This pdf is a digital offprint of your contribution in

E. TIGCHELAAR (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, BETL 270, ISBN 978-90-429-3128-2

The copyright on this publication belongs to Peeters Publishers.

As author you are licensed to make printed copies of the pdf or to send the unaltered pdf file to up to 50 relations. You may not publish this pdf on the World Wide Web – including websites such as academia.edu and open-access repositories – until three years after publication. Please ensure that anyone receiving an offprint from you observes these rules as well.

If you wish to publish your article immediately on open-access sites, please contact the publisher with regard to the payment of the article processing fee.

For queries about offprints, copyright and republication of your article, please contact the publisher via peeters@peeters-leuven.be

BIBLIOTHECA EPHEMERIDUM THEOLOGICARUM LOVANIENSIUM

CCLXX

OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE SCRIPTURES

EDITED BY

EIBERT TIGCHELAAR

PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – WALPOLE, MA
2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE VII

INTRODUCTION XV

Eibert TIGCHELAAR (Leuven)
Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures. 1

Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ (Leuven)
Les rapports avec l'Écriture des textes araméens trouvés à Qumrân 19

Hanna TERVANOTKO (Helsinki)
A Trilogy of Testaments? The Status of the *Testament of Qahat* versus Texts Attributed to Levi and Amram 41

Matthew J. GOFF (Tallahassee, FL)
When Giants Dreamed about the Flood: The *Book of Giants* and Its Relationship to the *Book of Watchers* 61

Devorah DIMANT (Haifa)
Hebrew Pseudepigrapha at Qumran 89

James KUGEL (Bar-Ilan)
Mastéma (le diable) est dans les détails: Quelques aperçus sur le *Livre des Jubilés* 105

Atar LIVNEH (Beer-Sheva)
The Biblical Background of an Extra-Biblical Conflict Account: Notes on *Jubilees* 37,1-13 123

Georg FISCHER (Innsbruck)
Baruch, Jeremiah's "Secretary"? The Relationships between the Book of Jeremiah and the Book of Baruch. 137

Patrick POUCHELLE (Strasbourg)
Les astres errants: L'utilisation des Écritures dans la finale du dernier Psaume de Salomon (*Ps. Sal.* 18,10-12). 157

Christopher T. BEGG (Washington, DC)
Judges 17–18 as Retold in the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo: What Might It Tell Us about His Approach to the "Bible"? 173

Stefan KOCH (München)
Zur literarischen Bedeutung der *Sapientia Salomonis* im Neuen Testament 183

John J. COLLINS (New Haven, CT)
Sibylline Discourse 195

Françoise MIRGUET (Tempe, AZ)
Beyond Authority: The Construction of Scriptures in the *Testament of Abraham* 211

Jed WYRICK (Chico, CA)
The Vanishing Scriptural Scaffolding of *The Book of the Words of Jannes and Jambres* and Its Kindred Legends 231

Hindy NAJMAN (New Haven, CT)
The Exemplary Protagonist: The Case of *4 Ezra* 261

Jason M. ZURAWSKI (Ann Arbor, MI)
Ezra Begins: *4 Ezra* as Prequel and the Making of a Superhero 289

James R. DAVILA (St Andrews)
Seven Theses Concerning the Use of Scripture in *4 Ezra* and the *Latin Vision of Ezra* 305

Liv Ingeborg LIED (Oslo)
Die Syrische Baruchapokalypse und die „Schriften" – Die Syrische Baruchapokalypse als „Schrift" 327

Johannes MAGLIANO-TROMP (Leiden)
Genesis 3 and the *Life of Adam and Eve* 351

Christfried BÖTTRICH (Greifswald)
Die apokryphe „Geschichte Melchisedeks" (HistMelch) als Teil der jüdisch-christlichen Melchisedektradition. 363

Jan DOCHHORN (Aarhus)
Die Narratio Zosimi (CAVT 166): Ein Vorbericht 389

Joseph VERHEYDEN (Leuven)
A Jewish King in Egypt? A Note on the So-Called *History of Joseph*. 449

Florentina BADALANOVA GELLER (Berlin)
Recasting the Bible, Recapturing Eden: Parascriptural Cosmologies in the Byzantine Commonwealth. 463

ABBREVIATIONS 491

INDEX OF AUTHORS 495

INDEX OF REFERENCES 505

RECASTING THE BIBLE, RECAPTURING EDEN

PARASCRIPTURAL COSMOLOGIES IN THE BYZANTINE COMMONWEALTH[1]

Dedicated to Nira Stone z" l

I. Envisaging Paradise

There are two conflicting spatial paradigms attested in the biblical description of the *paradise topic*. Their impact upon cosmological models produced within the intellectual milieu of the Byzantine Commonwealth[2] is significant; their distinctive imprint can be found in a number of apocryphal writings, in religious iconography[3], and in the vernacular traditions of *Slavia Orthodoxa*[4].

The first paradigm, which is outlined in the book of Genesis, can be designated as a horizontal template; according to this cosmological model, the garden of Eden is situated on the edge of the earth and marks its

1. The present paper concerns the Slavonic tradition of the Byzantine Commonwealth exclusively and does not intend to deal with Greek sources. All translations from the Old Church Slavonic accounts into English are made by the author. I would like to express my gratitude to Michael Stone for his useful comments and suggestions.

2. Cf. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*: *Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1971.

3. The iconography of Paradise in *Slavia Orthodoxa* will be analysed elsewhere; for a brief discussion on the subject, see S. Brouwer's article on *Russian Medieval Concepts of Paradise*, in G.P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (TBN, 2), Leiden, Brill, 1999, 180-196, pp. 181-182.

4. The twin terms *Slavia Orthodoxa* and *Slavia Romana* (or *Slavia Catholica*) reflect the "division of historical Slavdom into two main areas belonging to the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Churches (*Slavia Orthodoxa*) and to that of the Roman Church (*Slavia Romana*)"; see the discussion in R. Picchio, *Guidelines for a Comparative Study of the Language Question among the Slavs*, in Id. – H. Goldblatt (eds.), *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*. Vol. I: *Church Slavonic – South Slavic – West Slavic*, New Haven, CT, Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1984, 1-42, p. 1. Following Picchio's methodology, I approach the institutionalised partition of *Pax Slavia Christiana* between Rome and Constantinople as a complex socio-linguistic and cultural phenomenon; Latin was to function as the *lingua sacra* in *Slavia Romana*, while in *Slavia Orthodoxa* this role was played by Old Church Slavonic. The linguistic differentiation between *Slavia Romana* and *Slavia Orthodoxa* (i.e. Latin versus Old Church Slavonic) had a major impact upon future cleavage between the respective cultural traditions: "within each of these two main areas of civilisation, the self-identification of the Slavs with certain cultural and linguistic systems was directly affected by the ideological and linguistic models that the ecclesiastical organisations introduced into their spiritual patrimony" (*ibid*., p. 3).

eastern corner[5]. Significantly, the begetting of paradise is absent from the *Hexaemeron* chronology of creation [Genesis 1]. Indeed, the canonical account is silent about the temporal setting of the garden of Eden[6]; the

5. See in this connection the discussion in J. KUGEL, *The Bible as It Was*, Cambridge, MA – London, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 78-80; J.M. SCOTT, *The Division of the Earth in Jubilees 8:11–9:15 and Early Christian Chronography*, in M. ALBANI – J. FREY – A. LANGE (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1997, 295-319; ID., *Geographic Aspects of Noachic Materials in the Scrolls at Qumran*, in S.E. PORTER – C.A. EVANS (eds.), *The Scrolls and the Scriptures*, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1997, 368-381; ID., *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees*, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 2002; E. ESHEL, *The Imago Mundi of the Genesis Apocryphon*, in L. LIDONNICI – A. LIEBER (eds.), *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (SupplJSJ, 119), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2007, 111-131. For a concise survey of research on the reception history of the biblical story of Paradise, see C. MCDANNEL – B. LANG, *Heaven: A History*, New Haven, CT – London, Yale University Press, 1988; LUTTIKHUIZEN (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted* (n. 3); K. SCHMID – C. RIEDWEG (eds.), *Beyond Eden*, Tübingen, Mohr, 2008; M. BOCKMUEHL – G.G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

6. In contrast to the canonical account, some apocryphal narratives discuss at length the temporal framework of the creation of the garden of Eden. Thus, according to *The Book of Jubilees* [2,5-8], it was planted on the third day, together with terrestrial vegetation:

> On the third day he did as he said to the waters that they should pass from the surface of the whole earth to one place and that the dry land should appear. The waters did so, as he told them. They withdrew from the surface of the earth to one place apart from this firmament, and dry land appeared. On that day he created for them all the seas – each with the places where they collected – all the rivers, and the places where the waters collected in the mountains and on the whole earth; all the reservoirs, all the dew of the earth; the seed that is sown – with each of its kinds – all that *sprouts*, the fruit trees, the forests, and the garden of Eden (which is) in Eden for enjoyment and for *food*. These four great types he made on the third day.

(The quotation follows the edition and translation of the text by J.C. VANDERKAM, *The Book of Jubilees* [CSCO, 511; Scriptores Aethiopici, 88], Leuven, Peeters, 1989, pp. 9-10). Furthermore the above quoted text implies that the construction of the garden of Eden is imagined to have taken place before the formation of the heavenly bodies (the Sun, the Moon and the stars). The same pattern – according to which Paradise is created on the third day, together with the earthly plants, but before the luminaries – is followed in *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; see M. SOKOLOV, *Materialy i Zametki Po Starinnoi Slavianskoi Literature*, Vypusk 3 / vii. Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha (ii). Tekst s Latinskim Perevodom. (= *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete*, Kn. 4), Moscow, 1899, p. 28 [pericope 11, lines 42- 45]:

> Н въ третн дн҃ь повелѣ^{х} ꙁемлн въꙁрастнтн дрѣва велнка н горы, всѣкѫ трѣвѫ сладкѫа н вьсѣко сѣмѧ сѣѫмо. Посадн^{х} ран н ꙁатворн^{х} н положн^{х} ѡрѫжнкы пламенны агг҃лн. Н тако сътворн^{х} ꙁемлн ѡбновленїе.
>
> And on the third day I ordered the Earth to become overgrown with large trees and forests, with all kinds of sweet grasses and all kinds of sown seeds. I planted Paradise and enclosed it and put up armed guards – fiery angels. This is how I engendered the revitalisation on Earth (*2 En.* 30,1).

Yet according to some other Slavonic apocrypha – which likewise maintain that Paradise was created on the third day – the garden of Eden was planted after God's having fashioned the heavenly bodies. Thus the text of the fifteenth-century *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* (Раꙁоумнн^{к} ѡ все^{м} 8просе ѡ^{ѵ}е) from the *Tikveshky Miscellany* (preserved

question of *when* God planted it does not feature in its storyline. Instead, the Bible seems to be concerned *only* with the issue of its location, which is outlined in Genesis 2. In fact, Genesis 2 follows a cosmogonic scenario which is an inversion of Genesis 1. While in Genesis 1 the appearance of earthly vegetation precedes the crafting of human beings, this sequel is reversed in Genesis 2. According to the latter, although the seeds of plants and herbs had already been planted in the soil by the time Adam was created, nothing was to grow until he was formed, "for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground" [Gen 2,5][7]. The begetting of Adam thus unlocks the womb of the earth and heralds the creation of paradise; it is further stipulated that the sole purpose for the existence of the garden of Eden is to accommodate the needs of man and to serve as his habitat[8]; Adam's only duty is to be its groom [Gen 2,15]. On the other hand, in Genesis 2 it is clearly

in the Bulgarian National Library in Sofia, No. 677) affirms that "God created Heaven and earth on Sunday" (Вь нˆлоу сътворн ѣь нѷбо н ꙁемлю); on Monday the creation of the Sun, Moon and whole celestial realm took place (Вь понˆлкь сл҃нце н мᶜць н вса нбᶜнаа); he then planted Paradise on Tuesday (Вь торннᵏ насадн ран). On Wednesday God placed the waters on (into?) the sea (Вь срѣˆ вьставн водн вь морѣ), on Thursday he formed all the animals (Вь ѵ҃ткь повѣле н съꙁдаше се вьсн скотн н гадн), and on Friday he created the body of Adam (Вь петᵏь съꙁда адама). On Saturday God gave Adam a soul (Вь с8бот8 вьдаде іємоу дїоу). The text of the above quoted *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* from the *Tikveshky Miscellany* was edited and published by N. NACHOV; see *Tikveshky Rŭkopis*, in *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvoreniia, Nauka i Knizhnina* 8 (1892) 402.

7. P. BOUTENEFF points out that "Genesis 1 is a primarily cosmocentric account, whereas Genesis 2–3 is anthropocentric"; see his monograph *Beginnings: Ancient Christian Readings of the Biblical Creation Narratives*, Grand Rapids, MI, Baker Academics, 2008, pp. 2-3.

8. Some scholars analyse this detail within the framework of the complex relationship between the anthropogonic narrative of Genesis 2 and Near Eastern creation stories (with a special emphasis on the "Paradise topic"); for a concise discussion of the Eden narrative against the basic mythic-historiographical patterns of ancient Mesopotamia, see J. BLENKINSOPP, *The Pentateuch*: *An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*, New Haven, CT – London, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 63-67; D. GOWAN, *From Eden to Babel: A Commentary on the Book of Genesis 1–11*, Edinburgh, Handsel, 1988, pp. 40-45; S. PARPOLA, *The Assyrian Tree of Life*: *Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy*, in *JNES* 52 (1993) 161-208; for the historiography of the epistemological discourse on "the biblical Garden of Eden as derivative from fragments of epic literature in the cultures of the Tigris-Euphrates valley of the third and second millennia BC", see F.E. MANUEL – F.P. MANUEL, *Sketch for a Natural History of Paradise*, in *Dædalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (special issue, *Myth, Symbol and Culture*, ed. C. GEERTZ) 101 (1972) 83-128, pp. 90-91, 124, notes 16, 17, 18, 19. Classic studies which are still quoted (but are now badly out of date) are A. HEIDEL, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1949; U. CASSUTO, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, Jerusalem, Magnes, 1961; H. BAUDET, *Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1965.

stated that both earth and man share the same *materia prima*[9], and Adam emanates from the same substance which is to comprise the garden of Eden. The canonical text further clarifies that, after the creation of man, God plants in the middle of paradise "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil", and "the tree of life" [Gen 2,9]. These two trees are to mark the *axis mundi* of the universe[10]. While nothing is stated about any prohibition regarding the fruit of "the tree of life" (at least at this point), the consumption of the fruits of "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil" becomes the only taboo Adam is required to observe in his Edenic habitat. The narrative further clarifies that the fashioning of earth, man and paradise is followed by the engendering of animals and the begetting of woman, envisaged to be the last product of divine creation.

The horizontal model of heavenly cosmography, as outlined in Genesis 2, is attested in a number of Slavonic apocryphal writings (such as the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Discussion between the Three Saints*, etc., to be examined below). Of particular importance in this connection is also the *Christian Topography* by the Byzantine geographer Cosmas Indicopleustes (lit. "Cosmas the Indian voyager"), a work which enjoyed great popularity in *Slavia Orthodoxa*[11]. Yet the brief analysis of the spatial dimensions of the garden of Eden, as featured in parascriptural narratives, shows that in most cases the horizontal paradigm coexists with another one, that of the vertical division of the universe; according to the latter cosmographic model, paradise is placed above the earth, on the third heavenly stratum. The scriptural attestation of this model is outlined in the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, in which Apostle Paul[12] "reports an

9. Cf. Gen 2,7 ("Then the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being").

10. The social anthropologist Edmund LEACH – who approaches Genesis as myth – suggests that the "two trees" detail in the garden of Eden story has a "markedly binary aspect" and manifests the antinomy of life and death; he further argues that "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil" is in fact "the tree of death", and sets up an opposing category to "the tree of life". In this way the garden of Eden story is constructed according to the two-fold paradigm of binary mythical systems; see *Genesis as Myth* in ST. HUGH-JONES – J. LAIDLAW (eds.), *The Essential Edmund Leach*. Vol. 2: *Culture and Human Nature*, New Haven, CT – London, Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 29-40 (in particular pp. 33-34).

11. As pointed out by V. MIL'KOV, the localization of Paradise within the terrestrial realm is typical for the Antiochian cosmograhic model; see the discussion in *Khristianskaia topografia Kozmy Indokoplova*, in V. MIL'KOV – S. POLIANSKII (eds.), *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rus*. Vol. 2: *Teksty Ploskostno-Komarnoi i Drugikh Kosmologicheskikh Traditsii*, Saint Petersburg, MIR, 2009, 63, 80-81 (notes 66, 67).

12. On Paul's theology in relation to the "Paradise narrative", see BOUTENEFF, *Beginnings* (n. 7), pp. 38-49; Bouteneff, however, does not include in his discussion the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*.

earlier ecstatic experience of his own, during which he was carried off into the third heaven"[13]:

> I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth); such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth); How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter (2 Cor 12,2-4).

A similar cosmographic model – implying that paradise is placed in heavens, above the earth – is attested most vividly in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (alternatively known as *2 Enoch*, or the *Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*) and in the *Vision of Paul* (or: the *Apocalypse of Paul*); allusions to the same concept of a multiple-heaven cosmology are also found in other apocryphal writings (such as the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *Erotapokriseis*, etc.); we will return to some of these texts later.

II. The Horizontal Template of Paradise

The idea that paradise is situated on earth (i.e. beneath the heavenly realm on whose top rests the Throne of God) is most vividly implied in some Slavonic recensions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*[14]. Thus, according

13. See the discussion in P. Schäfer, *In Heaven as It Is in Hell*, in R.S. Boustan – A.Y. Reed (eds.), *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, 233-274, p. 257.

14. For a bibliographic survey of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve* in the Slavonic tradition, see A.I. Iatsimirskii, *K Istorii Apokrifov i Legend v Iuzhno-slavianskoi Pis'mennosti*, in *Izvestiia Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* 14 (1909) 288-290; Id., *Bibliograficheskii Obzor Apokrifov v Iuzhnoslavianskoi i Russkoi Pis'mennosti: Spiski Pamiatnikov. Apokrify Vetkhozavetnye*, Vyp. 1, Petrograd, 1921, pp. 76-81. For editions of various recensions of the text, see A.N. Pypin, *Lozhnyia i Otrechennyia Knigi Russkoi Stariny: Sobrannyia A.N. Pypinym. Pamiatniki Starinnoi Russkoi Literatury, Izdavaemye Grafom Grigoriem Kushelevym-Bezborodko*, Vyp. 3, Saint Petersburg, 1862, pp. 1-8, 12-14; N. Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki Otrechennoi Russkoi Literatury*, vol. 1, Saint Petersburg, 1863, pp. 1-18, 298-304; I.A. Porfir'ev, *Apokrificheskie Skazaniia o Vetkhozavetnykh Litsakh i Sobytiiakh po Rukopis'iam Solovetskoi Biblioteki*, in *Sbornik Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti* 17 (1877) 34-47, 90-96, 204-216, 245-250; Y. Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi*, Sofia, Pridvorna Pečatnica, 1925, pp. 207-227; D. Petkanova (ed.), *Stara Bŭlgarska Literatura*. Vol. 1: *Apokrifi*, Sofia, Bŭlgarski Pisatel, 1982, pp. 35-41, 348-349. See also the discussion in V. Jagić, *Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apokryphen*. I: *Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuches*, in *Denkschriften des kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Classe* 42 (1893) 1-104; R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Vol. 2: *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1913, pp. 123-154; D. Dimitrova, *Kŭm Vŭprosa za Istoriiata*

to the 16th century Bulgarian version of the apocryphon from the *Panagiurishte Miscellany* (preserved in the Bulgarian National Library in Sofia, No. 433, ff. 12-20), after the Fall and the expulsion from the garden of Eden, the protoplasts are believed to have "sat in front of the gates of paradise crying, prostrated upon the earth, while Adam was lamenting, with his face touching the dust of the ground"[15].

Having experienced hunger for the first time in their lives, Adam and Eve start wandering around outside Eden searching for food; this journey lasts for seven long days, after which they return to the closed gates of paradise, begging their Creator for mercy and forgiveness. Their sorrowful roaming is described as a horizontal "shuttling" on the flat surface of the terrestrial landscape, which stretches outside the closed gates of paradise. The narrative indicates the protoplasts travel back and forth to these gates, rather than up and down from them. Having prayed in starvation for another fifteen days, while unceasingly circling around their former habitat, Adam and Eve are finally given a share of the land of paradise by God for their human needs; this happens after the intervention of Archangel Michael and Angel Ioel [Joël]. A piece of land, which represents a 1/7 fraction of the Edenic garden, is to be cultivated by Adam and Eve for their sustenance. The motif of the "1/7 share" of paradise converted into a human habitat on earth functions as an important narrative component of the penitential cycle. The Russian redaction of the *Life of Adam and Eve* from the *Rumiantsev Miscellany* (Ms No 358, dated 15th-16th century) describes this episode in the following manner[16]:

na Teksta na Apokrifa Slovo za Adam i Eva, in *Starobŭlgarska Literatura* 12 (1982) 70-81; G.A. Anderson – M.E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (SBL EJL), Atlanta, GA, Scholars, 1994; G.A. Anderson – M.E. Stone – J. Tromp (eds.), *Literature on Adam and Eve*, Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln, Brill, 2000; A.A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (SupplJSJ, 114), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2007, pp. 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, pp. 192-207.

15. The original text entitled Слово ѡ Адамѣ н ѡ Ев҃вѣ ѻ҃ ꙁаꙋела н до сьв҃рьшенїе, ѕказъ, ѡᵛ бл҃вн reads as follows:

> Сѣдохо᷒ прѣ^ дверн ранскн᷒, Адамь плаꙋѫцін прннїкь кь ꙁемлъ ѡбраꙁомь лежа н рндаше.

In the current publication I follow Ivanov's edition of the text; see *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), p. 215 [pericope 5].

16. Quoted from Pypin, *Lozhnyia i Otrechennyia Knigi Russkoi Stariny* (n. 14), pp. 1-2 (Ↄ исповѣданіи евгинѣ и ѡ въспроᶜ вноучᵃᵀ еа и ѡ болѣзни адамовѣ):

> И въставши ѡбыдохомъ всю землю и не ѡбрѣтохѡ᷒ снѣдна ничто᷎, токмо стволъ травоу сельную, и пакы придохо᷒ въ еде᷒, и плакахомс^: раю мои, раю, пресвѣᵀлыи раю, красота неизреᶜннаа, мена раᵈⁱ сотворенъ еᶜ, а Евги раᵈ затворенъ еᶜ; милостиве помилоуи ма падшаго. И рече Адамъ: Господи

> 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 Eden 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 then appeased and the Archangel Ioel [i.e. Joël][17] took one seventh part of Paradise and gave it to us. First we ate the fruit of the thornbush, and afterwards the Archangel Michael came along and taught Adam handwork and gave him wheat and honey.

The spatial dimensions of the post-Edenic narrative (as revealed in the above quoted fragments from the Slavonic apocryphal versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*) suggest that paradise and the terrestrial habitat of the protoplasts were imagined to have been located on the same horizontal plane, next to each other. Mankind's environment is envisaged as "a space of mortality" stretching outside the guarded garden, while paradise is imagined as "a space of immortality" encircled inside it. In this way the Fall is conceptualised in spatial terms: the partitioned paradise, which is severed into two antithetical *topoi*, becomes a metaphor for the broken bond between the protoplasts and their Creator.

The motif of "the pristine paradise", which existed before the Fall, is further featured in the testimony of Eve in front of her children gathered around the bed of the dying Adam[18]. While describing her deeds before the Fall, Eve declares that the garden of Eden consisted of two symmetrical divisions: her share (encompassing the southern and western compartments) was inhabited by all the female animals, which were under her dominion, while the male animals dwelt in Adam's share (which was situated in the eastern and northern compartments), under his dominion:

> припоусти воню благооуханїа, да та поминаютъ. Тогда посла Господь фимьѧнъ и ливанъ и ладанъ: взатъ Адамъ и сотвори молбу къ Бгу. Тогда умилосердисѧ Господь, архангелъ Іоиль ѿлучи з-ю часть ѿ раѧ и подасть намъ, прежде наѧхѡмсѧ плода тръновнаго; потомъ придѣ архангелъ Михаилъ, наставлѧа Адама на дѣла роучнаѧ и дасть емоу и пшеницою и медъ.

17. On Joël's instruction, see the discussion in M. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, in Anderson – Stone – Tromp (eds.), *Literature on Adam and Eve* (n. 14), 29-33.

18. The motif is attested in the above quoted 16th century Bulgarian redaction of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve* (Слово ѡ Адамѣ н ѡ Евѣ ѿ ꙁачела н до сьвръшенїе, ѕказь, ѡу блвн) from the *Panagiurishte Miscellany* (Bulgarian National Library in Sofia, Ms. No. 433, ff. 12-20); see also the 16th century Russian redaction of the apoctyphon (Слово ѡ Адаме н ѡ Евꙁе ѿ ꙁачала н совершенныѧ, ѕказь, гн блвн ѡу) from the *Izmaragd* Miscellany (Troitsko-Sergievaia Lavra, Ms. No. 794, ff. 311r-323r), published by Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki Otrechennoi Russkoi Literatury* (n. 14), vol. 1, pp. 7-15 (the fragment concerned is to be found on pp. 9-10).

> Adam guarded in Paradise the eastern and northern sides, [while] I, Eve, guarded the western and southern sides. Adam guarded the beasts of male gender, [while] I, Eve, guarded the beasts of female gender[19].

In this way the "ideal paradise" was imagined as an harmonious habitation of male and female creations, a concept which implicitly refers to the framework of the egalitarian gender division spelled out in Gen 1,27 ("So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them").

On the other hand, the conceptualization of the horizontal template of the paradise topic in the Slavonic versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* bears a close resemblance to cosmographic descriptions attested in some erotapocritic apocryphal writings[20]. In this type of text the temporal scheme of the founding of the garden of Eden *after* the creation of Adam is intertwined with the spatial descriptions of "the land of his origin", from the dust of which his body was formed and to the dust of which he was to return. It is stipulated that this "primordial land" – which provided the *materia prima* of Adam's flesh – was believed to be *adjacent* to paradise. Thus, according to one of the 17th-18th century 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*[21], when Adam is expelled from paradise, he settles in "the land of Madiam"; this spot is designated as the place where he was created, and in the dust of which he was to be buried; this is also the location where Noah – the "New Adam" – would build his ark:

> *Gregory said*: "Where did Adam settle after his expulsion from Paradise?"
> *John said*: "In the Land of Madiam; he was created there, there he died and was buried; in this land the Ark of Noah was constructed"[22].

19. Quoted from IVANOV, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), pp. 213-214 [pericope 4]: Адамь блюдѣше ран, вьстокь н сѣверьскжж странж. Азъ Ев'та сьблюдахь кь ꙁападоу, полоуднн. Адамь блюдѣше ꙁвѣрн мжжжскн поль, азъ Ев'та блюдѣхь ꙁвѣрн женьскї поль.

20. For *The Discussion Between the Three Saints Erotapokriseis*, see R. NACHTIGALL, *Ein Beitrag zu den Forschungen über die sogenannte* "*Беседа трехъ святителей*" (*Gespräch dreier Heiligen*), in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 23 (1901) 1-95; 24 (1902) 321-408; Ia. LUR'E, *Beseda Trekh Sviatitelei*, in D. LIKHACHEV (ed.), *Slovar' Knizhnikov I Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi* (Vtoraia Polovina XIV –XVI v.), Vol. 1 (A-K), Leningrad, Nauka, 1988, 89-93.

21. The text (entitled *Бѣседа Тріехъ Святителей Василія Великаго, Григорія Богослова, Іоанна Златоустаго, Вопрошение съ Толкованиемъ. Списано съ Патерика Римскаго*) was published by PYPIN, *Lozhnyia i Otrechennyia Knigi Russkoi Stariny* (n. 14), pp. 169-171.

22. *Ibid*., p. 169:
> *Григорій рече*: Гдѣ вселился Адамъ, егда изгнанъ бысть изъ рая?
> *Іоаннъ рече*: Въ земли мадимстѣй, тамо созданъ, тамъ же и умре, и погребенъ бысть; въ тойже земли здѣланъ бысть ковчегъ Ноевъ.

In this text it is further stated that there are four rivers emerging from paradise, namely the Tigris (Тигръ), Phisom/Pishon (Фисонъ), Euphrates (Ефратъ), and Geon/Gihon (Геилъ)[23]. Although embedded in the template of Gen 2,10-14[24], this Slavonic apocryphal narrative renders the list of Edenic rivers in an idiosyncratic order which differs from the biblical account[25].

On the other hand, some Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) versions of the *Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Caesarius*[26] identify the biblical river Phisom (Pishon) with the river Danube (Доунава). Thus the paradise topic becomes domesticated and the native landscape of the scribe acquires the features of Eden[27].

23. *Ibid*., p. 169:
Василій рече: Колико горъ высокихъ, и морей и рѣкъ великихъ?
Григорій рече: Горъ великихъ 12, а морь 20, а рекъ великихъ 30, а изъ рая идутъ 4 рѣки, Тигръ, Фисонъ, Ефратъ и Геилъ.
Then again, in *Pax Slavia Christiana* of the Byzantine Commonwealth the names of the four Eden rivers "encircling the whole universe" [Фисонь, Гіонь, Тигрь, Ефратъ обьходещими вьсоу вьселеною], together with the names of the four Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) "upholding both Heaven and earth", the names of the three youths in the fiery furnace (Sidrah, Misah, and Avdenago), the names of the two heavenly luminaries (Sun and Moon), and the enumeration of the Holy Days marking the five supreme events in the life of Jesus (the Epiphany, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, Easter, and Transfiguration), feature in some spells and incantations performed during particular magic rituals; one such example comes from the text of *The Prayer against harmful rain to be recited three times on the feast Day of St George, on Ascension Day and on Pentecost, at the four corners of the village* (Мл҃тва оᵀ ꙁлаго дьжᴬа да се ѹьтетъ на георгіевь дн҃ь. н на вьꙁнеᶜніе гᵒне. на сьшьствіе сᵀ҃го Дх҃а. да се ѹьтеᵀ на ѹнтрін странѣ села по трнцьь) from the 16th-17th cent. Ms No. 80 from the Bulgarian National Library in Sofia; see A. Arkhangel'skii, *K Istorii Iuzhnoslavianskoi i Drevnerusskoi Apokrificheskoi Literatury: Dva Liubopitnykh Sbornika Sofiiskoi Narodnoi Biblioteki*: *Opisanie Rukopisei i Teksty*, in *Izvestiia Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* 4 (1899) 101-147 (and in particular pp. 143-144).

24. For "the mythical worldview" of the author of the Eden rivers narrative in Gen 2,10-14, and for the nexus between the canonical text and parascriptural traditions, see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *The Four Rivers of Eden in* The Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli): *The Intertextual Relationship of* Genesis 2.10-14 *and* The Apocalypse of Paul, in J.N. Bremmer – I. Czachesz (eds.), *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 50-76. See also footnotes 25 and 26 below.

25. In the canonical text, the first river (Phisom/Pishon) encircled a specific region, designated as Evilat/Havilah (where gold and precious minerals were to be found); the second river, Geon/Gihon, encircles Kush ("the whole land of Ethiopia"); the third, Tigris, approached Assyria (or the city of Assur); the fourth river is the Euphrates.

26. See Iv. Duichev – Ts. Kristanov, *Estestvoznanieto v Srednovekovna Bŭlgaria*, Sofia, Bŭlgarska akademiĭa na naukite, 1954, pp. 276-277; a new edition of *The Dialogues of Pseudo-Caesarius* is offered by Y. Miltenov in his *Dialozite na Psevdo-Kesarii v slavianskata rŭkopisna traditsia*, Sofia, Avalon, 2006.

27. In a similar manner, Flavius Josephus localizes the biblical landscape to the broadest extent of the geographical knowledge of his own day; see *Judean Antiquities* 1,37-39:

One further point; the idea of a terrestrial location for Eden was also featured in some medieval Slavonic apocalyptic writings, according to which the quest for paradise brought those seeking it to the end of the earth. The theme of the search for the "terrestrial paradise" ("земной рай") is the narrative kernel of the *Tale About Saint Macarius of Rome*[28], the *Apocalypse of Our Holy Father Agapius*[29], the *Account about Two*

> He [Moyses] says that God planted a park to the East flourishing luxuriantly with every kind of plant and that among these were both the plant of life and another of the wisdom by that was distiguished what was the good and what was the evil thing, and that he, having led both Adamos and his wife into this garden, ordered them to take care of the plants. This garden is watered by one river that flows around all the earth in a circle and that is split into four branches. Pheison – the name signifies a multitude –, that is called Ganges by the Greeks and that is borne toward India, flows into the sea.
> Euphrates and Tigris go into the Erythra [Sea]. The Euphrates is called Phoras, and it signifies either scattering or flower. Tigris is called Diglath, by that is indicated the swiftness with narrowness. Geon, flowing through Egypt, reveals that that gushes forth for us from the opposite side, that Greeks call the Neilos.

Quoted from S. MASON (ed.), *Flavius Josephus*: *Translation and Commentary*. Vol. 3: *Judean Antiquities 1–4*. Translation and Commentary by L.H. FELDMAN, Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln, Brill, 2000, pp. 14-15.

Further on the Oriental traditions of geographical knowledge (with a special emphasis on the designation of the four rivers of Paradise), see the discussion in N. STONE, *The Four Rivers that Flowed from Eden*, in K. SCHMID – C. RIEDWEG (eds.), *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise (Genesis 2–3) and Its Reception History* (FAT, 2/34), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2008, 227-250; ID., *The Four Rivers of Paradise*, in V. HOVHANNISIAN (ed.), *Proceedings of the Etchmiadzin Conference on the Armenian Bible* (forthcoming); M. STONE, *The Names of the Rivers*, in A.M. MAEIR – J. MAGNESS – L.H. SCHIFFMAN (eds.), *Go Out and Study the Land* (*Judges 18:2*): *Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honour of Hana Eshel*, Leiden, Brill, 2011, 245-256. See also the author's *Hierotopia and Ethno-Geography: (Para-) Scriptural Traditions and Landscape Perception*, in K. GEUS – M. THIERING (eds.), *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, Berlin – Münster – Wien – Zürich – London, LIT Verlag, 2013, 173-192.

28. The *Vorlage* of *The Tale About Saint Macarius of Rome* was composed in Byzantium and was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic in medieval Bulgaria; see M.A. SALMINA, *Apokrif o Makarii Rimskom*, in D. LIKHACHEV (ed.), *Slovar' Knizhnikov i Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 1 (XI – Pervaia Polovina XIV Veka), Leningrad, Nauka, 1987, 41-43. My analysis of *The Tale* is based on the 14th cent. Russian redaction of the text from Ms. No. 4/1081 from the Monastery of Kirill of Beloe Ozero Collection, currently kept in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg. The text (entitled "An Account About How the Three Monks Visited the Holy Macarius"), which was based on a Bulgarian protograph, was published by O. TVOROGOV – M. SALMINA, in D. LIKHACHEV – L. DMITRIEVA – A. ALEKSEEV – N. PONYRKO (eds.), *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (XI-XII v.), Saint Petersburg, Nauka, 2000, 322-337; see also TVOROGOV's comments on the text on p. 408.

29. This apocryphal text has different designations: *The Discourse of Our Holy Father Agapius* (Сказание Отца Нашего Агапия), *The Wanderings of Our Holy Father Agapius* (Хожение святаго отца нашего Агапия), *Life and Deeds of Our Most Holy Father Agapius the Miracle-Worker* (Житие и подвизи преподобнаго отца нашего Агапия Чудотворца), etc.; it was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian no later than the 12th century. Of particular importance is the fact that the Edenic vocabulary, employed in *The Discourse About Our Holy Father Agapius* (and especially the use of порода as one of the lexemes designating Paradise) is similar to that employed in the

Monks from the City of Novgorod[30], and some other apocryphal (hagiographic and eschatological) writings.

Thus, according to the *Tale About Saint Macarius of Rome*, paradise (designated by the narrator as the original habitat of Adam and Eve), is located to the East, prior to the place "where heaven and earth come together". The *Tale* is presented as a collective account delivered by three monks-hermits, whose names are Sergii (Сергий), Teofil (Теофиль) and Iugin (Югин). Having withdrawn from the earthly life full of temptation, they entered "the monastery of our Father Asclepius in Syrian Mesopotamia, which was situated between the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris"[31]. After finishing the service and prayers in the church, they sat on the riverbank and Teofil expressed the divine thought which entered his heart, to see where earth and heaven meet. The other two monks decided to join him in his quest. They secretly left the monastery and walked for 16 days until reaching Jerusalem, where they bowed down before the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Cross. Afterwards they visited Bethlehem and kneeled down before the cave in which Jesus was born; from there they went to the Mt. of Olives ("Mt. Eleon"), "where Jesus had gone up" (i.e. ascended to heaven)[32]; later they returned to Jerusalem and wandered around all the monasteries, praying to God. Then

2 (*Slavonic*) *Apocalypse of Enoch* (see below). For a survey of MSS containing *The Apocalypse of the Holy Father Agapius*, see D. PETKANOVA (ed.), *Stara Bŭlgarska Literatura*, Vol. 1 (n. 14), p. 395 and M. ROZHDESTVENSKAIA, *Khozhdeniia Agapiia v Rai*, in D. LIKHACHEV (ed.), *Slovar' Knizhnikov i Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 1 (XI – pervaia polovina XIV v.) (n. 28), 462-463. Versions of *The Apocalypse of the Holy Father Agapius* are published (with commentaries) by PETKANOVA in *Stara Bŭlgarska Literatura*, Vol. 1 (n. 14), pp. 252-258 and M. ROZHDESTVENSKAIA in *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), 338-349, 409-410. See also the discussion in Y. LOTMAN, *Simvolicheskie Prostranstva*: *O Poniatii Geograficheskogo Prostranstva v Russkikh Srednevekovykh Tekstakh*, in *Semiosfera*, Saint Petersburg, Iskusstvo, 2010, pp. 297-303, esp. 301-302; R. POPE, *On Editing Contaminated Texts: Studia Slavica Mediaevalia et Humanistica Riccardi Picchio Dicata*, Vol. 2, Roma, Officina, 1986, pp. 585-594; M. ROZHDESTVENSLAIA, *Sviataia Zemlia i Ierusalim kak Voploshchenie Raia*, in D. LIKHACHEV – V. BAGNO (eds.), *Antropologiia Religioznosti*, Saint Petersburg, Kanun, 1998, 121-145, pp. 126-135. On the relationship between the apocryphal *Apocalypse of the Holy Father Agapius* and folklore tradition, see S. SELIVANOVA, *Rol' Arkhaicheskikh Predstavlenii v Apokrife «Skazanie Ottsa Agapiia»* in V. EREMINA – S. AZBELEV – P. VYKHODTSEV – A. GORELOV – V. KORGUZALOV – A. NEKRYLOVA (eds.), *Russkii Fol'klor*, Vol. 24, Leningrad, Nauka, 1987, 99-106; ID., *K Probleme Issledovaniia Drevnykh Osnov Literaturnogo Teksta* (*Apokrif «Skazanie Ottsa Agapiia»*), in A. NEKRYLOVA – S. AZBELEV – A. GORELOV – V. EREMINA – V. KORGUZALOV (eds.), *Russkii Fol'klor*, Vol. 25, Leningrad, Nauka, 1989, 86-90.

30. See the discussion in V. RŘIGA, *Novaia Versiia Legendy o Zemnom Rae*, in *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930) 374-385.

31. I follow the edition of the text prepared by O. TVOROGOV – M. SALMINA; see *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), pp. 322-323.

32. Cf. Acts 1,9-12.

they set off eastwards, towards the rising sun, walking for 8 days and crossing the river Tigris, thus entering the land of Persia and reaching a "plain called *Asia*, where Saint Mercurius had killed Julian the Apostate"[33]. They next entered a city named Ctesiphon (Ктесифон) and visited the resting place of Ananias (Ананий), Azarias (Азарий), and Misael (Мисаил)[34]. Having paid homage to the Holy Youths, the three monks glorified God for taking them through the land of Persia; then they entered the land of India and encountered its hostile inhabitants who wanted to burn them. The hermits could not understand the local language nor could anyone understand them. Having miraculously survived these ordeals, they were expelled by the locals who had beaten them with sticks[35]. Subsequently, the three men happened upon a land of the Cynocephali (creatures with human body and dog-like heads), who lived in nests in the rocks. They did not harm the monks, who crossed their land for 100 days towards the sunrise[36]. Then the brothers went to the land of Apes, and afterwards to the high mountains without sunlight where neither trees nor grass grew; this place was inhabited by hissing snakes and serpents. Having sealed their ears with wax[37], so that the hissing of the snakes did not disturb them, the monks walked on for another 40 days. Once passing through the mountain, the hermits transverse an endless desert – which no man had ever reached before – through which they walked for 60 days. Then a miracle happened: a deer appeared, taking the monks through an abyss, after which they walked for another 70 days. After that a dove arrived, also becoming their guardian; having followed the dove, they reached the obelisk on which it was written, "erected by Alexander, king of Macedonia, after having defeated the Persians". This place, according to the inscription, was called "Darkness", and if one wishes to go beyond it, one had to turn to the left, since to the right were huge mountains and a lake full of snakes[38]. The monks went to the left and walked for another 40 days, where they found a lake full of people crying and lamenting. A voice from heaven told them that these people were being judged for

33. See *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), pp. 322-323; as pointed out by O. Tvorogov, this passage is linked to the medieval Christian legend according to which the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate (361-363) was killed by Saint Mercurius; *ibid*., p. 408. One source is Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI.2.

34. An implicit reference to the *Book of Daniel* [1–3].

35. See *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), pp. 324-325.

36. *Ibid.*

37. In a similar way, Odysseus (on the advice of Circe) stuffed the ears of his companions with wax so that they could not hear the tempting voices of the Sirens (Homer, *Od.* xii. 39 ff.).

38. See *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), pp. 326-327.

denying God[39]. Having witnessed many other frightful sights, the hermits continued their journey to the East, finally reaching a big church of ice, inside of which was an altar; in the middle of it was a well from which a white milky substance issued forth[40]. It was guarded by divine beings singing angelic songs, one of whom explained to them that this was the well of immortality to be inherited by the righteous. The three months drank from it and their lips were sticky as if drinking honey. Then they encountered a river and sat on its banks. Having prayed to the four cardinal points, they witnessed the winds: the West wind was green, the East wind (coming from paradise) was orange and yellow, the North wind was like pure blood, and the South wind was as white as snow[41]. The sun in this land was seven times warmer than the sun shining in the land from where the three monks had come, while the trees there were taller and more beautiful.

This miraculous land had two appearances: red and white[42]. The grass – not exceptionally tall, reaching to the elbows – was sweeter than honeycomb. Having eaten this grass, the monks became merrier and glorified God, wandering around for 50 days without spotting any path which they were supposed to follow. Finally, they reached a cave where they encountered the holy father Macarius. The three monks asked him whether he knows the land where heaven and earth meet, and he told them not a single human being born in flesh and conceived in sin can see this place. He explained that 20 *stades* from his cave are two cities, one of iron and one of bronze, and beyond these cities is the land of paradise where Adam and Eve once lived. Further to the east from paradise is the place where heaven and earth meet. The monks were also told that God had placed Cherubim and Seraphim with fiery weapons to guard paradise and the tree of life; hence no one can approach it. The Cherubim appeared in human form from foot to navel, with a leonine chest and a head of a different aspect, while hands and arms were icy[43]. Persuaded by Father Macarius to abandon their mission, the hermits returned to Alexander's obelisk, and then went back to Persia; having crossed the river Tigris, they told the local Christians about their wondrous journey. Subsequently they

39. *Ibid*.

40. *Ibid*., pp. 328-329.

41. On the colour designation of the four winds (marking the four cardinal directions of the universe), see the discussion in M. ROZHDESTVENSKAIA, *Real'noe i mnimoe: O raisko-palestinskom tekstre v drevnerusskoi literature*, in *Drevneishie Gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropy* (*2003 God*): *Mnimye Real'nosti v Antichnykh i Srednevekovykh Tekstakh*, Moscow, Vostochnaia literatura RAN, 209-231, pp. 222-223.

42. See *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), p. 328: ꙁемлıа 2 лнцѣ нмуцін – ѵервьлена н бѣла.

43. *Ibid*., pp. 330-331.

went back to Jerusalem and then returned to the monastery of the "Hegumenon Aesclepius", from where their journey began. The account finishes with the formulaic clause "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit"[44].

The three monks' odyssey conflates the common notion of paradise being located at a distant place near the end of the earth with legends about mythical exploits of Alexander the Great during his conquest of Persia and campaign to India in the East, reflecting his own quest for immortality (as described in the Alexander Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes in its various versions). The interesting cosmographic feature of the *Tale about Saint Macarius of Rome* is that paradise is on earth and not in heaven, located near but not at the junction of celestial and terrestrial realms.

As briefly mentioned above, a similar cosmographic model is revealed in the *Apocalypse of Our Holy Father Agapius*; the narrative about his own quest for terrestrial paradise includes his description-testimony of a miraculous journey through the sea, during which the saint is guarded by Jesus Christ (first appearing in the form of an eagle, then in the image of a child and, finally, as an adult surrounded by the twelve apostles). Having crossed the sea, Saint Agapius walks along the narrow path shown to him by God; at the end of this journey, he reaches a place surrounded by a high wall with a small window on which he knocks; after that he encounters the holy prophet Elijah[45], who takes Saint Agapius inside into the land surrounded by the wall. The light of this place is seven times stronger than the light on earth, while a gigantic cross reaching to the sky is shining in its middle, brighter than the sun. Nearby the saint sees a bed and a table on which a loaf of bread whiter than snow is placed, next to a wondrous well "whiter than milk and sweeter than honey". The holy prophet Elijah informs Saint Agapius that "this well is called *Paradise*, and it flows into the trees of Eden"[46]; furthermore it belongs to angels and to the righteous. The earthly visitor is allowed to drink from the well and to taste from the

44. *Ibid*., pp. 336-337.

45. According to 2 Kgs 2,1-11, the Prophet Elijah has never tasted death on earth; the Lord sent a chariot of fire, in which horses of fire were harnessed, and took him up by a whirlwind into heaven. In Mal 3,23 it is further stated that God will send Elijah before "the great and dreadful day". In apocryphal tradition Elijah's *translation* is bound up with eschatological imagining and "visions of the End" (e.g. *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara*). In a similar way, the Prophet Elijah as a role-model for a visionary witnessing the mysteries of the Beyond shapes the narrative structure of *The Apocalypse of Our Holy Father Agapius*.

46. Quoted after M. Rozhdestvenskaia's edition of the text in *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), pp. 344-345: съ кладѧзь порода сѧ нарнчуеть н нсходнт въ дрѣва рансказ [Isa 30,26]. See also Petkanova, *Stara Bŭlgarska Literatura*, Vol. 1 (n. 14), p. 255 [pericope 7].

"heavenly bread"[47], but he is also warned by the prophet Elijah never to share with anybody the contents of the words (i.e. esoteric knowledge) revealed to him during their encounter. Then Saint Agapius undertakes a return journey back to the place from which his wondrous exploits started; having crossed the sea, he finds a cave, where he writes a testimony-revelation about his quest for the earthly paradise. The text of the *Apocalypse of Our Holy Father Agapius* ends with the formulaic clause "Glory to the Holy Trinity, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and forever, amen".

The conceptual framework of the above quoted apocryphal apocalyptic narratives about the search by mortal men for terrestrial Paradise is often seen as an inversion of another theological trend developed in medieval religious thought of *Slavia Ortodoxa*, according to which paradise may be perceived only as an intellectual concept (*мысленный Рай*), but not as a tangible reality[48].

One of the earliest attestations of this idea can be traced back to *Simeon's Florilegium* (compiled in the early tenth century in Bulgaria on the basis of an earlier Greek/Byzantine protograph)[49]. The question "Is paradise tangible/sensual or intellectual/imaginary, is it corruptible/corporal or incorruptible/incorporial?"[50] is to be found on Fol. 123 (column B, lines 16-19) of its earliest surviving copy, *Sviatoslav's Miscellany* (dated 1073)[51].

As manifested in the text of the *Florilegium* itself, this question is just an excerpt from a much larger *Erotapokriseis* corpus attributed to Saint

47. The original expression is хлѣбъ же сь небесьнъын есть, see Rozhdestvenskaia, *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 3 (n. 28), pp. 344-345.

48. See A. Sedel'nikov, *Motiv o Rae v Russkom Srednevekovom Prenii*, in *Byzantinoslavica* 7 (1937-1938) 164-173; B. Uspenskii, *Drevnerusskoe Bogoslovie*: *Problema Chuvstvennogo I Dukhovnogo Opyta* (*Predstavleniia o Rae v Seredine XIV v.*), in V. Toporov – A. Gippius – T.M. Nikolaeva (eds.), *Rusistika, Slavistika, Indoevropeistika*: *Sbornik k 60-letiiu A. A. Zalizniaka*, Moscow, Indrik, 1996, 105-151.

49. For a general discussion on the intellectual lineage of traditions shaping the cultural context of *Simeon's Florilegium*, see F. Thompson, *The Symeonic Florilegium*: *Problems of Its Origin, Content, Textology and Edition* (*Together with an English Translation of the Eulogy of Tzar Symeon*), in *Palaeobulgarica* 17/1 (1993) 37-53, as well as K. Ivanova, *Simeonoviiat Sbornik Kato Literaturen Pametnik*, in P. Dinekov (ed.), *Simeonov Sbornik (Po Svetoslavoviia Prepis ot 1073)*. Vol. 1: *Izsledvaniia i Tekst*, Sofia, Izd-vo na Bŭlgarskata akademiīā na naukite, 1991, 18-33; M. Bibikov, *Vizantiiskii Prototip Drevneishei Slavianskoi Knigi (Izborik Sviatoslava 1073)*, Moscow, Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 1996.

50. The original Old Church Slavonic excerpt is quoted from Dinekov (ed.), *Simeonov Sbornik*, Vol. 1 (n. 49), p. 441: Ѱжвьствьнъ ли ıє ран нлн раꙗоумнъ • тьлънъ ли нлн нетьлънъ ıєсть.

51. The meaning also can be rendered as "physical", "substantial", "material".

Anastasius of Sinai (Anastasius Sinaita)[52]; still, there is an ongoing discussion among some scholars examining the *Florilegium* as to whether this particular fragment is an Old Church Slavonic translation of the original work *Question and Answers* of the renown 7th century abbot of Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai (who was also the author of the *Hogedos*, *Hexaemeron*, etc.), or whether it presents a compendium which should be attributed to a different source. Furthermore it is suggested that the author of the *Erotapokriseis* corpus attested in *Simeon's Florilegium* was Saint Anastasius II the Sinaite, the Patriarch of Antioch (599-609)[53]. It is even argued that it would be more correct to designate the corpus of the *Erotapokriseis of Saint Anastasius the Sinaite* as the *Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Anastasius the Sinaite*[54]. Regardless of who the author of this particular fragment of *Question and Answers* in *Simeon's Florilegium* was, this text provides evidence regarding important intellectual trends in Byzantium in the period of the emergence of the last *lingua sacra* of Europe – Old Church Slavonic. The *topos* of paradise was obviously among the most intensely discussed ecclesiastical issues at that time. Then again, a closer examination of palaeographic features of the actual Ms. of the *Florilegium* (that is, the *Sviatoslav's Miscellany* from 1073) indicates that Fol. 123, on which the specific question from the *Erotapokriseis of Saint Anastasius the Sinaite* – whether "paradise is tangible (sensual), or intellectual (imaginary), whether it is corruptible (corporal) or incorruptible (incorporial)" – was copied, contains in its margins a gloss which refers to the biblical list of the names of "the four great rivers" of Eden[55]. Thus theological and intellectual deliberations over the nature of paradise become once again (implicitly) anchored by the "horizontal" template of terrestrial cosmographic scheme of the garden of Eden, as outlined in Gen 2,8-14[56].

52. IVANOVA, *Simeonoviiat Sbornik Kato Literaturen Pametnik* (n. 49), p. 24; M. BIBIKOV, *Vizantiiskii Prototip Drevneishei Slavianskoi Knigi* (n. 49), pp. 30-31, 44, 320-333. See also the discussion in W.R. VEDER, *How to Edit the Questions of Anastasius Sinaita in Slavonic*, in T. MOSTROVA – S. BŬRLIEVA – S. NIKOLOVA – G. FILIPOVA (eds.), *Srednovekovni Tekstove, Avtori i Knigi: Festschrift Heinz Miklas* (Cyrillo-Methodian Studies, 21), Sofia, Pečatnica "Simolini-94", 2012, 113-124.

53. IVANOVA, *Simeonoviiat Sbornik Kato Literaturen Pametnik* (n. 49), p. 20.

54. See in this connection BIBIKOV, *Vizantiiskii Prototip Drevneishei Slavianskoi Knigi* (n. 49), pp. 38-39.

55. The original text reads Имена великъинхъ рѣкъ; see also IVANOVA's comments, *Simeonoviiat Sbornik Kato Literaturen Pametnik* (n. 49), p. 24.

56. On "ostensible" and "real" Paradise in medieval Russian literature, see M. ROZHDESTVENSKAIA, *Rai «mnimyi» i rai «real'nyi»: drevnerusskaia literaturnaia traditsiia*, in *Obraz Raia: ot Mifa k Utopii*, Saint Petersburg, Sankt-Peterburgskoe filosofskoe ob-vo, 2003, 31-46; ID., *Real'noe i mnimoe* (n. 41), pp. 209-231.

III. The Vertical Template of Paradise

The vertical template of paradise is most prominently attested in the *2* (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch*[57]. The apocryphal narrative describes the heavenly ascent-vision of the antediluvian biblical patriarch Enoch,

57. The Slavonic protograph of this apocryphal text presumably originated from a Greek *Vorlage* based on an either Hebrew or Aramaic original. For a survey of MSS containing various redactions of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* (*2 Enoch*), see Iatsimirskii, *Bibliograficheskii Obzor* (n. 14), pp. 81-88; Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki Po Starinnoi Slavianskoi Literature*, vyp. 3 (vii) (n. 6); M. Sokolov, *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*, Saint Petersburg, 1905, pp. 395-397, 399-402; Id., *Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha Pravednago* (= *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete*, Kn. 4, Moscow, 1910 (posthumous publication of the unfinished MS, ed. M.N. Speranskii). See also A. Popov, *Bibliograficheskie Materialy, Sobrannye Andreem Popovym* (iv): *Iuzhnorusskii Sbornik 1679 goda*, in *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete* 3 (1880) 66-139; S. Novaković, *Apokrif o Enohu*, in *Starine* 17 (1884) 67-81; Pypin, *Lozhnyia i Otrechennyia Knigi Russkoi Stariny* (n. 14), pp. 15-16; Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki Otrechennoi Russkoi Literatury* (n. 14), vol. 1, pp. 19-23; Porfir'ev, *Apokrificheskie Skazaniia* (n. 14), pp. 51-52; *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. Translated from the Slavonic by W.R. Morfill and edited, with introduction, notes and indices by R.H. Charles, Oxford, Clarendon, 1896; Id., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. 2, Oxford, Clarendon, 1913, 425-469; Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), pp. 165-191; Petkanova, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura*, Vol. 1 (n. 14), pp. 49-63, 350-352; F.I. Andersen, *2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch*, in J. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1983, 91-221; A. Pennington, *2 Enoch*, in H.F.D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1984, 321-362; A. de Santos Otero, *Libro de los secretos de Henoch* (Henoc eslavo), in A.D. Macho, *et al*. (eds.), *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento*. Tomo 4: *Ciclo de Henoc*, Madrid, Cristiandad, 1984, 147-202; C. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos: Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch*, Frankfurt, Lang, 1995; Id., *Das slavische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ, V/7), Gütersloh, Mohn, 1996; L. Navtanovich, *Kniga Enokha*, in Likhachev (ed.), *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*. Vol 3 (n. 28), 204-241, 387-392; T. Jovanović, *Apokrif o Enohu Prema Srpskom Prepisu is Narodne Biblioteke u Beču*, in *Arheografski Prilozi* 25 (2003) 209-238; V. Mil'kov, *Kniga Enokha ob Ustroistve Mirozdaniia i Sushchnosti Bytiia*, in Id. – Polianskii (eds.), *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rus*, Vol. 2 (n. 11), 449-551; F. Badalanova Geller, *2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch): Text and Context*, Berlin, Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2010. See also the discussion in N. Meshcherskii, *K Istorii Teksta Slavianskoi Knigi Enokha*. (*Sledy Pamiatnikov Kumrana v Vizantiiskoi i Staroslavianskoi Literature)*, in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 24 (1964) 91-108; P. Alexander, *From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformation of Biblical Enoch*, in M. Stone – T. Bergren (eds.), *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, Harrisburg, PA, Trinity Press International, 1998, 101-104, 116-117; M.E. Stone, *The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance*, in Anderson – Stone – Tromp (eds.), *Literature on Adam and Eve* (n. 14), 45-48; G.A. Anderson, *The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan*, in *ibid*., 99-102; Orlov, *From Apocalypticism* (n. 14), pp. 19-35, 133-268; F. Badalanova, *The Bible in the Making*: *Slavonic Creation Stories*, in M. Geller, *et al*. (eds.), *Imagining Creation*, Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2008, pp. 162-163, 186-191, 231-235; A. Orlov –

who was born seven generations after Adam, to the throne of God (situated on the highest – either the seventh or tenth – heaven), where he encounters the Creator and learns the secrets of the universe[58]. According to Enoch's testimony, paradise is located above the earth, on the third celestial stratum of the heavenly realm[59]; in fact, paradise and hell are situated next to each other[60]. Beneath them, on the first heaven, is the celestial sea, which is bigger than the one on earth; next to it are "awesome treasures" of snow and ice[61], as well as the storehouses of dew guarded by angels, who were opening and closing them. Enoch encounters there the "elders" (старѣишины) and "masters of the ranks of the stars" (влⷣкы звѣздны^{x} чиновь)[62], who are accompanied by 200 angels circling around all the luminaries and ruling over the stars and constellations[63].

When he ascends to the second heaven, the righteous visionary Enoch sees indescribable darkness much deeper than that on earth; there he is shown "wrongdoers" – a host of dark fallen angels – hanging on chains, "producing incessant crying at all times"[64] while awaiting infinite judgement[65]. The celestial escort accompanying Enoch explains that he is witnessing the sufferings of God's apostates, who "did not obey Lord's command but kept counsel according to their own will"[66]; following the

G. Boccaccini (eds.), *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch*: *Not Slavonic Only* (Studia Judaeoslavica, 5), Leiden – Boston, MA, Brill, 2012.

58. The analysis of Enochic narrative in this article is based on my translation of the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [Книгн ст҃н^{x} танньь Енохо^{в}] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323); see Badalanova Geller, *2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch): Text and Context* (n. 57), which represents the longer recension of the text.

59. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* employs here the same celestial scheme as some recensions of the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* [25,3] (following the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* [37,5]), *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (*Откровение Авраама*) [21,2-3], *The Vision of Paul (Apocalypse of Paul*), and last but not least, Paul's *Second Letter to the Corinthians* [2 Cor 12,2].

60. In their analysis of cosmographic scheme revealed in *2 Enoch*, the Russian scholars V. Mil'kov – S. Polianskii erroneously identify second heaven as a location of hell; see *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*. Vol. 1: *Teksty Geotsentricheskoi Traditsii*, Saint Petersburg, MIR, 2008, p. 29.

61. Similar *topoi* are employed in Job 38,22 ("Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow, or hast thou seen the treasures of the hail?").

62. See also the discussion in Mil'kov – Polianskii, *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 2 (n. 11), p. 520, note 8.

63. Quoted from: Badalanova Geller, *2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch): Text and Context* (n. 57), p. 32.

64. *Ibid*., p. 35: непрѣстанѣ^{и} плачь творѣхж по вса часы.

65. The fragments is analysed by Mil'kov – Polianskii, *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 2 (n. 11), pp. 520-521, note 14.

66. Quoted from Badalanova Geller, *2* (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*): *Text and Context* (n. 57), p. 35 (не послоушажще повелѣнїе гн҃е нж своѣж волеж съвѣщавша^{с}); the passage is an implicit reference to the narrative of Gen 6,1-4.

sinful advice of their Prince (i.e. Satan, who, according to the same narrative, is sentenced to the fifth heaven), they stepped back from the Lord[67].

After his having left the murky dungeon of the fallen angels, Enoch goes up to the third heaven, where he finds himself in the middle of paradise[68]; the visionary describes it as a place of immense beauty, in which all kinds of trees with sweet blossoms grow, while their fruits are ripe and aromatic. In the midst of paradise is the tree of life[69]; it marks exactly the spot where God rests when he goes into paradise. In its goodness and fragrance, this tree is "unspeakably gorgeous, beyond all other existing creations"[70]. The visionary describes its colour to be a blend of "gold and crimson in its appearance and fire-like red"[71]. Covering the entire paradise, this tree combines the properties of all trees ever planted and all fruits ever harvested. Its roots are reported to go deeply into paradise, marking the exit to earth. In this way, paradise is imagined to be functioning as the ultimate boundary between mortality and immortality. From this tree two springs emerge: from one milk and honey issue forth, and from the other oil/balsam and wine. They divide into four parts[72]; while streaming silently, they divide into 40 parts and pour out gently onto earth. The visionary also encounters 300 "exceedingly luminous angels", who guard paradise; with unceasing voices and melodic singing they serve God all day long. The heavenly host escorting Enoch advises him that this place is prepared for the righteous "who suffered all kinds of misfortunes in their lives"; for those who gave bread to the hungry, clothed the naked, raised the fallen, and helped the oppressed and orphans.

Having witnessed the glory of paradise, the visionary is taken to the northern side of the third heaven, where he is shown a frightening place

67. Quoted from Badalanova Geller, *2* (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*): *Text and Context* (n. 57), p. 35; see also the discussion in Mil'kov – Polianskii, *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 2 (n. 11), p. 521, note 15.

68. On the thesaurus employed to describe Paradise in *2 Enoch* see F. Badalanova Geller, *Heavenly Writings: Celestial Cosmography in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, in *Starobŭlgarska Literatura* 45-46 (2012) 197-245, pp. 209-212; see also the discussion in Brouwer, *Russian Medieval Concepts of Paradise* (n. 3), pp. 180-181.

69. Cf. Rev 2,7: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God".

70. Quoted from Badalanova Geller, *2* (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*): *Text and Context* (n. 57), p. 36: то дрѣво нескажемо є͡ доброто҃ж н бл҃говонствомъ н красно.

71. *Ibid.*: ѿ въсжд҃ зл҃атовндно н църъвено ѡбразомъ н ѡгнезрачно.

72. See also the discussion in van Ruiten, *The Four Rivers of Eden in* The Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli). *The Intertextual Relationship of* Genesis 2.10-14 *and* The Apocalypse of Paul (n. 24), pp. 72-73; consult also Mil'kov – Polianskii, *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia v Knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, Vol. 2 (n. 11), pp. 521-522, note 17.

of "all kind of sorrows and torments, chilly darkness and a fog without light"; this is clearly *hell* / *Inferno* (although not explicitly designated as such)[73]. In it there was burning "a dark fire", while murky pitiless angels were torturing those who did not obey God and committed evil on earth. There "the forlorn ones" were sentenced, they who "harassed the poor, took their wealth and became richer from the property of others".

In this way moral values, ethics and social norms become demarcated within the spatial dimensions of "the Beyond".

After his tour through paradise and hell, the visionary ascends to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the path of the sun and the moon. Above them, on the fifth heaven, is the domain of the Watchers and their leader *Satanael* (whose brothers-followers are being punished on the second heaven). Further up, on the sixth heaven, is the realm of angels arranging the movement of the luminaries (the stars, the sun and the moon) and teaching the right ordering of the universe; along with them are those in charge of seasons and years and those who write down the deeds of all people before God. On the highest level of this heavenly construction is the throne of God. In this way the universe is imagined as a divine temple, on the top of which resides its Creator.

It is rather significant that the same celestial model of paradise and hell being situated in "heavens above", next to each other, is attested in some Bulgarian vernacular cosmographies[74]; this detail, which so far has

73. A similar concept, according to which hell is placed above the earth, is attested in some other apocryphal texts of visionary journeys to the Beyond circulating in the Byzantine Commonwealth; one such case is presented by *The Apocalypse of Anastasia*. See the discussion in M. Speranskii, *Malo Izvestnoe Vizantiiskoe Videnie i Ego Slavianskie Teksty*, in *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931) 110-133.

74. This detail is described by Y. Kovachev in his study *Narodna Astronomiia i Meteorologiia*, in *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvoreniia i Narodopis* 30 (1914) 17. Parallel with this cosmographic model of paradise and hell being placed in heaven next to each other, there exists another scheme, according to which the "Beyond of the righteous" and "Beyond of the sinners" are placed next to each other in the subterranean realm, "on the lower land" ("долна земя"). This concept is most vividly attested in some ritual songs (which present oral counterparts of apocryphal apocalyptic writings describing visionary tours of saints or prophets to the Beyond). According to one such ritual song, the Virgin Mary and Saint Peter approach the Lord, asking him "to open the Lower Land where God's Paradise is" (долна земьа с Бужи-раеан) so that they may see the fate of both the sinners and the righteous; see texts 1 and 2 of the folklore materials recorded by St. Shishkov in the Rhodope Mountains, southern Bulgaria, published in *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvoreniia, Nauka I Knizhnina* 1 (1889) 26. Alongside these two – heavenly or subterranean – cosmographic schemes of paradise and hell next to each other, there exists in oral tradition the popular model, according to which paradise is in the sky, whereas hell is under the earth. Then again, the examination of oral sources indicated that both paradise and hell are designated by the same formulaic phraseological expressions; this detail will be analysed elsewhere.

escaped scholarly attention, indicates that both apocryphal writings and oral tales shared similar spatial paradigms of "the Beyond".

The template of the vertical division of the universe is also attested in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*[75] which presents yet another narrative of a visionary journey through the celestial realms. However, unlike Enoch who testifies that he was taken up to the seventh (or tenth) heaven, Baruch reports that in his ascent he reached only the fifth heaven. The concept of "paradise above the earth" is implied in the elaborate tale about the creation of the garden of Eden, which was revealed to Baruch by his angelic escort. According to this apocryphal narrative, each tree in paradise was planted by a different angel, and the grapevine – which eventually caused the Fall of man – was planted by Satanael. This is how the thirteenth-century Serbian recension of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* from the *Dragolev Miscellany*[76] describes the angelic division of labour in paradise, the creation of the garden of Eden and the origin of the forbidden tree (i.e. "the cursed grapevine") by means of which God's adversary seduced the first people:

> And then I, Varokh [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, Gavril [Gabriel] – the apple-tree, Rapail [Raphael] – the quince-tree, Nopail – the walnut-tree, Sarazail – the pomegranate-tree, whereas Satanail [Satanael] – the grapevine. This 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 Adam and Eve". The angel told me: "Listen to me, Baruch! First, the [forbidden] tree was the grapevine; second, that was the tree upon which Satan poured his sinful lust upon Adam and Eve. This is why God cursed the

75. For a survey of Slavonic MSS of *The Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*, see IATSIMIRSKII, *Bibliograficheskii Obzor* (n. 14), pp. 227-232; SOKOLOV, *Feniks v apokrifakh* (n. 57), pp. 397-399; IVANOV, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), pp. 191-207; PETKANOVA, *Stara bŭlgarska literatura*, Vol. 1 (n. 14), pp. 71-76, 353-354; ORLOV, *From Apocalypticism* (n. 14), pp. 63-64, 289-308. The English translation of the text (with commentaries) is provided by H.E. GAYLORD, *3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch*; see CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1 (n. 57), pp. 653-679. Of particular importance for the analysis of this apocryphon within the intellectual millieu of *Slavia Orthodoxa* is A. KULIK's monograph *3 Baruch*: *Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature), Berlin – New York, de Gruyter, 2010.

76. The MS was originally part of Prof. P.S. Srečković's collection, now in the National Library of Belgrade, Ms № 651/632.

> grapevine, because it was planted by Satan and by means of it he seduced the primordial Adam and Eve" (*3 Bar*. 4,7-8)[77].

The prophet Baruch is further advised by his angelic escort about the future of the "cursed grapevine" planted by Satanail, and the role "the forbidden tree" was to play in the postdiluvian exploits of Noah. He was informed that, when the deluge took place and the waters covered the entire face of the earth, the garden of Eden was also flooded; when the waters withdrew, they washed away a twig of the "cursed grapevine". In fact, this account offers the most remarkable allusion to the vertical spatial dimensions of paradise, which (according to Baruch's testimony) is imagined to be located *twenty cubits above the highest peaks in the earthly mountains*:

> When God caused the Flood on Earth and thus made 409 thousand giants perish, the waters rose twenty cubits above the highest peaks in 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 Satan 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" (*3 Bar*. 4,10-13)[78].

77. Quoted after: Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), p. 196 [pericope 5]:
Н пакъı рѣхь азъ Варохь кь анг҃лоу: гн҃ покажн мн дрѣво, нже прѣльстн ꙁмнıа Ꙗоугоу н снѣсть ıє сама н да ıє Адамоу, н сего радı нꙁьгна ıа Бб҃ нꙁ раıа. Н реуе мн анг҃ль: слъшн, Вароше, ıегᴬа Бб҃ съꙁᴬа Адама, то повелѣ архаг҃лоу Мнханлоу сьбратн двѣстѣ тнсоущь н трьıє анг҃лъı да насадеть ран, н вьсадн Мнханл҃ маслъıноу, Гаврнль же ıабланьь, Рапанль ктоунюю, Ноπанль ѡрахь, Сараꙁанль калнноу, Сатананль же оусадн лоꙁоу, то бо ıєм҃ бѣ прьвоıє нме, по нспаденн же нареуе се такожᴬе Сатананль, н такожᴬе всн анг҃лн насаднше раꙁлнч҃наıа дрѣвеса. Н пакъı рѣхь азъ Варохь кь анг҃лоу: гн҃ покажн мн дрѣво ıєже прѣльстн ꙁ҃мнıа Ꙗоугоу н Адама. Н реуе мн анг҃ль: слъшн, Варохь, прьвоıє дрѣво ıесть лоꙁа, вьтороıє же дрѣво похоть грѣхов҃на, ıєже нꙁлнıа Сатананль на Ꙗоугоу н Адама; н сего радн проклель бѣ Гъ̀ лоꙁоу, ꙁане бѣ ю҃ Сатананль оусадн н тою прѣльстн прьвоꙁᴬаньнаго Адама н Ꙗоугоу.

78. *Ibid*., pp. 196-197 [pericope 5]:
Ꙗгᴬа створн Гъ̀ потопь на ꙁемлн н .оу. ѳ. тнсоущь нсполь погоубн, н вьꙁнде вода прѣвъıше горь въıсоукнхь .к. лакт҃ надь горамн, н вьнндє вода въ ран, нꙁнесе ѿ лоꙁь прѳ҃ть ıєдьнь. Ꙗко стрѣбн Гъ̀ водъı н въı͡соуша, нꙁнде Ноıє ѿ ковуега н ѡбрѣте лоꙁоу лежещоу на ꙁемлн, н не ꙁнаше ıє, тьк҃мо слъшаль бѣ о нен кака ıесть ѡбраꙁомь. Вь себѣ помъшлѣıє, гл҃аше: се ıесть вь нстоноу лоꙁа, ıюже бѣ вьсадль Сатананль посрѣᴬ раıа, ıєюже прѣльстн Ꙗоугоу н Адама, н сего радн проклеть ю Бб҃ н садь ıєн; то аще оусаж҃ю ю, раꙁгнѣваıєть се на ме Бб҃.

Subsequently, Noah addresses God in a prayer asking whether he was to plant the twig of the grapevine or not. He is advised to cultivate it on earth, but never to forget about the "evil traits" of its fruit, due to the malevolent nature of Satanail who originally planted it:

> 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 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 Satan [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 [the excessive drinking of] wine causes crimes to take place, and adultery and fornication. So much evil is caused by [drinking] wine!" (*3 Bar*. 4,14-17)[79].

Some erotapocritic writings, such as the Bulgarian redactions of the *Razumnik* (*Разоумникъ*) from the *Lovchansky Miscellany* of 1618, render the story of the creation of paradise in a different way, namely that the garden of Eden was planted by both God and the devil together. These sources further depict the Lord's adversary (whose name, according to this type of text, is *Samail*) 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:

> Question: How did he [the Devil] part from God? Answer: When the Lord planted Paradise and ordered [various trees, etc.] to be planted there, Samail [i.e. Satan] stole from each and every [seed which the Lord wanted to sow in Paradise] and having left, planted it elsewhere secretly from God. And God said: "You were stealing from Me, but may it be for [the sake of] your expulsion!" And Satan came out and said: "God, please bless what we planted!" The Lord said then: "May it be blessed, and here I am – in the middle of it!" Samail went to see the tree which he surreptitiously planted. When he saw the tree, Samail became black, and the tree chased him out of Paradise. And then the Lord called him the "Devil"[80].

79. *Ibid*., p. 197 [pericope 5]:
Н прѣклонь колѣнѣ свон, постн се .k. дн̃н, мл̃н се гл̃а: Гн̃, ащε оусажᴬоу ѿ дрѣва сего, ιєда како прогнѣваєшн се на мε, Гн̃? Н посла Бѣ анг̃ла своιєго Сараzанла н реуе ιємоу: вьстанн н вьсадн дрѣво, ιєже ѡбрѣте, н азъ прѣмѣню ιє н створю ιє на добро; но блюдн Вароше, н ιєще тн нма дрѣво то злобоу вь себѣ, ιако н Сатананлꙑ не прѣмѣнн злъı своιє; ιелнко же бо по многоу внно пнють, всоу злобоу творнть, нн брат брат мнлоуιєть, нн ѿць сн̃а; за злобоу внньноую бъıваеть раzбон, прѣлюбодѣıаннє н блоудь; ιелнко зла, внна радн бъıваєть.

80. Quoted after: Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), pp. 260-261:
В.: да како ѿпаде ѿ Гн̃? – ѿ.: егда насажᴬааше Гѣ ран, да нже повелѣвааше саднтн, Саманль крадѣше всн ѿ вьсего, н нzъшедь проснпа на ннѡмь мѣстѣ,

Although the spatial dimensions of the "anti-Edenic topos" described in this narrative remain somewhat vague and ambiguous, the idea of the "inverted paradise" features in a rather palpable way. A similar tendency is attested in some other legends about the origin of grapevine (i.e. the forbidden tree); one such case is presented in the Russian apocryphal tale *About the grapevine and how it grew*. In this account the storyline about the creation of paradise (Рай) blends with tales from the *Legend of the Holy Cross*, and with narrative fragments appearing in the Bulgarian apocryphal *Legend of the Holy Rood by Jeremiah the Priest*. According to this type of narrative, 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, as he aimed to create his own, inverted garden of Eden:

> Thus, when the Lord planted the grapevine in Paradise, there were neither angels nor anybody else except for the Lord and Satan. Satan was stealing from each seed which the Lord ordered 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". When he came out [from Heaven], Satan said, "God, please bless what You planted!" The Lord said, "Here am I, in the middle of Paradise!" When Satan went to see his own tree, and this very tree chased him away from Paradise. And Satan blackened, [as he] had become the Devil […]. As for the tree, it grew into three twigs: the first was Adam's, the other was Eve's, and the third stem was the Lord Himself. And when Adam and Eve transgressed, Adam's part dropped into the river Tigris, and it was carried away by it; as for Eve's part, it dropped into Paradise and when the Flood took place it was not washed away by the Flood waters [but remained there]; when [the waters] withdrew, the tree remained by the rivers of [the land of] Media[81].

таѧ ѿ Гā. Гъ рєчє: тн крадєше ѿ менє, да бжденъ тебѣ на прогнанїе! Н нꙁыде Саманль н рє^{v}: Гн̄, бл͡вн, елнка саднхѡмь. Гъ рє^{v}: блв͡ѣннo ѣ͡, н тоу есмь аꙁь по срѣдѣ его. Саманль нде да внднᵀ дрѣво, еже оукрадь посадн; н егда вндѣ дрѣво, тогда Саманль почрьнѣ, н нꙁьгна его дрѣво нꙁ раıа. Н тогда нарече Гъ нмѧ емѯ дїаволь.

81. See Рупін, *Lozhnyia i Otrechennyia Knigi Russkoi Stariny* (n. 14), p. 7 (О виноградѣ и како ростяше):

> 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. (*На полѣ замѣтка*: еще Адамъ не бѣ). 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

The significant feature of this narrative is the fact that one third part of the tree in the Edenic garden, namely Adam's twig, fell down into the river Tigris and was carried away. It seems obvious that this reflects a cosmic event of the collapse of the primordial paradise resulting in (part of) the tree in its midst falling *down*. The fact that this is a vertical relationship can be shown by contrast to Eve's part of the tree dropping *in paradise*; in other words, paradise was situated above the flood waters, as in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. Related to the same concept is the cosmographic model of paradise in some indigenous Slavonic apocrypha concerned with cosmogonic themes; one such case is presented by the *Sea of Tiberias*[82]. According to the sixteenth-century Russian redaction of the apocryphon[83], the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden triggered the desintegration of paradise itself.

> And God ordered for Adam and Eve to be chased out of Paradise. Then two parts of Paradise fell off from it; Adam's part fell into the river Jordan, and Eve's part into the river Tigris, while the Tree of God remained in Paradise[84].

In other words, prior to the Fall, paradise in its pristine state accommodated God and the first human couple, each occupying their shares harmoniously. After Adam's expulsion, his share broke off from paradise

> часть въ рѣку Тигро, изнесе его; а Еввина часть паде въ рай, да егда потопъ бысть, на водѣ потопе, не взыде, да егда изыде, древо же остася при Мирстѣй рѣцѣ.

82. Fragments of *The Sea of Tiberias* were analysed by E. Kaija Köngäs, *The Earth-Diver* (*Th. A 812*), in *Ethnohistory* 7 (1960) 151-180 and A. Dundes, *Earth-Diver: Creation of Mythopoeic Male*, in *American Anthropologist* 64, 5/1 (October, 1962) 1032-1051. See also M. Dragomanov, *Zabelezhki Vŭrkhu Slavianskite Religiozno-Eticheski Legendi. Dualisticheskoto Mirotvorenie*, in *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvoreniia, Nauka i Knizhnina* 10 (1894) 10-62; A. Markov, *More Tiveriadskoe v dualisticheskoi legende o sotvorenii mira*, in *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 1-2 (1913) 64-75; Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), pp. 287-311; F. Badalanova Geller, *The Sea of Tiberias: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition*, in L. DiTomasso – C. Böttrich (eds.), *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2011, 13-157.

83. The first edition of this text was produced by E. Barsov, *O Tiveriadskom More. (Po Spisku XVI v.)*, in *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete*. Povremennoe Izdanie pod Zavedyvaniem E.V. Barsova, 2 (Aprel'-Iun', 1886) 5-8; the text was published again by Ivanov forty years later, together with extensive commentaries, in his *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), pp. 290-294. I follow Ivanov's publication of the original text (based upon Barsov's edition).

84. See Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi* (n. 14), p. 292 [pericope 4]:

> Н повелѣ Гд҃ь Адама н Евв8 нꙁъ раѧ нꙁгнатн вонъ. Н тогда паде сѧ нꙁъ раю двѣ ꙗастн его: Адамова ꙗасть паде во Едр8 рек8, а Еввнна въ Тнгръ рек8, а г҃н҃е древо остало сѧ въ раю.

and fell into the Jordan, while the share attributed to Eve fell off into the Tigris, and the tree of God remained unaffected. Then again, according to the Slavonic version of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Adam repented in the river Jordan and Eve did so in the Tigris, as if making an attempt to recover their individual shares of paradise and to reunite with God once again. From a cosmological perspective, however, it seems clear that we are dealing with vertical spacial stratification, with parts of paradise above falling into the rivers below. Although one might conceive of parts of paradise falling into the Tigris as a reflection of the horizontal model (since the Tigris emanates from Eden), the mention of the Jordan clearly reflects a vertical scheme *vis-à-vis* paradise, since it is not among the four rivers originating in the garden. There is one other dimension associated with Adam's repentance in the river Jordan, since the New Adam (Jesus Christ) was to be baptised in it, thus completing the cycle from the first Adam to the last Adam.

One final point: the apocryphal cycle of tales about the garden of Eden is usually intertwined with narrative clusters describing the erection of the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem by Solomon, the search for the Holy Rood (believed to be buried in the Jordan) from which the Temple was to be built (with the forbidden tree being part of its construction), etc. Some of the narrative units, from which these apocryphal tales were composed, have close parallels in the Slavonic oral tradition, which suggests that this type of legend enjoyed considerable esteem in the realm of the Byzantine Commonwealth[85].

Conclusion

Two very different patterns for the location of paradise emerge from Slavonic apocryphal cosmologies which complement both the book of Genesis and the alternative scenario described in 2 Corinthians. These two apocryphal cosmographies replicate either exegetical traditions outlined in the canonical narratives, or reproduce parascriptural hermeneutical models, thus reflecting not only the intricate *archaeology* of the biblical text, but also the *stratigraphy* of its cultural context.

The apocryphal cosmographic patterns examined in this paper indicate, on one hand, a horizontal image of the garden of Eden placed on the eastern edge of the earthly realm, showing specific spacial distinctions

85. A more detailed discussion on this topic is to be found in the author's recent study, *The Sea of Tiberias*: *Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition* (n. 82), pp. 87-95.

between the habitats of Adam and Eve before and after the fall, i.e. within and without the garden of Eden. Accordingly, paradise belongs on earth. By contrast, other Slavonic apocrypha consistently depict the garden of Eden as belonging to the heavenly realm, which itself is divided into various levels, loaded with both cosmological and moral aspects. Clearly the Slavonic parascriptural tradition is not based upon a literal reading of Genesis 1–2 but on a more elaborate cosmology, which separates paradise from the earthly habitations of mankind and focuses on its role as the repository of souls of the righteous.

These two patterns – horizontal and vertical – coexist side by side in popular vernacular traditions, iconography and apocryphal writings; furthermore there is no suggestion that these scenarios are in any way mutually exclusive but in fact operate simultaneously, without hint of contradiction.

Topoi Excellence Cluster
FU Berlin
Topoi Haus Dahlem
Hittorfstrasse 18
D-14195 Berlin
Germany

Florentina BADALANOVA GELLER