sons of the serpent and sons of the Devil until the end of this age.[154]

The narrative of *The Secret Book,* describing the origins of evil, operates with a similar concept of creation via spitting/vomiting/pouring out poison and the same image of the anti-Creator as a vomiting/spitting demiurge, as in oral tradition. Regrettably, there is no surviving Slavonic counterpart to the Latin MSS preserving *The Secret Book* and conveying their dualistic cosmology. Still, the original lexeme used in the Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian) protograph to denote Satan's spitting must have been related to the verb "отърыгати" ("отърыгнѫти", "отъригати", "отъригнѫти", *etc*.); ethnolinguistic data sup-

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of indigenous Slavonic nouns denoting "soil"/"flesh"/"blood". Then again, oral narratives about the creation of Adam's body out of earth mixed with God's saliva are usually concerned with the origins of sex and reproduction, and with "the divine causation" behind pregnancy. Incorporated into these anthropogonies is the vernacular concept that human sperm is of celestial origin: folk tales assert that it emanates from God's saliva; it is regarded as divine phlegm released in the terrestrial realm under Creator's blessing and power. In this way, the conception of children is perceived as a result of God's agency, whereby His fluids, via men's sperm, make women = earth fruitful, bringing forth progeny and recreating mankind. Alternatively, the lack of God's intervention is believed to cause infertility. Pregnancy is thus regarded as heavenly intercession into the realm of human beings. Sexual intercourse is hence considered to be an act during which the celestial and terrestrial come together, thus restating the process of the original creation.

[150] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 78–9.

[151] The Latin verb *effudit* can also refer to "pouring out urine"; see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, 632.

[152] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 78–9.

[153] Perhaps in this case the meaning is "ejaculated"; the "poison" is Satan's sperm.

[154] Translation quoted from Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica,* 195, with modifications.

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ports this assumption. The attestations of the verb "отърыгати" ("отърыгнѫти", "отъригати", "отъригнѫти", *etc*.) in Slavonic languages show that it is a part of a semantic cluster of cognate verbs which can cover both "exhaling" and "vomiting"/"spitting." The fact that this same verb ("отригнуть") is reported to have appeared in the creation narrative of the Bulgarian/Serbian version of the *SoT* from the now lost MS from the Slepche Monastery is of considerable importance. It is most probable that the anonymous scribe who compiled (or copied) this apocryphal text was fully aware of the dormant meanings of the verb and its clandestine dualism.

One further observation regarding the character of the Slepche text needs to be made. As mentioned above, the cosmogonic narrative found in it states that all the initial phases of Creation (prior to the emergence of the dry land out of primordial waters, and the appearance of angelic/demonic forces) were accomplished by a single Creator, God Sabaoth Himself, whereas the subsequent phases of Creation, during which the tangible (*i.e.* terrestrial, material) world was fashioned, are considered to be the outcome of a joint venture between the two opposing forces, God and the Devil. There is a clear message in this text: Satan can be a creator, but only with God's permission. This particular detail betrays not only the imprint of a folklore dualistic cosmogony upon the text of the *SoT*, but also the impact of the ideology of moderate Bogomilism on its fabric. Moderate Bogomilism assigns the material (*i.e.* tangible, visible, earthly, carnal) world to the Devil = Evil, whereas the spiritual (*i.e.* intangible, invisible, heavenly, incorporeal) realm is believed to belong to God = Good. On the basis of this conceptualisation, which is so neatly outlined in the Slepche version, it becomes apparent that the ideological framework of the *SoT* is a clandestine product of moderate Bogomilism.[155]

[155] Veselovskii takes a similar approach in his "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 32–51, 83–7, 109, 116; these conclusions are independently confirmed by Ivanov (*Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 288, 303–311), who argues further that the *Vorlage* of the *SoT* was composed in medieval Bulgaria, in a Bogomil intellectual environment. Kuznetsova, however, holds that the *SoT* is an indigenous (Russian) cultural product and challenges its Old Bulgarian provenance; see *Dualisticheskie legendy*, 126–7. In my view, she underestimates the impact of Bogomilism upon Russian copyists/compilers of the *SoT*. One further point supporting Ivanov's line of argument: as the Russian scholar M. Popruzhenko emphasises, the *Sermon Against the Bogomil Heretics* (composed in tenth-century Bulgaria by Cosmas the Presbyter) enjoyed, oddly enough, enormous popularity five centuries later in Novgorod (Northern Russia). But was it not in Northern Russia where most of the now extant MSS containing the *SoT* were found (as pointed out by Kuznetsova herself, *ibid*., 126)? Moreover in the second half of the fifteenth century – which is exactly the period when the earliest Russian versions of the *SoT* should have been in circulation, since the Barsovian redaction is dated to the sixteenth century – the *Sermon Against the Bogomil Heretics* was used by the Russian Orthodox clergy, this time against the heretics of Novgorod. It may not be coincidental that "the Novgorod heresy" had much in common with "the Bulgarian heresy" (*i.e.* Bogomilism), since one and the same text was used in both cases as an ideological weapon against their adherents; see M. Popruzhenko, "Kozma Prezviter i novgorodskie eretiki 15 veka: k voprosu o bolgarskikh literaturnykh proizvedeniiakh

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3.1.7. Conclusions

In his analysis of the Slepche version of the *SoT*, Ivanov points out that there are striking similarities between this account and the other versions of the text found in a number of Russian manuscripts.[156] On the other hand, the text of the Slepche version of the *SoT*, as published by Shchapov on the basis of Grigorovich's notes, is almost identical to the opening paragraphs of the texts published later by Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova. It shares only a few common narrative units with the version published by Barsov, namely: 1) the episode about the ornithomorphic Satan-demiurge diving to the bottom of the primordial Sea of Tiberias to fetch sand/earth (which appears in all the versions of the *SoT*, as well as in indigenous folklore cosmogonies); 2) the episode about the creation of angelic and demonic forces by the two deities: God and Satan (attested both in

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drevneishei epokhi na russkoi pochve," *Sbornik v Chest na Profesor Liubomir Miletich* (Sofia: Izdanie na Makedonskiia Nauchen Institut, 1933), 321–32.

[156] Ivanov considers the Slepche account to be an abridged redaction of a supposedly larger narrative, representative of the Bulgarian recension of the apocryphon; for his further reflections, see *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 288 note 1:

"The striking similarity between the Bulgarian legend [*i.e*., the Slepche version of the *SoT*] and some Russian versions [of the same apocryphon] makes us wonder whether Grigorovich does not erroneously give us [a transcript of] a Russian account, believing it to be Bulgarian (or South Slavonic). However when we take into consideration the fact that most of the Russian versions [of the *SoT*] are verbatim Russified copies of the Bulgarian one [*i.e*., the Slepche version], and that the text reproduced by Shchapov [in his 'Istoricheskie ocherki'] is accompanied by two comments which speak about the non-Russian origin of this text, we therefore decided to print it as Bulgarian. The first of these notes says: 'In one of the redactions (*i.e*., of the apocryphal *Discussion Between the Three Saints*), most probably Serbo-Bulgarian, about which we are informed by Grigorovich, the creation of the world is explained in this manner.' Shchapov's second note concerns the end of the legend: 'From the notes of Grigorovich, taken from the Miscellany of the Monastery of Slepche: some Russian volkhvy [*i.e*., wizards, magicians] in the twelfth century expressed similar dualistic cosmogonic views'. Finally, some Bulgarian vernacular stories, similar in content (which we reproduce below in the second part of our study), testify to the Bulgarian origin of the aforementioned legend."

Twenty-two pages later Ivanov briefly returns to the question of the origin of the Slepche account: "Even if one assumes that the 'Slepche redaction' of the [apocryphal] legend [of the *SoT*] was erroneously referred to by Grigorovich as a South-Slavonic text, […] it does not change the fact that its Russian redactions should nevertheless be considered to be Bogomilistic in origin."

I share Ivanov's careful doubts regarding Grigorovich's assessment of the provenance of the Slepche version. Unless the actual MS is found (unlikely, but not impossible), the uncertainty and even skepticism in accepting its South-Slavonic (Bulgarian) affiliation inevitably remains. To have hesitations of this kind is natural; the parallels with some other texts (all from Russia) are so striking, that it would not be satisfactory to brush away the possibility of "human mistakes," which could have taken place unintentionally; Ivanov's integrity as a scholar of the highest academic standards would not have allowed the total dismissal of this kind of hypothetical surmise. At the same time, I firmly agree with his position (expressed in the second half of the above statement) that, regardless of the disputed "ethnic" lineage of the Slepche version, its Russian counterparts are certainly offspring of the heretical writings of Bogomilism, which ultimately came from the Balkans. The content analysis of the cosmogonic narrative of the *SoT* shows that its roots stemmed from the fertile ideological soil of this dualistic movement.

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written and oral sources); and 3) the episode about the creation of the dry land by the two demiurges: God and Satan (represented in both apocryphal literature and folklore). As a final point, it should be emphasised that the cosmogonic account of the *SoT* from the now-lost MS from the Slepche Monastery does not contain any anthropogonical component, which forms an important part of the storyline in the other versions of the text. These will be analysed below.

3.2. The Russian Versions

3.2.1. Biographies of the MSS: Telltale Titles

Over forty years after the discovery of the first – Slepche – version of the *SoT* by Grigorovich, Mochul'skii published another edition of the text.[157] It was an eighteenth-century Russian redaction from a MS also found by the industrious Grigorovich. It was acquired by him in Cheboksary, and later obtained (together with other MSS and books from his library) by the Imperial Novorossiiskii University in Odessa, in the archives of which it was registered under record № 56 (see above). The text stated that it was "Copied from the Divine Books of the Diligent and God-Loving Men Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Damascene, Concerning the Most Glorious Discussions on Incomprehensible Things About the Eternal Lord Our God, and How God Sabaoth Had Existed Before All Visible and Invisible Living Creatures" ("*Трудолѣбивыхъ мужей и бг҃олюбивыхъ списано изъ божественныхъ книгъ Василія Великаго, Григория Бг҃ослова, Іоанна Дамаскина о преславныхъ преніихъ невѣдомыхъ вещеи о безначальнѣ Господѣ Бж҃е нашемъ како бысть Гдь Саваофь прежде всея видимыя и невидимыя твари*"). Mochul'skii pointed out that this account, which he designated as "the proscribed Book of Genesis" (*отреченная* "*книга бытія*"), is identical ("*тожесвененъ*") to *The Bundle of Divine Books* ("*Свитокъ божественныхъ книгъ*") and Barsov's *Account of the Creation of Heaven and Earth* ("*Слово о зачатии неба и земли*").[158] At the same time, the long, elaborately descriptive and highly ornate title of Mochul'skii's version indicates that the text was considered by the scribe(s) to be a product of "collective authorship." This purported "collective authorship" does not refer to the variety or the quantity of copyists involved in the transmission of the texts through different manuscripts; rather, it alludes to the supposed plurality of narrators-saints from whose stories the account in question was believed to be constructed. Other Slavonic apocryphal cosmogonic narratives (*i.e. 2 Enoch*, *3 Baruch*, or *The Life of Adam and Eve*) are presented in the form of a monologue disclosing the testimony of a single eyewitness (*i.e.* Enoch, or Baruch), or reveal-

[157] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173–7.
[158] *Ibid.*, 173, note 1.

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ing the confession of a particular biblical character who plays an important role in the Creation scenario (*i.e.* Eve). By way of contrast, this version of the *SoT* is presented as a polemical discourse between three saints: "the diligent and God-loving" St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory the Theologian, and St. John Damascene. The same is the case with the seventeenth/eighteenth-century *SoT* account from MS № Q-XVII-22 (fols. 966–974) from the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (now Russian National Library), St. Petersburg. It was likewise entitled "A Tale of devoutly diligent and God-loving men, which is copied from the divine books of Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Damascene, concerning the most wondrous things, and our Eternal Lord, and how God Sabaoth alone has existed before all visible and invisible living creatures in Heaven and on Earth" ("*Сказание трудолюбезных и боголюбивых мужей, списана з божественных книг Василия Великаго, Григория Богослова, Иоанна Дамаскина о предивных вещей, о безначальнем Господе нашем, како был един Господь Саваоф прежде всея твари видимыя и невидимыя и прежде небесе и земли*").[159] In a similar way, the version published by Porfir'ev[160] (analysed below) purports to be a dialogue between St. John and St. Basil; the two saints discuss the Creation of the Earth, the origin of heavenly forces and the fall of Sotonail/Satanail, *etc*. Such titles indicate that the *SoT* was considered by the scribes who copied it to be similar to (if not identical with) texts like the apocryphal *Discussion Between the Three Saints* and the *Razumnik* erotapocritic writings. Furthermore, the title of Mochul'skii's version ("*Трудолѧбивыхъ мужей и бг҃олюбивыхъ списано изъ божествен*ыхъ книгъ Василія Великаго, Григория Бг҃ослова, Іоан*а Дамаскина о преславныхъ преніих невѣдомыхъ вещеи о бе*начальнѣ Господѣ Бж҃е наше*м како бысть Гдь Саваофь пре*жде всея видимыя и невидимыя твари*") states that the account was copied from many different books, all of which were considered to be of divine origin ("*списано изъ божествен*ыхъ книгъ*").[161] As for the second part of the title of Mochul'skii's account, it states that the text is concerned with "the most glorious discussions on incomprehensible things about the Eternal Lord Our God, and how God Sabaoth had existed before all visible and invisible living creatures" ("*о преславныхъ преніих неведомыхъ вещеи о бе*начальнѣ Господѣ Бж҃е наше*м како бысть Гдь Саваофь пре*жде всея видимыя и невидимыя твари*"). This part of the title of Mochul'skii's version is very similar to the title of another (also eighteenth-century) Russian redaction of the *SoT*, published by Sreznevskii in 1904, seventeen years after the appearance of Mochul'skii's text. It was entitled "About the genesis of this world: how our Father God Sabaoth created Heaven and Earth" ("*Ѡ зачатїи свѣта сего, како Оц҃ъ нашъ г(с)дь*

[159] Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 196.

[160] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 87–9.

[161] See also in this connection Iatsimirskii, "K istorii apokrifov i legend v iuzhno-slavianskoi pis'mennosti," *IORIS* 15, 1 (1910), 25–39.

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Савaовъ сотворилъ н҃бо и землю").[162] This new edition was, in fact, a compilation of two eighteenth-century accounts (from MSS №s 45.8.190 and 32.16.11). Since MS № 45.8.190, which contained the main part of the text of the *SoT*, had at least one page missing, Sreznevskii inserted some necessary (from his point of view) interpolations from another MS (№ 32.16.11)[163] whose title, "About the Genesis of This World: How Our Father God Sabaoth Created Heaven and Earth" implies a direct connection with biblical *Genesis*, and in particular with the Creation narrative.

The same pattern seems to be implicitly followed in Dimitrova-Marinova's version of the *SoT* (MS № 566 in the Arkhangel'sk Collection from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg).[164] The text is entitled, "This roll comes from the *Book of Palaea*" ("*Сеи Списокь ис Книги Пале*[*и*]"), a typical Old Church Slavonic caption consistently used by medieval scribes to label the Καάθ ("*Каафъ*")[165] type of renditions of the Pentateuch (and *Genesis* in particular, with a special emphasis on Creation themes). They refer to a specific MS tradition associated with the *Erotapokriseis* literary genre (and in particular *The Discussion between the Three Saints*) and the *Palaea Interpretata*. Mochul'skii notes that these accounts appear in a number of medieval Russian MSS under a specific type of heading,[166] the concise versions of which could be "*Вопросъı н Отвѣтъı въıпнсанъı нꙁъ книгн глаголемой Палеи*" ("Questions and answers from the Book called Palaea"), "*А се отъ Палѣю с тълкъмь*" ("This is from the Palaea with commentaries"), and "*Въıпнскн нꙁъ Бнблнн чрезъ вопросъı н ѿвѣтъı*" ("Quotations from the Bible through questions and answers").[167] As for the extended title, the most often attested form, according to Mochul'skii, is "*Кннга наръıцаемъıа Каафъ, снрѣчь съборнкъ. понеже соуть мнοꙁн толкове събранн в на. от сватъıх книгъ. первое наѵало положено отъ толковъıѣ Палеѣ*" ("A book called Kaaf, that is to say a miscellany, since a lot of interpretations are collected in it from [many] Holy Books, with its very beginning starting from the *Palaea Interpretata*"). The latter title is found in three Russian texts: the fifteenth-century Miscellany from the Solovetskaia Library (MS № 807, fol. 145b), the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Miscellany from the Volokolamskaia Library at the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy (MS

[162] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99–104; see Text 2 in the Appendix, *infra*.

[163] *Cf.* Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99, note 1.

[164] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51–7.

[165] For the exegetical miscellanies known as Καάθ, or Εὐσταφίου ("*толковые сборники, извѣстные подъ названиемъ Каафъ*") in medieval *Slavia orthodoxa*, see Mochul'skii's "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 113–72, and V. Istrin, "Zamechaniia o sostave Tolkovoi Palei (4). Kniga Kaaf," *IORIS* 2, 4 (1897), 845–905.

[166] Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 135–6.

[167] *Ibid.,* 132, 136.

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№ 111/432, fol. 192) and in another, sixteenth-century Miscellany, from the same library (MS № 20/215, fols. 176–189).[168]

A comparison of titles of the Russian versions of the *SoT* clearly indicates that the texts so designated were considered by the scribes compiling them to be related to the Slavonic renditions of the Greek *Palaea*[169] on the one hand, and to the apocryphal *Erotapokriseis*[170] on the other. Incidentally, Grigorovich was the first to emphasise this cross-textual blending between (the Slepche version of) the *SoT* and *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*; an inter-textual bond later to be highlighted by Barsov.[171] Grigorovich's descriptive notes, produced in 1845 and published in 1861 and 1863 by Shchapov (see above), were also the first attempt to find a recognisable and familiar (from the point of view of contemporary specialists in Old Church Slavonic literature) classification pattern, which was supposed to facilitate future philological explorations into the complicated questions concerning not only the origins, but also the very nature of the *SoT*. One more point needs to be made here. From the perspective of structural typology, *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* – a work consisting of questions supposedly asked by St. John the Evangelist, and answers given to him by Jesus Christ during the Last Supper – is in fact analogous to the *Erotapokriseis*. It can be argued that the *Secret Book* represents the (successful) attempt on behalf of Bogomilism to domesticate this tradition and use the *Erotapokriseis* genre in

[168] *Ibid*., 136.

[169] The impact of the *Palaea* on Slavonic creation narratives has been discussed elsewhere; see Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 7–18, 21–34, 45–6, 50–1; Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 17, 1 (1887), 150–3; M. Gaster, *Greco-Slavonic Ilchester lectures on Greco-Slavonic literature and its relation to folklore during the Middle Ages* (London: Trubner & Co, 1887), 23–43, 150–208; Utley, "The Bible of the Folk," 10; Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 91–95, 123–25; Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 198–9. For a survey of the *Palaea Interpretata* tradition in *Slavia orthodoxa*, see Istrin, "Zamechaniia o sostave Tolkovoi Palei," *IORIS* 2, 1 (1897), 175–209, *IORIS* 2, 4 (1897), 845–905, *IORIS* 3, 2 (1898), 472–531; *idem.,* "Redaktsii Tolkovoi Palei," *IORIS* 10, 4 (1905), 135–203, *IORIS* 11, 1 (1906), 1–43, *IORIS* 11, 2 (1906), 20–61, *IORIS* 11, 3 (1906), 418–50; A.A. Shakhmatov, "Tolkovaia Paleia i russkaia letopis'," *Stat'i po Slavianovedeniiu*, Vyp. 1 (ed. V.I. Lamanskii; Sankt Peterburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1904), 199–279; T. Slavova, "Za protografa na Tŭlkovnata Paleia," *Starobŭlgaristika* (*Palaeobulgarica*) 3 (1991), 57–69; Orlov, *From Apocalypticism,* 72–4. On the *Historical Palaea*, see A. Popov, *Kniga Bytiia Nebesi i Zemli* (*Paleia Istoricheskaia*) *s Prilozheniem Sokrashchennoi Palei Russkoi Redaktsii*. *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh Pri Moskovskom Universitete* (Moscow, 1881); R. Stankov, "Istoricheskaia Paleia – pamiatnik drevnei bolgarskoi kul'tury," *Starobŭlgaristika* (*Palaeobulgarica*) 4 (1986), 55–63; Orlov, *From Apocalypticism,* 74–5.

[170] Further on medieval Slavonic erotapocritic writings as a type of apocryphal text implementing the discourse of parables, thus binding together oral legacy and biblical textuality, see Petkanova "Apokrifni vŭprosi i otgovori, " *SL* 21 (1987), 3–25 and Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 191–8. For a general survey of medieval Slavonic erotapocritic writings, see A. Miltenova, *Erotapokriseis: sŭchineniiata ot kratki vŭprosi i otgovori v starobŭlgarskata literatura* (Sofia: Damian Iakov, 2004).

[171] Barsov, "O Tiveriadskom More," 4.

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accordance with its purposes. It is my conviction that further comparative studies between the Carcassonne and Vienna MSS on the one hand, and Slavonic erotapocritic writings on the other, would prove that they are cognates sharing similarities betraying a common lineage.

While the Carcassonne and Vienna MSS are the Latin descendants of the Slavonic *Vorlage* of *The Secret Book* in its journey to the West, the Russian versions of the *SoT* show what happened to the text of its protograph when it spread, as a cluster of fragmentary textual blocks, to the East.[172] In this way it can also be explained how and why Satan, described in the *Secret Book* as someone able to descend from Heaven to the depths and ascend from the depths to Heaven, was transformed by the local indigenous traditions of the Eastern Slavs into an ornithomorphic demiurge. If in the (Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian) protograph of the *Secret Book* Satan was depicted as a liminal celestial (angelic/demonic) creature diving down to the depths and thus creating the Earth, this cosmogonic scenario was significantly transformed in Russia and synchronized with the thesaurus of indigenous local myths of origin; this change is attested in both oral narratives and in the written accounts of the *SoT*. In these Satan was depicted predominantly as an ornithomorphic earth-diver, since that was the way the demiurge was imagined by the indigenous scribes compiling these particular redactions of the *SoT* – as a bird. The vernacular, oral compendium of Creation motifs shaped the vocabulary employed by the copyists, redrafting them into a written entity. In fact, scribes and storytellers spoke the same "language," not in the strict verbatim meaning of this word, but in broader, semiotic terms; they shared the same mythopoeic imagery. This also explains why in the indigenous oral, vernacular counterparts of the *Secret Book* that were circulating among Southern Slavs, the anthropomorphic image of the diving Satan prevailed over the ornithomorphic one. Anthropological and folklore field research in the Balkans shows that the indigenous tales of origin, concerned with the creation of the dry land, envisaged the "other creator" not as ornithomorphic, but as an anthropomorphic demiurge.[173] In general, metamorphoses of this kind show how

[172] It is again the structural typology that can give an indication as to what might have happened next. The process of cyclisation of the epic songs (*bylina*) of Kiev and Novgorod (that incidentally date from the same period) can serve as an illustration for this type of cultural mechanism. Presumably these textual blocks, which at first functioned as a string of separate questions and answers in the sphere of written tradition, subsequently drifted towards indigenous oral tradition and blended with local folklore riddles and cosmogonic narratives. Then these new tale-entities began gravitating towards thematic centres of larger narratives, thus creating cycles consisting of units dealing with similar topics. This sequence of bigger textual blocks no longer "remembered" the entire process of transformation through which it had gone; the memory of it survived only in the titles, labelling these accounts as either *Palaea Interpretata*, or the *Erotapokriseis* (Questions and Answers), *i.e.*, biblical commentaries.

[173] See the Bulgarian folklore legends in Kovachev, "Narodna astronomiia," 54; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 329–36, Texts № 1, № 2 and № 3; *Narodna proza ot Blagoevgradski Okrŭg*. Special Monographic Issue (vol. 58) of *SbNU* (eds. L. Daskalova, D. Dobreva, Y. Kot-

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the expansion of any religion, heresy, or ideology unfolds.[174] Local deities are not removed from the sphere of the indigenous sacred social institutions, but are shifted within it; they are not abandoned but are re-named. In terms of Slavonic-speaking neophytes from the Byzantine Commonwealth, it meant that the conversion to Christianity needed the clandestine approval of their old deities. Thus the functions of various pagan gods and goddesses were distributed among various (male and female) saints, which blended with the old pantheon and absorbed it. The indigenous vernacular theonyms were translated into the *lingua sacra* of the new faith. According to this new ethno-theosophy "the deities-protagonists" were associated with God (be it the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit) and various saints. As for the "deities-antagonists," they were identified with Satan and his demonic allies. In terms of anthropology, this process can be defined as "domestication of conversion." The *SoT* can therefore serve as a sample-text showing how fundamental socio-cultural changes (such as the adoption of Christianity and the expansion of Bogomilism) have been implemented and comprehended by society. It also demonstrates how these shifts were reflected and depicted in literature, oral tradition and iconography. Such texts, moreover, are able to provide inside knowledge regarding the specific type of consensus-strategies implemented by communities in liminal periods of their collective life, when the society stood on the threshold of socio-cultural, religious and political changes. Certainly, the heresy of Bogomilism was one of the most significant challenges which *Pax Slavia Christiana* had to face during the Middle Ages. The text of *The Sea of Tiberias* shows how this "clash of faiths" happened, and how both men of letters and non-literate members of *Slavia orthodoxa* responded.

3.2.2. Narrating Creation: Cosmogonic Themes and Motifs

3.2.2.1. Heavenly Cosmography: prologues

The Creation scenario introduced in the opening paragraphs of the three eighteenth-century Russian accounts of the *SoT,* published by Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova (Type A-2), is noticeably longer and considerably more verbose than the narrative of the Slepche version (Type A-1). Although these Russian versions all follow a common cosmogonic pattern, there are a number of distinctive peculiarities (to be discussed below). On the other hand, the editions of Barsov (Type B) and Porfir'ev (Type C) lack the ornate prologues of the accounts published by Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova (Type A-2).

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seva and E. Mitseva; Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Press, 1985), 363–4, Text № 336; Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 256–9, Text № 2.2.9.

[174] See also Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 4–5, 32–76.

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3.2.2.2. Envisaging the Creator: the Father or the Son?

Whereas in the Slepche account (Type A-1) the emergence of the Universe is imagined as a direct result of the actions of God the Father Himself, in the introductory chapters of the (Type A-2) Russian versions of the *SoT,* this particular detail of Creation is somewhat transformed. According to these accounts, the emergence of the universe is envisaged as an oblique consequence of God Sabaoth's agency; the matter-of-fact demiurge, who was to execute His will, was the Son. The fashioning of the world was accomplished by Jesus Christ, envisaged as a demiurge who creates via speaking, thus executing "His heavenly Father's will" ("Сн҃ъ Бж҃ій Хс҃ словомъ по повелѣнію ѻц҃а своего н(б) снаго").[175] Creation was thus imagined as "discourse," hence "all beings, visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly" were considered to be a direct outcome of the power of Logos: "и какъ рекъ такъ и создалось и сотворилось Дх҃омъ Ст҃ымъ с 8[с]т' его прем8дрыхъ" ("as He spoke, from His most wise lips, so the world was created and fashioned by the Holy Spirit").[176] The image of the Son as the Creator of the Universe is also attested in oral tradition (see below), and in the religious art of *Slavia orthodoxa*. Of particular importance are visual representations of the Creator in icons, frescoes, woodcarvings and miniatures illustrating the *Hexameron* type of accounts (i.e., the depictions of the six days of Creation). Along with the iconographic conventions, according to which the Creator was portrayed as an elderly man = God the Father ("Ветхий деньми"),[177] there are a number of cases from the Balkans, mostly from the period between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, in which the direct agent of Creation is unequivocally identified as the Son of God. In them Christ is portrayed as a young man with a black beard; his head is surrounded by a halo, within which is placed a cross (or a six-pointed star, implicitly referring to his descent as "one from the lineage of David"), whereas next to Him there is the abbreviation *Іс҃ Хс҃* (*Іисус Христос* = Jesus Christ). Thus the illuminated MS written and designed

[175] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99. See also Text 2 in the Appendix, *infra*.

[176] *Ibid.*

[177] See the discussion in F. Buslaev, *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva*. Drevne-russkaia narodnaia literatura i iskusstvo, vol. 2 (Sanktpeterburg: Tipografiia Tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaia Pol'za", 1861), 286–7. For visual representations of the Creator as "Ветхий деньми", see the eighteenth-century four-icon ensemble *Hexameron* from the Ilarion Makariopolsky Museum of Bulgarian National Revival in the city of Elena, Bulgaria; the wood-carving *The Creation of Adam* from the iconostasis of the Church of St Demetrius in the village of Teshevo, South-Western Bulgaria; the plinth panel *Creation of Adam and Adam's taxonomy* from the iconostasis of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tŭrnovo, Northern Bulgaria; *Adam and Eve before the Fall* on the iconostasis of Preobrazhenski Monastery, and the *Hexameron* series of frescos in the open gallery of the principal church of the Rila Monastery. These images are to be found on the European Cultural Heritage Online (ECHO) website of the Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Berlin, under the rubric *Folk Religion in the Balkans* (http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/content/religion).

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in 1796 by Priest Puncho from the village of Mokresh, in the Lom area of NW Bulgaria, depicts Jesus Christ as "the Creator of (wo)man."[178] Another, earlier example comes from a fourteenth-century Bulgarian illuminated MS containing the texts of the *Chronicle of Constantine Manasius*, translated during the reign of Tsar Ivan Alexander.[179] On Fol. 7a there is a miniature depicting Jesus Christ as "the Creator of Adam (and Eve)." The accompanying text reads: "*и сътворн Адама*" ("and He created Adam"). In this miniature Jesus is shown as a young man with long dark hair and a short beard, dressed in a long garment, standing next to the naked body of Adam, above which Eve is pictured; there is a halo painted around His head, next to which there is the inscription *Ic̄ Xc̄* (*i.e. Іисус Христос* = Jesus Christ). He is holding a scroll in His left hand, while blessing the first people with His right hand.[180] Furthermore, on Fol. 11a of the same MS, there is another relevant miniature depicting Adam and Eve being chased out of Paradise by an angel; they are positioned in the middle of the miniature, while in its upper right corner is written "*и нꙁрннж нх'нꙁ Раа*" ("and they were thrown out of Paradise"). In the left half of the miniature Jesus is depicted as a young man, again with a halo, with His arms stretched towards Adam and Eve; above His head there is an inscription: "*Гь. Адаме гдѣ есн*" ("The Lord [asked], 'Adam, where are you?'"); evidently, the painter of the miniature envisaged Jesus as the one who interrogated the first people after their having transgressed in the Garden of Eden, not God the Father.[181]

Further evidence regarding the image of Jesus as the Creator of the Universe and man comes from the miniatures of a fourteenth-century Psalter, also produced in Bulgaria during the reign of Tsar Ivan Alexander, the so-called "Tomič Psalter," named after the Serbian scholar S. M. Tomič, who discovered it in 1901–02; the MS is now preserved in the State Historical Museum in Moscow. On fol. 208 there is a miniature showing the creation of Adam by Jesus, who is painted with a halo; on His left and right sides the inscription *Ic̄ Xc̄* (*i.e. Іисус Христос* = Jesus Christ) is written; next to it is an accompanying passage from Ps 118:73 "*Руце твон сътворнсте мꙗ н съꙁдасте мꙗ*" ("Your hands crafted me and created me").[182] This miniature is followed by another, related image, on fol. 213, depicting the vivification of Adam ("*ожнвленне Адама*"); in the upper right corner of the miniature we once again see not God

[178] The MS is preserved in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library (Sofia, Bulgaria) under signature № 693; the composition *Созданїе* (Creation) is on page 280 r (see Fig. 2, *infra*). This MS also contains one of the most elaborate Slavonic accounts of the idea of the Fallen Angel(s), a detail which will be discussed below.

[179] The MS is preserved in the Vatican Library (Vat. Slav. 2).

[180] Further on iconographic conventions followed in this miniature, see I. Duichev, *Miniaturite na Manasievata Letopis* (Sofia: Bŭlgarski Khudozhnik, 1962), 40.

[181] *Ibid*.

[182] M. V. Shchepkina, *Bolgarskaia miniatiura 14 veka. Issledovanie Psaltyri Tomicha.* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1963), 72.

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Sabaoth but Jesus. He is shown above Adam, who is standing in a meadow among blossoming trees; Jesus is making a gesture of blessing with His right hand. Around His head there is a halo, with the inscription *Ic̄ Xc̄.* In the middle upper part of the miniature a passage from Ps 118:131 is written: "*Уста моꙗ отверзохъ и въвлекохъ духъ*".[183]

The same type of iconographic convention in portraying the image of the Creator is observed in the elaborate *Hexameron* cycle in the Chapel of St. Demetrius in the Orthodox Serbian Dečani Monastery in the region of Metohia. Painted in 1345–48, these thirty-one frescos follow the storyline of the cosmogonic scenario from the first chapters of *Genesis*, and consistently depict the Creator of the Universe not in the image of God the Father, but of the Son.[184] Some art historians point out that the iconography of the *Hexameron* frescos in the Dečani Monastery also contains visual references to some apocrypha, in particular the *SoT*.[185] This observation is quite important, as it points towards the existence of an inter-textual connection and even interdependence between scribes and icon-painters, especially in regards to the ways in which they perceived and handled religious concepts (in this case, the idea of Jesus as the Creator of the Universe). The parallel implementation of such ideas in the verbal and visual arts of *Slavia orthodoxa* is significant; it reveals the vibrant scope of cultural and ideological trends and tendencies which influenced the creators of the *SoT*.[186] The same is observed in Slavonic oral tradition. In some Russian folklore spiritual stanzas Jesus is envisaged as the Creator of both the Universe and man.[187] Thus, according to one such song, after Adam and Eve tasted the forbidden fruit and found

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[183] *Ibid*.

[184] M. Pupin, *Manastir Dečani,* vol. 2 (Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1941), 46–50, 66–7.

[185] *Ibid*., 67.

[186] The iconographic conventions of presenting the Creator of the Universe in the image of the Son but not the Father are also related to the broader deliberations on the fundamental idea of what was really regarded to be "depictable" in medieval Christian art. The rhetorical question here was, can a human hand produce the image of God? While the features of the Father are considered to be incomprehensible and inconceivable, and therefore aniconic in their divine nature, the features of the Son, the incarnate Word of God – born as a "man among men" – were the features of a human being of flesh and blood, tangible and touchable, and therefore "depictable" (*i.e*., "iconic"); hence the implementation of the iconographic conventions of presenting the Creator of the Universe in the image of the Son but not of the Father. An interesting case is represented by Russian popular prints (*лубок)* of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, and especially the Genesis engravings of the talented artist Vasilii Koren' (*Мастер Василий Коренъ*), illustrator of the illuminated printed Bible (*Biblia pauperum*) of 1692–1696; see Fig. 1, *infra*. There are a number of instances where the Creator of the Universe is featured as an angel with a beardless face of a handsome young man, above whose nimbus is written "God Sabaoth" (*Гд҃ь Савао҃въ*), see O. Khromov, "*Sotvorenie mira* v russkoi lubochnoi traditsii," *Zhivaia Starina* 1 (1997), 11.

[187] On the cosmogonic significance of the image of Christ in Russian spiritual stanzas, see G. Fedotov, *Stikhi dukhovnye: russkaia narodnaia vera po dukhovnym stikham* (Moscow: Progress & Gnozis, 1991), 28–34.

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themselves "in shame," naked and barefoot ("*нагим-наги стали, босенушки*"), they were not encountered by God the Father, but by Christ, to whom they prayed for forgiveness:

Закрыли соромы ладонцами, | Пришли они к самому Христу, | К самому Христу, Царю Небесному. | Зашли они на Фавор гору, | Кричат-ревут зычным голосом: | "Ты небесной царь, Иисус Христос! | Ты услышал молитву грешных раб своих." [188]

They [Adam and Eve] covered their shameful parts with their palms, | And came to Christ Himself, | To Christ, the King of Heavens Himself. | And they went to Mount Tabor, | And cried and lamented with loud voices: | "Oh, you King of Heavens, Jesus Christ, | You have heard the prayer of your servants who sinned!"

In a similar way, Bulgarian folk tales, incantations and songs often identify God the Father, addressed in vernacular as "Grandpa the Lord" ("*Дядо Господ,*" "*Дядо Боже*") with Jesus, whose name may either appear with the appellation "Grandpa," (*i.e*., "Grandpa the Lord Jesus Christ" = "*Дядо Господ/Дядо Боже Исус Христос*"), or just be replaced altogether by this appellation (as a synonym).[189] Some cosmogonic legends simply state, "it was Jesus Christ who divided the water and the land."[190] This tendency is well attested in the folklore of both *Slavia orthodoxa* and *Slavia romana*,[191] which parallels certain iconographic conventions and specific traits of apocryphal cosmogonies. Once again religious iconography, apocryphal literature, and vernacular oral tradition seem to share common mythopoeic imagery.

3.2.2.3. Seven Heavens Created by Logos

According to the three eighteenth-century Russian redactions of the *SoT* (Type A-2), the celestial part of the Universe is imagined as consisting of seven heavens, formed by God at the earliest stages of Creation, with the power of Logos ("Н седмь нб̄съ словомъ сотворн"). The significance of seven as a numerical icon of Creation is further amplified by the parallel unfolding of another cosmographic concept, that of the primordial "crystal sky resting upon *seventy* thousand myri-

[188] See the folklore spiritual stanza entitled "The Dove-Book which was forty spans in length" (*Голубиная книга сорока пядень*), text № 59 in Danilov, *Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia,* 274.

[189] Based on my own field research observations; this specific aspect of popular religiosity will be further discussed in my forthcoming *Folk Bible*.

[190] See text № 2.2.65 in Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 327–8, as well as text № 183 in P. Shein, *Materialy dlia izucheniia byta i iazyka russkogo naseleniia severo-zapadnago kraia* (Sobrannye i privedennye v poriadok P. V. Sheinom), vol 2: Skazki, anekdoty, legendy, predaniia, vospominaniia, poslovitsy, zagadki, privetstviia, pozhelaniia, bozhba, prokliatiia, rugan', zagovory, dukhovnye stikhi i proch. (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1893), 341–2; for an English translation of the text, see Badalanova, *op. cit*., 241–2.

[191] See the discussion in R. Tomicki, "Ludowe mity o stworzeniu człowieka. Z badań nad synkretyzmem mitologicznym w Europie Wschodniej i Południowej oraz w Azji Północnej," *EP* 24, 2 (1980), 59 and M. Zowczak, *Biblia ludowa* (Wrocław: Funna, 2000), 49–56.

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ads of iron pillars."[192] On the other hand, the celestial scheme of seven heavens is registered in some other Slavonic apocrypha, like *2 Enoch*,[193] *The Ascension of Isaiah* (*Isaiah's Vision*)[194] and *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*.[195] The concept of the seven heavens is also an important component of cosmic geography according to the teaching of the Bogomils,[196] while the image of the seven-folded sky can be found in Bulgarian oral tradition.[197] Yet from the point of view of structural typology, the notion of seven heavens also belongs to a certain universal cosmographic mythopoeic thesaurus of *loci communes,* the coverage of which appears to have stretched from the texts of ancient Babylonia[198] to rabbinic literature,[199] and further to Christian and Islamic written and oral sources. The cosmographic pattern of seven heavens is thus comparable to and symmetrical with the celestial model of seven stars, the constitution of seven divisions of

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[192] *Cf.* Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 174 and Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99; see also Text 2 (§ 2), in the Appendix, *infra*. The cosmographic detail of the primordial "crystal sky resting upon seventy thousand myriads of iron pillars" is also presented in the Slepche version (see above); it is however absent from Dimitrova-Marinova's account.

[193] See Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 167–83, 188. Not only does the character of the prophet/visionary Enoch embody the precedent of a man making a celestial journey/ascension to the *seven* heavens; he is also "the *seventh* from Adam." This further reinforces the connotation of *seven* as a number encoding the hidden mysteries of heavenly cosmography, and highlights the significance of Enoch as a wisdom figure; see M. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 39–40.

[194] See Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 134–54; an English translation of a twelfth-century Slavonic recension of *Isaiah's Vision* can be found in Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica,* 169–84; see also the discussion in Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 66–7.

[195] According to some texts, these seven heavens bear the names of the seven Patriarchs: *Снть* (Seth), *Аꙁарь* (Azariah), *Еновь* (Enoch), *Ноє* (Noah), *Аврамь* (Abraham), *Исакъ* (Isaac), *Иꙗковъ* (Jacob); see Nachtigall, "Ein Beitrag zu den Forschungen," *ASPh* 24, 324 (Questions Nos. 4 and 5).

[196] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 188.

[197] According to Bulgarian folklore data collected by D. Marinov, "the sky, which people can see now, is a solid thick crust of seven layers" ("*небото, което виждаме, е твърда кора дебела и има седем дипли*"), see: *idem.*, "Zhiva starina. Narodna viara i religiozni narodni obichai," *SbNU* 28 (1914), 7. Further on Slavonic vernacular cosmography, and on the popular concept of the sky as a solid shell/coating of seven strata, see S. Tolstaia, "O neskol'kikh vetkhozavetnykh motivakh v slavianskoi narodnoi traditsii," *Ot Bytiia k Iskhodu* (eds. V. Petrukhin, *et al*.; Moscow: GEOS, 1998), 23.

[198] The somewhat ambiguous evidence for seven heavens (and seven earths) comes from a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian incantation text, see W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 220, based on the following cuneiform text, which was recently published by M. J. Geller in his *Evil Demons* (Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria Project, 2007): "Where do (you) fly? Do (you) flee to earth? Where being present – not present before me? Heaven: 7; Earth: 7; Wind: 7; Gale: 7; Fire 7; Front 7; Back: 7; Back-to-front: 7" (191). Moreover, the Mesopotamian myth of Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld has the goddess passing through seven Underworld gates, which probably correspond to seven heavenly gates, reflecting the symmetry of Heaven and Earth.

[199] For the Hebrew tradition of seven heavens and seven earths, see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews,* vol. 1 (1909), 9–13; vol. 2 (1910), 260; vol. 3 (1911), 96; vol. 5 (1925), 9–11, 23, 30.

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Paradise, the construction of seven earths, the configuration of the seven pillars upon which the Earth rests (and respectively, the seven Patriarchs), and the seven compartments of Hell. The allegorical image of seven as the operative number of Creation appears to be typical for this kind of cosmogonic scenario. This particular type of numerical allegory occurs, for instance, in the seventeenth-century Russian account from the Solovetskaia Library (MS № 1138), entitled *The Legend of the Seven Planets* ("*Сказаніе о седми планитахъ*", fols. 148–158). This text provides further evidence that the SEVEN functions as a numerological template determining cosmologic and cosmographic ideas employed by the medieval scribes of *Slavia orthodoxa*. It also shows the depth of cultural roots of ideas and concepts (cosmographic and otherwise) expressed by them while producing the written accounts of the *SoT*.

3.2.2.4. The Chronotope of Creation: Geographies of Paradise and Hell

Most versions of the *SoT* consider the emergence of Paradise to be related to the earliest phases of Creation;[200] it marks the eastern corner of the Universe,[201] indicating the four cardinal directions of the celestial map. It is considered the abode of God and the angels (including Satan before his revolt and subsequent fall); this is also where Adam and Eve were created and dwelled before the Expulsion. Indeed, no major surprises about the Garden of Eden can be found in the *SoT* creation accounts. The cosmogony of Hell is a totally different story. Being absent from the account of Creation in the Hebrew Bible, the concept of Gehenna appears in the synoptic Gospels, according to which it is described as "an unquenchable fire," whose damnation no sinner can escape. As for parabiblical (rabbinic-era) Jewish tradition, Gehenna was "brought forth" by God on the second day of Creation, along with the firmament, fire, and the angels.[202] According to some midrashim, the foundation of Hell was also the only time when the Creator could not say that "what He saw was good," since "Hell surely does not deserve the attribute of good."[203]

As for the cosmogony of Hell as attested in the *SoT*, the narratives describing its emergence are incoherent and inconsistent. There is only one feature upon which they all agree – that it was designed as an anti-image of Paradise. The chronological aspect of the creation of this "anti-Edenic" topic is as difficult to clarify as the spatial dimensions of its emergence. The *SoT* narratives indicate that Hell was fashioned after Paradise, but well before the dry land. Still, they display a somewhat confusing scenario of creation with entropic cosmic geogra-

[200] One very important exception is Barsov's version of the *SoT*; see *idem*., "O Tiveriadskom More," 3–8 (also Text 1, § 3, in the Appendix, *infra*).

[201] In terms of church architecture, it is marked by the altar space; on Eden as archetype for the Temple, see A. Callender, *Adam in myth and history.* Ancient Israelite perspectives on the primal human (Harvard Semitic Studies 48; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000) 50–4.

[202] Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews,* vol. 1 (1909), 13, 15–16.

[203] *Ibid*.,16.

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phy. It is not clear where exactly the heavenly pillars holding the cosmic ceiling under which Hell was to emerge were located (at least in relation to Paradise, the ultimate corner-stone of God's Creation). But was Hell beneath or next to Paradise? Indeed, where was Hell – "all of bronze, with beams of iron and gates of copper" – meant to be located? It is further hinted, in the same texts, that the celestial columns holding the macrocosm, which were "immovable from the very beginning," were supported by "firm stones"; upon them the Earth was to be positioned, but it is not clear what kind of Earth this was. One can only guess that it was not the dry land which was to be created from the sand fetched by Satan (in the image of a bird-diver) from the bottom of the primordial waters. This was yet to come, since the creation of the Earth proper was yet to begin. At this point the story only mentions a certain "earth in-between" (or even more than one earth?), in relation to which a bottomless Hell was constructed. As for the exact location of Hell, the texts offer a vague cluster of fuzzy details suggesting that it was placed either "beneath" the intermediate earth(s), or upon it (them).

A closer assessment of the chrono-spatial matrix contained in these apocrypha, and particularly in comparison to vernacular oral cosmography (as attested in Bulgarian folklore) shows interesting results. We find similar uncertainty and vagueness in the treatment of details, but also the unmistakable, distinctive template of a similar chronotope. The selection of traditional narratives mentioned below confirms this point. These narratives were recorded by the Bulgarian folklorist Yordan Kovachev in various areas of the country at the beginning of the twentieth century. They were published as a collection of accounts given by a number of anonymous storytellers deliberating over the topography of "the Beyond":

> Heaven and Hell are also called *the Beyond*. Many believe that they are both in the sky and so close to each other that they have no separate entrances, and the entry to Heaven passes through Hell. Others say that only Heaven is in the sky, whereas Hell is on Earth, in fact at the end of the Earth. There is a third group which believes that they are both on Earth, or else that Hell is under the Earth, while Heaven is on Earth itself but to the East. It is also believed that there are as many heavens and hells as there are faiths, and that the Hell and Heaven of Christians are in the middle of the sky, while [the Hell and Heaven] of others are on the periphery. Others believe that there is only one Heaven and one Hell, where both Christians and non-Christians gather after their death, because God does not distinguish between them. It is also believed that non-Christians have a separate Heaven but Hell is shared by all religions. It is also believed that when a person dies, the soul goes straight to Hell or Heaven. […] Another belief is that Hell is on Earth, and until the Second Coming [of Jesus Christ] the souls remain in the graves or in Jerusalem, but after the Second Coming they will be judged and the righteous will go to Heaven and the sinful to Hell. It is also imagined that Hell is a big barrel full of brimstone, fiery scorpions and other poisonous insects which torture the souls of sinners boiling in the barrel. At the very bottom of the barrel are bishops, priests, and on their shoulders stand other sinners. It is dark, horrible and scary. Above the barrel is a very thin rope which starts from Hell

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and goes to Heaven. Along this rope the souls walk; the sinless soul passes by it and goes to Heaven, while the sinful falls into the barrel.[204]

As the folklore evidence shows, the beliefs expressed by different storytellers discussing the cosmic geographies of Paradise and Hell clearly correspond to the views articulated by various anonymous scribes who compiled the rich variety of written versions of the *SoT*. The similarity between oral and written sources indicates once again that storytellers and scribes of *Slavia orthodoxa* shared the same mythopoeic imagery and the same vocabulary of Creation. This resemblance between oral and written sources is even more palpable in the description of the subsequent phases of Creation, and especially the origin of the dry land.

3.2.3. Creation of Celestial Beings and Terrestrial Habitat

In the Slepche version of the *SoT* (Type A-1) the narrative about the creation of celestial beings and dry land is part of the closing paragraph. In the Russian versions published by Barsov (Type B), Porfir'ev (Type C), Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii and Dimitrova-Marinova (Type A-2), it marks the unfolding of the "proper dualistic" storyline, in which the Creation of the Universe is described as a contest between God and Satan. From this point onwards, the apocryphal narrative ties up various tales relating the on-going battle between the two opposing forces. It combines both Old and New Testament apocrypha, thus creating its own cosmogonic scenario, in which legendary elements from various sources, both oral and written, blend together and generate a new, unique cultural product.

3.2.3.1. The Diving Creator

It has already been pointed out that the Earth-Diver cosmogonic motif (Th. A 812) is common to all versions of the *SoT*; it is perhaps not only the best studied, but also the most controversial trait of this apocryphon. For more than a century it has been a focal point of fierce discussion among many scholars;[205] folklorists,

[204] Y. Kovachev, "Narodna astronomiia i meteorologiia," *SbNU* 30 (1914), 17–18.

[205] *Cf.* Potebnia, "Obzor poeticheskikh motivov," *RFV* 16, 4 (1886) 273–5 (738–40); Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889) 19–24, 47–75, 82–7, 108–16; Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii", 68–9; Dragomanov, "Zabelezhki vŭrkhu slavianskite religiozno-eticheski legendi," *SbNU* 8 (1892), 257–314 and *SbNU* 10 (1894), 10–35, 45–52; Korobka, "Obraz ptitsy," *IORIS* 14, 4 (1909), 175–95 and 15, 1 (1910), 105–47; Radchenko, "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," *IORIS* 15, 4 (1910), 74–6, 86–7, 91–3, 99–100, 109–15; Markov, "More Tiveriadskoe," *EO* 1–2 (1913) 64–74; Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 287–90; Köngäs, "The Earth-Diver (Th. A 812)," *Ethnohistory* 7 (1960) 151–80; Dundes, "Earth-Diver: creation of mythopoeic male," *AA* 64, 5/1 (1962), 1032–51; Tomicki, "Słowiański mit kosmogoniczny," *EP* 20, 1 (1976), 86–95; *idem.,* "Ludowa kosmogonia dualisticzna słowiań w świetle Samojedskich mitów stworzenia," *EP* 23, 2 (1979), 174–75; *idem.,* "Ludowe mity o stworzeniu człowieka. Z badań nad synkretyzmem mitologicznym w Europie Wschodniej i Południowej oraz w Azji Północnej," *EP* 24, 2 (1980), 51–62, 70–117; Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 38–57; Kuznetsova, *Dualisticheskie legendy,* 59–79; Šmitek, "Slovenske ljudske predstave," *Traditiones* 27 (1998), 111–23; Stoyanov, "Islamic and Christian Heterodox Water Cosmogonies from

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ethnographers, anthropologists, and specialists in comparative religion study it as one of the most widely attested myths of creation. The distribution of this myth extends from Eurasia to North and South America, the Pacific Islands, and Australia;[206] there is a strong tendency to classify it as one of the recurring *loci communes* of world mythologies, although some scholars are "inclined to treat versions from different culture areas as parallelisms."[207]

In some instances, however, those analysing the Earth-Diver motif in relation to the *SoT* apocrypha were interested predominantly in discovering the ultimate "place of origin" (*i.e.*, "the native land") of its vernacular, oral attestations and in the identification of the area of their distribution and diffusion. It is not my intention to follow this line of inquiry, which is unproductive for the purposes of the current discussion.[208] In my view, one should rather search for the actual *Vorlage* of the apocryphal texts in which this cosmogonic motif appears, *i.e.*, the cultural context in which its literary attestations occur. Since scholars have already provided a series of exhaustive surveys of the Earth-Diver cosmogonic motif throughout the world (Th. A 812), I will confine my analysis to specific points. I will follow Vladimir Propp's methodological approach (as outlined in

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the Ottoman period – parallels and contrasts," *BSOAS* 64, 1 (2001), 19–33; *idem.*, "Problems in the Study of the Interrelations between Medieval Christian Heterodoxies and Heterodox Islam in the Early Ottoman Balkan-Anatolian Region," *Scripta & e-Scripta* 2 (2004) 192–94; Iu. Berezkin, "O putiakh zaseleniia Novogo Sveta: nekotorye rezul'taty sravnitel'nogo izucheniia amerikanskikh i sibirskikh mifologii," *Arkheologischeskie vesti* 10 (2003), 247; I. Nagy, "The earth-diver myth," *AEH* 51:3–4 (2006), 281–326; Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 168, 219–21.

[206] Köngäs, "The Earth-Diver," 151–180; Dundes, "Earth-Diver," 1032–51.

[207] Köngäs, "The Earth-Diver," 151.

[208] Literature devoted to the Earth-Diver cosmogonic motif (Th. A 812) and the history of its studies suggest that there are many serious points against this line of argument. As highlighted by Dundes (in a sharp comment on Margaret Mead's query as to whether "the myth as a whole" can be "analyzed meaningfully"), "the unfortunate truth is that rarely is the anthropologist in a position to know when and where a myth is 'first made up' […]. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many, indeed, the majority of myths are found distributed throughout the world. […] In other words, it is, practically speaking, impossible to ascertain the place and date of the first appearance(s) of a given myth. […] It is clearly a fallacy to analyze an international tale or widely diffused myth *as if* it belonged to only one culture. Only if a myth is known to be unique, that is, peculiar to a given culture, is this kind of analysis warranted. […] While it may be a fallacy to analyse a world-wide myth as if it belonged to only one culture, it is not a fallacy to analyse the myth as if it belonged to all cultures in which it appears. This does not preclude the possibility that one myth found in many cultures may have as many meanings as there are cultural contexts" (Dundes, "Earth-Diver," 1035–36). I share Dundes' view. It would be hazardous to base the entire discussion on the *Vorlage* of the *SoT* exclusively on the comparison of universal culture patterns and transcultural similarities, thus potentially (and inevitably) reducing the analysis to vague hypothetical deliberations over the place and time of origin of the Earth-Diver cosmogonic motif (Th. A 812), one of the most popular cultural universals worldwide.

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his *Морфология сказки*)[209] and focus on the morphological structure of the plot of the cosmogonic narrative of the *SoT* itself, in particular on the functional attributes of the characters/demiurges involved in it.

As pointed out previously, the emergence of the dry land out of the primordial waters is described, both in the apocryphal versions of the *SoT* and in their oral counterparts, as a result of the combined efforts of two demiurges, God and Satan. In some of these cosmogonic narratives (attested in both oral and written forms only among the Eastern Slavs) Satan appears as an ornithomorphic deity, in others (only oral, registered among both Southern and Eastern Slavs) he has anthropomorphic features. In both cases, however, following God's command, he dives to the bottom of the primordial waters to fetch sand and stone from which dry land and the heavenly host would eventually emerge. I am not concerned with the question of whether Satan has ornithomorphic or anthropomorphic features, or whether the ornithomorphic image prevails over (or predates) the anthropomorphic one. The crucial question is not related to his image (*ornithomorphic* versus *anthropomorphic*), but to his function. The function of the Devil, as revealed in all the extant versions of the *SoT*, is in all cases the same. He dives to the bottom of the primordial waters to fetch the *materia prima*. This cosmogonic narrative clearly parallels the Creation scenario outlined in the two extant witnesses of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils,* the Carcassonne and Vienna MSS.[210] According to both, Satan is described as a demiurge-mediator crossing the boundaries of the Universe and searching for Earth, the face of which is covered by the primordial waters:

Et transcendens, invenit universam faciem terrae coopertam aquis … [211]
And moving further on, he found the whole face of the Earth covered with water …

Et descendens, invenit totam terram coopertam de aquis … [212]
And descending, he found the whole Earth covered with water …

In both texts, too, the dry land appears as the earth is raised upwards by (two) angels who act under his command. According to the Carcassonne MS, the angels operate as immediate agents of the Devil, directly executing his will, whereas in the Vienna MS, Satan's order to the angels is given under the ultimate instruction of the Invisible Father, *i.e.* the "other" creator is considered to be God's subordinate:

Et sic sedit in firmamento et praecepit angelo, qui erat super aerem, et qui erat super aquas, et elevaverunt terram sursum, et apparuit arida.[213]

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[209] V.Ia. Propp, *Morfologiia skazki* (Leningrad, 1928); see also his *Istoricheskie korni volshebnoi skazki* (Leningrad, 1946).
[210] Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 74–7.
[211] An excerpt from the Carcassonne MS (*ibid.,* 74).
[212] An excerpt from the Vienna MS (*ibid*., 74).
[213] An excerpt from the Carcassonne MS (*ibid.,* 77).

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And he [Satan] sat in the Firmament and instructed the angel who was over the air and who was over the waters, and they raised the earth upwards, and dry land appeared.

Et tunc sedit super firmamentum praecepitque angelo, qui erat super aerem, et illi, qui erat super aquas, et elevaverunt duas partes aquarum sursum in aerem, et de tertia parte facerunt L maria, et fuit divisio aquarum per praeceptum Patris invisibilis.[214]

He then sat over the firmament and instructed the angel who was over the air, and that one who was over the waters, and they raised up two parts of the waters upwards in the air, and from the third part they made the seas, and the division of the waters was according to the instruction of the invisible Father.

The Russian redactions of the *SoT* show how some features (and indeed the concept of Creation) of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* were adapted by the local scribes, who further domesticated its dualistic scenario by transforming some of its details according to indigenous myths of origin. Hence the ornithomorphic (instead of anthropomorphic) image of the "other" creator emerged, which was much more familiar to local audiences (see also the discussion *supra*). This point may also "elucidate the reasons why Christian dualism is so frequently found in Eurasian earth-diver versions."[215]

The focal point of the narrative unit about the encounter between the two creators is the emblematic dialogue: "Who are you?" "I am God"; "Then who am I?" "You are the God of gods," *etc*. The opening paragraph of the cosmogonic account of the *SoT* published by Porfir'ev (Type C) provides an interesting version of this form of address:

Иваннъ рече: отъ чево земля сотворена бысть. Василій рече: Егда сниде [Богъ] и начя ходити по водѣ и узрѣ на водѣ птицу, плаваетъ яко Гоголь. И рече Богъ: ты кто еси. птица же рече: азъ есмь богъ. а азъ кто есмъ? птица же рече: ты Б(о)гомъ Богъ. Б(о)гъ же рече: ты откуду бѣ? птица же рече: азь есмь от нижныхъ. и рече Б(о)гъ: а аз откуду? птица же рече: отъ вышныхъ. и рече Б(о)гъ: дай же ми отъ нижнихъ. и понре птица в море и согна пѣну яко илъ и принесе къ Б(о)гу. и взя Б(о)гъ илъ в горьсть и распростра сюду и овоюду и бысть земля.[216]

[Saint] John asked: "From what was the Earth created?" [Saint] Basil said: "When God descended from above and began walking upon the waters, He saw in the waters a bird, swimming like a duck. And God said: "Who are you?" And the bird said: "I am God." "And who am I then?" "You are the God of gods." And God said: "Where are you from?" The bird said: "I am from beneath". And God said: "Where am I from?" The bird said, "You are from above." And God said: "Give me from beneath!" And the bird dived into the sea and fetched foam-like sludge and delivered it to God. And God took a handful and distributed it here and there and everywhere and there was the Earth.

A similar cosmological pattern describing the world order as an encounter between two opposite forces, coming from above and from beneath, is to be found

[214] An excerpt from the the Vienna MS (*ibid*.).
[215] Dundes, "Earth-Diver," 1042.
[216] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 87.

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in John 3:31: "He that cometh from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from Heaven is above all." Furthermore the cosmogonic thesaurus employed in the dialogue between God and Satan in Porfir'ev's edition of the *SoT* (Type C) resembles the wording of the dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees, as spelled out in John 8:23: "And He [Jesus] said unto them, 'Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world'." The similar phrasing in both the apocryphal *SoT* (*cf.* the Porfir'ev version) and the *Gospel of John* is significant. It indicates that in the period when some of the versions of the *SoT* emerged, a Bible-related meta-narrative must have existed, with its roots not only in the biblical text (and its iconographic renditions), but also in apocryphal literature and local oral tradition(s). It is hardly surprising that the scribes copying the *SoT* searched for scriptural verification of their accounts, anchoring their texts in emblematic biblical quotations, or recycling stock phrases from Scriptures. The popularity, which the *SoT* apocryphal writings enjoyed in *Slavia orthodoxa,* suggests that their compilers certainly achieved the goal of creating texts appealing to both the learned and the illiterate.

3.2.3.2. Creation of the Heavenly Host: Angelology and Demonology

The cosmogonic narrative about the emergence of the dry land (which is usually intertwined with the narrative about the origin of angelic and diabolical forces) evolves differently in the various versions of the *SoT*. As in the Slepche version (Type A-1), in the accounts published by Mochul'skii and Sreznevskii (Type A-2), the creation of the heavenly host (originating from the two halves of the stone fetched by the Devil) precedes the creation of dry land. In the versions published by Dimitrova-Marinova (Type A-2) and Barsov (Type B), the creation of the dry land comes first, thus heralding the creation of angels and demons. In all narrative accounts of the *SoT* (with the exception of the Porfir'ev version (Type C)[217] celestial beings appear from the two halves of the primordial stone (identified as flint in the versions of Barsov, Sreznevskii and Dimitrova-Marinova), which God divides as soon as Satanail delivers it from the bottom of the sea; the right is God's, the left is the Devil's. Each creator then hits his part with an iron sceptre, and this act triggers the emergence of the heavenly host. However, God is the first to produce the celestial forces; then again, in some of the versions it is made clear that it was not the Father who created the celestial beings, but the Son via His Logos.[218] Thereupon there emerge the nine ranks of the incorporeal host, angels and archangels, cherubs and seraphs, "all created in

[217] The motif of the primordial stone from which the heavenly host originates is not attested in Porfir'ev's version; the diving demiurge fetches from the bottom of the sea only "foam-like sludge" ("И понре птица в море и согна пѣну яко илъ"), from which dry land emerges; "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 87–8.

[218] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173–4.

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God's image." Then, following God's example, Satanail hits the left part of the stone and creates the diabolical forces. In Dimitrova-Marinova's version there are nine ranks of demons, whereas the Sreznevskii and Mochul'skii versions simply state that they are "innumerable." The final phase of the creation of the heavenly host is marked by the appointment of Satanail, on behalf of God, as "their chief Angel." Until this time, God and the Devil have been acting as two parallel creative forces, free of antagonistic tension. So far the leading role of God (be it the Father or the Son) has never been disputed by His subordinate, neither have any negative features of the "Other" creator been made apparent yet. The narrative follows a simple scenario, according to which the pristine Universe was twofold and was ruled by two active protagonists-creators with the assistance of two divided groups of heavenly beings. They existed separately but concurrently and in harmony, and there was no rivalry between them; this primeval binary model embodied God's original agenda, and indeed the original Divine Economy; the primordial duality was envisaged as His *modus operandi* in maintaining an ideal world order. It was exactly this pristine Divine Economy, the *SoT* narrative seems to claim, that was the ultimate target of Satanail's revolt. When God's supremacy over the Universe was challenged by the Devil, who, up to this point, still had angelic status, the split between the two creators became inevitable. Only when Satanail aspired to put his throne above the throne of God, only then was he expelled from Heaven and thrown down to earth. A similar concept is expressed in the *Codex Carcassoniensis*:

Et dixi: Domine, antequam Sathanas caderet, in qua gloria persistebat apud Patrem tuum? Et dixit mihi: in tali gloria erat, quod ordinabat virtutes coelorum; ego autem sedebam apud Patrem meum. Ipse erat ordinans omnem imitatorem Patris, et descendebat de coelo in infimum et ascendebat ab infimis usque ad thronum invisibilis Patris. Et observabat gloriam, quae erat moventis coelos, et cogitavit sedem suam ponere super nubes coelorum et volebat Altissimo similis esse.[219]

And I said: "Lord, before Satan fell, in what state of glory was he with Thy Father?" And He said to me: "He was in such glory that he was directing the heavenly forces. I, however, was sitting next to my Father. That one [*i.e.* Satan] was managing things completely in imitation of the Father, and he was descending from Heaven to the depths, and ascending from the depths to the throne of the invisible Father. And he was observing the glory which pertained to the Mover of Heavens, and he got the idea of placing his throne above the clouds of heaven, and he wanted to be like the Most High."[220]

According to the *SoT*, as soon as God became aware of Satanail's cunning intentions, He summoned the Archangel Michael (whom He later ordained and made the Chief of the heavenly host) and sent him to a fearsome battle against the disobedient Devil, a battle from which the Archangel Michael returned victorious. The rebellious Devil was driven out of the heavens and stripped of his an-

[219] Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 73–4.
[220] Translated by Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica,* 191.

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gelic status. This divine retribution was reflected also in the change of Satanail's name. From *Satanail* he became *Satan*, and the ending *–il,* indicating his former angelic nature, was dropped from his name. Moreover, the fight between the two heavenly warriors, Michael and Satanail, marked the beginning of a new world order; after this the Universe was no longer the same. God and the Devil became antagonists engaged in a never-ending battle. Sly Satan and his forces were expelled from the celestial realms and were thrown down to Earth, to which they kept falling for three days and three nights "like drops of rain." Later they were pushed even further, all the way down to Hell. When the gates of Heaven were shut behind the expelled demons, all those who were still hanging in the air froze between the heavens and Earth. Those who had already reached Earth remained forever attached to the spots where they had landed. This, in turn, meant that the Earth, once pure and spotless, was no longer perfect. After the fall of Satan the terrestrial habitat became corrupt, stained, and polluted, since various demons settled there and made Earth their haven. Thus, the war for the heavens was won by God and His angelic host, but the battle for Earth was yet to begin. If not entirely in Satan's possession, the terrestrial realm was in his power, as least as much as it was in the power of God.

As we have already noted, the motif of the fallen angels is also registered in the *Palaea*[221] (with an implicit reference to *Isaiah* 14: 12–16) and in *2 Enoch.*[222] The tale about the contest between the two celestial warriors, Satanail and Archangel Michael, is further attested in some other apocrypha, such as *The Contest Between Satanail and Archangel Michael* (*Борба между Сатанаила и Архангел Михаила*),[223] also referred to as *An Account About the Cunning Antichrist, the Godless Satanail, How He Was Confined by Archangel Michael* (*Слово за лъжливия Антихрист, безбожен Сатанаил, как го плени Архангел Михаил*),[224] or *An Account of John Chrysostom About How Satanail Was Confined by Archangel Michael* (*Слово на Йоан Златоуст как Михаил победи Сатанаил*).[225] The latter designation indicates that the Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian) version of this apocryphon must have originated from an earlier, heavily edited translation of a related Greek text, the protograph

[221] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia o Vetkhozavetnykh litsakh i sobytiiakh," 21–31; Dimitrova-Marinova, "Kosmogonichno-eskhatologichniiat tsikŭl v starobŭlgarskata knizhovna traditsiia i bŭlgarskata traditsionna slovesnost," 102–3.

[222] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 169, 172; M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's penance", *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 45–8; G.A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *ibid.*, 99–102.

[223] Ivanov, *Starobŭlgarski razkazi: tekstove, novobŭlgarski prevod i belezhki* (Sofia: Imprimerie de la Cour Royale, 1935), 18–25.

[224] D. Petkanova, ed., *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.41–8, 349–350.

[225] A. Miltenova, "Metamorphosata (Edin nepublikuvan tekst ot rŭkopis Arundel 527 ot Britanskata Biblioteka v London)," *Khristiianska agiologiia i narodni viarvaniia.* Sbornik v chest na Elena Kotseva (eds. A. Miltenova, *et al*.; Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2008), 404–16.

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of which was purportedly attributed to John Chrysostom.[226] Then again, the storylines of *The Contest Between Satanail and Archangel Michael* apocryphal texts are concerned predominantly with the dispute between God and Satan over the stolen regalia of supreme power (the heavenly woven garments of God, His most holy wreath and the sceptre of the heavenly host), which were previously taken by Satan from God. The tales explain how these regalia were eventually recovered by the Archangel Michael and returned to their owner.[227] In the *SoT* there is no mention of God's stolen regalia of power; the episode of the combat between the Archangel Michael and Satanail is presented as a component of a chain of cosmogonic actions. However, the parallel attestations of this motif in Bulgarian and Serbian editions of *The Contest Between Satanail and Archangel Michael*[228] and in Russian versions of the *SoT* show that their protographs must have shared a common source of cosmogonic knowledge. This supposition is further supported by the existence of a rich oral tradition interpreting the theme

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[226] Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.350.

[227] This motif surfaces in some traditional oral texts; in them it is usually intertwined with the motif of the primordial writ between God and Satan, which parallels the motif of Adam's writ (to be analysed below, § 3.6.2). See the folklore legend from the region of Vidin (North-Western Bulgaria), recorded and published by Stefan Mladenov in *SbNU* 18 (1901), 499–500, text № 1; see also the text of the legend recorded in 1859 in the region of Panagiurishte (Southern Bulgaria) by Nesho Bonchev, first published in *Periodichesko spisanie na bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo* 1 (1884), 123–26; it was published once again years later in a separate volume containing Nesho Bonchev's collected writings, see *idem.*, *Sŭchineniia* (Sofia, 1942), 171–73. An interesting version of the same motif is attested in the folklore legend entitled "Sluguvaneto na Sv. Petŭr u Diavola" from the Rhodopes, recorded in the settlement of Stanimaka (Southern Bulgaria) in 1884 by Panaiot Srebrev and published by him in the periodical journal *Rodopsky napredŭk* 1, 1 (1903), 180–83. The story was published in the chapter, "Folk tradition from the area of the Rhodope Mountains" ("Narodni Umotvoreniia iz Rodopite"). The journal was edited by two local intellectuals, Stoyu Nikolov Shishkov and Vasil Dechev.

[228] The apocryphon is attested in five (Bulgarian and Serbian) versions, and has two redactions; see I. Bozhilov and St. Kozhukharov, *Bŭlgarskata literatura i knizhnina prez 13 vek* (Sofia: Bŭlgarski Pisatel, 1987), 150–56, 252–54. The first redaction is represented by MS № 29 from the Monastery of Savina, Montenegro; it is also the earliest witness (dated to c. 1380). A similar text, dated to the sixteenth century, is found in MS № 82 from the archival collection of the Monastery of Nikolac. The earliest Bulgarian redaction comes from a MS dated to the sixteenth century; it is preserved in the archives of the Ecclesiastical Museum of History and Archaeology in Sofia, № 1161 (ff. 40–55); it was first published by Petkanova in *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.41–48. Another version, composed in 1796 by the Bulgarian Priest Puncho from the village of Mokresh, is to be found in MS № 693 in the Bulgarian National Library (Sofia); it was partially published by Yordan Ivanov in his *Starobŭlgarski razkazi*, 18–25. There is also a version composed in 1820 in the town of Vidin by the local scribe Pŭrvan Vŭlchov, whose teacher was Master Dimitŭr (*ibid.*, 18). See also D. Petkanova's "Borba s Diavola" in her *Apokrifna literatura i folklor* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1978), 171–83; A. Miltenova, "Apokrifŭt za borbata na Arkhangel Mikhail sŭs Satanail v dve redaktsii," *SL* 9 (1981), 98–113; D. Dimitrova, "Mediatorŭt v starobŭlgarskata apokrifna traditsiia i v bŭlgarskiia folklor: vŭprosi na tipologiiata," *Medievistika i kulturna antropologia.* Sbornik v chest na 40-godishnata tvorcheska deinost na Prof. Donka Petkanova (eds. A. Angusheva-Tikhanova and A. Miltenova; Sofia: Mnemozina, 1998), 376–82.

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of the primordial split between God and a fraction of His heavenly host. One such parallel to the *SoT* apocryphal texts comes from Bulgarian folklore:

Деда Госпот кога напраил тоіа свет, бил створил и некжкви дуове, да стоіа около него, та да не іе сам и да му слугуваіа. Па іедни от тиіа дуове ванали нешто да наода махна на Бога; за това Госпот се расржди л, та гьи проклел: никоі да гьи не обича и секьи да зборуіе лошо за них и да се пази от них. Па гьи погнал да гьи изгони от небеса; а дуовете побегнали от Бога и се скрили: кои у вода, кои у облак, кои по земи; а іедни останали да виса на воздух и станали на паіак. За това сега и паіако виси на воздух, оти іе гьавол, и човек, штом види паіак, требе да го утепа, оти грех че добиіе, аку оставьа жив іеди н противник на Бога. Тиіа дуове сичкьите станали на гьаволе и за това днеска іедни от гьаволете гьи има по земи, іедни по водата, а па іедни по облаците. Тиіа, што се скрили по облаците, там си и останали и чина пакос на свето, кога іе гржмотевица, трескавица; тиіа, што паднали у водата, они там си останали и чина пакос на тиіа, што ода по вода; а тиіа, што паднале по земи, они ношкьам излаза у потаіно време и права штета на човеците. За това човеко требе цвржсто да се пази от гьавола, да го не слуша, кога го мами да прави нешто зло, нешто лошо: оти са проклени от Бога.

When Grandpa the Lord made this world, He also created certain spirits who were to remain around Him and serve Him, so that He was not alone. Some of these spirits, however, tried to reproach God. The Lord became angry with them and cursed them – so that nobody would love them and everybody would reprove them, and keep away from them. He rushed to chase them out of Heaven, but the spirits ran away from God and hid – some in the waters, some in the clouds, some on Earth, and others remained hanging in the air, transformed into spiders. That is why, even now, the spider hangs in the air, because it is a devil. That is why, when one sees a spider, one should kill it; if not, he will bear the sin of keeping an enemy of God alive. All these spirits turned into devils, which is why today some devils dwell on Earth, others in the waters and others in the clouds. Those who hid in the clouds remained there; they cause harm, until today, when there is thunder and lightning. Those who fell into the waters remained there; they cause harm to those who walk nearby. Those who fell onto Earth rise up during the night and secretly cause harm to people. That is why people should be aware of the Devil and not listen to him when he tries to trick them into doing bad and evil things, because they [evil forces] are cursed by God.[229]

In fact, Slavonic oral popular legends about the origins of angels and demons may often appear as demonological tales or parts thereof. In folk cosmogony the motif of the revolt of the Devil (Satan, Lucifer, *etc.*) 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 and dangerous territory. This interpretation of the concept of "impure habitat" represents one of the basic components of traditional folklore demonology.[230]

[229] This legend was recorded in the region of Sofia in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Bulgarian intellectual D. Stoikov; it was entitled "Where did the spider and the Devil come from?" (*Отъ що станалъ гьаволо и паяко*). The account was published in 1892 in *SbNU* 7, 132 (text № 2).

[230] Slavonic oral tradition preserves many different versions of the aetiological legend about the metamorphosis of the fallen angels into Satanic forces; see texts № 183 and № 184 in P.

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In sum: in the versions of the *SoT* published by Barsov (Type B), Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova (Type A-2), the narrative of the fall of Satan precedes the tale of the creation of Adam, while in Porfir'ev's account (Type C) it functions as its final, closing segment.

3.3. The Anthropogonic Narrative

3.3.1. Celestial Adam: Macrocosm Embodied

According to the version published by Mochul'skii,[231] the body of the first man is created from six components: Adam's flesh originates from the dust of the earth ("от перстиѣıа ꙁемлн"), his bones from stone ("костн от каменн"), his blood from the Red Sea ("кровь от Ꙗермнаго морıа"), his thoughts from the clouds ("мыслн от облак"), his eyes from the Sun ("оꙋн от солнца"), and his breath from the wind ("дъıханне от ветра").[232] Having composed Adam's body as a perfect image reflecting the glory of the Universe, the Creator "goes up to Heaven, to His Father, for man's spirit/soul" ("н понде Г҃дь по дх҃ъ с҃тый свой на нб҃са [к] Оц҃оу").[233] This detail subtly but clearly indicates that although the body of the first man was created by God the Son, the human soul/spirit ultimately came from the Father. The same is stated in the version published by Barsov (Type B): the Creator (God the Son) goes to His Father to obtain the soul/spirit, which He then blows/inserts into Adam's motionless body in order to vivify it.[234] The versions (Type A-2) published by Sreznevskii ("Н прїнде Г҃дь на нб҃са посла с҃тый свой Д҃хъ, н прїнде Г҃дь на ꙁемлю ко Адамѳ")[235] and Dimitrova-Marinova ("поде Г҃дь Б҃гъ с небеса по дѳшѳ Адамову")[236] are somewhat ambiguous on this subject. In them it is only mentioned that, after the

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Shein, *Materialy dlia izucheniia,* vol. 2, 341–42; texts № 2 and № 4 (*Борьба Сатаны съ Богомъ*) in P.A. Gorodtsov, "Zapadno-sibirskiia narodnyia legendy," *EO* 1 (1909), 53–6, 58–61; text № 5 (*Дьяволы разные*) in G.K. Zavaritskii "O tom svete i ob etom," *EO* 1–2 (1916), 72–75. Similar legendary narratives about the origin of diabolic beings and their dwellings on Earth were recently registered in many Slavonic villages; these are usually presented as demonological tales. See also the discussion in K. Radchenko, "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 79–83, 97, 125–6, N. Tolstoy, "Kakov oblik diavol'skii? Zametki po slavianskoi demonologii," *Iazyk i narodnaia kul'tura* (Moscow: Indrik, 1995), 245–49, 250–69, 359–63 and Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 223. 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 Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[231] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 175.

[232] For the cosmogonic motif of creation via exhaling/breathing, and the related concept of wind as divine breath, see the discussion at § 3.1.6, *supra*.

[233] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 175.

[234] See Text 1 (§ 3) in the Appendix, *infra*.

[235] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 101; see also the Appendix, Text 2 (§ 5), *infra*.

[236] Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 53.

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body of the first man was created, God caused the descent of His Spirit down to Earth, to the hitherto lifeless body of Adam. Thus the first human being, Adam, appears to be composed of seven elements, six of which present his body as a micro-model of the Universe, whereas the seventh makes him a living creature in the image of God, vivified by the Holy Spirit. This pattern, where the number seven encodes the mystery of divine Creation of both Universe and Man, is also followed in the versions of the *SoT* published by Dimitrova-Marinova and Barsov. This type of narrative about the creation of man from seven parts parallels the anthropogonic scenario revealed in some versions of *2 Enoch*, as in the previously quoted sixteenth-century Bulgarian redaction (MS № 321 from the National Library in Belgrade):

Н въ шестн дн҃ь повелѣˣ моѣн мждростн сътворнтн ѵг҃ка ѿ з҃-мнˣ съставь: плькъ ѣго ѿ ꙁемла, крьвь ѣго ѿ росн н слн҃ца, ѡѵн ѣго ѿ безднъı морскъıе, костн ѿ каменїа, помъıсль ѣго ѿ бръꙁостн агг҃лкъıе ѡблакъ, жнлъı ѣго н космн ѿ траве ꙁемнїе, дшї҃ж ѣго ѿ дх҃а моѣго н ѿ вѣтра. Н даˣ ѣмоу з҃ естьвь: слоуˣ къ плътн, въꙁрѣнїе ѡ҇ѵню, ѡбонѣнїе дшї҃евно, ѡсаꙁанїа жнлъı, вькоушенїе кръве, костн тръпѣнїе, помъıслоу сладость.[237]

On the sixth day, I ordered My wisdom to create man, 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 and hair from the grasses of the earth, his soul from My Spirit and [from] the wind [*i.e.* the Holy Spirit = wind]. And I gave him [man] seven traits: hearing of [his] flesh, seeing of his eyes [*i.e.* the physical ability of sight], spiritual smell, touch of the sinews, taste of [his] blood, the durability of [his] bones, pleasure of his thoughts.

Another version of this narrative, paralleling the anthropogonic scenario in Barsov's, Mochul'skii's and Dimitrova-Marinova's editions of the *SoT*, is found in the fifteenth-century *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* (entitled "*Раꙁоумнн(к) ѡ все(м) 8просе ѡ(ѵ)е*") from the *Tikveshky Miscellany*:[238]

Вьпро(с)ь. ѿ кого сътворн б҃ь адама. ѿвѣт. ѿ з҃. ѵестн а҃. тело ієго ѿ ꙁем(л)е в҃. кость ієго ѿ камена г҃. крьвь ієго ѿ росн н ѿ слн҃ца д҃. днх(а)нне ієго ѿ вѣтра. дшї҃оу ієго ѿ дх҃а бж҃нꙗ е҃. раꙁоумь ієго ѿ ѡблака .s. ѡѵн ієго ѿ морꙗ з҃. помнсь ѿ бръꙁостн ієго аггл(с)кнн.[239]

Question: "From what [components] did God create Adam?" Answer: "From seven components; the body – from earth, his bones – from stone, the blood – from the dew and the Sun, his breath – from the wind, whereas his soul is from the Holy Spirit, his reason is from the clouds, his eyes – from the sea, his thoughts – from angelic alacrity."

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[237] Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 177. See also the discussion in Böttrich (*Adam als Mikrokosmos,* 35–53, 73–82) and Miltenova (*Erotapokriseis*, 223–6).

[238] N. Nachov, "Tikveshky rŭkopis," *SbNU* 8 (1892), 389–418 and *SbNU* 10 (1894), 69–193; the MS is preserved in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library (Sofia, Bulgaria) under signature № 677.

[239] Nachov, "Tikveshky rŭkopis," *SbNU* 8 (1892), 402; see also the discussion in Miltenova, *Erotapokriseis*, 202–36.

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At the same time, according to the version of the *SoT* published by Sreznevskii, the number of elements from which the first man was fashioned is eight.[240] Interestingly, the motif of *Adam octipartite*[241] is also presented in the Latin versions of *The Life of Adam and Eve*[242] but not in the Slavonic recensions of the text, a detail which itself raises important questions about the cross-cultural influences and trans-textual interferences taking place in the period when the *SoT* was composed. Moreover, a similar description of the creation of Adam out of eight components can be found in some Slavonic folklore legends[243] and in the *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* ("*Разоумникъ*") from the *Lovchansky Miscellany* (1618):

В.: ѿ колнко ѵастн сьтворн ѣь Адама? – ѿ.: ѿ ѡсемь ѵастен. а҃. тѣло его ѿ ҙемлѧ, в҃. ѿ морѣ крьвь, г҃. костн ѿ каменїа, д҃. дъıханїе ѿ вѣтра н ѿ д҃ха ѣжїа, е҃. раҙѕмь его ѿ облака, ѕ҃. оун емѕ ѿ слн҃ца н ѿ росъı, ҙ҃. помъıсль его ѿ брьҙостн агг҃елскъıѧ, н ѿ смѣха н ѿ плаѵа. Н ѿ того ѕбо вьсего д҃хь сг҃ън сьбравь н сьставн вь еднѫ ѵасть, н реѵе: аџе нҙъıдеть сѣме ѿ ѵл҃ка сего ѿ мѡрѣ, то лакомо бжде т, аџе лн ѿ слн҃ца, то бждеть мждрь н раҙѕмень н поѵатень; аџе лн ѿ облака, то прѣльстньо въ всѣмь бждеть; аџе лн ѿ вѣтра, то срьдньо бждеть; аџе лн ѿ каменїа, то бждеть мл҃тньо; аџе лн ѿ брьҙостн агг҃льскъıѧ, то смѣренно н добро вь всемь бжде т.[244]

Question: "From how many components did God create Adam?" Answer: "From eight components: first, his flesh [lit. body] – from earth; second, his blood – from the sea; third, his bones – from stone; fourth, his breath – from the wind and Holy Spirit; fifth, his reason – from cloud; sixth, his eyes – from the sun and dew; seventh, his thoughts – from angelic alacrity, and [eighth …] – 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 the 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 the 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'."

The same numerical pattern anchors the anthropogonic scenario revealed in the seventeenth/eighteenth-century Russian apocryphal account "Other questions and answers concerning the day and the hour when God created the First Adam, and what happened after that" ("*Иные вопросы по отвѣтамъ, въ ки день и часъ сотвори Господь Перваго Адама и протчая по сихъ*"):

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[240] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 101; see also the Appendix, Text 2 (§ 5), *infra*.

[241] For a survey of sources on *Adam octipartite*, see Miltenova, *Erotapokriseis*, 202–11, 215–245, 253–5, 344 and Orlov, *From Apocalypticism,* 11–12.

[242] *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 76.

[243] See the Ukrainian folk legend *Yak Boh sotvoryv pershoho cholovika* from D.I. Yavornyts'kyi's MS collection "Ukrainskyi prostoliud," *NTE* 5 (2005), 9.

[244] Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 260.

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Вопросъ. Отъ чего сотворенъ бысть Адамъ? – Отвѣтъ. Отъ осьми частей, въ шестой день сотворенія земли (въ девяточный), въ 6-й часъ дне, а мѣра тѣла его 24 лакти.[245]

Question: From what was Adam created? Answer: From eight parts, on the sixth day of the creation of the earth (in the ninth fraction), in the sixth hour of the day, and his body was twenty-four cubits long.

The anthropogonic scenario of the *SoT* thus appears to follow two different numerical patterns.[246] According to the first one (also attested in *2 Enoch* and some Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian redactions of the *Erotapokriseis* texts), the body of Adam was created out of seven elements. According to the second pattern, it was fashioned out of eight components; this model was shared by Sreznevskii's version of the *SoT* and some Bulgarian and Russian versions of the *Razumnik* and *Questions and Answers* erotapocritic texts.[247]

In general, Slavonic apocryphal tradition maintains that Adam's body was fashioned on the sixth day of creation, which (in most of the cases) is considered to be Friday, 25th March, at six o'clock (at sunset). This concept parallels the common belief that Jesus Christ, the New Adam, was likewise born on 25th March, a Friday, and was also crucified on Friday, 25th March, at six o'clock (at sunset). Thus the symmetry between the Old and New Testaments, the First and Second Adams, and the Fall and the Redemption, becomes the soteriological focal point of Divine Economy.

On the other hand, the recurring shift between the two numerical icons of divine Creation (seven *vs*. eight) surfacing in various anthropogonic narratives of the *SoT* shows that the authors / editors / scribes of these versions must have used different sources while compiling their accounts. This further indicates that at the time of the compilation of Mochul'skii's, Sreznevkii's, and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions, *i.e.*, as late as the eighteenth century, the MS tradition of *Slavia orthodoxa* must have still been flourishing, at least in northern Russia. This process was no doubt influenced by the wide circulation of the *Book of the Dove* ("*Голубиная книга*") folk religious poems, and in particular by those concerned with some specific cosmogonic themes and motifs.[248] These chants functioned as vernacular, oral counterparts to the erotapocritic apocryphal writings, such as *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* and the *Razumnik*, and enjoyed great popularity among both illiterate believers and men of letters for centuries. One

[245] Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 171.

[246] The same appears to be the case in various Slavonic recensions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*; see Rajko Nachtigall, "Ein Beitrag zu den Forschungen über die sogenannte 'Бесѣда трехъ святителей' (Gespräch dreier Heiligen)", *ASPh* 23 (1901), 1–95, 24 (1902), 321–408.

[247] Mochul'skii provides additional parallels to medieval Latin, French, Anglo-Saxon, German texts; see *idem*., "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 17, 1 (1887), 142, 168–80.

[248] *Ibid*., 163, 177–80.

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example comes from the (previously quoted) Oksenov collection of folk poetry; in this chant the mystery of divine creation is envisaged in the following way:

От чего у нас начался белый вольный свет? | От чего у нас солнце красное? | От чего у нас млад – светел месяц? | От чего у нас звезды частые? | От чего у нас ночи темные? | От чего у нас зори утренни? | От чего у нас ветры буйные? | От чего у нас дробен дождик? | От чего у нас ум – разум? | От чего у нас наши помыслы? | От чего у нас мир – народ? | От чего у нас кости крепкие? | От чего телеса наши? | От чего кровь – руда наша? | От чего у нас в земле цари пошли? | От чего зачались князья – бояры? | От чего крестьяны православные? […] | У нас белый вольный свет зачался от суда Божия, | Солнце красное – от лица Божьего, | Самого Христа, Царя Небеснаго; | Млад – святел месяц – от грудей его, | Звезды частые – от риз Божиих, | Ночи темные – от дум Господних, | Зори утренни – от очей Господних, | Ветры буйные – от Свята Духа, | Дробен дождик – от слез Христа, | Самого Христа, Царя небеснаго, | У нас ум – разум самого Христа, | Наши помыслы – от облац небесных, | У нас мир народ – от Адамия, | Кости крепкие – от камени, | Телеса наши – от сырой земли, | Кровь руда наша – от черна моря. | От того у нас в земле цари пошли: | От святой главы, от Адамовой; | От того зачались князья – бояры: | От святых мощей от Адамовых; | От того крестьяны православные: | От свята колена, от Адамова.[249]

From what did the bright boundless light/world[250] originate? | From what did the glorious sun originate? | From what did the bright moon originate? | From what did the dense stars originate? | From what did the dark nights originate? | From what did the morning dawn originate? | From what did powerful winds originate? | From what did the fine rain originate? | From what did our reasoning originate? | From what did our thoughts originate? | From what did our people originate? | From what did our bones originate? | From what did our bodies originate? | From what did our blood originate? | From what did the Tsars of our land originate? | From what did the princes and nobles originate? | From what did the Christian peasants originate? […] | Our bright boundless light/world came from God's Judgement. | Our glorious sun came from God's face, | [the face] of Christ Himself, King of Heaven. | The bright moon came from His chest. | The dense stars came from God's garments. | The dark nights came from God's thoughts. | The morning dawn came from God's eyes. | Powerful winds came from the Holy Spirit. | Fine rain came from the tears of Christ, | of Christ Himself, King of Heaven. | Our reasoning came from Christ Himself. | Our thoughts came from the heavenly clouds. | Our people came from Adam. | Our strong bones came from stone. | Our bodies came from the damp earth. | Our red blood came from the Black Sea. |As for our Tsars, | they came from the most holy head of Adam. | As for our princes and nobles, | they came from the holy flesh/relics of Adam. | As for the Christian peasants, | they came from the holy lap of Adam.

The anthropogonic theme anchoring this folk chant unfolds within an ethnocentric framework, revealing the lineage of the Russian people as the direct descendants of Adam (hence their destiny as "the chosen people"). As in other related Slavonic cosmogonic oral and written (apocryphal) accounts, the initial phases of Creation are marked by the emergence of celestial bodies, which issue

[249] A. V. Oksenov, *Narodnaia Poeziia*, 304–11.

[250] In this Russian dialect the same word is used for both "world" and "light"; see also notes 66 and 136, *supra*.

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forth from the mysterious substance born in the divine body and garments of the demiurge. Once again Christ, along with the Holy Spirit, is envisaged as Creator, embodying the primordial reason behind the existence of the entire Universe; from Him comes the intellect, which is to become an attribute of human beings. The thoughts of men, on the other hand, are assigned to (and designated by) the clouds in the heavens, a trait betraying close intertextual links with the apocryphal erotapocritic writings. The top of the human body (the head) is thus associated with the higher strata of the Universe (the sky), and the corpse (the rest of the human body) with its lower strata (the earth). Adam is hence envisaged as the perfect final product of Creation: his body, designed by the divine wisdom, emerges from the dust and stones of the dry earth, which amalgamated with the waters of the sea into a single spotless entity. His image is a knot binding terrestrial and celestial elements; microcosm is thus juxtaposed to macrocosm, the human body to the Universe, both emerging in their pristine glory. Then again, through the assertion that Adam was the ultimate ancestor of the Russian people, the folk song implicitly acknowledges their superior role over other nations, as well as their messianic mission in the annals of Christianity (hence the recognition of their land as "the Holy Land"); cosmogony turns into ethnogenesis and the history of the Universe runs as ethnohistory. Significantly, the song considers the concurrent emergence of cosmic and social hierarchies, whereby celestial order juxtaposes social institutions. The model of the Universe is consistently regarded as a matrix for social organization, providing the ethical code justifying ruling establishments, state structures, and class stratification. Having maintained that the Russian Monarch originated from the head of Adam's body, the song likewise puts him at the top of the societal body. Beneath him the nobility is positioned, since its members issued forth from the lower part of the ancestor's primordial body; below the aristocracy, at the bottom of the social ladder, are simple folk, since the peasantry originated from the lowest part of Adam's body, his lap. The interrelationship between cosmic order and social hierarchy is rationalized and explicated as "natural"; hence class division is imagined as a logical outcome of Creation, as unquestionable as the order of the Universe itself. Cosmogony engenders ethnophilosophy. The above quoted folk song of the *Book of the Dove* ("*Голубиная книга*") shows how vernacular, oral counterparts to the *SoT* interpreted the anthropogonic theme, and also reveals some covert, silent features of the socio-cultural context within which the scribes wrote their accounts and the bards composed their chants. In some cases, these may have been the same people.

3.3.2. The Origin of Disease, or the End of Adam's Pristine Perfection

According to all (so far) published accounts of the *SoT* (except the Slepche version=Type A-1 and the version edited by Porfir'ev=Type C, both of which

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lack an anthropogonic narrative), after God created Adam, He ascended to Heaven to provide him with a soul; during His absence, the Devil came to the freshly moulded, soft body of the first man and pierced it with his fingers, since he wished to destroy God's creation.[251] Having returned to Earth, God found Adam damaged and angrily confronted His adversary; upon Satan's confession, He repaired the injured human body by turning it inside out, thus healing the wounds caused by the Devil. A similar motif that disease is placed in the human body by the Devil is attested in the sixteenth-century Bulgarian redaction of *The Contest Between Satanail and Archangel Michael*.[252]

The motif of the origin of disease is not confined only to apocryphal writings, but is widely attested in oral cosmogonic legends of *Slavia orthodoxa* as well.[253] The indigenous storytellers further elaborated and developed this tale, making it part of their native ethnophilosophy, which provided the conceptual framework for ethnomedicine and ethnopharmacology. Popular belief held that, despite being covered by God with flesh and skillfully concealed under man's skin, the sores inflicted by Satan are to remain hidden within man's body forever. This explains the deceitful character of illness; Slavonic folk stories maintain that disease is meant to be invisible to human eyes, since it was hidden deeply within man's flesh from the very first moment of his creation. That is also why disease strikes people unexpectedly (like the Devil, who harmed Adam), treacherously, and deviously. Although with God's help illness can be treated, it can never be defeated and eradicated, since it was implanted in the primordial flesh of the human body. Thus, according to some Bulgarian legends from the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, after His having found the injured body of Adam, which was pierced by Satan during His absence, God picked herbs and pushed them into the holes made by Satan's fingers. This explains the origin of medicinal plants and healing knowledge,[254]

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

[252] It comes from MS № 1161 (fols. 40–55) kept in the Archaeographic Collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum of History and Archaeology in Sofia, Bulgaria. The text was published by D. Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura*, 1.41–8; for the interpretation of the motif of the origin of disease, see 42 (§ 3). See also the discussion at § 3.2.3.2, *supra*.

[253] See the Ukrainian folk legends *Yak Boh sotvoryv pershoho cholovika* and *Yak Boh sotvoryv Adama* from D. I. Yavornyts'kyi's MS collection "Ukrainskyi prostoliud," *NTE* 5 (2005), 9.

[254] A Bulgarian folk legend, entitled "How the healing herbs came to be" (*Какъ сѫ станѫли лѣковититѣ билки*), is one of the oral counterparts to the *SoT* (and in particular to the narrative about the origin of disease); the text was published in 1882 (see the Appendix *infra*, text № 3). Eight years later a similar legend was published in *SbNU* 2 (1890), 164–5 (text № 1); it was recorded by the eminent Bulgarian poet, intellectual and collector of folklore Petko Rachev Slaveikov. Another text, "Where did the healing herbs come from?" (*Отгдѣ сѫ лѣковититѣ билки*), was published twenty-three years later in *SbNU* 27 (1913), 327 (see the Appendix *infra*, text № 4). For more on Slavonic apocryphal and folklore interpretations of the theme of the origin of disease, see Dragomanov, "Zabelezhki vŭrkhu slavianskite religiozno-eticheski legendi,"

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given to human beings by the Creator Himself as weapons against Satan. In this way the life of man, accompanied by sufferings and misfortune inflicted by the Devil, is envisaged as an ongoing battle against evil, in which the offspring of celestial Adam fight to regain the pristine perfection of their ancestors.

3.3.3. "But Satanail Did Not Bow Down"

In most versions of the *SoT* the final section of the anthropogonic narrative follows a simple and straightforward storyline. It unfolds as a chain of short episodes describing Satan's cunning attempt to destroy the body of the first man, and God's eventual counteraction: the Creator turns Adam's injured body inside out thus healing it, after which He breathes the Holy Spirit into the lifeless flesh of the first man and vivifies him. However, in some cases (*i.e.*, Mochul'skii's account, and some of the versions discovered and partially published by Sreznevskii) the final part of the anthropogonic tale incorporates additional installments, revealing how God ordered Satan to bow before the re-created Adam, and how he refused to do so; the Devil's defiance causes God's reprisal. Here follows the eighteenth-century Russian text of Mochul'skii's version of the *SoT* describing this event:

И Гдь поворотивъ его внутрь подерши кожею и вложи в него Дхъ стый и оживи Адама и рече Господь Сатанѣ поклонис[ь][255] ты Адаму и рече Сатана я твоему созданию непоклонюся и рече Гдь сатанѣ окаяныи диавол л[ь]стивый Сатана.[256]

And the Lord turned it [Adam's body] inside out and stiffened it with skin and placed inside it the Holy Spirit and vivified Adam; and the Lord said to Satan: "Worship Adam [and bow before him]!," and Satan said: "I will not worship Your creation [and will not bow before him]!" And God said to Satan: "O you cursed Devil, O you sly Satan!"

Sreznevskii also points out that in some other Russian recensions of the text of the *SoT* (MS № 32.16.11) from the eighteenth century, after the description of God fixing the injured body of the first man and vivifying him, there is an interpolation which reads:

И Господь поклонися[257] Адаму, и рече Сатане: поклонися и ты Адаму. И рече Сатана: азъ твоему созданию не поклонюся. И рече Господь: окаянне дияволе, льстивы Сатано.[258]

SbNU 10 (1894), 55–7, Petkanova, *Apokrifna literatura i folklor*, 157–9, Tomicki, "Słowiański mit kosmogoniczny," 51–6, Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 224, 268–9, 324–5.

[255] The form поклонись is imperative mood of the reflexive Russian verb "поклониться" (meaning "to bow," "to worship," "to adore").

[256] See Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 175.

[257] This is the third-person singular aorist form of the reflexive Russian verb "поклониться"; see note 255 above.

[258] Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 102, note 1.

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

On the other hand, the motif of Satan's refusal to worship Adam is also found in some Slavonic redactions of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Baruch*. According to one such Russian version from a fifteenth-century miscellany (first published by Tikhonravov in 1884), the refusal of Satanael to bow before Adam is regarded as the main reason for the subsequent withdrawal of the Devil's host from the face of God, and their ultimate expulsion from the celestial realm:

н рекъ Мнханлоу въстроубн да събероуть сѧ аг҃лн н да поклонѧть сѧ тварн роукоу моею ꙗже створнхъ. Н въстроубн Мнханлъ аг҃лъ н собраша сѧ в҃сн аг҃лн н поклонншa сѧ в҃сн адамоу по чнноу. а сотонанлъ непоклонн сѧ н рекъ аꙁъ калоу н бренннюю не поклонюсѧ нън. н рекъ поставлю прⷣтлъ мон на облацѣх н боудоу подобенъ въышнему. да того ради в҃ъ отверже н от лнца своего н съ аг҃лъ своимн ꙗкоже рекъ прⷪрокъ оудалншa сѧ от лнца его в҃сн ненавндѧцін бг҃а н славъı бжнꙗ.[259]

And He said to Michael, "Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of My hands which I made." And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and bowed down to Adam order by order. But Satanael did not bow down and said, "To mud and dirt I will never bow down." And he said, "I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest." Because of that, God cast him and his angels from His face just as the prophet said, "These withdrew from His face, all who hate God and the glory of God."[260]

The motif of Satan's refusal to worship Adam is further attested in some Greek and Slavonic apocryphal writings dealing with themes and characters from the New Testament; one such text is *The Debate Between Christ and the Devil*.[261] The Slavonic editions are based upon considerably tailored translations of a Greek original, which was evidently composed in a dualistic environment. The earliest surviving examples of the Greek versions of this apocryphon are dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[262] The most ancient Slavonic copy of the text, "An account concerning the dispute between the Devil and Our Lord Jesus Christ" ("*Слоⷮ ѡ прѣпрѣни диаволѳ съ Гⷣемь н҃шимь Иⷭ Хоⷭ*") is Bulgarian. It comes from a fourteenth-century miscellany, now preserved in Vienna;[263] the text was first published by Radchenko.[264] Another Bulgarian version of the apocryphal *Debate Between Christ and the Devil* (dated to the sixteenth century)

[259] H. E. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost his '-el'," *JJS* 33 (1982), 304.

[260] *Ibid*., 305.

[261] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 251; Petkanova, *Apokrifna literatura i folklor*, 69; *idem*, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.174, 381.

[262] Petkanova, *ibid.*, 380.

[263] See Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 248.

[264] See Radchenko, "Zametki o pergamentnom sbornike 14 veka Venskoi Pridvornoi Biblioteki," *IORIS* 8, 4 (1903), 196–198.

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comes from MS № 433 (fols. 101–105) from the National Library in Sofia. The Serbian redactions (compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) survived in MSS preserved in the Bulgarian National Library (MS № 326, fols. 41–44), the Prague National Museum (MS № 19, fols. 227–231), and the National Library in Belgrade (MS № 273). The only surviving Russian redactions, composed most probably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[265] represent the latest stages in the evolution of the *Debate* within the socio-cultural environment of *Slavia orthodoxa,* and its (inevitable) interactions with other extra-canonical writings; in fact, the scribes who copied the Russian version of the *Debate* must have been contemporaries of the compilers of Mochul'skii's, Sreznevskii's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions of the *SoT*. The overlapping chronological framework suggests plausible intertextual connections between the two apocrypha. The parallel attestations of some motifs (*e.g.*, the refusal of Satan to worship Adam) in both the *SoT* and the *Debate* further indicate that they relate to a certain meta-narrative in which the image of the First Adam is juxtaposed to the image of Jesus as the New Adam (*cf.* 1 Cor 15:45). In the *Debate*, as in the cosmogonic scenario of the *SoT*, the motif of how Satan refused to worship the First Adam is incorporated into a larger narrative describing the Devil's rebellion against Christ the New Adam. The end of this revolt, very much like in the *SoT*, is marked by the expulsion of Satan and his demonic forces from God's celestial abode, and their subsequent fall to Earth, into abysses, caves, and gorges, thus creating polluted landscapes. On the other hand, the encounter between Jesus and Satan, as described in the opening paragraph of the *Debate*, is anchored by a dialogue, the form and structure of which resemble the dialogue between the anthropomorphic God and the ornithomorphic Satan prior to the creation of the dry land, as in some of the versions of the *SoT* (*e.g.*, Porfir'ev's version =Type C). In fact, the *Debate* begins with a standard (at least for Creation narratives) stock form of address, "From where do you come?":

> Jesus said, "O Satan, I invoke you in [the name of] the Living God – tell me where are you from?" The Devil said, "And where are you from?" Jesus [said], "From primordial celestial powers." "Are you the Son of the Most High?" Jesus answered, "You spoke the truth". And then the Devil said [to Jesus], "Go to Heaven and sit on your throne there, the skies are yours and the Earth is mine!"[266]

As previously discussed, a similar cosmological pattern describing the world order as an encounter between two opposing forces – one from above and one from below – can likewise be found in John 3:31.[267] It further indicates that the scribes of *Slavia orthodoxa* were not only referring in their writings to an imagined "biblical" meta-narrative, they were also constantly recreating and

[265] See Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 248–249.
[266] Quoted from Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.173.
[267] See the discussion in § 3.2.3.1, *supra*.

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systematically reproducing this meta-narrative in every line of their compilations, just like the singers of tales were composing, at each new performance, their oral improvisations around a constant, yet ceaselessly recurring, pattern which was always the same, but never played in an identical manner. Should we accept this line of argument (*cf*. the oral formulaic theory of Albert Lord), not only must the "ethnography of speaking" be taken into consideration in our analysis of Slavonic apocryphal heritage, but also the "ethnography of writing."

The next phase of the verbal combat between Jesus and the Devil in the *Debate between Christ and the Devil* is based upon the motif of Satan's refusal to worship the primordial Adam, which subsequently triggers (as in the *SoT*) the ultimate confrontation between God = good and the Devil = evil. As a result of this cosmic combat Satan falls from the sky "like lightning" (a motif featured systematically not only in Slavonic vernacular cosmology, but also in folk demonology).[268] Although the Devil is still able to maintain his power over the terrestrial world, according to the apocryphal narratives he is to be defeated by God when the Last Days come. Thus cosmogony turns into eschatology, and the beginnings of the world portend its end. Then again, in both the *SoT* and the *Debate*, the event which foreshadows the ultimate defeat of Satan is his refusal to bow before Adam. This similarity further reinforces the supposition that the *Vorlagen* of *3 Baruch,* the *Debate*, and the *SoT* must have originated from a common Ur-hypertext which engendered the fabric of their proto-narratives. The picture becomes even more interesting when we take into consideration the fact that the motif of Satan's refusal to obey the divine command to worship Adam is lacking in Greek and Slavonic redactions of *The Life of Adam and Eve*,[269] but is present in Latin, Armenian, and Georgian ones.[270] It also occurs in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*.[271] Furthermore the idea of Satan refusing to prostrate himself before Adam and worship him features prominently in the Qur'ān

[268] This motif is analysed in F. Badalanova, "The Word of God, by Word of Mouth: Byelorussian Folklore Versions of the Book of Genesis," *New Zealand Slavonic Journal* (2003), [Festschrift A. McMillin], 13–14. See also the discussion in § 3.2.3.2, *supra*.

[269] The motif is also absent from the Arabic and Ethiopic versions of *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*; see A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *Il Combattimento di Adamo, Testo arabo inedito con traduzione e commento* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 29; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982), 27. See also the discussion in S. M. Zwemer, *Studies in Popular Islam* (London/New York: Sheldon Press/Macmillan, 1939), 138–9.

[270] G. Anderson and M. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 10–13; G. Anderson, "The exaltation of Adam and the fall of Satan," *Literature on Adam And Eve* (eds. G.A. Anderson, M. E. Stone and J. Tromp), 83–8; *ibid*., "Ezekiel 28, the fall of Satan, and the Adam Books," 143–7.

[271] See E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*. A History of the Patriarchs and the Kings Their Successors From the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ. Translated from the Syriac text of the British Museum MS ADD. 25875 (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1927), 55–6 [fols 5b–6a]. See also Gaylord, "How Satanael lost his *-el*," 306 and Anderson, "The exaltation of Adam and the fall of Satan", 87–8.

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(Sūrah 2:32, 15:26–39, 17:63).[272] According to Muslim hermeneutics, Satan (Iblīs/Eblis) was unwilling to bow before the earth-born Adam, since he "was of the Djinn" (Sūrah 18:48), and thus considered himself to be created out of a substance much superior to earth, *i.e.*, fire. This motif is attested not only in the canonical Qur'ānic text, but also in the writings of some Muslim exegetes, such as Al-Tabarī's *History of Prophets and Kings*,[273] and in Islamic oral tradition.[274] The motif of Satan's refusal to worship Adam is also rendered in Jewish, Christian and Islamic art,[275] suggesting that the three Abrahamic religions shared not only a common lineage and heritage of scriptural narration, but also a common scriptural iconography. Then again, intertextual links between canonical Muslim tradition and Christian apocrypha (in this case, the *SoT*) are extremely significant for the study of particular religious concepts (such as the origin of evil). These intertextual links indicate that, on a popular level, the religions of the Book shared a common thesaurus of cosmological knowledge in which scriptural (Biblical and Qur'ānic) accounts intertwined with their extra-canonical (apocryphal and vernacular oral) counterparts into an intricate, but firm sub-tradition. This sub-tradition, which intersected cultural and confessional frontiers, was shared by men of letters and illiterate adherents of the three monotheistic faiths for centuries. Evidently, there were instances when constituents of this cross-cultural and cross-confessional sub-tradition, such as the motif of Satan's refusal to worship Adam, were considered to be legitimate parts of the textual body of Holy Writ. The attestation of this motif in canonical Qur'ānic tradition offers strong support for this line of argument. However, the mobility of this motif and its overwhelming cross-confessional spread, as well as its geographical distribution (covering various ethnic and religious enclaves), shows how apocryphal texts in *Slavia orthodoxa* derived their sources.

3.3.4. Adam: The First Prophet

The motif of the creation of Eve is glossed over in the *SoT* anthropogonic scenario without much importance being attached to it. The narrative follows the

[272] On the Qur'ānic account of how Eblis/Iblīs refused to obey God's command to worship Adam, see Zwemer (*ibid.,* 135–48), who also draws attention to parallels between canonical Muslim and apocryphal Christian traditions, with special emphasis on some Syriac and Latin texts (such as *Vita Adae et Evae*).

[273] Rosenthal, ed./tr., 259–66, fols. 86–94.

[274] E. Troeva-Grigorova, "Sheitanŭt i kontseptsiiata za grekha v predstavite na bŭlgarskite miusiulmani," *BŭlgF* 32 (2006), 52.

[275] J. Gutmann, "On biblical legends in medieval art," *Artibus et Historiae* 19, 38 (1998), 137–9; his analysis is based on the depictions of this motif in the fourteenth-century Catalonian Passover Haggadah (London, British Library, MS Or. 2884, fol. 1v), the fourteenth-century Catalonian Christian Psalter miniature (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8846, fol. 166) and the Kulliyāt-i Tārikh of Hāfiz-i Abrū (Istanbul, Topkapi Museum, *Baghdat* 282, fol. 16), "possibly made in Herat ca. 1415"; see 138 (Fig. 1), 139 (Fig. 2).

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pattern of Gen 2:21–23 (*i.e.*, woman created from Adam's rib while he was asleep),[276] without much in the way of elaboration. There is only one detail in the apocryphal "gynesis" accounts that interests a few compilers: whether God made woman out of man's left or right rib.[277] Mochul'skii's and Sreznevskii's versions say that she appeared from Adam's left rib (thus implicitly referring to her malevolent cosmic role as the one causing the Fall of mankind and the subsequent loss of immortality), whereas Dimitrova-Marinova's text states that Eve originated from Adam's right rib (hence her standing as the mother of all living). Barsov's account is not at all interested in this detail,[278] but briefly states that Adam's wife (unnamed in this context) appeared from one of his ribs. So far she is marginal; by the time the nameless woman is first called Eve, even the animals have acquired their own names. Adam's taxonomy precedes the naming of woman,[279] a clear indication of her inferior status and supplementary role; her only function is to be Adam's subordinate.

Great attention is paid, however, to Adam's dream incubation and what he saw in his vision, which determined his prominent status as the first prophet. The narrative segment of Adam's prophetic dream is not only featured in the *SoT* anthropogonic accounts, but also has close parallels in some Slavonic erotapocritic writings. In the aforementioned seventeenth/eighteenth-century Russian redaction of the *Questions and Answers* apocrypha, entitled *Other questions and answers concerning the day and the hour when God created the First Adam, and what happened after that* ("*Иные вопросы по отвѣтамъ, въ ки день и часъ сотвори Господь перваго Адама и протчая по сихъ*"), in which the fragment concerned with the creation of woman is omitted altogether, a firm statement is made that Adam was considered to be the first prophet. The declaration is followed by an elaborate description of His prophetic dream:

Вопросъ. Который первый пророкъ на земли? – О[тветъ]. Адамъ. В[опросъ]. Что есть, пророчествова Адамъ? – О. Егда сотвори Господь Адама отъ земли, и дуну на него Богъ и оживе Адамъ, и посади его Господь Богъ на престолѣ и рече Богъ: благослови, владыко, – и воста Адамъ отъ престола и рече: благословенно царство Отца и Сына и св. Духа, – и первое пророчество далъ о святѣй Троицы;

[276] *Cf.* Stith Thompson, *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 the composition *Созданїе* (Creation) in MS № 693 (fol. 280 r) in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Bulgarian National Library (Fig. 2, *infra*).

[277] Tomicki, "Ludowe mity o stworzeniu człowieka," 57–9, and Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 238, 258, 275–6.

[278] The question whether woman came from the right or from the left side of Adam' body is irrelevant in the Bible as well.

[279] Not so in Sreznevskii's version, however; see Text 2 (§ 5) in the Appendix, *infra*. The same applies to Mochul'skii's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions, where the creation of Eve coincides with her naming. In Mochul'skii's, Sreznevskii's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions it is also stated that God "implanted His Holy Spirit" not only into Adam, but also into Eve.

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и егда заснувъ Адамъ въ раю, и воста отъ сна, и рече ему Господь: Адаме, что еси видѣлъ во снѣ? Адамъ же рече: видѣхъ, Господи, Петра идуща въ Римъ, а Павла въ Дамаскъ, а Іоанна Богослова во Ефесъ, а тебя, Господи, видѣхъ распята на крестѣ во Іерусалимѣ, на Голъховѣ. То есть пророчество Адамово.[280]

Question: Who is the first prophet on Earth? Answer: Adam. Question: What is the meaning of [the expression] "Adam prophesied"? Answer: When the Lord created Adam out of earth, God breathed upon him and Adam became alive; then the Lord God placed him on the throne; and God said, "O Master, make a blessing!" And Adam rose up from the throne and said, "May the Kingdom of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit be blessed!" Thus he gave the first prophecy concerning the Holy Trinity. And when Adam fell asleep in Paradise, and woke up, and the Lord said to him: "Adam, what did you see in your dream?" Adam said, "O Lord, I saw Peter going to Rome, and Paul to Damascus, and John the Theologian to Ephesus, and you, Lord, I saw crucified on the cross in Jerusalem, on Golgotha." This is the prophecy of Adam.

A similar interpretation of the motif of Adam's prophetic dream is found in the seventeenth-century Russian *Legend of How God Created Adam* ("*Сказаніе како сотвори Богъ Адама*") from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany* (MS № 370, fols. 147–177):

И вложи Господь Богъ сонъ во Адама, и успе Адамъ, и взятъ его ребро лѣвое, и въ томъ ребрѣ протяже руцѣ и нозѣ и главу, и созда ему жену въ шестый день, и показа ему Господь свою смерть и распятіе и воскресеніе, и провидѣ вознесеніе за полшесты тысящь лѣтъ. И видѣ Адамъ Господа распята, а Петра въ Римѣ ходяща, а Павла въ Дамасцѣ учаща народъ и проповѣдующе твое (sic) воскресеніе, и вознесеся Господь. […] И воста Адамъ отъ сна своего и трепетенъ бысть во ужасѣ велицѣ о провидѣніи. И вожда (sic) Господь Адама въ рай ходяща и рече ему: Адаме, Адаме, повѣждь ми. Адамъ же убояся велми, не смѣя Богу повѣдати того видѣнія. И рече ему Господь Богъ: Адаме, Адаме! – Адамъ же рече ему: Господи владыко, тебе видѣхъ на крестѣ распята во Іерусалимѣ, а ученики твоя видѣ(хъ) ходяща – Петра въ Римѣ, а Павла въ Дамасцѣ, проповѣдующе твое распятіе и воскресеніе. – И рече ему Господь: подобаетъ ми тебе ради снити на землю и распяту быти и въ третій день воскреснути; а ты же не повѣдай никомуже видѣнія сего, дондеже увидиши мя въ раю сѣдяща одесную отца, и ты о томъ поскорби, Адаме.[281]

And the Lord God [Jesus Christ] caused sleep to fall upon Adam [lit. placed sleep into Adam], and Adam fell asleep, and He took his left rib, and to this rib He extended [two] arms and hands,[282] [two] legs and feet,[283] and a head, and created a wife for him on the sixth day; and the Lord showed him [a prophetic dream in which he saw] His death and Crucifixion and Resurrection, and he foresaw His Ascension which was to take place in five and a half thousand years. And Adam saw [in his vision] the Lord crucified, and Peter going to Rome, and Paul in Damascus preaching about Your [should read "God's"] Resurrection; and [Adam saw in his vision how] the Lord ascended. […] And Adam

[280] Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 171–2.
[281] *Ibid.,* 13.
[282] The same noun denotes both "hand" and "arm."
[283] The same noun denotes both "foot" and "leg."

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awoke from his sleep, and he was trembling, since he was greatly horrified by what he had seen. And the Lord saw Adam walking along in Paradise and told him: "Adam, Adam, tell me [what you saw in your dream]!" Adam became exceedingly fearful, as he was too afraid to tell God what he had seen in his vision. And the Lord God told him, "Adam, Adam, [do not be afraid, tell Me what you saw!]" Adam then told Him, "O Lord, Master, I saw You crucified in Jerusalem, and I saw your disciples; Peter was walking towards Rome and Paul towards Damascus to preach about Your Crucifixion and Resurrection." And the Lord said to him, "You are worthy of Me descending down to Earth and being crucified and resurrecting on the third day; do not tell anybody about this vision, until you see Me in Paradise sitting next to My Father, on His right side. And be sorrowful about this, Adam!"

According to some other apocryphal anthropogonical narratives, Adam is considered to be not only the first prophet, but also the first priest:

І той есть первъый по(п); і гл҃ютъ пакн ѡ немъ: егда сотворнл его Б҃гъ о(т) ꙁемлıа н в'дохнувъ во(н) дх҃ъ жнвотенъ н реуе ему: бл҃гословн, вл(д)ко; ѡн же вставъ і реуе: бл҃гословено цр҃ьство о(т)ц҃а н сн҃а і с҃тго дх҃а і нн҃ѣ і пр(с)но і во вѣкн вѣко(м); і первїе во(ꙁ)благовѣствъ в' Трцы бж(с)тво. І той есть первъı пр(о)рокъ на ꙁемлн; гл҃ютъ же по в'дохновенїй дх҃а жнвотна Б҃гу рекшу ко Адаму: что вндѣ; ѡ(н) же вставъ, гл҃ıа: Г҃н, вндѣ(х) тıа на(д) главою моею во Ір(с)лнмѣ распıата, а Петра ап(с)ла в Рнмѣ стре(м)главъ пропıата, а Павла оусѣчена. Г(с)дь же реуе ему: Адаме, умолкн ѡ сей тайне. Ада(м) же ıако ꙁабве(н) бъı(с) о се(м) і невѣдъый.[284]

He [Adam] was the first priest. And they further say about him: when God created him from earth and breathed into him the spirit of life and said to him, "Master, make a blessing!" he rose and said, "May the Kingdom of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit be blessed now and forever and ever." Thus he was the first to annunciate the divine [oneness of the] Holy Trinity. And he was the first prophet on Earth. It is said that after God's having breathed the living spirit into Adam, He told him, "What did you see?" Having risen up, he [Adam] said, "O Lord, I saw You crucified in Jerusalem [at the spot which was] above my head,[285] and [I saw] Peter crucified with his head down, and Paul killed by a sword." And the Lord said to him, "Adam, keep this secret in silence." After that Adam somehow forgot about this [dream] and had no knowledge of it.

The previous excerpt comes from the seventeenth-century *Kuresky Miscellany*, discovered by Sreznevskii (concurrently with the two MSS containing the apocryphal *Sea of Tiberias*!) during his 1902 palaeographic expedition. The MS was registered under record № 32.16.19.

3.4. The Forbidden Tree

The scribes who composed the *SoT* were not the first to raise questions about the nature and the origin of the tree which produced the forbidden fruit. By the

[284] Quoted from Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 93.

[285] According to Christian tradition, Adam's skull was buried below the exact spot in Golgotha where Jesus was crucified.

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time the MSS published by Barsov, Mochul'skii, Sreznevskii, and Dimitrova-Marinova were compiled, a cluster of apocrypha circulated in *Slavia orthodoxa* (*3 Baruch*, *The Legend of the Holy Cross and the Two Brigands*, attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, *etc*.) in which the motif of the forbidden tree functioned as the focal point of a dense, fertile cycle of parallel, intertwined, and overlapping tales, each following an elaborate cosmogonic scenario of its own. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the interpretation of this motif in various sources appears to be somewhat uneven and unpredictable, if not volatile and precarious. Mochul'skii's and Sreznevskii's versions of the *SoT*, for instance, fail to specify who planted the tree which produced the forbidden fruit; an assumption seems to have been made by the scribes that since it was God who created Paradise, He must have also planted the forbidden tree. Other Slavonic apocrypha, such as *The Debate Between Christ and the Devil* and *The Legend of the Holy Cross* follow a similar pattern, maintaining that the forbidden tree was planted by God Himself (either the Father, or the Son).[286] However, according to the accounts published by Barsov and Dimitrova-Marinova, the one who planted the forbidden tree was not God, but Adam; he was thus recognised as the first gardener of Eden. Later, after his sin and expulsion from Paradise, he was also to become the first ploughman on Earth. According to these versions, the twigs from the tree(s) Adam planted in Paradise were woven (either by Adam himself, or by Eve) into a wreath, which crowned his head at his death-bed as a token of his pristine Edenic glory; from this wreath a tree grew, and on this tree "Christ the New Adam" was crucified five and a half thousand years later. His death and resurrection annulled Adam's original sin and bestowed upon him the (once lost) divine eternity. The tale about the forbidden tree is thus transformed by the compilers of the *SoT* into a saga of the First and Last Adam. This line of argument is constructed in an extremely powerful way in both Barsov's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions.

As for the kind of tree which produced the forbidden fruit, Barsov's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions are silent, whereas the accounts published by Mochul'skii and Sreznevskii state that it was a grapevine; furthermore it is asserted that God forbade Adam and Eve to eat from its fruit, since He Himself

[286] In fact, these apocryphal accounts maintain that in the beginning God planted not only one, but three trees, which first grew in the Garden of Eden as one, three-stemmed, tree. Their intertwined twigs symbolised the three subdivisions of Paradise, since God, Adam, and Eve had each had their own share there – *i.e.* the first people were meant to dwell in the Garden of Eden together with their Creator. The subsequent separation of the branches of Adam and Eve from God's stem paralleled their expulsion from Eden. Thus the narrative about the creation of Paradise and the nature of the forbidden tree is associated with the legend about the origin of the Holy Cross (and the crosses on which the two brigands were to be crucified). Jesus was to be crucified on God's share of the tree, whereas the two brigands were to be crucified on the shares of Adam and Eve.

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partook of it.[287] The breaking of this prohibition by the first people triggered the loss of their angelic status; they were further stripped of the luminous, celestial garments and garlands worn by them in Eden.[288] The eventual expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise was no more than the final confirmation of their metamorphosis from angelic beings into mortals.

A similar concept (*i.e.* the forbidden tree = grapevine) is featured in some Slavonic recensions of *3 Baruch*, in which the motif of Satan's fall becomes part of the tale about the creation of the Garden of Eden. According to these apocryphal narratives, various angels were responsible for planting various trees in Paradise, and Satanail was the one to plant the tree which eventually caused the Fall of man, *i.e.*, the grapevine. As a result, Satanail was expelled from the Garden of Eden (losing his *–il* and becoming Satan). A cross-textual comparison between the *SoT* and *3 Baruch* (and especially between the narrative units concerned with the motif of the grapevine as the forbidden tree) suggests that the relationship between these two apocrypha is intricate and complex; they persistently employ similar motifs and produce parallel storylines. On this particular occasion, the creation of the Garden of Eden in both accounts is perceived as a product of angelic efforts exclusively, since all those involved are members of the primordial heavenly host. Indeed, while planting the forbidden tree, Satanail still has his angelic nature, which he is yet to lose; only later does he become a fallen angel. This detail is quite significant, displaying an important feature of Barsov's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions of the *SoT*, namely, that when Adam planted the tree(s), he was still regarded as having angelic status and as a member of the heavenly host. This type of creation account further draws upon the Flood story and blends with the legend of how the forbidden tree / grapevine was washed away from Paradise by the deluvian waters, and how the righteous Noah found it when the calamity was over. The storyline further includes the tale of how Noah planted the grapevines and produced the first wine, which caused his drunkenness. That is why, the tradition maintains, wine retains the evil power which Satanail embodied when he first planted the grapevine. One such narrative comes from the thirteenth-century Serbian recension of *3 Baruch* ("*Ꙋ҃ъ҃теніє сг҃го Вароха, ієга послань бы҃ꙗ к немоу анг҃ль Паноунль оу сг҃оу гороу Снѡню на рѣцѣ, ієгᴬа плака се ѡ плѣненн Ꙗроусалмьсцѣмь. Гн҃*

[287] See the accounts published by Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 173–6 and Sreznevskii (Text 2, § 5, in the Appendix, *infra*). See also the discussion in Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 98–9.

[288] The formulaic proems of some traditional Slavonic spells and incantations portray the healer as someone clothed in radiant garments made of celestial substance; Sun, Moon and stars are "worn" by the enchanter, who is likened to the primordial Adam. The healing ceremony is perceived as a restorative heavenly journey, undertaken by both the healer and the patient, during which a ritual return to "Eden before the Fall" takes place and the magic re-establishment of man's angelic nature, free of disease, pain and suffering, is achieved.

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бл҃освн") from the *Dragolev Miscellany*,[289] which, according to Ivanov, originated from an earlier Old Bulgarian protograph.[290] The text in question reads:

Н пакъı рѣхь аꙁь Варохь кь ан҃глоу: г҃и покажн мн дрѣво, нже прѣльстн ꙁмнıа Ієоугоу н снѣсть ıє сама н да ıє Адамоу, н сего радı нꙁьгна ıа Бъ҃ нꙁ раıа. Н реүе мн ан҃гль: слъıшн, Вароше, ıєгᴬа Бъ҃ сьꙁᴬа Адама, то повелѣ архан҃глоу Мнханлоу сьбратн двѣстѣ тнсоущь н трыє ан҃глъı да насадеть ран, н вьсадн Мнханл҃ маслъıноу, Гаврнль же ıабланьь, Рапанль ктоую, Nопанль ѡрахь, Сараꙁанль калнноу, Сатананль же оусадн лоꙁоу, то бо ıєм҃ бѣ прьвоıє нме, по нспаденн же нареүе се такожᴬе Сатананль, н такожᴬе всн ан҃глн насадньше раꙁлнч҃наıа дрѣвеса. Н пакъı рѣхь аꙁь Варохь кь ан҃глоу: г҃и покажн мн дрѣво ıєже прѣльстн ꙁ҃мнıа Ієоугоу н Адама. Н реүе мн ан҃гль: слъıшн, Варохь, прьвоıє дрѣво ıєсть лоꙁа, вьтороıє же дрѣво похоть грѣхов҃на, ıєже нꙁлнıа Сатананль на Ієоугоу н Адама; н сего радн проклель бѣ Гъ҃ лоꙁоу, ꙁане бѣ ю҃ Сатананль оусадн н тою прѣльстн прьвоꙁᴬаньнаго Адама н Ієоугоу. Н рѣхь аꙁ҃ь Варохь кь ан҃глоу: г҃и, да аще тако бѣ Бъ҃ проклель лоꙁоу н садь ıє, то како н҃ѣ҃ ıєсть на потрѣбоу? Н реүе мн ан҃гль: право оупрошаıєшн ме. Ієгᴬа створн Гъ҃ потопь на ꙁемлн н .оу. ѳ. тнсоущь нсполь погоубн, н вьꙁнде вода прѣвъıше горь высоукнхь .к. лакт҃ надь горамн, н вьнде вода въ ран, нꙁнесе ѿ лоꙁь пр8ть ıедьнь. Ꙗко стрѣбн Гъ҃ водъı н бы҃соуша, нꙁнде Nоıє ѿ ковүега н ѡбрѣте лоꙁоу лежещоу на ꙁемлн, н не ꙁнаше ıє, тьк҃мо слъıшаль бѣ о нен кака ıєсть ѡбраꙁомь. Вь себѣ помъıшлѣıє, гл҃аше: се ıєсть вь нстоноу лоꙁа, ıюже бѣ вьсадньл Сатананль посрѣᴬ раıа, ıєюже прѣльстн Ієоугоу н Адама, н сего радн проклеть ю Бъ҃ н садь ıєн; то аще оусаж҃ю ю, раꙁгнѣваıєть се на ме Бъ҃. Н прѣклонь колѣнѣ свон, постн се .к. дн҃н, мл҃н се гл҃а: Г҃и, аще оусажᴬоу ѿ дрѣва сего, ıєда како прогнѣваıєшн се на ме, Г҃и? Н посла Бъ҃ ан҃гла своıєго Сараꙁанла н реүе ıємоу: вьстанн н вьсадн дрѣво, ıєже ѡбрѣте, н аꙁь прѣмѣню ıє н створю ıє на добро; но блюдн Вароше, н ıєще тн нма дрѣво то злобоу вь себѣ, ıако н Сатананл҃ не прѣмѣнн злъı своıє; ıелнко же бо по многоу внно пнють, всоу злобоу творнть, нн бра҃т бра҃т млоуıєть, нн ѿць сн҃а; ꙁа злобоу внньноую бъıваеть раꙁбон, прѣлюбодѣıанніє н блоудь; ıелнко зла, внна радн бъıваıєть.[291]

And then I, Baruch, said once more to the angel: "Show me the tree by which the serpent seduced Eve, who herself ate [from its fruit] and gave [also some] to Adam. Because of this [transgression] God chased them away from Paradise". And the angel told me: "Listen to me, Baruch! When God created Adam, he ordered the Archangel Michael to convene two hundred thousand and three angels so that they might plant the Paradise garden. Michael planted the olive-tree, Gabriel – the apple-tree, Rapail [Raphael] – the quince-tree, Nopail – the walnut-tree, Sarazail – the pomegranate-tree, whereas Satanail – the grapevine. That was his name originally – it was Satanail; after his fall it was [supposed to be changed from] Satanail [to Satan]. This is how different angels planted different trees." Then I once more said to the angel: "Show me the tree where the snake seduced

[289] The MS was originally part of Prof. P. S. Srečković's collection in the National Library of Belgrade, MS № 651/632. This MS also contains an erotapocritic account in which the grapevine is featured as the forbidden tree. A similar concept can be found in the seventeenth/eighteenth-century *Belovsky Miscellany*; see A. Miltenova, "Edna neprouchena erotapokritichna kompilatsiia," *Peti Dostoit*. Sbornik v Pamet na Stefan Kozhukharov (eds. A. Miltenova, E. Toncheva, S. Bŭrlieva; Sofia: Izdatelski Tsentŭr Boian Penev, 2003), 267.

[290] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 192–3.

[291] *Ibid*., 196–7 (§ 5).

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Adam and Eve." The angel told me: "Listen to me, Baruch! First, the [forbidden] tree was a grapevine; second, that was the tree from which Satanail poured his sinful lust upon Adam and Eve. This is why God cursed the grapevine, because it was planted by Satanail and by means of it he seduced the primordial Adam and Eve." And then I, Baruch, said to the angel: "Master, how is it possible that the fruit of the grapevine is still being used [as wine during the Eucharist] despite God's having cursed it?" And the angel said to me: "That is a very good question. When God caused the Flood on Earth and thus made forty-nine thousand giants perish, and the waters were raised twenty cubits above the highest peaks of the mountains, then even Paradise was flooded and the waters washed away a twig from the grapevine. When God seized the waters and made the dry land appear, Noah came out of the Ark and found the twig of the grapevine lying on the earth; he had never seen it before and knew nothing about it, but he had heard what it looked like. He thought and said to himself: "This is indeed the grapevine which Satanail planted in the middle of Paradise; he seduced Adam and Eve with it, and this is why God cursed its being planted. If I am to plant it, God will be angry with me." And he went down on his knees and fasted for twenty days, praying and saying, "O God, if I am to plant this tree, would You be angry with me, God?" And God sent his angel Sarazail and he said to him, "[O ~~Baruch~~!] Raise and plant the twig which you found, I will change [its malevolent nature] and bestow good [purpose] upon it. But mind, Baruch! This twig will retain in itself [some] evil, just like Satanail [who planted it] who did not ever change his evil nature. Those who drink a lot of wine will commit evil deeds: neither will [the drunken] brother love his brother, nor the [drunken] son [respect] his father. Because the evil of [excessive drinking of] wine causes crimes to take place, and adultery and fornication. So much evil is caused by [drinking] wine!"

The image of Satan as the primordial gardener planting the forbidden tree in Eden is further developed in other apocrypha. Some erotapocritic writings of *Slavia orthodoxa*, such as the Bulgarian redaction of the *Razumnik* ("*Paẓoумникъ*") from the *Lovchansky Miscellany* of 1618, depict the Devil (whose name, according to this type of text, is Samael) as an anti-creator who steals shoots from every tree God plants in the Garden of Eden, in order to create his devilish anti-Eden. This is described as the reason behind his expulsion from Paradise:

В.: да како ѿпаде ѿ Гᾶ? – ѿ.: егда насажᴬааше Гъ ран, да нже повелѣваааше саднтн, Саманль крадѣше всн ѿ вьсего, н нẓышедь проснпа на нноѡмь мѣстѣ, таѧ ѿ Гᾶ. Гъ реуе: тн крадешн ѿ мене, да бждеть тебѣ на прогнаніе! Н нẓыде Самананль н реᵛ: Гн, блᷠвн, елнка саднхѡмь. Гъ реᵛ: блв̑ennо ᷠ, н тоу есмь aẓь по срѣдѣ его. Саманль нде да вндᵀ дрѣво, еже оукрадь посадн; н егда вндѣ дрѣво, тогда Саманль поᴜрьнѣ, н нẓьгна его дрѣво нẓ раıѧ. Н тогда нареуе Гъ нмѧ ем8 дїаволь.[292]

Question: How did he [the Devil] part from God? Answer: When the Lord created the Garden of Eden and ordered [various trees, etc.] to be planted there, Samail [Satan] stole from each and every [seed which the Lord wanted to sow in Paradise] and planted it elsewhere, although these [seeds] were God's. And God said: "You were stealing from Me, but may it be for [the sake of] your expulsion!" And Samail came out and said: "God, please bless what we have planted!" The Lord said then: "May it be blessed, and here I am – in the

[292] *Ibid*., 260–1.

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middle of it!" Samail [Satan] went to see the tree which he had stolen and planted. When he saw the tree, Samail turned black, and the tree chased him out of Paradise. And then the Lord called him the "Devil."

Pypin gives us an entirely different version of the legend about the grapevine (forbidden tree), entitled *About the grapevine and how it grew* ("*О виноградѣ и како ростяше*"); in this account the storyline about the creation of Paradise (Рай) is intertwined with tales from *The Legend of the Holy Cross*,[293] and with narrative fragments appearing in the Bulgarian apocryphal *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest* (composed in the second half of the tenth century), which are further attested in some eighteenth-century accounts of the *SoT*.[294] According to Pypin's version of the legend *About the grapevine and how it grew*, the Garden of Eden was believed to have been planted by both God and Satan, a thief-demiurge who kept stealing plants from his Master during the creation of Paradise, so he could create his own inverted Garden of Eden. The storyline is somewhat ambiguous and vague, as can be seen from the paragraph concerned:

Тако егда насади Господь виноградъ въ раи, не бысть ту тогда ни ангелъ, ни ктоже, токмо Господь и Сатанаилъ; и что повеле Господь садити, а Сатанаилъ крадя отъ всякого сада, отъ Господа прорекована среди рая. И рече Господь: тое будетъ тѣло Мое, и Я самъ ту буду, и будетъ тебѣ на прогнаніе. – Исшедъ вонъ и рече Сатанаилъ: Господи, благослови, елико насади. – Господь рече: ту есмь Азъ посредѣ рая. Егда изыде Сатанаилъ видѣти древо свое, – древо же его изгна изъ рая [?], и почернѣлъ Сатанаилъ и бысть дьволъ. Древо же израсте на три столбы: единъ столбъ – Адамъ, а другій столбъ – Евва, а третій столбъ посреди, самъ Господь. Да егда согрѣши Адамъ и Евва, тогда паде Адамова часть въ рѣку Тигро, изнесе его; а Еввина часть

[293] See, *e.g.*, the following fragment from *The Legend of the Holy Cross and the Crosses of the Two Brigands According to Saint Gregory the Theologian* ("Сказаніе (св.) григоріа богослова ѡ кр(с)те ч(с)тно(м) и ѡ дв8 кр(с)тоу разбоиничю") which comes from MS № 358 (*Rumiantsov's Miscellany,* dated fifteenth-sixteenth century):

Егда погрѣбоша Адама с вѣнцомъ, иже свивъ возложи на глав8 свою, ѿ дрѣва, ѿ негоже изгнанъ бы(с), е(ж) принесе ем8 Сифъ сынъ его, егда дасть емоу анг҃лъ из раю, израсте емоу древо велико и(з) венца, из г҃лвы Адамовы. И бы(с) велико высотою и пречюдно расто(м), на трое растѧщи(с) седмерицею. И пребы(с) высоко всѣхъ дрѣвъ. Сие оубо преставленіе Адамле в Мадіами. ѿ того дрѣва и кр(с)тъ Хв(с)ъ, на немь(ж) распѧтсѧ, и изь Египта сн҃вь Изр҃лвъ тамо в наслѣдіе извелъ, и на про(ч)а мѣста. (Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 81)

Adam was buried with a wreath which he himself put on his head; it was woven by him from the [twigs of] the very same tree which caused his expulsion [from Paradise]. It was the same tree which his son Seth brought to him, after it was given to him [*i.e.*, to Seth] by the angel from Paradise. From this wreath, from the head of Adam, a vast tree grew. It was magnificent in its height and most wonderful in its stature, it was three-fold and seven times intertwined. It grew higher than any other tree. It was the same tree which was shown to Adam in the land of Midian. And from this tree Christ's cross was made, on it He was crucified; [and it was this tree which] led the sons of Israel out of Egypt, and took them to other places.

[294] See the penultimate paragraph of Dimitrova-Marinova's account of the *SoT* ("Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 56–7).

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паде въ рай, да егда потопъ бысть, на водѣ потопе, не взыде, да егда изыде, древо же остася при Мирстѣй рѣцѣ.[295]

Thus, when the Lord planted the grapevine in Paradise, there were neither angels nor any other [creatures] except God and Satanail. Satanail stole from each seed which the Lord intended to plant in the middle of Paradise and from whatever God was willing to plant there. And the Lord said, "May this [plant] be My body, and I Myself will be here, and this is to be for your expulsion [from Heaven]. And He retired [and withdrew]. Satanail then said, "God, please bless what You planted!" The Lord said, "Here am I, in the middle of Paradise!" When Satanail left [?], he saw his own tree, and this very tree chased him away from Paradise. And Satanail blackened, [as he] had become the Devil. As for the tree, it grew in three parts: the first [was] Adam[']s, the other [was] Eve[']s, and the third middle stem was of the Lord Himself. And when Adam and Eve transgressed, Adam's part fell into the river Tigris, and it was carried away by it; as for Eve's part, it fell in Paradise [?] and when the Flood took place it was not washed away by the deluvian waters [but remained there]; when [the waters] withdrew, the tree remained in the rivers of [the land of] Media.

The passage is followed by elaborate narrative units describing the construction of the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem by Solomon, the quest for the Holy Rood (believed to be in the river Jordan) from which the Temple was to be built (which, of course, was supposed to be the forbidden tree), the endeavours of Solomon in fulfilling this task and his power over demons, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, the location of the much needed Holy Tree, in the roots of which Adam's skull was found, *etc*.[296] Some of the narrative units from which this Russian apocryphal account was composed have close parallels in Bulgarian oral tradition,[297] suggesting that this type of legends enjoyed considerable popularity in *Slavia orthodoxa*. Moreover, the results of recent anthropological investigations in the Balkans show that they continue to circulate as an elaborate cycle of oral tales, which are further paralleled by some Russian folklore spiritual stanzas of "The Book of the Dove":[298]

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[295] Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 7.

[296] *Ibid.,* 7–8.

[297] See for instance the Bulgarian popular legend "The Cross of Christ and the Head of Adam" (*Кръстътъ Христовъ и главата отъ Адама*), recorded in the city of Prilep by Marko Tsepenkov; he was given this account by the local teacher Yordan. Another example is presented by the folk tale entitled "About Lot and the Cross of Christ" (*За Лота и кръста Христовъ*). It was recorded in the same city, again by Tsepenkov; the storyteller was the local shoe-maker Filip Yanev. Both narratives were published in *SbNU* 6 (1891), 112–17, texts № 2 and № 3; they were further analysed by A. T. Iliev, "Rastitelnoto tsarstvo v narodnata poeziia, obichaite, obredite i poveriiata na bŭlgarite," *SbNU* 7 (1892), 329–31, 335–6. Tsepenkov's accounts share certain features with the legend "About the Holy Cross" (*За честния кръстъ*), recorded in 1882 in the city of Tikvesh by the local Bulgarian intellectual P. A. Chacharov; this legend (*сказание*) was narrated by the storyteller Efrem Velev, who had been ordained as a priest a few years earlier. The text was published in *SbNU* 9 (1893), 159–62.

[298] See the spiritual stanza entitled "The Dove-Book which was forty spans in length" ("Голубиная книга сорока пядень"), text № 59 in Kirsha Danilov's anthology of Old Russian poems (*Drevnie rossiiskie stikhotvoreniia*, 274).

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Да с начала века животленного | Сотворил Бог небо со землею, | Сотворил Бог Адама со Еввою, | Наделил питаньем во светлом раю, | Во светлом раю жити во свою волю. | Положил Господь на их заповедь великою: | А и жить Адаму во светлом Раю, | Не искушать Адаму с единого древа | Того сладка плоду виноградова. | А и жил Адам во светлом раю, | во светлом раю со своею Еввою | А триста тридцать три годы. | Прелестила змея подколодная | приносила ягоды с едина древа, | Одну ягоды воскушал Адам со Еввою, | и узнал промеж собою тяжкий грех.

At the beginning of time when life issued forth, | God created Heaven and Earth, | and God created Adam and Eve; | He bestowed upon them nutrition in bright Paradise, | and let them live there, following their free will. | But God imposed upon them a great prohibition, | [while] Adam lived in luminous Paradise, | they were not to touch a certain tree | the sweet grapevine. | And Adam lived in bright Paradise, | he lived in luminous Paradise with his Eve, | three hundred thirty three years. | The cunning snake seduced them | having brought grapes from the grapevine. | But one grape did Adam and Eve taste | and they found themselves committing a grave sin.

Besides, the motif of the grapevine as the forbidden tree is further attested in Slavonic iconographic tradition.[299]

Two intriguing questions potentially arising from the apocryphal, iconographic, and folklore renditions of the motif of the forbidden tree = grapevine might have bothered some medieval scribes, icon-painters and singers/storytellers.

1) If the forbidden fruit, which triggered the fall of Adam, was the grape, how then could wine become the focus of the mystery of the Eucharist? Is the substance which transforms itself into the blood of Jesus during the divine Liturgy (which itself is an earthly hypostasis of Paradise) related to the fruit which caused the expulsion from Paradise? If the answer to this question is positive, then the mystery of the Eucharist may have been perceived as a ritualised return to Paradise Lost. This idea might have been further reinforced by the following words of Jesus: "I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without Me you can do nothing. If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered" (Jn 15: 5–6).

2) If the tree which produced the forbidden fruit was planted by the Devil, how can its fruit (*i.e.*, wine) be used in the Eucharist ceremony? Furthermore, how can the substance which originates from Satan's deeds transform itself into the blood of Jesus?

So far there is rather scarce written evidence suggesting that the scribes composing medieval apocryphal texts were bothered by any of the above questions;

[299] One example comes from the late seventeenth-century plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of St. Athanasius in the village of Arbanasi, Veliko Tŭrnovo area, Northern Bulgaria (Fig. 4, *infra*). An earlier example (Fig. 5, *infra*) is the miniature from an illuminated MS № 997 (Fol. 1240r) from the Library of the Holy Synod; the MS (copied in 1542 in Novgorod) contains a Church Slavonic translation of the celebrated *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes. See also the discussion in F. Buslaev, *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva*. Russkaia narodnaia poeziia, vol. 1, 617.

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yet anthropological field research in the Balkans and elsewhere shows that vernacular Christianity was not free of such doubts.

One final point. Some medieval Muslim commentators also maintain that the forbidden tree was the grapevine (hence the prohibition of drinking wine). The idea of the grape as the forbidden fruit is discussed in some eleventh-century Islamic exegetical writings, such as Al-Tha'labī's *Lives of the Prophets*.[300] This parallel will be discussed elsewhere.

3.5. How the Devil (Re-)entered Paradise

The theme of the clandestine re-entering of sneaky Satan into Eden, as interpreted in Barsov's, Mochul'skii's, and Sreznevskii's versions of the *SoT*, was likewise attested in the fifteenth-century Russian recension of *3 Baruch*. According to this text, after his having been cast out (on account of his refusal to obey God's order to bow down to Adam), Sotonail returned to Paradise in the following way:[301]

Тогда шедъ сотонаилъ обрѣте ꙁмию. И створи сѧ ѵервемъ и реᵿ ꙁмии ꙁиии пожри ма въ оутробоу свою. И ѿиинде ѵресъ ограду въ ран хоꙗи прельстити Евгоу.[302]

Then having gone, Sotonail [*i.e.* Satan] found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, "Open [your mouth], consume me into your belly." And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve.[303]

This motif also features in vernacular Christian and Islamic cosmogonies, and in parallel Muslim exegetical writings. These traditions show similarities indicating that heterodox (apocryphal) Christian and post-Qur'ānic sources exploited common ideas in which peculiar (trans-cultural and trans-confessional) "fossil-concepts" from the theological proto-stratum of religions of the Book survived. Thus, according to the early eleventh-century *Lives of the Prophets* of the Islamic exegete Al-Tha'labī,[304] the covert penetration of Satan into Paradise is described in the following way:

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[300] See Al-Tha'labī, *Lives of the Prophets* (*'Arā'is Al-Majālis Fī Quisas Al-Anbiyā'*) (ed./tr. W. Brinner; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 49. Al-Tha'labī died in 1036 AD; his native land was Nīsāpūr, which indicates that he was of Persian origin.

[301] Gaylord points out that "the use of the serpent for transportation inside the garden is recorded in *The Cave of Treasures* and *The Gospel of Barnabas*"; see Gaylord, "How Satanael lost his *-el*," 307.

[302] *Ibid*., 304.

[303] *Ibid.*

[304] The fact that the motif of "the snake as a mouthpiece" is attested in both Church Slavonic (Christian) and Persian (Muslim) extra-canonical writings indicates that it was part of a widely disseminated para-Scriptural narrative tradition; Al-Tha'labī's account provides the earliest (so far) evidence for the spread of this tradition in the Middle East.

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> Iblīs [Satan] wished to enter the Garden in order to instill evil in Adam and Eve, but the treasure-keepers [of the Garden] prevented him from doing that. So he went to the serpent, who was one of the most beautiful beasts created by God. She had four legs like the legs of a camel. Now, she was one of the treasure-keepers of the Garden and was a friend of Iblīs, so he asked her to take him into the Garden in her mouth. She put him into her mouth and passed by the keepers with him while they were unaware, and took him into the Garden.[305]

A comparison between the three different narratives describing how Satan made his way back to Paradise in order to seduce Eve – that of the Slavonic apocryphal *Apocalypse of Baruch* and the *SoT* on the one hand, and that of Al-Tha'labī's *Lives of the Prophets* on the other – convincingly shows that they share a common feature: in all three cases the Devil makes his way into the Garden of Eden in the mouth of the snake.[306] The analogous attestations of the motif of the Devil's entrance into Paradise in the apocryphal tradition of *Slavia orthodoxa* (*i.e.*, the fifteenth-century *3 Baruch* and the sixteenth/eighteenth-century *SoT* accounts) and in Muslim exegetical writings from the early eleventh century suggest that their *Vorlagen* originated from the fertile fabric of a common Ur-hypertext, in which the extra-canonical (para-Biblical and para-Qur'ānic) cosmogonies entwined with earlier (proto-Biblical and proto-Qur'ānic) traditions, thus constantly and relentlessly re-galvanizing each other; hence the vitality of the related (Bible- and Qur'ān-oriented) oral traditions. Furthermore this seminal Ur-hypertext was also a major source of their conceptual thesaurus. Born out of common religious ideas, it functioned not only as a matrix for the formation and further modification of novel narrative patterns, but also as a latent depository of dormant themes and motifs, which were never deleted from the collective memory of the society concerned. These were intermittently re-activated by scribes, icon-painters and storytellers alike. The tale of the Devil's entrance into Paradise in the mouth of a snake presents one such case.

3.6. The Post-Edenic narrative

3.6.1. How the Archangel Michael Taught Adam Agriculture

The motif of the Archangel Michael teaching Adam agriculture is attested only in Barsov's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions of the *SoT*, where it functions as an important component of the post-Edenic narrative. It is also found in various editions of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*: Slavonic,[307] Latin

[305] See Al-Tha'labī, *Lives of the Prophets*, 50.

[306] F. Badalanova Geller, *Qur'ān in Vernacular* (Max Planck Preprint 357), 108.

[307] To the best of my knowledge, the Slavonic apocryphal narratives describing how the Archangel Michael, or even God Himself, taught Adam agriculture (along with the tale of the subsequent delivery of seeds) have not yet been studied in comparison with Latin, Armenian,

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(22:2)[308] and Georgian (20:1a).[309] The motif of angel(s) teaching Adam agriculture is likewise attested in Armenian apocrypha.[310] It is not attested, however, in the extant Greek editions of the *LAE*,[311] which poses intriguing questions about the *Vorlage* of its Slavonic recensions. Was the motif of the Archangel Michael teaching Adam agriculture featured in the earlier Greek version of the *LAE,* hitherto considered by specialists to have provided the protograph for its eventual Old Church Slavonic translations? What was the range of sources available to the compilers of this apocryphon? Could there have been an alternative tradition-mediator that was used by the scribes of *Slavia orthodoxa* as a model for their translations and compilations? A comparative analysis of the extant Greek, Latin, Georgian, Armenian and Slavonic recensions of the apocryphon has so far not provided any encouraging evidence. On the other hand, the motif of the Archangel Michael imparting agricultural knowledge to Adam is featured not only in Slavonic recensions of the *LAE*, but also in the *SoT.* This suggests that the two apocrypha might have had a common source, which did not have to relate to (or originate from) an earlier Greek tradition exclusively, since the *SoT* is an indigenous Slavonic product and does not have a Greek protograph. Was the motif of the Archangel teaching Adam agriculture an interpolation in the Slavonic *LAE,* from the same source which the scribes of the *SoT* used for their accounts? Could it be the erotapocritic tradition which provided this missing link? Additional excavations into the domain of Slavonic apocryphal sources may provide strong corroborative evidence supporting this hypothesis. My further analysis of the interpretation of the motif of Adam being taught husbandry by the Archangel will not exclude this line of argument.

A comparison between the Slavonic *LAE* and the *SoT* shows that the motif of the Archangel Michael imparting agricultural knowledge to Adam functions as an important narrative component of the penitential cycle. The Russian redaction of the *LAE* ("*ѡ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучл(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни*

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and Georgian versions; see, however, Stone's suggestion in his *Adam's Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 5, 150 note 28. The Slavonic version of *Vita Adae et Evae,* which was included in *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* and used as a basis for intertextual comparison by Anderson and Stone (*i.e*., the version which was first published by V. Jagić in 1893), represents a type of narrative in which the motif of the Archangel Michael's teaching Adam how to work and tend the ground is missing from the storyline, nor is there any mention of the delivery of the ear of wheat in this text.

[308] Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve,* 19, Pericopes 6–7 (22:2); see also G.A. Anderson, "Adam and Eve in the *Life of Adam and Eve,*" *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (eds. M. Stone and T. Bergen, 1998), 14–16, 22–24.

[309] Anderson, "Adam and Eve," 14–15. For the interpretation of this motif in Georgian narrative, see Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 15, Pericope 6 (20:1a).

[310] Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 74.

[311] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 40.

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Адамовѣ") from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany* (MS № 358, fifteenth/sixteenth century) demonstrates this:

И въставши ѡбыдохомъ всю землю и не ѡбрѣтохѡ(м) снѣдна ничто(ж), токмо стволъ травоу сельную, и пакы придохо(м) въ еде(м), и плакахомсѧ: раю мои, раю, пресвѣ(т)лыи раю, красота неизре(ч)ннаа, менѧ ра(ди) сотворенъ е(с), а Евги ра(д) затворенъ е(с); милостиве помилоуи мѧ падшаго. И рече Адамъ: Господи, припоусти воню благооуханїа, да тѧ поминаю(т). Тогда посла Господь фимьꙗ(н) и лива(н) и лада(н): взѧ(т) Адамъ и сотвори мол(б)у къ Бо҃у. Тогда умилосердисѧ Господь, архангелъ Іоиль ѿлучи҃з-ю часть ѿ раѧ и подасть намъ, пре(ж) наѧхѡ(м) сѧ плода тръновнаго; пото(м) при(д) архангелъ Михаилъ, наставлѧа Адама на дѣла роучнаꙗ и дасть емоу и пшеницю и ме(д).[312]

And we rose up and went around the entire world but found nothing to eat, apart from blades of sour grass, and we again returned to Paradise and cried, "O Paradise, my Paradise, most shining Paradise, unspeakable beauty created for my sake, and closed [to me] because of Eve. O Merciful One, have mercy upon me, the fallen one." And Adam said, "God, release sweet smelling odours so that Your name is mentioned." God then sent thyme and myrrh and frankincense, and Adam took it and made an invocation to God. God was appeased and the Archangel Ioel [*i.e.* Joël][313] took one seventh part of Paradise and gave it to us. First we ate the fruit of the thornbush, and then the Archangel Michael taught Adam handwork and gave him wheat and honey.

Then again, the motif of the wheat-ear being brought down to Earth from Paradise by Michael and Gabriel is attested in a number of Slavonic apocryphal texts; one example is provided by the *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* from the *Lovchansky Miscellany*:

В.: ѿ кѫдѕ обрѣте сѧ пшенницѫ? – ѿ.: Мнханль н Гаврїнль вьꙁемше вь ран н нꙁврьгошѫ на ꙁемѧ.[314]

Question: From where did wheat come? Answer: Michael and Gabriel took it from Paradise and brought it to earth.

In short, the Barsovian redaction of the *SoT*, along with the version discovered by Dimitrova-Marinova and the Slavonic apocryphal *LAE* all contain similar narratives describing how Archangel Michael taught Adam agriculture; these narratives parallel the Latin version of *Vita Adae et Evae* (22:2), as well as the Georgian version (20:1b).[315] On the other hand, according to some Armenian versions, it was God who taught Adam agriculture ("When God hearkened to the sound of Adam's penitence, he taught him sowing and reaping and that which

[312] Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 1–2.

[313] On Joël's instruction, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 29–33.

[314] Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 261.

[315] See Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve,* 15–19, Pericopes 6–7, and Anderson "Adam and Eve in the *Life of Adam and Eve,*" 14–16; *Idem.,* "The Penitence narrative in the *Life of Adam and Eve*," *Literature on Adam and Eve* (eds. G. Anderson *et al.*; Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 10.

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was to come upon him and his seed"), not Michael.[316] The interpretation of this detail in the Armenian version is quite close to some Slavonic versions of *Vita Adae et Evae,* in which the compiler does not give a clear indication as to whether it was the Archangel Michael, or God Himself, who taught Adam agriculture. The Slavonic MS tradition touching upon this motif is variable, and the range of textual witnesses in which it is attested is so fluid that it is virtually impossible to suggest any ultimate reading in this case. The process of transmission (and rewriting?) of the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* may have been influenced by the circulation of the apocryphal *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* and the *SoT,* in both written and oral (folklore) renditions. Finally, in the Balkans and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, there are various iconographic renditions of the apocryphal narrative about the Archangel Michael having taught Adam and Eve how to work and tend the ground.[317]

There is also an intriguing link between the interpretation of the motif of Adam receiving seeds from Paradise and his subsequently being taught agriculture by an angel, in both Christian apocryphal writings (*e.g.*, the above mentioned Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic texts) and Islamic exegesis. Along with the vague statement that upon his departure from Paradise Adam was allowed to take with him a "bag with grains of wheat,"[318] some Muslim commentators developed a parallel tradition in which Gabriel delivered the wheat-ear to Adam and taught him agriculture. The earliest relevant example comes from *The History of Prophets and Kings* by Al-Tabarī:

> [A]ccording to another statement, Gabriel brought wheat to Adam when he became hungry and asked his Lord for food, whereupon God sent him seven grains of wheat with Gabriel. When Gabriel put them in Adam's hand, Adam asked him what it was and Gabriel said to him: "This is what drove you out of Paradise."[319] […] When Adam asked Gabriel

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[316] See Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve,* 15, Pericope 6 (20:1a); see also the discussion in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 74.

[317] One such scene, showing the Angel teaching Adam how to work, is depicted a plinth panel of the iconostasis of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the village of Arbanasi (Northern Bulgaria); it was painted in 1813.

[318] Al-Tabarī, *History of Prophets and Kings*, ed./tr. Rosenthal, 298, fol. 128.

[319] Some Muslim commentators maintain that the ear of grain (*i.e.*, wheat) was in fact the forbidden fruit (*ibid.*, 299, fol. 128): "This is so in view of the report of al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm – Ishāq (b. al-Hajjāj) – 'Abd al-Razzāq – Sufyān b. 'Uyuaynah and Ibn al-Mubārak – al Hasan b. 'Umārah – al-Minhāl b. 'Amr – Sa'īd b. Jubair – Ibn 'Abbās: The tree which God forbade Adam and his spouse to eat from was wheat. When they ate from it, their secret parts became apparent to them. It was their cover of fingernails that had kept their secret parts concealed from them. Now, they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together." See also Al-Rabghūzī's *Stories of the Prophets* (ed./tr. by H. E. Boeschoten, *et al.*), 16: "Through a trick of Satan he [*i.e.*, Adam] went astray and then brooded all alone. He ate two grains of wheat and departed from the realm of the eight Paradises" [fol. 5 v]. The same motif is likewise attested in some Islamic folk legends narrated in the Balkans; see Badalanova Geller, *Qur'ān in Vernacular*, 14–15 (text № 7). Thus the "tree" which caused the expulsion of the first people from Paradise becomes their sustenance on Earth; hence the hard work, which is required in

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what he should do with them, Gabriel told him to spread them in the soil, and Adam did, whereupon God immediately made them grow. Thus, putting seeds into the soil became the custom among Adam's children. Then God commanded him to harvest the wheat, collect and husk it by hand, and winnow it. Then [Gabriel] brought two stones with him, and he placed one upon the other and ground the wheat. Then God commanded him to knead it and bake bread in the ashes. Gabriel gave Adam stones and iron, and [Adam] struck them together, producing fire. He was the first to bake bread in the ashes.[320]

In fact, only the Slavonic apocryphal tradition parallels the detail in Muslim exegesis that the seeds delivered from Paradise were grains of wheat. Furthermore, in Slavonic apocryphal tradition (the *Erotapokriseis Razumnik*), the function of Michael as the demiurge of agriculture is paralleled by that of Gabriel (as in Muslim exegesis). The "family lineage" of the legend of wheat as a Paradisiacal seed delivered by angelic demiurges of agriculture to Adam, may cast some light on the unsolved puzzle of the protographs of the *SoT*, as well as upon issues related to the origins of the Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic recensions of the apocryphon of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

3.6.2. Adam's Writ: Covenant with the Devil

The motif of Adam's writ[321] is an important component of Barsov's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions of the *SoT*. In them it functions as the focus of a versatile saga about the ordeals of the first people; both texts are primarily concerned with the theme of Satan's interfering with agriculture.[322] This is not the case with the accounts published by Mochul'skii and Sreznevskii, in which the cheirograph

order to grow and harvest it, is considered to be God's punishment for the first people's original misconduct.

[320] *Ibid*.

[321] The legend of the cheirograph of Adam is attested in Greek, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, and Romanian apocryphal traditions; see A. Wünsche, "Schöpfung und Sündenfall des ersten Menschenpaares im jüdischen und moslemischen Sagenkreise," *Ex Oriente Lux* 2/4 (Leipzig, 1906), 47; Y. Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 223–7; M. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*; B. Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe*, 14–15, 22, 193. The legend of Adam's contract with Satan also features in Arabic versions of *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*; see MS Cod. Vaticano Ar. 129, fols. 95r–97r (A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *Il Combattimento di Adamo*, 120–23). In the latter case, the Devil is the demiurge of sex. For an earlier analysis of the narrative of Adam's cheirograph in Slavonic apocryphal literature, iconography and folklore see F. Buslaev, *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva*, vol. 1, 618; I. Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 40–3; A. Veselovskii, "Razyskaniia," *SbORIS* 46, 6 (1889), 79–87. See also I. Nagy, "Adam and Eve: the myths of the creation of Eros," *AEH* 34, 1–4 (1986–88), 37–8.

[322] According to Stone's taxonomy, the Slavonic versions of the legend of the cheirograph in which the contract is signed after Adam's encounter with the Devil, who imposed upon him the prohibition to till (or dig) the earth, are classified as *Variant A* (*Adam's contract with Satan,* 27–33); however, his analysis of Slavonic data is based exclusively on the recensions of the *LAE*, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, and the Old Believers document entitled "The Birth of Cain and the cheirograph of Adam" ("Рожденіе Каина и рукописаніе Адамля"). It does not include the *SoT* accounts.

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motif is only briefly touched upon, and its interpretation is unrelated to Adam's ploughing the earth.[323] In Mochul'skii's version, for instance, it occurs at the end of a rather brusque and abrupt penitence narrative describing Adam's laments, sorrows and repentance after his expulsion from Paradise;[324] there is no mention of the place of penance, nor is there any reference to Eve. The account only hints at a presumed angelic agency, resulting in God showing mercy to the repenting man. However, the next fragment of the story of his redemption is suddenly interrupted by an odd, unexpected anecdote concerned with Satan, who promises the first people that, provided Adam signs a contract with him, God will pardon them. In addition Satan demands that Eve also take an oath.[325] In this way, the

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[323] This is also the case with some folklore texts; see Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," 239–40 (the final § of text № 2.1.1) and Text 8 in the Appendix, *infra*.

[324] The cheirograph motif is hinted at in the Russian *Plaint of Adam* ("Плач Адама") folklore spiritual stanzas ("духовные стихи"); see the discussion in G. Fedotov, *Stikhi dukhovnye*, 38–9. For the parallel attestations of the *Plaint of Adam* theme in Romanian popular song, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 43–5.

[325] Folklore parallels are discussed by Radchenko in his "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 95, who argues that the motif of Eve's pledge with the Devil betrays traits of Bogomilism (*ibid*., 88, 94–5). Furthermore, in some of the cases it is Eve who gives the cheirograph, not Adam (*ibid*., 95). Folk narratives of this type are related to a specific group of apocryphal texts, according to which her firstborn (*i.e*., Cain) was a monstrous child with seven (or twelve heads); the boy was neither man nor beast, but a creature in which anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features were bound together. This abnormality is sometimes (but not necessarily) explicated in folklore sources as a direct result of Cain's having been fathered by the Devil; in some cases it occurs just as an odd episode with no explanation. Unlike oral legends, apocryphal texts carefully avoid the discussion of the disputed parentage of Cain (Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 39). However, in both oral and apocryphal texts interpreting the birth of the monstrous Cain, the contract with the Devil is signed so that the child could be healed and transformed into a normal human being. Then again, if in Slavonic oral tradition the cheirograph may be given by Eve, in apocryphal literature it is always Adam who signs the contract. Such apocryphal writings are designated by Stone as *Variant C* (*ibid*., 38–41). One such example comes from a relatively late (nineteenth century) Russian MS of Old Believer origin ("раскольничья рукопись новаго письма"). It is entitled *The birth of Cain and Adam's cheirograph* ("Рожденіе Каина и рукописаніе Адамля"). The account is composed as a purported dialogue between the holy Apostles Bartholomew and Andrew ("Святый апостолъ Варфаломей вопроси святаго апостола Андрея Первозваннаго, како и кіимъ образомъ праотецъ нашъ Каинъ родися и како праотецъ нашъ Адамъ даде діяволу рукописаніе"); the text was first published by Tikhonravov in his *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 15–17. According to this account, the cheirograph was first taken by the Devil to the river Jordan, where it was guarded by snake heads (the same ones Satan had removed from Cain's body) until Christ smashed them when He stepped on the stone with the cheirograph and broke it during His Baptism; this is a motif well attested in iconography (Figs. 8 and 9, *infra*) and oral tradition (Text № 8 in the Appendix, *infra*). Subsequently the Devil took the remnants of the cheirograph and brought them to Hell, where they stayed until the Resurrection of Jesus. Christ's descent into Hell heralded their ultimate destruction and the freeing of the souls imprisoned by the Devil. The latter motif is attested in the celebrated pseudo-Chrysostomian *Homily on the Harrowing of Hell*; see also the discussion in note 331, *infra*. The *Homily*, composed by St. Epiphanius of Cyprus (315–403), was among the first texts to be translated into Old Church Slavonic (due to its connection with the Holy Week liturgical

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motif of Adam's writ becomes intertwined with the motif of Eve's oath (also attested in Sreznevskii's version but not in the accounts published by Barsov and Dimitrova-Marinova). Having disobeyed God's command in Heaven, the first people now again disregard their bond with God, this time on Earth. Adam and Eve *de facto* enter at this point into a covenant with the Devil, thus committing themselves and their offspring to servitude to "the Master of the Earth." Furthermore in this narrative Adam's writ and Eve's pledge are interpreted as incidents foreshadowing the birth of their two sons, Cain and Abel, and the eventual occurrence of fratricide.[326] There is no further mention of the fate of the cheirograph in Mochul'skii's text;[327] it disappears altogether from the narrative, which from this point onwards switches to a *Palaea*-type rendition of the Genesis story. It continues with an elaborate description of fratricide, followed by Abel's burial, Cain's murder and Adam's death. The final segments of Mochul'skii's account are concerned with Adam's ordeals in Hell and his eventual deliverance. This elliptic ending is most probably based on the vernacular exegesis of Col 2:14–15,[328] which must have been further bolstered by the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*,[329] the *Hymnos Akathistos* (stanza 22),[330] and homiletical writings;[331]

services); it was included in the eleventh-century *Glagolita Clozianus* Old Church Slavonic canon miscellany, and *Codex Suprasliensis* (Menology, March). See A. Vaillant, "L'Homélie d'Épiphane sur l'ensevelissement du Christ (texte vieux-slave, texte grec et traduction française)," *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta*, 3 (1958), 5–101, and D. Ivanova-Mircheva *et al*., *Khomiliiata na Epifanii za slizaneto v ada* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite, 1975). The motif of Adam's cheirograph being kept in Hell is also found in some versions of the *SoT* and in oral tradition (Text № 7 in the Appendix, *infra*).

[326] Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 176.

[327] The scribe of this version of the *SoT* might have assumed that potential readers of his manuscript would be well aware of abundant "cross-references" to vernacular oral exegesis (in which the motif of the annulment of Adam's writ by Christ was discussed at length) and hence thought some of the surplus details unworthy of being copied. See also the discussion in Radchenko, "Etiudy po Bogomil'stvu," 98.

[328] Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 41–2; Radchenko, "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 89; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 103–11.

[329] The idea that Jesus descended into Hell after the Crucifixion in order to free the patriarchs anchors the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus,* a text which enjoyed immense popularity in *Slavia orthodoxa*. See A. Vaillant, *L'Évangile de Nicodème. Texte slave et texte latin* (Geneva/Paris: I. Droz, 1968); A. de Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen*, Band II (PTS 23; Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1981), F. J. Thompson, "Apocrypha Slavica: II," *SEER* 63, 1 (1985), 79–83. Incidentally, the MSS containing the *Gospel of Nicodemus* were known to be held in the Pskov-Pechery Monastery during the time of Ivan the Terrible, and it was among the rare texts discussed by local monks; see N. Andreyev, "Kurbsky's letters to Vas'ian Muromtsev," *SEER* 33, 81 (1955), 416.

[330] Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 48.

[331] In the account of the *Homily on the Harrowing of Hell* of St. Epiphanius of Cyprus the motif of Adam's cheirograph is associated with Christ's Crucifixion (as related in Matt 27: 48–49 and Mk 15: 36–38); see for instance the following passage from the *Homily,* found in the fourteenth-century Bulgarian *Germanov Miscellany,* which contains a fragment from the monologue of Jesus addressing Adam in Hell before taking him to the Heavenly Jerusalem:

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the latter are read during the liturgy, thus enlightening illiterate members of the congregation about abstract soteriological concepts contained in them.[332]

The interpretation of the legend of Adam's contract with Satan in Sreznevskii's version is rather similar to Mochul'skii's.[333] The motif of Adam's writ (paralleled by the motif of Eve's pledge) marks the beginning of the post-Edenic life of the first people, who thus commit themselves to an eternal pact with the Devil; the cheirograph heralds the birth of their offspring and fratricide,[334] which might be an implicit contextual hint at the Satanic parentage of Cain, a motif well developed in other extra-canonical sources.[335] The burial of Cain (not Abel!) is followed by the death of Adam, who is to remain under Satan's hand until the resurrection of Jesus and the destruction of the cheirograph.[336] Despite the otherwise predictable soteriological ending of the narrative, the storyline in Sreznevskii's version, very much like that in Mochul'skii's account, is laconic, inconsistent and incoherent, confined by erratic sequels of contradictory events. Presumably, these discrepancies can be explained by the fact that the compiler(s) may have used various sources and did not know how to harmonise conflicting narratives. In both Sreznevskii's and Mochul'skii's accounts, the legend about the cheirograph of Adam seems to have been inserted as an interpolation borrowed either from Church Slavonic *Homiliaries* (*i.e.*, homilies for the feasts of the Easter cycle), or from the oral tradition (in which it was well attested).[337] The copyists/compilers must have considered this segment to be an essential module habitually included in Genesis-related legends; this narrative segment was presumed to be so transparently obvious (from the point of view of potential audiences) that it needed no additional amplification. In a similar way, storytellers often skip

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"Прнжˣ гжбж да ѿмыж ржкопнсанне твоего грѣха" ("I received the sponge in order to wash away the cheirograph of your sin"); see D. Ivanova-Mircheva *et al., Khomiliiata na Epifanii*, 140 (Fol. 197a). This *Homily* also influenced the iconographic tradition of *Slavia orthodoxa*. One of the earliest depictions of Christ taking Adam and Eve out of Hell is the fresco from the Boyana Church, Bulgaria (1259); see also the mural painting from the nave of the Church of St. Dimitŭr (1488) near the city of Boboshevo, Western Bulgaria (Fig. 10, *infra*), and the mural painting from the nave of the Church of St. Petka (1598) in the village of Vukovo, Kiustendil district, Western Bulgaria (Fig. 11, *infra*).

[332] Radchenko, "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 89–91, 126–9.

[333] See the Appendix, Text 2 (§ 7), *infra*.

[334] See the Appendix, Text 2 (§ 8), *infra*.

[335] According to Radchenko, legends of this type betray the influence of the Bogomil heresy; "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 110.

[336] See the Appendix, Text 2 (§§ 9 and 10), *infra*.

[337] See Radchenko, "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 75–6, 88–90, 94–5, 97–8, 117. Some Bulgarian folk sources are cited by Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 349–51 (text Nos. 13, 14; these are text Nos. 7 and 8 in the Appendix, *infra*); see also D. Petkanova, *Apokrifna literatura i folklor*, 161–8. For oral Russian attestations of the motif of Adam's contract with Satan, see P.A. Gorodtsov, "Zapadno-sibirskiia narodnyia legendy," *EO* 1 (1909), 62–63, text № 5 (*Первый человек*); see also the Ukrainian folk legends (both entitled "Satana spokushaie Adama") from D.I. Yavornyts'kyi's MS collection "Ukrainskyi prostoliud," *NTE* 5 (2005), 13–14.

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some customary details, assuming that these are key constituents of indigenous common knowledge routinely shared by members of the community concerned. The copyists of Sreznevskii's and Mochul'skii's versions of the *SoT* may have acted like storytellers, relying largely upon traditional oral channels of culture transmission, and only partially upon a written text.

In Barsov's[338] and Dimitrova-Marinova's[339] versions, the motif of Adam's writ also marks the end of the penitence narrative, but the storyline which they follow is entirely different, as well as being much more consistent and straightforward. After God's having sent the Archangel Michael to teach the first people how to till the earth, Adam begins to plough in order to produce food for himself and his spouse Eve. As soon as he starts working, the Devil appears before him and declares that only the celestial realms belong to God, whereas he possesses the terrestrial world; therefore if Adam is to live and work on this Earth, he has to sign a contract compelling him to grant Satan eternal dominion over his future generations. As previously suggested by Ivanov, this argument clearly betrays the influence of the teachings of the Bogomils, according to which Heaven belongs to God, whereas the Devil is the owner of the Earth; hence the one who is to dwell and work on Earth cannot but make a covenant with the Devil.[340] This line of argument can be further bolstered by evidence from the oral tradition collected at the end of the nineteenth/beginning of the twentieth centuries among the Balkan Slavs. According to some Bulgarian[341]

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[338] See the Appendix, Text 1 (§ 5), *infra*.

[339] The opening paragraph of the penitence narrative in Dimitrova-Marinova's version is more elaborate than that of Barsov, and shows close similarities to the attestations of the repentance motif in the *LAE*; it begins with a statement about the fall of Adam's and Eve's shares of the three-fold tree from Paradise; after his having repented for thirty years in the river of Babylon, Adam is pardoned and God sends the Archangel Michael to teach him agriculture; as soon as Adam starts ploughing, Satan appears before him and demands the signing of the writ, etc.; see Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 55.

[340] *Cf.* Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 223–224. Ivanov's observations were recently challenged by some scholars, who base their arguments only on partial knowledge of his monograph. In fact, what they fail to notice is that Ivanov never claimed that the generic motif of Adam's writ had a Bogomilistic origin, or was attested exclusively in Slavonic tradition. What he maintained was that: 1) the *narrative link* between the cheirograph motif and the motif of agricultural activities of Adam (whose sustenance was determined by tilling the earth = Satan's domain) was attested only in the Slavonic recensions of *Vita Adae and Evae* and in the *SoT*; 2) this link was of Bogomilistic origin, due to the obvious attribution of the terrestrial realm (*i.e.*, the material world) as the Devil's domain. Unless new evidence is found, these two points are so far incontestable. Actually, Ivanov argued that the generic legend of Adam's cheirograph must have been brought to Bulgaria via Byzantium, as a narrative constituent of a now lost Greek protograph of *The Life of Adam and Eve,* which engendered the *Vorlage* of the Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian) recensions; it was the local scribes/compilers who "adjusted" it and added an agricultural dimension to the motif of the cheirograph. They must either have been adherents of Bogomilism or familiar with its teachings (*idem.*, 226–7).

[341] See *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 329–333, text № 1, *Богъ и дяволътъ създаватъ дургарски свѣта, после враждуватъ помежду си* (first published in *Obsht Trud*, 3 (1868),

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and Bosnian[342] folklore texts (*i.e.*, texts from regions where the imprint of the Bogomilistic heresy upon indigenous tradition was very strong), the legends of Adam's cheirograph are paralleled by legends about the primordial contract between God and the Devil; the contract between God and Satan is believed to have preceded the contract between Adam and Satan. In fact, Adam was simply "confirming" the existence of an earlier agreement between the Creator and the anti-Creator; according to these oral narratives, when he gave his cheirograph to Satan, Adam was simply following God's covenant with the Devil.

The attestations of the motif of Adam's writ in Barsov's and Dimitrova-Marinova's versions of the *SoT* parallel some Slavonic recensions of *Vita Adae et Evae*.[343] As mentioned, the agricultural dimension of Adam's writ is not at-

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73–78); 337–339, text № 6, *Подѣлба на свѣта между Бога и Дявола, Богъ иска да развали договора* (first published by M. Drinov in *Periodichesko Spisanie na Bŭlgarskoto Knizhovno Druzhestvo* 8 (1884), 123–126); 339–342, text № 7, *Богъ иска да пръвземе царството на дявола, който владѣе надъ земята и человѣцитѣ* [*Слугуването на Св. Петъръ у дьавола*], (first published in *Rodopski Napredŭk*, 1, 5 (1903), 180–183); 346–347, text № 10, *Дяволътъ създава вълка и си подѣля съ Бога человѣците* [*Христосъ и записътъ на Бога дяволу*], (first published in *SbNU* 12 (1895), 164–165). As well as the aforementioned tales analysed by Ivanov, there is one more account to be included in this type of legend about God's contract with the Devil; it was recorded in the village of Novo Selo, North-Western Bulgaria by Stefan Mladenov; see *idem*., "Kŭm vŭprosa za ezika i natsionalnata prinadlezhnost na Novo Selo, Vidinsko," *SbNU* 18 (1901), 499–500 (text № 1).

[342] See "Postanak svijeta (Gospod i Jahudija-Bogo)" in I. Šajnović, "Narodni život i običaji," *Zbornik za Narodni Život i Običaje Juznih Slavena* (Zagreb), 3 (1898), 253–4; the text was discussed by Radchenko in his "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 107–9.

[343] Textual witnesses representative of this category are listed below.

1) A sixteenth/seventeenth-century account (entitled "Слово ѡ Адамѣ и ѡ Евѣ ѿ зачела и до сьвѣршенїе, ѕказь, ѡч҃ бл҃ви") kept in the former Court Library, Vienna (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), MS Slav 149. *Cf.* I. V. Jagić, "Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen. I. Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adambuches," 31–33.

2) An account from the sixteenth-century *Panagiurishte Miscellany* (National Library of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, № 433, fols. 12–20); *cf.* Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 211–17.

3) The account entitled "*Ѡ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучл(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*" from the fifteenth/sixteenth-century MS № 358 (fols. 183–192) from the former Rumiantsov Museum (now State Historical Museum, Moscow); *cf.* Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 1–3. This text was also published by Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 298–304 (who dates it to the fifteenth century and refers to fols. 185–192 of MS № 358).

4) Another version of the account "*Ѡ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучл(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*" from the seventeenth-century MS № 380 (fol. 31rev. ff.) from the former Rumiantsov Museum (=State Historical Museum, Moscow); *cf.* Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 4–7.

5) The text "*Слово о Адаме начало и до конца*" from the seventeenth-century MS № 637 (fols. 19–27) from the Collection of V. M. Undol'skii (State Historical Museum, Moscow); *cf.* N. Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 1–6.

6) A sixteenth-century account (Слово ѡ Адамѣ н ѡ Евѕе ѿ ꙁачала н совершенна, г҃н бл҃вн ѡᵛ) from MS № 794 (fols. 311r–323r) from the *Izmaragd*, the Troitso-Sergievskaia Lavra, Moscow; *cf.* N. Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 6–15.

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tested in Greek, Armenian, or Georgian recensions of the apocryphon. It is the unique hallmark of its Slavonic recensions. This is exactly what Ivanov pointed out some eighty years ago,[344] showing that the generic motif of Adam's writ was known as early as the eighth century in legends circulating in Palestine ("преданията на палестинските предели");[345] it was elaborated in Christian (Byzantine) hymnography[346] and related iconography.[347] It featured in the liturgical hymns of St. John of Damascus (*c*. 675–749) and St. Cosma Melodus (made Bishop of Maïuma near Gaza in 743), central to the troparia performed on the feast of Christ's Baptism (*i.e.* Epiphany).[348] While the motif of Adam's writ was not only attested in Slavonic tradition, only in Slavonic tradition is it related to the Devil's prohibition of Adam's tilling the earth. The agricultural dimension of Adam's writ is therefore a unique Slavonic imprint on the fabric of the apocryphon of the *Vita Adae et Evae* (and indeed the *SoT*). According to the sixteenth-century Bulgarian version of the apocryphon from the *Panagiurishte Miscellany* (preserved in the National Library of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, № 433, fols. 12–20), the encounter between Adam and Satan is described in the following way:

Тако вьꙁжть воловн н вьꙁѡра, да створн себѣ храна. Тогᴬа днаволь прндѣ н ста н не да᷍ Адамоу ꙁемж работатн н реᵛ Адамоу: моıа ıᷓ ꙁемнаıа, а бжїıа сжᵀ нба᷍ н ран; да аще цшешн мон бнᵀ, да работн ꙁемж; аще лн хошецın бжн бнтн, подн в ран. Адамь реᵛ: гᴬнѣ сжᵀ нбса᷍н ꙁемʻлѣ н ран, н вьсѣ вʻселенаа. Днıаволь реᵛ емоу: не дамь тн ꙁемлж работатн, аще не ꙁапншешн мʻнѣ ржкопнсанїе свое, да сн мон. Адамь реᵛ: кᵀо ꙁемн гъ, тоговь есʻмь аꙁь н ужда моıа. Днıаволь вьꙁраᴬува сж. Адамь бо ꙁнаıаше, ıако Гъ снntн хоцеть на ꙁемж н ѡблѣцıн᷍ хоцеᵀ вь ѵлвѵн ѡбраꙁь н попратн хоцеть днıавола. Н реᵛ днıаволь: ꙁапншн мʻнѣ ржкопнсанїе свое. Н ꙁапнса Адамь: кто ꙁемн гъ, тоговь н аꙁь н ужда моıа.[349]

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7) A seventeenth-century account ("Скаꙁанıе объ Адамѣ н Евѣ") from MS № 925 (fols. 1–9) from the Solovetskaia Library (=Theological Academy, Kazan); *cf.* Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 90–6.

8) An account ("Слово о Адамѣ отъ наѵала н до коньца н како нꙁгнанъ нꙁъ раıа") from MS № 868 (Шестодневецъ), fols. 36–43, from the Solovetskaia Library (=Theological Academy, Kazan); *cf.* Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 208–16.

9) An accounts published in I. Franko, *Apokrify i legendy z Ukrainskikh rukopisiv*, vol. 1 (L'viv: 1896), 19–26.

For further information see the exhaustive survey of Slavonic apocryphal sources in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 4–5, 25–41, 117–120; for the renditions of the narrative of Adam's Writ in Balkan iconography and oral tradition, see *ibid*., 42–62.

344 See note 340, *supra*.

345 Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 224–5.

346 *Ibid*., 225; Ivanov also refers to the material presented in Porfir'ev, "Apokrificheskie skazaniia," 41–42. See also Radchenko, "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 89–91, 99, 126–9. Incidentally, both Radchenko and Ivanov independently came to parallel conclusions.

347 *Cf.* Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 225 and Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 47–57; see also Figs. 8 and 9, *infra*.

348 *Cf.* Radchenko, "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 91.

349 Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 215 (§ 6).

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So he [Adam] took the oxen [and having harnessed them] began to plough, in order to produce food for himself [and his wife?]; thereupon the Devil came and stood [before the oxen] and did not allow Adam [to continue to] till the earth; and he said to Adam: "The earthly [habitat] is mine, [only] Heaven and Paradise belong to God. If you are to till the earth, you are to be mine. If you wish to be God's, go to Paradise!" Adam said, "Heaven and Earth, and Paradise, and the entire Universe belong to the Lord!" The Devil said to him, "I will not allow you to till the earth unless you write [with your own hand] a contract [confirming] that you are mine!" Adam said, "Whoever is the master [lit. the Lord] of the Earth, I am his, and his are my offspring." The Devil rejoiced. However, Adam knew that [one day] the Lord would descend to Earth, and would make Himself appear in the image of man, and He would trample the Devil underfoot. And the Devil said: "Write your contract [with me]!" And Adam wrote: "Whoever is the master [lit. the Lord] of the Earth, I am [hence] his, and so are my children!"[350]

According to some of the later versions of the *LAE* (such as the seventeenth-century Russian redaction of the apocryphon from Miscellany № 380 from the Rumiantsov Museum), Adam gives his writ to Satan knowing that it would be annulled when the Virgin gives birth to her Son:

И поятъ Адамъ волы и взора землю. И пріиде діаволъ и ста предъ волы, не дасть ему земли орати; и рече діяволъ: не дамъ тобѣ земли моея орати, понеже моя есть земля, а Божія есть небеса и рай; да аще хощеши мой быти, то землю мою работай ты; и аще хощеши Божій быти, то иди въ рай. – Адамъ рече: Божія есть небеса и земля и вселеная. Діяволъ не дасть ему орати, глаголаше ему: запиши рукописаніе свое, тогда ори землю мою. – Адамъ рече: чія земля, того и я и чада моя, – вѣдаше бо Адамъ, яко снити хощетъ на землю, родитися отъ Дѣвы. Діяволъ обрадовася велми и рече: тако запиши мнѣ. И взятъ плача и записа рукописаніе свое и рече: чія земля, того и я. Діяволъ взятъ рукописаніе Адамово и держа.[351]

And Adam took [his] oxen and began ploughing the earth. And the Devil came and stood in front of the oxen and did not allow him to plough the earth; and the Devil said, "I won't let you plough my earth! Because the Earth is mine, [only] Heaven and Paradise are God's! If you want to be mine, then you will be allowed to till my earth. If you want to be God's, go then to Paradise!" Adam said, "God's are Heaven and Earth and the entire Universe!" The Devil still did not let him plough, and said to him, "Give me a contract signed by you, and then you may plough my earth!" Adam said, "Whoever's is Earth, my children and I are his!" Because Adam knew that [God] will descend to Earth and would be born by the Virgin. As for the Devil, he greatly rejoiced and said, "Write what you said!" And he [Adam] took the slab and wrote his contract [with the Devil] on it with his hand, saying, "Whoever's is the Earth, I am his!" And the Devil took the writ and kept it.

On the other hand, some Slavonic apocryphal and oral narratives offer parallel attestations to a different version of the cheirograph legend. According to them, Adam signed the contract with the Devil at the end of his first post-Edenic

[350] See the translation of this excerpt by A. Kulik *apud* Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 27; according to Stone, this type of narrative interpretation of the motif of Adam's writ represents the Slavonic *Variant A* of the Cheirograph legend (*ibid.,* 27–33).

[351] Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 5.

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day, after sunset – a *sui generis* liminal period – which, according to vernacular folklore tradition, is the most dangerous temporal threshold. This detail suggests a forthcoming change in the status of the characters; the creation narrative becomes a rite of passage, endorsing the transformation of the celestial Adam into a mortal human being. Scared by the darkness which he had never had to experience previously (since in Paradise there was no nightfall), the first man is tricked by Satan, who falsely promises him the recovery of light. Being unaware of the cosmic day-night rhythm, and of the time measurement previously established on Earth by God, Adam is thus deceived by the impostor = trickster (Satan), who claims to be the light-bearer. Of course this kind of narrative is a pun-tale playing upon the name of Lucifer himself ("Light-Bearer"). Adam signs a contract this time not with the "Master of the Earth", but with the "Master of Light." The only Slavonic apocryphal text in which this particular interpretation of the motif of Adam's writ is attested is the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the *LAE* ("*ѡ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучѧ(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*") from MS № 358 (fols. 185–192) from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany*.[352] According to this redaction, Adam twice gives Satan his writ/pledge: first while ploughing and then upon nightfall;[353] the tale about his contract with the Devil is presented as a two-fold incident. It begins with a segment about Adam's taking a covenant with "the Master of the Earth" (a motif attested only in Slavonic tradition);[354] then a further segment comes, according to which yet another covenant is made with "the Bearer of Light" (a motif attested also in Greek[355] and Armenian[356] traditions). Obviously, the account of the *LAE* from MS № 358 is a compilation of (at least) two sources representing different versions of the apocryphon (Versions A and B, according to Stone's taxonomy). These versions have close parallels in Bulgarian oral tradition,[357] which shows that different renditions of the tale circulated in both southern and eastern areas of *Slavia orthodoxa*, in both oral tradition and in apocryphal writings. Last but not least, the motif of Adam's signing the cheirograph with the Devil is likewise known in iconographic tradition.[358]

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[352] *Cf.* Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 1–3, and Tikhonravov *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 298–304; see also note 469 *infra.*

[353] Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 2.

[354] Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 4–5; see also note 469 *infra.*

[355] *Ibid*., 93–102.

[356] *Ibid*., 63–92.

[357] See Texts 7 and 8 in the Appendix, *infra*.

[358] See F. Buslaev, *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva*, vol. 1, 618 and 618a; in this monograph Buslaev refers to a rare miniature depicting Adam signing the contract with the Devil. It comes from an illuminated Church Slavonic copy of the Bible (MS № 34 from the Collection of the Russian Count Uvarov, fol. 11), dated to the seventeenth century (Fig. 6, *infra*). I am aware of three mural paintings rendering the same motif, all from sixteenth-century Moldavia. One such example is the fresco depicted on the northern wall of the church of the Voroneț monastery (dated 1547), which shows Adam writing the contract

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Among the few Slavonic apocryphal sources touching upon the fate of the cheirograph are the sixteenth-century Barsovian redaction of the *SoT*[359] and the nineteenth-century Russian text of Old Believer origin (cited above), "The birth of Cain and the cheirograph of Adam" ("Рожденіе Каина и рукописаніе Адамля").[360] According to both texts, the cheirograph was taken by Satan to Hell, where it was kept until Christ's descent, which heralded its destruction. In this way oral tradition and apocryphal writings seem to have agreed that Hades was the repository of the cheirograph;[361] this shared narrative feature is also attested in iconographic tradition ("Adam's Writ" Type 2).[362]

This is paralleled by the above mentioned iconographic representations of Adam's writ in compositions depicting the Baptism of Christ, showing him in the waters of the river Jordan, standing on a rock = the cheirograph under which serpents' heads can be seen.[363] This iconographic type appears to be related to some medieval Slavonic written accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land,[364]

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with Satan on a scroll placed on his knees; see V. Drăgut and P. Lupan, *Moldavian Murals from the Fifteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1982), Fig. 198. The image is accompanied by an inscription in Church Slavonic ("зде написа адамь ржкописаніе"), written on the upper rim of the composition. Adam is depicted seated, dressed in red-green garments, with the naked Devil standing in front of him, pointing his finger at Adam, as if dictating what he is to write. This fresco is a component of a visual narrative, which unfolds in a sequence of images related to Genesis; of particular importance is the agricultural dimension of the post-Edenic saga, since the scene of "Adam's writ" is positioned next to the scene of "Adam's ploughing"; see D. Grigorescu and P. Comarnescu, *Treasures of Rumanian Art. Voroneț: 15th and 16th century frescoes* (Bucharest: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959), Plate 95. The association between tilling the earth and the contract with the Devil is similarly interpreted in the *SoT* and the *LAE* as previously mentioned. See also P. Henry, *Monuments de l'art Byzantin. Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord,* 246 and Stone, *Adam's contract with Satan*, 57–9. According to Henry, this scene is in fact an illustration of local folklore tales ("ou illustre des croyances du folklore local").

[359] See the Appendix, Text 1 (the end of § 5), *infra*.

[360] Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 15–17; see also note 325, *supra*.

[361] Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 59.

[362] On the iconographic type of "Christ holding the cheirograph in Limbo" in Slavonic and Balkan religious art, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 59–62; for further visual representations of "Christ harrowing Hell", see Figs. 10 and 11, *infra.*

[363] See note 347, *supra*, and Figs. 8 and 9, *infra*.

[364] One such example comes from the sixteenth-century account of *The Description of the Holy Sites of Palestine by a certain Arsenii, a Deacon from Solun* (who was most probably a pilgrim of Bulgarian or Greek origin from Thessaloniki); see Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 225 (note 3) and V. P. Adrianova, "Khozhdenie Arseniia Selunskago," *IORIS* 18, 3 (1913), 217. In his *Description of the Holy Sites of Palestine* Arsenii claimed to have seen the stone by the River Jordan on which Jesus stood when baptised; he further asserted that, not only were the imprints of Christ's feet on the stone still visible, but so were the bones of the snake which used to guard Adam' cheirograph. A fragment from MS № 1464 from the Sofiiskaia Library in Novgorod containing Arsenii's *Description of the Holy Sites of Palestine* was published by S. Giurova in A. Miltenova (ed.), *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* vol. 5: Estestvoznanie (Sofia: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1992), 159–61 (*cf.* p. 161), 426–34; see also the duscussion in Giurova,

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and to oral legends (such as Text 8 in the Appendix, *infra*); according to them the cheirograph was destroyed by Christ at the moment of his Baptism. Visual narratives, along with written and oral tales thus melt into one overarching metatext.

3.6.3. Fratricide

As in the biblical text (Gen 4:10–13), in the *SoT* (Barsov's,[365] Mochul'skii's,[366] Sreznevskii's,[367] and Dimitrova-Marinova's[368] accounts) Cain decides to kill his brother because his offering was not acknowledged by God, whereas Abel's sacrifice was accepted;[369] still, there are a number of supplementary details appearing in the *SoT* narrative that parallel extra-biblical sources (such as the *Palaea*). Mochul'skii was among the first to draw attention to the specific interpretation of the legend of fratricide in medieval Slavonic tradition (*i.e.*, that the murder weapon was a stone, which the Devil showed to Cain).[370] While analysing the apocryphal sources featuring this motif, he refers to a seventeenth-century MS № 76 from the Vienna Library (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), containing a copy of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* erotapocritic texts (Serbian recension). According to this source (fol. 6, question № 6), as in the

"Razkazŭt na solunskiia diakon Arsenii v konteksta na grŭtskata i ruskata poklonnicheska proza prez XIV–XVII vek," *Starobŭlgaristika* (*Palaeobulgarica*) 1 (1991), 100.

[365] See the Appendix, Text 1 (§ 6), *infra*.

[366] "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," 176–7.

[367] See the Appendix, Text 2 (§ 8), *infra*.

[368] "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 55.

[369] This motif also features in some Bible-related vernacular oral narratives; one such example is provided by the Bulgarian folk aetiological legend "За кучиньа-та," which was recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century in the city of Prilep (now in the Republic of Macedonia) by Kuzman Shapkarev. It was narrated by Archbishop Metodi Kusev ("*слушани от Н. В. Прен., О. Архим. Методия Кусева прѣз 1862–1865 г.*"); see Shapkarev, *Sbornik ot Bŭlgarski Narodni Umotvorenia.* Chast 2. Prostonarodna Bŭlgarska Filosofia ili Bŭlgarski Narodni Prikaski, Verovania, Poslovitsi, Gatanki, Igri i pr. Otdel 1. Bŭlgarski Prikaski i Verovania s Pribavlenie Niakolko Makedonski i Albanski. Kn. VIII. Sŭbral i izdava Kuzman A. Shapkarev (Sofia: Pechatnitsa na 'Liberalnii Klub', 1892), 279 (text № 146). See also the discussion in Badalanova, "Ekskursy v Slaviansk̆uiu Fol'klornuiu Bibliiu: Zhertva Kaina (Fol'klornye i literaturnye interpretatsii odnogo bibleiskogo siuzheta)," *Annali dell'Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Dipartimento di studi dell'Europa orientale. Sezione SLAVISTICA,* 5 (1997–1998), 11–33; *Idem*., "Kain i Avel' v bolgarskom fol'klore," *Ot Bytiia k Iskhodu* (eds. V. Petrukhin *et al.*; Moscow: GEOS, 1998), 154–162.

[370] *Cf.* Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 81–2. The motif of Cain killing Abel *with a stone* is also attested in some Russian folklore spiritual stanzas (entitled *О двѣнадцати пятницахъ*); see P. Bessonov, *Kaleki Perekhozhie*, Vyp. 6 (Moscow, 1864), 120 (text 579, ll. 5–13), 124–5 (text 580, ll. 3–9), 128 (text 581, ll. 4–10), 138 (text 584, ll. 7–19), 148 (text 586, ll. 5–14). Among the earliest iconographic representations of this motif in *Slavia orthodoxa* is the fresco of "Abel's murder" in the Chapel of St Demetrius in the Serbian Dečani Monastery, painted in 1345–1348; see Pupin, *Manastir Dečani,* 48. A similar motif is featured in the fresco "Cain murdering Abel" on the northern wall of the Voroneţ Monastery, Romania (1547); see D. Grigorescu and P. Comarnescu, *Treasures of Rumanian Art. Voroneţ: 15th and 16th century frescoes*, plate 101. See also note 398 *infra*.

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SoT, the Devil appears to Cain in his dream and teaches him how to kill his brother with a stone:

Кто показа Каннoу оубнтн брата своего не вѣдн что iєсть съмрьть? О. Дїаволь вь снѣ показа iємоу камень рекь: оударъı сь снмь брата своего, н оубнешн iєго, iєже н сътворн.[371]

Who revealed to Cain how to kill his brother without knowing what death is? [Answer] The Devil appeared to him in a dream, pointed to a stone and said, "Hit your brother with this, and you will slay him!" So that's what he did.

One further point. The motif of Abel being killed with a stone is also present in *The Book of Jubilees* [4:31–2], while the narrative of Satan showing Cain a stone and advising him how to kill his brother with it is further attested in some Islamic exegetical writings from eleventh-century Persia, such as Al-Tha'labī's *Lives of the Prophets*.[372] This cross-cultural parallel will be discussed elsewhere.

3.6.4. The origin of mortuary customs

The episode concerned with the origin of mortuary customs (first performed by Adam and Eve, who learn how to bury their son from the doves) is told in a similar manner within the narrative tradition of both the *SoT* and the *Palaea*.[373] A Jewish source from the ninth century reports a related version of the fratricide story, although according to the *Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer* it was the raven that showed the mode of burial to Adam and Eve, not the doves:

Adam and Eve, sitting by the corpse [of Abel], wept not knowing what to do, for they had as yet no knowledge of burial. A raven coming up, took the dead body of its fellow (mate), and having scratched up the earth, buried it thus before their eyes. Adam said, "Let us follow the example of the Raven," and so taking up Abel's body buried it at once."[374]

This type of interpretation of the legend of Abel's burial is also attested in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim religious art,[375] and in the oral tradition of *Slavia orthodoxa*.[376]

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[371] Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 81.

[372] See W. Brinner (ed./transl.), *Lives of the Prophets by Al-Tha'labī*, 77.

[373] Pypin published one such example from the late fifteenth-century Russian edition of the text (see the *Rumiantsov Palaea*, MS № 453) in his *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny*, 9.

[374] *Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer*, Chapter 21.

[375] See J. Gutman, "On Biblical legends in Medieval art," 137–9, Badalanova Geller, *Qur'ān in vernacular*, 112–13 and Fig. 3. For the iconography of this motif in *Slavia orthodoxa*, see D. Rovinskii, *Russkiia narodnyia kartinki*. Sobral i opisal D.A. Rovinskii. Posmertnyi trud pechatan pod nabliudeniem N.P. Sobko (Sankt Peterburg: Izdanie R. Golike, 1900), 126; Rovinskii's analysis focuses upon one of the engravings of Vasilii Koren' (*Мастер Василий Коренъ*) from the illuminated printed Bible of 1692–1696, which depicts the laments of Adam and Eve and the burial of Abel (Fig. 7, *infra*).

[376] See the Bulgarian folk legend *Врабцитѣ научили Каина, какво да прави Авела* in *SbNU* 9 (1893), 164–7, and note 369, *supra*.

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3.6.5. The Death of Adam

If the story of fratricide in the *SoT* accounts is much closer to the *Palaea* and erotapocritic apocryphal writings, the narrative segments about the birth of Seth,[377] the death of Cain,[378] Adam's sickness,[379] Seth's quest (and his encounter with Satan),[380] Adam's death[381] and burial with a wreath woven from the Edenic branches (which are to grow into a three-fold tree to be used for the wood of the cross, on which Jesus is to be crucified),[382] follow the storyline of the *LAE*. As discussed above (see § 3.4), the tale about the end of Adam's life, as interpreted in the *SoT* accounts, parallels *The Legend of the Holy Cross*, attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, and intertwines with narrative fragments appearing in the Bulgarian apocryphon *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest*.

4. Conclusions

The Sea of Tiberias is an apocryphon of humble origins and modest lineage. It is an indigenous product rooted in the versatile cultural soil of *Slavia orthodoxa*. Its *Vorlage* must have been composed in medieval Bulgaria by homegrown scribes who most probably were also talented storytellers or singers of folk tales. The text they compiled was designed to satisfy the interests of local audiences. Who were these indigenous intellectuals and what was the nature of the product they created? Should it be considered a piece of literature or was it an oral narrative, which was eventually written down, presumably by the same people who performed it as a verbal text? If so, some modern theories based on the assumed low level of literacy in *Slavia orthodoxa* need to be reconsidered. Moreover our analysis shows that the indigenous Slavonic storytellers and singers appear to have been aware of the rich apocryphal tradition of the Byzantine commonwealth, where a great number of MSS containing various redactions of *Vita Adae et Evae, 2 Enoch*, *3 Baruch*, *The Legend of the Holy Rood*, and erotapocritic writings (*Razumnik, The Discussion Between the Three Saints*) were in circulation. *The Sea of Tiberias*, however, does not have as impressive a pedigree as do these apocrypha, nor does it have a Greek or Latin protograph, since its *Vorlage* was written in Old Church Slavonic. However, its scribes were familiar with the content of the classical apocryphal heritage of Byzantium, as

[377] Consult the versions of the *SoT* published by Dimitrova-Marinova ("Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 55) and Barsov [= Text 1 (§ 6) in the Appendix, *infra*].

[378] Consult Sreznevskii's version [=Text 2 (§ 8) in the Appendix, *infra*].

[379] *Cf.* Barsov [=Text 1 (§ 7) in the Appendix] and Dimitrova-Marinova ("Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 55–6).

[380] *Cf.* Barsov [=Text 1 (§ 7) in the Appendix] and Dimitrova-Marinova (*ibid.,* 55–6).

[381] *Cf.* Barsov's and Sreznevskii's editions of the apocryphon [=Text 1 (§ 7) and Text 2 (§ 9) in the Appendix, *infra*].

[382] *Cf.* Barsov [=Text 1 (§ 8) in the Appendix] and Dimitrova-Marinova (*ibid.,* 56).

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they used segments of various extra-canonical Bible-related narratives as components for their own accounts. At the same time, they remained faithful to their indigenous cosmogonies and incorporated them into the fabric of their own new apocryphon. Last but not least, this process was profoundly influenced by the spread of the ideology of Bogomilism.

We posed the question at the beginning of this paper as to why Iatsimirskii paid no attention to *The Sea of Tiberias*. In the light of our discussion, it seems likely that he considered this apocryphon to be either an idiosyncratic transcript of an oral (folklore) narrative, or perhaps a literary piece of naïve writing composed under vernacular Bogomilistic influence. This suggests that from Iatsimirskii's point of view, *The Sea of Tiberias* was hardly a "proper" apocryphal text, and hence its exclusion from his monumental *Bibliographical Survey of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature: Catalogue of Monuments* (*Old Testament Apocrypha*).

5. Appendix

The texts below use the following conventions:

<…> indicates an interpolation in the original Slavonic text (from another MS)
{…} indicates conjectural additions in the English translation.

Text 1

The text below presents a sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the *SoT* (Type B). It is the oldest so far extant recension of the apocryphon; its first edition was produced by Barsov,[383] to be followed by Ivanov, who published it again, forty years later, together with extensive commentaries, in his *Books and Legends of the Bogomils*.[384] We follow Ivanov's publication of the original text (based upon Barsov's edition).

Ѡ Тнвернадскомъ морѣ

І. Егда не бысть неба ни земли, и тогда бысть одно море Тнвнрнадское, а береговъ оу него не было. И снnде Гдь по воздѳхѳ на море Тнвнрнадское и вндѣ Гдь на морн гогола пловѳща, а тотъ гоголь Сотананлъ, зарось во (п)енін морской. И рече Гдь Сотананлѳ, акн не вѣдаа его: кто есн? И рече Сатананлъ: азъ есмн Бгъ. – А мена како нарецешн? И ѿвѣща Сотананлъ: а ты Бгъ бгомъ н Гдь Гдемъ. Аще бы Сотонанлъ не то слово рекъ Гдѳ, н Гдь бы его тѳтъ же нскореннлъ на морн Тнвнрнадскомъ. И рече Гдь: Сотонанле, понырн са въ море н вынесн мнѣ земли н кремень! Сотонанлъ же послѳша Гда н понырн са въ море н вынесн земли н кремень. И взѣ Гдь землю н песокъ, разсѣа по морю Тнвнрнадскомѳ н рече: бѳдн на море земла толъста н пространна! Н въза Гдь оу Сотонанла кремень н

[383] Barsov, "O Tiveriadskom More," 5–8.
[384] Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 290–94.

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преломн его на полъı, н въ правой р8кѣ оставн Гд҃ь оу себѧ, а въ лѣвой ѿдалъ Гд҃ь Сотонанлу. Н вз҃ѧ Гд҃ь посохь н наѵа бнтн кремень н реуе: вылѣтн нз҃ него кременн аг҃гли н архангелн по образ҃8 моем8 н по подобїю н без҃плотнїн! Н поѵали ѿ того кременн вылѣтатн снлъı огненъныıѧ, н сотворн н сотворн Гд҃ь аг҃гелъı н архаг҃лъı н всѧ девѧть ѵнновь. Н внде Сотонанлъ ѵто сотворнлъ Гд҃ь, н поѵалъ тотъ кремень бнтн, ѵто далъ ем8 Гд҃ь нз҃ъ лѣвъıѧ р8кн. Н поѵали оу Сотонанл8 вылѣтатн аггелъı его Сотонанловъı, себе сотворн снл8 велнк8ю. Н сотворн Гд҃ь [Сотонанла] наѵалннкомъ надо всѣмн ѵнньмн аг҃гельскнмн … прїде Гд҃ь въ девѧтъı ѵннъ.

II. Н внд҃ѣ Сотонанль ıако ѿ Бг҃а пондосте н ѿ всѣхъ аг҃гелъı славнмъ, н помъıслн бъıтн равенъ Бг҃8 н помъıслн своею гордостью: поставлю престолъ на облацѣˣ н б8д8 подобенъ въıшнем8.[385] Н вѣдаа Гд҃ь мъıсль ево л8кав8ю, н восхотѣ вергн8тн его на з҃емлю со всею его снлою л8кавою, н посла Гд҃ь Мнхайла къ Сотонанл8. Н прїнде Мнхайлъ, н попалн Мнханла ѿ Сотонанла огнь. Н прїнде Мнханлъ ко Г҃д8: сего сотворнлъ, еже есн мнѣ велѣлъ, огнь мена попалнлъ ѿ Сотонанла. Н Гд҃ь Мнханла пострнже въ ѵерньцъı н наречуе нмѧ ем8 Мнханлъ, н Сотонанла наречуе сотона, понеже посла Гд҃ь аг҃гла своего. Мнханл8 повелѣ Сотонанла оударнтн скнпетромъ н вергн8тн его на з҃емлю со всею его снлою л8кавою. ѿна сѧ ѿ Сотонанла н дасть Гд҃ь нлъ Мнханл8, н о томъ нареуе сѧ Мнханлъ архаг҃елъ, а Сотонанлъ сотона. Н посла Гд҃ь Мнханла къ сотоне, н еще не доп8стнлъ сотона Мнханла до престола своего н бъıсть поскомленъ. Прїнде Мнханло архаг҃елъ н оударн скнпетромъ сотон8 н праз҃н его на з҃емлю со всею его снлою, н шлн снлъı его трн днн н трн ноцıн, акн каплн дождевныıа. Н въ треті дн҃ь сотворнша аг҃гельскїн соборъ, н поставн Гд҃ь надь всѣмн снламн аг҃гельскнмн Мнханла архаг҃гела н рекоша аг҃гли н з҃атворнша на Бг҃а, коево гдѣ огнь з҃асталъ, нново въ горахъ, нныхъ въ пропастѣхъ, по воз҃д8х8 летаıцнхъ, а нныхъ рукою нлн ногою блага[386] плаваетъ: гдѣ коево з҃асталъ, т8тъ н до сего днн пребъıваетъ.

III. Н потомъ сотворн Гд҃ь ран[387] на востоце, н помъıслн Гд҃ь сотворнтн первоз҃данного ѵ҃лвка Адама.[388] Н сатворн тѣло его ѿ седмн ѵастен: ѿ з҃емлн тѣло, ѿ каменн костн, ѿ морѧ кровь, ѿ сл҃нца оун, ѿ ѡблака мъıслн, ѿ ветра дъıханїне,

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[385] *Cf. Isaiah* 14: 12–14. The above account can be compared to the recently recorded Bulgarian folklore cosmogonic legend from the village of Chereshovitsa, Berkovitsa area, North-Western Bulgaria; the story was narrated by Yanachko Kirkov Yanachkov, born 1911 in the same village. In this Bulgarian folklore text the name of Satan, "Denitsa" (*Деница*), is etymologically related to the noun "ден" (denoting "day," *i.e.*, "light"); the name "Denitsa" becomes a Slavonic version of the name Lucifer (*i.e.*, "Bearer of Light"); see Badalanova, "The Bible in the making," text № 2.2.10.

[386] The word "блага" should be emended to read "блата".

[387] According to one fifteenth-century *Erotapokriseis*, God created Heaven and Earth on Sunday ("Вь н(д)лоу сътварн бь н҃бо н з҃емлю"); on Monday the creation of the Sun, Moon and whole celestial realm took place ("Вь пон(д)лкь сл҃нце н м(с)ць н вса нв(с)наа"); He then planted Paradise on Tuesday ("Вь торнн(к) насадн ран"). On Wednesday God placed the waters on (into?) the sea ("Вь срѣ(д) вьставн водн вь морѣ"), on Thursday He formed all the animals ("Вь ѵ҃тькь повѣле н съз҃даше се вьсн скотн н гадн"), and on Friday He created the body of Adam ("Вь пет(к)ь съз҃да адама"). On Saturday God gave Adam a soul ("Вь с8вот8 вьдаде ıемоу дı҃оу"). See the text of the "(Р)аз҃оумнн(к) ѡ все(м) 8просе ѡ(ѵ)е," from the *Tikveshky Miscellany*, edited and published by N. Nachov, "Tikveshky Rŭkopis," *SbNU* 8 (1892), 402.

[388] Medieval Slavonic apocryphal tradition maintains that Adam was created on Friday; see the above note.

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ѿ огнѧ теплота.[389] И понде Гдъ на нбса ко ѿц8 своем8 по дш8 Адама. Сотона невѣдаѧ что сотворнтн ем8: нстыка тѣло Адамово перстъı. И прїнде Гдъ к своем8 создан҃їю, к тѣл8 Адамов8, и внде тѣло нстыкано все, и рече Гдъ: о дїаволе! Како есн смѣлъ надь монмъ создан҃їемъ тако сотворн(тн)? И ѿвѣща дїаволъ: Гд҃н аще та кой ѹ҃вкъ ѹьгънетъ что ꙁаболнлъ н тотъ да тебѧ помѧнетъ. И Гдъ поворотн Адама вн8тръ раѧмн, н ѿтоле ꙁаѧтсѧ болѣзнь. Сотона сотворнлъ, аще оу кого ꙁаболнтъ н тотъ да воꙁдохнетъ: охъ, охъ, Гд҃н помнл8й![390] Ожн Гдъ Адама н дасть ем8 область въ раю надъ всѣмн пътнцамн н звѣрьмн н скотъı. И внде Гдъ ꙗко неоудобно Адам8 еднном8 въ раю бъıтн, н восхотѣ сотворнтн ем8 с8пр8г8. И вложн во Адама сонъ н въınѧ нꙁъ него ребро н сотворн ем8 с8пр8г8; н вопросн Гдъ Адама: Адаме! Ч҃то есн во снѣ внд҃ѧлъ? И рече Адамъ: Гд҃н, внд҃ѣхъ а҃п҃тла Петра въ Рнмѣ внннꙁъ главою распата, а҃п҃тла Павла въ Дамасъце, Їоанна во Едѣсе, а тебѧ, Гд҃н, во Їер҃лме Го^гоѳе на крестѣ раꙁпата н копїемъ въ ребра проводаема.[391] И насадн Адамъ[392] трн древа: еднново древо ѹасть свою, а др8гою древо ѹасть Еввѵну, а посредн гд҃не древо. И повелѣ Гдъ Адам8 ѿ всѣхъ древъ ꙗстн, а ѿ еднаго древа не повелѣ Гдъ ꙗстн. Ꙁаповѣда ем8: Адаме, ѿ сего древа вк8сншъ, смертїю оумрешъ.

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[389] For further details see Ivanov's commentaries, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 308–309; see also Dragomanov ("Zabelezhki vŭrkhu slavianskite religiozno-eticheski legendi," *SbNU* 10 (1894), 55), Petkanova (*Po knizhovniia drum na minaloto*, 24–28) and Miltenova (*Erotapokriseis,* 254–255, 335, 344–345); compare this to some other apocryphal anthropogonies from *Slavia orthodoxa* in which it is maintained that the body of Adam was made of eight parts, *i.e.*, text № 2 in the present Appendix ("Ѿ ꙁаѧтїн свѣта сего, како Оц҃ъ нашъ г(с)дь Саваоѳъ сотворнлъ н҃бо н ꙁемлю").

[390] A similar interpretation of the motif of the origin of disease can be found in the *Legend of How God Created Adam* ("Скаꙁанїе како сотворн Богъ Адама") from the seventeenth-century *Rumiantsov Miscellany* (MS № 370, fols. 147–177). According to this text, Satan pierces the soft clay body of Adam with a stick, thus creating 70 ailments; when asked by God (the Son!) why he wanted to damage His creation, the Devil answered that in this way man would never forget his Creator, since every time he faces pain he will appeal to God for help:

Окаянный же Сотона, вземъ древо, и истыка всего человѣка Адама, и сотвори ему въ немъ 70 недуговъ. И пріиде Ісусъ изъ горнево Іерусалима, и видѣ Адама древомъ исколота, и милосердова о немъ и рече Сотонѣ: проклятый діяволе, что сотворилъ человѣку сему, почто вложитъ недуги сія? – Тогда отвѣща діяволъ, окаянный Сотона, Господу, глаголя: аще пріидетъ кая болѣзнь человѣку сему, да не постигнетъ, до скончанія всего тобя не помянетъ; аще ль поболитъ, кой недугъ въ немъ постраждетъ, тогда всегда тебя имать на помощь призывати въ недузехъ сихъ. (Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 13).

The cursed Satan took a stick and pierced the whole {body of the first} man Adam, and created 70 ailments inside him. And Jesus came from the Heavenly Jerusalem and saw Adam pierced with a stick, and was merciful towards him and said to Satan: 'O Cursed Devil, what did you do to this man and why did you place these ailments in him?' Then the Devil, the cursed Satan answered God's question, saying, 'When a disease comes to this man without harming him, he {will forget about You and} will not mention Your name until the end of his days; but when a disease comes and strikes him with pain because of the ailments {I caused}, he will have to invoke you for help in {the misery of} his ailments.

See also the discussion above (§§ 3.2.2.2 and *3.3.2*).

[391] See the discussion above (§ *3.3.4*).

[392] In this version of the *SoT* Adam is considered to be the first gardener in Eden; see also the discussion above (§ *3.4*).

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IV. Н в то врема была въ раю змна паүе всѣхъ sвѣрей поүтона, преоукрашенна. Нзыде змна нзъ раю г8латн. Нсконн бѣ сотона ненавнда добра род8 ѵ҃вүьскаго, н сотона оберн8лса червемъ н прнползн ко зміе н реүе змїа: пожрн ма! Пожре черва н несе в ран. Змна же оберн8ла са около запрещенного древа, н наүа сотона вопнтн змневымн оустамн: о Евва! Үто твой Б҃гъ повелѣ ластн? Н реүе Евва: ѿ всѣхъ древъ ластн повелѣлъ Г҃дь, а ѿ того древа не повелѣлъ намъ Б҃гъ ластн, да смертїю оумрешъ. Н реүе сотона: не смертїю оумрешъ, но будете акн богн, станете вѣдатъ добро н зло. Н внде Евва а негодъно се древо үто внде, н взя ѿ плода Евва н снде н дастъ Адам8 сыастн. Н Адамъ обнажн са ѿ Б҃га слова бжїа, н вндѣша срамот8 свою н взаша трн лнстне смоковнъые н сотворнша на себѣ рнзы смоковнъые, да бъı не вндя срамот8 свою, н скръıша са. Н вннде Г҃дь н зва: Адаме, Адаме, гдѣ вы? Н ѿвѣщавъ Адамъ: Г҃дн, согрѣшнхъ, прест8пнхъ. Н ѿвѣщавъ Адамъ: Господн, жена ма прельстнла. Н реүе (Г҃дь) Еввѣ: ты, окаянаа, үто сотворнла? Н ѿвѣщавъ Евва: Г҃дн, змна ма прельстнла. Н реүе Г҃дь: ты, прел8кавая, үто сотворнла? Н ѿвѣщавъ змна: Г҃дн, сотона ма прельстнлъ. Н реүе Г҃дь Адам8: ѿселѣ ты снѣсн хлѣбъ свон въ поте лнца твоего; а ты, окаянаа Евва, в пеүалн роднш дѣтн; а ты, прел8кавая (змна), ѿселѣ на уреве своемъ полъзаешн до сконүанїа вѣка своего по землн. Н повелѣ Г҃дь Адама н Евв8 нзъ раа нзгнатн вонъ. Н тогда паде са нзъ раю двѣ частн его: Адамова часть паде во Едр8[393] рек8, а Еввнна въ Тнгръ рек8, а г҃дне древо остало са въ раю.

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[393] The hydronym designating the name of the river into which Adam's part of the tree fell has three different spellings in the present account. All of them give the accusative form of a supposed name of a biblical river. The first is Едр8 (Edru), which is an accusative form of the feminine hydronym Едра (Edra). The second is Едръ (Edr), suggesting that the hydronym is a masculine noun. The third form is Ефранъ (Efran).

In my previous translation of the Barsovian edition of the *SoT* (see "The Bible in the making," 219–230), I erroneously suggested that the name of the river in which Adam's part of the tree fell must have been Ефратъ (Euphrates). This was based on the presumed reading of the forms Едр8, Едръ, Ефранъ as corruptions of Ефратъ (*i.e*., Euphrates). Instead, in this particular text the name of the river into which Adam's (*i.e*., the male part) of the tree fell should read "Jordan," which is occasionally rendered in other Slavonic texts as Едранъ (but also Ердань), Ердъ, Ерда, Нерда / Ірда, Ірда[н] etc. (see Tikhonravov *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, vol. 1, 13, 301). According to the Slavonic *LAE*, the Jordan is also believed to be the river where Adam's repentance took place (see: Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 216), whereas Eve repented either in the Tigris (*ibid*.), or in the Euphrates. The latter hydronym was spelled in many different ways in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts (*i.e*., as Ефратъ, Ефравъ, Еѳравъ, Еѳранъ, *etc*.), with the character Ѳ (the Slavonic counterpart of which was frequently the letter Ф) being rendered occasionally as Д, since Ѳ and Д were often depicted by various scribes in a confusingly similar manner, with the horizontal line jumping from the middle (as in Ѳ) to the bottom register (as in Д). Thus the Old Church Slavonic spelling of Euphrates (Ефратъ, Ефравъ, Еѳравъ, Еѳранъ, *etc*.) could have ended up as Едратъ, Едравъ, Едравъ, Едранъ, *etc*. On the other hand, according to Slavonic recensions of the *Vita Adae et Evae* it is hardly ever the Euphrates where Adam's part of the tree falls; in some rare, isolated cases it can be the Tigris (rendered as Тнгръ, Мнгръ, Таргъ, *etc*.), but usually it is the Jordan. It can be argued, therefore, that in the Barsovian version of the *SoT* the name of the river into which Adam's part of the tree fell should likewise be read as "Jordan." Of course, it would seem logical to assume that Adam's part must have fallen into the Euphrates, since (as the present text states) Eve's part fell into the Tigris; this assumption was made by other scholars as well, on the basis of the obvious link between the Tigris and Euphrates (see: Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.348).

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V. Н плака сѧ Адамъ трндесѧтъ лѣтъ. Н внда Гд҃ь слезы Адамовы н восхотѣ его помнловатн, да тн праведенъ бы Адамъ, погнблъ бы. Н посла Гд҃ь архг҃ела своего Мнханла, повелѣ ем8 зємлю пахатн.[394] Н наѵа Адамъ зємлю пахатн, н прїнде к немѵ сотона н реѵе Адам8: ѵто дѣлаешн? Адамъ реѵе: зємлю паш8. Н сотона реѵе: кто тебѣ повелѣлъ? Адамъ реѵе: Гд҃ь мнѣ велѣлъ. Н сотона реѵе: господна небеса, а зємлѧ моѧ; аще хощешн зємлю пахатн, н ты дан мнѣ на себѣ рукопнсанїе н на весь родъ свон по тебѣ б8д8щнхъ. Н реѵе Адамъ: колн зємлѧ твоѧ, н ажъ твон. Н напнса Адамъ на себѣ р8копнсанїе н на весь родъ по нних б8д8щнхъ, н ѿдасть сотонѣ. Сотона радъ бысть н несе во адъ, н, по томоу р8копнсанїю, ѿ Адамовы смертн н по Хр҃тово распѧтїе, н прнмаше дїаволъ н прнводнтъ грѣшнъıхъ н правенъıхъ во адъ всѣ равно.[395]

VI. Н родн Адамъ два съına: Канна н Авелѧ.[396] Каннъ былъ зємледѣлецъ, Авель паст8хъ. Н во времѧ Каннь прннесе жертв8 Б҃г8 ѿ плода своего, н прежде самъ вк8сн, н Б҃гъ же разгнѣва сѧ на Канна н не прнѧ жертв8 его. Н потомъ прннесе Авель ѿ стадъ свонхъ праведнъıхъ. Б҃гъ же прнзрѣ на жертв8 его Авелѣв8. Н разгнѣва сѧ Каннъ на брата своего Авелѧ. Н не вѣдаѧ ѵто сотворнтн, н возва его

My alternative reading of "Jordan" as the river into which Adam's part of the tree fell is based on some specific features of Old Church Slavonic orthographic techniques, involving the use of the upper register (*i.e.*, superscript). Letters do not always follow in a horizontal, left to right direction, but have a vertical level of notation; there are characters often written on top of one another, thus producing much more economic (in terms of the length of the word), abbreviated writings. Often the characters written in the upper register are dropped by the next scribe(s), or else a metathesis occurs between letters produced in such words; this kind of random reversal of the order of two (or more) adjacent letters/characters often occurs in Old Church Slavonic texts. As M. Sokolov points out, for economical, space-saving and word-length-conscious purposes some letters (such as Д (d) Р (r), and О) are often written in the upper level of the script, not in the standard, conventional one; see Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoi Literature*, vyp. 1, 6. In fact, the name of the river Jordan includes all these three (prone to turnaround notation) letters; it is hardly surprising therefore that this hydronym has so many fluctuating spellings in the orthographic tradition of *Slavia orthodoxa*. The Barsovian version of the *SoT* shows the logic behind such scribal discrepancies and also explains why such discrepancies occur constantly and systematically in various Old Church Slavonic spellings of biblical toponyms. Finally, it is an example of how shifting alterations in renditions of geographical or personal names become the rule rather than the exception.

[394] This motif is featured in a similar way in the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the *Life of Adam and Eve* ("*ѿ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучѧ(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*") from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany,* MS No 358 (Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 2), which parallels the Latin version of *Vita Adae et Evae* [22:2], and the Georgian version [20:1a]; see also the discussion above.

[395] Compare this to the sixteenth-century Bulgarian recension of *Vita Adae et Evae* from the *Panagiurishte Miscellany* (National Library of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, № 433); see Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 215. For similar interpretations of this motif in some Russian redactions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* from the period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 2, 5. For vernacular renditions of this motif in Bulgarian oral tradition, see Marko Tsepenkov's legends in the Appendix (Text Nos. 7 and 8), *infra*.

[396] Compare this paragraph to the eighth section of the eighteenth-century Russian version of the *SoT* published by V. Mochul'skii ("Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887) 173–7) and Ivanov (*Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 298–299) from MS № 56 from V. Grigorovich's Collection. For an iconographic rendition of the narrative, see Fig. 3, *infra*.

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гѳлатн на поле. Дїаволъ же нсконн бѣ сотона, неѧвнда добра родѳ ѵѣвѵескомѳ, н оукаꙁа Каннѳ на полѣ камень,[397] н оубн брата своего Авела.[398] Адамъ же вндѣ сн̃а своего оубнта. Адмъ н Евва плака сѧ тѳ надъ тѣломъ Авелевъимъ. Тѣло же Авелево лежаше на поле, Адамъ же н Евва всегда плаках сѧ беꙁпрестанн, н не раꙁѳмѣютъ ѵто надъ ннмъ сотворнтн. Н вндѣ Гд̃ь слеꙁы Адамовы, н сосла Гд̃ь двѣ горлнцы, н леташе надъ тѣломъ Авелевъимъ. Н еднна птнца падъ на ꙁемлю мертва въ горахъ, а дрѳгаѧ летающн надъ нею н положн сю н ростерꙁа ꙁемлю ногътѧмн своимн елнко можахъ н погребе сю въ ꙁемлю н полете проѵь. Вндѣ же Адамъ н Евва, н сотворнша ꙗкоже надъ тѣломъ Авелевнмъ, погребохъ въ ꙁемлю.[399] Н ѿтоле преста плакатн сѧ Адамъ н Евва по Авелѣ. Н потомъ даетъ Бг̃ъ Адамѳ сн̃а Снфа во Авелево мѣсто. Сосла Гд̃ь грамотѳ.[400]

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[397] See the discussion in Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 81–82.

[398] *Cf.* Gen 4:8. A similar interpretation of the fratricide narrative occurs in the eighteenth-century Russian version of the *SoT* published by Dimitrova-Marinova (*idem*., "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 55); see also note 370, *supra*.

[399] This episode features in a similar way in the late fifteenth-century Russian edition of the text of the *Rumiantsov Palaea* (MS № 453, fols. 40–42); see Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 9; see Fig. 7, *infra*.

[400] The meaning of this sentence is clarified by the following passage from the Bulgarian redactions of the *Paꙁоумнникъ* from the *Lovchansky Miscellany* (1618):

В.: да комѳ нан прѣжᴬе посла Бг̃ъ граматнжьство? – ѿ.: Снтѳ с̃нѳ Адамовѳ. (Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 261, question № 27).

Question: To whom did God first send the knowledge of grammar? Answer: To Seth, the son of Adam.

A parallel version of the above segment exists in one seventeenth/eighteenth-century Russian version of the *Discussion Between the Three Saints*:

В[асилій] р[ече]: Кому Богъ сослалъ первѣя грамоту? – Г[ригорій] р[ече]: Къ Сиѳу сыну Адамову, 10 заповѣдей. (Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 170).

{Saint} Basil said, "Who was the first to whom God sent an epistle?" {Saint} Gregory said: "To Seth, the son of Adam {God sent} the ten commandments."

According to the second fragment, the "letter" (epistle?) sent to Seth is described intriguingly as the "ten commandments."

The above two texts show distinctive similarities with the section related to Seth in the late fifteenth-century Russian edition of the *Rumiantsov Palaea* (MS № 453, fols. 40–42); the third son of Adam and Eve is described there as the righteous ancestor of mankind, to whom the knowledge of the alphabet and time measurement (including the names of days, months and seasons), and astronomy (*i.e*., knowledge of the names of stars) was first granted:

Бы(с) же Снфъ му(ж) прв(де)нъ; семоу в'дана быша евренска пнсмена, да быша раꙁоумелн сн̃ове ѵлвѵ(с)тнн ѵю(де)са Г̃а Б̃а, н ѿ сего наѵаше бытн грамоты. Жнтъ же Сн(ѳ) с̃ н о̃. лѣ(т), н ро(дн) Еноса, е(ж) тол'кует(с)ь скробь н болеꙁнь. […] Жнтьѧ Снфова … го снъı н … меющю Бм̃ь прор … оу пнсмена н ѿ бн(т) емѳ гл̃цоу, како подобае(т) Ба боѩтнсѧ. Тог(д)а же бъıша мноꙁн нераꙁоумнннн, днвнн(ж) вѣахоу р(ч)е Снфовн, да того ра(дн) Бмъ ꙁваше в ро(д) томъ н с̃нъı его Бжнн с̃нъı нарекошесѧ, ꙗко(ж) н мъı по Хѣ Хр(с)тыѩнн нарекохомсѧ. Н бъı(с) все(х) дн̃нн Снфовъı(х) лѣ (т) а̃ н н̃і, оумре. Се(ж) Снфъ нарe(ч) д̃ временн лѣтѳ н годъı н м(с)цн, нмена ꙁвѣꙁ(д)амъ, а слн̃цю н лоуне Гъ самь нарече. (Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 10).

Seth was a righteous man. He was given the {knowledge of} writing with Hebrew letters, so that the sons of men could understand the miracles of the Lord God. With him literacy began. When Seth reached the age of 270 years, he engendered Enos(h), the one who was able to interpret {*i.e*., understand, explain the nature of} sorrow and sickness. […] The life of Seth …

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VII. И жилъ Адамъ девѧть сотъ трндесѧть лѣтъ, разболѣ сѧ Адамъ,[401] наѵа оу него глава болѣтн. И посла сн҃а своего меншаго: пондн, ѵадо ко дом8 н прннесн мнѣ вѣтвн ранскіе древа нзъ раю. И прїнде Снфъ, коежде плака сѧ оу едема, н вопросн его ангелъ, внда плаѵь его. И реѵе Снфъ: господнне, оц҃ъ мон болнтъ Адамъ, н повелѣ мнѣ прннестн вѣтвъ ѿ ранскаго древа, н азъ, господнне, не мог8 внятн въ ран. Ангелъ же г҆д҃нь вынесе вѣтвь ранскаго древа. Снфъ же понде съ радостїю ко оц҃8 своем8 Адам8. И срѣте Снфа сотона н реѵе ем8: Снфе, гдѣ есн былъ? И реѵе Снфъ: былъ есмн въ раю, нес8 вѣтвь ѿ ранского древа, оц҃ъ мон болнтъ. И слыша сотона н хота Снфа н Адама пог8бнтн. И реѵе сотона: Снфе, пондн на Едръ[402] рек8 н Мнгръ[403] рек8, н тамо есть древа ѵасть оц҃а твоего н ѵасть м҃рн твоеѧ; н ты возмн ѿ тѣхъ древъ, да нсцелѣетъ оц҃ъ твон. Снфъ же не знаѧ сотонъı н посл8ша его, понде на Ефранъ[404] рек8, ажно блнзъ рекн лежатъ много ветъвен, н Снфъ же взѧ ѿ всѣхъ ѵастен н прїнде ко оц҃8 своем8, прннесе вѣтвы ѿ всѣхъ ѵастен. И взѧ оу него, сплете венецъ Адамъ н тогда Адамъ оумре н погребенъ бысть въ томъ веньцѣ.[405] И взѧ сотона дн҃8 Адамов8, ѿнесе ю, по ево р8копнсанїю, во адъ.

VIII. И ѿ его вѣньца возрастоша трн древа, н ѿ тѣхъ древъ возрастоша одно древо, н въ могнлехъ тѣхъ бытн пол8 ѿ того древа. А на томъ мѣсто неблг҃одарнїн людїе б8д8тъ н разбон творнтн, н ѿтоле прослъı то мѣсто разбоннчѵеское. Аще кто на томъ мѣсте жнветъ добръı н тотъ солъ слобенъ разбоннкъ, по прослъıтїю мѣста того. И въ то врема Авдїана цр҃а бысть во арнхонъскнхъ странахъ м8жъ

{corrupt passage} and his sons … {corrupt passage} who were empowered by God to know {unclear, reconstructed} about Scriptures and speak about life, and {teach people} how to be fearful of God. Many {among men} were unreasonable {back in those days}; the words of Seth, however, were divine, and this is why his kin and his descendants were called the sons of God, just as we are called Christians because of Christ. And Seth lived 912 years and died. It was also Seth who gave names to the four seasons, and to {the calendar} years, and to the months, and to the stars; as for the Sun and Moon, they were named by God Himself.

In the above paragraph the character of Seth's son Enos(h) [Gen 5:6–11] is conflated with Enoch [Gen 5:18–24].

[401] *Cf.* Gen 5:5 ("And all the days that Adam lived were nine-hundred and thirty years: and he died"). This motif is also attested in Slavonic apocryphal tradition; one such example comes from the sixteenth-century Bulgarian version of the *Life of Adam and Eve* from the *Panagiurishte Miscellany* (Sofia National Library, MS № 433, fols. 12–20), which confirms that Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old when he fell sick.

н жнᵀ Адамь .ѳ. сьᵀ лѣᵀ н .л҃. н паде вь болесть н вьзыпн Адамь глсоᴹ велїемь н реⱽ: сьберѣте сж, ѵеда моа, кж м'нѣ. Н оубоıѧ сжа҃ Адам велмн, понеже не ꙁнаıаше ѵ'то е҆ болесть.. (Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 212).

And Adam lived nine-hundred and thirty years and he fell ill and Adam lamented with a great voice, saying: "My children, come to me!" And Adam was exceedingly scared, because he had not known hitherto what sickness was.

This parallels the Greek [5:2], Latin [30:1], Armenian [30 (5):1] and Georgian [30 (5): 2] versions of the apocryphon; see Pericope 9 (Illness of Adam) in Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 24.

[402] See note 393, *supra*.

[403] The reading of the name of the river Мнгръ should be emended to Тнгръ (*i.e.*, Tigris).

[404] See note 393, *supra*.

[405] This part of the text parallels Slavonic recensions of *The Legend of the Holy Cross and the Two Brigands*, attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389); see also the discussion in § 3.4, *supra*.

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нменемъ Ассонъ, н понде онъ во Їер8салнмъ градъ н ꙁъ женою своею. Жена же его не проста с8цын, н родн на п8тн сн̃а н рекоша нма ем8 Сп8тннкъ, понеже на п8тн роднса. Вселн са Нассонъ на мѣстѣ нарнцаемомъ Раꙁбойннкъ. Нассонъ же былъ м8жъ праведенъ н раꙁ8менъ. Оумнраа, прнкаꙁа древо то ѹто распетн са Хр̃т8, Сн̃8 бж̃їю, н реѹе Сп8тннк8 сн̃8 своем8: ѹадо мое, стерегн древа сего, на семъ древе хощетъ распатн са нꙁбавнтель нашъ; ты, ѹадо, постражн съ ннмъ, сотворн ѹто бы тебѣ съ ннмъ оумретъ, да тебѣ радн съ ннмъ н мы нꙁбавленїн б8демъ м8кн вѣѹныа. Н ѿтолѣ Сп8тннкъ жнвъ н потомъ слын раꙁбоннкъ … [406]

The Sea of Tiberias[407]

I. When there was neither sky nor Earth, there was only the Sea of Tiberias, and it did not have any banks. 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 swimming, and this duck was Sotana-il {*i.e.* Satan}, wrapped in sea-foam.[408] And the Lord said to Sotana-il, as if He did not know him, "Who are you?",[409] and Sotana-il said, "I am God". {And 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[410] 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[411] into the Sea and bring me up earth[412] and flint!" Sotana-il obeyed the Lord and dived 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 thick and broad upon the Sea!"[413] And God took the flint from Sotana-il and broke it into two and He kept what was in His right hand for Himself and what was in His left hand He gave to Sotana-il. God then took His staff {or sceptre} and began beating the flint, saying, "Fly out from this flint – angels and archangels – in My own image and likeness, incorporeal!"[414] Fiery forces started to fly out from this flint, and {this is how} God created the angels and archangels and all nine ranks {of angels}. Sotana-il saw what God had created and began to beat the flint which God had given him from His left hand. Sotana-il's angels began to

[406] It is interesting to note that there are several features that distinctly connect the episodic structure of the final segment (§VIII) from this sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the *SoT* with the storyline of certain passages from the Bulgarian apocryphal *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest* from the second half of the tenth century; see Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura,* 1.280, 398–9.

[407] This is an improved version of my previous translation of the *SoT*; see "The Bible in the making," 219–230.

[408] Consult Thompson's *Motif-Index*, entry A 114.1 (Deity born from sea-foam), as well as entries 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).

[409] As in other cosmogonic narratives, in the present account the interrogative form of address marks the beginning of the dialogue between the two rival demiurges; see § *3.1.3* (*The Two Creators: God and Satan*), *supra*.

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

[411] See Thompson's *Motif-Index*, entry A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver).

[412] *Ibid.,* entry A 811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water).

[413] *Ibid.,* entry A 814.2 (Earth from sand strewn on primeval water).

[414] *Ibid.,* entry A 52 (Creation of angels).

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fly out and he created for himself great hosts.[415] God made him {Sotana-il} the head of all angel ranks, and God 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 himself equal to God and thought in his pride, "I will place {my} throne in the clouds and I will be like the Most High One".[416] Knowing his cunning thoughts, God wished to throw him {Sotana-il} down to Earth with all his cunning host, and God sent Michael[417] to Sotana-il.[418] Michael 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} ordained him as a monk and gave him the name, "Micha-il". Sotana-il was called "Sotona," 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 host. Sotana-il was deprived of the "il" {ending of his name}, which was {then} given by God to Michael, and he was called "Archangel Micha-il", whereas Sotana-il became "Sotona".[419] God sent Michael to Sotona, and before he let Michael approach his throne, Sotona was stricken. The Archangel Michael came and hit Sotona with his sceptre, and struck him down to Earth together with his {Satanic} host,[420] which fell for three days and nights like raindrops. On the third day, the 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. Some {of the diabolical fiery forces fell} in the mountains, some of them {plunged} into the abyss, some {kept} flying through 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.[421]

III. And then God created Paradise to the East and thought of creating the primordial man, Adam. And He created his body from seven parts. 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, his breath from the wind, his warmth from fire. {Then} God[422] went to the sky, to his Father, for Adam's soul.[423] Not knowing what to do to him, Sotona pierced Adam's earthly body.[424] 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

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[415] *Ibid.,* entries A 50.1 (Creation of angels and devils) and G 303.1 (The Origin of the Devil and his companions).

[416] *Ibid.,* entry A 106.2 (Revolt of evil angels against God).

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

[418] The Belarusian legend "The Lord and the Devil" contains a similar motif; see Romanov, *Belorusskii Sbornik,* vol. IV, 1–2.

[419] See also the discussion above (§ 3.2.3.2).

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

[421] For further details see Ivanov's commentaries on this passage in *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 308. 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 Thompson's *Motif-Index.*

[422] According to the present text, it was Jesus Christ who created the universe and made Adam, not God the Father; see also the discussion above (§ *3.2.2.2*), as well as note 390, *supra*.

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

[424] See also the text of the legend recorded by Yordan Kovachev in the village of Vakarel (Western Bulgaria), and published by him in *SbNU* 30 (1914), 49; in connection with the above,

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answered, "God, as soon as man has an ache somewhere, he will mention Your name." God then turned Adam inside-out, with his sores on the inside, and that is how illness originated.[425] This is what Sotona did, {and that's why} when someone is ill, he sighs and says, "Oh, oh God, have mercy upon me!" God brought Adam to life and gave him reign in Paradise over all the birds, beasts, and animals. And God saw that it was not convenient for Adam to be on his own in Paradise 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.[426] 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 Eden}, 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 tree He ordered him not to eat.[427] He commanded him, "Adam, if you try {the fruit} from this tree, you will surely die."

IV. At that time in Paradise the serpent was the most reputable among animals and the most handsome. The serpent went out of Paradise for a walk. Sotona from the very beginning 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[428] ate the worm and took it into Paradise. The serpent then coiled around the forbidden tree and Sotona started calling out from the serpent's mouth, "O Eve, what did your God order you to eat?"[429] 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." And Eve saw {what was} the unsuitable tree; and that is what she saw.[430] And Eve picked a fruit and ate a bit of it, and gave it to Adam to eat. And Adam became stripped of God – of the Word of God – {and became naked} and he saw his own shame[431] {*i.e.*, his genitalia}[432] and took three fig leaves and made a fig-garment for himself, so that his shame was not visible, and he covered himself. God then entered and called out, "Adam, Adam, where are you?"[433] And Adam answered, "God, I sinned, I trespassed." And Adam answered, "Lord, my wife enticed me." And He {God} said to Eve,

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consult entries A 60 ("Mar-plot" of creation: an evil opponent attempts to undo or mar the work of the Creator) and A 63 (Devil as mar-plot at creation) in Thompson's *Motif-Index*.

[425] For parallel (apocryphal and folklore) readings of this motif, see Dragomanov, "Zabelezhki vŭrkhu slavianskite religiozno-eticheski legendi," *SbNU* 10 (1894), 55–57, Petkanova, *Apokrifna literatura i folklor*, 157–159, Tomicki, "Ludowe mity o stworzeniu człowieka," 51–56; see also the discussion above (§ *3.3.2*).

[426] *Cf.* Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1 (Creation of first woman from man's rib).

[427] *Ibid*., C 621.1 (Tree of knowledge forbidden) and E 90 (Tree of life).

[428] In Old Church Slavonic the noun denoting "serpent" is feminine.

[429] *Cf.* Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 63.6 (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve), and G 303.3.3.15.1 (The Devil in the form of a snake tempts Eve).

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

[431] The word denoting "shame" can also mean "disgrace," as well as "embarrassment."

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

[433] In the original text the pronoun "you" is given in a plural form. In Slavonic languages there exist two separate forms of the second person personal pronouns (*i.e.*, singular and plural forms). When describing how God approaches Adam, the scribe uses the plural (*i.e.*, polite)

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"You forlorn one! What did you do?" And Eve answered, "Lord, the serpent enticed me!" And the Lord said, "You, the most cunning, what did you do?" And the serpent answered, "Lord, Sotona enticed me!" And the Lord said to Adam, "From now on, you will earn your bread with the sweat of your brow.[434] And you, forlorn Eve, will give birth to children in sorrow.[435] And you, most cunning {serpent}, from now on will crawl on your abdomen until the end of your days on the Earth." And the Lord commanded Adam and Eve to be expelled from Paradise.[436] Then, two parts of Paradise trees fell; Adam's part fell into the river Jordan and Eve's part fell into the river Tigris. God's tree remained in Paradise.

V. And Adam cried for thirty years. And the Lord saw Adam's tears and wished 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. 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 Earth is mine. If you want to plough the earth, give me a writ for yourself and for all your 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. Sotona rejoiced and took it to Hell. According to this writ, from Adam's death until Christ's crucifixion, the Devil received both the righteous and the sinful and took them to Hell, regardless.[437]

VI. And Adam fathered two sons, Cain and Abel. Cain was a tiller of earth and Abel was a shepherd. And when Cain made an offering to God of his fruits, he tasted them first, and God became angry with Cain and did not accept his offering. Then Abel made offerings from his unblemished[438] 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.

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 constantly cried without cease, and they did not know what to do with it {*i.e*., the corpse}. And the Lord saw Adam's tears and sent two doves which flew 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, took it and dug the earth with its talons so that it could bury that one in the earth, 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.[439] After that, God gave Adam a son, Seth,[440] in Abel's place. [Seth was the first man to whom] God granted literacy/writing.

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form of the pronoun (вы), but when he describes how God approaches Eve and/or the serpent, he uses the singular (*i.e*., familiar) form (ты).

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

[435] *Ibid*., A 1351.1 (Origin of childbirth pains).

[436] *Ibid*., A 1331.1 (Paradise lost because of forbidden fruit).

[437] See Fig. 6, *infra*. See also note 358, *supra*.

[438] The same adjective can also denote "just" and "righteous" (in relation to people).

[439] *Cf.* Thompson's Motif-Index: A 176 (God ordains ceremonies and regulations) and A 1500 (Origin of customs); see also the discussion *supra* (§ *3.6.4*).

[440] Further on the representation of Seth in Biblical and extra-Biblical traditions, see John D. Turner, "The Gnostic Seth," *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (eds. M. Stone and T. Bergen, 1998), 33–58.

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VII. And Adam lived 930 years[441] and became sick. His head started to ache and he sent his youngest son {on a quest for a cure, asking him}, "Go home {*i.e.*, to the Garden of Eden}, my child, and bring me the branches of the Paradise-tree from there." And Seth set off and started crying in front of Eden, and when the angel saw him crying, he 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, "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 Jordan and Tigris rivers; there are {two} trees from the parts {of Paradise} 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 river Jordan 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 and wove a wreath, after which 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 {at the burial place of Adam = Golgotha}, and from these three trees, one tree issued forth, and in these mounds {at Golgotha} there was {placed} half of this tree. And at this location ignoble[442] people would dwell and commit crimes, and from then on it would become notorious as a place for brigands. Regardless whether a good {man} or an evil-doer happened to settle there, they both would be considered malevolent bandits, because of the {notorious} fame of the place.[443] During the reign of Tsar Avdian,[444] in the land of Jericho, there was a man whose name was Iasson {*i.e.* Jason}, who went to the city of Jerusalem with his wife. His wife was pregnant and en route she gave birth to a son, whom they named Sputnik {*i.e.* "Traveler"}, because he was born during the journey. Jason settled at the {aforementioned} Place of Brigands. Jason was a wise and righteous man. When he was dying, he pointed to the tree on which Jesus, the Son of God, would be crucified, and told his son Sputnik, "My child, guard this tree, because upon this tree our Saviour will be crucified. You, my son, share His sufferings. Act so that you die together with Him, so that because of you and Him, we will also be delivered from Eternal Sorrows." From then on, Sputnik lived there and after that the evil brigand …[445]

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

[442] The translation of this word is based on a textual emendation, reading "ignoble" instead of "ungrateful."

[443] This apocryphal text presents a peculiar interpretation of the Crucifixion theme, rather similar to that offered by the aforementioned Bulgarian Priest Jeremiah in his *Legend of the Holy Rood*, and different from the canonical text, according to which Jesus was crucified between two bandits. According to the present text, the two men between whom Jesus was crucified were not bandits, but simply people who happened to be inhabitants of a settlement situated near Golgotha (known as "Bandit-Place").

[444] In the apocryphal *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest* this name is rendered as "Navdan," which may be a corruption of the ethnonym "Nabatean" (referring to the Aramaic-speaking Arabs who lived in the region).

[445] The end of the text is missing. However, the part remaining from its final section indicates that the content of the lost page(s) could have been related to the aforementioned Bulgarian apocryphal *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest*. It would seem plausible therefore to assume that the absent fragment from Barsov's edition was similar to the penultimate paragraph (also dealing with the same subject) of the recently discovered eighteenth-century

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Text 2

This version of the *SoT* (Type A-2) comes from an eighteenth-century MS discovered by Sreznevskii in 1902, during his palaeographic expedition in the Olonets, Vologda, and Perm Gubernias of the Russian Empire. The MS was purchased in the Kargopol region; it was classified under record № 45.8.190. Sreznevskii inserts interpolations from another MS (№ 32.16.11), since the present MS had missing pages; these interpolations are noted here in brackets (< >). Our publication follows Sreznevskii's edition of the text.[446]

Ѡ *зачатїи свѣта сего*
како Ѻц҃ъ нашъ Гд҃ь Саваѳъ сотворилъ н҃бо и землю

I. ѺѺц҃ъ нашъ нб(с)ный Гд҃ь Саваѳъ не зача(т), не ро<ж>денъ, Сынъ оубо рожденъ несотворенъ, Дх҃ъ Ст҃ыи не созданъ и не рожденъ, но исходящь.

II. Не бысть тогда ни неба, ни земли, ни а҃гглъ, ни архаг҃глъ, ни хер8вимъ, ни серафимъ, ни рѣкъ, ни ѡзеръ, ни кладѧзей, ни источниковъ, ни чл҃ка, ни холмовъ, ни облакъ, ни звѣздъ, ни свѣту, тогда не бысть ни звѣрей, ни птицъ, ни вѣтру, ни зари, токмо были тма и бездны; и не бысть тогда ни дни, ни нощи, ни вѣко(в), тогда все беначалїе и все безсмертїе. И Сн҃ъ Бж҃їй Хс҃ словомъ по повелѣнїю Ѻц҃а своего нᵉснаго всю тварь видим8ю и невидим8ю, <небесную> и земн8ю; и какъ рекъ, такъ и создалось и сотворилось Дх҃омъ Ст҃ымъ с 8<с>тꙋ его прем8дрыхъ. И рече Гд҃ь: б8ди н҃бо хрусталное на столпѣхъ желѣзныхъ, на седмидесѧти тмахъ тысѧщахъ, и б8дите звѣри и облацы и звѣзды и свѣтъ. И вѣтри дохн8въ из недръ своихъ, и рай на востоцѣ насади, и востокъ и западъ и сѣверъ і югъ. А Бг҃ъ сѧде на престолѣ на востоцѣ в велѣлепотѣ превыспреннїѧ славы своеѧ. И седмь нбсъ словомъ сотвори.[447] А мразы ѡ лица Гд҃нѧ исходѧ и ст8день, а громъ гласъ Гд҃нь въ колесницѣ ѡгнѧнной оутвержень,[448] а молнїѧ словомъ изо 8стъ Бж҃їихъ исходитꙋ, и солнце из н8трѧнныѧ ризы Гд҃нѧ,[449] понеже Гд҃ь по лиц8 своем8 оутресѧ, и л8на ѡ солнца. И рече Гд҃ь: б8ди

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recension of the *SoT* from MS № 566 of the Library of the Academy of Sciences; see Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 51–57 (the fragment in question is to be found on p. 56). It is highly probable that the abridged final fragment of Barsov's edition of the *SoT*, along with the penultimate paragraph of Dimitrova-Marinova's edition, originate from a common protograph, the compiler of which was aware of the content of the Bulgarian apocryphal *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest*.

[446] See Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 99–104.

[447] See also the discussion *supra* (§ *3.2.2.3*).

[448] A similar description of thunder as God's voice embedded in a fiery chariot can be found in some other redactions of the *SoT*: the Slepche version (Shchapov, "Istoricheskie ocherki," 91) and the version from Cheboksary (Mochul'skii, "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," 174), both discovered by Grigorovich. See also the discussion above (§ *3.1.2*).

[449] Compare this to the following fragment from the seventeenth/eighteenth-century Russian versions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*:

В[асилий] р[ече]: Отъ чего солнце сотворено бысть? – І[оаннъ] р[ече]: Отъ выспренныя ризы Господни. (Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 169).

{Saint} Basil said: "From what was the sun created? " {Saint} John said: "From God's over-garments."

It is evident that these two fragments refer to a common extra-canonical compendium of cosmogonic knowledge which might have been transmitted through the channels of both apocryphal literature and cognate oral tradition; see also note 87, *supra*.

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тма столповъ на возд8сѣхъ. И тако сотворишасѧ и создашасѧ словомъ Гд҃нимъ. А столпы тѣ недвижимы ѿ начала. И видѣ Гд҃ь, ꙗко добро. Гд҃ь же рече: б8ди на тѣхъ столпѣхъ камень недвижимъ, а на камени землѧ, а на земли адъ весь мѣдѧнъ и вереи желѣзныѧ и врата мѣднаѧ и во адѣ темница мѣднаѧ и желѣзнаѧ и подъ адомъ тартаръ и дна нетъ. И рече Гд҃ь Бг҃ъ: б8ди на адѣ тма столповъ мѣдѧныхъ и камень, а на камени землѧ. И ѡсыпа Гд҃ь землю пескомъ, а на днѣ пе(с)к8 сотвори Гд҃ь словомъ камень и кременїе.

III. И рече Гд҃ь: б8ди на земли море Тивириадское, горкаѧ и солонаѧ перваѧ вода, на возд8сѣхъ оутвержена, а другаѧ землѧ на адѣ, а на той земли море, а 8 морѧ береговъ нетъ. И сниде Гд҃ь на море Тивириадское по возд8х8 и оузрѣ Гд҃ь на море гоголѧ плавающа и ста над ни(м). И рече ему Гд҃ь: кто есть ты? И рече ем8 противо сатана: азъ есмь бг҃ь. И рече ему Гд҃ь: а азъ кто? И рече ем8 сатана: а ты Бг҃ъ бг҃омъ и цр҃ь цр҃емъ. Аще бы не то слово рекъ і ино чьто противно Бг҃8, т8т же бы Гд҃ь его и сокрушилъ на море Тивириадскомъ. И рече Гд҃ь сатанѣ: понырни в҆ море и вынеси земли и камень. Сатана же, посл8шавъ Гд҃а, понырнув҆ в море, и вынесъ земли и каме(н). Гд҃ь же, взѧвъ оу сатаны камень, и преломи на двое; из лѣвыѧ руки дастъ сатанѣ; и оудари Гд҃ь пѧдїю в камень и рече Гд҃ь: б8дите аг҃гли по ѡбразу моем8 силни и бесплотни и безсмертны, совершающе всякое хотѣнїе мое. Ис кремени камени сотвори Гд҃ь аг҃гловъ; ѿ искры огненныѧ: Михаилъ архаг҃гелъ и Гав<р>їилъ, и Оурилъ и Сихайло и Рафайло и Помогали,[450] хер8вимы и серафимы, аг҃гли и архаг҃гли. И жезлъ стальной и оукладной, чемъ[451] оударилъ Гд҃ь в камень; ис камени вылѣтили аг҃гли словомъ по повелѣнію Гд҃ню: Михаилъ и Гаврїилъ архаг҃гли Гд҃ни, нб҃наго цр҃ѧ воеводы. Сатана же нача бити в҆ камень и безчисленныѧ силы бесп(л)отныѧ наби много. И рече Гд҃ь: б8дите тридесѧть китовъ и три кита звѣри морстїи на море Тивириадскомъ на водах, а б8ди на тѣхъ китахъ землѧ.[452] И разсеѧ Гд҃ь на тѣ(х) землю; и б8ди землѧ широка и толста и пространна, и прорасти д<р>евеса и цвѣты и травы и горы и холми, источницы, морѧ и рѣки. И сотвори Гд҃ь ѿ земли звѣри и скоты и рыбы в водахъ и птицы летѧщыѧ по возд8х8 моем8. И сотвори Гд҃ь

[450] In other MSS of the *SoT* the name of angel is rendered as either Помайло (Pomailo), or Помаиѧ (Pomail); see Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 100, note 3.

[451] Sreznevskii points out that in other MSS instead of the word "чемъ," there is "шестью"; see *ibid*., note 4.

[452] Compare this to the interpretation of the motif of the thirty-three whales in the Slepche version (Shchapov, "Istoricheskie ocherki," 91) and in the version published by Mochul'skii ("Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887) 174); a similar cosmogonic model occurs in the Bulgarian redactions of the *Razumnik* (*Разоумникъ*) from the *Lovchansky Miscellany* (1618):

В.: кажн мн ѵто дрьжнᵀ ꙁемлѧ? – ѿ.: вѡда въсока сѣлѡ. В.: да ѵто дрьжнᵀ вѡджтж? – ѿ.: камень плѡськь велмн. В.: да ѵто дрьжнᵀ камень? – ѿ.: д҃. кѵ̀тове ꙁлатъı. В.: да ѵто дрьжнть кѵ̀тове ꙁлатъıє? – ѿ.: рѣка ѡгьннаа. В.: да ѵто дрьжнᵀ тьн ѡгнь? – ѿ.: др8гъı ѡгнь еже е҆̀по жежькь ѿ того ѡгнѣ .ві. ѵастн. В.: да ѵто дрьжнᵀ дно того ѡгнѣ? – ѿ.: дьбь желѣꙁень. еже е҆̀прѣжде посаждень ѿ вьсего, а кѡренїе егѡ на снлѣ б҃жїн стонᵀ. (Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 260)

Question: Tell me, what holds the Earth? Answer: Very deep water. Question: And what holds the water? Answer: An exceedingly flat stone. Question: And what holds the stone? Answer: Four golden whales. Question: And what holds the golden whales? Answer: A fiery river. Question: And what holds this fire? Answer: Another fire which is twelve times as hot as the first one. Question: And what holds this fire? Answer: An iron oak which was planted before anything else, and its roots rest upon God's power.

See also the discussion in § *3.1.4*, and especially note 109, *supra*.

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дн҃ь и нощь и гадь пресмыкающыѧ по земли и на китахъ тѣхъ, на нихже оутверждена земля, аг҃ли пищ8 приносятъ, а земля подвизаетсѧ под востокъ и под‘ западъ и под‘ сѣверъ и под‘ югъ.

IV. И рече сатана протнвно Гд҃8 Саваоѳу: оу меня силы больше прежнего, подобенъ ı азъ Вышнем8. Гд҃ь же причте сатан8 во архаг҃лы и вземъ его на небеса. Сатана же нача выситисѧ и гордитисѧ, мыслию нача возноситсѧ и себѣ помышлѧти: азъ сотворю престолъ над‘ звѣздами на возъд8сѣхъ. Гд҃ь же проразѕмѣвъ мысль его л8кав8ю, и посла Гд҃ь архаг҃ела своего Михаила и повелѣ Гд҃ь сатан8 свергн8ти съ н҃бси. Михаил‘ же архаг҃лъ оударилъ сатан8 скипетромъ, и ѡпаливъ огнь ѿ сатаны. Михаил же архаг҃лъ прииде къ Г҃ду Саваоѳ8 и рече Гд҃ви: огнь мѧ палитъ ѿ сатаны. Гд҃ь же архаг҃ла Михаила постриже в чернцы и положи на него схим8 со кр҃сты с҃тыми Хр҃та сн҃а Бж҃їѧ Г҃са Назарѧнина. Михаил же архаг҃лъ прииде къ сатанѣ и оударилъ онъ его сатан8 скипетромъ и свергн8въ на землю во адъ, во тм8 кромешн8ю и в тартаръ со всѣми бѣсовскими силами; а силы его шло три дни и три нощи во адъ кромешъный, что каплѧ дождеваѧ. И рече Гд҃ь: аминь. И н҃бса затворишасѧ и висѧщисѧ по во(з)д8х8 бѣси, держими повелѣнїемъ Бж҃їимъ, падъ на землю, ѿ крѣпкїѧ десницы вышнѧго Бг҃а и промысла сокр8шатсѧ на земли. И рече сатана: аще мѧ свержетъ Гд҃ь на землю, и азъ б8д8 в дом8 Іаковли и б8д8 слави(м) ѿ ч҃лкъ.

V. И вмѣсто ѿпадшаго лика наполнѧетъ Гд҃ь чл҃ки въ праведной рай; вмѣсто сатаны сотвори Гд҃ь ч҃лка плотна первозданнаго Адама ѿ осми частей: ѿ земли тѣло, ѿ морѧ кровь, ѿ камени кости, ѡт облакъ мысли, ѿ солнца очи, ѿ вѣтра дыханїе, ѿ свѣта дх҃ъ, ѡт огнѧ теплота.[453] И прїиде Гд҃ь на н҃бса посла с҃тый свой Дх҃ъ, и прїиде Гд҃ь на землю ко Адам8; и оузрѣ Гд҃ь Адама раками[454] оуѧзвлена, ѿ сатаны персто(м) истыкана. И рече Гд҃ь сатанѣ: диаволѣ ѡкаѧнниче, почто тако сотворилъ еси, азъ сотворихъ ч҃лка чиста и непорочна, неболѣзнена? И рече сатана ко Гд҃8: заб8детъ тебѧ Гд҃а, и кое мѣсто поболи(т), и онъ молвитъ: Гд҃н помил8й. Гд҃ь же поворoти вн8трь и подерн8въ кожею и вложи в него Дх҃ъ С҃тыи. И ѡживе Ада(м).[455] И вопроси Гд҃ь Адама: что еси видѣлъ во снѣ? И рече: видѣх Гд҃а во Ієр(с)лимѣ распѧта на крстѣ, а Петра ап(с)ла стремъглавъ повѣшена, а Павла ап(с)ла в Дамасцѣ. Введе Гд҃ь Адама в раи; Адам же в раи оусн8въ сномъ. Гд҃ь же вземъ оу Адама лѣвое ребро и сотворн ем8 жен8 Еввѣ. И вложи Гд҃ь Бг҃ъ Дх҃ъ свой С҃тый; Адам же возбн8въ ѿ сна и рече: Гд҃и, что есть сїе? И рече Гд҃ь Адам8: то есть тебѣ жена, живи ты с нею. Со всѣхъ древесъ повелѣ Гд҃ь Адаму и Еввѣ ѕсти, иже в раи, с виноградnаго же древа не повелѣ Гд҃ь Адам8 и Еввѣ ѕсти, понеже самъ Гд҃ь с того древа послѣ рaѧ вкушалъ.

VI. И в то времѧ сотворена бысть змїѧ прежде созданїѧ Адамлѧ, и велми оукрашена. И позавидѣ сатана Адам8, црь(с)твующ8 в раи, и добротѣ ч҃лвчестей, и ѡбратисѧ сатана червемъ и приползе ко змїи: пожри мѧ в себѣ и внеси в рай. Змїѧ же пожрѣ сатан8 и внесе в рай и ѡбвисѧ около древа виноградnаго. И сатана нача лстити, змиевымн оусты г҃лати ко Еввѣ: почто вы не вк8шаете с виноградnаго древа? б8дите и вы бози, ѕко же нб(с)ный Бг҃ъ. Еввa же повѣда м8ж8 своем8 Адам8

[453] See the discussion in § 3.3.1, *supra*.

[454] Instead of “раками”, I suggest the correct reading to be “ранами”.

[455] Here Sreznevskii points out that, as far as the apocryphal narrative unit of the creation of Adam is concerned, some parallel versions of the *SoT* (MS № 32.16.11) contain an additional episode which is anchored by the motif of Satan’s refusal to bow before the first man; see his “Otchet Otdeleniiu,” *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 102 (note № 1). See also the discussion in § 3.3.3, *supra*.

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и прельсти его змиевыми гл҃ы: б8демъ и мы бози и начнемъ вѣдать, ꙗко же Хр҃тосъ. Адам же прельстишасѧ, посл8шавъ жены своеѧ Еввы, и вк8силъ с винограднаго древа запрещеннаго ѿ Гд҃а Саваофа, понеже искони л8кавый диаволъ позавидѣ род8 чл҃вческом8, прельсти Адама и Евв8. И согрѣшили в раи Ада(м) и Евва диѧвольскимъ совѣтомъ; и быша наги и свалишасѧ с нихъ вѣнцы прекрасныѧ и ѡдежда свѣтлаѧ, и нача Адамъ ꙇ Евва по(д) древомъ крытисѧ, нача себѣ собирать листвїе смоковное и съшиста на одѣѧнїе страсти ради и срамоты и наготы своеѧ. И прїиде Гд҃ь в рай и рече Гд҃ь слово: Адаме, Адаме, гдѣ еси ты? <И рече Адамъ: се азъ, Гд҃и>. И рече Гд҃ь ко Адам8: почто тако сотворилъ еси, ѡкаѧнниче, прест8пленїе? И рече Адамъ: Гд҃и, жена мѧ прелсти. И рече Гд҃ь: а ты, ѡкаѧниче, почто тако сотворила еси? И рече: Гд҃и, змїѧ мѧ прельсти. <А ты, прел8каваѧ змиѧ по(ч)то> тако сотворила еси? И рече змїѧ: сатана мнѣ повелѣ пожрети в себѧ и внести в рай. И рече Гд҃ь ко Адам8: ѿ земли взят‘ еси и в землю пойдеши, азъ сотворихъ тѧ бе(з)смертна в раю, а ты заповѣдь мою прест8пилъ еси, почто зъ запрещеннаго древа вк8сил‘ еси? И посла Гд҃ь архаг҃гла своего Михаила и повелѣ Адама ꙇ Евв8 изгнати из раю и свергн8ти на землю. И повелѣ Гд҃ь Адам8 землю пахати и з женою спати.

VII. Адам же нача плакати и рыдати ѡ изгнанїи раю, м8часѧ въ Вавилонстѣй рѣцѣ тритцать лѣтъ. Гд҃ь же, хотѧ помиловати чл҃ка Адама первозданнаго, видѣвъ его и слышавъ чистое покаѧнїе и стонанїе, ѿ срд(ц)а воздыханїе, ѿ жалости слезы точащи и глю҃ща: влᴬко всещедрый, имиже вѣси с8дбами спаси мѧ ѿ ада преисподнѣйшаго. Оуслышав же сатана стонанїе Адамле и воздыханїе ѡ грѣсѣхъ своихъ, понеже искони невистникъ врагъ л8кавый сатана диаволъ, вшедъ ко Адам8, и рече: Адамъ, скаж8 ти радость, хощетъ тѧ помиловать, дай ты мнѣ на сѧ р8кописанїе и на весь родъ свой, а ты, Евва, кленисѧ мнѣ клѧтвою.

VIII. И родишасѧ оу Адама два сн҃а Авель и Каинъ; Авелева дѣла праведна, Авель же нача пасти агнца, а Каинъ нача землю пахать. Авель принесе жертв8 Гд҃ви агнецъ т8ченъ, а Каинъ принесе ѿ земли хлѣбъ и прежде Бг҃а самъ <вк8си. Гд҃ь же Бг҃ъ Авелев8 жертв8 приѧтъ, а Каинов8 ѻрин8въ жертву; и завидевъ Каинъ Авелю и уби его каменемъ. Гд҃ь же прииде и рече Каин8: по(ч)то еси убилъ брата своего Авелѧ? Заповеда Гд҃ь трижды на день снедати, а Каиновы жертвы выметывати изъ себѧ; и еще ѧвитъ Гд҃ь на Каине, гл҃етъ, въ трѧсение трѧстисѧ,[456] повеле пролити

[456] Compare the above section to the following passage from the late fifteenth-century Russian edition of the text of the *Rumiantsov Palaea* (MS № 453, fols. 40–42):

Ѻⷭⷭ оубитии Авель Каина. Рече(ж) Гъ к‘ Каиноу: “где е(с) Авель, бра(т) твои?” – ѿвеща Каинъ, и р(ч)е: “ег(д)а стражь брат8 моемоу е‘смь азъ?” Рече(ж) Гъ: “что е’си сотворилъ! Се кровь брата твое’го вопие(т) ко мне?” Тѣмъ оу’бо раз8мее(м), яко двое’ зло створи Каи’нъ: пръвое’ оубиица бы(с) и’ начал’никъ всѧкои’ кровии и л’жи, и оуби бо и’ солга: рек‘бо егда стражь брат8 моем8 е’смь азъ. Гъ же р(ч)е к‘ нем8: “боу(д) и стенѧ и трѧсысѧ”, поне(ж) приѧтъ кровь брата своего … И положи, р(ч)е Гъ знамение на Каи’нѣ не оубити его всѧкомоу ѡбретающем8 е’го, Бо́и бо оуста въ знаменїа е(с) воз‘бранѧем8 оубием8 быти, но и трѧсанїа оудовь е(г) бы(с). (Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 9).

About the murder of Abel by Cain. And God said to Cain: “Where is your brother Abel?” Cain answered, saying: “Am I my brother’s keeper?” God said: “What hast thou done? Is that the voice of thy brother’s blood that crieth unto me from the ground?” Thereby we understand that two evils were committed by Cain – the first one was that he became a murderer and the chief of bloodshed. As for [the second evil], it was [the sin of] deception, since he [Cain] both killed and lied; because he said, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” And God said: “Be the one who would weep and shake!”, since he took the blood of his brother … And God put a mark on Cain,

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кровь и за(с)трелити Каина; вн8къ Адамовъ Ломехъ, бѧше убо слепъ, ї направиша ем8 р8к8 сл8га его.[457] Каинъ же лежаше на земли три лета и не вед‧аше Адамъ, что сотворити. Гд҃ь же посла две птицы горлицы; и уби горлица горлиц8 и раскопавъ землю похоронивъ е‧. Вид‧ще Адамъ, тако сотворилъ, похоронивъ сына своего в землю.

IX. Адам же поживе на земли ц҃ летъ и умре; и приїде смерть сатанина и вземъ д8ш8 его и снидесе Адамъ м8жъ чи(с)тъ>, ѓ҃го лѣтъ во адовой гл8бокой ямѣ на огнѣ гор‧ще, р8ки и ноги скованы, на шее цепь.

X. Человѣколюбивыи же Б҃гъ, безначалный ц҃рь цр(с)ьтв8ющихъ и Гд҃ь г^{с}дьтв8ющимъ самоизволенъ О҃ц҃ъ нашъ нб(с)ный посла С҃на своего единороднаго Г^{с}да нашего І҃са Хр^{с}та на землю и воплотис‧ в девиц8 М҃рїю и родитис‧ на потребленїе грѣха Адамова и на разр8шенїе цр(с)тва сатанина, на спасенїе род8 человѣческом8, и хот‧ вл(д)ко Хр^{с}тосъ человѣколюбецъ возвести чл҃вчеств<о> в первое возстоѧнїе дл‧ своего бл҃го8тробїѧ, хот‧ Адама і Евв8 помиловати, ѿ первородныѧ кл‧твы свободить. И сѣдѧше Гд҃ь нашъ І҃с Хр^{с}тосъ со ѿц҃емъ своимъ нб(с)нымъ на пр^{с}толѣ сказаемаго свѣта сего по п‧той тысѧщи. И родишас‧ Гд҃ь нашъ І҃с Хр(с)тосъ <на небеси> ѿ оц҃а без матере и на земли без ѿц҃а ѿ м҃три, и воплотис‧ в девиц8 Марію прес҃т8ю Б(д)ц8, и родис‧ въ Вифлиомѣ Иоудѣйсте(м), и (т)вор‧ше на земли многа‧ знаменїѧ и ч8деса, и пострада ѩко чл҃къ и волею распѧтс‧ на кр^{с}тѣ ѿ бе(з)законныхъ Іюдей во с҃тѣмъ градѣ Іер(с)лимѣ и положен҃ бысть во гробѣ, и воскресе, и сошедъ во адъ, и возведе Адама і Евву, и вс‧ праведники изведе изъ ада, и введе Адама і Евв8 дл‧ своего схожденїѧ на первое возстоѧнїе во Едемѣскїй раи, иже на востоцѣ насажденъ, и посади его на пр(с)толѣ своего Бж(с)етва, сатанин8 смерть оумерьтви своею смертїю, а сатан8 словомъ св‧за по подобїю желѣзными оузамн р8ки и ноги и на шее цепь. А до распѧтїѧ Гд҃а нашего І҃са Хр(с)та, с҃на Б҃жїѧ во адъ идоша; а по

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and said that no human being among those encountering him may kill him. The prohibition of him [*i.e.*, Cain] being killed came from God's lips, but also [the curse for Cain] to shake from within his bosom.

Similar apocryphal narratives about Cain are discussed in Buslaev, *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva*, vol. 1, 618, Mochul'skii, "Sledy narodnoi Biblii," 82–3 and Nachov, "Tikveshky rŭkopis," *SbNU* 10 (1894), 132; see also the next note.

[457] A parallel rendition of the apocryphal legend of how the blind Lamech kills Cain can be found in the Bulgarian redactions of the *Paz̧oumnnkъ* from the *Lovchansky Miscellany* (1618):

В.: Ламехь како бѣ слѣпь н оустрѣлъı Канна? – ѿ.: ѩко бѣ гнѣвь бж҃їн на Каннѣ. Ҙгрьѵнв с‧ хождааше, н глава егѡ прн ног8, н колѣбаше трьстъı‧. Н вождь Ламехѡвь мнѣше sвѣрь Ѥ͡, н направн стрѣлж Ламех8, н тако 8стрѣлн Канна. (Quoted from Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi,* 263).

A similar narrative appears in the fifteenth-century erotapocritic *(Р)аz̧oумнн(к) ѡ вс҆е(м) 8просѣ ѡ(ѵ)е* from the *Tikveshky Miscellany*:

Вьпр(с) ламıє(х) како бн слѣпь н како 8стрѣлн канна. Ѿвѣт І‧ко бѣ гнѣвь б҃жы на каннѣ, свл‧ксе хождаше глава ıємоу прн ногоу. колѣбаше трьстїıє. вож(д)ь ламеховь мнецın ҙвѣрь ıє(с) н направн р8к8 ламех8 н стрѣлнть. (Quoted from Nachov, "Tikveshky rŭkopis," *SbNU* 8 (1892), 403).

This motif is interpreted in a similar way in Slavonic and Balkan oral tradition; see the aetiological legend recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century in the city of Prilep by Kuzman Shapkarev, *Sbornik ot bŭlgarski narodni umotvorenia.* Chast 2, Otdel 1, Kn. VIII, 270–271 (text № 147). For the iconography of Cain being killed by Lamech, see Pupin, *Manastir Dečani*, 48; see also the engraving by Vasilii Koren' in the Russian illuminated printed Bible (*Biblia pauperum*) of 1692–1696 (Fig. 12, *infra*).

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распѧтїи своемъ <Гдь> нашъ Іс8съ Хр(с)тосъ послаше архагг҃ла своего грознаго воевод8 и повелѣ взѧть оу сатаны печать человеческ8ю имена. Бг҃8 нашему слава нынѣ и присно и во вѣки вѣковъ. Аминь.

About the Genesis of This World: How our Father God Sabaoth created Heaven and Earth

I. Our heavenly Father, the Lord Sabaoth, is neither begotten nor born. {His} Son was born but not begotten, and the Holy Spirit was neither begotten nor born, but issues forth {*i.e.* proceeds from the Father}.

II. There were back then no sky or Earth, no angels or archangels, no cherubs or seraphs, no rivers or lakes, no wells or springs, no humans, no hills, no clouds, no stars, and no light. There were back then no beasts, no birds, no wind, and no dawn, but only darkness and abyss. There were back then no days or nights and no passage of time, everything was eternal and immortal. The Son of God, Jesus Christ, obeying His heavenly Father's will, {created} with the Word {*i.e.* Logos} all beings, visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly. As He spoke, from His most wise lips, {the world} was created and fashioned by the Holy Spirit. And God said, "May there be a crystal sky {resting} upon seventy thousand myriads[458] of iron pillars, and may there be beasts and clouds and stars and light."[459] Then {God} exhaled the winds from within His bosom and planted Paradise in the East. And East and West and South and North {were fashioned}. And God sat on His throne in the East, in the splendour of His most high glory. And He created seven Heavens with the Word. Cold and frost came from God's face, whereas God's voice was embedded in a fiery chariot as thunder. Lightning came as the Word from God's lips, and the sun came from God's inner garment, as God wiped his face with it. The moon came from the sun. And God said, "May there be a myriad of pillars in the air," and this is how {everything} was created and fashioned with the Word of God. As for these pillars, they were immovable from the very beginning. And God saw that it was good, and God said, "May an immovable stone be on these pillars and on this stone – the Earth. And on the Earth {may there be placed} Hell, all of bronze, with beams of iron and gates of bronze, and {may there be} in this Hell a dungeon of bronze and iron, and under Hell {may there be} bottomless Tartar." And then God the Lord said, "May there be upon this Hell a myriad of pillars of bronze and a stone, and upon this stone {may there be} the Earth." And God strewed the Earth with sand and beneath the sands God created stone and flint with the Word.

III. And God said, "May there be on Earth a Sea of Tiberias, bitter and salty primordial waters, set upon air, and another Earth upon Hell. And on this Earth, the Sea, and the Sea has no shores." And God descended in the air, to the Sea of Tiberias, and God saw a duck swimming on the Sea and hovered above it. God said to it, "Who are you?" In response, Satana {*i.e.* Satan} said to him, "I am God". Then God said, "Who am I, then?" Satana said to him, "You are God of Gods and Tsar of Tsars." If he had not said this word but something of which God did not approve, the Lord would have immediately destroyed him in the Sea of Tiberias. And God said to Satana, "Dive into the Sea and bring me forth earth and stone." Obeying God, Satana dove into the Sea and brought forth earth and

[458] In the original text the number is described as "seventy myriads multiplied by one thousand".

[459] In this Russian dialect the words denoting "world" and "light" are homonyms; see also notes 66, 136 and 250, *supra*.

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stone. Taking the stone from Satana, the Lord broke it into two. He gave to Satan {what He had} in His left hand, and God hit the stone with His fist,[460] and God said, "May there be angels in My image, powerful and incorporeal and immortal, obeying My every will." God created angels from the flintstone, and He created archangels Michael and Gabriel from the fiery sparks. And Uril {*i.e.* Uriel} and Sikhaylo,[461] and Rafael, and Pomogali, cherubs and seraphs, angels and archangels {were created}. And {there was} a sceptre of burnished steel, and God hit the stone with it, and from this stone angels sprung forth, according to the will of God, through the Word: the archangels of God, Michael and Gabriel, leaders of the heavenly King's host. Satana began to hammer the stone and he fashioned countless incorporeal forces. And God said, "May there be thirty-three whales, beasts of the Sea, in the waters of the Sea of Tiberias, and may the Earth be upon these whales." God scattered soil on them and {said, "May there be} the Earth – wide and thick and large. And on this {Earth may} trees and flowers and grass and mountains[462] and hills and wells and seas and rivers issue forth." And God created beasts and animals from earth and fish in the waters and birds flying in the air. And God created day and night and reptiles crawling on the earth and upon those whales, on which the Earth rested. Angels were bringing food and the Earth stretched from East to West and North and South.

IV. Satana spoke out against God Sabaoth, "I have more forces than before and I am like the Most High." God counted Satana as an archangel and took him to Heaven. Satan began to pride himself and exult, and he became conceited, in his mind he became swollen with vanity and thought to himself, "I will create a throne above the stars in the air." Having divined his cunning thoughts, God sent his archangel Michael and God ordered Satan to be expelled from Heaven. The archangel Michael struck Satan with a sceptre and was burned by Satan's fire. The archangel Michael then came to God Sabaoth and said to Him, "Satan's fire burned me." God ordained the archangel Michael as a monk and placed upon him a *schema* {*i.e.* habit, ornamented} with {depictions of} the Holy Cross of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God. The archangel Michael approached Satan and hit Satan with his sceptre, and sent him down to Earth and {then straight} to Hell, to the outer darkness, and to Tartar, with all the demonic forces. And his forces poured for three days and three nights into Hell like drops of rain. And God said, "Amen". And the skies closed and all those demons who were hanging in the air, held up by God's will, fell to Earth and were crushed upon the Earth by the strong hand of the Most High God and his thoughts. And Satan said, "If God expels me to Earth, I will go to the House of Jacob and I will be glorified by men."

V. And instead of the fallen host {*i.e.* angels}, God filled the holy Heaven with mankind. Instead of Satan, God created a man of flesh, the primordial Adam, from eight parts: body from earth, blood from the sea, bones from stone, thoughts from clouds, eyes from the sun, breath from the wind, the spirit from light, and warmth from fire. Then God went and sent to Heaven his Holy Spirit. God {then} came to Earth, to Adam, and God saw that

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[460] The meaning is not clear; the word used by the scribe is "пѧдїѧ", most probably related to "пѧдь" ("palm," "hand"). According to another MS, God hit the stone with his heel ("пѧтью"); see Sreznevskii, "Otchet Otdeleniiu," *IORIS* 9, 3 (1904), 100, note 2. On the other hand, the MS published by Dimitrova-Marinova conveys this detail in the following way: "God took some sand [песокъ] and started hitting the stone"; see *idem*., "Bogomil'skaia kosmogoniia," 52. I suggest that the word песокъ is a corrupt version of the word посохъ, meaning "staff," "sceptre," "rod." The emended reading should now be, "God hit the stone with his sceptre."

[461] Perhaps the name of a mythical being?

[462] In some Slavonic dialects the nouns denoting "mountain" and "forest" (*i.e.*, гора) may be identical.

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Adam suffered from sores created by Satan's fingers piercing his body. And God said to Satana, "O cursed Devil, why did you do that? I created man, pure and without blemish, and whole." And Satana said to God, "He will forget about you, God, but whenever something starts to ache, he will utter, 'God, have mercy upon me!'" God turned the man's body inside out and pulled up the skin and put within him the Holy Spirit. And Adam came to life. God asked Adam, "What did you see in your dream?" {Adam} said, "I saw the Lord crucified on a cross in Jerusalem, while the Apostle Peter was hung with his head down, whereas Apostle Paul was in Damascus." God conducted Adam into Paradise and Adam fell asleep in Paradise. God took a left rib from Adam and created a wife for him – Eve. The Lord God then implanted His Holy Spirit {into Eve}. Adam woke up from his dream and said, "God, what is this?" And God said to Adam, "This is a woman, for you; live with her." God allowed Adam and Eve to eat from all the trees in Paradise, except for the grapevine, from which God did not allow Adam and Eve to eat, because God Himself partook from this tree, beyond Paradise.

VI. Back then, the serpent was created before the creation of Adam, and she {the serpent} was well-adorned. And Satan envied Adam, who reigned in Paradise, and {he also envied} man's goodness. And Satan turned into a worm and crawled to the serpent. "Swallow me inside you and take me into Paradise." The serpent swallowed Satan and brought him inside Paradise, and wrapped herself around the grapevine. And Satan began to flatter Eve, speaking through the mouth of the serpent. "Why don't you try the grapevine? You will also be gods like the Heavenly God." Eve spoke to her husband Adam and enticed him with the serpent's words, "We will also be gods and we will acquire knowledge, just like Christ." Adam was seduced and obeyed his wife Eve, and tasted the grapevine, which was forbidden by God Sabaoth. Since from the very beginning the cunning Devil envied mankind, he seduced Adam and Eve. And Adam and Eve sinned in Paradise by following the advice of the Devil. And they became naked and the most beautiful wreaths and garments of light were cast off them. Adam and Eve began hiding under the trees and started collecting fig leaves and sewed them together for clothing, suffering sorrow and shame at their nakedness. God then came to Paradise and God the Word {*i.e.* Logos} uttered the following: "Adam, Adam, where are you?" <And Adam replied, "I'm here, God">. And God said to Adam, "Why did you commit this transgression, you forlorn one?" Adam answered, "God, the woman enticed me." And God said, "And you {Eve}, forlorn one, why did you do so?" {Eve} said, "God, the serpent seduced me." <"And you, most cunning serpent, why> did you do so?" And the serpent said, "Satan ordered me to swallow him and take him to Paradise." And God said to Adam, "You were taken from earth and to earth you will return. I created you immortal in Paradise, and you disobeyed My order. Why did you try the forbidden tree?" And God sent his archangel Michael, ordering him to chase Adam and Eve from Paradise and send them down to Earth. And God ordered Adam to till the earth and sleep with his wife.

VII. Adam started crying and lamenting his expulsion from Paradise and he suffered for thirty years in the River of Babylon. But still, God wanted to pardon Adam, the primordial man, having seen and heard his genuine repentance and moans and sighs from the bottom of his heart, with flowing tears of sorrow, uttering, "Benevolent Master, keeper of all destinies, save me from the Inferno of the Underworld." Satan, who from the very beginning was a cunning enemy – a satan and devil, having heard Adam's moans and sighs about his sins, went to Adam and said to him, "Adam, I will tell you some joyful news. You will be pardoned. But give me a writ for yourself and your entire kin. And you, Eve, swear to me an oath."

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VIII. And two sons were born to Adam, Abel and Cain. Abel's deeds were righteous. Abel began tending sheep whereas Cain began tilling the earth. Abel offered a juicy {lit. fat/fattened} lamb as a sacrifice to God, and Cain offered bread from the Earth, but tasted it first before God {did}. The Lord God accepted Abel's sacrifice but rejected Cain's sacrifice. And Cain envied Abel and killed him with a stone. God came and said to Cain, "Why did you kill your brother Abel?" *God ordered {him} to eat three times per day and for Cain's offering to be regurgitated*.[463] God made Cain shiver in convulsions for three years; and ordered {his} blood to be shed and Cain to be shot. Lamech, Adam's grandson, was blind and his servant was guiding his hand. {The dead} Cain was lying on the earth for three years and Adam did not know what to do {with his body}.[464] God sent two doves, and one dove killed the other and dug the earth and buried it. Adam, having seen {what the bird did}, did the same and buried his son in the earth.

IX. Adam lived on the Earth nine hundred years and died. Death came {along with} Satan and took his soul, and the righteous man Adam *expired*.[465] He burned for three thousand seventy years in the fire of the deep abyss of Hell, his hands and feet were bound, and there was a chain around his neck. [466]

X. God the Father, lover of mankind, who has no beginning, the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords reigning by His own will, sent His only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to Earth, and He became incarnate {Logos, born} of the Virgin Mary. He was born to annul Adam's sin and to destroy Satan's kingdom, to save mankind. The Lord Jesus Christ, lover of mankind, wished to raise mankind back to its original state out of His loving kindness.[467] He wanted to pardon Adam and Eve and deliver them from the original curse. And our Lord Jesus Christ was sitting with his Heavenly Father on the Throne of the Universe for five thousand years. And our Lord Jesus Christ was born <in Heaven> by the Father without a mother, and on Earth without a father by a mother. He was incarnate {Logos, born} of the Virgin Mary, the most Holy Theotokos. He was born in Bethlehem of Judaea; He performed a lot of miracles and signs on Earth. He suffered like a man and by {His own} will He was crucified on the Cross by the lawless Jews in the holy city of Jerusalem, and He was placed in a grave and resurrected and descended into Hell. On His descent, He took Adam and Eve and all the righteous and brought them out of Hell, and raised them back to their original state in the Garden of Eden, which is planted in the East, and placed him {them?} on the throne of His divinity.[468] He conquered Satan's death by His own death, and bound Satan with His Word as with iron bonds on his hands and feet and a chain on his neck. Before the Crucifixion of our Lord, Jesus Christ, Son of God, {all those who died} went to Hell, but after His crucifixion our {Lord} Jesus Christ sent His awesome chief-archangel and ordered him to take from Satan the seal with man's name {*i.e.* Adam's writ}. Glory to our God now and forever and ever, amen!

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[463] The meaning of this sentence is obscure.

[464] Referring to Cain's death instead of the more expected death of Abel here.

[465] Meaning uncertain.

[466] The same detail occurs in the final paragraph of the version published by Mochul'skii; see "Istoriko-literaturnyi analiz," *RFV* 18, 4 (1887), 177.

[467] Unclear.

[468] Uncertain.

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Text 3

Fragments from a Russian folk legend recorded at the beginning of the twentieth century by P.A. Gorodtsov in Western Siberia, in the village of Plekhanov, Tiumen' County (i. e. Uezd) of the Russian Empire. It was narrated by the seventy-nine year old storyteller, singer and healer Dmitrii Nikoforovich Plekhanov, born in the same village. Like his parents, he was illiterate. The legend was published in the Russian academic journal *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, 1 (1909), in its special section *Miscellanea* (text № 1, pp. 51–53). The present publication follows the orthography of Gorodtsov's edition of the original Russian text.

Сотвореніе міра

Изначала вѣковъ ничего не было: – ни неба, ни земли, ни человѣка, а была только одна вода, вода безъ конца и краю и безъ дна, а посверхъ воды была тьма тьмущая – безпросвѣтная тьма. И по этой водѣ плавалъ въ лодочкѣ богъ Салаофъ. Плылъ однажды Богъ Салаофъ въ лодочкѣ и сплюнулъ на воду слинку и вотъ – въ томъ мѣстѣ, гдѣ онъ сплюнулъ слинку, появился самъ сатана Сатаніилъ, в человѣческомъ образѣ. И какъ только сатана появился, такъ сейчас же вступилъ въ разговоры с Богомъ, онъ сказалъ Богу: "Я – братъ твой. Возьми меня съ собою в лодочку." Въ лодочкѣ хватило мѣста и для двоихъ и потому Богъ сказалъ сатанѣ: "Садись!" Селъ Сатана въ лодочку вмѣстѣ съ Богомъ и поплыли дальше. Плыли – плыли, Богъ и говоритъ Сатанѣ: "Хочу я сотворить землю. Нырни, сатана, въ воду и достанъ оттуда земли!" Сатана обернулся птицей гоголемъ и нырнулъ въ воду. Но предъ этимъ Сатана не благословился у Бога и потому трудъ его остался безуспѣшнымъ. […] Сатана … вторично нырнулъ. Но и на этотъ разъ онъ не благословился, и потому онъ опять не досталъ дна и не добылъ земли, хотя и нырнулъ глубже прежняго. […] Тогда Богъ сказалъ сатанѣ: "Ты потому не можешь достать земли, что ныряешь не благословясь. Благословись у меня, тогда достанешь дно и принесешь земли! Ныряй въ третій разъ!" Сатана на этотъ разъ благословисля у Бога … и нырнулъ въ третій разъ. На этотъ разъ сатана безъ труда досталъ дна, забралъ онъ в клювъ земли и принесъ ее Богу и сказалъ: вотъ я принесь тебе земли. […] Но сатана не всю землю передалъ Богу и небольшую часть ее утаилъ у себя въ клювѣ. […] Взялъ Богъ землю и повелѣлъ изъ водной глубины явиться тремъ китамъ. И вотъ явились три кита, такихъ большихъ, что станешь на головы, такъ конца хвостовъ не увидишь. Киты установились головами вмѣстѣ, а хвостами въ разныя стороны. Тогда Богъ положилъ землю себѣ на ладонь, а другою ладонью сталъ мять землю и сдавливать ее. Мялъ – мялъ богъ землю и сдѣлалъ изъ нея вродѣ небольшой круглой и совершенно ровной лепешки; эту лепешку – землю Богъ положилъ на головы трехъ китовъ, и земля стала расти, росла – росла и покрыла собою всѣхъ трехъ китовъ и все продолжала расти. Тремъ китамъ стало уже не подъ силу держать землю, и тогда Богъ повелѣлъ явиться изъ водной пучины еще четыремъ китамъ и держать землю. Явились четыре кита, сомкнулись они головами съ первыми тремя, а хвостами раскинулись въ разныя стороны и стали держать землю. Съ того времени и до нашихъ дней земля держится на семи китахъ. Въ то время какъ росла и ширилась земля на китахъ, – росла и ширилась также земля, оставшаяся во рту у сатаны, такъ что силно раздуло щеки у сатаны. Богъ это замѣтилъ и спрашиваетъ сатану: – съ чего у тебя щеки – то раздуло? – И сатана долженъ былъ сознаться: – Виноватъ!

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Прости, Господи: я утаилъ во рту немного земли. – Выплевывай землю изо рта! – приказалъ Богъ. И сатана сталъ выплевывать землю. И тамъ, гдѣ сатана плюнетъ, – появляются всякія дикія и нечистыя мѣста, – горы и овраги, лѣсныя трущебы, кочки и болота. До этого же земля была ровна и чиста и во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ прекрасна. Такъ Богъ сотворилъ землю и весь миръ. […] Земля и понынѣ держится на семи китахъ и виситъ на водѣ. Земля продолжаетъ расти и теперь, – и когда она вырастетъ и увеличиться настолько, что и семь китовъ не въ состояніи будутъ держать ее, – тогда киты уйдутъ въ воду; земля рассыплется и провалится въ водныя бездны. Тогда и наступитъ конецъ міра. Говорять, что это время уже недалеко.

Creation of the World

At the beginning of time there was nothing, neither sky nor earth nor humans, but only water, water without beginning or end or bottom; and above this water was darkest darkness, darkness without light. God Salaof {i.e. Sabaoth} was floating in a boat upon this water. Once while God Salaof was floating thus in His boat, He spat on the water, and behold, on the very place where he spat, Satanail himself emerged from His spittle, in the image of a man. As soon as Satan emerged, he immediately began talking to God, saying to God, "I am your brother. Take me with You in the boat." There was enough room in the boat for both of them, and God said to Satan, "Sit." Satan sat in the boat together with God and they set off. They floated and floated and God said to Satan, "I want to create the Earth. Dive, Satan, into the water and fetch dirt from there." Satan transformed himself into a duck and dove into the water. Before doing so, Satan had not asked God for a blessing, which is why his efforts were fruitless. […] Satan dove for a second time but once again he failed to ask God to bless him, which is why he did not reach the bottom and gather any dirt, although he dove much deeper than before. […] Then God said to Satan, "The reason you cannot gather dirt is because you dive without asking for My blessing. Ask for My blessing and you will reach the bottom and gather dirt. Dive for a third time." This time Satan asked God for a blessing and dove for a third time. This time he effortlessly reached the bottom, took some dirt into his beak and brought it to God, saying, "Here I bring you dirt." […] But Satan did not give God all the dirt but kept some of it in his beak. […] God took the dirt and ordered three whales to emerge from the watery abyss. Lo and behold, three whales appeared, so big that if you stood on their heads, you wouldn't be able to see their tails. The whales put their heads together, one against the other, and their tails pointed outward in different directions. God then put dirt on one of His palms and with the other palm began kneading and pushing the dirt. God kneaded and kneaded the dirt and made from it something like a small, round, and absolutely plain loaf. God placed this loaf on the heads of the three whales. The Earth began to grow and covered all three whales entirely and continued to grow. The three whales were no longer able to hold up the Earth and God then ordered four more whales to appear from the watery abyss, to hold the Earth. Four more whales appeared, putting their heads against the heads of the first three, and their tails pointed outward in other directions, and they held up the Earth. From this time on, until today, the Earth is held up by seven whales. Yet while the Earth was growing and expanding on top of the whales, the bit of dirt in Satan's mouth was also growing and expanding, so that his cheeks swelled. God noticed this and asked Satan, "Why are your cheeks so swollen?" Satan had to confess, "I am guilty. Forgive me, God. I kept some dirt in my mouth." "Spit the dirt out of your mouth," ordered God, and Satan began spitting out dirt. Wherever Satan spat, wild and polluted sites emerged, hills and

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ravines, thickets, hillocks and swamps. Up to that time the Earth was flat and pure and beautiful in all respects. This is how God created the Earth and the entire Universe. Until today, the Earth is still held up by seven whales and is suspended on water. The Earth continues to expand, even now. When it grows and expands to the extent that the seven whales can no longer hold it, the whales will dive down into the water and the Earth will disintegrate and sink into the watery abyss, and the end of the world will come. It is rumoured that this time is not far off.

Text 4

The text of this Bulgarian legend was recorded in Western Bulgaria by Yordan Kovachev; it was published in his study "Narodna astronomiia i meteorologiia" ("Folk Astronomy and Meteorology") *SbNU* 30 (1914), 54. The present publication follows the original orthography of Kovachev's edition.

Когато Богъ благословилъ маята да се обърне на земя

Разправятъ, че, като отишелъ дяволътъ въ морето, за да вземе мая, отъ която Богъ щѣлъ да направи земята, той скрилъ малко отъ нея подъ езика си; и, когато Богъ благословилъ маята да се обърне на земя, маята в устата на дявола почнала сѫщо да расте и щѣла да му разчекне устата; тогава дяволътъ почналъ да плюе и кѫдѣ що паднало отъ слюнкитѣ му, издигнали се планини.

When the Lord blessed the yeast to be turned into earth

It is said that when the Devil went to the sea in order to take yeast from which the Lord was supposed to make the Earth, he hid some under his tongue. When the Lord blessed the yeast to be turned into Earth, the yeast which was in the Devil's mouth also began to expand and was about to make his mouth burst. The Devil then began spitting and wherever his spittle fell, mountains rose up.

Text 5

The text of this folk legend was recorded by the Bulgarian intellectual Tsani Ginchev; it was published by him in Sofia in *Periodichesko Spisanie na Bŭlgarskoto Knizhovno Druzhestvo* 3 (1882), 173 (Text № 1). The present publication follows the idiosyncratic orthography of Ginchev's edition of the original Bulgarian text.

Какъ сѫ станѫли лѣковититѣ билки

Едно врѣме, когато направилъ Дѣдо Господь чилѣшкото тѣло отъ калъ, оставилъ го да пренощува, и на сутрѣнта щѣлъ да му духне душа. Презъ нощта, дошълъ дяволо и, съ една тояга, надупкалъ сичкото тѣло на ръшето. На сутрѣнта дошълъ Дѣдо Господь и видѣлъ, че чилѣшкото тѣло сé дупки. "Хѫ, това е направилъ дяволо" рѣкълъ той, "да ме кара да правѭ друго тѣло! Ето пакъ азъ що ще направѭ", и зелъ да бере трѣва наоколо; кѫсълъ трѣва, – ту отъ тая, ту отъ оная, – и тулилъ дупкитѣ; кѫсълъ и тулилъ, до гдѣ на́й-послѣ истулилъ сичкитѣ, и зелъ та ги замазълъ и

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загладилъ. Подиръ това духнѫлъ на чилѣка душа, чилѣка уживѣлъ и Дѣдо Господь му казалъ: “като те заболи негдѣ тѣлото, да берешъ отъ тия трѣви и да се цѣришъ съ тѣхъ, отъ тѣхъ да пиешъ, съ тѣхъ да се поливашъ, съ тѣхъ да се пушишъ, и съ тѣхъ да вързишъ ранитѣ”. Първия чилѣкъ познавалъ тия билки; познавали ги и неговитѣ синове, внуци и правнуци, нъ послѣ, полѣка-лѣка, зели да ги забравятъ. Лѣковититѣ билки сѫ много, нъ чилѣкъ не ги знай; за туй казватъ: “за пара цѣръ има, кой го знае”.

How the healing herbs came to be

Once upon a time, when Grandpa Lord created the human body out of mud, He left it overnight, so that in the morning He would breathe a soul into it. During the night, the Devil came and pierced the man’s entire body with a stick and it became like a sieve. In the morning Grandpa Lord came along and saw that the human body was covered all over with holes. “Ah, this must have been done by the Devil,” He said, “in order to make Me fashion another body. But look what I’m going to do.” He began picking grass from the surroundings. He picked one blade, then another, then another, and filled the holes with them. He kept picking grass and filling the holes until He finally filled them all completely. He then covered the body with mud and evened them out. After this, He breathed a soul into the man; the man became alive, and Grandpa Lord told him, “When something in your body starts to ache, you must pick herbs and heal yourself with them. You should drink from them, bathe in them, fumigate yourself with them, and bandage your sores with them. ” The first man knew these herbs, as did his sons, grandson, and great-grandsons, but afterwards, little by little, people began to forget. There are many healing herbs which men do not know, which is why it is said, “There must be a medicine worth a penny, but who knows where it is?”

Text 6

The text of this Bulgarian folk legend was recorded by Mikhail Arnaudov in the village of Yovkovtsi, Elena disctrict (Central Bulgaria); the account was given by the local story-teller Neika Radeva. It was published in *SbNU* 27 (1913), 327 (Text № 15). The present publication follows the original orthography of Arnaudov’s edition.

Отгдѣ сѫ лѣковититѣ билки

Къту искъл дѫ нъмери ликарствѫ Госпут’, нъпраил идин чувек ут кал и устанълу дѫ му вдъхни душѫ съде. Дяулѫ утишел, чи гу нъдупчил пу цялуту телу, и Госпут’ събрал тріъви, чи зътулил тес дупчици. И ут тугас устанъли тез буріъни зѫ ликарствѫ.

Where did the healing herbs come from?

When He wanted to create medicine, God made man from mud and left him for a while, before breathing a soul into him. The Devil came in His absence and pierced the entire body. God then picked some grass and filled in these holes. Since then these herbs have turned into medicines.

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Text 7

The text of this Bulgarian oral narrative was recorded in the city of Prilep by the local intellectual Marko Tsepenkov. He was told this tale ("приказка"), together with many others, by the local teacher Yordan ("*Слушани от Иордана Учителотъ*"). It was published for the first time in Sofia in *SbNU* 6 (1891), 113 (Text № 1). The text was published again, but in an adapted version, by Ivanov in 1925 in his *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 349–351 (Text № 13). The present publication follows the idiosyncratic orthography of the Tsepenkov edition of the original Bulgarian text.

Господь кога испѫди Адама изъ рая

От кога го истера Госпот Адама от раіот, го проколна со клетва: "Аіде излегуі, Адаме, от раіов, оти ти не ме послуша мене, што ти заповедав, да ıѧ ораш земьата и да ıѧ копаш, дури си жив, да така со леп да се раниш," му рекол Госпот. Си ıѧ наведил глаата Адам и си ıѧ зел жената, та си излегол от раіот. Многу мака беше му дошло на Адама, ама немаше што да чинит от страот от ангело, што го потплашуаше со камшико от две лути змиі напраен. От кога напраи троа джева, виде оти друго не бидуат и си излезе плачеіки от раіо со се жената си. Баеги дни се вѫртка околу раіот, за гьоа пак да влези во раіо; арно туку ангело стоıѧл на вратата со камшико в раце и ништо живо не го припуштал, за да влезит внатре. – "Ах жено, за ошто ме излага, да му грешам на Бога, за вака сега ıѧс и ти да тѫргаме мака, ами сега што ке іадиме за да живеіме?" – "Ораі, копаі, мажу, му рекла жената, да да се раниме, оти таков ни бил умот, така ке ни тѫргат глаата." Виде Адам, оти друго не бидуат, зеде мотиката да ıѧ копат земьата. Со пѫрво мавнуванье со мотиката в земи и му бликнало пот от сета снага. – "Ов, мори жено, да би отъ Госпот си го нашла што ме зеде на душа, за вака да се потам," му рече Адам. От кога се отморил малце, станал да копа; арно ама каі ти можел Адам да копа? Остаил копалцето и беше напраил едно рало за да орат. Запнал волоіте и тръгнал една бразда, уште една тѫргнал и на трекьата бразда му се виде по лесно ораньето от копаньето. "Со волоіте, жено, што тѫргаат непара ке се мачам, како со копаньето, и со ораньево како што гледам, ке се раниме, туку ела ти тераі ми и волоіте ıѧс да дѫржам ралото." Кога и дореч тие зборои Адам, туку беше излегол гьаоло преди волоіте и беше му и ватил: "Кого си прашал ти, бре Адаме, му рекол гьаолот, што си запнал да ораш?" – "Оти зер твое ет ова место, му рече Адам на гьаолот, што не ме остааш да орам?" – "Мое е ıѧ, чие ет? Аіде бегаі от тука," му рече гьаолот. Виде не виде Адам, стана от тука и отиде на по далечно место. Запна тамо оралото и ете го гьаолот и тамо беше му се препречил прет волои, и от тука го истера. На трето место, – и тамо не го остааше. – "Аман, бре чоече, му рекол Адам, за ошто не ме остааш да си изорам едно парче место, за и іас да живеам?" – "Не те остаам, оти ıѧс ıѧ повелам земьава, да затоа не те остаам," му рече гьаолот. – "Ами чаре за живеењето мое, му рекол Адам, како ке праам?" – "Колаі за живеењето твое, му рекол гьаолот, ıѧс чарето ти го наідуам от коа ке ми даіш еден сенет за челатта твоя, што ке ти се родат: живите твоі да бидат, а умрените моі." Думале, шестале со жената си и се склониле, та му дал Адам еден сенет от раката, пишан на една плоча со кѫрв от снагата од Адама. Іа зел плочата гьаолот и ıѧ клал долу пот казано во пеколо. Стоıѧла тамо и сите луге, што умираа, сите во казано от вечната мака одеа, да дури отишол Ристос во вечната мака и ıѧ окѫршил плочата, што беше ıѧ

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дал Адам наместо сенет. Ете така беше го остаил гьаолот Адама да орат и да се ранит, от коа го истерал Госпот от раіот. [469]

When God Expelled Adam from Paradise

When God expelled Adam from Paradise, He cursed him with an imprecation. "Since you didn't obey what I ordered you {to do}, go out from Paradise. May you plough the earth and till it for as long as you live, to feed yourself with bread," said God. Adam bowed his head and took his wife, and departed from Paradise. A great sadness fell upon Adam, but he could do nothing, since he was afraid of the terrifying angel with a whip made from two fearful snakes. From the moment he transgressed, {Adam} saw that he would have no choice, and he departed from Paradise crying, together with his wife. For many days he circled around Paradise {hoping} to get back in there. So far so good, but the angel was standing at the gate with the whip in his hands, and no living soul was allowed to approach and enter. "O woman, why did you trick me so that I transgressed before God? Now you and I are condemned to suffer. What are we going to eat now in order to live?" "Plough and till {the earth}, {my} husband, to feed ourselves, since we acted without thinking and this is why we are suffering," said the woman. Adam saw that there was no choice and he took the hoe to till the earth. With the first stroke of his hoe, sweat poured from his body. "O wife, is it God's will coming from you to my soul, that I sweat so much?" said Adam. Having rested for a while, he got up to till {the soil} again; but how could Adam till {the soil}? He put down the hoe and made a plough with which to plough. He harnessed oxen,

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[469] This Bulgarian folklore tale parallels the following fragment from the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Russian redaction of *The Life of Adam and Eve* ("*Ѡ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучѧ(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*") from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany* (MS № 358):

И нача Адамъ землю дѣлати, и при(д) дьаволъ и ста предъ нимъ глаголѧ: моа е(с) землѧ, а бїа соу(т) небеса и раи; аще(л) хощеши мои быти, то дѣлаи землю; ащели хощеши бїи быти, то иди в раи. – Адамъ рече: божїа соу(т) небеса и землѧ и конець еѧ вселенныа. – Запиши ми роукописанїе, – дьаволъ рече, – тогда и землю дамъ ти дѣлати […], тог(д)а мои боу(д)ши. – Адамъ рече: чыѧ е(с) землѧ, того и азъ и чѧ(д) моа, – ѡбрадовасѧ дьаволъ и рече: то ми и запиши е(ж) изрѣкъ. И взѧ(т) плечѧ и записа роукописанїе свое, и сие рекь: чыѧ е(с) землѧ, того и азъ и ча(д) моа. Дьяволъ(ж) вземъ рукописанїе Адамле и держаше его. (Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 2).

And Adam started tilling the earth, and the Devil came and stood before him, saying: "The Earth is mine, {only} the heavens and Paradise belong to God. If you agree to be mine, only then can you till the earth. If you wish to be God's, go to Paradise." Adam said, "Heaven and Earth, and the whole Universe belong to God." The Devil said, "{Adam,} if you give me a contract written by you {that you are mine}, I will allow you to till the earth […]. Then you will belong to me." Adam said, "Whoever owns the Earth, owns me and my offspring too." The Devil rejoiced and said: "Write down {with your own hand} what you just said!" And he took a slab and wrote his writ, and it stated: "Whoever owns the Earth, owns me and my offspring too." The Devil took it and kept it.

Apart from the above-quoted narrative fragment, which states that the signing of Adam's writ was subsequent to his encounter with Satan, who forbade him to plough the earth (*i.e*., Slavonic *Variant A* of the Cheirograph legend in Stone's classification, see *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 27–33), the present Russian redaction of the *LAE* contains yet another alternative rendition of the legend, according to which Adam signed the contract for the sake of the light he was tricked to believe the Devil could deliver (*i.e*., Slavonic *Variant B* of the Cheirograph legend in Stone, *ibid.*, 33–8). See also the next note.

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made a furrow, and then another one, and after he had made the third furrow, he felt that ploughing was easier than tilling. "With oxen, my wife, which pull {the plough}, I won't experience such hardship as with tilling, and with ploughing, I think, we will be able to feed ourselves. Come here and lead the oxen while I hold the plough." As soon as Adam finished saying these words, lo and behold the Devil appeared before the oxen and grabbed them. "Of whom did you ask {permission}, Adam," said the Devil, "to start ploughing?" "Are you saying that this spot is yours," said Adam to the Devil, "and that you won't allow me to plough?" "Of course it's mine, whose else's would it be? Get out of here!" said the Devil. Having seen that he had no choice, Adam departed from there and went to a more distant place. He harnessed {oxen} to the plough and behold the Devil came again, and again stood in front of the oxen, and chased {Adam} from there as well. {Adam went} to a third spot, and there he was also not left in peace. "Come on man," said Adam to him {the Devil}, "why don't you leave me alone to plough a piece of land, so that I can live {and sustain myself}?" "I won't leave you alone because I rule the Earth, which is why I don't leave you alone," said the Devil. "What shall I do and by what means shall I sustain myself?" said Adam. "I will find a solution for your life and a way to sustain yourself, provided you give me a writ concerning your unborn offspring. As long as they live they will be yours and the dead ones will be mine." {Adam} and his wife thought and pondered and finally gave in. Adam gave him {*i.e.* the Devil} a writ from his own hand, inscribed with blood from Adam's body onto a stone slab, and the Devil took the stone slab and put it under the cauldron {in which it is believed the souls of all sinners burn} in Hell. It stayed there and all the dead people went to the cauldron of Eternal Sorrow {and this lasted} until Christ went to the Eternal Sorrow and broke the slab which Adam had {once} given as a writ. That's how the Devil left Adam alone to plough and sustain himself after being expelled by God from Paradise.

Text 8

The text of this Bulgarian oral narrative was recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century in the city of Prilep by Marko Tsepenkov (see also Text 7, *supra*). According to his explanatory notes, he was told this tale ("приказка") by the local shoemaker Filip G. Yanev. It was published for the first time in Sofia in *SbNU* 7 (1892), 167–169 (text № 1). The tale was published again, but in an adapted version, by Ivanov in 1925 in his *Books and legends of the Bogomils*, 351–54 (Text № 14).) The present publication follows the idiosyncratic orthography of the Tsepenkov edition of the original Bulgarian text.

Адамъ и Ева испѫдени отъ Рай

От коа му грешиіа на Бога Адам и Ева, и истерал от раіо надвор (навънъ). Прошетаа окулу раіо некоі саат и бидеіки било приквечер, се стемнило. Седнале до едно дрѫво и, уплашени от темницата, се пулеле и назат, и напрет, и надесно, и налево, от страот на темницата. "Ах Ево, Ево, ıє велел Адам, заошто ме излага да каснам от дѫрвото и да му грешам на Бога? И да сум истеран от светлиіо раі? та да седам во оваа темница со страв и трепет, без да имам некоі при мене; леле іас сиромав, дали ке имам избавиште от ова страшило, што ме наклапушило сега?" Ева само слушала и овкала и пѫрстите от рацете си и кѫршела, а пак Адам плачеіки и овкаіки се туткал во Ева, и от страв на темницата си и покривал очите со рацете.

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Сето тоа гьаолот беше го слушал и нему се казал на Адама и Ева, дури приближало зора да пукнит. “О, о, добро утро, Адаме, и ти Ево, му рекол, што нешто сте се уплашиле и сте се стуткале? Дали и вам Госпот ве истерал, како што ме истера мене?”

“Е, е, море гьаоле, му рекла Ева, немат кабает Госпот што не истера, туку ти ми имаш кабает што не излага да касниме от дѫрвото. И на место да ни се отворат очите, еве ни се затвориа, от оваа лоша и страшна темница, што не наклапушила”. “Не боіте се, Ево, не боіте се, ꙗс рекол гьаолот, и не страшете се от темніцата, оти іас сум цар на неꙗ; сега бѫрго ке одам и ке ви донесам светлина; немаіте гаіле, лели ве донесе кѫсметот под моꙗта рака, само ако ме слушате мене што ке ви велам, цареи ке бидите на земьава; што сакате, ке си праите”. “Ов море гьаоле, ов море брате, му рекол Адам, ако ни се наідиш на овоі саат и да ни донесиш бело видело, нема никоі пат да те забораиме”. “Пеки, Адаме, му рекол гьаолот, потраіте со Ева малце, дури да поідам за да ви донесам бело видело, ама гледаі вамо, Адаме, немоі нешто пишман после да се сториш и да се откажиш от мене”. “У, у, брате гьаоле, збор е тоа да се откажам от тебе? Ни во вьеки нема да се откажам; вака да ме знаеш ти мене; подаі малио пѫрс за да се заортачиме”, му рекол Адам. “Мошне арно, Адаме, му рекод гьаолот, лели велиш така, аі удри си пѫрстот на плочава што е пред мене, за да ни е салам работата и зборот, за от сега вамо ке бидиме бракьа и челат твоі што ке ти се родат, живите да бидат твоі, умрените моі”.

Се свѫрте Адам от каі Ева и ꙗс рече: “Е Ево, што велиш на ова згора? Дали да удрам пѫрстот на плочава, за да бидиме ортаци на челатта со гьаолот? Ете тоі вели: живите ке бидат наши, а умрените да сет негои”.

“Е, лели живите ке бидат наши, му рекла Ева, умрените нека се негои, само виделина нека ни донеси, да удри му пѫрсто и ич не боі се.”

От кога чу Адам от жената си Ева тоі збор, склони да си удри пѫрсто на плочата, што му ꙗ покажа гьаолот.

“Е аі кажи ми, бре гьаоле, му рекол Адам на гьаолот, како да го удрам пѫрсто на плочата?”

Му ꙗ ватил гьаолот раката десна на Адама и му го надраскал со ноктот пѫрстот, та го раскѫрвавил и писал со кѫрвта сенет (записъ) за умрените да бидат от гьаоло, а живите от Адама. На часот ꙗ грабнал плочата гьаолот и летнал со неа, та ꙗ однесол во реката Еордан, во наі-длабокото место и, дури се вратил от Еордана, се раздени.

Едно дошол пред Адама и Ева гьаолот, и му рекал: “Е Адаме, и ти Ево, видовте, оти ви ꙗ донесов виделината? Аі сега станете да ве научам да си напраите кукьа.[470]

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[470] This fragment from the nineteenth-century Bulgarian folk tale of Adam’s writ parallels the following excerpt from the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the *Life of Adam and Eve* (“*Ꙗ исповѣданіи Евгинѣ и ѡ въспро(с) вноучѧ(т) еа и ѡ болѣзни Адамовѣ*”) from the *Rumiantsov Miscellany* (MS № 358):

А инде писано во ст(с)мъ писаньи, Адамъ бѧше в раю славѧ Бога со архангелы и ангелы во свѣ(т) не мерчающи(м); изгонимоу(ж) ему бывшю из раꙗ за преступленїе е᷾го, и не вѣдаша того Адамъ, е(ж) нощь и день пре(ж) его Богомъ сотворена бы(с), и сѣде прѧмо раю и плакашеся по раиско(м) жи(т)и. И при(д) нощь и бы(с) тьма и въскрича Адамъ глаголѧ: горе мне, престоупившому божию заповѣдь, изгнану изъ свѣтлаго раискаго житьа, пресвѣтлаго немер᷾чающаго свѣта. Ꙗ свѣ(т) мои пресвѣтлыи – плачасѧ и рыдаѧ глаголаше, – ouже не оузрю сиꙗнїа твоего и не мерчающаго свѣ(т) ни красоты раискїа ни вижю; Г(с)и, помилоуи мѧ па(д)шаго(с). Приде же к немоу дїаво(л) и глагола емоу: чт̄о сѧ стонеши и рыдаеши? Адамь(ж) рече: свѣ(т) ра(д) пресвѣтлаго сокрывшагосѧ мене ра(ди). – Дїаво(л) рече емоу: азъ ти дамъ свѣтъ, запиши(с) ми рукописанїе(м) и

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Стана Адам и Ева и тѫргнаа да одат по гьаола, да и учи да си напрат кукьа. И водил по себе и учил гьаолштинье; близу приквечер и натерал да соберат суи дѫрвьа и да напраат една колиба. “Клаі го ова дѫрво, Адаме, му рекал гьаолот, со чапорешкава от десно; клаі го другово от лево на еден чекор, на широко, стави і двата краіа горе; клаі едно озгора і клаі и друзи от страните; а сега набери трева навѫрлаі на дѫрвата и влезете си со Ева в натре да си спиете и ич не боіте се дури сум жив ꙗс.”

Зеде Адам еден остѫр камен, како што го учеше гьаолот, зарамни местото, каі што ке праеше колибата, и ꙗ напраі како што го учеше гьаолот, и си влегол со Ева да си седи.

От тоі ден веке Адам се со гьаолот си живеел и го слушал се што му велел; покраі Адама и Ева со се челатта му го слушале и негои биле, при се што беше си дал Адам имза за от коа ке умрат децата от Адама да бидат негои. От кога умрел, Адам, си влегол во вечната мака, при гьаоло и седел тамо, дури дошол Христос на земьава и се кѫрстил во р. Еордан от Иоана; каі што застанал Христос во Еордан била плочата со имзата от Адама, што му ꙗ зел гьаолот. Со кѫрштеньето Христово се скинал сенето от Адама и кога влегол Христос во вечната мака, го изваил Адама и сите му синоі; само еден остаил Христос во вечната мака. От страот на Христа сите гьаоли беа избегале от вечната мака. Останатио чоек во вечна[471], кога се видел сам, сакал да излези от вечна, ама неможел; измислил еден маривет: зел коноп и

рѡдъ свой и чѧ(д). Адамъ же свѣта ради дасть емоу роукописанїе, и написа тако: чии е(с) свѣ(т), того азъ и чѧда мои, – и приде день и свѣтъ восїѧ по всей вселенней; дьаволъ же вземъ роукописанїе адамле, сокры и (въ їорда(н) пѡ(д) камене(м), где Христо(с) кр(с)-тлсѧ). (Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i otrechennyia knigi russkoi stariny,* 2; incidentally, Pypin points out that the last sentence of this paragraph was crossed out by the scribe).

Yet it was also written somewhere else in the Scriptures that Adam glorified God with the archangels and angels in Paradise in a ceaseless light; having been expelled {from there} after his transgression, and without knowing that God had previously created day and night {on earth}, he sat in front of Heaven and lamented over {his previous} life in Paradise. And night came, and it became dark, and Adam began crying out, saying: “Woe is me! Because I disobeyed God’s order, I was expelled from the luminous life in Paradise, from the brightest, never ceasing light.” He was further saying the following while crying and lamenting, “O my brightest light{ = world}! I will never again see your luminosity and unceasing radiance, nor will I ever see the Edenic beauty! O God, have mercy upon me, the fallen one!” The Devil then came to him and said, “Why are you groaning and sobbing?” Adam said, “{I am weeping} on account of the brightest light which ceased because of me!” The Devil said, “I will deliver you light, but give me a handwritten contract, pledging thus to be mine, along with your kin and offspring!” Because of {the promised delivery of} light, Adam gave him a contract in which he wrote: “Whoever owns the light, owns me and my children!” And the day came, and the light shone above the entire universe, and the Devil took Adam’s writ and hid it in the river Jordan under the stone upon which Christ was to step when He was baptised.

See also the translation of this excerpt by A. Kulik *apud* Stone, *Adam’s Contract with Satan*, 33; according to Stone, this type of narrative interpretation of the motif of Adam’s writ represents Slavonic *Variant B* of the Cheirograph legend (*ibid.* 33–8). See also the discussion above (§ *3.6.2. Adam’s writ*).

[471] According to M. Tsepenkov’s notes, the storyteller was not sure whether it was Moses or Elijah but was more inclined to believe that it was Moses:

Приказвачътъ на здраво не можеше да ми каже, кой билъ човѣкътъ, когото оставилъ Христосъ въ вѣчната мѫка: “не знаѫ, Марко, ми каза, на здраво, кой е оставенъ въ вѣчната мѫка, дали Мойсеа, дали Илиа, ама трѣба да бѣше Мойсеа”. Азъ отъ други хора съмъ слушалъ, че е билъ оставенъ единъ, който ударилъ Христа съ желѣзна ръка.

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ватил да сучи ортома многу дебела. Дошол еден гьаол, та го прашал, заошто и сучел ортомите; тоі му рекол ке и вжрзел сите гьаоли и ке и носел при Христа. Кога се научиле гьаолите, оти ке и вжрзуал, сториле еден мезлич и се собрале сите, та ти го грабнале чоекот и ти го исвжрлиле от вечната мака надвор. От тогаі навамо мало никоі веке во вечна мака.

Adam and Eve Chased Away from Paradise

When Adam and Eve transgressed before God, He chased them away from Paradise. For an hour or so they wandered around Paradise until evening set in and it became dark. They sat under a certain tree and, being scared of the dark, they were looking back and forth, to the right and left, as they were afraid of the darkness. "O Eve, Eve", said Adam, "Why did you seduce me to eat of the tree and transgress before God, and now I am expelled from luminous Paradise and sit in this murkiness, with fear and trembling, and I have no one with me. O poor me! Shall I ever be delivered from this horror which is happening to me now?" Eve only listened to him, sighing and wringing her hands, while Adam, crying and sighing, leant against Eve and covered his eyes with his hands, being scared of the dark.

The Devil heard all this but didn't show himself to Adam and Eve until the time of dawn approached. The Devil then said, "O, good morning, Adam and Eve! Why are you so scared and hug each other? Did God expel you as well, just as He expelled me?"

"O Devil," said Eve, "It's not God's fault that He expelled us, but yours, since you tricked us into eating from the tree! Instead of having our eyes opened, here we have them covered by this evil and frightening darkness, which overwhelms us." "Don't be afraid, Eve, don't be afraid!" said the Devil to her, "Don't be afraid of darkness, because I am its master. I will go now quickly to bring you light. Don't worry! Since chance brought you into my hand, you only have to obey what I tell you and you will become Tsars on Earth and do whatever you wish." "O Devil, O brother!" said Adam, "If you bring us light at this hour, we will never forget you." "Well, Adam," said the Devil, "You and Eve must have patience for a while until I go and bring you a bright light. But beware, Adam, that you do not later regret and renounce me." "O my brother Devil, how can you speak like this? How could I renounce you? I will never renounce you. This is how you will know – give me your

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The storyteller could not tell me for sure who the man was whom Jesus left in the Eternal Sorrow: "I do not know, Marko, he told me, who was left in the Eternal Sorrow, whether it was Moses or Elijah, but I think that it was Moses." I [*i.e*., Marko Tsepenkov] have heard from other people that there was one man {who was left in the Eternal Sorrow}, and that was the one who slapped Jesus with an iron hand.

According to some other Bulgarian popular legends, the man who was left in Hell was Solomon; eventually he was delivered from there because of the single charitable act he once committed by giving a rope to a poor woodcutter. It was with the help of this rope that Solomon was saved from the Eternal Sorrow. This tale was recorded, again by Tsepenkov, in the city of Prilep; it was entitled *The Most Wise Solomon gave a rope to a poor woodcutter and later it was this rope that facilitated his salvation from the Eternal Sorrow* (*Премудри Соломон дал една ортома на еден сиромаф джрвар и со истата ортома се избавил отъ вечната мака*). The legend was narrated by the elderly shoemaker Naum, who heard it from a certain Andon Itsov, who, in turn, had learned it from another storyteller by the name of Spiro the Butterman *("Прикажана от деда Наума Калжпчиіа, тоі іа слушал от Андона Ицоф, а пак Андон іа слушал от Спира Масларот пре многу години")*. The text was published in *SbNU* 16–17 (1900), 292–294 (text № 3). See also the discussion in Radchenko, "Etiudy po bogomil'stvu," 129–130.

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little finger so that we {grasp them and} become accomplices." So said Adam. "Very well, Adam," said the Devil, "since that's the case, tap your finger on the slab of stone in front of me so that everything is confirmed that we have an agreement that, from now on, we will be brothers and children born to you will be yours while they live and mine when dead."

Adam turned towards Eve and said to her, "Well, Eve, what do you say about this proposition? Should I tap my finger on the stone slab so that we and our children become accomplices with the Devil? Here is what he says: the living ones will be ours and the dead ones will be his."

"Well, since the living will be ours," said Eve, "may the dead ones be his, provided he brings us light. If this is the case, tap your finger and don't be afraid."

Adam, having heard these words from his wife Eve, consented to tap his finger on the stone slab which the Devil indicated.

"Now tell me, Devil, how to tap my finger on the slab of stone."

The Devil took Adam's right hand and scratched it with his nail until it bled, and Adam wrote a writ in his own blood: "The dead are to be for the Devil, while the living are to be Adam's." At that very instant the Devil grabbed the stone slab and flew off with it, taking it to the river Jordan, to the deepest spot, and by the time he returned from the river Jordan, day was breaking.

As soon as he came to Adam and Eve, the Devil said to them, "Well, Adam and Eve, haven't you seen that I brought you light? Now get up so I can teach you how to make a dwelling."

Adam and Eve set off and followed the Devil, so that he might teach them how to build a house. He led them to teach them trickery. When evening approached, he had them collect dry wood and make a hut. "Place this piece of wood, Adam," said the Devil, "with a fork to the right. Then put the other one on its left {against another fork}, one pace distance apart, put one on the top and another one on the side. Collect grass and toss it over the wood and go inside with Eve to sleep, and don't worry for as long as I live."

Adam took a sharp stone, as the Devil taught him, to even out the place where he was meant to build the hut. He constructed it the way the Devil had taught him and he entered with Eve to dwell inside there.

From this day on Adam always lived together with the Devil, obeying everything he told him. Together with Adam and Eve, their children also obeyed him and were his {the Devil's}, despite Adam's having stipulated in the writ that his children would go to the Devil only when they die. When Adam died, he went to the Eternal Sorrow, to the Devil, and he stayed there until Christ came to Earth and became baptised in the river Jordan by John. There, where Jesus stood in the river Jordan, was the stone slab with Adam's writ, which had been taken by the Devil.[472] With Jesus' baptism, Adam's writ was torn up, and when Jesus descended to the Eternal Sorrow, he took from there Adam with all his sons.[473] And only one man remained there. From fear of Christ, all the Devils escaped from Hell, and the man who remained in the Eternal Sorrow saw that he was alone and wanted to get out of there, but could not. He then thought of a ruse: he took some hemp and began twisting a very thick rope. A Devil came and asked him why he was twisting rope, and he answered that he wanted to tie up the Devils and take them before Christ. When the Devils found out that he intended to tie them up, they gathered all together, formed a counsel, grabbed the man and threw him out of the Eternal Sorrow. From then on no one was left in Hell.

[472] See Figs. 8 and 9, *infra*.
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Figure 1: God Sabaoth Creating the World

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Figure 2: Creation

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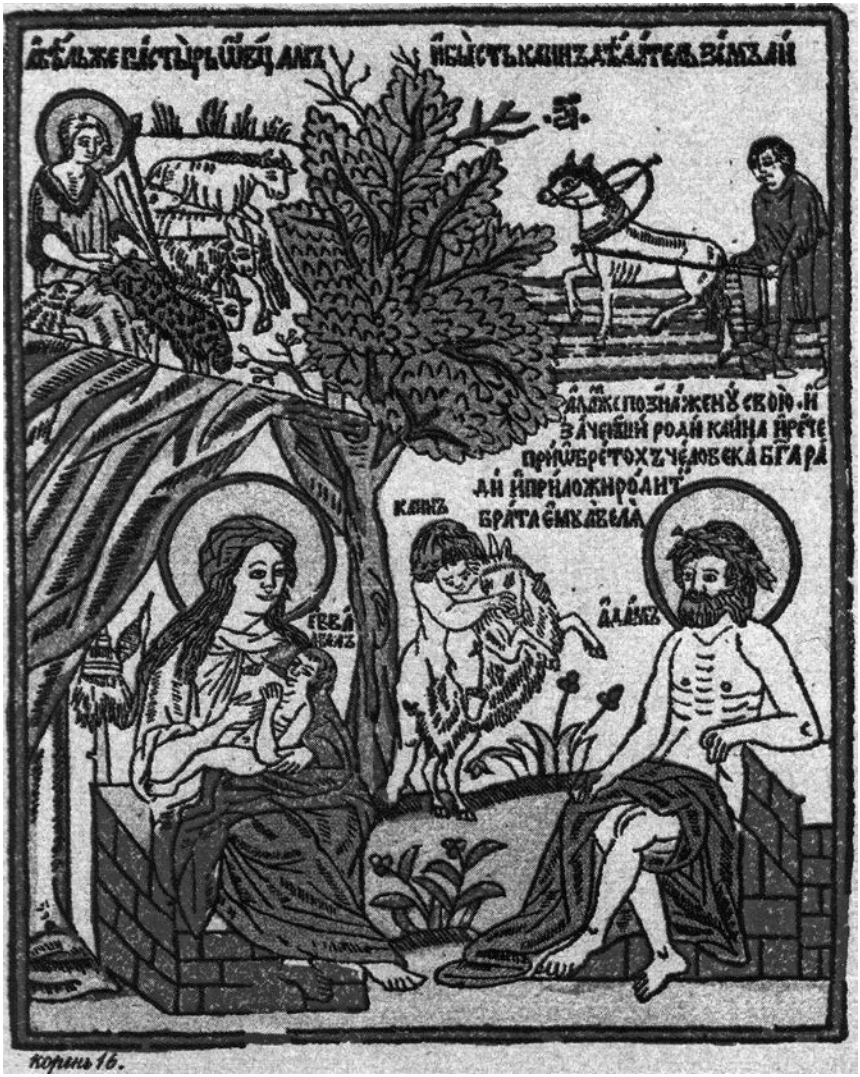


Figure 3: Adam's Family

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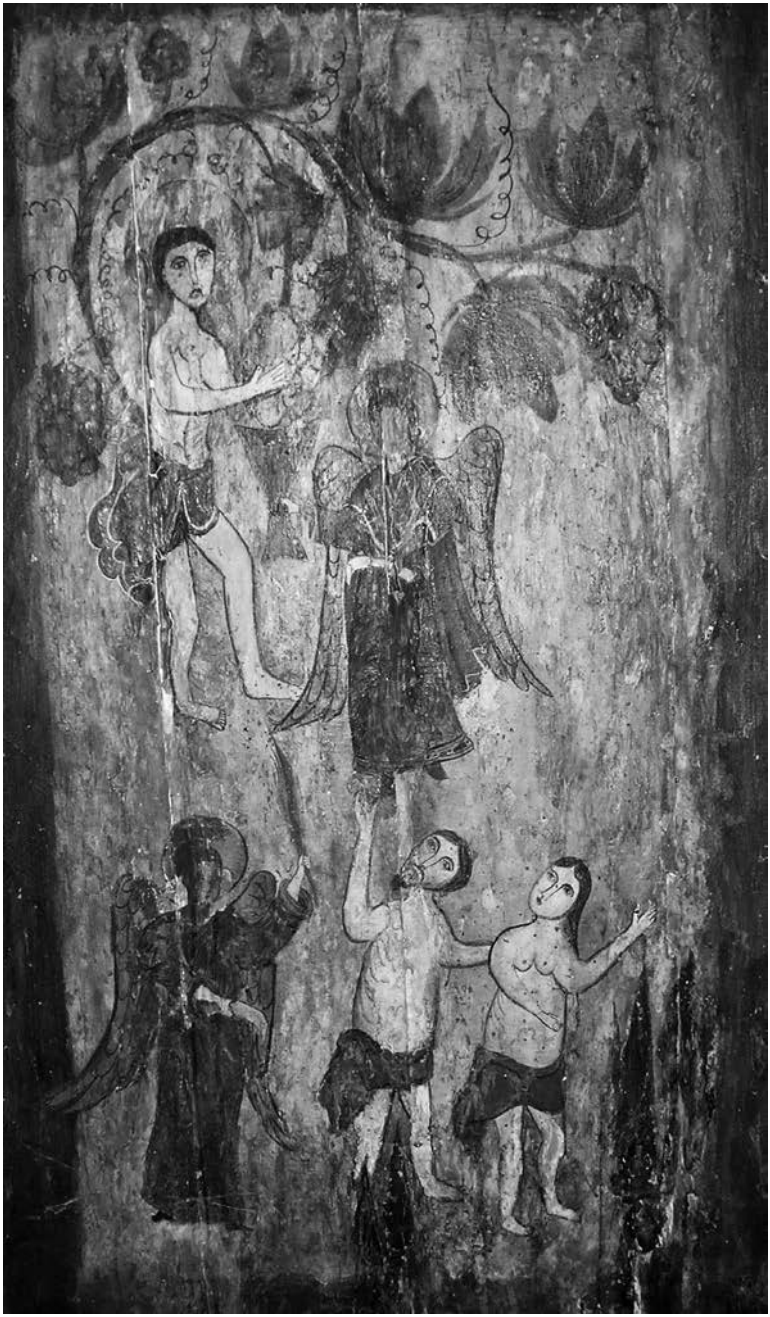


Figure 4: Vine as the Forbidden Tree

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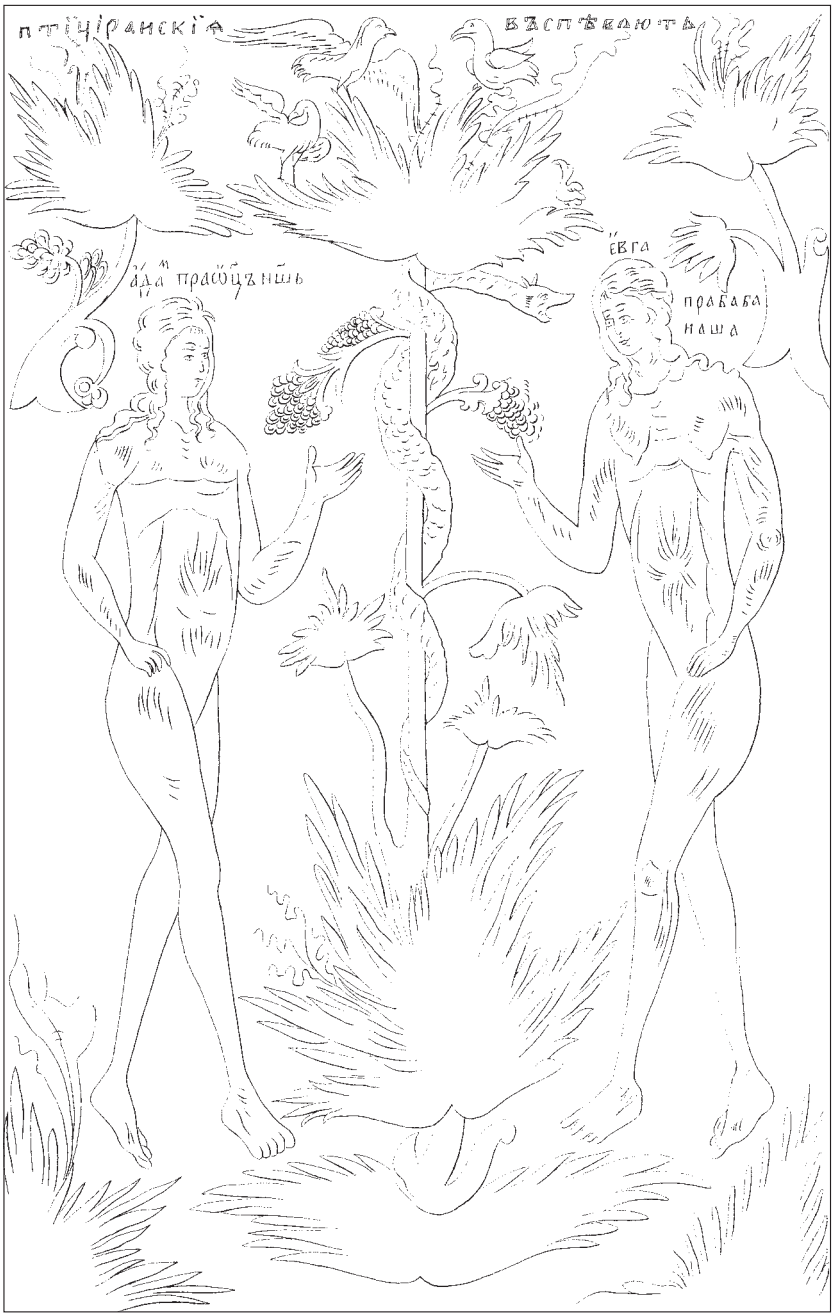


Figure 5: Vine as the Forbidden Tree

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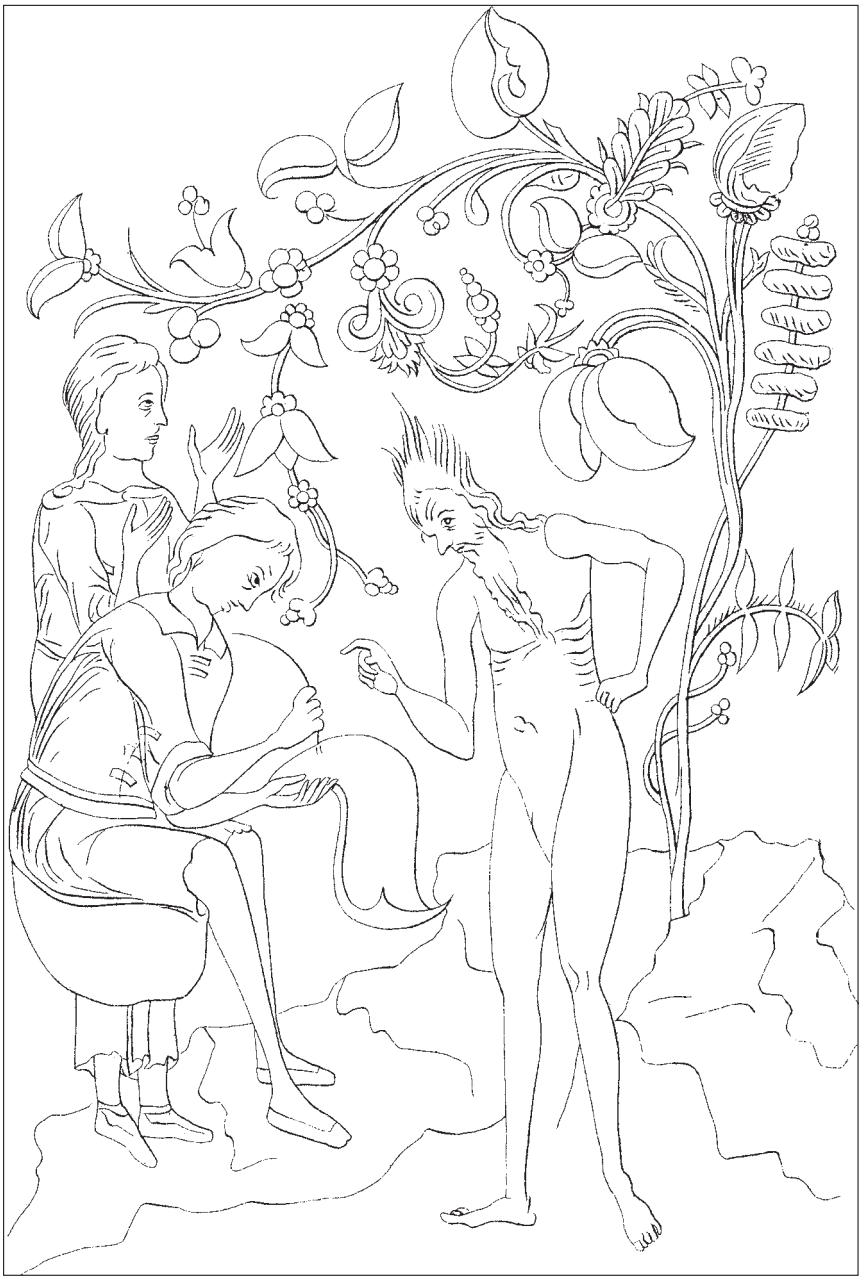


Figure 6: Adam's Writ

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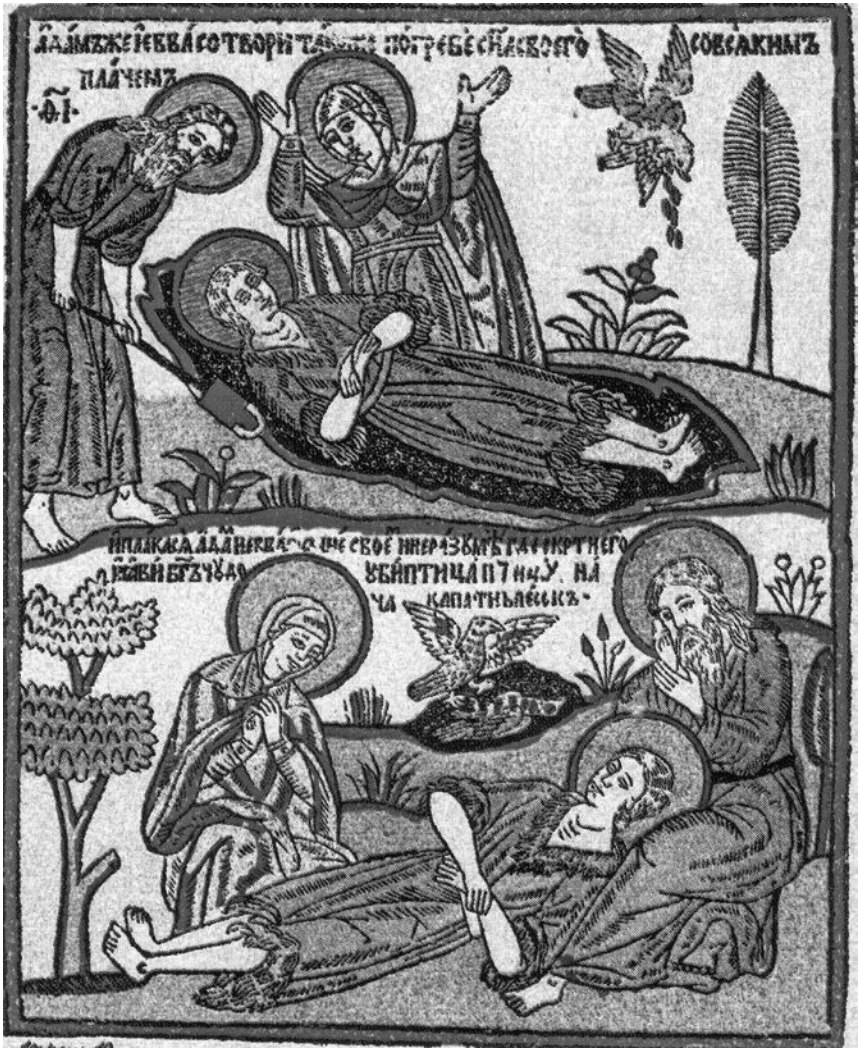


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Figure 8: Christ Standing on the Stone with the Cheirograph During His Baptism

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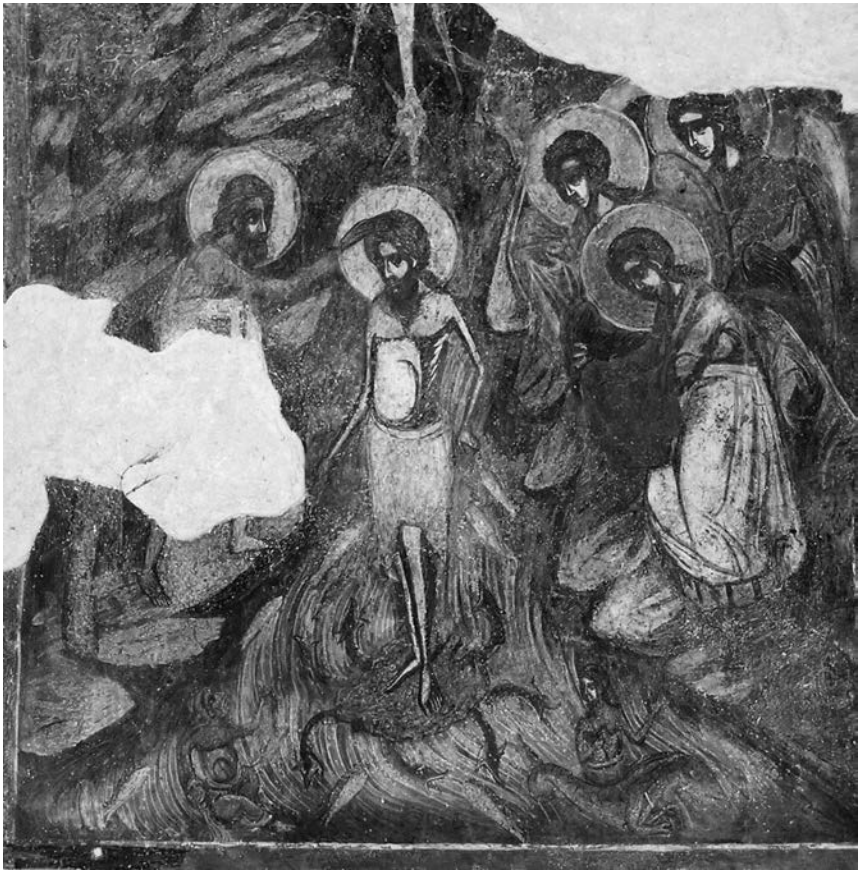


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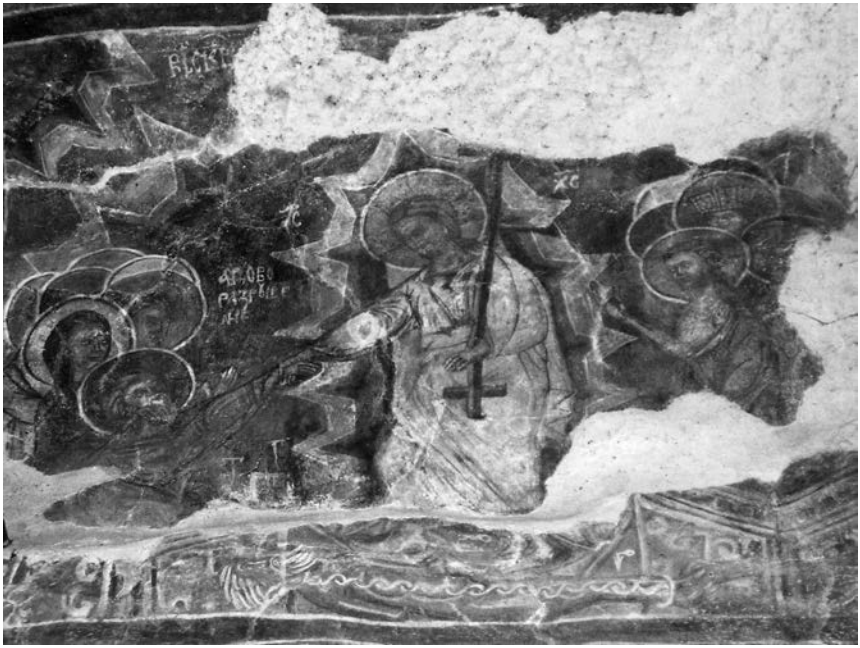


Figure 10: Christ Harrowing Hell

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