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## **Cosmogonies and Mythopoesis in the Balkans and Beyond<sup>1</sup>**

На Цвети, в навечерието на нейния рожден ден

### **1. Wandering intellectuals, vanishing manuscripts, surfacing myths**

In 1845, more than twenty years before the discovery of the “tangible” settings of the mythical Trojan War known to the intellectuals of Europe through Homeric epic poems, a rather young – in fact, only 30-year old – Russian *magister* in Slavonic history and literature from the University of Kazan

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<sup>1</sup> This article represents work in progress. It combines some preliminary results of my research on two separate, yet closely related projects: *The Folk Bible* (on oral tradition) and *Unholy Scriptures* (on apocryphal literature); in each of them Slavonic and Balkan dualistic cosmogonies are analysed within the complex intellectual milieu of the Byzantine Commonwealth. The current study further comprises some of my earlier observations and comments on the relationship between Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) at a popular level, focusing on specific vernacular renditions of their respective Scriptures; see Badalanova, 2008; Badalanova Geller, 2010, 2011, 2013. I am now engaged in finishing a new edition of the apocryphal *Legend About the Sea of Tiberias* and its folklore counterparts, and the following study reflects ideas which have emerged from this work. Unless otherwise specified, all the translations are made by the author.

commenced a daring archaeographic expedition to the Balkans, at that time part of the Ottoman Empire. His name was Viktor Grigorovich [Виктор Григорович]<sup>2</sup> and his undertaking was as risky as it was exciting. Unlike Heinrich Schliemann,<sup>3</sup> one of the “indulgent daydreamers of Troy and its heroes” (Heuck Allen, 1999, p. 35), who was to pursue the unearthing of the legendary city following the verbal *mappa mundi* of Homer’s poetry,<sup>4</sup> the enthusiastic Grigorovich devoted himself to a different kind of exploration into European cultural heritage. His “excavations” were not archaeological, but philological. They were carried out in somewhat obscure – at least from the point of view of his pragmatic contemporaries – locations, most of which were never mentioned in any prominent literary source; at the time, the difficult itinerary of his voyage to the back yard of the Ottoman Empire must have appeared free of any glamour whatsoever. Indeed, for the common sense traveller a fashionable destination it was not. But for the young Grigorovich it was the journey of his life, since he embarked on a quest to uncover extant witnesses to the glorious past of the Byzantine Commonwealth, thus aiming to recapture its vanishing intellectual heritage. In a way, it was his pilgrimage to the “Holy Land” of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.

Grigorovich’s undertaking to discover and acquire old manuscripts and books for the library collections of the Russian Empire is far from unique for that period. In fact, the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries launched a new phase in the history of cultural resource management in Europe; it rested on the politics of founding museums and libraries as state institutions, which were to mark power and prestige. By the

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<sup>2</sup> For a brief bio-bibliographic description of Grigorovich’s life, scholarly activities and academic achievements, see P. Boičeva’s entry in *The Cyrillo-Methodian Encyclopaedia* (ed. by P. Dinekov) (Бойчева, 1985, p. 546–548); see also his *Очерк Путешествия по Европейской Турции* (Григорович, 1848).

<sup>3</sup> Schliemann is often described as a “mythmaker” – an entangled mixture between “hero” and “fraud”, “idealist” and “conman”; for an assessment of his intellectual legacy, and his impact upon the formation of European cultural strategies for appropriation and management of Classical antiquities, see S. Heuck Allen (1999, p. 110–127), D. F. Easton (1998, p. 335–343).

<sup>4</sup> For the role of “the myth of Troy” in the formation of modern European cultural identity, and its “instrumentalisation” within contemporary academic discourse, see Heuck Allen (1999, p. 35–48). Significant in this connection is also the fact in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the “Homeric question” triggered serious scholarly interest in the oral heritage of the Balkan Slavs as a key to understanding mythopoeic mechanisms of ancient epic tradition (and *The Iliad* in particular) (Lord, 1960). The explorations into South-Slavonic folklore suddenly became as prestigious as the studies of Classical Greek civilization.

same token the British Museum was inaugurated in 1753, to be followed by the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (1764), the Musée du Louvre in Paris (1793), and many others. Indeed, at the time when Grigorovich's journey to the Balkans took place, the act of collecting ancient manuscripts and artefacts acquired new symbolic – apart from purely commercial – dimensions. The museum and library collections demonstrated the might of the Empire possessing them. The past became a commodity. A new *translatio imperii* was in motion; by retrieving the lost treasures of “Old Byzantium”, Russia, as it were, repossessed Constantinople, thus assembling a new, virtual Byzantium of its own. To obtain the manuscripts of the Byzantine Commonwealth meant, in fact, to become the master of its intellectual heritage. It is against the background of this kind of cultural politics that one may duly appreciate the impact of young Grigorovich upon the Balkan intelligentsia, and his influence upon scholarly and political networks between Russia and Southern Slavs during the period of their National Revival, when the struggle for political and religious independence was claiming the lives of many among his associates (e.g. the Miladinov brothers).<sup>5</sup>

While following his archaeological assignment in 1844–1847, Grigorovich visited not only the renowned Mount Athos but also the neglected scriptoria in forsaken monasteries and abandoned settlements, along with obscure villages, the existence of which the world was yet to find out about from his books. In his journey he encountered humble people and often (but not always) an arrogant hostile administration; the challenges of these encounters with local authorities were usually unpredictable and immensely destructive. However, notwithstanding the challenges of his arduous journey through the Balkans, the outcome of Grigorovich's archaeological explorations – so typical for Slavonic intellectual ideas of cultural and ethno-confessional self-determination – was impressive. The year 1845 was in this respect rather successful for him (and ultimately for the Russian archaeological collections concerned with the literary heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa Balcanica*); in the hermitage belonging to the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God at Mount Athos, he discovered the famous *Codex Marianus*, a Glagolitic fourfold Gospel dated to the beginning of eleventh century (now in the Russian State Library). Yet along with this glamorous witness to the intellectual splendour of the Byzantine Commonwealth, another rather humble offspring of literary tradition of *Slavia Orthodoxa* was found by him in 1845, among the manuscripts

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<sup>5</sup> See in this connection Pencho Slaveykov's *Introduction* (“The Folk Songs of the Bulgars”) to *The Shade of the Balkans* (Slaveykov, Bernard, & Dillon, 1904, p. 40–42).

kept in the Slepche Monastery (now in Macedonia);<sup>6</sup> it was a dualistic cosmogonic account, most probably a fragment from a larger text, which Grigorovich defined as Bulgarian/Serbian redaction of the apocryphal *Discussion Between the Three Saints* (See APPENDIX, Part 1.1.). The outcome of this particular discovery will be the focal point of the analysis in this article.

The manuscript from which Grigorovich copied the cosmogonic fragment was lost, and his description of its content is the only extant evidence for the existence of a South-Slavonic redaction of a unique, hitherto unknown domestic apocryphal composition. Since the opening episode of its storyline depicts the encounter between God and Satan, an encounter which triggers the emergence of the universe from the primordial salty waters of the Sea of Tiberias, the very composition was subsequently designated as *The Legend About the Sea of Tiberias* (hereafter *The Sea of Tiberias*).<sup>7</sup> The unearthing of Slepche's fragment marks the beginning of a series of new discoveries. Having returned to the Russian Empire, Grigorovich continued his archaeographic explorations. In the city of Cheboksary [Чебоксары], then in the Kazan province, he acquired a number of manuscripts, one of which contained a new redaction of *The Sea of Tiberias*.<sup>8</sup> It was much

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<sup>6</sup> It is worth quoting in this connection Grigorovich's own description of challenging circumstances under which this discovery was made; the manuscript, one among many, was found by him in a room above the monastery's stables: "Так пробираясь сквозь лес по горам, сошел я, наконец, в нагорное удолие, где находится м. Слепче во имя свят. Иоанна Предтечи. Близ него в подобных удолиях скрываются еще другие монастыри, именно Журче м. во имя св. Афанасия, Топлица м. во имя св. Николая, Добромир м. и Градиште м.; последние два в развалинах. Название монастырей взято от близ лежащих сел. Я посетил м. Слепче, потому что узнал о богатом там собрании рукописей. Ктитором его, кажется позднейшим, был князь Димитрий Каратовский. На воротах написана икона св. Кирилла славянского. Так как монахи, которых числом четыре, разошлись с требами по селам, то кто-то, по-видимому сторож, назвал себя векилем, т. е. наместником их и принял меня весьма гостеприимно. Еще в Охриде испросил я позволение у митрополита, к епархии которого принадлежит м. Слепче, рассмотреть его достопримечательности. В ожидании ответа от игумена, к которому отправил я с нарочным письмо, в монастыре нашел незапертую комнату, над самою конюшнею, где по полкам и полу лежали 60 запачканных рукописей и кусков рукописей. Воспользовавшись находкою этою, в глазах доброго недоумевающего векиля, я занялся исследованием этого книгохранилища" (Григорович, 1848, p. 114–115).

<sup>7</sup> Grigorovich's transcription of the text from Slepche was subsequently published by Ya. Shchapov (first in 1861 and then in 1863) (Щаповъ, 1863, p. 91); see APPENDIX, Part 1.1.

<sup>8</sup> It was part of a miscellany dating to the eighteenth century; together with other Mss. and books belonging to Grigorovich, it was subsequently donated to the archival collection of the Imperial Novorossiiskii University of Odessa (register № 56). At present the Ms. is

larger than that of the cosmogonic narrative from the Slepche fragment; it was purportedly “copied from the divine books of the diligent and God-loving men Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Damascene, testifying to their most glorious debates on mysterious issues about the Eternal Lord, our God, concerning how God Sabaoth preceded all visible and invisible creatures” (Трудолъбивыѣхъ мужей и вѣлюбивыѣхъ списано изъ божественныхъ книгъ Василиа Великаго, Григория Бгѣслова, Юанѣа Дамаскина о преславныхъ преніихъ невѣдомыхъ вещей о вѣначалнѣ Господѣ Бжѣ нашѣмъ како бысть Гдѣ Саваофъ прѣдѣ всея видимыя и невидимыя твари). The text was published subsequently by V. Mochul'skiĭ in his work “Historical and Literary Analysis of the *Book of the Dove Stanzas*” (Мочульскій, 1887, p. 173–177); he characterised it as a “prohibited Book of Genesis”.<sup>9</sup> It is still rather puzzling why Grigorovich himself never published either of the manuscripts containing the apocryphal *Sea of Tiberias* which he discovered in the Balkans and later in Russia. Perhaps the apocryphal heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa* was on the periphery of his scholarly interests, which would also explain why he never wrote anything about either Slepche or Cheboksary redactions of *The Sea of Tiberias*. In a similar way, IAtsimirskiĭ never mentioned the apocryphon in his otherwise exhaustive *Bibliographical Survey of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature* (Яцимирскій, 1921). Hardly ever was *The Sea of Tiberias* likewise included in collections of apocryphal writings. Among the rare exceptions are I. Porfir'ev's *Apocryphal Legends About Old Testament Characters and Events from the Manuscripts of the Solovetskaia Library* (Порфирьевъ, 1877) and Iordan Ivanov's *Books and Legends of the Bogomils* (Иванов, 1925), to be followed by the *Apocrypha* volume of the *Old Bulgarian Literature* series edited by Donka Petkanova (Петканова, 1982). Both Ivanov and Petkanova based their analysis on the redactions of *The Sea of Tiberias* which were previously published by I. Porfir'ev (1877) (Порфирьевъ, 1877, p. 87–89),<sup>10</sup>

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kept in *The Grigorovich's Collection* at the *M. Gorky Odessa State Scientific Library* [Одесская государственная научная библиотека им. М. Горького, Собр. Григоровича], and is catalogued as № 448 (56).

<sup>9</sup> See his comments: “Издаваемый текстъ, стоящій в сборникѣ Григоровича впереди предѣ «Бесѣдой трехъ Святителей», тожествененъ съ «Словомъ о зачатіи неба и земли» (Барсова) и «Свиткомъ божественныхъ книгъ» и названъ мною отреченной «книгой бытія» (Мочульскій, 1887, p. 173, ph. 1).” For a new edition of the text, with English translation and commentaries, see Badalanova Geller (2013, p. 70–93).

<sup>10</sup> For a new edition of the text, with English translation and commentaries, see Badalanova Geller (2013, p. 93–97).

E. Barsov (1886) (Барсовъ, 1886, p. 5–8)<sup>11</sup> and Mochul'skiĭ (1887) (Мочульскій, 1887); the versions discovered by V. Sreznevskii (1904) (Срезневскій, 1904, p. 99–104)<sup>12</sup> and D. Dimitrova-Marinoва (1998) (Димитрова-Маринова, 1998) were only recently included in the scope of the academic discussion.<sup>13</sup>

*The Sea of Tiberias* first surfaced as a topic of research in a series of inter-related publications at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the extant text witnesses to this perplexing apocryphal composition were examined by a number of scholars (listed below), who compared various redactions while searching for their intellectual lineage and mythopoeic *Vorlage*. The problem of tracing (or, more precisely, reconstructing) its antecedents was pursued within the complex context of Slavonic folklore tradition and apocryphal literature. Furthermore, oral compositions reflecting specific myths of origin (and dualistic cosmogonies and anthropogonies in particular) were also taken into account. Contributions of scholars such as A. Veselovskii [Александр Веселовскій] (Веселовскій, 1883, p. 367–424, 1889, p. 1–116, esp. 40–116), A. Potebnia [Александр Потебня] (Потебня, 1886, p. 273–275 (738–740)), M. Dragomanov [Михаил Драгоманов] (Драгомановъ, 1892, p. 257–314; 1894, p. 3–68), K. Radchenko [Константин Радченко] (Радченко, 1910, p. 73–131), A. Markov [Алексей Владимирович Марков] (Марков, 1913, p. 64–75), N. Korobka [Николай Иванович Коробка] (Коробка, 1909, p. 175–195; 1910, p. 105–147), and others employed research strategies of ethno-linguistics, literary criticism and comparative religious studies. One of the most influential among these works on Slavonic apocryphal literature and folklore remains Īordan Ivanov's monograph *The Books and Legends of the Bogomils* (Иванов, 1925, p. 287–396), in which *The Sea of Tiberias* was contextualised within the paradigm of dualistic tradition. In recent studies scholars put a particular emphasis on the intertextual links of *The Sea of Tiberias* with other apocryphal writings, such as *The Life*

<sup>11</sup> For a new edition of the text, with English translation and commentaries, see Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 113–124).

<sup>12</sup> For a new edition of the text, with English translation and commentaries, see Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 125–133).

<sup>13</sup> In my previous analysis of the apocryphon I suggested the following taxonomy and classification of sources: Type A-1 (=the Slepche version); Type A-2 (=the versions published by Mochul'skiĭ, Sreznevskii and Dimitrova-Marinoва); Type B (=the version published by Barsov); Type C (=the version published by Porfir'ev). A more detailed discussion on this topic is to be found in my recent study, *The Sea of Tiberias: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition* (Badalanova Geller, 2011, p. 17–23).

of Adam and Eve,<sup>14</sup> *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just (Enoch 2)*,<sup>15</sup> *The Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*,<sup>16</sup> *The Legend of the Holy Wood of the Cross*,<sup>17</sup> and some erotapocritic writings (*The Discussion Between the Three Saints*, etc.),<sup>18</sup> in addition, the potential influence of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* was likewise considered (see Иванов, 1925, p. 303–311).<sup>19</sup>

Quite significant in this connection is the fact that most of the above quoted scholars refer in one way or another to a text of a Bulgarian cosmogonic legend recorded in 1868 among the Bulgarian Diaspora in Bessarabia, in the village of Dyulmeni (see APPENDIX, Part 2). It was narrated by a storyteller who must have been born either before 1828–1830, when his ancestors emigrated to the

<sup>14</sup> For a bibliographic survey of Adam and Eve apocrypha in medieval Slavonic literature, see IAtsimirskii (Яцимирский, 1921, p. 76–81), Рурин (Пыпинъ, 1862, p. 1–8, 12–14), Tikhonravov (Vol. 1) (Тихонравовъ, 1863, p. 1–18, 298–304), Porfir'ev (Порфирьевъ, 1877, p. 34–47, 90–96, 204–216, 245–250), Charles (1913, p. 123–154), Ivanov (Иванов, 1925, p. 207–227), Petkanova (Петканова, 1982, p. 35–41, 348–349), Anderson and Stone (1994); see also the discussion in Anderson (1998, p. 7–32; 2000a, p. 133–147; 2000b, p. 83–110; 2000c, p. 3–42), Stone (2000a, p. 43–56; 2000b, p. 149–166; 2002); Murdoch (2009, p. 192–207).

<sup>15</sup> For a survey of Slavonic MSS of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)*, see IAtsimirskii (Яцимирский, 1921, p. 81–88), Sokolov (Соколовъ, 1899, 1910), Рурин (Пыпинъ, 1862, p. 15–16), Tikhonravov (Vol. 1) (Тихонравовъ, 1863, p. 19–23), Porfir'ev (Порфирьевъ, 1877, p. 51–52), Morfill and Charles (1896), Charles (Vol. 2) (1913, p. 425–469), Ivanov (Иванов, 1925, p. 165–191), Petkanova (Петканова, 1982, p. 49–63, 350–352), Charlesworth (Vol. 1) (1983–1985, p. 91–221), Sparks (1984, p. 321–362), Böttrich (1996, 1995), Stone (2000a, p. 45–48), Anderson (2000b, p. 99–102), Badalanova (2008, p. 162–163, 186–191, 231–235), Badalanova Geller (2010), Vossaccini and Orlov (2012).

<sup>16</sup> For a survey of Slavonic MSS of *The Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*, see IAtsimirskii (Яцимирский, 1921, p. 227–232), Ivanov (Иванов, 1925, p. 191–207), Petkanova (Петканова, 1982, p. 71–76, 353–354), Kulik (2010).

<sup>17</sup> For the Slavonic redactions of *The Legend of the Holy Rood and the Two Brigands* (attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus), see Tikhonravov (Vol. 1) (Тихонравовъ, 1863, p. 305–313), Porfir'ev (Порфирьевъ, 1877, p. 47–50, 96–103), Petkanova (Петканова, 1982, p. 169–173, 378–379); see also the discussion in Veselovskii (Веселовский, 1883, p. 367–424), Sokolov (Соколовъ, 1888, p. 72–211), Petkanova (Петканова, 1982, p. 274–288, 398–399).

<sup>18</sup> For a survey of Slavonic MSS representative of erotapocritic tradition, see Nachtigall (1902, p. 321–408), Miltenova (Милтенова, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Apparently, he was anathemised by the Bulgarian Church because of this particular book; in the file of documents related to his work (“Йордан Иванов: ръкописи на научни и други трудове, лекции и работни материали”), kept in the Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Record No. Ф 52К, опис 1–2, p. 2) there is a reference to this event by T. Trifonov. I am grateful to Prof. Ruzha Simeonova for having been granted access to this material.

Russian Empire, or soon thereafter. Transcribed by a diligent collector of Bulgarian oral heritage (most probably Цани Гинчев), the legend appeared in the same year (1868), in the journal *Общ Труд*, published under the editorship of Teodosii Ikononov [Теодосий Икономов] in Bolgrad, which at that time was the centre of the Bulgarian diaspora in Bessarabia. Eight years later, the text was again published as an appendix to an anthology, *Malo-Russian Folk Legends and Tales*, compiled by the Ukrainian Mikhail Dragomanov (Драгомановъ, 1876, p. 429–434). In fact, the anthology was published immediately after his dismissal on political grounds from Kiev University, since he was denounced “as a Polish revolutionary agent, dangerous for Russian unity” (Арнаудов, 1933, p. 12). He was branded as a Separatist engaged in political activity, aiming at parting Malo-Russia (that is, Ukraine) from the Russian Empire, in favour of unification with Poland. One further clarification: Dragomanov was dismissed under the notorious “Paragraph Three”, which meant that he was removed from any kind of civil service to the State, leaving him with no right to teach or to practice scholarly activities in any academic institution (Арнаудов, 1933, p. 12). In fact, the anthology *Malo-Russian Folk Legends and Tales* marked the beginning of the immigration period of his life. In that year (1876), he was allowed to go to Austria, but some of his publications were confiscated there, and he proceeded to go to Switzerland (Geneva); there he met the talented Bulgarian student Ivan Shishmanov [Иван Шишманов].

This is the story behind the international debut of the famous legend from the Bessarabian village of Dyulmeni. Most probably, its inclusion within the anthology *Malo-Russian Folk Legends and Tales* was an implicit gesture of solidarity from the Ukrainian scholar, Dragomanov, towards Bulgarians who were at that time seeking independence. It was a symbolic coincidence that the same year in which his anthology was published witnessed dramatic events in Bulgarian history, with the April uprising of 1876. After the Liberation, the legend from Dyulmeni was published for the first time in Bulgaria by Konstantin Velichkov and Ivan Vazov, in their *Chrestomathy* (1884) (Вазов & Величков, 1884, p. 46–49). There it was entitled, “The Creation of the World” [“СЪТВОРЕНИЕ-ТО НА СВѢТЪ-ТЪ”]. In 1892, the same text was re-published and analysed by Dragomanov in his article, “Notes on Slavonic religious and ethical legends: the Dualistic cosmogony” in the renowned Bulgarian *Miscellany of Folk-Lore, Scholarship and Literature* (hereafter *СБНУ*), vol. 8. (Драгомановъ, 1892, p. 257–261). By that time, he had served as Professor of History at Sofia University since 1889, when he had been invited at the recommendation of Ivan Shishmanov to take up this post.



(The year 1889 was also the date of the publication of the first volume of *СЪНУ*, which continues until now.) In fact, 1889 was a good year for both Dragomanov and Shishmanov, since the latter fathered a son for whom the former was grandfather; Shishmanov had married Dragomanov's daughter Lydia.<sup>20</sup> In this way, Bulgaria offered the Ukrainian scholar not only intellectual acknowledgment and safe haven which had been long denied him in his own homeland, but also social acceptance, along with a fulfilling private life and prolific public profile.

Following the discussion started in Dragomanov's studies, Jordan Ivanov returns yet again to the cosmogonic legend from the village of Dyulmeni; he published it in his *Books and Legends of the Bogomils* under the title, "God and the Devil create the world together and then became adversaries" ["Богъ и дяволътъ създаватъ другарски свѣта, после враждуватъ помежду си"] (Иванов, 1925, p. 329–333, see text № 1). Finally, Dragomanov's work was translated in 1952 into English by E. W. Count (published in 1961) (Dragomanov, 1961), and the cosmogonic tale from Dyulmeni thus became one of the most (if not the most) quoted texts of Bulgarian folklore worldwide. Among those analysing it were the renowned folklorists Elli Kaija Kõngäs (1960, p. 151–180) and Alan Dundes (1962, p. 1032–1051).

## 2. Storytelling the creation: cosmogonies local and global

According to the cosmogonic scenario revealed in the narrative from Dyulmeni (see *APPENDIX*, Part 2), the world was created by two demiurges, who initially acted in harmony, and fashioned together the Universe. The legend is a comprehensive compendium of "classical" cosmogonic topics registered in the Balkans and elsewhere; some of them are classified in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*. Among them are the following worldwide attested themes:

A5.1. Gods make earth to have place to rest their feet;

A33.3.1. Bee as God's spy. God, the creator, sends a bee to overhear the Devil's secrets;

A43. Devil as adviser of God;

A63.1. Devil works during God's sleep at creation;

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<sup>20</sup> Incidentally, in 1896 the daughter of Dragomanov, Lydia Shishmanova, published in Paris the first ever anthology of Bulgarian folk legends (in French), entitled *Légendes religieuses bulgares*; see Schischmanoff, 1896. The hitherto existing French and German anthologies of Bulgarian oral tradition (L. A. H. Dozon's *Chansons populaires bulgares inédites* (Dozon, 1875) and A. Strausz's *Bulgarische Volksdichtungen* (Strausz, 1895) were devoted to folk songs exclusively.

- A63.2. Devil plans to drown God at time of creation;  
 A179.6. God has power to create men;  
 A811. Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water;  
 A812.1. Devil as Earth Diver;  
 A852. Making the earth smaller (Earth made too large; God learns from Devil by trickery how to make it smaller);  
 A1323. Long span of life for first man;  
 A1082.5. God conquers Satan at end of world;  
 A2012. Creation of bee;  
 A2385.3. Honey as excrement of bees;  
 A2541.1. Why the bee is sacred.

Empirical data presented in international motif-indices prepared by Stith Thompson, (and recently Yuri Berezkin and others) clearly indicates that Slavonic folklore cosmogonies are part of intricate intertextual encounters between written and oral sources with lineages stemming from various cultures with distinctive linguistic, ethnic and confessional environments. In fact, the legend of Dyulmeni is a perfect example of the “Folk Bible” type of oral narratives, in which cosmogony is intertwined with soteriology. The Old and the New Testament merge in a single storyline, which is shaped according to the specific template of indigenous ethnohermeneutics. The Creation of the Universe and Man is perceived as a manifestation of the eternal conflict between Good and Evil, God and Devil. Then again, the Conception and Nativity of Jesus Christ, his deeds, death and Resurrection are perceived as the ultimate condition of the defeat of his Father’s antagonist. Quite significant in this connection is the motif of the primordial contract between God and “the Other Creator”, according to which the dead and the living were to be divided between the two of them. Vernacular soteriology dissolves this predicament in a simple way, whereby the Resurrection of Jesus Christ brings along the ultimate salvation of mankind. A similar narrative framework is employed in apocryphal narrative of all Russian recensions of *The Sea of Tiberias*, as well as in many folklore legends. As for the Slepche version (see APPENDIX, Part 1.1.), it represents a rather abridged redaction of the apocryphon, in which the motif of the creation of Earth from the soil brought from the bottom of primordial waters by “the Other Creator” functions as a centre of the storyline. Once again, some of the cosmogonic motifs attested in *The Sea of Tiberias* can be found in Stith Thomson’s *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*; among them are the following:

- A50.1. Creation of angels and devils;  
 A52.0.8. God created angels by striking one small stone with another. Lucifer created devils by imitation;  
 A600. Creation of the Universe;  
 A811. Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water;  
 A812.1. Devil as Earth Diver;  
 A831.1. Creator of Earth;  
 A841. World-columns: four (two, etc.) columns or supports sustain the Earth;  
 A844. Earth rests on animal's back;  
 A844.3. Earth supported by fish.

One further point; the storyline of the Russian redactions of *The Sea of Tiberias* comprises an elaborate cluster of details (see APPENDIX, Part 1.2.), many of which have parallel attestations in other apocryphal writings. Thus the motif of the creation of man from seven substances is found in the 2 (*Slavonic*) *Apocalypse of Enoch* (Böttrich, 1996; Lincoln, 1986, p. 10–40), as well as in erotapocritic tradition (e.g. *Razumnik, The Discussion Between the Three Saints*);<sup>21</sup> the motif of the grapevine as the forbidden tree is featured in both *The Sea of Tiberias* and *The Apocalypse of Baruch*;<sup>22</sup> the refusal of Satanael to worship Adam, as attested in *The Sea of Tiberias*, has its parallels in *The Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*,<sup>23</sup> *The Struggle Between Michael and*

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion in Miltenova (Милтенова, 2004, p. 223–226).

<sup>22</sup> According to *3 Baruch*, various angels were responsible for planting various trees in Paradise, and Satanail was the one to plant the grapevine – the tree, which eventually caused the Fall of man. Consequently, «the cunning gardener» Satanail was expelled from Eden (losing his *-il* and becoming Satan). One such narrative comes from the thirteenth-century Serbian recension of *3 Baruch* (Узътѣніе свѣго Вароха, негда посланъ быѣ к немуу ангѣль Паноуиль оу свѣгоу гороу Сиѡнню на рѣцѣхъ, негда плака се ѡ плѣвнени Иероусѣльмѣцѣхъ. Гѣ блѣсви) from the *Dragolev Miscellany*, which, according to Ivanov, originated from an earlier Old Bulgarian protograph (Иванов, 1925, p. 192–193).

<sup>23</sup> In *3 Baruch* the refusal of Satanael to bow before Adam causes the withdrawal of the Devil's host from the face of God, and their expulsion from the celestial realm:

и реѣ Михаилоу възстроуби да събероуѣтъ са ангѣли и да поклонатъ са твари роукоу моею аже створи хъ. И възстроуби Михаилъ ангѣлъ и собраша са бси ангѣли и поклониша са бси а дамоу по чиноу. а сотонаилъ непоклони са и реѣ азъ калоу и брениню не поклоню са нзи. (Quoted after Gaylord, 1982, p. 304).

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 all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Satanael did not bow down and said, «To mud and dirt I will never bow down.» (Quoted after Gaylord, 1982, p. 305).

*Satanael*,<sup>24</sup> and in Qur'ānic tradition (Sūrah 2:32, 15:26–39, 17:63).<sup>25</sup> According to Muslim hermeneutics, Satan (Iblīs/Eblis) – who “was of the Djinn” (Sūrah 18:50) – considered himself to be created out of fire, a substance much superior than earth, and hence unwilling to venerate the clay-born Adam (Sūrah 7: 11–12). This theme 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* (see Rosenthal, 1989, p. 259–266, fols. 86–94), and in Islamic oral tradition in the Balkans and elsewhere. The motif of Satan's snubbing Adam is similarly rendered in Jewish, Christian and Islamic art,<sup>26</sup> suggesting that the three Abrahamic religions shared not

<sup>24</sup> The theme of Satan's refusal to obey God's command and venerate Adam is part of the storyline of the 1820 Bulgarian redaction of *The Account of Our Holy Father John Chrysostom About the Cunning Deceiving and Godless Antichrist Satan Was Confined by Archangel Michael the Commander of all Angels* [Словъ свѣтлѣи ѡца нашего, ѿвана златоуснаго ѡ анѣдихриста лѣкаваго лѣживаго и безъбожнаго санѣтанила какво го, плени сѣти чинонаучалникѣ арханѣглѣ михаилѣ воивоуда васемъ агѣломѣ] (Ms. № 232 from the Collection of the Church Historical and Archeological Museum [ЦИИМ] in Sofia); see fol. 112:

Гдѣ нашъ иісѣ хрѣтосѣ цюто є направилъ нѣво и землю и свичкиа сѣтъ сасѣ една дѣма негова направи. и агѣли и хархагѣли и като направи тоа сѣтъ та рече дази (sic!) и да брани, родѣ члѣвечески ѿ сло та загради, една чѣдна и голема градина и насади раи и создаде людие по негова прилика па ѡзе землю та направи члѣвѣка ѿ землю и даде мѣ волю да ходи низъ раи и да црѣва и свичко диѣхание цю создаде гдѣ да ходи по раи и ѡно тамо да сѣѣва и да црѣва за това премлѣтиви бѣтъ сѣди раи за праведни людие които ходати по вола бѣжа а тогова члѣвѣка виде лѣкави, и проклети санѣтанилѣ па си тѣри іако сала мисалѣ на паметѣ и рече азѣ сеги какво да ѡчинимѣ като направи, гдѣ єдного члѣвѣка ѿ землю да є ѿ насѣ по големѣ и прослави го горни бѣѣѣ ѡногова члѣвѣка и рече сви агѣли да мѣ се срамѣватѣ и да мѣ се поклонатѣ тогива какво чѣ прелѣкави анѣтихрисѣ таа дѣма іако се расѣрди и рече іа тогова члѣвѣка не цемѣ ни да погледнемѣ а камо ли да мѣ се поклонимѣ.

See also the discussion in Afinogenova (Афиногенова, 2006, p. 329–348), Ivanova (Иванова, 2004, p. 397–404), Jovanovich (Јовановић, 1995, p. 33–55), Miltenova (Милтенова, 1981, p. 98–113; 1983, p. 121–128), Minchev (Minczew, 2011, p. 23–54; Минчев, 2010, p. 17–46). Furthermore the account of how Satan repudiated God's command to angels to worship Adam is also 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* (Иванов, 1925, p. 251). See also Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 80–84).

<sup>25</sup> On the Qur'ānic account of how Eblis/Iblis refused to obey God's command to worship Adam see Zwemer (1939, p. 135–148), 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*).

<sup>26</sup> See Gutmann (1998, p. 137–139); his analysis is based on the depictions of this motif in the fourteenth-century *Catalonian Passover Haggadah* (London, British Library, MS Or. 2884,

only a certain common lineage and heritage of (para)scriptural narration, but also a common (para)scriptural iconography.

The variety of motifs common to folklore cosmogonies and apocryphal writings circulating over centuries in the Balkans among the Southern Slavs shows a vast range of ideas about the primordial elements of the Universe and its emergence; these ideas reach far beyond the boundaries of the Byzantine Commonwealth, discretely keeping in their narrative thesaurus the latent memory of perpetual multilingual transmission and cross-cultural transfusion.

### 3. The myths we live by

In 1910, when one of the most enigmatic books in the history of modern Bulgarian literature, Pencho Slaveykov's anthology *On the Island of the Blessed* ["На Острова на блажените"] was published, the cosmogonic legend from Dyulmeni surfaced yet again – this time in the poet's vision of the eternal Elysium, the mystical Otherworld, the afterlife realm reserved for the rest of heroes, bards and virtuous men (see APPENDIX, Part 3).

It is hardly a coincidence that *On the Island of the Blessed* was preceded by another – less known in Slaveykov's homeland – anthology, which he published in London in 1904, together with Henry Bernard and E. J. Dillon. Entitled *The Shade of the Balkans*, it contains rhymes composed by Bulgarian "popular minstrels". As pointed out by Bernard in his Introduction to the book, Slaveykov – whom he described as "the caged lion of Sofia" – was familiar with "every variation of every song" included in the collection. The algorithm behind the successful result of this joint poetic (ad)venture was that of an amazing intellectual cooperation. This is how Bernard described the work processes shared by the co-authors. First, Slaveykov provided German translations of the folklore texts he selected for the anthology; this suggests that its content was shaped by the Bulgarian poet himself. Then Slaveykov would read the original folklore accounts in Bulgarian to Bernard, who would "put down phonetically" the lyrics, following their oral performance; thus he would prepare a detailed

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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 Hāfīz-i Abrū (Istanbul, Topkapı Museum, *Baghdad* 282, fol. 16), "possibly made in Herat ca. 1415"; see especially Fig. 1 on p. 138 and Fig. 2 on p. 139.

transcription of the texts, trying to capture their accentuation, intonation and melodic. On the bases of this, he would finally prepare his translation into English, aimed at conveying the authentic rhythm of the original verses.

This is how Bernard remembered his work with Slaveykov – work full of debates and discussions, which, as he confessed, did now always go “without ferocity”. In fact, Bernard laconically acknowledges the following: “But apart from the limits of language, it is a perilous affair to translate the half-lights and subtleties of poetry, and one of the paramount joys of our work was the result of our limitations. Whenever we came to a passage that was at all recondite, we set about the conquest of it by means of metaphor and illustrative anecdote and fearless flights of imagination” (Slaveykov, Bernard, & Dillon, 1904, p. 13).

In his own *Introduction to The Shade of the Balkans* Slaveykov emphasizes that “a considerable portion of the songs” included by him in the anthology were actually recorded by his own father, Petko Slaveykov, and were never published before (see Slaveykov, Bernard, & Dillon, 1904, p. 37).

As for the anthology *On the Island of the Blessed* itself, it was presented as a collection of writings, the authorship of which Slaveykov ascribed to a circle of imagined poets. One of them, Nyagul Kavela [Нягул Кавела], was the purported author of the ballad “How God willed the Earth to come to be and what did Satanail do after that” [“Как Господ даде воля да стане земя и какво подир това стори Сатанаил”], which was eloquently designated by Slaveykov as a “legend of the Bogomils” [“Богомилска легенда”].<sup>27</sup> In fact, the actual content of the poem betrays the mythopoeic imprint of the narrative from Dyulmeni, one among many legends composed by anonymous singers of tales, whose cosmogonies survived in folklore tradition and apocryphal writings of the Balkan Slavs as a powerful intellectual heritage – an intangible Elysium always imagined, never attained. One of the myths we live by.

## APPENDIX

The texts below use the following conventions:

<..> indicate an interpolation in the original Slavonic text (from another Ms.)

{..} indicate conjectural additions in the English translation.

[..] indicate author’s interpolations.

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<sup>27</sup> For the significant impact of the Bogomil heresy upon Bulgarian intellectual history, see Szwat-Gylybowa, 2005; Шват-Гълъбова, 2010.

## Part 1: APOCRYPHAL TRADITION

### 1.1. The Sea of Tiberias<sup>28</sup>

(Bulgarian/Serbian redaction, Type A-1)

The text was discovered in 1845 by V. Grigorovich [В. Григорович] in the Monastery of Slepche [Слѣпче] (see footnotes 6 and 7 above); since the actual MS was lost, we follow the transcription of the аросуриphon from Grigorovich's research notes according to their earliest edition by Shchapov (Щаповъ, 1863, p. 91). This is important for the current discussion, since in his edition of the South-Slavonic redaction of the *Sea of Tiberias*, Ivanov offers *only* the Bulgarian translation of Grigorovich's transcription of the text, but not the original (i.e. Shchapov's rendition) (Иванов, 1925, p. 289). Furthermore the survey of recent studies devoted to the Slepche version shows that references to it often contain erroneous data. Symptomatic in this connection is A. Miltenova's entry on *The Sea of Tiberias* ("Тивериадското море") in the *Encyclopaedia Lexicon of Old Bulgarian Literature* (*Стара българска литература: Енциклопедичен речник*) (Милтенова, 1992, p. 463–464); there the year of Shchapov's publication is given as 1963, while it should read 1863; the page number given (75) should also be amended to 91.

I. [П]режъ земли бысть Господь Саваофъ – въ трехъ комарехъ на воздухъхъ.<sup>29</sup> И помысли себъ Господь Саваофъ, безначальный Отець, и тако отригну отъ сердца и роди возлюбленного Сына Божия Господа нашего Иисуса Христа, изъ устъ своихъ Духъ Свой святой испусти о голубинъ образъ. И рече Господь: буди небо хрустальное на столпъхъ желъзныхъ,<sup>30</sup> и на седмидесяти<sup>31</sup> тьмахъ тысящъ и будите озера и облаки и звъзды и свѣтъ и вѣтръ, и дуну<sup>32</sup> изъ нѣдръ своихъ, рай на востоцъ насади,<sup>33</sup> мразъ – от лица Господня, а громъ – гласъ<sup>34</sup> Господень въ колесницъ огненнѣй утверждень, а молнiя – слово Господне

<sup>28</sup> An earlier version of author's translation of this text appeared in Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 24–25).

<sup>29</sup> The concept of three primordial chambers which preceded the Creation is attested not only in some redactions of *The Sea of Tiberias* (i.e. Type A-1 and Type A-2), but also in various erotapocritic writings; see the discussion in Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 25–27).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A841 (World-columns. Four (two, etc.) columns or supports sustain the earth).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Thompson, 1955–1958), entry Z71.5.0.1 (Formulistic numbers: sevenfold).

<sup>32</sup> On the concept of "creation via exhaling", see the discussion in Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 42–49).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Genesis* [2: 8] (And the Lord God planted a Garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed).

<sup>34</sup> On acoustic characteristics of God's voice, see Thompson's *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958), entry A139.5.2 (God's voice causes thunder).

изъ усть Божіихъ исходитъ, а солнце – отъ нутреннія ризы Господни, понеже Господь ... лицу своему. И рече Господь: буди тма столповъ на воздушѣхъ.

II. И рече Господь: буди на земли море тивиріадское, вода соленая. И сниде Господь по воздуху на море тивиріадское и узрѣ Господь плавающего на томъ морѣ гоголя, и ста надъ нимъ Господь и рече ему: гоголе, ты кто еси? И рече сатана азъ есмь [Богъ]. И рече Господь сатанѣ, понурился въ море,<sup>35</sup> и вынь земли<sup>36</sup> и камень, и преломи на двое, изъ лѣвыя<sup>37</sup> руки дасть сатанѣ половину камени. Удари Господь жезломъ на камень. И сотвори Богъ отъ искръ огненныхъ<sup>38</sup> Михаила архангела и Гавріила – взлетѣли ангели. Сатана жъ изъ камени [сотвори] бѣсовскую бесчисленную силу богов.<sup>39</sup> И рече Господь: будите тридесять три кита на морѣ тивиріадскомъ, и буди на тѣхъ китахъ земля.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver), Ю. Березкин, *Классификация фольклорных мотивов* (Березкин, 2013): С 06 (Ныряльщик). See also the discussion in Potebnia (Потебня, 1886, p. 273[738]–275[740]), Mochul'skii (Мочульский, 1887, p. 171–188), Veselovskii (Веселовский, 1889, p. 19–24, 47–75, 82–87, 108–116), Dragomanov (Драгомановъ, 1892, p. 257–314; 1894, p. 10–35, 45–52), Korobka (Коробка, 1909, p. 175–195; 1910, p. 105–147), Radchenko (Радченко, 1910, p. 74–76, 86–87, 91–93, 99–100, 109–115), Markov (Марков, 1913, p. 64–74), Ivanov (Иванов, 1925, p. 287–290), Dimitrova (Димитрова, 1985, p. 184–192; 1998, p. 376–384), Dimitrova-Marinova (Димитрова-Маринова, 1998, p. 38–57), Kuznetsova (Кузнецова, 1998, p. 59–79), Berezkin (Berezkin, 2003, p. 94–106; Березкин, 2003, p. 247; 2007a, p. 110–123), Köngäs (1960, p. 151–180), Dundes (1962, p. 1032–1051), Tomicki (1976, p. 86–95; 1979, p. 174–175; 1980, p. 51–62, 70–117), Nagy (2006, p. 281–326), Badalanova (2008, p. 168, 219–221, 254–259), Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 30–51, 64–68), Russell (2009, p. 150–158).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water), A831.1. (Creator of earth).

<sup>37</sup> See the discussion in Tolstoi (Толстой, 1995a, p. 151–166).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A50.1 (Creation of angels and devils), A52.0.8 (God created angels by striking one small stone with another; Lucifer created devils by imitation). The concept of angels being created of fire is also featured in midrashic tradition (Ginzberg (vol. 1), 1937, p. 16). It is also manifestly attested in the Qur'ān [Sūrah 7: 11; Sūrah 38: 77], and in some Islamic exegetical writings. Consult in this connection *The History of Prophets and Kings (Tarīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* by Al-Tabarī, vol. 1: *From the Creation to the Flood* (Rosenthal, 1989, p. 252–253) and *The Stories of the Prophets (Qisas al-Anbiyā')* by Al-Rabghūzī (Boeschoten, Vandamme, & Tezcan, 1995, p. 11–13).

<sup>39</sup> See Tolstoi (Толстой, 1995b, p. 250–269; 1995c, p. 245–249).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A844 (Earth rests on animal's back) and A844.3 (Earth supported by fish); see also the discussion in Yu. Berezkin (Березкин, 2007b, p. 298–317; 2009, p. 144–169).



I. 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.”

II. 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<sup>41</sup> swimming, and the Lord stood above it and said, “Diver, who are you?”; and Satan said, “I am [God].”<sup>42</sup> 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 His 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.”

## 1.2. The Sea of Tiberias

(Russian redaction, Type B)

This account comes from MS № 21.11.3 (fols. 3a–5b) from the Archaeographic Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences (Библиотека Академии наук, Рукописный отдел) in St. Petersburg. It is part of a Miscellany, the scribe of which, a certain “Andrey Fedorov, the son of Maljuta from the village of

<sup>41</sup> It is noteworthy that in Russian oral tradition the noun *гоголь* generally denotes ‘a water bird’ (and more precisely, ‘a duck’); on the other hand, in some folklore legends it is explicitly pointed out that *Gogol’* [Гоголь] is the name of the anthropomorphic angel-demiurge (emerging from Creator’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; see for instance Russian and Belarusian cosmogonic narratives recorded by G. Zavaritskii (Заварицкий, 1916, p. 67–69) and E. R. Romanov (Романов, 1891, p. 1–3); see also the discussion in Badalanova (2008, p. 235–240).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Exodus [3:14].

Nefedovka” [“Сія книга глаголемая соборъзникъ крестьянина Андрея Феодорова сына Малютина деревни Нефедовка”] (fol. 97a),<sup>43</sup> compiled it in the period between 1776–1780 (see fols 6b, 7b, 81b, 96a, 96b); see also the note on fol. 97a: “Сию тетрадь списывалъ Андрей снъ Феодорова деревни Нефедова аз писалъ с настоящие книги минии богослова рѣка”. The text is published here for the first time.<sup>44</sup> The linguistic analysis of the Miscellany, from which *The Sea of Tiberias* is a part (i.e. MS № 21.11.3), shows that it contains certain distinctive stock phraseological formulae (such as «во веки веком», etc.);<sup>45</sup> these indicate that the copyist was most certainly an Old Believer, since he followed the scribal conventions from the period before the Schism, which was triggered by the reform of Patriarch Nikon in 1653. If he was not an Old Believer, he would have written «во веки веков», instead of «во веки веком».

#### Сотворения сотвориѣ<sup>46</sup>

I. Когда несть тваріи и земли тогда <БЫСТЬ ОДНО><sup>47</sup> море тивереское а береговъ у него не было. Тогда сниде Гѣдь на море по въздѣхѣ и виде на море гоголь плаваеще. Родился то(и) гоголь в море име Сотоноиль. И вопросе его Гоѣдь: ты кто еси?<sup>48</sup> И рече Сотоноиль: аз(ь) есмь богъ. И рече емѣ Гѣдь: а минь (sic!) какъз неречеши? И рече емѣ Сотоноиль: ты Богъ Бо(го)мъ и Гѣдь Гѣдемь. А же бы не то рекъзл Сотоноиль и Гѣдь бы его тѣтже искоренилъ. И рече Гѣдь Сотоноиль: понырнись в море и вынеси земли и камень. И Сотоноиль понырнѣся в море и хотя взать земли и камень. И виде по<sup>а</sup> водами на престоле сидетьъ црѣ девичимъ образамъ, в рѣкахъ мечъ золотъ акси сонце сияетьъ. Не диде (sic!) емѣ земли и камени. И рече емѣ: иди вкаянны

<sup>43</sup> V. Kuznetsova clarifies that he was a peasant from the village of Nefedovo [Нефедово], the county of Vologda [Вологодский уезд]; see Kuznetsova (Кузнецова, 1998, p. 193–194). The MS was purchased in North-Western Russia, in the village of Purgi [Пурги], the county of Petrozavodsk [Петрозаводский уезд], the Olonets Governorate [Олонецкая губерния]; see also Sreznevskii (Срезневский, 1913, p. 347–349), Dimitrova (Димитрова, 2014, p. 140–141).

<sup>44</sup> My research in the Archaeographic Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg) was carried out as part of a project, “Fiktionalität und Realität in den Darstellungen des Nordens von der Antike bis zur Renaissance”, funded by the Center for International Cooperation of the Freie Universität (Berlin) and conducted in collaboration with the University of St. Petersburg. The first draft of the digitalized version of MS № 21.11.3 (fols. 3a–5b) was prepared by Dr. Iva Trifonova.

<sup>45</sup> See in this connection Uspenskiĭ (Успенский, 2002, p. 452).

<sup>46</sup> *Lectio difficilior*; perhaps this should read *сотворение*.

<sup>47</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>48</sup> The scribe originally wrote here the noun *гоголь*, which subsequently was crossed out.

ведая твоє лѣкавство. И сотворишь (sic!)<sup>49</sup> не взя земли и камени. Вынѣрнѣся и рече: Гѣди, под водами царь девичьимъ образомъ и в рѣкахъ мечь золотъ аки солнце сияетъ, и не даде емѣ<sup>50</sup> земли и камени. Иди, цѣрь Гѣдь повеле. И Сотоницъ понырнѣся в мере (sic!)<sup>51</sup> и рече црю: Гѣдь повеле мнѣ взяти земли и камени. И рече емѣ: возми по Господиоу повелению и вынеси без лѣкавства. Аще слѣкавишь, то не можешъ вынести. Цѣрь под, водами Премѣдрость Бжия. И Сотоницъ взя песокъ и камень и вынеся Гѣдѣ. И взя песокъ и рѣ<sup>3</sup>сиявъ по морю и рече Гѣдь: на море зем'я толста и пространна. И взя Гѣдь кремень, разломи на полы. Из левые рѣки ѿдаде Сотоницѣ, ис правые рѣки встави у Себа. Удари Гѣдь скипетромъ кремень и рече: вылетите ис камени анггели и арханггели по вбразѣ Моємѣ и по подобию, силни и безплотни. И вылетите анггели и арханггели силы небезныя. И виде Сотоницъ како сотвори <Гѣвъ><sup>52</sup> и <почалъ><sup>53</sup> своего камени <внтн><sup>54</sup> что емѣ да Гѣдь. И вылетела лѣкавая сила и сотвори онъ себе <снлѣ><sup>55</sup> великѣю.

II. И помысли въ себе: поставилъ<sup>56</sup> престолъ на облацехъ и бѣдѣ подобенъ вышнемѣ. И видя Гѣдь мысли его лѣкавые и восхоте его Гѣдь с нѣа сверзить и посла к немѣ Арханггела Михаила и велелъ ево ударить скипетромъ. И прииде Михаилъ к Сатоне и палитъ ѿ него огонь. И прииде Михаилъ ѿ Сотоны: Гѣди, не могѣ, ѿгнь меня палитъ ѿ него. Гѣдь Михаила постригъ <въ черныцы><sup>57</sup> и послалъ <аггла своего><sup>58</sup>. Повеле <Сотонанла><sup>59</sup> ударити <скипетромъ и вергнѣти его на землю со всею его снлою лѣкавою><sup>60</sup>. Ище не смогѣ ударить, палить огонь. И Гѣдь поскимилъ. И прииде Михаилъ удари его скипетромъ, и спаде Сотоницъ с престола своего ѿ нѣси на землю и со всеми силами. И та лѣкавия сила шла три дни и три ноци аки дождевныя капли, и в трети днѣ рекоса Михаилъ: аминь. И затвориша ся нѣса, и где кто засталъ, тѣтъ и до скончания века пребываетъ и до нѣне. Где слетелъ, тамъ и пребываетъ, ини в рекахъ, ини в озерехъ, ини в горахъ.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps instead of *сотворишь* it should read *Сотонанла*?

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps *мнѣ*?

<sup>51</sup> Should read *море*.

<sup>52</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>53</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>54</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>55</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>56</sup> Should read: *поставлю*.

<sup>57</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>58</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>59</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>60</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

III. И по то<sup>м</sup> насади Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь рай на востоцехъ во едеме и сотвори Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь ѿ осми частен человека: а частъ ѿ землю тело, б ѿ камени кось, 3 частъ о чермнаго моря кровь, 4 о солнца учи, 5 о ветрѣ дыхание, 6 о облака мысли, 7 о огня теплота, 8 о лѣны умъ. И какъ тело сотворилъ Адамово и поиде Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь нбса ко ѿцѣ своемѣ <по дшѣ Адама>.<sup>61</sup> И прииде Дияволъ х (sic!)<sup>62</sup> телѣ Адамовѣ и не ведаетъ что емѣ сотворити истыкалъ тело ево перстомъ и сотворилъ язвы. И прииде Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь с нбси виде тело Адамово истыкано и рече Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь ко дияволѣ: како смелъ еси сотворити на<sup>а</sup> созданиемъ моимъ? И рече дияволъ: Г<sup>ѣ</sup>ди, у Адами бѣдѣтъ дети, у Адамовыхъ дети поидѣтъ люди на землѣ, ѿ техъ ранъ во всякомъ члвке зародитца болезнь в породе Адама, а тотъ члвкъ теба Г<sup>ѣ</sup>да забѣдѣтъ а какъ чтъ у него болитъ и онъ воспоменетъ: w Г<sup>ѣ</sup>ди умилѣи поживи! Повороти А<sup>а</sup>ма ранами и о того часа бысть во всякомъ члвке болезнь. И нне убо едипомѣ (sic!) Адамѣ быти в Рае, и взя Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь в<sup>о</sup> сне у Адама ѿ левые страны по<sup>а</sup>пазѣшное ребро и сотвори Г<sup>ѣ</sup>ди<sup>63</sup> о ребра сѣпрѣжницѣ емѣ евреѣ. И вопроси Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дь Адама: что еси виделъ? <Н рече Адамъ: Г<sup>ѣ</sup>д н, видѣхъ><sup>64</sup> а во сне <аг<sup>ѣ</sup>гла><sup>65</sup> Петра в Риме <вннзъ главою><sup>66</sup> распята, а <аг<sup>ѣ</sup>гла><sup>67</sup> Павла повешена, тебя Г<sup>ѣ</sup>да во Иерѣсалиме на лобномъ месте распята. И того Адамъ нарече ся первый прѣрик на земли и егда созданъ бысть Адамъ всемъ вещамъ Божиимъ имена нарече.

IV. И украсено бысть тогда в Рай змия. Учини Адамъ в Рае три древа: первое себе, второе евре, третье Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дне. И вышла змия из Рая гѣлять. И она ненавидяла родъ члвчески. И приползе Сотона ко змие червемъ и рече змие: пожри мя в сева и внеси мя в Рай. <Пожре черва н несе в Ран. Змна же обернѣла са около запрещенного древа, н нача Сотона вопнтн змневымн оустамн: о Евва! Что твой Бгъ повелѣ ястн? Н рече Евва: ѿ всѣхъ древъ ястн повелѣлъ Г<sup>ѣ</sup>дѣ, а ѿ того древа не повелѣлъ намъ Бгъ ястн, да смертїю оумрешъ. Н рече Сотона: не смертїю оумрешъ, но будете акн возн, станете вѣдѣть добро н сло. [...] Н взѣ ѿ плода Евва н спаде н дастъ Адамѣ съястн. Н Адамъ обнажи са ѿ Бгѣ слова бжїа, н видѣша срамотѣ свою н взаша

<sup>61</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>62</sup> Should read к.

<sup>63</sup> The scribe originally wrote here the phrase “во сне Адама ѿ левые”, which subsequently was crossed out.

<sup>64</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>65</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>66</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>67</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

три лнстне смоковнѣе н сотворнша на себѣ рнзѣ смоковнѣе, да бы не внда срамотѣ свою, н скрѣша са. Н внде Гдѣ н зва: Адаме, Адаме, гдѣ вы? Н ѿвѣщавъ Адамъ: Гдѣн, согрѣшихъ, престѣпихъ. Н ѿвѣщавъ Адамъ: Господи, жена ма прельстнла. Н рече (Гдѣ) Еввѣ: ты, окаанаа, что сотворнла? Н ѿвѣщавъ Евва: Гдѣн, змна ма прельстнла. Н рече Гдѣ: ты, прелѣкаваа, что сотворнла? Н ѿвѣщавъ змна: Гдѣн, сотона ма прельстнла. Н рече Гдѣ Адамѣ: ѿселѣ ты снѣси хлѣбъ свон въ поте лица твоего; а ты, окаанаа Евва, в печалн роднши дѣти; а ты, прелѣкаваа (змна), ѿселѣ на чреве своемъ пользаешн до скончанїа вѣка своего по земан>.<sup>68</sup> Изгна Гдѣ и Рая Адама и ѿвѣ и змие и паде <нзѣ раю двѣ частн его: Адамова частъ паде во Едрѣ рекѣ, а Еввина въ Тнгрѣ рекѣ, а Гдѣ древо остало са въ раю>.<sup>69</sup>

V. Адамъ нача скорвити во своемъ и о ѿвиномъ согрешенїе, и плака ся Адамъ спрямо к Раю три дни, и чумилосерди ся Гдѣ и посла анггела своего ко Адамѣ наставити на дело рѣчное, и нача Адамъ землю пахати. И прииди к немѣ дияволъ и рече Адамѣ: что ты делаешъ? И Адамъ рече: землю пашѣ. И рече дияволъ: чело[веко]мъ еси соитворенъ? Адамъ рече: Бгѣмъ сотворенъ. И рече дияволъ: Богъ нбси<sup>70</sup> и ты поди нбсо, а земля моя. И рече Адамъ: земля твоя, а я твои же. И рече дияволъ ко Адамѣ: дай мне рѣкописанїе на себя и народъ свои весь.<sup>71</sup> <Н напнса Адамъ на себа

<sup>68</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>69</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>70</sup> In Barsovian redaction: господна небеса, а земля моя.

<sup>71</sup> The topic of Adam's writ is also attested in Slavonic versions of *The Life of Adam and Eve*; compare the interpretation of this motif in the following passage from the 16th century Bulgarian recension of the apocryphon from the *Panagiurishte Miscellany* [Панагюрски сборник] (preserved in the National Library Sts Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, No 433, ff. 12–20):

Тако възжѣ волови н възвѣра, да створи себѣ храна. Тогѣ днаволь прѣде н ста н не даѣ Адамоу земѣ работати н реѣ Адамоу: моѣ ѿземнаѣ, а вжїѣ сжѣ нбѣа н ран; да аще щешн мон бити, да работи земѣ; аще ли хошешн вжн бити, поди в ран. Адамъ реѣ: гдѣн сжѣ нбѣаѣ н зем'аѣ н ран, н всѣ в'селенаа. Днаволь реѣ емоу: не дамъ ти земѣ работати, аще не запишешн м'нѣ рѣкописанїе свое, да си мон. Адамъ реѣ: к'о земн гѣ, тоговъ ес'мъ азъ н чжда моѣ. Днаволь възра'ува сж. Адамъ бо знаѣаше, ѿко Гѣ снннн хошеть на земѣ н ѿблѣпн'н хошеть въ члвчн ѿбразѣ н попатн хошеть днавола. Н реѣ днаволь: запиши м'нѣ рѣкописанїе свое. Н запиша Адамъ: кто земн гѣ, тоговъ н азъ н чжда моѣ. (Quoted after Иванов, 1925, p. 215).

For the interpretation of the motif of Adam's writ in Bulgarian oral tradition, see Marko Tseprenkov's folklore versions of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*, published in *SbNU*, vol. 6 (*СБНУ. Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина*, 1891, p. 113) and vol. 7 (*СБНУ*.

рѣкопсаніе н на весь родъ по нхъ вѣдѣнхъ, н ѿдасть Сотонѣ. Сотона радъ бысть н несе во адъ, н, по томоу рѣкопсанію, ѿ Адамовы смерти н по Хр<sup>с</sup>тово распатіе, н прнмаше дѣволъ н прнводитъ грѣшныхъ н правеныхъ во адъ всѣ равно.<sup>72</sup>>

VI. И роди Адамъ двояхъ сна, Каина и Авиля. Каинъ земляделенъ, Авилъ пасъ стада. И убии Каинъ брата своего Авиля каменемъ. И вопросы Г<sup>с</sup>дь Каина: братъ тви (sic!). И рече Каинъ: Г<sup>с</sup>ди, не стражъ братъ<sup>с</sup> своемъ. И рече емъ Богъ: Каине, кровь брата своего вопиешъ.

VII. И <жнлъ Адамъ девать сотъ<sup>73</sup>> тридесять и умре. Ева слете<sup>74</sup> (sic!) Адамъ вивцъ<sup>75</sup> (sic!) аминь.

### Creation of all Creatures

I. When there were neither creatures nor Earth, there was a Sea of Tiberias which had no banks. The Lord then descended from the ether to the Sea and saw a duck floating. This duck was born in the Sea and its name was Sotonoil. And the Lord asked him, “Who are you?” And Sotonoil replied, “I am God.” And God said to him, “And how will you then call me?” And Sotonoil answered, “You are the God of Gods and Lord of Lords.” If Sotonoil had not said that {but something else}, the Lord would have eradicated him immediately. And the Lord said to Sotonoil, “Dive into the Sea and bring up earth and stone!” And Sotonoil dove into the Sea and wanted to take earth and stone, yet beneath the waters he saw a king – with a face of a maiden – sitting on a throne, in whose hands was a golden sword, shining like the sun. And he did not give him earth and stone but said to him, “Go away, forlorn one; I am aware of your cunning craftiness!” And Sotonoil did not take earth and stone, but surfaced and said to the Lord, “There is a king with a face of a maiden beneath the water, holding a golden sword in his hands, shining like the sun. And he did not give me earth and stone.” The Lord-King commanded, “Go {into the Sea}!” And Sotonoil dived into the Sea and said to the king, “The Lord ordered me to take earth

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*Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина*, 1892, p. 167–169). See also the next text in the appendix. For the employment of the motif of Adam’s writ in apocryphal writings and Christian iconography in the Balkans and elsewhere, see Stone (2000b, p. 149–166; 2002).

<sup>72</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>73</sup> Interpolation from Barsovian redaction.

<sup>74</sup> Should read: сплете.

<sup>75</sup> Should read: вѣнецъ.

and stone.” And {the king} said to him, “Take according to the Lord’s will and bring it up without being cunning, {because} if you are cunning, you will not be able to bring it up.” The king who was under the water was Divine Wisdom.<sup>76</sup> And Sotonoil took sand and stone and brought it up to the Lord, who took the sand and strewed it over the Sea; and the Lord said, “May there be upon the Sea a thick broad Earth!” And the Lord took flint, broke it into two, and what was in His left hand he gave to Sotonoil, and what was in His right hand kept for Himself. With His sceptre, the Lord struck the flint and said, “Fly from out of this stone angels and archangels in My own image and likeness, strong and incorporeal. And angels and archangels – the host of heaven – fly out!” Having seen what <God> did, Sotonoil <began striking> the stone which God gave him, and cunning forces began flying about. And {Sotonoil} created a great <host> for himself.

II. And {Sotonoil} thought to himself, “I will place my throne onto the clouds and I will be like the Most High!”<sup>77</sup> And the Lord saw his cunning thoughts, and the Lord wanted to evict him from Heaven; and He sent the archangel Michael to him, with orders to strike him {=Satanail} with {his} sceptre. And Michael approached Satona but was scorched by the fire emerging from him. And Michael returned from Sotona {and said to God}, “My Lord, I cannot {accomplish the assignment}. Fire from him burnt me.” The Lord cut Michael’s hair,<sup>78</sup> and sent <His angel to attack Sotona>, ordering him to hit <Sotonoil with the sceptre and to push him to earth together with all his cunning host>. {Michael said,} “I still cannot strike him; his fire scorches me.” And the Lord put a *schema*<sup>79</sup> on him. And Michael came and struck him {=Sotonoil} with his sceptre, and Sotonoil fell from his heavenly throne to Earth, along with all his hosts. And this cunning force was falling like drops of rain for three days and three nights. On the third day, Michael said, “Amen!” And the heavens closed and wherever each {among the cunning forces} stood at that moment, there they will remain until the end of days; and wherever they flew, they remain there until now: some are in rivers, others are in lakes, others in mountains.

<sup>76</sup> I.e. Sophia, hence a female face.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Isaiah [14:13–14]: “For thou hast said in thine heart, «I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High!»”

<sup>78</sup> That is, ‘ordaining him’.

<sup>79</sup> That is, ‘habit’.

III. And the Lord planted Paradise in Eden to the East,<sup>80</sup> and Lord created Man from eight components: first, a body from earth; second, bones from stone; third, blood from the Red Sea; fourth, eyes from the sun; fifth, breath from wind; sixth, thoughts from clouds; seventh, warmth from fire; eighth, reason from the moon. Having created the body of Adam, the Lord went to Heaven, to His Father <for Adam's soul>. And the Devil came to Adam's body, and not knowing what to do with him, poked his body with his finger, causing wounds in it. The Lord came from Heaven and saw Adam's pierced body and the Lord said to the Devil, "How dare you do that to my creation!" And the Devil replied, "My Lord, Adam will have children, and they will have children and from them people will breed on Earth. From these wounds, sickness will originate in man, in Adam's kin. If people forget you, Lord, as soon as something aches in them, they will remember you, saying "God have mercy on me and save me!" {The Lord} turned Adam inside out with his wounds within {and vivified him}, and from this moment, there is sickness inherent in every human.

By this time, Adam was alone in Paradise and the Lord took a lower left rib from the bosom of the slumbering Adam, and the Lord created a spouse from this rib – Eve.<sup>81</sup> And the Lord asked Adam, "What did you see in your dream?" <And Adam said,> "In my dream, <God, I saw> Peter crucified <with his head lowered> in Rome, and <apostle> Paul being hung and You, Lord, crucified on Golgotha in Jerusalem." This is why Adam was called the first prophet on Earth. When Adam was created, he gave names to all creatures created by God.<sup>82</sup>

IV. The most handsome of all in Paradise was the serpent. Adam planted three trees in Paradise: the first – for himself, the second – for Eve, and the third was God's. The serpent went out from Paradise for a walk; she hated humankind. And Sotona crawled to the serpent in the form of a worm and said to the serpent, "Swallow me and take me into Paradise." <It 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

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Genesis [2:8].

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Genesis 2: 21–22: "And God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man."

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Genesis 2: 20: "And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; for Adam there was not found an help meet for him."



you to eat?”<sup>83</sup> 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 picked fruit and ate a bit of it, and gave it to Adam to eat. And Adam became stripped of God – the Divine Logos – {and became naked} and saw his own shame [i.e. his genitalia]<sup>84</sup> and took three fig leaves and made for himself a shirt of figs, so that his shame was not visible, and hid. God then entered and called out, “Adam, Adam, where are you?” And Adam answered, “God, I sinned, I trespassed.” And Adam answered, “Lord, the woman enticed me.” And He {God} said to Eve, “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.”<sup>85</sup> And you, forlorn Eve, will give birth to children in sorrow.<sup>86</sup> And you, most cunning {serpent}, from now on will crawl on your abdomen until the end of your days on the earth!”> The Lord chased Adam and Eve and the serpent from Paradise. And there fell off <then two parts of Paradise; the part of Adam’s {tree} fell into the {River} Jordan and that of Eve’s {tree} part fell into the {River} Tigris, while God’s tree remained in Paradise.>

V. Adam started lamenting on account of his and Eve’s sin, and Adam cried for three days in front of Paradise. The Lord was reconciled and sent his angel to Adam, in order to teach him handcraft {of agriculture}. And Adam began to plough the earth, and the Devil came to him and said to Adam, “What are you doing?” Adam answered, “I am ploughing the earth.” The Devil said, “Are you created to be human {or divine}?” And Adam replied, “I am created by the Lord.” The Devil said, “The Lord is the master of heaven, but you are under heaven, and the earth is mine.” And Adam replied, “Since the earth is yours, I am also yours.” And the Devil said to Adam, “Give me a chierograph for

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson’s *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 63.6. (Devil in serpent form tempts first woman: Satan and Eve), and G 303.3.3.15.1 (The Devil in form of snake tempts Eve).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson’s *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 1313 (Origin of sex organs) and A 1383 (Origin of shame for nakedness).

<sup>85</sup> See Stith Thompson’s *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 1346 (Man to earn bread by sweat of his brow).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson’s *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 1351.1. (Origin of childbirth pains).

yourself and all your kin.” <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 sinful and took them to Hell, regardless.>

VI. Adam begot two sons, Cain and Abel. Cain worked the earth and Abel was shepherding flocks. And Cain killed his brother Abel with a stone. And the Lord asked Cain, “Where is your brother?” And Cain replied, “My God, I am not my brother’s keeper!” And the Lord said, “Cain, the blood of your brother calls out.”

VII. <And Adam lived 900 and> 30 years and died.<sup>87</sup> And Eve wove a wreath for Adam.

## Part 2: FOLKLORE TRADITION

### Богъ и дяволътъ създаватъ другарски свѣта, послѣ враждуватъ помежду си<sup>88</sup>

The legend was recorded on the first day (“на Суровак-ден”) of year 1868 among Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia (Буджак), in the village of Dyulmeny (Дюлмени, Дюльмени, Гюльмян), currently Yarove (Ярове, also spelled in Russian as Яровое), Tarutin region (Тарутинский район), Odessa district (Одесская область) in Ukraine. They emigrated from the Ottoman Empire in 1829–1830 from the village of Гюльмян/ Дюльмян, the name of which varied in different historical periods; it was spelled as Дюльмени, Дюлемен, Гюлемен, Гюльмян, Гюлюмяново, Гюлово (currently the village of Роза, община Гунджа, област Ямбол). The text was published the same year in the city of Bolgrad (the then intellectual centre of Bulgarian Diaspora in the Russian Empire) in the periodical «Общи Труд» (edited by Теодосий Икономов), in Vol. II, p. 73–78.<sup>89</sup> The description of circumstances under which the account was registered is rather brief. It does not clarify who recorded the legend and submitted the transcription for publication to Теодосий Икономов; it is only mentioned that the storyteller

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Genesis 5: 5 (So all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years, and he died).

<sup>88</sup> See also related cosmogonic accounts published by Kovachev (Ковачев, 1914, p. 54), Ivanov (Иванов, 1925, p. 329–336, texts №1, № 2, № 3), Daskalova, Dobрева, Kotseva and Mitseva (Eds.) (Даскалова, Добрева, Коцева, Мицева, 1985, p. 363–364, texts № 336, № 337), Badalanova (Бадаланова, 1993, p. 117–119), Badalanova (2008, p. 234–259), Badalanova Geller (2011, p. 134–136, texts № 3, № 4).

<sup>89</sup> I am grateful to my colleague N. Aretov for his help in tracking down this particular issue of «Общи Труд».

was a Bulgarian whose name was Денъо. His narrative might have been recorded by one of the associates of Теодосий Икономов.

Испървенъ земя и хора нѣмало. На сѣкадѣ било вода. Имало само Господъ и дяволъ, които живѣяли тогава наедно.<sup>90</sup>

Единъ пѣтъ Господъ рекълъ дяволу:

„Хайде да направимъ земѣ и хора.“

„Да направимъ, отговорилъ дяволътъ, ами отъ дѣ да земемъ прѣстъ?“

„Подъ водата има прѣстъ, рекълъ Господъ. – Влѣзъ та извади малко.“

„Добре,“ отговорилъ дяволатъ.

„Прѣди да се пуснешъ ама, казалъ Господъ дяволу, кажи: *сѣ Божиѣ силѣ и сѣ моѣ!* Тогава ти ще стигнешъ дѣно и ще намѣришъ прѣстъ.“

Дяволътъ се пуснѣлъ, но не рекълъ първо: *сѣ Божиѣ силѣ и сѣ моѣ!* ами: „сѣ сѣ моѣ силѣ и сѣ Божиѣ силѣ!“ За това не стигнѣлъ дѣно. На вториа пѣтъ пакъ тѣй направилъ и пакъ дѣно не стигнѣлъ. На третиа пѣтъ вече казалъ: *сѣ Божиѣ силѣ и сѣ моѣ!* И тогава стигнѣлъ дѣно и сѣ нокти си закачилъ малко прѣстъ.<sup>91</sup> Неѣ прѣстъ Господъ ѣ турил на водата и станѣло малко земя.<sup>92</sup> Дявола, като видѣлъ това, намислилъ хитростъ такѣва: поканилъ Господа да спѣтъ,<sup>93</sup> та като заспи Господъ, да го бутне въ водата,<sup>94</sup> че да остане самъ той и да се прослави, какво той ужъ да е направилъ земята. Господъ знаѣлъ това, но легнѣлъ и се престорилъ че спи. Тогава дяволътъ става, зима Господа на рѣцѣ и трѣгва кѣдѣ водата, за да го хвѣрли; той вѣрви кѣдѣ водата, а земята расте. Като не стигнѣлъ водата, обѣрнѣлъ се къмъ другата страна, но пакъ до водата не стигнѣлъ. Тогава се обѣрнѣлъ

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A2 (Multiple creators), Ю. Березкин, *Классификация фольклорных мотивов* (Березкин, 2013): В 01 (Двое создателей).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water), A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver), Ю. Березкин, *Классификация фольклорных мотивов* (Березкин, 2013): С 06 (Нырлящик).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A831.1. (Creator of earth), A141.4 (God lays foundations of earth).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A63.1. (Devil works during God's sleep at creation).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A63.2. (Devil plans to drown God at time of creation), Ю. Березкин, *Классификация фольклорных мотивов* (Березкин, 2013): В 03С (Попытка утопить Бога. Создал сушу, Создатель ложится отдохнуть. Антагонист пытается его утопить, тащит к краю земли. От этого земля расширяется, антагонист не в силах достичь ее края).

и на третя страна, и като не стигнъл пакъ водата, турилъ Господа на земята па легнълъ и той. Като поспалъ малко, румнѣло му, че останала още и четвърта страна; зема Господа и го поносилъ кждѣ водата, но се пакъ не стигнълъ до неѣ. Тогава діаволътъ разбужда Господа: „Стани, Господи, да благословимъ земята; вижъ, колко тя порасте, додѣ ние спяхме!”

„Когато ти ма носи на всѣ четири страни, за да ме хвърлишъ въ водата, и направи кръсть с мене, азъ благословихъ земята,” казалъ Господъ.

Діаволътъ се разсърдилъ за това, оставилъ Господа и побѣгнълъ отъ него.

Като останѣлъ Господа самичкѣ и като пораснѣла земята тѣй много, штото слънце не можало да ѣж покрый, той сътворилъ въ духъ ангели<sup>95</sup> и проводилъ ангела война,<sup>96</sup> за да повика діавола, да го попита, какво да стори, за да прѣстане земята да расте.<sup>97</sup> Въ това врѣме діаволътъ сътворилъ козѣтѣ,<sup>98</sup> и, като идѣлъ при Господіа, осѣдлалъ пѣрчѣтъ, комуто направилъ юздѣ отъ прасѣ: отъ тогава и до сега козитѣ имѣтъ бради.

Ангелитѣ, като видѣли діаволътъ да ѣзди на пѣрча, присмѣли му се, а той се разсърдилъ и върнѣлъ се назадъ.

Господъ тосѣ часъ сътворилъ пчелѣ<sup>99</sup> и казалъ ѣ: „иди скоро, та кацни діаволу на рамо и слушай, какво ште приказва, че доди да ми обадишъ.”

Пчелата отишла, кацнѣла діаволу на рамо, а той приказвалъ: „Ехъ, глупавъ Господъ! Не знай да земе единъ прѣтъ, па да кръстоса на сѣ четири страни и да каже: стига толкова земя, ами се чюди какво да прави.”<sup>100</sup>

Пчелата като чюла това, избрѣнчала и хвъркнѣла отъ рамото му. Діаволътъ се обрѣнѣлъ, та ѣж видѣлъ и рекѣлъ: „Да ти ѣде ... онѣзи, който та испратилъ.”

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<sup>95</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A52 (Creation of angels).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A165.2.3 (Angels as God’s messengers).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A852 (Making the Earth smaller: Earth made too large, God learns from Devil by trickery how to make it smaller).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A63.4 (Devil and God create animals).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A2012 (Creation of bee), A33.3 (Insect as Creator’s companion), A33.3.1. (Bee as God’s spy: God, the Creator, sends a bee to overhear the Devil’s secrets).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Ю. Березкин, *Классификация фольклорных мотивов* (Березкин, 2013): С 29 (Обиженный обладатель знаний: подслушанный секрет).

Като отишла при Господя, пчелата му обадила, че дяволътъ приказвалъ: „Ехъ, глупавъ Господь! Не знаилъ да земе единъ прѣтъ, па да кръстоса земѣтъ на всѣ четири страни и да каже: стига толкосъ земіа! али са чюди, какво да прави!!” – А заради мене, рекла пчелата, каза: „Да ти ѣде ... онѣзи, който тя проводи.”

Господь направилъ това и земята прѣстанѣла да расте. На пчелѣтъ казалъ: отъ твойтъ ... да нѣма отъ сега на татакъ по-сладки!”<sup>101</sup>

Слѣдъ това Господь направилъ отъ калъ челѣкъ,<sup>102</sup> отъ когото се размножили по земѣтъ много хора; а като захванѣли да умиратъ, Господь повикалъ дявола и го поканилъ, да живѣѣтъ наедно. Дяволътъ се съгласилъ подъ такъвъ сговоръ: живити хора да бѣдѣтъ на Господя, а умрѣлители неговити. Господь се съгласилъ на това, а за да не умираѣтъ хората скоро, направилъ да живѣѣтъ по 200 и по 300 години.<sup>103</sup>

Слѣдъ много врѣме, като видѣлъ Господь, че умрѣлители станѣли по вече отъ живити, а дяволътъ има по много хора отъ него, той поискалъ да развали съ него сговорѣтъ, а не знаіалъ какъ. Заради това питалъ нѣкои отъ своити хора, като Авраама, Мойсея и Юзупа<sup>104</sup> – питалъ и ангелити, нѣ никой не могѣлъ да му обади, какъ да развали тосъ сговоръ. Зели да испитуваѣтъ за това дявола и веднѣшъ единъ отъ Господевити хора го попиталъ: „Дѣкато сте направили сговоръ съ Господя, живити хора да сѣ неговити, а умрѣлители твоити, може ли Господь развали тосъ сговоръ?” – „Самъ Господь не може, отговорилъ дяволътъ, а неговѣтъ синъ може, ако само направи, да му се роди синъ отъ духѣтъ му, а не, какъто се раждѣтъ и другити хора.”

Като обадили това на Господя, Той зель да мисли: „какъ може, само съ духѣтъ Мой да ми се роди Синъ на земѣтъ прѣдъ сички свѣтъ!” Мислилъ, мислилъ и не можалъ да намисли. Споради това той самъ единъ пѣтъ попиталъ дяволѣтъ:<sup>105</sup> „какъ можъ да направѣ, да ми се роди Синъ само отъ духѣтъ Ми?” Твърдѣ лесно, отговорилъ Му дя-

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 2385.3 (Honey as excrement of bees), A 2541.1 (Why bee is sacred), A 2813 (Origin of honey).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. *Genesis* [2:7]; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 1241 (Man made from clay/earth).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 1323 (Long span of life for first man).

<sup>104</sup> Юзуп = Йосиф (Joseph)

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 43 (Devil as adviser of God).

вольтъ: „Земи, че направи отъ босилиакъ<sup>106</sup> цвѣте еднѣ киткѣ, тури ѣж въ пазухѣ, и да прѣспишъ съ неѣж ѣеднѣ ноштѣ, като си намислишъ, че желаѣеш да ти се роди Синѣ отъ Духѣ Божи, и, щомѣ като станешъ, да ѣж проводишъ на благочестивѣ, цѣломѣдрѣж Мариѣж, сестрѣж Юрдановѣж, за да ѣж подуши, и тя ште стане непразна. Господѣ направилѣ тѣй, както му казалѣ дяволѣтъ, и проводилѣ съ ангела Гавраила<sup>107</sup> босилиавѣтѣж киткѣ на цѣломѣдреннѣтѣж Мариѣж, който ѣ казалѣ: „носѣж ти отъ Бога дарбѣж отъ хубаво цвѣтѣ киткѣ; подуши ѣж, че да видишъ, какво хубаво мериши!“ Тя зела киткѣтѣж и ѣж помирисала. Слѣдѣ два три дена Мариѣ станѣла лѣжфуска.<sup>108</sup>

Веднѣшъ трѣгнѣла Мариѣ заѣедно съ брата си Юрдана да иде въ черковѣж, и като приближили до цѣрковѣтѣж, Юрдану му румнѣло, какво ще му се смѣжтѣ хората, като върви съ сестра си, тѣй като тя още е мома, а е лѣжфуска, и той ѣ казалѣ: „Почакай, сестро, тукѣ малко: азѣ ще се върнѣж до дома, и сега ще додѣж пакѣ.“ Отишѣлѣ дома, възсѣднѣлѣ конѣ си и зелѣ си сулица въ рѣжа, па като пристигнѣлѣ до сестра си Мариѣ, мушнѣлѣ ѣж съ сулицата надѣж мамѣтѣж. Тя му уловила съ рѣжа сулицата, измѣкнала ѣж изѣ грѣдитѣ си и му казала: „Почакай, братко, да ти утриѣж сулицата, за да не та набедѣжтѣ хората, че си ме ти мушнѣлѣ“, и съ скута на дрѣхата си ѣж утрила отъ кръвѣта.

Юрданѣ забѣгнѣлѣ тогава, а отъ раната Мариѣйна, що се откри надѣж мамата ѣ отъ сулицата на брата ѣ, роди се Исусѣ Христосѣ по Духѣ Божи, а Мариѣ си останѣж пакѣ цѣломѣдренна.<sup>109</sup>

Като чулѣ Господѣ, че се родилѣ Исусѣ Христосѣ, порѣчалѣ подирѣж 33 годинѣ да го кръстѣжтѣ.

Юрданѣ забѣгнѣлѣ въ далечни страни, и подирѣж много врѣме, като чулѣ отъ хората, какво чудо Божиѣво станѣло съ сестра му Мариѣ, завърнѣлѣ се дома и молилѣ сестра си да го прости. Тя му казала: „Като се познавашѣ, че си сгрѣшилѣ, отрѣжи си рѣжката, съ която ме прободѣ, – тогасѣ ще те простѣж.“ Той си отрѣзалѣ рѣжката, за това се и посветилѣ.

<sup>106</sup> *Ocimum basilicum*.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Luke 1:26–39; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A165.2.3 (Angels as God’s messengers).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A112.7.4 (God born after prematurely short pregnancy).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A112.7 (God born from peculiar part of parent’s body).

Исусъ Христосъ застѣпалъ мѣстото на Бога и казалъ діаволу: „Азъ ще ти отнема умрѣлитѣ хора, за да станѣтъ сичкитѣ мои.” – „Какъ ще ги отнемешъ” – отговорилъ му діавола – „когато азъ имамъ сговоръ съ баща ти, живитѣ да сѣ негови, а умрѣлитѣ мои.” – „Ти имашъ сговоръ за това съ баща ми, а не съ мене” – казалъ му Исусъ.

Діаволътъ нѣмало какво да стори – самъ се излѣгалъ.

И тъй се развалило вече съвсѣмъ другарството на Бога съ діавола, което другарство траіало по между имъ осемстотинѣ хиляди години отъ сътворението на свѣта до ражданието Исусъ-Христово.

Като му отнелъ Христосъ умрѣлити хора діаволътъ тогава наговорилъ пакъ Евреити, да не го вѣрвѣтъ въ ништо. Евреити послушали діаволътъ и зели да търсѣтъ Христа да го убиѣтъ. Като не могли да го намѣрѣтъ, заштото го не познавали, подканили едного отъ неговити служители – Юдѣ, да имъ го прѣдаде.<sup>110</sup> Юда имъ казалъ: додѣти іеди на коіе-си мѣсто съ мене, дѣто ште бѣде и Христосъ, и азъ штѣ земѣ да черпѣ съ вино апостолити заіедно съ него, штѣ сѣ искашлѣ, и обѣрѣжъ кѣдѣ васъ: вий ште познаіете, че това е Христосъ, пуснѣте са, та го уловѣте.<sup>111</sup>

Юда прѣдалъ Христа, но знаіалъ, какво той ште въскрѣсне; за това отишѣлъ та се обѣсилъ,<sup>112</sup> че като доде Христосъ да избави изъ адѣтъ мрѣвити,<sup>113</sup> съ тѣхъ заіедно и него да избави. Но додѣ Юда се обѣсилъ и отишѣлъ въ пѣклото, Христосъ въскрѣснѣлъ и избавилъ умрѣлити изъ него, а Юда не достигнѣлъ, – и тъй той си останѣлъ тамъ въ пѣклото.

### **God and the Devil Create the World Amicably but then Fall Out**

Initially, there were neither Earth nor people. Water was everywhere. There were only the Lord and the Devil, who at that time lived together.

Once the Lord said to the Devil, “Let’s make Earth and people.”

“Let’s do it”, replied the Devil, “but from where shall we take the soil?”

“Under the water is soil,” said the Lord. “Go there and fetch some.”

“Fine”, replied the Devil.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Matthew* [10: 4; 26: 3-5, 14-16, 25]; *Acts* [1: 16].

<sup>111</sup> Cf. *Matthew* [26: 47-50]; for vernacular traditions, see Zowczak (2007, pp. 122–134, 142).

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *Matthew* [27: 3-5]; *Acts* 1: 16-18; see also the discussion in Drzewiecka (2012).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. *The Gospel According to Nicodemus* (22: 2, 24, 25, 26, 27); see Starowieyski, ANT 1 (2) (Starowieyski, 2003, pp. 660–664).

“But before you go down”, the Lord told the Devil, “You should say, ‘With God’s power and mine.’ Then you will reach the bottom and you will find soil.”

The Devil descended but the first time he did not recite, “With God’s power and mine” but “with my power and God’s power,” and he therefore did not reach the bottom {of the primordial waters}. On the second occasion he did the same and again did not reach the bottom {of the primordial waters}. On the third time, he – at long last – said, “With God’s power and with mine”. And then he reached the bottom {of the primordial waters} and scratched some soil with his nails. The Lord put this soil on the water and a small Earth appeared.

Having seen that, the Devil thought of the following treachery: he invited the Lord to sleep so that when the Lord fell asleep, he would push Him into the water so that he {the Devil} would remain alone and be glorified as if he {single-handedly} had fashioned the Earth. The Lord was aware of this {plot} but nevertheless lay down and pretended to be asleep.

Then the Devil got up, took the Lord in his arms and began walking towards the water in order to throw Him in, but as he was walking towards the water {carrying Him}, the Earth was growing {below them}. When he did not reach the water, {the Devil} turned away to another direction, {still walking with God in his arms}, but again he did not reach the water. Then he turned to yet another direction, and when again he could not reach the water, he placed the Lord on the Earth and lay down as well {next to Him}. When he had slept a bit, it occurred to him that one more direction remained – the fourth one. He took the Lord and carried Him towards the water but again did not reach it. The Devil then woke up the Lord: “Wake up, Lord, so that we may bless the Earth! Look how big it grew while we slept!” The Lord then said, “When you carried Me in all four directions, in order to cast Me into the water, you made the sign of a cross with Me and I blessed the Earth.”

The Devil became angry because of this, abandoned the Lord and ran away from Him.

When the Lord remained by Himself and the Earth grew so much that the sun could not cover it, He then created angels in {His} spirit, and sent an angelic warrior to summon the Devil and to ask him what to do, so that the Earth would stop growing. At that time the Devil had created the goat and while coming towards the Lord, he mounted the billygoat, for which he had made a bridal from leeks. Since then until now goats have beards. Having seen the Devil riding the billygoat, the angels laughed at him and he got angry and turned back. The Lord



straight away created the bee and told it, "Go quickly, land on the Devil's shoulder, listen to what he says and come back to tell Me." The bee went, landed on the Devil's shoulder while he was talking to himself, "Blimey, the Lord is so silly! It does not occur to Him to take a rod and make with it a cross in all four directions and say, 'Enough, Earth!' Instead, He is wondering what to do." Having heard this, the bee buzzed and flew off his shoulder. The Devil turned, saw it and said, "May the one who sent you eat your {excrement}!". When the bee came back to the Lord, it reported what the Devil had said {and repeated his words}, "Blimey, the Lord is so silly! It did not occur to him to take a rod and make with it a cross on Earth in all four directions and say, 'Enough, Earth!' Instead, He is wondering what to do." "But about me," uttered the bee, "he said, 'May the one who sent you eat your {excrement}!'".

The Lord did this and the Earth stopped growing. He said to the bee, "May there be nothing sweeter than your {excrement}."

After that, the Lord made man from clay, from which many people multiplied on Earth. Yet when they began to die, the Lord invited the Devil to live together. The Devil agreed under the following condition: living people would be the Lord's and the dead would be his. The Lord agreed with that, but in order for humans not to die in a short span of time, He arranged that they live {between} 200 and 300 years. After a considerable time {had passed}, when the Lord saw that the dead had become more numerous than the living and the Devil had more people than He had, He wished to undo the contract with {the Devil}, but did not know how. He sought advice on this matter from some of His people – such as Abraham, Moses, and Joseph; He also asked the angels about this, but no one could tell Him how to annul the contract. They began questioning the Devil about this and once one of the Lord's people posed the question to him: "Since you and the Lord have a contract according to which the living are to be His and the dead yours, can the Lord now annul this contract?" "The Lord cannot do it on His own," answered the Devil, "but His Son will be able to do it, if only He can make a Son to be born of His own Spirit, but unlike the manner of other people being born."

When this was told to the Lord, He began pondering to Himself, "How can it be possible for My Son to be born with only My Spirit, before the entire world?" He thought and thought but could not figure it out. This is why He Himself once asked the Devil, "How can I do it, so that a Son is born from My Spirit only?" "It is rather easy," replied the Devil, "make a nosegay from the flower of basil, put it into Your bosom and sleep overnight with it, thinking

that You wish for a Son to be born from God's Spirit, and as soon as You wake up You should send it {i.e. the nosegay} to the pious chaste Mary, the sister of Jordan, so that she may smell it and become pregnant."

The Lord did as the Devil suggested and sent to the chaste Mary the basil-nosegay via the Archangel Gabriel, who said to her, "I am bringing you as a gift from God, a beautiful nosegay of flowers. Smell it so that you may see how beautiful is its scent." She took the nosegay and smelled it. After two or three days Mary was ready to give birth.

Mary once set off with her brother Jordan to go to church and when they approached the church, it occurred to Jordan that people would laugh at him, since he was accompanying his maiden sister who was pregnant. He said to her, "Wait here for a while, my sister. I will go home and return soon." He went home, mounted his horse, took his lance in his hand, and when he approached his sister Mary, he pierced her with his lance above her breast. She grasped his lance in her hand, removed it from her breast and said, "Wait for a while, my brother, let me clean your lance, so that people may not accuse you of stabbing me." She cleansed it from blood with the lap of her garment. Then Jordan fled; and Jesus Christ was born in God's spirit from Mary's wound, which was opened above her breast by her brother's lance, while she remained chaste.

When the Lord heard that Jesus was born, He ordered that He be baptised after 33 years. Jordan fled to distant lands and after a long time had passed, having heard from people about the divine miracle involving his sister Mary, he returned home and begged her for forgiveness. She told him, "Since you acknowledge that you committed a sin, cut off your own hand with which you stabbed me, and then I will forgive you." He cut off his hand and became a saint.

Jesus Christ took over the place of God {the Father} and said to the Devil, "I am going to take the dead from you so that they all become Mine." The Devil answered Him, "How are You going to deprive me of them, since I and Your Father have a contract according to which the living belong to Him and the dead to me." Jesus replied to him, "You have an agreement with My Father about this but not with Me." There was nothing that the Devil could do. It appeared that he had tricked himself.

This is how the friendship between God and the Devil completely dissipated. This friendship lasted for 800,000 years from the creation of the world, until the birth of Jesus Christ.

When Jesus took the dead away from him, the Devil persuaded the Jews not to believe in anything {He advocated}. Jews obeyed the Devil and began searching for Jesus, to kill Him. When they could not find Him because they did not know what He looked like, they inquired of one of His subordinates, Judah, to betray Him to them. Judah said to them, “Come to such-and-such a place with me, where Jesus will also be. I will begin giving out wine for the apostles and for Him, and I will cough {when I approach Him}, and then I will turn to you. Thus you will recognise that this is Jesus. Run and catch Him.” Judah betrayed Jesus, but he knew that He would be resurrected, which is why he went and hanged himself, so that when Jesus would come to save the dead from Hell, he would be saved together with them. But while Judah hanged himself and went to Hell, Jesus was resurrected; He saved the dead from Hell before Judah arrived there, which is why he remained in Torment.

### Part 3:

## CONTEMPORARY POETRY

Poem from Pencho Slaveykov’s anthology “On the Island of the Blessed”  
[“На Острова на блажените”(Славейков, 2001–2002)]

### **Как Господ Бог даде воля да стане земя и какво подир това стори Сатанаил**

(Богомилска легенда)

Огледа Бог в тъмата своя лик  
и в светлина тъмата се превърна –  
и поглед впи, и с погледа си той  
вселената от край до край обгърна.

И погледа му нийде се не спре,  
и върна се, отдето бе излязъл –  
тогаз пред него спре Сатанаил,  
во погледа скръбта му забелязъл.

И рече му с усмивка: „Няма де  
да спре твореца, – уморено чело  
да сложи, да отдъхне! Сътвори твърд.  
И това да бъде Твое дело.

Небитие створи за битие  
и утвърди на него Свойта воля.  
Твърд сътвори – и завърши това,  
що е в душа Ти свършено отколя.”

Сатанаилу во словата Бог  
чу правдата на Своето желание,  
чу ясността на смътний си купнеж,  
и рече: „Нека, както казваш, стане!

Слез в бездната на тъмното море,  
и там земи, от кърмленото виме  
на вечността, мая за земна твърд –  
слез, и земи от нея – в Мое име.”

Уста в усмивка сви Сатанаил,  
и в бездната се хвърли той и втъна...  
И дългъ беше неговия път –  
и нищо го во пътя му не спъна.

Все по-дълбоко той, – и вечността  
пò на дълбоко все пред него слягва  
и вимето ÿ не достигна той,  
макар стотина пъти да посягва.

Не стига той което стигнал би,  
но в името на Всетвореца само.  
И върна се. И се опита пак, –  
и върна се, нестигнал пак до тамо.

И трети път се спусна – тоя път  
не в свое – в име Божие посегна;  
и с нокътя на пръста си мая  
на вечността от вимето отчекна.<sup>114</sup>

И с нея той пред Бога се яви,  
и Бог я взе и сложи на дланта си,

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<sup>114</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A 811 (Earth brought up from bottom of primeval water), A 812.1 (Devil as earth diver), Ю. Березкин, *Классификация фольклорных мотивов* (Березкин, 2013): С 06 (Ныряльщик).

и с слюнката на Своите уста  
маята твърда за твърдата разкваси.

И тури я на тъмното море  
върху вълните вече умирени,  
благослови – и благослова в миг  
постла земята со килим зелени.<sup>115</sup>

И както беше уморен – и Той  
като творците земни, слаби хора,  
в творението вложи Свойта мощ,  
в творението сети и умора, –

и седна Той. И сън Го надделя,  
сън на купнежи и на будно бдене –  
сън на творец все носящ во душа  
недотворено своето творене:

когато е душата насаме  
и в тишина изпълнена с тревога –  
когато на преходност вечността  
самовещай таинствена и строга:

и образи, движения, мечти,  
извън от нас или во нас самите,  
се отразяват като бръз полет  
от чайка на морето в глъбините...

Сатанаил, извардил миг, сега  
над Господа полека се изправи  
и дигна Го – към тъмното море  
той с бързи крачки с него се отпрати.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A831.1. (Creator of earth), A141.4 (God lays foundations of earth).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index* (Thompson, 1955–1958): A63.2. (Devil plans to drown God at time of creation), Ю. Березкин, Классификация фольклорных мотивов (Березкин, 2013): В 03С (Попытка утопить Бога. Создав сушу, Создатель ложится отдохнуть. Антагонист пытается его утопить, тащит к краю земли. От этого земля расширяется, антагонист не в силах достичь ее края).

„Небдящ творец – над него гибел бди” –  
пошепна той – „Това му е награда!  
Твореца е творец за да твори,  
Сатанаил – твореното да влада!”

Понесе Го на север – и на юг  
повърна се и полетя веднага...  
Но пак, и там: земята все расте  
пред стъпките му – и морето бяга.

И връща се на изток – все това:  
морето бяга и расте земята,  
обърна се на запад – все това...  
И болка сви и стегна му душата.

Като преди, когато за мая  
на вечността от вимето да земе –  
от него бяга вечност и море,  
като че той на грях да носи бреме.

И спре. И сложи Бога. И се с пръст  
той до ръката Божия досегна:  
„Стани и виж! Порасна земна твърд,  
Ти от когато на почивка легна.

Порасна, – още все расте,  
и край неискан негли и от Теб ще земе...  
Стани! И Свойта воля приложи –  
запри я още докато е време!”

Изгледа Бог лукавият и тъй  
продума: „В сън когато Сатаната  
Ме носеше на север и на юг,  
на изток и на запад: над земята

направи кръст – с Мой кръст благослови  
живота ѝ, и с вечността сроди го,  
и кръста – кръст на нейния живот –  
ще да превие теб под вечно иго.

Направи го за Моя гибел ти,  
но себе си на тоя кръст разпъна...  
От Мен да се избавиш, в Моя кръст  
ти своята лукава воля спъна.

Аз в хаоса отивам да творя,  
привързал теб на кръста на земята,  
другар на тоя, който ще роди  
тя да изпълни волята ми свята:

Другар на тоя, който се зачна  
там, дето твойта с Мойта сянка смеси,  
когато Ме за гибел дигна ти  
и към морето на ръце понесе.

Не с Мен, а с него сила ти мери,  
на тая твърд родения – човека,  
той нека е проклятие за теб  
во век веков и до скончане века!”

Усмихнат се изви Сатанаил:  
„Да, с дар желан твореца ме дарява.  
И Твоя кръст и моя нов другар,  
не моя гибел: те са моя слава.

Ще мръкне Твоя ден. И уморен  
от въплъщение и превъплъщение —  
ще пожалиш, че даде чест такваз,  
нерада чест, на Своето творене.

И в негов образ Ти ще се родиш,  
да го спасиш – когото сам отвъргна...  
Но даденото с първа воля Ти  
ще можеш ли от моя власт изтъргна?

На Твоя кръст тогаз ще Те разпна:  
и Твойта воля би ще во човека –  
на Теб за смърт, на мене за живот  
во век веков и нескончане века.”

И с бесен смях изви Сатанаил  
и се изгуби татък из тъмата...  
И дълго с поглед Господ го следи,  
прозрял на думите му правотата.

**How God willed the Earth to come to be and  
what did *Satanail* do after that?**

(A Legend of the Bogomils)

God gazed at His visage reflected in darkness  
And darkness then turned into light;  
He stared at it – and His vision  
Embraced the World from end-to-end.

His gaze halted nowhere  
But returned to where it issued forth.  
Then *Satanail* stopped in front of Him,  
Having spotted sadness in His eyes.

Smiling, he told Him, “There is nowhere  
For the Creator to stop and rest His weary head,  
In order to relax. Create a firmament  
And may this be Your feat.

Create the immaterial as matter,  
And assign to it the power of Your will.  
Create the firmament, and finish  
What was composed in your soul ages ago.”

In *Satanail*'s words God  
Heard the truth of His own desire,  
He heard the clarity of His own yearning,  
And uttered, “May it be as you have said.

Go to the abyss of the dark sea  
And take from the nursing udder  
Of Eternity yeast for the earthly firmament.  
Descend and fetch it in My name.”



With his mouth in a crooked smile,  
*Satanail* sprang up and dived into the abyss...  
His journey was long  
But nothing impeded the way.

He was going deeper and deeper, yet Eternity  
Was sliding deeper and deeper away from him,  
And he could not reach its udder,  
Although he was stretching out for it hundreds  
of times.

He did not grasp that which he could have  
Only attained in the name of the Creator,  
And he returned and tried again,  
And again came back without reaching it.

For the third time he descended, but this time  
He reached it, not in his own name but in God's name,  
And he grasped with his fingernail the yeast  
Issuing from the udder of Eternity.

And he appeared in front of God with it,  
And God took this yeast in his palm  
And with His mouth's saliva  
He fermented it for the firmament.

He placed it on the dark sea,  
On the already tamed waves,  
And His blessing suddenly  
Covered the earth in a green carpet.

And as He was tired, since He –  
Like earthly creators, weak human beings  
Invested into creation His strength  
And through creation felt weariness.

He sat down and sleep overcame Him,  
A sleep of dreams and waking vigil, —  
A dream of a Creator eternally bearing  
His unfinished creations in His soul:

When the soul is on its own,  
And in silence filled with angst,—  
When Eternity is transient,  
Self-professing, mystical, and drastic,  
  
And images and movements and dreams,  
Outside or inside of us, produce  
Reflections, as does the quick flight  
Of a seagull within the abyss of the sea...

Finding the right moment, *Satanail*  
Slowly rose and stood above God,  
Lifting Him and with quick steps  
Carried him to the dark sea.

“Peril keeps a vigil over the unvigilant Creator”, he  
Whispered. “This is His reward!  
The Creator is there to create,  
*Satanail* is there to have power over the created.”

He took Him to the North and to the South  
And returned, and flew at once...  
Yet then and there again the earth was expanding  
Under his feet and the sea was receding.

Turned he to the East and again  
The sea was receding and the earth was expanding.  
Turned he to the West and it happened again...  
And an ache pained him and grasped his soul.

And as before when he went to fetch yeast  
From the udder of Eternity,  
Both Eternity and the sea withdrew,  
As if he was carrying the burden of sin.

And he stopped and put God down. With his finger he  
Touched God’s hand.  
“Get up and look! The earthly firmament has grown  
while You lay down to rest!

It has grown and continues to grow,  
It may cause Your unwanted end...  
Get up, apply your will –  
And stop it in time!”

God looked at the Cunning one  
And spoke as follows, “When in My dream Satan  
Was carrying Me to the North and the South,  
To the East and to the West, above the earth,

He made a cross – and with My Cross he blessed  
Its life and made it kin to Eternity.  
The cross – the Cross of its life –  
Will become your yoke and make you bend.

You did this for My peril,  
But instead you crucify yourself on this Cross...  
By trying to dispose of Me, My Cross  
Tripped up your cunning will.

I am going to craft creation amidst the chaos,  
While leaving you harnessed on the Cross on earth,  
As a friend to whom *she* gives birth,  
So that My holy will is fulfilled.

A friend to the one conceived  
Where your shadow was mixed with Mine,  
When you took to carry Me towards My peril,  
In your arms towards the sea.

You will wrestle, not with Me, but with him,  
With man born on this firmament,  
May he be your curse,  
Forever and ever, until the end of days!”

Smiling, *Satanail* turned to Him,  
“Yes, the Creator offered me the wished-for gift,  
And Your Cross and my new friend  
Will be my glory but not my peril.

Your day will darken and, exhausted  
 From incarnation and reincarnation,  
 You will feel sorry that You gave such honour,  
 Such a sad honour – to Your creation.

You will be born in his image,  
 To save the one whom You Yourself denied...  
 But what You offered me with Your first wish:  
 Would You be able to remove it from my power?

I will crucify You on the Cross  
 And Your will shall be among man,  
 For You – the dead, and for me – the living,  
 Forever and ever until the end of days.”

And with demonic laughter, Satan twisted  
 And disappeared somewhere into darkness.  
 And the Lord’s gaze followed him,  
 Having seen the truth in his words.

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## Kosmogonie i mitopoetyki na Bałkanach i nie tylko

W artykule zostały porównane trzy typy narracji zawierających wątki kosmogoniczne i eschatologiczne, które funkcjonują w słowiańskiej i bałkańskiej tradycji ustnej, literaturze parabiblijnej oraz poezji doby modernizmu. Przedmiotem uwagi stała się grupa motywów poświadczonych w narracji o stworzeniu, znanej z *Legandy o Morzu Tyberiackim*. Analizom poddane zostały dwie wersje: południowosłowiańska, odkryta w 1845 roku przez W. Grigorowicza w Monastyrze w Slepçe, oraz ruska – z XVIII wieku, znajdująca się w kodeksie MS № 21.11.3 (fols. 3a–5b), przechowywanym w Oddziale Rękopisów Biblioteki Akademii Nauk w Sankt Petersburgu – skomponowana najprawdopodobniej w środowisku staroobrzędowców (rękopis ten jest tu publikowany po raz pierwszy). Następnie przeprowadzona została analiza odpowiedników folklorystycznych apokryficznej *Legandy o Morzu Tyberiackim*, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem narracji ustnych funkcjonujących w bułgarskiej diasporze w Besarabii (*Bóg i Diabeł tworzą świat w przyjaźni ale potem stają się wrogami*). Na końcu został poddany interpretacji poemat z XX wieku autorstwa bułgarskiego modernisty Penczo Sławejkova [Пенчо Славейков] z antologii *Na wyspie błogosławionych* [На острова на блажените]; poemat ten, zatytułowany *Jak Bóg zezwolił, aby powstała ziemia i co potem uczynił Satanael?*, został nazwany przez samego autora „legendą Bogomiłów”, i skompilowany w jego tekstach z dualistycznymi motywami występującymi w chrześcijaństwie tego regionu, a rozpoznawanymi jako haeresis bulgarica.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Biblia ludowa; antropologia religii; chrześcijaństwo wernakularne; mity stworzenia; słowiańskie i bałkańskie kosmogonie; dualizm; bogomilizm; tradycja ustna; literatura apokryficzna; poezja bułgarska; Wiktor Grigorowicz; Michaił Dragomanow; Penczo Sławejkow

## **Cosmogonies and Mythopoesis in the Balkans and Beyond**

Compared and contrasted in this article are three different types of accounts dealing with the cosmogonic and eschatological themes employed in Slavonic and Balkan oral tradition, para-Biblical literature and modern poetry. The focus of analysis is the cluster of motifs attested in the creation narrative of the apocryphal *Legend of the Sea of Tiberias*. Two versions are examined: the South-Slavonic one discovered in 1845 by V. Grigorovich in the Monastery of Slepche, and the 18<sup>th</sup> century Russian account from MS № 21.11.3 (fols. 3a–5b) from the Archaeographic Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences [Библиотека Академии наук, Рукописный отдел] in St. Petersburg, composed most probably by an Old Believer; this manuscript is published here for the first time. Folklore counterparts of the apocryphal *Legend of the Sea of Tiberias* are treated, with special emphasis on the oral narratives from the Bulgarian diaspora in Bessarabia (*God and the Devil Create the World Amicably but then Fall Out*). Finally, a poem of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Bulgarian intellectual Pencho Slaveykov [Пенчо Славейков] from his anthology “On the Island of the Blessed” is discussed; the poem, entitled *How God willed the Earth to come to be and what did Satanail do after that?* was designated by Slaveykov himself as “a legend of the Bogomils”, and blended within his lyrics are dualistic themes and motifs attested in vernacular Christianity, with the hallmark of *Haeresis Bulgarica*.

**Keywords:** the Folk Bible; anthropology of religion; vernacular Christianity; creation myths; Slavonic and Balkan cosmogonies; dualism; Bogomilism; oral tradition; apocryphal literature; modern Bulgarian poetry; Viktor Grigorovich; Mikhail Dragomanov; Pencho Slaveykov

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