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2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch:
Text and Context

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For Mark

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Preface

The present study is a result of regular research visits to the Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, as part of a broader project, 'Unholy Scriptures: Apocryphal Heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*'. This Preprint also reflects my current courses taught within the Topoi Excellence Cluster at the Freie Universität, Berlin, and I am grateful to my students for feedback and uncomfortable questions.

The interpretation of the text translated here is based upon a paper I read at the Fifth Enoch Seminar, organised by G. Boccaccini and held in Naples, 14-18 June, 2009; the Seminar was devoted to 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*). I noticed that the seminar papers were based almost entirely upon English translation, with few scholars being able to read the original Slavonic text, and I therefore decided to offer a new translation based upon a version of the apocryphon published in 1899 by M. Sokolov, but never translated into English. This is a 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГИ СЪН^x ТАИНЫ ЕНОХОВ^в] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323), which perished in a fire during the Second World War. The text only survives in Sokolov's edition.

The text of 2 *Enoch* has particular interest for *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* since it contains important data concerning astronomy and calendrical knowledge, and my hope is to make this available to colleagues who do not work on Slavonic texts.

As always, I am grateful for the support of MPIWG colleagues, and in particular Peter Damerow, Jürgen Renn, Urs Schoepflin, Ellen Garske, and Lindy Divarci. I would also like to thank Klaus Geus, Cale Johnson, Sacha Stern, and Ilana Wartenberg, who were consulted regarding the astronomy. James Dingley read the translation at an early stage. Tzveta Pokrovska is responsible for the chart.

Although originally this work was intended to appear in the proceedings of the Fifth Enoch Seminar, it is now planned to be published by Brill in my forthcoming book *Beyond the Bible*.

1. The Enochic chronotope

The present study explores the divergent spectrum of perceptions¹ of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in *Slavia Orthodoxa*.² It is an attempt to provide some insights into 'pseudepigraphical embroidery of the biblical text',³ and examine the socio-cultural imprint — and indeed impact — which the 'Enoch Epos' exercised upon Christian intellectual milieu of the Slavonic realm of the Byzantine Commonwealth.⁴

¹ In our analysis we follow M. Stone's seminal ideas concerning the significance of vernacular 'reception-history' of Old Testament apocrypha and pseudepigrapha within the wider contexts of 'biblicized' native traditions [2009: 631-632, 635-637].

²The historiographic formula *Slavia Orthodoxa*, together with its counterpart *Slavia Romana* (also referred to as *Slavia Catholica*), was introduced by Picchio [1984]; the terms reflect the 'division of historical Slavdom into two main areas belonging to the jurisdiction of the Eastern Orthodox Churches (*Slavia Orthodoxa*) and to that of the Roman Church (*Slavia Romana*)' [*ibid.*: 1]. Following Picchio's methodology, I approach the institutionalised partition of Central and Eastern Europe between Rome and Constantinople as a *sui generis* linguistic phenomenon; Latin was to function as the *lingua sacra* in *Slavia Romana*, while in *Slavia Orthodoxa* this role was played by Old Church Slavonic. I further argue that, along with *Slavia Romana* and *Slavia Orthodoxa*, another set of terms, reflecting the confessional identity of 'other' religious communities (be it Christian, Jewish, or Muslim) should be taken into consideration, with special emphasis on their respective *linguae sacrae*; hence my argument for *Slavia Evangelica*, *Slavia Judaica* and *Slavia Islamica* [Badalanova 1994; 2001; 2002]. The linguistic differentiation between *Slavia Romana* and *Slavia Orthodoxa* (i.e. Latin versus Old Church Slavonic) had a major impact upon future cleavage between the respective cultural traditions: 'within each of these two main areas of civilisation, the self-identification of the Slavs with certain cultural and linguistic systems was directly affected by the ideological and linguistic models that the ecclesiastical organisations introduced into their spiritual patrimony' [Picchio [1984: 3]; see also Picchio and Goldblatt [2008: 66-85]. The fact that the 'spiritual patrimony' of *Slavia Orthodoxa* was anchored by Old Church Slavonic explains why *2 Enoch* was not attested in apocryphal heritage of *Slavia Romana* and remained a specific product of *Slavia Orthodoxa* exclusively. However, folklore evidence indicates that 'the Enoch Epos' penetrated the domain of vernacular oral tradition of Christian communities in zones of mixed or overlapping influence between *Slavia Orthodoxa* and *Slavia Romana*, such as the Greco-Catholics (also known as Catholics of Byzantine rite) in the Carpathian region (i.e. Ruthenians, or Rysyns). Volodymyr Hnatiuk, for instance, published two fragments of folk spiritual chants (*Hymns to Archangel Michael*) mentioning the Ascent of Enoch to Heaven; the songs emphasise that it was Archangel Michael himself who took the visionary to Paradise:

Михаиле! Кто яко Богъ? Велми возопѣль ес, // Гды с небеса Луцѣпера под ноги струтилъ естъ. // Восхотѣл бо онъ проклятый равен быти Богу, // Той падаетъ с димономъ юж тебѣ под ноги. // Свою гордост по неволи мусѣль нахилити, // Гды казанно му от престола до аду вступити. // Идеже бо имя твое славимо биваетъ // Сатанаиль съ димономъ отгуду утѣкаетъ. // [...] // Ты Еноха принесъ еси южъ давно до раю, // Тѣм же и ми чудесъ твихъ славу отсылаймо.

The other fragment published by Hnatiuk offers a version similar to the above; see *idem.* [1985: 62-64, texts 47 and 48].

³ See Stone [2009: 631].

⁴ On the reception-history of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)*, see Popov [1880: 67, 75-83], Sokolov [1905: 395-97, 399-402, 1910:1-167], Ivanov [1925:165-167, 186-191], Turdeanu [1950: 181-187], Vaillant [1952: i-xxvi], Meshcherskii [1964: 91-108], Greenfield and Stone [1979: 98-99], Andersen [1983: 91-100], Pennington [1984: 321-328], Stone [2000: 45-8; 2008: 635-637], Böttrich [1995; 1996], Alexander [1998:101-04, 116-17], Anderson [2000: 99-102], Nickelsburg

The first reference to the Enochic apocryphal corpus within the context of *Slavia Orthodoxa* is found in *Symeon's Florilegium*, the earliest extant copy of which, *Sviatoslav's Miscellany*, comes from 1073.⁵ The *Florilegium* was compiled in Bulgaria during the reign of the Symeon (893-927), on the basis of a Greek (Byzantine) protograph, and most probably was commissioned by the King himself. Being 'an encyclopaedia *sui generis*' [Dinekov 1991: 17], it was designed as a compendium containing articles from various spheres of medieval knowledge: Christian theology and ethics, along with ancient science and philosophy. The reference to Enoch is found at the very end of the MS (Fol. 254), in the section devoted to the *Index of Prohibited Books*, the authorship of which is attributed to Isidor of Pelusium (d. c. 450). In fact, *Enoch* is listed at its very top, coming in second position after *Vita Adae*:

ІЄЛНКОЖЕ СЪКРОВЪНЫХЪ • АДАМЪ • ВЪ • ІЄНОХЪ • ГЪ • МАЛЕХЪ • ДЪ • ПАТРЪАРСН • Ё • МОЛНТВА НОСНФОВА • С • ІЄЛДАД • ЗЪ • ЗАВѢТЬ МООУСННЪ • Н • ВЪСХОДЪ МООУСННН • Т • ПСАМОСН СОЛОМОНН • І • НЛНННО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ • ІА • НСАНННО ВНАДЪНННІЄ • ІВ • СОФОННННО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ • ІГ • ЗАХАРНННО ІАВЛЕННІЄ • Д • НІАКОВЛЕ ПОВЕСТЬ • ІЄ • ПЕТРОВО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ • ІС • ОБЪХОДН Н ОУЧЕННІА АПАСКА • НН • ВАРНАВЛЕ ПОСЫЛААННІЄ • ІТ • ДЪІАННІЄ ПАУЛЕ • К • ПАУЛОВО ОБАВЛЕННІЄ • КА • ОУЧЕННІЄ КАММЕНТОВО • КВ • НГНАТОВО ОУЧЕННІЄ • КГ • ПОЛОУКАРПОВО ОУЧЕННІЄ • КД • ЕУАГГЕЛНІЄ ОТЪ ВАРНАВЫ [Dinekov . *et al.* 1991: 701].

Still, the appearance of *Enoch* in the *Index of Prohibited Books* in *Symeon's Florilegium* cannot be considered as corroborative evidence proving beyond doubt that the actual apocryphon was in circulation in *Slavia Orthodoxa* at the time when

[2001: 75, 79-81, 99-100], Panajotov [2003: 279-283]; Orlov [2007: 19-35, 133-268]; Badalanova [2008: 162-3, 186-91, 231-35]; Khristova [2008].

There is an unusual feature of Sokolov's posthumous publication, edited by Speranskii, since the page numbering of the edition of the Monuments from 1910 was intended to represent a continuation of Sokolov's earlier publication from 1899. Hence the page numbers and table of contents of the 1910 volume reflect Sokolov's earlier edition of MS № 321 of the National Library in Belgrade (chosen by him as the primary witness to the longer recension) and the 17th cent. Barsovian MS (as a text representing the shorter recension); the edition of these two MSS ended on page 107. Speranskii's publication of the second part of the MSS edited by Sokolov (Chapter 'Тексты') therefore begins on page 109, rather than page 1. After Speranskii completes his edition of Sokolov's text-edition, he then adds a second part to this work, namely Sokolov's research notes (Chapter Изслѣдование), now beginning on page 1. For this reason, references to Sokolov's works may be confusing to the reader. Sokolov's 1899 edition also includes variants from an 18th century MS (pages 108ff.), which is not reflected in Speranskii's table of contents.

⁵ It was made in Kiev for the Russian Prince Sviatoslav (hence its designation). For a detailed discussion of *Symeon's Florilegium*, Dinekov *et al.* [1991, 1993] and Thompson [1993: 37-53.]

the *Florilegium* was compiled/copied. It can merely mean that the scribe simply followed the original Greek protograph of which the *Index of Prohibited Books* was already a part. However, on the basis of the appearance of *Enoch* in the Slavonic version of the *Index of Prohibited Books*, an argument can be put forward that by the time when its protograph was composed, a Greek recension of Enoch was also known to the copyist.

The same applies to the multiple, repetitive attestations of the stock phrase 'the books of Enoch' (var. 'the books of the righteous Enoch') in Slavonic recensions of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*;⁶ they may simply reflect the content of the Greek Vorlage. However, the systematic references in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to the 'books of Enoch', along with parallel attestations of some similar concepts (e.g. the idea of seven traits, or 'seven spirits' which were given to man at the Creation),⁷ indicate that these two apocrypha must have shared a common intellectual background. Indeed, both of them are listed in the Index of *Index of*

⁶ Thus in Chapter 5: 5-6 of *The Testament of Simeon* [Завѣтъ Семіоновъ], the following statement is made: 'I have seen it in the account (var. report, relation) in the books of Enoch that your sons together with you will be corrupted by fornication' [внѣдѣхъ оубо въ сказаньн кннгѣ ієноховѣ іако снве вашн с вамн въ блѡуженьн нстлѣють]; see Tikhonravov [1863: 100] and Porfir'ev [1877: 161]. Similar references can be found in *The Testament of Levi* [Завѣтъ Левгнн]: 'as it stands written in the book of the righteous Enoch' [бо рече въ кннгахъ ієноха праведнаго]; 'I understand from the writing of Enoch' [разѡумехъ ѿ писменн Енохова]; 'I understand from the book of Enoch' [оувѣдахъ в кннгахъ Еноховахъ]; see Tikhonravov [1863: 110-111] and Porfir'ev [1877: 169]. See also similar citations in *The Testament of Judah*: 'And I have also read in the books of the righteous Enoch about the evils you will commit in the last days' [оувнѣдѣхъ оубо ре^ѣ в кннгахъ ієноховахъ ієанко зла створнте в послѣднѣа днн; var. оувнѣдѣхъ бо рече въ кннгахъ Еноховахъ еанко зло сотворнте в послѣднѣа днн]; see Tikhonravov [1863: 115] and Porfir'ev [1877: 172]. Further parallel quotations can be found in *The Testament of Dan*: 'I have understood from the book of the righteous Enoch' [разѡумѣхъ бо во кннгахъ ієноха праведнаго; var. разѡумехъ бо во кннгахъ Еноха Праведнаго] (Tikhonravov [1863: 126] and Porfir'ev [1877: 181]), as well as in *The Testament of Benjamin*: 'I gather from the words of the righteous Enoch that you will give yourselves up to Sodomite practices' [разѡумѣхомъ же о словесн ієноха праведнаго съблюднтежеса ѡада моа блѡуженьн содомьска; var. разѡумехомъ же во словесн Еноха праведнаго соблюдетежесн ѡада моа блѡуженнн содомьска]; Porfir'ev [1877: 193].

However, in some cases, as in *The Testament of Asher* [Завѣтъ Ашрѡвъ], when the Slavonic text gives a reference to 'the books of the righteous Enoch' [Porfir'ev 1877: 187], this very reference may be missing from extant Greek versions; the latter case is most intriguing, as it suggests that either the Slavonic recensions used different Greek protographs, or that the text was changed in the process of translation and/or compilation.

Further on the relationship between Enoch and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which was part of the text of the *Palaea*), see Charles and Forbes [1913: 428-429], Higgins [1953: 321-336], Nickelsburg [2001: 96].

⁷ See the discussion below (footnote 229).

Prohibited Books in *Symeon's Florilegium*. Still, the question of chronological boundaries for their translation into Old Church Slavonic remains open.

A more solid piece of evidence towards establishing the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* comes from the much disputed text of *The Secret Book of the Bogomils (Liber Sancti Johannis)*.⁸ Although the link between *2 Enoch* and *The Secret Book* can be interpreted in various ways, there is one simple detail which remains unambiguous: the author of *The Secret Book* was definitely aware of the existence of the *2 Enoch*.⁹ Thus, according to the *Liber Sancti Johannis*, when the Devil raised 'his deputy' Enoch above the firmament and showed him his 'divine nature', he ordered that the scribe would be given pen and ink, so that he might sit down and write 67 (variant 76) books, which were to be brought to Earth and passed on to his sons; Enoch was to embark thereby on teaching his people how to conduct 'unrighteous forms of sacrifice and mysteries':

[Et interrogavi Dominum, dicens: usque quo regnabit Sathanas in hoc mundo super essentia hominum?]¹⁰ Et dixit mihi: Pater meus permisit ei regnare septem diebus, quae sunt septem saecula. Et interrogavi Dominum et dixi: quid erit in tempore hoc? Et dixit mihi: ex quo cecidit a gloria Patris Diabolus et suam gloriam noluit,¹¹ sedit super nubes et misit ministros suos angelos ignis urentes ad homines infra ab Adam usque ad Henoc [variant: Enoch], ministrum suum. Elevavit Henoc super firmamentum et ostendit deitatem suam, et praecepit ei dari calamum et atramentum, et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros. Et praecepit, ut adduceret eos in terram, et tradidit [possibly: traderet] eos filiis suis. Et

⁸ Although *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* survived only in Latin, its *Vorlage* must have been originally composed in Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian). It has two extant text-witnesses, found in two different MSS: the 12th century Vienna MS and the 14th century *Codex Carcassoniensis* (discovered in the Archives of the Inquisition in Carcassonne, France); see Thilo [1832: 884-896], Döllinger [1890: 85-92], as well as Sokolov's posthumous research notes [1910: 165-75], and Ivanov [1925: 65-87]. The fact that the Bogomils, like the Manichaeans, did not endorse the slaughtering of animals and/or consuming meat (hence their firm interdict of blood offerings) explains their hostility towards Enoch, who was believed to have taught his offspring the rites of animal sacrifices (e.g. his portrayal as 'the Devil's deputy' in the *Liber Sancti Johannis*). At the same time, because of their refusal to engage in animal slaughter, the Bogomils would have not used parchment as a material for writing; hence witnesses to their 'Secret Book' did not survive. Not only were their writings banned and proscribed (as a result the severe persecution of the adherents of the movement), but also the material on which they were copied was perishable.

⁹ See the discussion in Sokolov's research notes [1910: 148-151] and Ivanov [1925: 72, 188-191].

¹⁰ The text inside the brackets comes from the 12th century Vienna MSS.

¹¹ Ivanov, following Thilo [1832: 890], suggests *noluit* to be amended to *voluit* [Ivanov 1925: 80].

deposuit Henoc [variant: Enoch] libros in terram et tradidit eos filiis suis, et coepit eos docere facere formam sacrificiorum et mysteria injusta, et ita abscondebat regnum coelorum ante homines. Et dicebat eis: videte, quod ego sum Deus vester, et non praeter me alius Deus. Ideo misit me Pater meus in mundo, ut notum faciam hominibus, ut cognoscant malum ingenium Diaboli. Et tunc cum cognovisset, quod descendi de coelo in mundum, misit angelum, et accepit de tribus lignis [possibly: linguis] et dedit ea ad crucifigendum me Moïsi, quae [possibly: qui] nunc mihi servantur.¹² Sed ei hic nunc praenunciabat deitatem populo suo, et praecepit legem dari filiis Israël, et eduxit eum per siccum maris medium.¹³

And I [i.e. John the Evangelist] asked the Lord [Jesus Christ] saying, 'Until when will Satan [lit. Sathanas] rule over human beings in this world?' And He said to me, 'My Father allows him to rule for seven days, which is seven ages.' And I asked the Lord and said, 'What will happen in that time?' And He said to me, 'Since the Devil fell from the glory of the Father and desired his own glory, he sits above the clouds and sends his angelic deputies as burning fires to men, from Adam to his deputy Enoch [var. Henoch]. He raised Enoch above the firmament and showed him his divine nature, and he ordered that he [Enoch] would be given pen and ink, and sitting down he wrote sixty-seven books. And [the Devil] ordered him to bring them to earth and pass them on to his sons. And Enoch brought the books to earth and passed them on to his sons, and he began to teach them to perform unrighteous forms of sacrifice and mysteries, and thus the Kingdom of Heaven was hidden from men. And he [Satan] was saying to them, 'You see, I am your God and there is no other God besides me.' That is why My Father sent Me [i.e. Jesus] into the world so that I might tell people how to recognise the evil spirit of the Devil. When Satan learned that I had come down from heaven into the world, he sent an angel and he received three pieces of wood and gave them to Moses for My crucifixion, and they are being kept for Me even now. But now [Moses] was proclaiming his divinity to his people¹⁴ and [the angel] ordered him to give the laws to the sons of Israel, and he led them over dry land to the middle of the sea.¹⁵

The explicit statement expressed in the text of *Liber Sancti Johannis*, that Enoch was supposed to transmit knowledge about how to *perform sacrifices*, indicates that the compiler of *The Secret Book* was conscious of the content of *2 Enoch*; the fact that the earliest extant copy of *Liber Sancti Johannis* (i.e. Vienna MSS) comes from the

¹² See Thilo [1832: 891, footnote 7].

¹³ See Chapter 7 in the *Codex Carcassoniensis* according to Ivanov's edition [1925: 80-81], and Thilo [1832: 890-892].

¹⁴ This comment about the divinity of Moses may reflect a trend in Hellenistic literature to treat Moses as a miracle worker; see Johnson [2005].

¹⁵ The translation is provided by Butler [1986: 191].

12th century suggests that *2 Enoch* was translated into Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) no later. Besides, the inscription at the end of the *Codex Carcassoniensis* states that *Liber Sancti Johannis* was brought from Bulgaria to Concorezzo, near Milan, by Bishop Nazarius, the leader of the Cathar sect in Northern Italy. One of Nazarius' contemporaries clarifies the chronology by writing in 1230 that he had met Nazarius some 60 years earlier, hence in 1170.¹⁶ Therefore the year 1170 can be considered as *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch*.

The linguistic analysis of the text of *2 Enoch*, on the other hand, indicates that its Slavonic Vorlage may have been written originally in Glagolitic script, and only later converted to Cyrillic. Indicative in this respect is the shift between particular numbers in various recensions, and especially the alteration of six to five, due to the different numerical value of the letter E (*ecmь*) within the two scripts; while the numeral equivalent of the letter 'E' (**ECTЬ**) in Cyrillic alphabet is '5' (Ѹ), in Glagolitic the same letter has the numeral value of '6'. Thus, when taken to the western side of this Heaven, Enoch sees, according to some of the versions of the apocryphon, five large gates through which the sun sets; according to other versions, however, the number of these gates is six.¹⁷ This kind of discrepancy between various redactions suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period when the transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script took place. Lexicographic examination of the Enochic thesaurus supports this argument; the analysis of the vocabulary of 'heavenly cosmography' referring to 'Garden of Eden' / 'Paradise' / 'Heaven', for instance, shows that there is terminological fluctuation in the narrative. Different renditions of certain celestial toponyms are attested throughout the Enochic corpus, with **порода** and **рѧн** being employed concurrently. However, while **рѧн** tends to stretch its temporal dimensions up to the modern dialects, the use of the form

¹⁶ Cf. Reineriuys Sacchoni, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis* (published by Martène and Durand in the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorium*, 1773); see also the discussion in Sokolov [1910: 149-151] and Ivanov [1925: 66, footnote 1].

¹⁷ See the discussion below (footnote 146).

порода (= παράδεισος), with its earliest attestations in Glagolitic texts from the 10th-11th centuries, passes its peak in the 13th century and gradually becomes obsolete.¹⁸

One further point. In *Slavia Orthodoxa*, the concept of 'Enoch's Ascension' is not confined to the apocryphal writings only. It is first attested in *Codex Suprasliensis*, one of the earliest Cyrillic texts composed in Bulgaria in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. The reference to 'Enoch's having been raised up by God' is found in the *Menaion* for the month of March, in the text used during the liturgical service on the Day of the Holy Martyr St Artemius of Thessaloniki;¹⁹ thus on Fol. 232 (pagina b, lines 9-10), the following prayer to God is found: 'ГОСПОДН СЪПАСИ МА ТЫ БО [. . .] ВЪЗВОДА ВЪГОДЪНКА СВОЕГО ЕНОХА [...]' ('O God, save me, since [. . .] You were the One who elevated Your pious man Enoch [...]'). In the Septuagint, however, there is no stipulation suggesting any spatial dimension for Enoch's *translatio*; although there is a hint that he was 'taken up' (since it was God that he went to/with), in the canonical text it is not explicitly stated that he actually 'went up'. The intertextual clarification of this concept could have come either from apocryphal literature, or from ecclesiastical tradition (which, in fact, often drew heavily on apocryphal writings). One such source may have been the biblical exegete Saint Ephraem Syrus (Ephraem the Syrian). Translations of his heritage into Old Church Slavonic were made as early as the 10th century; thus a fragment of his *Paraenesis*²⁰ is found in the *Rila Glagolitic Folia* (composed in the 11th century Bulgaria). In the first of his *Rhythms on the Nativity*, for instance, he mentions Enoch as someone who 'mounted up in heaven to see Him'; and since references to Enoch's entrance into Paradise can be found in a number of the texts composed by Saint Ephraem Syrus, it can be argued that his patrimony was one of the sources of the raw material for 'the character of Enoch outside the *Book of Enoch*' (to paraphrase M. Stone's idea of 'Biblical characters outside the Bible'). Even Archbishop Gennadius of Novgorod (the first to compile Slavonic translations of Old Testament books at the end of the 15th century)

¹⁸ See the discussion below (footnote 118).

¹⁹ The Eastern Orthodox Church observes the memory of the Holy Martyr Saint Artemius of Thessaloniki on the 24th of March.

²⁰ See Goshev [1956]; Vaillant [1958; 279-286]; Lunt [1959: 16-37]; Bojkovsky [1984] and Kotseva [1992: 152-153].

refers to *Enoch* as to a truthful and venerable source.²¹ Furthermore, fragments of 2 *Enoch* were included in the *Great Menaion Reader* (Великия Минеи-Четъи) of the Metropolitan Macarius, the first edition of which was composed in 1541. Significantly, Enochic fragments were allocated to the end of the year, 31st of December.²²

An additional source for 'the character of Enoch outside the Book of Enoch' could have also been the apocryphal *Testament of Abraham* [13: 21-27],²³ the *Gospel of Nicodemus* [25],²⁴ or the erotapocritic tradition. Some versions of *The Discussion Between the Three Saints* indicate that Enoch was believed to have been placed on the Third Heaven (that is, in Paradise?), whereas the other six Old Testament Patriarchs were associated with the remaining 'Heavens'. Thus, according to one such source, *СНТЬ* (Seth) is on the First Heaven, on the Second is *АЗАРЬ* (Azariah), on the Third — *ЕНОВЬ* (Enoch), on the Fourth — *НОЕ* (Noah), on the Fifth — *АВРАМЬ* (Abraham), on the Sixth — *ИСАКЪ* (Isaac), and on the Seventh — *ИЯКОВЪ* (Jacob).²⁵ Furthermore there are apocryphal prayers against 'malevolent rain' in which 'the Holy Prophet Enoch' (along with Jeremiah, Daniel, John the Forerunner, and John the Theologian) is invoked as a protector of vineyards and fields, and intercessor on the behalf of the local Christian villages.²⁶

²¹ See the Epistle of the Archbishop Gennadius of Novgorod to the Archbishop Joasaph of Rostov; the text was first published by Popov [1880: 78-80]; see also the discussion in Sokolov [1910: 1, 118-119] and Thompson [1998: 651 f.].

²² Considering the fact that 2 *Enoch* was one of the most detailed sources of cosmogonic ideas, it is hardly surprising that it was associated calendrically with the end of the old and the beginning of the New Year; on the inclusion of fragments from Enoch in the *Chronograph* (and into the cosmogonic narratives in the *Palaea*), see Sokolov [1910: 2, 120, 161-162]. This detail will be analysed elsewhere.

²³ See the text in Tikhonravov [1863: 86]; see also the discussion in Sokolov's research notes [1910: 128-136].

²⁴ The apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* (which, in fact, was not mentioned in the Slavonic *Indices of Prohibited Books*) enjoyed immense popularity in *Slavia Orthodoxa*, see A. Vaillant [1968] and A. de Santos Otero [1981].

²⁵ See Nachtigall [1902: 324 (Questions Nos 4 and 5)].

²⁶ See the text in Kačanovskii [1881: 157]. In some healing magic prayers, Enoch is called upon as someone who can cure any kind of suffering and disease [Iudin 1997: 71]. On the other hand, in some spells and incantations the evil demon itself may be called 'Enah' (Енах); see the data presented by Kliaus [1997: 351] and Iudin [1997: 263].

The fact that Enoch's name became part of apocryphal prayers and magical onomasticon shows the popularity of his image in *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Another reflection of the influence of 2 *Enoch* is the notion of the 'living saint' in the Balkans, which views visionaries or ones having near-death experiences as 'living saints',²⁷ or prophets, who are then specifically associated with Enoch.²⁸ The persistence of such traditions indicates a continuous and unbroken cognizance of the story of Enoch within the religious imagination of the region, a phenomenon which merits further anthropological investigation.

²⁷ See for instance the case of Bona Velinova [Бона Велинова] who was believed to be a prophet [*пророчица*] and a living saint [*жива светица*]; furthermore she was considered to be one of the most prominent visionaries in Bulgaria in the first half of the 20th century. The results of my anthropological field-research on the popular cult of Bona Velinova were deposited in 1989 in the Archives of the Institute of Folklore at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Shelfmark АИФ–I No 72). Accounts of her visions (which can be regarded as vernacular counterparts of Enoch's *translatio*) appeared in a number of religious periodicals (such as *Гласът на Ангелската тръба*, *Утеха*, etc.), which were published by *The Orthodox Society for Religious Revival of the Bulgarian People* [*Православно св. общество за духовна обнова на българския народ*] (from 1922 to 1925), and subsequently (from 1925 to c. 1948) by its transformed offshoot, *The Good Samaritan Society* [*Общество "Добрия Самарянин"*].

²⁸ See the discussion in Badalanova [2008: 190-191].

2. Text witnesses of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch in Slavia Orthodoxa*: classification and taxonomy of sources²⁹

The most exhaustive palaeographic assessment of MSS containing *2 Enoch* remains that of the renowned Russian scholar A. I. Iatsimirskii, published in the turbulent 1921, four years after the Soviet Revolution. In his monumental *Bibliographical Survey of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature: Catalogue of Monuments (Old Testament Apocrypha)*,³⁰ Iatsimirskii devotes a special chapter to the Enochic corpus. There he lists the following witnesses:

- i. MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b-638b) from the Uvarov Collection, now in the State Historical Museum [ГИМ]. The MS is a 15th century Russian redaction copied from an earlier Bulgarian protograph.³¹
- ii. MS № 13.3.25 (fols. 93-125) from the Academy of Sciences Collection (St Petersburg), Bulgarian redaction, copied in the 16th century in Romania.³²
- iii. MS № 125 (fols. 308b-330) from the (then) Court Library Collection, Vienna (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek),³³ Serbian redaction copied in the 16th-17th century from an earlier Russian text.³⁴

²⁹ For a survey of Slavonic MSS of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)*, see Sokolov [1910], Iatsimirskii, [1921:81-8], Ivanov [1925: 165-166], Meshcherskii [1964: 93-94], Andersen [1983: 92], Pennington [1984: 326-327]. For text-editions of MSS, see Sokolov [1899; 1910]; Pypin [1862: 15-16]; Tikhonravov [1863: 19-23]; Porfir'ev [1877: 51-2]; Ivanov [1925: 167-180]. For translations of various recensions, see Morfill and Charles [1896]; Forbes and Charles [1913: 425-69]; Bonwetsch [1896; 1922]; Vaillant [1952]; Petkanova [1982: 49-63, 350-52]; Andersen [1983: 91-221]; Pennington [1984: 321-62]; de Santos Otero [1984: 147-202].

³⁰ See Iatsimirskii [1921: 81-8], but also Sokolov [1910: 10-122].

³¹ In his edition of the 16th-17th century Bulgarian recension of the text of *2 Enoch* (MS № 321 from the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade), Sokolov provides parallel readings from this text-witness [1899: 1-80]. The full text appears in the posthumous publication of his research notes [1910: 111-130]; see also his comments on the history of the discovery of the MS and its contents [*ibid.*: 9, 33-44]. Sokolov designates the text as 'the intermediate recension' ['промежуточная редакция'], a definition disputed by Bonwetsch [1922] and Vaillant [1952] who prefer to classify it as a primary witness to the text of 'the shorter version'. This edition forms the basis of the French translation of the MS by A. Vaillant [1952] and the English translation of the text by A. Pennington [1984].

³² Excerpts published by Sokolov [1910: 47-53]; this edition forms the basis of the English translation of the text of MS *J* produced by F. Andersen [1983: 102-212].

³³ Used by Sokolov as a parallel variant in his edition of the shorter recension [1899: 83-107] (see MS vii below); see also Sokolov's research notes [1910: 74-77].

³⁴ See Meshcherskii [1964: 94], Sokolov [1910: 77].

iv. MS № 321 (fols. 269-232); until 1941 part of the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade.³⁵ The text is a 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction;³⁶ see the translation below.

v. MS № 45.13.4 [*Хронографический сборникъ*] (fols. 357-366r.) from the Academy of Sciences Collection, copied in Russia the second half of the 16th century. It was discovered by V. Sreznevskii in June 1902 in Vologda during his palaeographic expedition. According to V. Sreznevskii, the text is a twin of Uvarov's MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b-638b) ['двойникъ Уваровской'],³⁷ and betrays an earlier Bulgarian protograph [1903: 110].

vi. MS № 151/443 (fols. 1-25), Serbian redaction copied in the 16th century from an earlier Russian text;³⁸ until 1941 part of the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade.³⁹

vii. MS (fols. 9-34b) from the 17th century, part of the Barsov Collection.⁴⁰

viii. MS № 1828 (fols. 522-545) composed in the 17th century, Russian redaction; part of the Uvarov Collection.

ix. MS № 321 (fols. 1-25) from the Khludov Collection of the State Historical Museum [ГИМ, Собрание Хлудова],⁴¹ it is a South-Russian redaction composed in 1679 in Poltava. The text represents a 'poorly copied, full of scribal errors version of an earlier Moldavian-Bulgarian MS' which is 'rather close in its content

³⁵ Published by Sokolov [1889: 1-80] and used as the basic variant ['положень въ основу'] of the long recension; see also the discussion on the text in the posthumous publication of Sokolov's research notes [1910: 8, 10-32].

³⁶ See Sokolov [1899: 1-80; 1910: 10-32], Meshcherskii [1964: 93].

³⁷ See his 'Report to the Department of Russian Language and Literature at the Imperial Academy of Sciences regarding the expedition to the Olonetsk, Vologda and Perm regions (carried out in June 1902): list of acquired manuscripts' [1903: 109-111, 122-123]. This edition forms the basis of the English translation of the text of MS *A* produced by F. Andersen [1983: 102-212]. The text was published and translated into modern Russian (with accompanying commentary apparatus) by L. Navtanovich [2000: 204-241, 387-92].

³⁸ See Meshcherskii [1964: 93-94].

³⁹ First published by Novaković in *Starine* XVI (1884: 67-81), and later referred to by Sokolov as a witness to the shorter recension [1899: 83-107]; it is further used as the basic text for the translation (of the shorter recension of 2 *Enoch*) into English (by Morfill and Charles, and later by Forbes and Charles) and into German (by Bonwetsch).

⁴⁰ Published by Sokolov [1899: 83-107] who used it as the basic variant of the 'short recension' ['сокращенная редакция']; see also Sokolov's commentaries on the content of the MS in Sokolov-Speranskii II [1910: 54-69].

⁴¹ First published by A. Popov in 1880 in Vol. 3 of the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow* [1880: 67, 75-83, 89-139]; see also the commentaries in Sokolov [1910: 32-33] and Meshcherskii [1964: 93]. Popov's edition was used as a primary witness to the text of the longer recension in the translation of 2 *Enoch* into English (by Morfill and Charles, and later by Forbes and Charles) and into German (by Bonwetsch).

to MS № 13.3.25 (fols. 93-125) from the Academy of Sciences Collection (St Petersburg)⁴².

x. MS (fols. 87-98b) composed in 1701; part of the Barsov Collection.⁴³

xi. MS № 3092 (fols. 93-99) dated to the 18th century; at the time when Iatsimirskii produced his *Bibliographical Survey*, the MS was part of the Collection of the Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature Collection [Общество любителей древней письменности].

Iatsimirskii further lists another 26 fragmentary witnesses to 2 *Enoch* ('извлеченія из памятника'), with the most significant among them being the following MSS:⁴⁴

i. The 14th century *Merilo Pravednoe* [Мерило Праведное] from MS № 15 (fols. 36-38) the Troitsa-Sergievskiaia Lavra Collection;⁴⁵

ii. MS № 202 [489] (fols. 335-337r) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow), dated to the beginning of the 15th century;⁴⁶

iii. The 15th century *Kormchaia* [Кормчая] from MS № 556 (fols. 598b-602b) from the Uvarov Collection;

iv. *Merilo Pravednoe* [Мерило Праведное] and *Kormchaia* [Кормчая] from the 15th century from MS № 187 (fols. 34-37) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow);

v. *Kormchaia* [Кормчая] from the 15th-16th century from MS № 414 (fols. 109-460) from the Theological Academy of Kazan Library Collection;

vi. MS № 253 (fols. 543-545) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow), dated to the beginning of the 17th century;⁴⁷

⁴² See Meshcherskii [1964: 93]: 'Этот список был переписан в Полтаве в 1679г., он представляет собою очень дурную и полную ошибок копию более древней молдавско-болгарской рукописи, текст которой очень близок к предшествующей' (i.e. 'рукопись бывшей коллекции А. И. Яцимирского, ныне хранящаяся в Библиотеке Академии наук СССР, БАН № 13.3.25').

⁴³ Published by Sokolov [1910: 131-142] as a variant of the 'short recension' ['список сокращенной редакции'], and designated by him as MS Б¹; see also the commentaries in his research notes [1910: 69-72].

⁴⁴ See Iatsimirskii [1921: 85-88], based on Sokolov [1910: 77-105].

⁴⁵ Published by Tikhonravov [1863: 20-23]; see the analysis in Sokolov [1910: 106-118]. The English translation of the text of the MS is produced by F. Andersen [1983: 216-221]; see also the discussion there [*ibid.*: 215].

⁴⁶ See Sokolov [1910: 92-93].

vii. MS № 3058 (fols. 391-393) from the Rumiantsov Museum, dated to the 18th century;⁴⁸

viii. MS № 578/147 (fols. 164-168) from the Rumiantsov Museum, dated to the 16th century;⁴⁹

ix. MS № 793 (fols. 401-402) from the Troitsa-Sergievskaja Lavra Collection, dated to the 16th century.⁵⁰

In the light of the analysis of the text-witnesses to *2 Enoch* in *Slavia Orthodoxa*, the following can be suggested:

1) The *Slavonic* protograph was translated most probably from a Greek Vorlage fostered by Septuagint-related tradition, but not directly from a Hebrew (or Aramaic) protograph.⁵¹ One detail (among many others) still bearing 'the recognizable stamp of Akylas' (to paraphrase Nicholas de Lange [2010: 53]) and suggesting a distinct awareness of the Septuagint pattern can be seen in the age of Enoch when he fathers Methuselah. This detail is often omitted in shorter recensions, but when it is included, Enoch's age is given as 165 years, as in Septuagint, rather than the 65 years in the Masoretic text and Vulgate.⁵² This suggests an intertextual connection between *2 Enoch* and the Septuagint-anchored tradition, rather than with

⁴⁷ Published by Sokolov [1910: 155-157]; see also his research notes [1910: 89-92].

⁴⁸ Published by Sokolov [1910: 145-147]; see also the discussion in his research notes [1910: 77-79].

⁴⁹ Published by Sokolov [1910: 153-155]; see also his research notes [84-89].

⁵⁰ Published by Sokolov [1910: 161-162] and Tikhonravov [1863: 19-20; 26-28].

⁵¹ See in this connection the discussion in the recently published seminal article by Nicholas de Lange, who maintains that 'Byzantine Jews used Greek Bible translations' [2010: 39], and that 'Akylas's translation was still being read publicly in the sixth century and maybe much later' [ibid. 46]. He further argues, 'on the basis of evidence of the manuscripts that Byzantine Jewish men, from an early age, learned to read the Hebrew Bible not only through the medium of the Greek language [. . .] but with the help of translations into Greek that were largely based on the second-century CE translations of Akylas, with its totally distinctive Greek vocabulary and approach to translation [ibid. 53].

⁵² On the shifting chronology of Enoch's life in the Old Greek Translation of *The Book of Genesis* and the Hebrew text, with special emphasis on Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* also following the Septuagint and thus 'having Enoch live 165 years before he begets children instead of 65 years as in the Masoretic text', see Larson [2005: 86-87].

the Hebrew Bible,⁵³ which argues against Meshcherskii's idea that *2 Enoch* could have originated from a Hebrew protograph.⁵⁴

2) The *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period of transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script,⁵⁵ but not later than 1170.⁵⁶

3) The Slavonic protograph was written in Glagolitic script.

4) As for the spatial dimension of this process, linguistic data and socio-cultural evidence point towards Bulgarian intellectual landscape as the place of origin of the earliest translation(s)/compilation(s) of *2 Enoch*.⁵⁷

5) The question of whether the earliest Slavonic translation represented the shorter or the longer recension still remains open.⁵⁸ Still, on the basis of the cross-textual analysis of the texts provided by Sokolov it can be argued that the longer recension preceded the shorter one.⁵⁹ I share this opinion.

6) Some intriguing details related to the description of solar movements found in *2 Enoch* (see Chapter Six below) betray astronomic theory and calendrical knowledge kindred to that found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, *2 Enoch* describes the length of the time spent by the Sun passing through the six solar gates 'according to the appointment of the seasons and according to the phases of the moon, for the

⁵³ Pennington also suggests that *2 Enoch* was translated from a Greek protograph: 'there are a number of linguistic pointers in this direction; and the Septuagint, rather than the Hebrew, seems to have been the author's Bible' [1984: 324-325]; but she also points out that 'this by itself tells us very little' about the scribe himself [*ibid.*].

⁵⁴ Meshcherskii further argues that: 1) the Slavonic protograph was a direct translation from Hebrew; 2) this translation represented the shorter recension of the apocryphon, on the basis of which the longer recension eventually emerged; 3) the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was translated in medieval Russia [1964: 93-102].

⁵⁵ See the discussion in Vaillant [1952: xiii-xxiv].

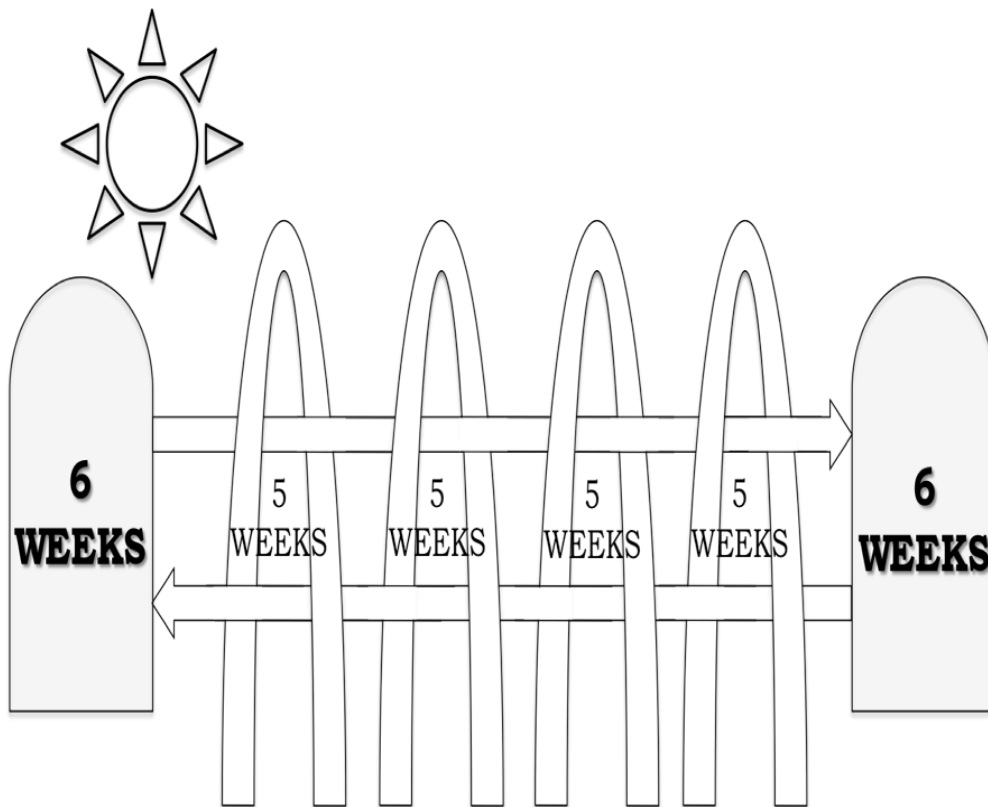
⁵⁶ See above, footnote 16.

⁵⁷ See Morfill and Charles [1896], Bonwetsch [1896, 1922], Sokolov [1899, 1910], Ivanov [1925], Vaillant [1952].

⁵⁸ For a brief survey of the two opposite scholarly opinions on this matter, see Andersen [1983:93] and Pennington [1984: 322-323].

⁵⁹ See Sokolov [1899, 1910]. Following Vaillant, Pennington argues that the longer recension 'in its pristine form' is found only in the Belgrade MS 321 (i.e. Sokolov's primary witness to the text); Andersen's translation of MS *J* of '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse) of *Enoch* brings new data into the discussion, but with the original text still remaining unpublished (although fragments are found in Sokolov's posthumous papers).

entire year, and according to the number of the horologe, day and night'. The compiler/author of the text narrates that the Sun goes through the first gate for 6 weeks, through the second — for 5 weeks, through the third — for 5 weeks, through the fourth — for 5 weeks, through the fifth — for 5 weeks, and through the sixth — for 6 weeks; after that the Sun returns to the fifth gate for 5 weeks, then spends once more 5 weeks at the fourth gate, to be followed by another 5 weeks at the third gate, and again 5 weeks at the second gate, after which it returns to the first gate, in order to re-start the new round of its never-ending celestial journey.



Therefore the number of weeks spent by the Sun during one full cycle of its journey through all the solar gates for the entire year (i.e. its path from gate one to gate two, three, four, five and six and then back to five, four, three, two and one) is 52. This detail, in turn, unequivocally implies that, along with the rather late (Julian) '365¼ day' calendar tradition, in *2 Enoch* there survive 'fossilised' vestiges of an alternative, much earlier (Babylonian) calendar tradition, according to which the length of the 'ideal' year equals 364 days; the same pattern of the 364-day calendar is later attested in the Qumran scrolls, the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Astronomical Book* in *1 Enoch* [Ben Dov 2008: 59ff.]. This detail will be discussed elsewhere.

3. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just and the religious art and iconography of Slavia Orthodoxa*

Neither Enochic iconography nor the visual narrative of his ascent to the Seventh Heaven has attracted the attention of art historians. In fact, the Prophet Enoch is often depicted, together with some other Old Testament figures (Adam, Noah, David, Solomon, Elijah, etc.) in the open galleries (narthex) of many churches in *Slavia orthodoxa*, such as the 19th century *Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary* in the city of Blagoevgrad, Southern Bulgaria [Fig. 1] and the *Rila Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Mary* [Fig. 2].



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

In some instances, Enoch's image (together with that of Solomon) can be found on the iconostasis itself, on the Altar Gates, above the Annunciation scene (in which case he functions as a substitute for either David⁶⁰ or Isaiah⁶¹). One such example comes from

⁶⁰ The image of David is one of iconographic *loci communes* in the artistic thesaurus of the Annunciation visual representations; it stipulates Jesus' lineage from Jesse (the father of David).

⁶¹ Cf. *The Book of Isaiah*: 'Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel' [7:14], and 'There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse' [11:1]. In this way the significance of Enoch's testimony is implicitly equated to that of Isaiah's prophesy.

the 18th century iconostasis from the village of Asparukhovo, North-Western Bulgaria, where the image of Enoch is depicted above that of the Virgin Mary; he is holding a scroll in his left hand and a sceptre in the right hand.⁶² [Figs 3 and 4].

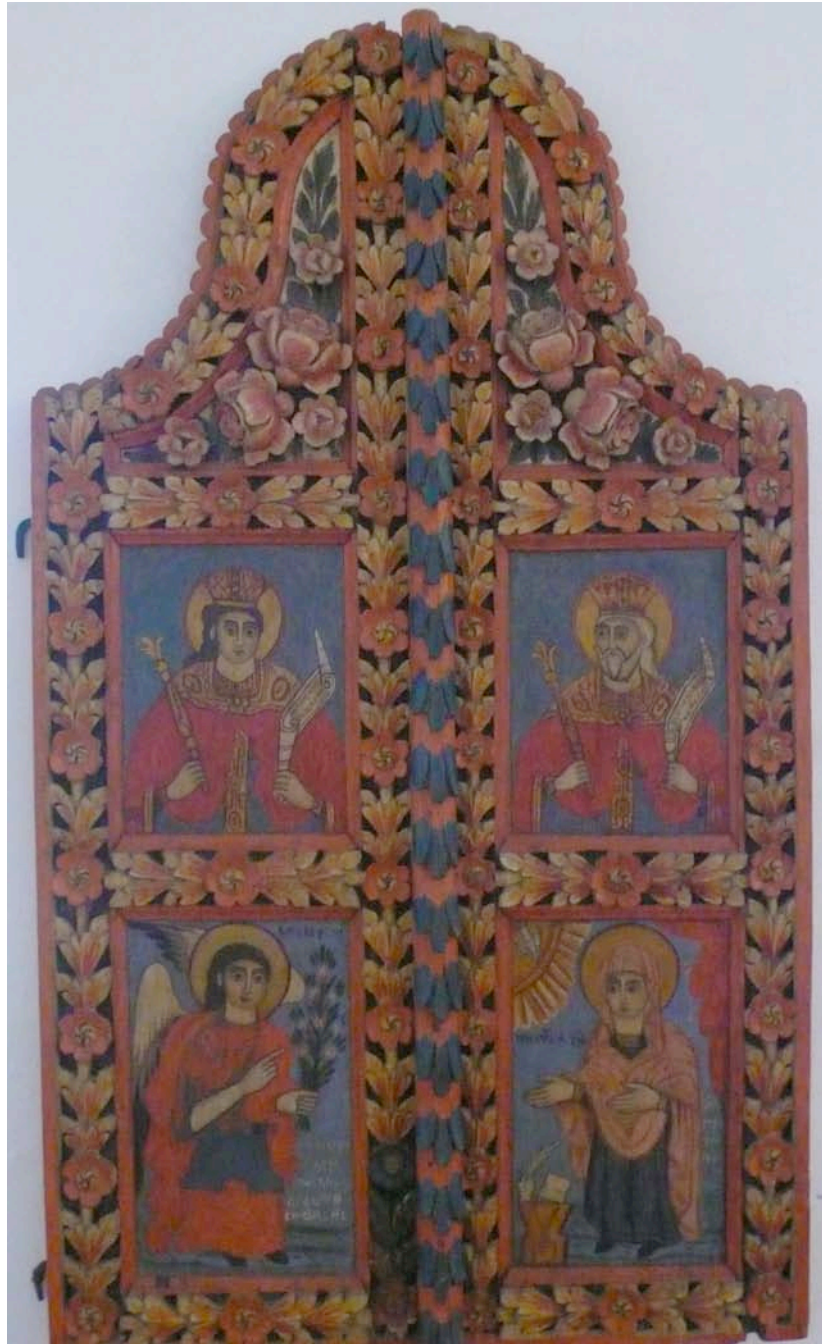


Fig. 3

⁶² His iconographic attributes, the scroll and the sceptre, parallel those of Isaiah.



Fig. 4

This type of iconography indicates that Enoch was considered by the local icon-painters to be one of the Old Testament Prophets heralding the birth of Christ, the New Adam. Having described the creation of the First Adam in the written testimony of his ascension to Heaven, he is now envisaged, via the language of visual narrative, as someone who predicts and witnesses the Immaculate Conception of Christ. In this

way Enoch functions as a prominent prophetic figure in apocryphal literature and sacred art of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, harnessing both the Old and the New Testament narratives about the creation of 'Primordial Adam' and 'Christ the New Adam'. On the other hand, Enoch can be depicted, together with Elijah, on medieval Slavonic miniatures, frescos and icons showing the Last Judgment and/or Apocalypse.⁶³ This iconographic pattern is reinforced by the popular belief that the end of the world will take place when both Enoch and Elijah descend to earth and taste death. The roots of this belief are attested not only in the canonical Old Testament Book of *Malachi* [5:4], but also in the apocryphal *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara*,⁶⁴ which was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic no later than 11th century.⁶⁵ In this way the image of Enoch bounds both Creation and Apocalypse, the beginnings of the Universe and its end, thus becoming a powerful icon of Divine Economy. One more point should be made in this connection. Further exploration into the realm of the iconography of sacred art of *Slavia orthodoxa* will clarify non-verbal dimensions of the reception of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in the Byzantine Commonwealth, and will facilitate more profound understanding of the impact which this apocryphon had upon the cultural milieu of medieval Europe. While the surviving MSS reveal the perception and interpretation of *2 Enoch* by learned men, its visual counterparts show how the apocryphon was 'read' and construed by icon-painters and illiterate believers of *Pax Slavia Christiana*. Because, as St. Gregory the Great once argued,

what writing presents to readers, this a picture presents to the unlearned who behold, since in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the

⁶³ For visual representations of this motif, see the miniatures from the 19th century illuminated MS № 1791 (*Apocalypse*), Fol. 107 r and Fol. 111 r; the latter is accompanied by the following inscription: 'КАКО УБНЕНА БУДУТЬ ІІЛІА И ІЕНОХЪ АНТИХРИСТОМЪ И ВОСКРЕСНЕТА ПАКН' (How Elijah and Enoch will be killed by the Antichrist and how they will resurrect again'). The MS is kept in the Lomonosov State University Library, Moscow.

⁶⁴ See Tikhonravov, Vol. 2 [1863: 213-281] and Lavrov [1899: 6-22; 23-39].

⁶⁵ Visual renditions of this theme in *Slavia Orthodoxa* parallel closely another apocryphal text, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, which is extant in Coptic (Akhmimic and Sahidic) and Greek fragments; there exists also a Jewish *Apocalypse of Elijah*. The Coptic witnesses are dated to the late 4th or early 5th century, translated from a Greek protograph composed in the 3rd century or even earlier [Kuhn 1984: 757]. The latter must have been composed in the 1st cent. BC 'by a Jew with Essene learnings, who lived in Egypt' [ibid.: 758-759]; as for the Christian elements, there is no certainty whether they were 'an original part of the apocalypse or were superimposed by a Christian editor who wrote and expanded a Jewish source' [ibid.]. The parallel interpretation of the concept of Enoch's death heralding the end of the world in religious art of *Slavia Orthodoxa* and Coptic apocrypha will be analysed elsewhere.

illiterate read. Hence, and chiefly to the nations,⁶⁶ a picture is instead of reading.⁶⁷

The same was indubitably true for the medieval *Pax Slavia Christiana*, when the translation of the *2 Enoch* took place. The *homo legens* of *Slavia Orthodoxa* was not necessarily 'learned,' since s/he could 'read in icons'; 'reading' was not envisaged as an act based upon the knowledge of letters exclusively. Without being familiar with the alphabet, believers were able to 'read' Scriptures by gazing at the icons. Moreover, icons were in fact perceived as Scriptures depicted. If for 'men of letters' the process of reading required knowledge of letters as such, for those gazing at icons this was obviously not the case; pictures 'painted in venerable places' were likened to silent storytellers revealing the Word of God to all those 'ignorant of letters'. Furthermore 'the story of the picture' was regarded as a sacred text laid open on the walls of the Church, thus inviting the illiterate to read in it. Plainly, icons were letters enlightening the unlettered who were thus able to learn 'through the story of a picture'. Accordingly, the icon was thought as a written, i.e., verbal text composed in an ideographic manner.

Along with its iconographic renditions, the written accounts of *2 Enoch* must have had a considerable effect on the rise, formation and development of indigenous apocryphal literature as well. There is strong evidence suggesting that the cosmogonic narrative of *The Sea of Tiberias* was profoundly influenced by the *2 Enoch*.⁶⁸ Furthermore recent anthropological research in the Balkans and elsewhere in Eastern Europe provides evidence that *2 Enoch* had its oral, folklore counterparts which were transmitted by word of mouth. The apocryphon was thus transformed into a cluster of vernacular legends and songs about the origins of the universe and the begetting of light, about the celestial bodies and the rules shaping their movements, about the mystical appearance of incorporeal heavenly hosts, about the foundation of heaven and the divine act of setting the eternal boundary between the earth and the sea, etc. These oral cosmogonic narratives and songs were considered to have originated from a 'holy text' which was believed to have been put in writing as a testimony by the Prophet Enoch himself, at the age of 365 years, when he was received on the Seventh

⁶⁶ I.e. 'to the unlearned'.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Dialogues of Saint Gregory*, Book 11, Epistle 13.

⁶⁸ This intertextuality is analysed in my forthcoming article 'The Sea of Tiberias: between oral tradition and apocryphal literature' [2011].

Heaven by God, so that he 'might be an eyewitness of the life above.' It was also in the Seventh Heaven that the Prophet Enoch, who was set by God 'nearer than Gabriel,' learned the mystery of the creation of man. Thus Enoch's testimony, as revealed in the extant Church Slavonic copies of his Book, has remained for centuries one of the best sources of esoteric knowledge. Scribes and icon-painters, illiterate singers and storytellers considered this wisdom to have been mystically acquired before the face of God, and delivered to them in a form of a written text under his command. Enoch captivated the imagination of generations of believers, enjoying respect and popularity, and exercising a long-lasting influential impact upon the cultural heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Being an offshoot of the manifold proto-biblical textual corpus which preceded the formation of the canonical Scriptures, *2 Enoch* developed as an independent corpus of indigenous oral and visual epic narratives⁶⁹ which survived up until the present day.

⁶⁹ The vernacular folklore interpretation of *2 Enoch* will be discussed elsewhere.

4. *The Book of the Holy Secrets of Enoch:* a contribution towards a new translation of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*)

Below follows an extract from the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГѢ СѢНѢ ТАИНАХЪ ЕНУХОВѢ] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323).⁷⁰ The MS was bequeathed by the Bulgarian intellectual Jordan Khadzhi Konstantinov-Dzhinot [Йордан Хаджи-Константинов Джинот] (1818-1882).⁷¹ The Russian scholar Matvei Sokolov first drew special attention to this account in 1886 and published it thirteen years later as the basic (representative) text-witness for his edition of the longer recension ['пространная редакция'] of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*).⁷² Along with the Latin translation of the apocryphon, Sokolov provided an extensive textual apparatus reflecting two other supplementary witnesses. The first one is the 15th century account (Russian redaction) from MS No 3 [18] (fol. 626-638) from the Collection of Count Uvarov (currently kept in the archives of the State Historical Museum, Moscow).⁷³ The text is entitled *From the Concealed Books of the Ascension of the Righteous Enoch* [СѢ ПОТАЕННЫ Х КНИГѢ СѢ ВЪСХИЩЕНИИ ЕНУХОВѢ ПРАВЕ ДНАГО]. Sokolov designates it as MS *U* [*У*],⁷⁴ after the name of the owner. The second text-witness, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, the Son of Ared* [КНИГА СѢ ТАИНАХЪ ЕНУХОВИХЪ СѢНА АРЕДОВА] represents a South-Russian redaction of the apocryphon composed/copied in 1679 in the city of Poltava.⁷⁵ The MS was part of A. I. Khludov's Collection (also in the archives of the State Historical Museum, Moscow). Since it

⁷⁰ Cf. M. Sokolov [1899: 1-80; 1910: 8-32]; see also Morfill and Charles [1896: xiii-xiv], Iatsimirskii [1921: 83 (список No 4)], Ivanov [1925: 165-191], Vaillant [1952: iii-iv, vii, 86-119].

⁷¹ See Sokolov [1910: 10] and Ivanov [1925:165].

⁷² Hence Bonwetsch marked it as MS *S* (after the name of Sokolov); I follow Bonwetsch's taxonomy. In Vaillant, Pennington and Andersen this MS is designated, however, as *R*; see F. I. Andersen's 'Introduction to 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*)' in Vol. 1 of Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [1983: 92] and A. Pennington's 'Introduction' to her translation of 2 *Enoch* in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* [Sparks 1984: 321-322].

⁷³ See Iatsimirskii [1921: 82 (список No 1)].

⁷⁴ Note that in F. I. Andersen's 'Introduction to 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*)' the Cyrillic character *У* is erroneously rendered as *У*; see Andersen [1983: 92].

⁷⁵ Cf. Iatsimirskii [1921: 84-85 (список No 9)].

was first published (in 1880) by A. Popov,⁷⁶ the account was subsequently marked (by Sokolov, Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Pennington and Andersen) as MS *P [II]*. This MS was first used by Charles and Morfill as the primary text-witness (designated by them as MS *A*) for the first English translation of the *Slavonic Enoch* (published in Oxford in 1896,⁷⁷ three years before the publication of Sokolov's edition); in the same year, 1896, Popov's edition was likewise used by G. N. Bonwetsch as the basis for the German translation of the longer recension of the apocryphon.⁷⁸ Sokolov, however, critically assessed the choice of MS *P [II]* as the main text-witness to the 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* and argued against it.⁷⁹ According to him, the text from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade is generally superior to the account from Poltava not only because it is older, but also because it is much more complete, less corrupt and better preserved; hence the decision to put it as the prime witness for his edition. Sokolov's arguments were later shared by Andersen, who defined the MS used by Morfill and Charles as an 'eclectic text'; hence his choice of the 16th century Bulgarian redaction of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* from the MS No 13.3.25 from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg as the prime text-witness for his translation.⁸⁰ In fact, excerpts of this account were previously

⁷⁶ See Popov's 'Bibliograficheskie materialy' (Part 4:) [1880: 89-139].

⁷⁷ The same edition/translation was revised by N. Forbes for Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* [1913: 425-469].

⁷⁸ See G. N. Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch* [1896] and *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs: Das sogenannte slavische Henochbuch* [1922].

⁷⁹ Nine years after W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles published the first English translation of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Sokolov made the following stern statement:

Переводчикомъ славянскихъ текстовъ на англійскій языкъ для д-ра Чарльса явился известный англійскій славистъ В.Р. Морфиль, которому нами доставлен былъ славянскій текстъ пространной редакціи книги Еноха, остановленный по открытыми нами рукописямъ, болѣе древнымъ и исправнымъ, чѣмъ текстъ Попова, принятый также во вниманіе. Къ сожалѣнію, г. Морфиль положилъ въ основу своего изданія текстъ Попова.

For further details see the discussion in his article 'Feniks v apokrifakh of Enokhe i Varukhe' [Sokolov 1905: 396].

⁸⁰ See Andersen [1983: 97-98]; in view of the fact that the former owner of the MS was A. I. Iatsimirskii [Яцимирскій], and the Cyrillic character **Я** was transliterated as **Ja**, this copy was designated by Bonwetsch, Vaillant and Andersen as MS *J*. In Ivanov's edition the same MS is marked with the letter **Я** [Ivanov 1925: 167]. Incidentally, when A. I. Iatsimirskii brought the MS in August 1895 from Romania to Russia, he was a student of Sokolov. Unfortunately, at the time when the MS reached Sokolov, he had already prepared his edition of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch*

published by Ivanov in 1925, in his *Books and Legends of the Bogomils*, as variant readings to his edition of the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГН СѢН^x ТАИНЫ ЕНОХО^b] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade. According to Sokolov,⁸¹ the MS was copied by a certain 'Monk Sava' [Иеромонах Сава] (var. Savl [Савль])⁸² the encrypted version of whose name appears on fol. 177 (in the third paragraph).⁸³ I present below an English translation of chapters I-XII and XVIII-XXII of Sokolov's edition of Monk Sava/Savl MS,⁸⁴ since the actual MS perished during the Second World War (in 1941, in a fire caused by bombardment, along with the entire collection of 1424 Cyrillic manuscripts kept at that time in the archives of the National Library of Belgrade).⁸⁵ Also taken into consideration is Ivanov's edition of the same recension,⁸⁶ in which he includes parallel readings from three additional text-witnesses:

1) the 16th century account (Bulgarian redaction) from MS No 13.3.25 (fol. 93-125) from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg (= MS *J* [*Я*] in Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Andersen).

[КНИГН СѢН^x ТАИНЫ ЕНОХО^b] on the basis of MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade, which is why he could not include Iatsimirskii's version in his commentaries:

Наконецъ, уже по отпечатаніи текстовъ одинъ изъ нашихъ слушателей, студентъ А. И. Яцимирскій въ августъ 1895 года доставилъ намъ вывезенную имъ изъ Румыніи рукопись, въ которой оказался списокъ Книги Еноха полной редакціи. Рукопись писана в Румыніи, болгарскимъ правописаніемъ и должна занять важное мѣсто в ряду другихъ списковъ книги Еноха. [Sokolov 1910: 9]

Unfortunately, Sokolov's research project on Slavonic Enoch was terminated by his premature death; he passed away on 17.6.1906, at the age of 51. The posthumous publication of his research notes by M. Speranskii brought to light some impressive preliminary results of this ambitious scholarly undertaking. Unfortunately, the 16th century MS *J* bequeathed by Iatsimirskii more than 100 years ago (=MS No 13.3.25 in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg) still remains unpublished. Andersen provided an English translation of the text with commentaries in 1983, which in itself is an important contribution to the study of the scribal tradition of the period. Nevertheless, MS *J* awaits proper philological editing, with all variants from other MSS being noted.

⁸¹ Sokolov's reading of the name is based on some earlier studies on medieval Slavonic cryptography [1910: 16-17].

⁸² The latter ('Savl') can also be interpreted as 'Pavel' (i.e. Paul).

⁸³ In fact, it was scribe's signature ['подпись писца'].

⁸⁴ This includes an improved version of my previous translation of the fragment about the creation of Adam previously published in 'The Bible in the making' [Badalanova 2008: 231-235].

⁸⁵ See Meshcherskii [1964: 93].

⁸⁶ See Ivanov [1925: 167-180].

2) the 1679 account (South-Russian redaction) from the Poltava MS, with its first edition being that of A. N. Popov (= MS *P* [III] in Sokolov, Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Pennington, Andersen).

3) the 15th century account (Russian redaction) from MS No 3 [18] (fol. 626-638) from the Collection of Count Uvarov [ѿ ПОТАЕНН ЫХЪ КНИГЪ ѿ ВЪСХИЩЕННН ЕНОХОВЪ ПРАВЕДНАГО] (=MS *U* [У] in Sokolov, Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Pennington, Andersen).

To the best of my knowledge, the 16th-17th century Bulgarian redaction of *The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [КНИГН СѢНЪ ТАИИЪ ЕНОХОЪ] from MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323) [our MS *S*] was never translated into English, and the current publication is the first attempt in this direction.⁸⁷ The commentaries accompanying the translation pay special attention to some intricate details in the original Slavonic text of 2 *Enoch*, which previous scholarship has failed to grasp. These include the interpretation of the name of the angel whom Enoch encounters on the Seventh/Tenth Heaven, i.e. *Vrevoil* [Врѣвоилъ / Врѣвоилъ]; the etymology of the demonic appellation 'Bēs' [Вѣсь] (applied to the name of Satanael) [Дѣвоѣ ѣ долѣшннхъ мѣсть вѣдеѣ вѣсь]; the opaque variation of the numbers of heavens (seven or ten); and corrupt astronomical/calendrical computations.⁸⁸ Furthermore, an attempt is made to solve the puzzle of some expressions hitherto considered obscure, such as *КНИГЫ НЪЦЕННЪ НЪМУРНЪ*^М [var. *НЪШРЕННЪ НЪМУРЕННЕМЪ*] ('exquisite books fragrant/anointed with myrrh'); *ЖИВОТГРЪМЪНІЕ* ('Zodiac signs'); *ВЕРЖИИ БЛАДОМН ВНСАЦЕ* ('sinners hanging on chains'), etc.

As Jürgen Renn astutely comments about early medieval translations of European science, 'almost every work was translated more than once by different authors before a proper understanding of the content could be reached' [Renn 2011: 165]. The same can be said about the process of translating 2 *Enoch*, one of the major records of both ancient science and religion.

⁸⁷ Fragments of the MS, however, were translated into French (with extensive commentary apparatus) by A. Vaillant [1952: 86-119].

⁸⁸ For general discussion of astronomical discourse in Enochic literature, see Bergsma [2009: 36-51] and Ben-Dov [2009: 276-293].

The text below follows the following conventions:

- [] mark inserts from the original Slavonic text (MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade = Sokolov's *A*, Bonwetsch's *S*).
- < > mark reconstruction of (missing and corrupt) passages on the basis of the other complementary text-witnesses (MSS *J*, *U* and *P*), or else indicate insertions of parallel (supplementary) renditions from MSS *J*, *U* and *P*;
- { } indicate conjectural additions in the English translation.

A PROLOGUE

Books⁸⁹ of the holy secrets of Enoch [КНИГН⁹⁰ СѢН^x ТАИНЫ ЕНОХО^b], a wise man [МЖЖА МЖДРА] and great scribe [ВЕЛНКА ХЖДОЖННКА],⁹¹ whom the Lord received and loved, {allowing him} to see life in heaven above [ВЪШНАЖ ЖИТНІЕ], and the most wise [ПРѢМЖДРАГО], and great [ВЕЛНКАГО], and inconceivable [НЕДОМЫСЛНАГО], and unchangeable kingdom [НЕПРѢМѢННАГО ЦРѢТВА] of the all-mighty God [БѢ ВЪСЕДРЪЖИТЕЛѢ], as well as the most-wondrous [ПРѢДНВНАГО], glorious [СЛАВНАГО], luminous [СВѢТЛАГО], many-eyed sentinels⁹² [МНОГОСЪУНТАГО СТОАНІА] of God's servants [СЛОУГѢ ГНѢ], and the immovable [НЕПОДВН(ЖИМАГО)] <Throne of God [ПРѢТЛА ГНѢ], and His minions [СТЕПЕНН] and their manifestation [СЪБЪЯВЛЕНІЕ]>,⁹³ the incorporeal hosts [ВОИНЫ БЕСПЛАТНН] and the ineffable

⁸⁹ Here the noun **КНИГН** can also be translated as 'Scriptures', 'Epistle', 'Testament'.

⁹⁰ In Old Church Slavonic the noun **КЪНИГЫ** is *pluralia tantum*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: [1994: 300-301].

⁹¹ In other versions, (e.g. the 15th century MS *U*) the set phrase **ВЕЛНКА ХЖДОЖННКА** is replaced by **КНИЖННКА ВЕЛНКАГО**; see Sokolov [1910: 8] and Vaillant [1952: 2]. Then again, the Poltava MS of 1679 (MS *P*) describes Enoch as **ВЕЛНКОХЖДОЖННКѢ** [Popov 1880: 89]. For the semantic coverage of the masculine noun **ХЖДОЖЬННКѢ** (nomina agentis conventionally used to render the Greek *τεχνίτης*, 'creator', 'artist', 'artisan', 'scribe', 'master'), the neuter noun **ХЖДОЖЬСТВО/ХЖДОЖЬСТВО** (as equivalent of the abstract nouns *ἐπιστήμη*, *τέχνη*, denoting 'art', 'craft', 'knowledge', 'wisdom', 'technique', 'skill'), and the adjective **ХЖДОЖЬНЫИ / ХЖДОЖЬНЫИ** (meaning 'creative', 'artistic', 'decorative', 'skillful', 'wise') in Old Church Slavonic, see Sreznevskii [1903: 1415-1416] and Tseitlin *et al.* [1999:769].

⁹² Lit. 'standing'; the noun **СТОАНІЕ / СТОАНІЕ** is used to convey the Greek *στάσις*, *παράστασις*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 626]; the form *παράστασις* functions a loanword in some modern Slavonic languages (e.g. Bulgarian and Russian *парастас*); semantically related to the feminine noun *панихида* (var. *понихида / понахида = παννυχίς, παννυχίδες*) □ which means both 'vigiliae pernoctationum' and 'vigiliae defunctorum' □ the noun *парастас* is used to denote 'service for the dead', 'prayer for the dead', 'office for the dead', 'ritual feast for the dead'; see in this connection Sreznevskii [1895: 874] and Gerov [1901: 13].

⁹³ The fragment is missing from MS *R*; it is added by Sokolov on the basis of MS *P*; see Sokolov [1899: 1]. Ivanov's later edition of the MS takes into consideration the parallel passage from the 16th century account (also Bulgarian redaction) from MS *J* [**Я**]; see Ivanov [1925:167].

composition [нєсказажаемаго сложенїа] of the great multitude of elements [многo мнѣхства стѹхїи] and various visions [разлнчнаа видѣнїа], and the ineffable singing [нєнсповѣднмаа пѣнїе] of the host of Cherubim [хєроувнмскыѣ вон], so that he might witness⁹⁴ all this infinite universe [свѣта безъ мѣрна самовндецъ быти].⁹⁵

Chapter One

At that time — said Enoch — when I completed 165 years [егда напльнн мн са рѣе лѣт], I begat my son Mathusala⁹⁶ [роднѣ снѣ своѣго Маѹоусала]. After that I lived another 200 years [по се^м жн^х ѿ лѣт],⁹⁷ so all together, the years of my life were 365.⁹⁸ In the first month [прѣвѣн мѣць], on a special day [въ пароу^н днѣ] of the first month, which was the first day {of that month} [прѣваго мѣца въ ѿ днѣ], I, Enoch, was alone at home and resting on my bed, sleeping. While sleeping, a great sadness entered my heart and I said, 'my eyes are crying <in my sleep; and {since it was all happening in a dream} I could not understand what this sadness was'⁹⁹ {and I wondered}, what will happen to me?' Then two huge men [два моужа прѣвелнка

⁹⁴ Lit. 'so that he might be an (eye-)witness' [самовндецъ]; see the discussion below.

⁹⁵ As in other medieval Slavonic texts, there is a certain amount of ambiguity in this account, since the word used to denote 'world' / 'universe' (свѣтъ) is a homonym not only of the word for 'light' (свѣтъ), but also of the word for 'holy' / 'divine' (свѣтъ/свѣтъ/свѣтъ); see Sreznevskii [1903: 295-302] and Dal' [1882: 156-59], as well as Andersen [1983: 120, footnote 11 d].

⁹⁶ The name has different renderings in the manuscript, but tends to follow the form found in the Septuagint (i.e. Mathusala), which is not identical with the readings in the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and in the Vulgate. As for Meshcherskii's argument (in favour of the Masoretic pattern reflected in the Slavonic transliteration of the name), it is based on incorrect data [1964: 106].

⁹⁷ There is a discrepancy between the version of *Genesis* 5: 21-24 according to the Septuagint, and that found in the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and the Vulgate. The Septuagint gives Enoch's age as 165 when he fathers Methusaleh, whereas in both the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and in the Vulgate he is 100 years younger, i.e. he is 65. The account in *2 Enoch* appears to have followed the Septuagint:

21. And Enoch lived an hundred and sixty and five years, and begat Mathusala. 22. And Enoch was well-pleasing to God after his begetting Mathusala, two hundred years, and he begot sons and daughters. 23. And all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty and five years. 24. And Enoch was well-pleasing to God, and was not found, because God translated him.

Then again, according to the Hebrew (Masoretic) text and the Vulgate, after the birth of Methusaleh, 'Enoch walked with God for three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters,' *etc.*, whereas in the Septuagint, as well as in *2 Enoch*, the number of days is two hundred.

⁹⁸ R. Borger [1974: 185] interprets this detail as an allusion to the solar calendar and associates Enoch's ascension and heavenly visions with the Mesopotamian tradition of the Sumerian sage Enmeduranki, who was the seventh antediluvian king (like Enoch being the seventh generation after Adam); both Enmeduranki and Enoch were given instructions in heaven about how to perform ritual sacrifices correctly, the knowledge of which they then conveyed to their contemporaries, before the Flood. Borger argues in this way for a Babylonian precursor to the Enoch narrative.

⁹⁹ Insert from MS *P*; see Sokolov [1899: 2, footnote 16].

зѣло] appeared to me, the likes of which I have never seen before on earth. Their faces were shining like the sun [бѣше лице єю яко сѣнце съвтеце са], their eyes were like burning candles [ѡун єю яко свѣци гораци]; fire came out of their mouths [нзѣ оустѣ н^x ѡгнь нсхода]. Their clothes were like foam and their appearance had many colours [одѣаніє н^x пѣніє раздѣланіє вно^m многы^x вагрн]. Their wings were brighter than gold [крылѣ н^x свѣтлѣнши зла^t] and their hands whiter than snow [ржцѣ н^x бѣлѣнши снѣга]. They stood near the head of my bed and called me by name. I awoke from my sleep [аз же възбѣнж^x ѿ снѣа своєго] and vividly [вндѣ^x явѣ]¹⁰⁰ saw the men standing before me. I looked at them and bowed before them, and I became terrified and my face showed fear. And the men said to me, 'Be truly brave, Enoch and do not be afraid [дръзан, єноше, вѣ нстнж, не вон се]! The Eternal God sent us to you [Гѣ вѣунън посла нн къ тебѣ]. Today you will ascend to heaven together with us [вѣсходнши съ намн на нѣо]. Tell your sons and your entire household what they should do in your absence here on earth and in your house. Nobody should look for you until God returns you to them.' Having listened to what they said, I quickly left my house [оускорн^x послоушає нзыдо^x вѣнъ нз домоу моєго]¹⁰¹ and closed the doors, as they instructed me; and I called my sons, Methusalam [Метѡусала^m],¹⁰² Regim [Регима],¹⁰³ and Gaidad [Гандада],¹⁰⁴ and I related to them [нсповѣда^x н^m] what these most wondrous men told me [єлнко глѣаста мн мжжа ѡна прѣюднаа].

Chapter Two

Listen to me, my children, I do not know where I am going and what will happen to me. Now, my children, do not deny¹⁰⁵ God [не ѡстѣпанте ѿ Ба]. Walk before the face of God [прѣ^а лице^m г^анн^m ходнте] and fulfil His commands [сж^абы єго сѣхранѣнте]. Do not neglect prayers for your salvation [не ѡмразнте молнтвы сѣеніє вашєго] so that God may not diminish the labour of your hands [да не сѣкратн^t Гѣ трѡуда ржкѣ вашн^x]. Do not deprive God of offerings [не лншанте даровѣ Гѣ], and He will not take away abundance and His gracious gifts from your

¹⁰⁰ Lit. 'when awake'.

¹⁰¹ Alternative reading, 'I hastened to obey them', since the verbs 'hear' and 'obey' are both possible translations of the verb послоушатн (which can be both perfective and imperfective); in some cases, it can also mean 'to bear witness', 'to verify', 'to testify'. The related lexemes *послоушатн/послоуховатн* (along with their cognates *послоушаннѣ, послоушѣннѣ, послоушѣство, послоушѣннѣ, послоухѣ*, etc.), are attested in several Glagolitic monuments from the earliest period of the Old Church Slavonic scribal tradition, such as *Glagolita Clodianus*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus (Evangeliarium Assemani)*, and in some Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) composed in Bulgaria in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. See Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 482-483] and Sreznevskii [1895: 1237-1243].

¹⁰² The form of the name should be in accusative; instead it is the nominative.

¹⁰³ The form of the name is in the accusative.

¹⁰⁴ The form of the name is in the accusative.

¹⁰⁵ Lit. 'step back from' /'turn away from'.

storehouses [Н НЕ ЛИШН^Т ГЪ СЪННСКАНН^Х Н ДАРОЛЮБЕЗНН^Х СВОИ^Х КЪ ХРАННИЦА^Х ВАШИ^Х]. Bless God [БЛВНТЕ Гѧ] with the firstborn of your flocks [ПРВВЪНЦН СТАДННМН] and firstborn of your oxen¹⁰⁶ [ПРВВЪНЦН ЮНО^Т ВАШИ^Х], so that you may be blessed forever [ВЖДЕ^Т БЛВЕНІА НА ВА^В ВЪ ВЪКЫ]. Do not deny¹⁰⁷ God and do not bow down before false gods [НЕ ПОКЛОННТЕ СА ВМЪ ПОУСТОШНН^М] — to gods who created neither heavens nor Earth [ВЪГО^М НЖЕ НЕ СЪТВОРНШЖ НБСН Н ЗЕМЛА], nor other creatures [НН НННЕ ТВАРН], because they and those who bow before them will perish [ТЫ ВО ПОГЫБНЖ^Т Н ТЫ НЖЕ Н^М СА ПОКЛОНА^Т]. May God strengthen your hearts in awe of Him. Now, my children, may no one search for me until God returns me to you.

Chapter Three

When I was saying this to my sons [БЪ^С ВЪНЕГДА ГЛѧ^Х СНО^М СВОИ^М], these men called me [ВЪЗВАСТА МА МЖЖА ѠНА], took me on their wings [ВЪЗЕСТА МА НА КРНЛОУ СВОЮ], brought me up to the First Heaven and put me on clouds which moved on [ПОСТАВНСТА МЕ НА ѠБЛАЦЪ^Х Н СЕ ГРАДЪАХЖ]. Further up, I saw [СЪГЛАДА^Х]¹⁰⁸ the air [ВЪЗДОУ^Х] and further up I saw [ВНДЪ^Х]¹⁰⁹ ether [АНЕРЬ]. They placed me in the First Heaven [ПОСТАВНСТА МА НА ПРВВЪ^М НБСН]. They showed me a sea which is bigger than the one on Earth [ПОКАЗАСТА МН МОРЕ ПРВВЕЛНКОВЕ, ПАЧЕ МОРЕ ЗЕМНАГО]. And they brought before me [ПРНВЕДОСТА ПРВ^А ЛНЦЕ МОЕ]¹¹⁰ the elders [СТАРВНШННЪ] and rulers of the ranks of stars [ВЛ^АКЫ ЗВЪЗДННЪ^Х ЧННОВЪ],¹¹¹ and they showed me 200 angels who rule over the stars and composition of the heavens [СЛОЖЕНІЕ НБСЕ^М] and who fly with their wings [ЛЪТАЖ^Т КРНЛЫ СВОИМН] and circle around all the floating {planets/luminaries} [ѠВЪХОДА^Т ПО ВСЪ^Х ПЛАВАЮЦН^Х].¹¹² Here I saw

¹⁰⁶ The form **ЮНО^Т** is a corrupt version of the genitive plural form of the noun **ЮВЬЦЬ** (meaning 'ox', 'steer').

¹⁰⁷ Lit. 'step back from' /'turn away from'.

¹⁰⁸ The semantic coverage of the (perfective) verb **СЪГЛАДАТИ** (which in the above phrase is used in its aorist form, 1st person, singular) reflects various blends of the concept of 'visual perception', e.g. 'to catch sight of', 'to set one's eyes on', 'to spot', 'to view', 'to glimpse', 'to glance'.

¹⁰⁹ The scribe now uses yet another verb, **ВНДЪТИ** (as a synonym of **СЪГЛАДАТИ**), in order to denote 'visual perception'; in contrast to **СЪГЛАДАТИ**, the verb **ВНДЪТИ**, can be either perfective or imperfective. Significantly, the verb **ВНДЪТИ** ('to see') and the noun (nomina agentis) **САМОВНДЕЦЬ** ('eye-witness') are cognate forms. In fact, the latter is a derivative of the former. While traveling through the lower strata of the 'air' [ВЪЗДОУ^Х], Enoch 'spies'; during the next step of his heavenly journey, in the upper celestial realm, when Enoch reached the ether [АНЕРЬ], he 'sees'/'witnesses'.

¹¹⁰ Lit. 'before my face'.

¹¹¹ In Forbes and Charles [1913: 432] the above fragment reads as follows: 'They brought before my face the elders and the rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me 200 angels'; the expression 'the rulers of the stellar orders' is compared to *1 Enoch* [lxxxii.9-18, 20] (see footnote IV.1).

¹¹² This passage is found only in the longer recension; Andersen points out that there is no other occurrence of a similar description of the planets as 'swimmers' (плавающи^Х) in heaven [1984: 112, footnote f]. However, Greek *πλανήτης* means both 'wanderer' and 'planet', hence providing the basis for the image in *2 Enoch*.

treasures [скровница] of snow and ice, as well as the angels who keep these awesome storehouses [грознѣе хранѣнїе], and the treasures [скровница]¹¹³ in the clouds from which they enter and exit. They also showed me the treasures [скровница] of dew and an olive tree which was chrisim-like [ѡко масть маслїноу],¹¹⁴ and the appearance of its image [внѣнїе ѡбраза ѣж] was much greater than any earthly bloom [ѡко^о всѣкъ цвѣ^т зема па^в множае]; and {they further showed me} angels who were guarding their treasures [агглы хранѣнїи скровница н^х], opening and closing them [како затварѣ^тса н ѡвръзаатъ ж].

Chapter Four

And these men took me [пожста ма] and raised me [възведоста ма] up to the Second Heaven. They pointed out to me and I saw darkness much deeper than that on Earth. Here I also spotted wrongdoers, hanging on chains [вернжнн бладомн внаще],¹¹⁵ awaiting infinite¹¹⁶ judgement [жаще сжа безмѣрнаго]. These

¹¹³ In Slavonic languages, the words denoting 'treasure' / 'hoard' (Old Church Slavonic **СЪКРОВНИЦЕ**, Rus. *сокровище*, Bulg. *съкровище*) refer to something 'secret'/'hidden'/'covered up'. The OCS form **СЪКРОВНИЦЕ** (= *ταμείον, τὸ ἀπόκρυφον, κατάδυσις*), along with its cognates **СЪКРОВЪ** (= *ταμείον, κρυπτή*) and **СЪКРОВЬНЪ** (*κεκρυμμένος*) is frequently attested in a number of Glagolitic monuments, such as *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, *Codex Assemanianus* (*Evangeliarium Assemani*), as well as in some early Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) from the late 10th and early 11th centuries; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 653]. Its semantic scope envelops a range of notions: 'hoard,' 'treasure,' 'treasury,' 'granary,' 'stock,' 'storage,' 'depot,' 'depository,' 'repository,' 'storehouse,' 'warehouse,' etc. For later attestations of **СЪКРОВЬНЪ/СЪКРЪВЕНЬН** and its cognates (e.g. **СЪКРЪВАЛНЦЕ** = 'covert,' 'shelter,' 'haven') as derivatives from the verb **СЪКРЫТИ**, see Sreznevskii [1903: 723-724, 726-727].

¹¹⁴ Var. 'anointing oil', 'balsam', 'incense', 'perfume'.

¹¹⁵ Perhaps it should read **ВЕРНЖННЦН БЛАДОМН ВНАЩЕ**, since the form **ВЕРНЖННЦН** appears in Chapter 7 of the text below (when Enoch describes those transgressors who followed the Watchers in their footsteps, and who were hence 'hanging on chains' in the Second Heaven, engulfed by deep darkness'); **ВЕРНЖННЦН** is plural from of the noun **ВЕРНЖННК** (*nomina agentis*) which in turn is derived from the noun **ВЕРНГА** (meaning 'chain', 'shackless', 'fettters', 'irons'); i.e. **ВЕРНЖННК** is someone who is 'enchained' / 'bound in chains' / 'shackled in chains'. As for the expression **ВЕРНЖНН БЛАДОМН ВНАЩЕ**, there are several possible alternative readings here, since the semantic coverage of the noun **БЛАДЪ** is elastic: it can be applied not only to the (ostensibly harmless) 'idle talker'/'gossiper', but also to any member of the society branded as 'miscreant', 'malefactor', 'heretic', 'sinner', 'transgressor', 'lecher', 'whore', 'witch', i.e. to the 'wrongdoers' and 'outcasts' in every possible domain of unconventionality. The lexeme **БЛАДЪ** thus comes to epitomize any deviant behaviour, be it religious (applying to heterodoxy and heresy), or social (e.g. witchcraft, magic, sorcery), or ethical (e.g. slander, defamation, vilification), or indeed sexual (denoting adultery and fornication, along with homosexuality). Included in this category are also individuals disrespectful of kinship and customary marriage law (with emphasis on either endogamy or exogamy), as well as all those embodying any kind of deviation of public/communal/collective norms and taboos; see Tseitlin, *et al.* [1999: 93-94] and Sreznevskii [1893: 116-118, 122-124]. In the text of *Codex Suprasliensis*, for instance, the noun **БЛАДЪ** can mean not only 'error' and 'misapprehension', but also 'sin', 'fallacy', 'sacrilege'. The semantic coverage of the related noun **БЛЖДЪ**, on the other hand, can fluctuate between 'error' (as in modern Polish *blad*) and 'transgression' / 'lechery' / 'fornication' (as in modern Bulgarian and Russian *блуд*); the appellation 'the Great Whore of Babylon' from *The Book of Revelation* [17 – 18], for instance, is rendered in some parts of *Slavia orthodoxa* as **Великата Блудница Вавилон**. Hence the above expression (**ВЕРНЖНН БЛАДОМН ВНАЩЕ ЖАЩЕ СЖА БЕЗМѣРНАГО**) can be equally translated as 'wrongdoers / transgressors / heretics / sinners/ slanderers/ lechers/ fornicators hanging on

{fallen} angels were much darker in their appearance than earthly darkness [ТЫ

chains and awaiting infinite judgement'. Some MSS omit this phrase altogether, while others give very different readings. In MS *U*, for example, the form **ВЕРНЖНН** is replaced by **ОУЖНННН** ('prisoners'); the scribe also amends **ВЛАДОМН** into **ВЛЮДОМЫ** (= *блюдящие/блюстящие*) and omits the participle **ВНСАЦЕ**, thus considerably transforming the entire fragment into **ОУЖНННН ВЛЮДОМЫ СОУДА БЕЗМЕРНА** ('prisoners abiding by infinite judgement'); see also Vaillant [1952: 6, footnote 38] and Andersen [1984: 112-113, footnotes 7c, 7d, 7e, 7f]. MS *P*, on the other hand, reads as follows: **ВЕРЫЖНННН ВЛЮДОМН ВНСАЦА ЖДЖЦЕ СДАУ ВЕЛНКАГО Н БЕЗМЪРНАГО** ('hanging prisoners abidingly awaiting infinite judgement'). The scribes probably had difficulties in fully comprehending their respective Vorlage.

On the other hand, the motif of 'sinners / slanderers / gossipers / witches / sorcerers / magicians hanging by their tongues on iron hooks issuing forth from the branches of an iron tree and awaiting infinite judgement', is attested in some Slavonic apocrypha of eschatological content, such as *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* [*Хождение на Богородица по мжитѣ*, var. **СЛОВО ПРЕСТН В АЦЕ КАКЪ Е ДВНШ(ЛА) СЕТЕ МАКН**]. Thus, in one of the darkest spots of the western/northern compartment of 'the Eternal Sorrow' (which is hardly ever called in this apocryphon 'Hell'), the Mother of God sees

ДАРВО ЖНАЛЗНЪ Н ЖНЛЕЗНН МЪ КЛОПНТЪ Н НА ТАХЪ ВСЕХА МАЖЕ Н ЖЕНН МЛОГЪ ЗА ДЗНКО ОУВЕСЕНН. Н ПОПНТА Б АЦА АРХАНГЕЛА: ЦО СА ТЕЗН, ЦО НМЪ ГРЕХО. Н РЕУН АРХАНГЕЛЪ: ТЕЗН СА ВРОДНЦН Н МАГНѠСНЦН Н КЛЕВЕТНЦН, ДЕТО РАЗДЕЛЕТЪ БРАТЪ Ѡ БРАТА Н МАЖЕ Ѡ ЖЕНН Н ЖЕНН <Ѡ> МАЖЕ Н КЪМЕЦЪ Ѡ КЪМ ЦН [. .] [Lavrov 1899: 147].

The narrative describing the circumstances surrounding those sufferings in the 'the Eternal Sorrow' frequently employs the past passive participle of the verb 'hang', i.e. **ОУВЕСЕНЪ/ДВЕСЕНЪ, ОУВЕСЕНН/ДВЕСЕНН**. This detail can facilitate the decipherment of some obscure passages in 2 *Enoch*, e.g. the expression **ВЕРНЖНН ВЛАДОМН ВНСАЦЕ ЖДЖЦЕ СДАУ БЕЗМЪРНАГО**. Very much like Enoch himself, the Virgin Mary is guarded during her journey by 400 angels and guided by the Archangel Michael; and contrary to the opinion expressed in secondary literature on *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* (i.e. that she was escorted down to Hell), in primary sources her journey is hardly ever described as a descent. Her movements have a horizontal direction; occasionally her journey is even described as an ascent:

Н РЕУН АРХАНГЕЛЪ: НА КАДА НЦНШЪ ДА НДНМ Б АЦЕ. ТНА РЕУН: ДА НДНМЪ НА ЗАПАТЬ. Н САБРАХА СНУКНТЕ Ѡ АНГЕЛН Н ВДННАХА ПРЕУНСТА Б АЦА НА ЗАПАТЬ [. .] [Lavrov 1899: 146].

This spatial description is similar to the descriptions of celestial journeys in other apocalyptic narratives, including 2 *Enoch*, *The Ascension of Isaiah (Isaiah's Vision)*, *The Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*, etc. Considering the fact that the protograph of the apocryphon *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* was composed in Byzantium in the 6th century, i.e. when the (Christianized) Greek version of 2 *Enoch* was most probably in circulation, it would be logical to expect that the lexicon, imagery, poetic devices and indeed ideology of the latter must have had an impact upon that of the former. Furthermore *The Holy Mother of God's Journey Through Torments* was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic in the 10th-11th century, which coincides with the time when the Slavonic Vorlage of 2 *Enoch* presumably appeared; hence they must have been offspring of similar scribal conventions, mutually influencing each other. In fact, these two apocrypha (along with *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, *The Apocalypse of Paul*, *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, etc.) were but fractions of one multilingual meta-narrative transmitted through a diverse cluster of (parascriptural) apocalypses. See also the discussion in Sokolov [1910: 123-136].

For the iconography of 'sinners, hanging on chains awaiting infinite judgement' in religious art of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, see Figs 7, 8, 9 and 10.

¹¹⁶ Lit. 'immeasurable'.

аг҃лан бѣахж темнозрауни па^у тѣм земныѣ], and they produced incessant crying at all times [непрѣстане^н плауѣ творѣхж по вса часѣ]. And I said to the men with me [рѣ^х мжжема сжцима съ множ], 'Why do they suffer unceasingly?' The men answered me, 'These are God's apostates [сн сж^т ѿстжпници г҃ни] who did not obey God's commands [не послушаѣше повелѣнїе г҃не] but kept counsel according to their own will [нж своѣж волеж съвѣщавшѣ^с] and stepped back {from God} with their Prince {i.e. Satan} [ѿстжпниша съ князо^м своимѣ]; these are sentenced to be in the Fifth Heaven [нже сж^т оутврѣждени на пето^м нбсн].¹¹⁷ I became saddened on account of them and the {fallen} angels bowed before me, saying, 'Man of God [мжжоу бж҃и], pray for us to God.' I answered them, saying, 'But who am I? I am a mortal man [ѡлкѣ мртѣ], but let me pray for the {fallen} angels. Who knows where I am going and what will befall me and who will pray on my behalf?'

Chapter Five

From there, the men took me up to the Third Heaven [пожста ма ѿтждоу мжжа н възведоста ма на третоѣ нбо] and placed me in the middle of Paradise [поставнста ма по ср^ѣ породе].¹¹⁸ This place is of immense beauty [мѣсто то несѣвѣдно добротож].¹¹⁹ I saw all kinds of trees with sweet blossoms [вѣсѣ дрѣвеса

¹¹⁷ The shifting connection of the second and fifth heavenly rings with the planet Venus, the name of which, as stated by John the Damascene, was occasionally rendered as Lucifer (further identified as 'the fallen angel' from Isaiah 14: 12-15) may have also caused the association of the Second and Fifth Heavens with 'God's apostates who did not obey God's commands but kept counsel according to their own will and stepped back from God with their Prince Satanail'; see also the discussion below, footnotes 164, 210, 211 and 214.

¹¹⁸ The vocabulary of 'heavenly cosmography' referring to 'Garden of Eden' / 'Paradise' / 'Heaven' varies in the manuscript; hence the different renditions of certain celestial toponyms throughout the text. In this particular case, the word used by the indigenous Slavonic scribes to denote 'Paradise' is **порода** (= παράδεισος). It is quite significant that this 'domesticated' equivalent of the original Greek form was semantically bound, on the basis of its close phonetic similarity to the native Slavonic verb *podumu* ('to give birth', 'to beget'), to the idea of 'fertility', 'fecundity', 'birth'; thus **порода** — a *sui generis* telltale noun — came to describe 'the Paradise topos' as the ultimate symbol of fruitfulness and abundance. The attestations of **порода** are found in Glagolitic texts from the 10th-11th centuries (e.g. *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Assemanianus*), as well as in one of the earliest texts written in Cyrillic script in the same period, the *Codex Suprasliensis*; see in this connection Tseitlin, *et al.* [1999: 481] and Vasmer [1987: 330]. Furthermore the survey of Slavonic monuments in which the lexeme **порода** (= παράδεισος) is attested shows that most of them were copied before the 13th century [Sreznevskii 1895: 1208-1209]; of course, there are also later attestations of the form, but it gradually ceased to exist as a part of the active lexicon [Bogatova *et al.* 1991:120-121]. As for the *Enochic* corpus, it routinely conveyed the lexicon of earlier versions. One such case is presented by the 15th century account of *2 Enoch* (Russian redaction) from MS *U*. The anonymous Russian scribe renders the phrase 'and placed me in the middle of Paradise' as **поставнста ма посреда(н) породе**, employing the same term for 'Paradise' as the one used in earlier Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts from the Balkans. This kind of linguistic data is rather useful in defining both the time and the place of origin of the earliest Old Church Slavonic copies of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. In this particular case, evidence gathered from lexicographic sources suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period when the transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script occurred; as for the place of origin, the evidence points towards Bulgarian scribal tradition of that period.

¹¹⁹ Var. 'This place is of immeasurable/infinite fineness'.

БЛГОЦВѢТНА], and their fruits were ripe and aromatic [ПЛОДН Н^x ЗРѢЛН Н БЛГОДХАНІН]; and all food brought along {there} gave off a beautiful fragrance [ВЪСѢ БРАШНА ПРНЕСЕНА Н КЫПЕЦІА ДЫХАНІЕ^M БЛГОВОННЫ^M]. In the midst of it was the Tree of Life [ДРѢВО ЖИЗНЬНО], exactly on the spot where God rests [НА НЕ^M ЖЕ ПОУНВАЕ^T ГЪ] when He goes into [ѢГДА ВЪСХОДН^T]¹²⁰ Paradise [ВЪ РАН].¹²¹ This tree, in its goodness and fragrance, is unspeakably gorgeous [ТО ДРѢВО НЕСКАЖАЕМО Ё ДОБРОТОЖ Н БЛГОВОНСТВО^M Н КРАСНО] beyond all other existing creations [ПА^V ВЪСАЖ ТВАРН СЖЦЕА]. All around it looks like gold and fire-like red [Ѡ ВЪСЖДЪ ЗЛАТОВИДНО Н ЦЪРВЕНО ѠБРАЗ, О^M Н ѠГНЕЗРАУНО], covering entire Paradise [ВЕСЬ ПОРО^A]. It combines properties of all trees {ever} planted and all fruits. Its roots are in Paradise [КОРЕ^N ѢМОУ Е ВЪ ПОРОДѢ] at the exit to Earth [НА НСХОДѢ ЗЕМНО^M]. Paradise [РАН]¹²² lies between mortality¹²³ and immortality¹²⁴ [МЕЖДОУ ТЛѢНІЕ^M Н НЕТАЛѢНІЕ^M]. From it two springs emanate, from one of which milk and honey issue forth [ѢДННЬ ТОУН^T МЕ^A Н МЛѢКО], and {from the other} oil and wine [ѢЛЕН Н ВИНО].¹²⁵ They divide into four parts; while streaming silently [ѠВХОДА^T ТИХО^M ШЕСТВІЕ^M] they approach Eden's Paradise [РАН ЕДОМСКЪ] between mortality and

¹²⁰ Lit. 'ascends'.

¹²¹ On this occasion the scribe does not use the lexeme **порода** to denote 'Paradise', but the lexeme **Ран** instead. The latter has its cognates in all Slavonic languages (e.g. Bulg. *Paй*, Russ. *Paй*, Belarus. *Paй*, Serbo-Croat *Pâj*, Slovene *Râj*, Slovak *Raj*, Czech *Râj*, Polish *Raj*). These are masculine, and singularia tantum. There are also some related vernacular expressions, such as *Paй Божји*, *Paй Божжен*, *Paюм Бога*, *Божорай*, *Paйска градина* (attested in Bulgarian oral tradition), which may denote both Paradise and Hell. Furthermore in the same tradition the Sun is referred to as *Paйко*; the latter is a diminutive neuter noun (transformed into an anthroponym/theonym) deriving from the very same masculine noun used to denote Paradise (*Paй*). Besides, there exists a cluster of dialectal verbs, such as *paювам*, *paювам*, which denote 'to reign', 'to rule', 'to govern', 'to control'; see the discussion in Anastasov, Vasil *et al.* (eds) [2002: 163-165]. These contemporary forms (which are related to the Old Church Slavonic noun **Ран**), are offshoots of the proto-Slavonic lexeme **rajь*; the latter, in turn, derives from the ancient Indo-Iranian lexical corpus and has its close etymological relation to some Old Iranian/Old Persian words. The proto-Slavonic **rajь* corresponds to the Avestan form *ray*, meaning 'wealth', 'happiness'; see Vasmer [1987: 435-436]. These close linguistic correspondences should be considered, in my view, as evidence in ancient Eurasia for the existence of a certain common Ur-corpus of cosmogonic and cosmographic texts, which was subsequently inherited by Slavonic and Indo-Iranian cultural traditions. This discussion, however, is far beyond the scope of the present article.

To return to the vocabulary related to the concept of Paradise in Slavonic apocryphal tradition, it should be noted that the lexeme **Ран** is attested predominantly in *The Life of Adam and Eve*, *The Sea of Tiberias*, *The Legend of the Holy Rood and the Two Brigands*, and *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*. In the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, the nouns **порода** and **Ран** are employed concurrently with parallel celestial toponyms, such as *Edom*, *Edem*, *Eden*. In various redactions of the apocryphal *Sea of Tiberias* (especially in copies from the 18th century), however, the word **Ран** can be replaced by the appellation 'Heavenly Jerusalem', which is an obvious allusion to *The Book of Revelation*.

¹²² See the note above.

¹²³ Lit. 'corruptible.'

¹²⁴ Lit. 'incorruptible.'

¹²⁵ Common biblical imagery, also attested in Bulgarian Christmas carols, a detail which will be analysed elsewhere.

immortality [МЕЖДУ ТЛѢНІЕ И НЕТЛѢНІЕ]. Going further to the other side, they divide into 40 parts and pour out gently onto Earth. They make a circuit and revolve, like all elements of the air [НМА^Т ОБРАЩЕНІЕ КРЖГОУ СВОЕМОУ ЯКО ННІЕ СТУХІА ВОЗДУШНІЕ]. There is not a single tree {in Paradise} which does not bear fruit and each tree provides an abundant harvest. This entire place is blessed [ВСА МѢСТО БЛГОСЛОВЕСТВНО], and 300 exceedingly luminous angels who guard Paradise [ХРАНА^Т ПОРОДОУ] with unceasing voices and melodic singing serve God all day long. And I said, 'How beautiful this place is!' The {two} men said to me, 'Enoch, this place is prepared for the righteous [ПРАВЕДНИКО^М ДГОТОВАННО Е[~]] who suffered all kinds of misfortunes in their lives. When their souls were becoming embittered, they turned their eyes from iniquity¹²⁶ and they were judging justly. They gave bread to the hungry, they dressed the naked with garments, they raised the fallen, they helped the oppressed and orphans. They walked without vices before the face of God and served only Him. This place is prepared for them for an eternal inheritance.' The two men then took me to the northern side {of the Third Heaven} and showed me a frightening place of all kind of sorrows and tortures, chilly darkness [ЛЮТА ТЪМА] and a fog without light [МЪГЛА НЕСВѢТЛА] there.¹²⁷ A dark fire [ОГНЬ МРАУНЬ] was burning there inside it [ВЪЗГАРАЕТ СА ВЪНЖ], and a fiery river [РѢКА ОГНЬНА] ran through the entire place. On one side was fire and on the other side, cold ice, both burning and freezing [СТОУДЕНІН ЛЕДЪ ЖЕЖЕ^Т И ЗЕБЕ^Т]. I also saw a rather chilling dungeon [ОУЖНИЦЕ ЛЮТА ЗЪЛО] and murky pitiless angels [АГЛН ТОЖНН И НЕМАТНВЫ],¹²⁸ carrying cruel weapons [НОСАЦЕ ОРЖЖА НАПРАСНА] which cause merciless torture. And I said, 'Woe, woe, how very frightening is this place!' The {two} men told me, 'Enoch, this place is prepared for those who do not obey God, who do evil on Earth [НЖЕ ДѢЛАЖ^Т НА ЗЕМЛН ЗЛАА], {such as} magic/sorcery [УАРДѢНІА],¹²⁹ spells/ incantations [ОБААНІА],¹³⁰ and devilish divination [ВЛѢХВОВАНІА ВѢСОВСКА];¹³¹ who boast their evil deeds; {this place is prepared for} the forlorn ones,

¹²⁶ Or 'injustice'.

¹²⁷ According to the current text, both Paradise and Hell are placed next to each other, on the third heaven. The same celestial model (of Paradise and Hell being 'in heavens above, next to each other') is attested in Bulgarian oral tradition [Kovachev 1914: 17-18]. This correspondence between 2 *Enoch* and South-Slavonic folklore cosmography will be discussed elsewhere.

¹²⁸ Angels are torturing here, not devils. The place corresponds to Hell, which in this case is not described as a subterranean Underworld; see also the previous footnote.

¹²⁹ For iconographic devices employed in the depiction of those sufferings in Hell on the account of their having performed magic, sorcery and witchcraft on Earth, see Fig. 11.

¹³⁰ Referring to those who cast spells, or practice love magic, or perform healing rituals accompanied by chants and incantations, etc.; for the negative portrayal of healers and sorcerers as individual having a direct relationship with the Devil, see Fig. 5.

¹³¹ The formulaic expression **ВЛѢХВОВАНІА ВѢСОВСКА** has a fascinating socio-cultural subtext. The noun (**ВЛѢХВОВАНІЕ** / **ВЛѢХВОВАННІЕ**) has its earliest attestations in some Cyrillic texts composed in Bulgaria in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, such as *Codex Suprasliensis* [see 23: 5-6, as well as 22, 28, 151]. There the noun **ВЛѢХВОВАННІЕ** (along with its cognates **ВЛѢШЬВА**, **ВЛѢШЬСТВНІЕ**, **ВЛѢШЬСТВО**) is used to denote *μαγεία* / *φαρμακεία*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 118-119]. According to Sreznevskii [1893: 381-384], in some later sources the forms **ВЛѢХВОВАННІЕ** / **ВЛѢХВОВАННІЕ** / **ВОЛХВОВАННІЕ** designate the act of performing divination rites (=τὰ μαντεῖα, *divinationes*). The

who steal human souls [крадж^T дѣше ѱлѣе], who harass the poor, take their wealth and become richer from the property of others; instead of feeding the hungry, they starve them to death. Instead of providing clothes {for the poor}, they leave them naked. They do not recognise their Creator but bow before soulless and vain gods [вѣмь бездоушнн^M н соуетны^M], fashioning idols [зѣждѣше ѡбразы]¹³² and bowing before the impure creation of the hand [покланѣжѣше сѧ рѣкотворенїѧ мрѣзостномѢ]. For all these {sinners}, this place is destined for eternity.'

Chapter Six

And these men took me and raised me up to the Fourth Heaven. Here they showed me all the movements [всѣ шествїѧ] and paths [прѣхожденїе] and rays of light¹³³ of the Sun and Moon altogether [вса лоуѣа свѣта сѣнѣнаго н мѣсаунаго]; and I measured {the dimensions of} their movements [размѣрн^X шествїѧ ѣж]. I calculated their light [сложн^X свѣ^T ѣж] and I saw the sunlight is seven times greater than the moonlight [вндѣ^X седмогоубнѣ свѣ^T нма^T сѣнце па^V мѣа]. {I saw} their orbit [крѣжѣ ѣж] and their chariot [колесница ѣж],¹³⁴ on which each rides [на неѧ же азантѣ къждо ѣж] with wondrous velocity like the wind [ѧко вѣтрѣ ходаѣа прѣѣоднож брѣзостїѧ], without resting [нѣ^нма покоѧ], day and night going and returning [ноѣѣ н днѣ ходаѣема же вѣзвращѣжѣннм сѧ]. And on the right hand side of the Sun's chariot [ѡ деснѣѧ колеснице сѣнѣнѣ] {I saw} four big stars [ѣетрн свѣздн велнкѣж], each of which having 1000 subordinate¹³⁵ stars [коѣжде нмѣнн по[^] совож тнсаѣж свѣздѣ]; on its left hand side [ѡ шоуѧж] {I saw} another four stars, each of which having 1000 subordinate stars; all together, there were 8000 stars [вѣсѣ^X вѣкоупѣ .н. тнсаѣѣ], always going with the Sun [ходаѣе сѣ сѣнце вннж]. During the day, the Sun is guided by 15 myriads of angels [вода^T ѣго вѣ днѣ .ѣї. тѣмж агѣль], and during the night {by} 1000 six-winged angels, marching before the chariot [ѧ вѣ ноѣѣ тнсѣѣ агѣль, комоуждо агѣлоу по шестѣ крыль, нже ходѣтѣ прѣ[^] колесницеѧ]; and 100 angels give fire to him {i.e. the Sun} [ѡгнѣ даѧ^T ѣмоу сто агѣль]. And spirits in the image of two birds [дѣн летаѣе образо^M двѣю птнѣ], Phoenix [фннїѣ] and Chalcedra [хал'кедрїн],¹³⁶ are going {before

forms **ВЪЛХВЪ** / **ВЛЪХВЪ** / **ВЪЛЪХВЪ** / **ВОЛЪХВЪ** / **ВЪЛХВЪ**, on the other hand, were used to signify the (three) Magi visiting the infant Jesus. In the latter case, the forms **ВЪЛХВЪ** / **ВЛЪХВЪ** / **ВЪЛЪХВЪ** / **ВОЛЪХВЪ** / **ВЪЛХВЪ** were used to denote 'sages' / 'wise men' / 'astrologers' (i.e. those who can read and interpret the signs of Heaven). Still, in medieval Slavonic tradition the forms **ВЪЛХВЪ** / **ВЛЪХВЪ** / **ВЪЛЪХВЪ** / **ВОЛЪХВЪ** / **ВЪЛХВЪ** tend to have negative connotations, due to their transparent link with demonic forces; hence the expression **ВЛЪХВОВАНїѧ Вѣсовска** (the semantic coverage of the adjective **Вѣсовскѣ** is analysed below, footnote 247).

¹³² Lit. 'images'.

¹³³ See also the discussion in Andersen [1983: 120, footnote 11 d].

¹³⁴ For the textual problems occurring in various renditions of the same paragraph in MSS *A*, *J*, *P* and *V*, see Andersen [1983: 120, footnote 11 e].

¹³⁵ Lit. 'below it', 'under it'.

¹³⁶ On the parallel depiction of the mythical beings/birds Phoenix [**ФННІѣ**] and Chalcedra [**ХАЛ'КЕДРїѧ**] (described as either 'solar elements' or 'spirits') in *2 Enoch* (as attested in MSS *J* and

the Sun during the day}; their faces¹³⁷ are lion-like [ОБРАЗН Н^Х ЛЬВОВЬ] and their feet, tails, and head are like those of crocodiles [НОГЕ Н ОПА^{III} Н ГЛАВА КОРКОДНЛОУ].¹³⁸ Their image [ВНДѢНІЕ Н^Х]¹³⁹ was {many-}coloured like the heavenly rainbow [ВНДѢНІЕ Н^Х ОВАГРЕНО ЯКО ДОУГА ОВЛАУНА], and the size of their angelic wings is 900 measures¹⁴⁰ [ВЕЛНКОТА Н^Х ДЕВА^Т СЖ^Т МѢРЬ]; their wings are angelic [КРНЛА Н^Х АГЃСКА] and each of {these birds} has 12 wings [КОМОУЖДЕ Н^Х ПО .ВІ. КРНЛѢ]; it is they who are harnessed to the Sun's chariot [НЖЕ МЖУЕ^Т КОЛЕСНИЦЖ СЛЃЦОУ], carrying dew [НОСАЩЕ РОСЖ] and {oppressive} heat [ЗНОН]; and as God orders [ЯКО ПОВЕЛН^Т ГЬ], they turn [ТАКО ОВРАЦАЖ^Т],¹⁴¹ descending and ascending along the sky and Earth [ННСХОДН^Т Н ВЪСХОДА^Т ПО НБСН Н ПО ЗЕМАН], with the light of their rays [СЪ СВѢТО^М ЛОУЧЬ СВОИ^Х].¹⁴²

The {two} men then took me to the eastern side of this Heaven [НЕСОСТА МА МЖЖА ТА НА ВЪСТОКЪ НБСН ТОГО] and showed me the gates [ВРА^Т] through which the Sun passes [НМНЖЕ ПРОНСХОДН^Т СЛЃЦЕ] routinely at the times appointed [по

S/R) and *3 Baruch*, see Sokolov [1905: 399-405]. The number of the wings of the Phoenix in *2 Enoch* is 12, whereas in *3 Baruch* it is 2. On the earliest attestations (from the 13th-14th cent.) of the form **ФННІЅЪ** (var. **ФДНІЅЪ**, **ФДННКСЬ**, **ФУННКСЬ**) as 'domesticated' forms of the Greek *Φοῖνιξ*, see Lavrov [1899: iv-vi], and Sreznevskii [1903: 1357-1358]; see also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 436, footnote XII.1] and Andersen [1983: 122, footnotes 12c and 12 d; 134, fn 19e] and Kulik [2010: 15, 17, 19, 23, 30-31, 39, 43, 47, 54, 58, 235-244, 296].

¹³⁷ Or 'images' / 'appearances'.

¹³⁸ A typical description of a composite mythical being (like a sphynx or griffon), which betrays mythological background.

¹³⁹ Lit. 'appearance'.

¹⁴⁰ For **мѣра** see the data presented in Sreznevskii [1895: 242-244], Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 340]; see also the discussion in Andersen [1983: 122, footnote 12 g].

¹⁴¹ Lit. 'return in the same way'; but it can also be read as 'transform'.

¹⁴² Compare this to the following fragment from the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Baruch* (= *Baruch 3*) [УЪТЕНІЕ СЃГО Вароха, ієга посланъ вѣ^т к немуу ангѣл Паноунѣ оу сѣоу гороу Снѣоно на рѣцѣ, ієг^а плака се ѿ плѣнени Юроусѣмьсѣмь. Гѣ блѣсви] from the 13th-14th century *Dragolev Miscellany* (containing a Serbian recension of an earlier (Bulgarian) redaction [Ivanov 1925: 227]):

Н пакы рече мн ангѣл: ходи, Вароше, и покажию ти нны танны, и видши ѿноудѣже слоунце вьсходнтъ. Н покажа мн ѿроужна четворосѣбразна: и вѣхоу кони пламени, кони же ти ангѣл перьнатн, и на ѿроужн томь сѣдѣше члѣвѣкъ носе вѣнѣць ѿгнѣны; и носмо же вѣ ѿроужнѣ то .к. ангѣлы, и се пѣтница прѣдн лѣтаюци, и крнлѣ іен ѿ вьстока до запада. Н рѣхъ азъ Варохъ къ ангѣлоу: скажи мн, гѣ мон, чѣто ієсть ѿроужнѣ снѣ, чѣто лн ієсть члѣвѣкъ сѣде на ѿроужн семь и носе ѿгнѣны вѣнѣць, и чѣто лн ієсть птница снѣ, и скажи ми? Н рече мн ангѣл: чѣловѣкъ сѣден на ѿроужн ѿгнѣнѣмь и носѣн вѣнѣць ѿгнѣны, рече мн ангѣл, се ієсть слоунѣце, а се пѣтница, юже видши прѣлѣтаюци, се ієсть храннло всемоу мнроу. Н рѣхъ азъ Варохъ къ ангѣлоу: да како храннтель мнроу пѣтница ієсть? Н рече мн ангѣл: сн птница простнраієтъ крнлѣ свон и заіємлетъ лоуче ѿгнѣне слоунца; аще бо вн не заіємала лоучъ слѣнѣныхъ, не вн трѣпѣль родъ члѣвѣскн и всака тварь пламене слоунѣнаго. Повелѣ бо Гѣ снѣн птницн работати всен вьселенѣй до скончаннн вѣка. Нѣ внжѣ десноіє крнло чѣто пншетъ намь. Прнстоупнѣ и прочѣтохъ іє: вѣхоу же кннгы іако и токь велнкъ, и вѣхоу кннгы ти златы, и прочѣтохъ іє, и писаннѣ снѣ: нн зємла мнє родн, нн нево, нѣ родн мє прѣстоль ѿцѣ. Н рѣхъ азъ Варохъ: чѣто ієсть нмє пѣтницн сен? Н рече мн ангѣл: нмє ієсть птницн сен фннѣѣ (Quoted after Ivanov [1925: 197]).

See also footnote 149.

8СТАВНЫ^М ВРЪМЕНЕ^М], in accordance to its monthly rounds during the entire year [по ѿБХОЖЕНІЕ^М МѢСА ЛѢТА ВЪСЕГО], and to the numbering of the horologium, day and night [по ѸНСЛО УАСОВЕРІЖ ДНЬ Н ПО^{III}].¹⁴³ I saw six vast open gates [шестора врата велнка ѿврѣста]; each of these gates had 61¼ *stadia* [кааждо врата нмаца ста<дїе> ѿа н ѸТВРЪТЬ ЕДННОГО СТАДІЕ]. I measured them diligently and I realised that this was their size. From them the Sun exits [нмн же нсходн^T слнцѣ] and goes to the Earth [нде^T на земан], and becomes even [сърavnѣжт са],¹⁴⁴ and enters into each month [въходн^T въ вса мѣѣ]. From the first gate, [the Sun] is coming out for 42 days [а.мн вратн нсходнтъ днн . мв.]; from the second {gate} — 35 {days} [вторнмн днн . лѣ.]; from the third {gate} — 35 {days} [третнмн днн . лѣ.]; from the fourth {gate} — 35 {days} [ѸТВРЪТНМН ДНН . лѣ.]; from the fifth {gate} — 35 {days} [петнмн днн . лѣ.], and from the sixth {gate} — 42 {days} [шестнмн днн . мѣ.]; then again after that, [the Sun] starts in reverse from the sixth gate for a second circuit of seasons [пакы въспа^T възврацает са ѿ шестн^x вра^T по ѿвшествіе врѣманномуу], and returns through the fifth gate for 35 {days} [въходн^T петнмн врата днн . лѣ.]; through the fourth {gate} for 35 {days} [а.мн днн . лѣ.], through the third {gate} for 35 {days} [.г.мн дннн лѣ], and through the second {gate} for 35 {days} [вторнмн днн . лѣ]. This is how the days of each year end after the passing of the four earthly seasons [тако сконѸает са днїе лѣта въсего, по възврато^М а ре^x врѣмань].¹⁴⁵

And then these men took me to the western side of this Heaven, and they showed me five¹⁴⁶ large gates [врата петора велнка] which are open on the other side of the eastern {heavenly} gates [ѿврѣста по ѿбходоу въстоѸны^x вра^T]. Through them the sun sets, and the number of these days is 365¼ [по ѸНСЛОУ ДНН

¹⁴³ The form **УАСОВЕРІЕ** refers to the knowledge of 'timekeeping'; it is a composite (verbal) noun consisting of two components. The first part denotes 'time' / 'season' [**УАС-**], while the second refers to the process of 'collecting', 'harvesting', 'keeping track of' [with the form **-ВЕРІЕ** being a derivative from the verb **берж**]. A similar expression is attested in MS *P* (i.e. **УНСЛѸ УАСОВЕРІА**); see Sokolov [1899: 11, footnote 52]. MS *U*, on the other hand, reads **УАСѸВОРЪЕ ЛѢТОВНОЕ** [Sokolov 1910: 115].

¹⁴⁴ The verb **сърavnѣжт са** is reflexive. Possible reference to the equinox.

¹⁴⁵ The first gate (42 days) takes 6 weeks, the 2nd gate (35 days) is 5 weeks, the 3rd gate takes 5 weeks, the 4th gate takes 5 weeks, the 5th takes 5 weeks, and the 6th takes 6 weeks. Returning, the sun goes to the 5th gate for 5 weeks, 4th gate 5 weeks, 3rd gate 5 weeks, and the 2nd gate 5 weeks. Altogether the Sun's celestial journey takes 52 weeks (= 364 days). Further on the description of Sun's movements in various MSS, see Andersen [1983: 122-124, and especially footnote 13h] and Navtanovich [2000: 208, 389]. For the 364 day calendar in Qumran, see Ben Dov [2008], although the connection with the solar path in 2 *Enoch* was not noted.

¹⁴⁶ Should read 'six'; as suggested by Andersen [1983: 124-125, fn. 14b], the numeral equivalent of the letter 'E' (**ЕСТЬ**) in Cyrillic alphabet is '5' (Ѹ) whereas in Glagolitic the same letter has the numeral value of '6'. This detail indicates that the protograph of the 2 *Enoch* may have been composed/copied initially into Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian using Glagolitic script and only later converted into Cyrillic; this process caused varying readings in the text (reflecting differences between Glagolitic and Cyrillic numeral equivalents of one and the same letter). Similar mistakes took place when numeral values of other letters (such as ВѸди, Глаголь, Добро, etc.) were converted from Glagolitic to Cyrillic; see in this connection Ivanova [1976: 24-27]. As usefully pointed out by Andersen, 'similar confusion among numerals can be explained in term of Glagolitic originals' [*ibid.*: 125, fn 14b].

.тѣ. н ѹетврѣ^т].¹⁴⁷ This is how {the Sun} sets through the western gates [такѡ заходнѣ западннмн вратн]. When it goes out through the western gates [ѣгда нзѣдеѣ ѿ запазны вратѣ], 400 angels take its wreath [вѣзмѣѣ ѹетврнста агѣль вѣнець ѣго] and bring it to God [несѣѣ ѣго къ Гѡу], while the Sun turns back with its chariot [слѣце ѡбратаѣ съ колесннцѣѣ ѣго] and spends 7 hours of the night without light [прѣходнѣ безѣ свѣта .ѣ. ѹа^с ноцн лнкы^х].¹⁴⁸ In the 8th hour of the night [вѣ .н. ѹа^с ноцн], 400 angels bring the wreath along [прнносѣѣ агѣлы .ѣ.ста агѣль вѣнець] and crown {the Sun} with it [н вѣнѹажѣ ѣго], while the elements, called Phoenix and Chalcedra, sing {psalms to the Sun} [вѣспоеѣ стнхн рекомн фнннксѣ н халкедрн]. Because of this, all birds clap their wings [того радн вса птнцѣ вѣстрепѣѣжѣ крѣлн своннн], rejoicing at the one who provides light [ра^аѹѣце са свѣтодавцоу] and sing with their voices [поѣѣ гѣсы своннн], 'Here comes the Light-giver and gives light to its creation [прнходнѣ свѣтодавецѣ н даѣѣ свѣтъ тварн своеѣѣ]!¹⁴⁹ And then they showed me the calculation of the Sun's itinerary [се расѹнтаннѣ показѣста мн хожденнѣ слѣѹнаго] and the gates through which the sun rises and sets [врата, нмн же вѣходнѣ н нсходнѣ]. These gates are vast, because God created {them} for the horologium of the year [сна бо врата велнка сѣѣѣ, нже сѣворн бѣ ѹасовернѣ лѣтовна]. This is why the Sun was created so large.

Then the two men showed me another calculation of the entire path of the moon, all its movements and phases, and 12 big gates eternally facing to the east. Through these gates the moon enters and exits at a regular intervals of time. Through the 1st gate [ѣ мн вратн], 31 days precisely according to the sun's position [днн .ѣа. на мѣста слѣѹна нзвѣстно], through the 2nd gate, 35 days precisely [вѣ дѣнн .ѣе.

¹⁴⁷ As noted by Andersen, this detail is found only in MSS of the longer recension [1984: 124-125, footnote d] and reflects later interpolations. It can be argued that it was inserted by scribe(s) in order to justify the span of the Julian year (i.e. 365¼ days) contradicting (in the same text) the earlier calendar tradition of the Jewish 364 year (see footnote 145 above).

¹⁴⁸ As the above text indicates, the Sun does not orbit but goes on and off like a lamp, which is also maintained in Babylonian cosmology.

¹⁴⁹ This is paralleled by the following fragment from the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Baruch* (=Baruch 3) [ѹѣтѣннѣ стѣо Варѡха, ѣга посланѣ бѣѣ къ немѡу агѣль Панѡуналѣ ѡу стѣоу гороу Снѣннѡ на рѣцѣѣ, ѣг^а плака се ѿ плѣнѣннн Юроусѣмьсцѣмь. Гѣн бѣосвн] from the 13th-14th cent. *Dragolev Miscellany*:

Н слѣшахѣ громѣ велнкѣ зѣло съ нѣсе, н ѡупроснхѣ агѣла ѹто се бѣѣ громѣ снн, гѣн моѣ?
Н реѣ мн агѣль: сн громѣ, ѣже слѣша, разѣѡуѹаѣѣтъ свѣтъ ѡѣтъмь, нзѣносѣтъ агѣнн
вѣнѣць слоунѣѹань до прѣстола вѣннн. Н вндѣхѣ слоунѣце гредѡуѣѣ, н бѣше ѡко
ѹавѣкъ ѡупыль н дрѣхль, вндѣхѣ же н пѣтнцѡ снѡ гредѡуѣѣ с нмь, н бѣ же дрѣхьла.
Н вѣпроснхѣ азѣ агѣла: ѹто ѣсть птнца снн дрѣхла снѣце? Н реѹе мн агѣль: дрѣхла
ѣсть ѿ зноѣ н кара слоунѣѹнаго. Н слѣсахѣ ѡу зѡвоуѣѣ: свѣтодавѹе, пошлн свѣтъ
твон мнроу. Ісг^а же вѣзѣѹаѣѣтъ: свѣтодавѹе, пошлн свѣтъ твон мнроу, н авннѣ пѣтель
вѣзгласнѣтъ. Н пакы рѣхѣ къ агѣлоу: гѣн, скажн мн, много лн поѹнѹаѣѣтъ слоунѣце? Н
реѹе мн агѣль толнко поѹнѹаѣѣтъ, ѿнѣланже пѣтель вѣзгласнѣтъ н донѣлѣѣже свѣтъ
бываѣѣтъ, н пакн понѣдетѣ. Н пакы реѹе мн агѣль: слѣшнн, Варѡше, ѣѣѣе ть скажѡ ѡ
прѣхожѣннн слоунѣѹнѣмь. Ісг^а бо мнмоходнѣ дѣѣ н прѣходнѣ слоунѣце ѿ агѣль
вѣзѡуѣтъ вѣнѣць слоунѣѹань н ѡузнѡсѣтъ до прѣстола вѣннн, ѡскврънѣаѣѣтъ бо се ѿ
земле н ѿ грѣхѣ земльнѣхь: н ѣдг^а бо прѣходнѣ слоунѣце по небѣсн, не трѣпнѣтъ внде
безѣконнѣ все по землан: ѡубнства, прѣѣѡводѣѣанннн, н плаѹетѣ се, ѡскврънѣаѣѣтъ бо
вѣнѣць свон, сѣго радн ѡѹнѣѣаѡѣѣ се ѡу прѣстола вѣнн. (Quoted after Ivanov [1925:
198]).

For folklore parallels, see Mochul'skii [1887: 53-56].

НЗВѢСТНО], through the 3rd {gate}, 30 days precisely [Г ДНН Л НЗВѢСТНО],¹⁵⁰ through the 4th, 30 days precisely [Д-МН ДНН Л НЗВѢСТНО], through the 5th, 31 days exceptionally [Е ДНН .ЛѦ. НЗРАДНО], through the 6th, 31 days precisely [Ѕ-МН ДНН .ЛѦ. НЗВѢСТНО], through the 7th, 30 days precisely [З-МН ДНН Л НЗВѢСТНО], through the 8th, 31 days exceptionally [И-МН ДНН .ЛѦ. НЗРАДНО], through the 9th, 31 days accurately [Ѡ-МН ДНН .ЛѦ. НСПИТНО],¹⁵¹ through the 10th, 30 days precisely [Г-МН ДНН Л НЗВѢСТНО], through the 11th, 31 days precisely [ДІ-МН ДНН .ЛѦ. НЗВѢСТНО], through the 12th, 22 days precisely [ВІ-МН ДНН .КВ. НЗВѢСТНО].¹⁵² Thus having passed through all western gates, {the Moon} enters through the eastern gates and this is how the year ends.¹⁵³ The days of the Sun are 365^{1/4}, [СЛНЦОУ ДНН ТЖЕ Н УЕТВРЬ Т ÊДННОГО ДНЕ] while the lunar year is 354¹⁵⁴ days [ЛОУНОМОУ ЛЪТОУ ТНД], consisting of 12 months [ТВОРА ВІ МЦЕ] calculated {each} to have 29 days [РАСУНТАЕМО ПО КѠ ДНН]. There is an 11 day discrepancy from the solar year, which is an annual lunar *epact* [ЛНШАЕ^М АІ ДНН СЛНЦУНАГО КРЖГА, ЕЖЕ СЖ Т НА ВСЪКО ЛЪТО ÊПАКТН ЛДННЪ]. This great cycle holds for 532 years [ТЪ ЖЕ ВЕЛНКЫ КРЖ Г ДРЪЖН ЛЪ Т Ё СЖ Т ЛВ].¹⁵⁵ By means of a quarter it passes by in 3 years [УЕТВРЪТНМН ХОДН Т ВЪ Г ЛЪТА],¹⁵⁶ and the fourth fulfils it precisely [Д ТО НЗВѢЩЕНО НАПЛЪНЪЖТЬ].¹⁵⁷ For this reason {exclusions, that is 1/4 days} are being subtracted from {calculations concerning} heavenly {bodies}¹⁵⁸ for 3 years [НЗАТН СЖ Т КРОМЪ НБСН ВЪ Г ЛЪТА], until what is less is filled in {= 366 days}. What is taken {into account in figuring the epact} is 3 years and is not added to the number of days {i.e. 1/4 days are excluded}, which is why they alter the lengths of the years in 2 new moons for fulfilling, 2 others for diminishing {the length of the year}.¹⁵⁹ When this {cycle} is over, the western gates are passed through [ЕГДА СКОУАЕТ СА ЗАПАДНАА ВРАТА], {and the Moon} returns to

¹⁵⁰ Var. 31 (in *U*).

¹⁵¹ Var. 35 days (in *P*); see Sokolov [1899: 14, footnote 138].

¹⁵² The number of days given in *U* is also 22 [КВ], but in *P* the days are 28 [КН]; see Sokolov [1899: 14, footnote 143].

¹⁵³ Further on the description of Moon's movements in various MSS, see Andersen [1983: 126-130, especially footnotes 16 b, 16d, 16e, 16f].

¹⁵⁴ Var. 364 days (in *U*).

¹⁵⁵ This 'Great cycle' (i.e. 'Dionysian cycle', or 'Great Paschal Period') of 532 years reflects the total years of the solar cycle (28 years) times the years of the lunar/Metonic cycle (19) 'after which all movable ecclesiastical festivals occur on the same day of the month and the same day of the week' [Andersen 1984: 125, footnote 14d]; see also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 438, footnote XVI.5], and Stern [2001: 9].

¹⁵⁶ That is, 365 days (omitting the quarter day).

¹⁵⁷ This means that the fourth year is going to consist of 366 days (+ 4 times 1/4 days).

¹⁵⁸ Lit. 'out of heaven'.

¹⁵⁹ This entire passage is complicated in both longer and shorter recensions, probably because scribes did not fully comprehend the Vorlage. The Moon's 'fulfilling' and 'diminishing' the year possibly refer to intercalations of the lunar calendar, which could potentially be made twice in the year, in months *Elul* and *Adar*, in Babylonian and early Jewish traditions.

the eastern gates with its light. This is how it moves day and night in a heavenly orbit [ТАКО ХОДИТ ДНЬ И НОЩЬ ПО КРЖЗЬ^x НБНЬ^x]; {moving} below all other heavenly orbits it goes faster than the winds of heaven [ИИЖЕ ВЪСЪ^x КРЖГО^x СКОРЪЕ ВЪТРЕ НБНЬ^x]. When the spirits [ДЪХИ] are flying, each angel has 6 wings.¹⁶⁰ The lunar orbit has 7 divisions [Ъ РАЗУБЪТЕНИ НМА^t ЛОУНИИ КРЖ^r] and each cycle has 19 years [СЪБХОЖДЕНІЕ НМЪЕ ПО .БІ. ЛЪ^t].¹⁶¹ Amidst the heavens I saw armed hosts [ВОЕ ВЪОРЖЖЕННЫЕ] serving God [СЛОУЖЕЦА ГЪН] with drums¹⁶² and organs¹⁶³ [ВЪ ТУМПАНЪ^x И ОРГАНЪ^x] with the unceasing sound [НЕПРЪСТАНЫМЪ ГЛАСОМЪ] of sweet singing [БАГЪМЪ ПЪНІЕМЪ]. Having heard it, I rejoiced at it.

Chapter Seven

And these men took me and raised me up on their wings [ВЪЗВЕДОСТА МА КРНЛОУ ЕЖ] to the Fifth Heaven [НА Ё-Ж НБО].¹⁶⁴ Here I saw countless warriors [МНОГЫЖ ВОЕ ПЕНЗУБЪТЕНІЕ] called *Gregori* [РЕКОМІН ГРІГОРЕ] (=Watchers),¹⁶⁵ the appearance of which is like the appearance of humans [ВНДЪНІЕ И^x ІАКО ВНДЪНІЕ ЧЛЪВЪЧЕ]. Their immensity {was} as enormous as the vastness of huge giants [ВЕЛНУБСТВО НХЪ ВЕЩЕ ЦЪДОВЪ ВЕЛНЪ^x]; their faces were morose [ЛІЦА И^x ДРАХЛА] and their mouths are constantly silent [МЪЛУАНЕ ОУСТЪ И^x ВЪСЕГДА]. There was no {divine} service [НЕ БЪ СЛУЖЕНІА НА Ё-МЪ НБСН] in the Fifth Heaven,¹⁶⁶ and I asked the men accompanying me, 'Why are these {Gregori} so sad [ЧЕСО РАДИ СИ СЖ^t ДРАХЛИ СЪЛО], and their faces are morose [ОУНІЛА ЛІЦА И^x] with their mouths silent [ОУСТА И^x МЪЛУЕЦА], and why no {divine} service is {performed} in this heaven?' The men answered me, 'Those are the Gregori {=Watchers}, and 200 myriads of them parted from God with their prince Satanail [ИЖЕ СЪВРЪГОШЪ СЪ ГѦ СЪ ТЪМЖ СЪ КНАЗЕ^m СВОИ^m

¹⁶⁰ See Forbes and Charles [1913: 439, footnote XVI. 7]

¹⁶¹ Reference to 'the Metonic cycle of 19 years during which 7 seven lunar months must be intercalated' [Andersen 1984: 125, footnote 14d]; see also Forbes and Charles [1913: 439, footnote XVI. 8].

¹⁶² The lexeme **тоумпанъ** comes from the Greek *τύμπανον*; apart from the 2 *Enoch*, it is also attested in the earliest Slavonic Psalter, the Glagolitic *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (dated to the 11th century); see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 708].

¹⁶³ For the attestations of the forms **органы** / **оръганы** (var. **варганъ** / **варганъ**) as a 'domesticated' Slavonic version of the Greek *ὄργανον*, see Sreznevskii [1893: 227; 1895: 704-705].

¹⁶⁴ The identification of the Fifth Heaven as the space where the Watchers are sentenced (and the Second as the imprisonment for those following them), may be caused by the concealed association between the second and fifth rings as the abode of Venus=Lucifer (i.e. 'the fallen one' from Isaiah 14: 12-15); see also footnotes 117, 210, 211, 214.

¹⁶⁵ The form Grigori comes from the Greek *Ἐγρηγοροι* (= Vigiles, the Watchers); see also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 439-440, footnote XVIII.3] and Andersen [1983: 130, footnote 18a].

¹⁶⁶ Suggesting that the celestial Universe is imagined as a temple in which heavenly Liturgy is served; in the place where the Watchers were sentenced, however, there was no Liturgy; see also in this connection the discussion in Himmelfarb [2010: 76-78].

Сатанаѡѡ^М].¹⁶⁷ Following in their footsteps are those {who are now} hanging on chains in the Second Heaven [по нн^х нже сж^т ходнлн вернжннцн¹⁶⁸ въ слѣ^а н^х, нже сж^т на вторѣ^м нѣсн], engulfed by deep darkness [ѡбарѣжнмн тѡмож велнкож]. They descended to Earth from God's throne [нже сѣнндошж на земла ѡ прѣстола гнѣ] on a place {called Mount} Hermon¹⁶⁹ [на мѣсто Ермона] and broke their covenant {with God} [прѣтрѣгоша ѡбѣщаніе] on the shoulder of Mount Hermon [на рамѣ горы Ермонскыѣ].¹⁷⁰ The Earth was polluted by their deeds [ѡскврѣнн са земла дѣламн н^х]. Human women [женн ѡлѣкыѣ] sinned greatly [велнко зло твора^т] during all times of that epoch [въ вса врѣмена вѣка сего], lawlessly committing the mixing {of species} [безаконоуѣце твораѣце смѣшеніа], giving birth to giants [раждажт са нсполн] and enormous colossi [цждове велнцн] and {thus bringing about} great malevolence [велнка непріазнь].¹⁷¹ Because of this, God condemned them in the Great Tribunal [ѡсждн н^х бѣ велнко^м сждѡ^м]; and {the Gregori} are crying for their brethren {in the Second Heaven} [рыдаж братіе свое] since they will be judged on the Great Day of God [оукорены вждж^т въ днѣ велнкы гнѣ].¹⁷² And I said to the Gregori, 'I saw your brethren. I saw their deeds [твореніа н^х], their suffering [мжченіа н^х], and their great prayers [велнка моленіа н^х], and I prayed for them [азъ мѣлх са ѡ нн^х]; {but} God condemned them {to be} under the Earth [нж ѡсжднлѣ а ѣ Гѣ под землаж],¹⁷² until both heaven and earth are finished forever [дондеже сконѡует са нѣбо н земла въ вѣкы].¹⁷² And then I said, 'Why are you waiting for your brethren instead of serving before God's face [вѣскжа жднте братіе свое, а не слоужнте прѣ^а лнце^м гнѣмѣ]? {Serve before God's face}, so that you do not anger God to the end {of His patience} [да не прогнѣванте Гѣ Бѣ вашего до конца].' They listened to my advice [послоушаше наказыніа] and lined up in four ranks in that Heaven [сташж на

¹⁶⁷ See Forbes and Charles [1913: 440, footnote XVIII. 3].

¹⁶⁸ See the discussion above (footnote 115).

¹⁶⁹ On the axiology of 'Mount Hermon' as a topos of wickedness, see Forbes and Charles [1913: 440, footnote XVIII. 4] and Andersen [1983: 132, footnote 18e]; see also the next footnote.

¹⁷⁰ This parallels the following segment from *1 Enoch*, Chapter 6 (line 7):

and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon. And they called the mountain Hermon, because on it they swore and bound one another with curses [Sparks 1984: 188-189]).

¹⁷¹ Compare to the following passage from *1 Enoch*, Chapter 7 (lines 1-3):

And they took wives for themselves, and everyone chose for himself one each. And they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them. And they taught them charms and spells, and showed to them the cutting of roots and trees. And they became pregnant and bore large giants [...] [Sparks 1984: 189-190].

A similar statement concerning the birth of giants is made once again in Chapter 9 (lines 8-10):

And they went in to the daughters of men together, and lay with those women, and became unclean, and revealed to them sins. And the women bore giants, and thereby the whole earth has been filled with blood and iniquity [...] [Sparks 1984: 193-194].

¹⁷² Here is a reference to the Second Heaven as a subterranean place, a discrepancy in the text.

УЕТРН УННН НБСН СЕ^М]. While I was standing with the {two} men, four trumpets sounded together loudly [ВЪСТРЖЪНШЖ Д-РН ТРЖЪН ВЪКОУПЪ ГЛСО^М ВЕЛНКО^М] and the Gregori began singing in one voice [ВЪСПЪШЖ ГРНГОРН ЁДННОГЛАСНО], and their voices ascended to God's face [ВЪЗЫДЕ ГЛА^Х Н^Х ПРЪ ЛНЦЕ^М ГНА^А].

Chapter Eight

And these men took me and raised me up to the Sixth Heaven [ВЪЗЕСТА МА ЁСЖДОУ МЖЖА ТА Н ВЪЗНЕСОСТА МЕ НА Ш-Е НБО]. Here I saw seven bands of the most bright and glorious angels [Ъ УЕТЪ АГГЛЪ ПРЪСВЪТАН Н СЛАВНЫ ЗЪЛО], whose faces were shining more strongly than radiant rays of the Sun [ЛНЦА Н^Х СНАЕЦЪ ПА^У ЛОУУЪ СЛНУНЪХЪ ЛЪЦЕЦЕ СА]. Their faces were no different from the form and appearance of their garments [НЪ РАЗЛНУЇА ЛНЦОУ НЛН ОЪДАРЪЖАНІА НЛН СЪПРНОЖЕНІА ОДЕЖДН Н^Х]. These bands {of angels} are in charge¹⁷³ of the movements of stars [ТЫ УННН ТВОРА^Т НЗЪОУУАЖ^Т ЗВЪЗДНОЕ ХОЖДЕНІЕ], the Sun's orbit [СЛНУНО ОЪРАЩЕНІЕ], the Moon's phases [ЛОУНО ПРЪМЪНЕНІЕ]; they see earthly benevolence and malevolence [МНРСКОЕ БАГОТВОРАНІЕ Н ЗЛОУНННІЕ ВНАЦЕ]. They give¹⁷⁴ orders and instructions [СТРОА^Т ЗАПОВЪДН Н ПОУУЕНІЕ]; and singing with sweet voices [СА^В БОГЛАННОЕ ПЪНІЕ] {they give} every glorious praise [ВСЪКЖ ХВАЛЖ СЛАВНЖА]. These are the archangels [АРХАГГЛН] who are above the angels [НЖЕ НА^А АГГЛН] and above every other creature, whether celestial or terrestrial [ВСЪКО ЖНТІЕ СЪМНРАЖ^Т, НБНОЕ Н ЗЕМНОЕ]; and {these archangels are above} angels {who are in charge} of times and years, and {above} angels {who are in charge} of rivers and seas, and {above} angels {who are in charge} of every earthly fruit [АГГЛН НЖЕ НА^А ПЛОДЫ ЗЕМНЫМН], and {above angels who are in charge} of every grass and every food given to each living being [НА^А ВСЪКОЖ ТРЪВОЖ Н ВСЪКЖ ПИЦІЖ ДАЖЦЕ ВЪСАКОМОУ ЖНВОТОУ], and {above} the angels {who are in charge} of all human souls [АГГЛН ВСЪ^Х ДШЪ УЛУЪСКЪ^Х]; {these archangels} write down the deeds {of all people} and their lives before God's face [ПНШЖ^Т ВСЪ ДЪЛА Н^Х Н ЖНТІЖ Н^Х ПРЪ^А ЛНЦЕ^М ГНА^М].¹⁷⁵ Among them are seven phoenixes [Ъ ФНННКЪ], seven cherubim [Ъ ХЕРОУВН^М], and seven six-winged {angels} [Ъ ШЕСТОКРНЛАТЬ]. All of them sing in one voice [ЁДННЪ ГЛА^Х СЖЦЕ Н ПОЖЦЕ ЁДННОГЛНО], and nobody can describe with

¹⁷³ Lit. 'create and study'.

¹⁷⁴ Lit. 'build'.

¹⁷⁵ This Enochic taxonomy of the seven highest ranks of angels/archangels resembles the classification of the supreme heavenly forces according to *The Book of Jubilees* [2: 2-3]; fashioned by God on the first day of Creation, they are also being divided into seven main categories: (1) 'the angels of the presence', (2) 'the angels of holiness', (3) 'the angels of the spirit of fire', (4) 'the angels of the spirit of the winds', (5) 'the angels of the spirit of the clouds and of darkness and of snow and of hail and of hoar-frost', (6) 'the angels of the depths and of thunders and lightning', (7) 'the angels of the cold winds and the hot winds and of winter and spring and autumn and summer' [Sparks 1984: 14]. Having delineated these seven main categories of angelic powers, the author of the Jubilees further clarifies that the latter were complemented by 'the spirits of His creatures in the heavens and on earth and in all the abysses, and the deep darkness and the light and the dawn and the morning and the evening, which he had already prepared and planned' [ibid.].

words their singing [нѣ повѣстѣ пѣне н^x]. And God rejoiced by His footstool [ра^ужт сѧ Гѣ подножї своѣмоу].¹⁷⁶

Chapter Nine

From there these men moved me up [вѣздвнгоста ма ѿтждѣ мжжа та] and raised me [вѣзнесоста мж] to the Seventh Heaven [на 7-мое нѣо].¹⁷⁷ Here I saw a rather great light [свѣт прѣвелн^k зѣло], and the entire fiery force of great archangels [вса ѿгнѣнѣе воа велнкы^x архагѣлъ]; and {I saw} an incorporeal host [бесплѣтнн^x снлъ], and the origins of dominions and power [господствѣн науалъ н властн] of Cherubim [хероувн^m] and Seraphim [серафн^m], {and} the Thrones¹⁷⁸ [прѣстоли] and ten¹⁷⁹ regiments of many-eyed angels [многѡѡчнѣтн ї плѣковѣ], a luminous

¹⁷⁶ An idiom based on a biblical metaphor 'footstool of my feet' [Isaiah 66:1]: God said, 'the heaven is My throne and earth My footstool'.

¹⁷⁷ The number of heavens in 2 *Enoch* is usually, but not always, seven. In only one case (i.e. the account presented by the version entitled 'О ЕНОСЕ УТО БЫЛ НА ПЯТОМ НЕБЕСИ Н НСПИСАЛ 300 КНИГЪ' ['About Enoch who was on the 5th heaven and wrote 300 books'] briefly mentioned by Попов [1880: 106], Sokolov [1910: 1; part 1 in his Commentaries] with a reference to Pypin [1862a: 15]), and Iatsimirskii [1921: 81-82], the number of heavens is five (which parallels the number of heavens in *The Apocalypse of Baruch*). On the other hand, in two versions of the longer recension of the apocryphon (i.e. MSS *J* and *P*), the heavens are ten. The reason behind these conflicting readings is rather complicated; taken into consideration in this (certainly not only graphic) puzzle of fluctuating numbers of heavens should be various small but significant details reflecting the evolution of Slavonic writing systems. First, it should be noted that in the Glagolitic alphabet the number 7 was marked by the letter '**ЖНВѢТЕ**'; however, the connection between the letter '**ЖНВѢТЕ**' and the number 7 was disturbed in the process of transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic, since in the Cyrillic alphabet the same letter (rendered as **Ж**) did not have any numeral value. In order to mark the number 7 (employing Cyrillic characters), the scribes used another letter, '**ЗЕМЛА**' [**З**]. In the Glagolitic alphabet, however, the numeral value of this letter [i.e. **ЗЕМЛА**] was 9. The number 9, on the other hand, was rendered in Cyrillic alphabet by the letter **Θ** (**ΘИТА**), which occurs at the end of the alphabet. As for the number 8, it was marked in Cyrillic by the letter **И** (**ИЖЕ**) which in Glagolitic had numeral value 20; however, its phonetic twin I (Iota), the 10th letter in both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabet, had the numeral value of 10; this is also true for the numeral value of this same letter (ι) in Greek alphabet. In the light of all these variations, it is hardly surprising to have different numbers of heavens in various manuscript traditions from different periods and, perhaps, from different scripts. One possibility is that the actual 7th letter in the Greek alphabet, η, which corresponds phonetically to Glagolitic and Cyrillic I (**Iota**), was once used to mark the number of heavens in the now lost Greek Vorlage; during the process of its translation into Slavonic, the scribe converted the actual 7th letter of the Greek alphabet, η, into either Glagolitic or Cyrillic using its phonetic twin I (Iota/ **Iota**); and since the latter has a numeral value of 10 in both Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts, the number of heavens was also emended from 7 to 10. See also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 442, footnote XXI. 6].

¹⁷⁸ Var. 'altars'. However, the word прѣстолъ (= θρόνος, κόλπος) can also denote one of the angelic ranks (= θρόνοι); see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 551-552]. The latter is attested in a number of Glagolitic monuments, such as Glagolita Clodianus, *Codex Marianus*, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, *Codex Assemanianus* (also known as *Evangeliarium Assemani*), as well as in some early Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbæ*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) composed in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. It would be safe to suggest therefore that in this particular context the lexeme прѣстолъ was most probably used to denote a specific angelic rank.

¹⁷⁹ In MS *P* they are nine [ѹ]; see Forbes and Charles [1913: 441, 20:1, and especially footnote XX.3].

station of Othanim {Ophanim} [СВѢТЛОСТОАНИЕ ѿАНИ^МСКОЕ].¹⁸⁰ I got scared [оубоах са] and started shaking from great fear [вѣстрепетахъ страхо^М велко^М]. And the {two} men took me [пожста ма мжжа] and conducted me among their midst [ведоста ма въ срѣдѣ н^х], and told me, 'Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid [дръзан, Еноше, не вон са]!' And they showed me God from a distance [показашъ ми Га ѿдалече]; He was sitting on His highest Throne [сѣдѣща на прѣстолѣ свое^М прѣвысоцѣ^М]. All the heavenly hosts stepped forth and stood in a line of ten ranks, according to their status [въсн вон нѣснн вѣстѣпнвшѣ стоахъ на 1-тн^х степенѣ^х по ѹннѡу]. And they bowed before God [поклонѣхъ са Гѣн]; and with joy and merriment they again returned to their places [пакы вѣстѣпахъ на мѣста своа въ радостн н въ веселн], in exceedingly bright light [въ свѣтѣ безмѣрнемъ], singing with low and gentle voices [пожце пѣснн малнн н кроткымн гласн]. And the glorious ones were serving Him without departure through night and without leaving through day [славнн слоужещѣа ёмоу не ѿстѣпахъ^Т ноцѣѣж, нн ѿхода^Т днѣѣж], while standing before God's face and fulfilling His will [стожше прѣ^А лице^М гѣн^М н творащѣ вола ёго]. The Cherubim [хероувннн] and Seraphim [серафннн] surrounded the Throne [ѡкрѣтъ прѣстола ѡвстожщѣ], and the ones with six wings were covering His Throne [шестокрнщн покрываѣ^Т прѣстоль ёго], singing with a quiet voice before God's face [пожце тнхѡ^М гласѡ^М прѣ^А лице^М гѣннмъ]. When I saw all this, the {two} men said to me, 'Enoch, we were ordered to accompany you until here [Еноше, до зде на^М с тобож ё повѣлено съвѣпжтѣствовати].' The men went away and I never saw them {again}. I remained alone on the brink of Heaven [ѡста^х ёдннѣ на конце нѣсѣ]. I got scared [възбоах са] and I fell on my face [падо^х на лицн свое^М] and said to myself [рѣ^х въ себѣ], 'Woe is me, what has befallen me [оухъ мнѣ, что ма ѡврѣте]?' God sent one of his glorious {archangels} [ёдннѡго ѿ славнѣ^х свон^х], the archangel Gabriel [архагѣла Гаврѣнла], who said to me, 'Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid [дръзан, Еноше, не вон се]! Rise [вѣстанн] and come with me [пойдн съ множ] and stand before the face of God forever [станн прѣ^А лице^М гѣн^М въ вѣкы]!' I answered him and said to myself, 'My God, my soul □ troubled from fear and trembling □ departed from me [ѿстѣпн дѣѣа моа нз мене ѿ стрха н трепета]. Please ask the men who brought me here to come to me [възовн къ мнѣ мжжа, прнведша ма до мѣста сего] because I trust them [зане тѣма оупова^х]; with them {only} will I {have confidence to} go before God's face [зане тѣма оупова^х н съ тѣма ндѣ прѣ^А лице гѣне]!' And Gabriel swept me up just like the wind takes away a leaf [въсхѣитн ма Гаврѣнла, ѡко въсхѣщаѣт са лнсть вѣтро^М]. He took me and placed me before God's face [ёмша ма н поставн ма прѣ^А лице^М гѣн^М]. I looked into the face of God [вндѣ^х Га въ лице].¹⁸¹ His face was strong and most glorious [лице ёго снано н прѣславно], wondrous and most awesome [ѹдно н прѣоужасно], frightening and most fearsome [грознѡ н прнтрапно]. Who am I to tell about the incomprehensible Divine Being [кто ёсмъ азъ повѣдати неѡвѣтоѣ сщцеств гѣа]; and {about} His most wondrous ineffable face [лице ёго прѣднвно н ненповѣднмо]; and {about} His sophisticated visage [лнкъ мноѡуѣеннѣ ёго];

¹⁸⁰ See *Enoch I* [61:10, 71:7] and Dan. [7:9], where wheels of the divine chariot or a class of angels are equated with Cherubim and Seraphim; see also Andersen [1984: 135, footnote 20b].

¹⁸¹ The following text is inserted in the margins at this point: 'вндѣннѣ лице ёго ѡко желѣзо раждежено' (= 'the appearance of His face was like melting iron').

and {about} the polyphonic and supreme Throne of God made by no human hand [многѣмъ и прѣвѣлнкы и нерѣкотворанн прѣстоль гнѣ]; and {about} the standing of the host of Seraphim and Cherubim surrounding Him [анкостоаніе ѡкрѣжѣ еѣго хероувнѣ и серафѣмскы евоа]; and {about} their constant singing [немлѣуна пѣніа нѣ]; {and about} the unchangeable and indescribable image of His beauty [ѡбразѣ красотн еѣго непрѣмѣненѣ и несповѣднѣ]. Who is to relate this greatness of His glory [велнко тоу славы еѣго кто нсповѣсть]? I fell on my face [падѡхъ ниць] and bowed before God [поклоннѣ сѧ Гвн]; and God said to me with his mouth [Гѣ оустн своннн рѣѣ къ мнѣ], 'Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid [дрѣзан, Еноше, не бон сѧ]! Rise up [вѣстанн] and stand up before My face [станн прѣѣ лицеѣ монѣ] forever [вѣ вѣкы]!' And God's *archestrategos* Michael lifted me [вѣздвнже ма Мнханлъ архнстратнгѣ гнѣ] and led me [прнвеѣ ма] to the face of God [прѣѣ лицеѣ гнѣ]. And God said to His servants [рѣѣ Гѣ слоугѣ свонѣ], while testing them [нскоушаж нѣ],¹⁸² 'May Enoch rise and stand up before My face forever [да вѣстѣпнѣтѣ Еноѣ стоатн прѣѣ лицеѣ монѣ вѣ вѣкы]'. And the glorious ones bowed before God [поклонншѣ славы Гвн] and said [рѣшж], 'May {Enoch} step up according to Your voice [да оустѣпнѣтѣ по глѡу твоѣму]!' And God said to Michael [гѣла Гѣ Мнханлоу], 'Approach [прнстѣпнѣ] and remove Enoch's earthly garments¹⁸³ [сѣвлѣцн Еноха сѣ земннѣ рнзѣ]! Anoint him with My blessed oil [помажн еѣго мастѣж блѡж моѣж] and dress him with garments of My glory [ѡблѣцн еѣго вѣ рнзѣ славы моѣж]!'¹⁸⁴ Michael did what God told him [такѡ сѣтворн Мнханлъ, ѧко же рѣѣ еѣмоу Гѣ]; he anointed me [помаза ма] and dressed me [ѡблѣче ма]. The appearance of the oil was greater than a great light [внѣдѣніе масла ѡного паѣ свѣта велнкаа] and its lubricant was like blessed dew [масть еѣго ѧко роса блѣга], and its fragrance was like myrrh [вона еѣго ѧко смрнѧ] shining like the sun's rays [ѧко лоуѣе слнѣне лѣстаѣе сѧ]. I looked at myself [сѣгладѣ сѧ сѧ] and saw that I was like one of His glorious ones [бѣѣ ѧко еѣдннѣ ѡ славыѣ еѣго] and there was no obvious difference [не бѣѣ разнѣѣж оузорнаго].

¹⁸² Lit. 'tempting them'.

¹⁸³ The act of extracting Enoch from his terrestrial clothes and dressing him in celestial garments signifies in effect his metamorphosis from a mortal man into an angelic being. Encoded in this fragment is a discrete reference to the primordial 'garments of light' in which Adam and Eve were clothed in Eden, and of which they were stripped afterwards; in fact, it is an encrypted reversal of the Fall narrative. While the Original Sin caused the loss of the angelic status enjoyed by the first people and triggered their expulsion from Paradise, the new status of the protoplasts as mortals was signified by the replacement of the heavenly 'garments of light' with 'coats of skins' [Gn 3:21]; being mortal also meant that they were to wear on Earth 'clothes tailored by human hands.' The removal of Enoch's 'earthly garments' in God's presence indicates that at this point he is transformed into a type of being Adam used to be before the Fall, i.e. an angel clothed with 'garments of God's glory'. By being stripped of the 'clothes tailored by human hands' and dressed in 'clothes made by no human hands', Enoch thus becomes 'the New Adam' and regains the pristine glory of mankind before the Fall.

¹⁸⁴ See also Forbes and Charles [1913: 443, footnote XXII. 8].

Chapter Ten

And God summoned one of His archangels [ВЪЗВА ГЪ ЁДННОГО ѿ АРХАГГЛЪ СВОИ^x], whose name was Vrevoil [Врѣвоила],¹⁸⁵ {and} who was swifter in wisdom than the other archangels¹⁸⁶ [НЖЕ Н БЪШЖ СКОРѢ МЖДРОСТЖ ПАУЕ НИѢ^x АРХАГГЛЪ]; he was {the one} writing down all God's acts [НАПНСОУЕ ВСѢ ДѢЛА ГНѢ]. The Lord said to

¹⁸⁵ As noted by Vaillant, this form is attested in the two Bulgarian versions of the longer recension of 2 *Enoch*, MSS **J** and **R** (=our **S**) [Vaillant 1952: 26, footnote 9]. However, different text-witnesses give various versions of the name of this archangel. As pointed out by Pennington, 'not only do the MSS vary considerably from one another in the spelling of this name in each of the five instances in which it occurs in this chapter [of MS *U*], but they also differ individually from instance to instance. Thus, in the first instance **B***Ba* read 'Vreteil', **N** 'Vretil', and **P** 'Pravuil'; and **B** reads 'Vreteil' in the first instance, but 'Vreveil' in the others' [Pennington 1984: 338, footnote 1]; see also Forbes and Charles [1913: 443, footnote XXII.11] and Vaillant [1952: 26, footnotes 9, 14, 20, 35, 39]. Andersen also calls attention to this puzzling detail: '**P**'s reading *Pravail* is deviant. The other numerous variations in spelling are not material. The name is otherwise unknown, and remains unexplained' [1983: 140, footnote 22 r]. The answer to this puzzle may be entrenched in indigenous Slavonic ethnohermeneutics; hints encoded in vernacular dialects and popular angelology (usually excluded from the scribal conventions of the 'learned') may provide the solution here. The role assigned to this archangel in the above narrative shows that his main function is *to speak* to Enoch, *to converse* with him and to instruct him *verbally* about the mysteries of the Universe. He is appointed by God *to tell* the scribe all about the celestial and terrestrial phenomena, and *to spell out* for him the enigma of the movements of elements; he also has to *articulate* for Enoch the unfathomable calculations of the trajectories of luminaries, and *to report* 'about the Sun, the Moon, and stars, and the change of their movements, and about seasons, and years, the days and hours and rising up of clouds, the appearance of winds, the number of angels, songs of armed hosts, of every human thing, and songs in various languages, and human life, and orders and instructions and sweet-voiced singing, and everything which is edifying', etc. The entire chapter is in fact an angelic discourse about God's incomprehensible creation of Heaven and Earth, a discourse lasting for 30 days and 30 nights *without Vrevoil's mouth ever stopping*. He is '*the Talker*', '*the Recounter*', '*the Storyteller of Creation*,' '*the Speaker on behalf of God*', and thus, the verbal image of Divine agency. The name given to him, *Vrevoil* [Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила], is in fact a theonym which is derived from the Indo-European morpheme **werw-* (etymologically related to Proto-Indo-European stem **uer-*), with cognate forms in Hittite (*uer-iiē/a*), Greek (*εἶρω* < **uer-io*), Lat. (*verbum*), Gothic (*waúrd*), all of which denoting 'to speak' (and/or 'speech', but also 'word'), 'to talk', 'to call', 'to invoke', 'to summon', 'to name'; see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov [1984: 216, 231] and Kloekhorst [2008: 1002-1003]. The picture gets even more interesting when we take into consideration Slavonic ethnolinguistic data. The Indo-European morpheme **werw-* has cognates not only in Old Church Slavonic, but also in some Bulgarian dialects, e.g. the verb *вревя* [Врѣвѣти / Врѣвѣж / Врѣвѣ] (meaning 'to talk', 'to speak', 'to converse', 'to answer', 'to respond'), the noun *врява* / *вревѣж* [Врѣва/Врѣвѣжъ] ('talk', 'conversation', 'discourse'), etc.; see the discussion in Gerov [1895:166] and Georgiev *et al.* [1971: 183-4]. The linguistic evidence suggests that the name of the archangel who conversed with Enoch on the highest (seventh/tenth) heaven, i.e. *Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила/Врѣвѣила/Врѣтила* was a derivative form of the verb *врѣвѣти/врѣвѣж* (*вревя*). The fact that this form is attested in Bulgarian dialects suggests that the territory where these dialects were (and still are) spoken is most probably the homeland of the earliest Slavonic translation of 2 *Enoch*. This solves the enigma of the name Vrevoil [Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила] (and its variation Vreveil/ Vereveil/Vreteil/Vretil). As for the name 'Pravuil' (which was attested in the Poltava MS), it was most probably a corrupt version of the 'original' theonym *Врѣвоила/Врѣвоила* caused by scribal error (rendering B as П, etc.). Subsequently this form underwent a process of secondary (that is folk) etymologisation, thus acquiring new undertones. In this way the angel 'who spoke rightly' (i.e. право) became an epitome of 'rightful/truthful/faithful/devoted word'; hence his name, i.e. 'Pravuil'.

¹⁸⁶ Var. 'whose intellect was quicker than the other archangels'.

Vrevoil [Гѣа Гѣ Врѣвонлоу], 'Bring out the books from my treasury'¹⁸⁷ [НЗНЕСИ КНИГЫ ѿ ХРАНИЛИЦѢ МОИ^x]! Take a reed(-stylus) [ВЪЗМИ ТРЪСТЬ]¹⁸⁸ and give it to Enoch [ДАЖДЪ ЕНОХОВИ] and recount¹⁸⁹ for him {the content of} the books [СКАЖИ ЕМОУ КНИГЫ]!' Vrevoil hastened [ОУСКОРИ ВРѢВОНЛЪ] and brought exquisite books [ПРИНЕСА КЪ МИѢ КНИГЫ НЗАЦЕННЪ]¹⁹⁰ {fragrant/anointed with} myrrh [НЗМУРНА^M]

¹⁸⁷ Var. 'storehouses'.

¹⁸⁸ Translated by Pennington and Andersen as 'pen' (= *κάλαμος*); although this interpretation is, in general, correct, it oversimplifies the semantic coverage of the lexeme *ТРЪСТЬ*, and especially its metaphorical use in scribal traditions of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The survey of sources in Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 705] suggests that its earliest attestations are found in a number of Glagolitic monuments (*Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus*), and in some Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) compiled in Bulgaria in the 10th-11th centuries; in all these texts it denotes an 'instrument for writing' [= *instrumenti scriptorii genus*]. However, in some other sources (mostly indigenous apocryphal apocalypses of messianic content) it was employed to denote 'prophet's staff', or 'prophet's sceptre'. One such example comes from the anonymous Bulgarian apocryphal chronicle entitled *Сказаніе Нсаіе пророка како възнесень бысть аггелом до 7-го небесы* (composed most probably in second half of the 11th century). According to this text, when the Prophet Isaiah was taken by an angel to the seventh heaven, he was given there specific regalia of priesthood = prophethood (denoted as *ТРЪСТЬ*) so that he could lead the exodus of 'the chosen people' from 'the Old Rome' to the promised land of New Jerusalem:

Тогда же азъ, братіе, вождіемъ повеленіемъ, придохъ на лѣвон странѣ Рима и одѣлахъ третію чсъ отъ коуманн,и поведохъ нхъ поутемъ, тръстію показоуе [...] (Quoted after Ivanov [1925: 281]).

In iconographic tradition of *Slavia Orthodoxa* the Prophets / Priests are likewise depicted with a staff (or scepter) symbolising their special status; the same iconographic convention is followed by the unknown iconpainter of the altarpiece from the region of Lom (North-Western Bulgaria) on which Enoch is depicted in exactly the same manner: as a priest/prophet holding a scepter in his hand (see Figs 3 and 4).

¹⁸⁹ Lit. 'tell' / 'narrate' / 'relate' / 'report' / 'give a verbal account' (significantly, MS *U* reads here *ПОГЛАГОЛИ ЕМЪ КНИГЫ*). For writing as a product of orality in biblical tradition, see van der Toorn [2007: 14-15].

¹⁹⁰ Pennington suggests 'bright' for *U* and 'decorated' for *R* (=our *S*) [1984: 338, footnote 2]. Vaillant, on the other hand, while commenting on the famous expression *НЗОШРЕНН ЗМОУРЕННЕМЪ* in *U* with reference to its parallel renditions in various witnesses (e.g. in *B* as *НЗОШРЕННЫ НЗМУРНЕМЪ*, in *N* as *НЗШТРЕННЫ НЗМУРНИЕМЪ*, in *B*² as *НЗПЕЩРЕННЫ НЗМНРННЕМЪ*, and finally in *R* as *НЗАЦЕННЪ НЗМУРНА^M*) simply suggests the following: 'Le participe *НЗОШРЕНН* ne donne pas de sens, et *НЗАЦЕНН(Ы)* *P* n'en doit être que le remanent. Si *B*² conserve la leçon primitive, ce qui n'est pas sûr, on lira: *НСПШТРЕННЫ СМУРНЕМЪ*.' [1952: 26, footnote 22].

A closer linguistic consideration of the above expression (i.e. *КНИГЫ НЗАЦЕННЪ НЗМУРНА^M*) brings interesting results. In fact, the adjectival (past passive participle) form *НЗАЦЕННЪ* (sing. *НЗАЦЕНЪ*) is etymologically related to the Proto-Slavonic **jъz-ęlj-ьнъ* / *НЗ-Аlj-ьнъ* ('chosen' / 'selected' / 'outstanding' / 'extraordinary' / 'exclusive' / 'special'); see Vasmer [1986: 124] and Georgiev *et al.* [1979: 61]. Its earlier attestations (i.e. *НЗАЦЬННУЬСКЪ*) are found in some Old Church Slavonic (Cyrillic) monuments of South-Slavonic (Bulgarian) linguistic provenance, e.g. *Codex Suprasliensis*; see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 258]. Related (verbal and the adjectival/participial) forms, such as *НЗАЦЕСТВОВАТИ* / *ПРѢНЗАЦЕСТВОВАТИ* and *НЗАЦЕНЪ* / *ПРѢНЗАЦЕНЪ* also appear in the Bulgarian translation of *The Chronicles of Constantine Manasses* (compiled in the 14th century upon the request of Ivan Alexander), and in other contemporary Russian sources; see in this connection the brief lexicographic survey of MSS with attestations of *НЗАЦЬВЫИ* / *НЗАУЬВЫИ* (as translations of *ἀριστος*, *τάξις ἀρίστη*, *ἐξαιρέτων*) and *НЗАЦЬВЬСТВЕНЕ* (meaning 'praestantia') in Sreznevskii [1893: 1086]. In the light of the above it can be argued that the expressions *НЗОШРЕННЫ*

and gave me from his hand a quick-writing reed(-stylus)¹⁹¹ [дѣмн трѣсть скорописанїа нз ржкы своѣж]. And he told me [бѣ глѣ мн] {about} all celestial¹⁹² and terrestrial and marine activities [вѣсѣ дѣла нѣсѣ н земае н морѣ], and the movements of all elements [н вѣсѣ^x стухын прѣхожденїе н^x], and {about} the trajectories of their fluctuations [шествїа нзмѣненїа н^x], {and about} the *Zodiac-signs* [жнвотгрѣмѣнїе н^x],¹⁹³ and {he also instructed me about} the Sun [слѣце], the Moon [лоунж], and the stars [звѣзды], and the change of their movements [шествїа нзмѣненїа н^x], seasons [врѣмана], and years [лѣта], the days [днѣ] and hours [часн] and rising up of clouds [вѣсходн гѣблакъ], the departure¹⁹⁴ of winds [нсходн

нзмурвемъ (in *B*), *нзѡштревны нзмурнїемъ* (in *N*), *нзпещрены нзмнрннем* (in *B*²), etc. were actually corrupt or amended variations of a composed stock-epithet applied to 'scriptures'; those were poetically described as 'exquisite books that were fragrant/ anointed with myrrh'. The expression *кннгы нзѡценнѣ нзмурна*^m from MS *R* (=our *S*) is but one of its 'incorrupt' attestations.

¹⁹¹ Andersen mentions a knife (?) here [1984:140].

¹⁹² Var. 'taking place in the sky', taking place in heavens.'

¹⁹³ The alternative wording in MS *P* (*громовъ грѣмѣнїа*) is translated by Morfill and Charles [1896: 29] as 'the noise of the thunder'; in the next edition of the same recension (by Forbes and Charles), the phrase is rendered as 'the thunderings of the thunder' [1913: 443]. Andersen, on the other hand, interprets this expression (on the basis of MS *J*) as 'the living thunder' [1984: 140].

The form *жнвотгрѣмѣнїе* appears to be an artificial term coined to denote 'Zodiac (signs)' [ζωδιακός]. It is a composite noun, the first part of which (*жнвот-*) is a translation of the Gk. ζῶον ('living being', 'creature', 'animal', or 'animal figure'), while the second part (*-грѣмѣнїе*) is a corrupt transliteration of the Gk. γράμμα (=scriptura) denoting 'character', 'letter'. Cf. also the related Gk. verb ζωγραφειν, meaning 'to paint (animal figures, living creatures, etc.)'. One of the earliest attestations of the noun *жнвотъ* with relation to the 12 Zodiac signs is found in *Symeon's Florilegium* (also known as *Sviatoslav's Miscellany*, after the earliest extant witness from 1073); the description of the 'Twelve Animals' (i.e. 12 Zodiac signs) is part of *Іоа(на) Дамаскина о македоньскыныхъ мѣсцехъ отъ црѣвѣнаго прѣданнїа* (Fol. 250 r -251r), the opening paragraph of which reads as follows:

Глѣбѣ бо нанне с жшта дѣва на десате жнвоты • звѣздамн на небесн протнвноис пошьстнїе нмоушта • слѣпѣж же н лоунѣ • н ннѣмъ патн плантомъ • н • іѣ • жнвоты прѣходаща • седмн тон • седмн же планнтъ сжть нмена се • слѣнце ло(у)на • зѣус • юрмнсь • арн(с) • афроднт(н) • (к)ронос • планнты же нарнужть ю • нмѣже странѣ невесе пошь^{стнїе} нмоуть • іестъ же по коїемѣждо поѣсж іедннѣ отъ љ планнтѣ. [. . .]; see Dinekov *et al.* [1991: 694]

Further on the relationship between the text of *Іоа(на) Дамаскина о македоньскыныхъ мѣсцехъ отъ црѣвѣнаго прѣданнїа* from *Symeon's Florilegium* and *2 Enoch*, see the discussion below (footnotes 210, 211, 214). In fact, Sokolov also briefly mentions the use of the noun *жнвотъ* within the context of the 12 Zodiac signs in *2 Enoch* [1910: 22, footnote k; 24 footnote x] and discusses the hypothetical semantic coverage of the glossary *жнвотгрѣмѣнїе* suggesting a probable link with Brontoscopy (thunder-divination) [ibid. 25]. This is a possible (but rather tentative) interpretation which is difficult to prove; see also the discussion in Vaillant [1952: 96-97, and especially footnote 1] and Petkanova [2001: 162-167]. On the duodenary animal cycle in medieval Slavonic tradition (with special emphasis on Russian texts), see Ryan [1971:12-20]. On astronomical knowledge in *Symeon's Florilegium*, see Dobrev [1979: 101], Ivanova [1991: 28-29, footnotes 41, 42, 43, 44, 45].

¹⁹⁴ Lit. 'exits'.

вѣтрѣнн], the number of angels [агѣлака ѡнсаа], songs of armed hosts [пѣснн въсѡржженн^x вон], {and about} every human thing [всѣкж вещь ѡлѣкжа], and songs in various languages [всѣкь ѡззыкь пѣсннн], and {he told me about} human life [жнтѣ ѡлѣа], and orders [заповѣдн] and instructions [поуѡенѣа] and sweet-voiced singing [сладкогѣна пѣнѣе], and everything which is edifying [вѣсѣ, ѣлнко по^абае^т поуѡати са]. Vrevoil was telling¹⁹⁵ me all this for 30 days and 30 nights without his mouth stopping speaking [нсповѣда мн Врѣвонлъ дѣн ѡ н поѡн ѡ, н не прѣмлъкоша оуста ѣго гѣаца], whereas I was writing down all the signs of creation without ceasing [аз же не поун^x пишѣ всѣ знаменѣа всаж тварн]. When I completed the 30 days and 30 nights [ѡко сконѡа^x дѣн ѡ н поѡн ѡ], Vrevoil said to me [гѣа къ мѣѣ Врѣвонлъ], 'This is everything which I had to tell you, which you have written down [се ѣлнко тн сповѣдо^x н ѣлнко напнса]. Now sit and write down [сѣдн напн^ш] all the souls of the people [вса дѣшж ѡлѣе] who are yet to be born [ѣлнко н^x не рождано] and also the places which are predestined for them forever [н мѣста н^x оуготована до вѣка], since every soul is predestined even before the creation of the Earth [вса в о дѣшж оуготована сж^т прѣжде въсѡбраженѣа земнаго].'¹⁹⁶ I sat for another 30 days and 30 nights [сѣдѣ^x соуѡубъ ѡ дѣн н ѡ поѡн] and noted everything [спнса^x вса нзвѣстн], and I wrote 366 books [н пнса^x тѣѣ кннѣ].¹⁹⁷

Chapter Eleven

God called upon me and said [възва ма Гѣ н ре^v мн], 'Enoch, sit at my left side with Gabriel [ѣноше, сѣдн ѡшоужа мене съ Гаврнло^м]!' And I bowed before God [поклонн^x са Гѣн]. And God said to me [гѣа къ мѣѣ Гѣ], 'Enoch, whatever you see [ѣноше, ѣлнко виднш], whether stationary or moving [ѣлнка сж^т стошца н ходашца], is all created by Me [сѡврѣшена множ]. I will disclose to you {everything} [аз же възвѣщаа тебе] from the very beginning, how I created *ex nihilo* the visible from the invisible [прѣжде даже вса нспрѣво ѣлнко^x сѡтворн^x ѡ небытѣа н ѡ невнднмы^x внднмо]. Because I have not disclosed {yet} My secrets even to My angels [нн агѣла^м бо мон^м не възвѣстн^x таннн мое], neither did I tell them how they came to be [нн повѣда^x н^м вѣстанѣа н^x], nor {about} My infinity and ineffability and rational creation, about which I tell you today [нн мое бесконѡунѣе н неразоумнѣе размьслншж тварн , нже тебѣ възвѣщаж днѣ^ѣ]. However, once all visible things did not exist [прѣж^ѣ бо даже не бышж вн^амаа всѣ]. I was the only one moving within the invisible like the Sun [азъ ѣдн^н проходахъ въ невн^амы^x, ѡко сѣнце], from East to West and from West to East [ѡ вѣстокъ на запа^а, н ѡ запады н на вѣстокъ]. Yet while the Sun has peace I

¹⁹⁵ Lit. 'said'.

¹⁹⁶ See the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 444, footnote XXIII. 5]. For the archival function of ancient writing, see van der Toorn [2007: 15f.].

¹⁹⁷ The number of the books given (= 366) is a specific feature of the longer recension; in the shorter recension the number of books varies (e.g. 360, 300 etc.) [Andersen 1984: 140-141, especially footnote 23 h]. Most probably the fluctuating number of books in the shorter recension is due to scribal errors. The number of books in the longer recension (i.e. 366) is probably an allusion to the solar calendar.

did not find peace [нж н сѣлице нма^т покои себѣ, аз же не ѡбрѣто^х покои], since I created everything [за не в'са бе створа]. And I thought of making a beginning¹⁹⁸ [оумислы^х же поставити ѡснованіе]; I created visible beings [сътвори ти тварь видимжа]. At first I ordered one of the invisible to descend and {become} visible [повелѣ^х въ неспрѣн^х да съиде^т ѣдно ѿ невидимн^х видимо]; and the massive Adoil¹⁹⁹ descended [съиде адон^а прѣвелн^к зѣло]; and I looked at him [смотрн^х ѣго]; in his abdomen²⁰⁰ there was great luminosity yielded [н се въ чрѣвѣ тѣ нмн свѣта велкаго]. I told him [реко^х къ нему], 'Deliver yourself [разрѣши са], Adoil [Адонле],²⁰¹ and may the visible be born from you [бждн видмо раждаемо нс тебе]!²⁰² He delivered himself [разрѣши са]; and an overwhelmingly great Light came out [изыде свѣ^т прѣвелн^к], and I {was} in the midst of this Light [н азъ же срѣдѣ свѣта].²⁰³ As the Light was looming [како носациоу са свѣтоу], a great epoch came out from it, making manifest all creatures which I was thinking of creating [е ѿ свѣта възыде вѣкъ велкы ѡвлѣе в'са тварь, жже азъ помысли^х сътвори ти]. I saw that it was good [видѣ^х ѡко блго]; and I placed my Throne there [постави^х себѣ прѣсто^а], and sat on it [сѣдо^х на не^м]; and told the Light [свѣтовн же гѣа^х], 'Ascend above the Throne and stand fast [възиди тѣ више прѣсто^а н оутврѣди са]! Be the foundation of the upper {world} [бждж ѡснованіе вышнн^м]!' Above the Light was nothing else [нѣ^с прѣвыша свѣта нного ннч'соже]. Then again I bent over [пакы в'склонн са], looked down from my Throne [възрѣ^х ѿ прѣстола моѣго] and for the second time raised my voice in the Abyss below and said [възва^х вторицеа въ прѣнспо^аны^х н рѣ^х], 'May from the invisible firmament appear the invisible²⁰⁴ [да изыде^т ѿ невидимн^х тврѣди невидмо]!' Arkhas came out [изыде Архасъ], who was hard and heavy and very red [тврѣ^а н та^ж къ н чрѣме^н зѣло],²⁰⁵ and I said [рѣ^х], 'Release yourself [разврѣзи са],²⁰⁶ Arkhas, and may the visible be born from you [бждн видмо раждаемо нс тебе]!' He released himself [разрѣши са] and a very big dark epoch came out {of him} [изыде вѣкъ тѣмень прѣвелн^к зѣло]; it was carrying the creatures of all the lower worlds [носа тварь долны^х в'сѣ^х]. I saw that it was good [видѣ^х ѡко добро]; and I said to him [рѣ^х къ немѸ], 'Go down and stand fast [съиди ти долоу н оутврѣди са]!' And {thus he} became the foundation of the lower {world} [бѣ^с ѡснованіе

¹⁹⁸ Lit. 'foundation' / 'basis'.

¹⁹⁹ See Forbes and Charles [1913: 445, footnote XXV. 1], where the form Adoil is interpreted as 'the hand of God'.

²⁰⁰ Lit. 'womb'.

²⁰¹ The name is in the vocative.

²⁰² Here and further below, the terms 'deliver' and 'release' allude to childbirth terminology.

²⁰³ On the homonymy between lexemes denoting Universe and Light see the discussion above (footnote 95).

²⁰⁴ Perhaps a scribal error? It should read: 'May from the invisible firmament appear the visible!'

²⁰⁵ In Old Church Slavonic the adjective **чрѣмѣ^н** is used for the Red Sea.

²⁰⁶ Another term for childbirth; lit. 'untie/unfasten/unknot/unravel/disentangle yourself'.

ннжнн^x]. And there was nothing below this darkness [нѣ̄подѣ тѣмож нного ннѣсоже]. Then I ordered {elements} to be taken from the lightness and darkness [повелѣ^x да възмѣт са ѿ свѣта н ѿ тѣмн] and I said [н рѣ^x], 'Be fecund and be wrapped in Light [бѣдн тлѣсто н ѡвнто свѣто^m]!' I spread this out [то прострѣ^x] and it became water [н бѣ̄вода]. I stretched it over the darkness [прострѣ^x врѣхоу тѣмн], under the Light [ннже свѣта] and thus I fastened the waters [ако воды оутврѣдн^x], that is to say, the Abyss [снрѣ^v без[^]нж]; and with Light I encircled the ring of the water [основа^x свѣто^m окрѣгоу воды] and inside I made seven circles [сѣтворн^x з̄ крж[^] вѣноутрѣждоу]. I featured them like crystal²⁰⁷ [вѣобразн^x јако хроусталь], damp and dry [мокро н соухо], that is to say [снрѣ^v], glass and ice [стѣкло н ледѣ], surrounded by waters and the other elements [ѡвхожденїа вода^m нннмѣ стнхїа^m]. And I showed each of them their path [оуказа^x комоуждо свон пж^t], with seven stars [з̄-мн^m з̄вѣздамѣ], each of them being in its own heaven [каждо нхѣ на свон^m нѣсн], so that they move in this way [тако да градж^t]. I saw that it was good [вндѣ^x јако добро]; and I divided the Light from the Darkness [разлѣчн^x между свѣто^m н тѣмож], which was in the midst of the waters from here and there [снрѣ^v просрѣ воды сѣдоу н сѣдоу]. And I said to the Light [реко^x свѣтовн], 'May you become day [бѣдн тн днѣ]!' And I ordered the darkness to be night [повелѣ^x тѣмѣ да бѣде^t ноцѣ]; and it became evening and morning, the first day [н бѣ̄вечерѣ н пакы бѣ̄оутро, то ѣ̄ а днѣ].

In this way I consolidated the heavenly rings [тако оутврѣдн^x нѣснн кржгы] and said [реко^x], 'May the lower water, which is under the skies, gather together [да събера^t вода долнѣа, нже ѣ̄ по[^] нѣсе^m вѣ събранїе ѣднно] and may its waves dry up!' And so it was. From the waves I created stones, hard and great [тврѣдо н велнко], and from the stones I created dryness [ѿ камен н сѣгрѣзн^x соухо], and I called the dry land 'Earth' [нареко^x соушж земаа]. In the middle of the Earth I set a chasm [посрѣдѣ земаа нареко^x оупадо^k], that is to say, an Abyss [снрѣ^v безднж]. I brought the sea together in one place and bound it in a yoke [море събра^x на ѣднно мѣсто н сваза^x йго^m]. I told the sea [рѣ^x моревн], 'I give you this internal boundary so that you never extend beyond your waters [се даж тн прѣ[^]ль вѣчнѣ, н не прѣтрѣгнеши са ѿ свон^x во[^]]!' This is how I set up the earth and laid the foundations of the firmament above the waters [таковож тврѣдѣ вѣдржн^x н ѡснова^x врѣхоу во[^]]. This day I called for Myself the 'first created' [сн днѣ прѣвзданн себѣ нареко^x]. And evening came and again morning, and it was the second day [тогда бѣ̄вечерѣ н пакы оутро, н бѣ̄днѣ в.].

In all of these heavenly things I created a fiery nature [кѣ всѣ^m же свон^m нѣннѣ^m ѡбразова^x ѡгнѣно еѣтво]. My eye looked at the firmament and very hard stones [вѣзрѣ око мое на тврѣдн н много жестокы каменѣ]; and from a spark from My eye, lightning acquired aquatic properties [ѿ ѡблнстанїа ока моѣго н вѣспрнж^t н млѣнн етѣво водноа]. Fire in water and water in fire [ѡгнѣ вѣ водѣ н вода вѣ ѡгнн]; neither did the water extinguish the fire [нн сын ѡного оугашаа^t] nor did the fire dessicate the water [нн ѡно сего ѡсоуашаа^t]. This is why lightning is sharper and brighter than sunlight [то[^] родн млѣнїа слѣчннго ѡзаренїе ѡстрѣншїе н свѣтлѣншїа ѣ̄] and soft water is harder than tough stone [мекка вода тврѣжда камене жестокаго ѣ̄]. I struck a great spark from the stone [н ѿ камене^ж оусѣко^x ѡгнѣ велнкы] and I created from the fire the ranks of the incorporeal host of the ten angels [ѿ ѡгнѣ сѣтворн^x чннн бесплѣтнн^x кон[^] тѣ^m агѣль], and their

²⁰⁷ Lit. 'envisages them like crystal.'

fiery armaments and their garments, which were like burning flames [Н ѿржжіа н^x ѿгнѣна н ѿдежде н^x пламн плеѣць]. I ordered each of them to stand according to their rank [повелѣ^x да стож кѣждо въ свое^m ѹнноу]; {but} one of the ranks of archangels seceded {from Me}, together with his subordinates [Ѹднн же ѿ ѹнна архагѣкаго ѿвращи са съ ѹнно^m сжиѣн^m под нн^m], seized by the futile idea [въспрїж^t мнслѣ немоѣнжа] to place his throne above the clouds above Earth [да поставн^t прѣстолю свонъ выше ѿбла^k на^a землеа] and to become equal to My power [да вжде^t тжѹеⁿ моѣн слѣѣ].²⁰⁸ I cast him down from the height together with his angels [ѿврѣго^x ѣго съ высотн съ агглан ѣго];²⁰⁹ and they began to fly in the air above the Abyss [бѣ лѣтаа по въздоухоу вннж врѣхоу безднн]. This is how I fixed all the heavens [сѣтворн^x тако всѣ нѣса] and it was the third day [бѣ днѣ третїн].

And on the third day I ordered the Earth to become overgrown with large trees and forests [въ третн днѣ повелѣ^x землн възрастнн дрѣва велнка н горы], and all kinds of sweet grasses [всѣкж трѣвж сладкжа], in each a seed which could be sown [всѣко сѣма сѣжмо]. I planted Paradise [посадн^x ран] and enclosed it [затворн^x] and put up guards — fiery angels [положн^x ѿржжннкы пламенны агглан]. This is how I conceived the vitalisation of Earth [такo сѣтворн^x землн ѿбновленїе]. Then evening came and morning came — the fourth day [тогда бѣ ве^rрь н бѣⁿ оутро, днѣ д].

On the fourth day, I ordered large luminaries to appear on the heavenly rings [въ четврѣтн днѣ повелѣ^x да боу[^]тъ свѣтла велнка на кржзѣ^x нѣсны^x]. On the first and highest ring I placed the star Kronos {i.e. Saturn} [на прѣво^m н вншнѣ^m

²⁰⁸ Cf. Isaiah 14: 12-15; Ezekiel 28: 12-19; Revelation 12: 7-9. For Slavonic folklore parallels to this motif, see Hnatiuk [1911: 15-17; 1985: 62-64, texts 47-48].

²⁰⁹ A similar concept is expressed in *The Secret Book of the Bogomils (Liber Sancti Johannis)*. According to the 14th century *Codex Carcassoniensis*, when Satanail aspired to put his throne above the throne of God, he was expelled from Heaven and thrown down to earth:

Et dixi: Domine, antequam Sathanas caderet, in qua gloria persistebat apud Patrem tuum? Et dixit mihi: in tali gloria erat, quod ordinabat virtutes coelorum; ego autem sedebam apud Patrem meum. Ipse erat ordinans omnem imitatoreм Patris, et descendebat de coelo in infimum et ascendebat ab infimis usque ad thronum invisibilis Patris. Et observabat gloriam, quae erat moventis coelos, et cogitavit sedem suam ponere super nubes coelorum et volebat Altissimo similis esse. (Quoted from Ivanov [1925: 73-4].

And I said: 'Lord, before Satan fell, in what state of glory was he with Thy Father?' And He said to me: 'He was in such glory that he was directing the heavenly forces. I, however, was sitting next to my Father. That one [i.e. Satan] was managing things completely in imitation of the Father, and he was descending from Heaven to the depths, and ascending from the depths to the throne of the invisible Father. And he was observing the glory which pertained to the Mover of Heavens, and he got the idea of placing his throne above the clouds of heaven, and he wanted to be like the Most High.' [Butler 1996:191.

This intertextual link between *2 Enoch* and *The Secret Book of the Bogomils* will be discussed elsewhere. On dualistic tendencies of Satan legend in *2 Enoch* (with a reference to *Liber Sancti Johannis*), see Sokolov [1910: 148-151], Ivanov [1925: 188-191], Andersen [1984: 154-155, footnote 32d]. On the relationship between Enochic writings and Manichaean corpus, see Nickelsburg (with reference to Jerome) [2001: 94, 99-100] and Stroumsa [1984: 152-167].

кржзѣ поставн^x зѣзѣж Кроносъ].²¹⁰ On the second {ring}, below it, I placed Aphrodite {i.e. Venus} [на в-емь ннже поставнхъ Афродит^t].²¹¹ On the third,

²¹⁰ The account about the seven luminaries, as rendered in this recension of *2 Enoch*, is similar but not identical to the contemporary astronomical fragment found in *Symeon's Florilegium* [Dinekov *et al.* 1991: 694]; see also the discussion above, footnote 193. The description of 'the Seven Planets' in the latter is part of the section entitled *Иова(на) Дамаскина о македоньскыиныхъ м^cцнхъ отъ црѣвнанаго прѣданна* (Fol. 250 r), which, in turn, has roots in the famous *Fountain of Knowledge* (or *Fountain of Wisdom*) by John the Damascene (676–749). Thus in Book 2, Chapter 7 (*Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars*) of his *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, John the Damascene writes:

There are, we are told, seven planets amongst these luminaries, and these move in a direction opposite to that of the heaven: hence the name planets. For, while they say that the heaven moves from east to west, the planets move from west to east; but the heaven bears the seven planets along with it by its swifter motion. Now these are the names of the seven planets: Luna, Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and in each zone of heaven is, we are told, one of these seven planets; in the first and highest — Saturn, in the second — Jupiter, in the third — Mars, in the fourth — Sol, in the fifth — Venus, in the sixth — Mercury, in the seventh and lowest — Luna.

The text of this chapter was translated in Bulgaria in the late 9th/ early 10th century by John the Exarch, and included in his work *Theology (Heavens)* [Duichev 1954: 59-91; Thompson 1991: 35-59]. As for the version in *Symeon's Florilegium*, it represents a rather abridged redaction of Damascene's text; it also has some specific textual features which indicate that it was translated from a source which was not identical with the source used by John the Exarch. Still, in both sources (*Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*) the pattern given is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, which is the standard Ptolemaic sequence of planets, but in reverse order. The author of *2 Enoch*, on the other hand, puts Venus between Saturn and Mars (see the discussion below). Still, in all three sources (*2 Enoch*, *Symeon's Florilegium* and Exarch's *Heavens*), Kronos (Saturn) is placed on the first and highest heavenly ring. Thus, according to *Symeon's Florilegium*, *планнть •а• на прѣвнѣмъ н на вышьшннмъ • кроноъ* ['the first planet on the first and highest level is called Kronos']. Then again, in *2 Enoch*, Kronos and other luminaries were considered to be 'stars' (as in Babylonian astronomy), while in *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens* they are called 'planets' (as in Greek astronomy). Another difference is that in *2 Enoch* the expression used to denote 'heavenly ring' is *кржгъ нѣснги*, while in *Symeon's Florilegium* (and John the Exarch's *Heavens*) the same concept is described as a 'girdle'/'waist-band'/'belt' [*поясъ*].

²¹¹ Here the position of Venus on the second ring parallels the planetary pattern given in Book 2, Chapter 6 (*Concerning the Heaven*) of the aforementioned *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*; in this chapter, however, John the Damascene lists the seven planets in an order which differs from that offered in Chapter 7 (*Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars*); in Chapter 6, he puts Venus between Saturn and Mars, as in *2 Enoch*:

They say also that there are seven zones of the heaven, one higher than the other. And its nature, they say, is of extreme fineness, like that of smoke, and each zone contains one of the planets. For there are said to be seven planets: Sol, Luna, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn. But sometimes Venus is called Lucifer and sometimes Vesper. These are called planets because their movements are the reverse of those of the heaven. For while the heaven and all other stars move from east to west, these alone move from west to east. And this can easily be seen in the case of the moon, which moves each evening a little backwards.

It is most intriguing that in Slavonic sources Venus may also be called 'Lucifer' [=Дѣвнница/Деница], and/or 'Vesper' [=Вечерница]. Thus in the 10th-11th cent. *Codex Suprasliensis*, which is contemporary to *Symeon's Florilegium*, the name of Venus is rendered as Дѣвнница; see Sreznevskii [1893: 771] and Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 203]. This can perhaps explain why the forms *ДНН/ ДНН* (as abbreviations of Дѣвнница?) were used in astronomical texts from the same period to denote the planet positioned on either the second or on the fifth ring. Thus the earliest extant copy of *Symeon's Florilegium* (i.e. *Sviatoslav's Miscellany* from 1073) places on the second ring a planet the name of which is given as

Aries {i.e. Mars} [на Г-ЕМЪ Аррнсь].²¹² On the fourth, the Sun [на Д-МЪ Слѣце].²¹³ On the fifth, Zeus {i.e. Jupiter} [на Ё-МЪ Зѣусь].²¹⁴ On the sixth, Hermes {i.e. Mercury} [на С-МЪ Ермн^с].²¹⁵ On the seventh, the Moon [на З-МЪ Лоунж].²¹⁶ I adorned the lower ether with smaller stars [меншнмн звѣздамн оукраш^х аиерь долнн], and I put the Sun to shine during the day [поставн^х слѣце на просвѣщеніе днн], while the Moon and stars {were to shine} during the night [а лоунж н свѣзды на просвѣщеніе ноцн]; and {I ordered} the Sun to advance through each Zodiac {sign} [слѣце до ходн^т по коемоуждо жнвотоу], being 12 Zodiac {signs} in the orbit of the Moon [жнво^т вѣ-те ѡбхожденіе мѣдоу]. I gave names to the Zodiac signs²¹⁷, {and the time} when they enter to be born, and in their chronology and how

ДНН; the planet Venus / Aphrodite, on the other hand, appears on the fifth ring, precisely where 2 *Enoch* has Zeus (i.e. Jupiter). *Symeon's Florilegium* must then have had Jupiter on the second ring, and the form **ДНН** may have been a corrupt version of the theonym denoting it. A similar detail appears in the 13th century version of *Symeon's Florilegium* copied in the Hilandar Monastery (i.e. *Hilandar Miscellany*), according to which the name of the planet on the second ring is **ДНН** [Lavrov 1899: xii, footnote 4]. There may be one further clue to explain the different order in 2 *Enoch*, which appears to have had Venus and Jupiter exchange places: Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period had Venus in the second position in the order of planets [Koch-Westenholz 1995: 120, footnote 2], and 2 *Enoch* may have attempted to follow this order, which required Venus changing places with Jupiter. In this way, 2 *Enoch* appears to be a compromise between the Seleucid Babylonian and Ptolemaic Greek order of planets, and therefore reflects neither system precisely. Moreover, the interchange between Venus and Jupiter in the 2 *Enoch* list may show their mutual links within Babylonian astrology, as both being benevolent and portending favourable omens (in contrast to malevolent Saturn and Mars, and ambivalent Mercury) [Rochberg-Halton 1984: 123].

On the other hand, the form ДѢПННЦА was likewise used to render the name of Lucifer in the Slavonic translation of *Isaiah* 14: 12-15; in the latter case, it functioned as a synonym of 'the fallen angel' Satan. This detail may explain why in 2 *Enoch* the Watchers and their followers are also sentenced on the Second and the Fifth Heavens, in association with the second and fifth planetary rings which were implicitly linked with Satan, through the name of Lucifer (i.e. Venus, also positioned on either second or the fifth ring). It should be noted, however, that the Hell of the Third Heaven is not intended for fallen angels but for (human) sinners. This hypothesis triggers further questions, which will be analysed in detail elsewhere.

²¹² In *Symeon's Florilegium* **Аррнсь** is rendered as **Аррн**.

²¹³ Identical reading with *Symeon's Florilegium*.

²¹⁴ As briefly mentioned above, in contrast to 2 *Enoch*, *Symeon's Florilegium* puts Venus (=Lucifer) on the fifth ring, and not Jupiter (see the discussion above). Indeed, 2 *Enoch* gives an idiosyncratic scheme which does not appear to follow either Babylonian or Greek astronomy (in contrast to *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*, which conform to Ptolemy's order of planets), suggesting that 2 *Enoch* drew from different sources. This, in turn, indicates that in the period when the Slavonic protograph of 2 *Enoch* was composed (along with *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*), medieval Bulgarian science did not have at its disposal an established system of astronomical knowledge; scientific concepts of this period derived from various competing sources from different traditions.

²¹⁵ The three sources agree at this point and put Hermes (Mercury) [**Ермн^с** / **Ермьсь**] on the sixth heavenly ring.

²¹⁶ According to all three sources, the Moon is placed on the lowest, seventh ring.

²¹⁷ At this point *Symeon's Florilegium* lists the names of the 12 Zodiac signs (Fol. 250r) [Dinekov *et al.* 1991: 694].

the hours go around [ПОЛОЖИ^х ИМЕНА И^х ЖИВО^т ГРѢМѢНІЕ И^х И ПОВОРОЖДЕНІА И^х И ЧАСОТВОРЕНІА И^х КАКО СЪБХОДА^т]. And after that it was night and morning — the fifth day [И ТОГДА БЫ^т НОЦЬ И БЫ^т ОУТРО, ДНЬ 5].

On the fifth day [ВЪ ДНЬ ПАТН], I ordered the sea to give birth to fish and all kinds of birds [ПОРОДН РЫБЫ И ПТИЦЕ ПНОГО РАЗАНУПЫЕ], to all kinds of creatures crawling on the Earth [ВЪСѢКЪ ГАДЪ ЛАЗЕЦЬ ПО ЗЕМЛН], and quadrupeds walking on Earth [ХОДАЦЬ ПО ЗЕМЛН ЧЕТВЕРОНОГЪ], and to feathered-creatures in the air, male and female [ПАРАЦЬ ПО ВЪЗДОУХОУ МЖЖЕСКЪ ПО^а И ЖЕНСКЪ], and every breathing soul of all kinds of animals [ВЪСѢКЖ ДШЖ ДНШЖЦОУ ВСѢ^х ЖИВОТНЫ^х]. It became evening and became morning — the sixth day [И БЫ^т ВЕЧЕРЬ, И БЫ^т ПАКЫ ОУТРО, ДНЬ 6].

On the sixth day [ВЪ ШЕСТН ДНЬ], I ordered My wisdom [ПОВЕЛѢ^х МОЕИ МЖДРОСТН] to create man [СЪТВОРИТИ ЧЛКА],²¹⁸ from seven components [СѢ 7-МН^х СЪСТАВЪ]:²¹⁹ his flesh from earth [ПЛЪ^т ЕГО СѢ ЗЕМЛА],²²⁰ his blood from dew and sun

²¹⁸ As indicated by St. Thompson in his *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, there are several numerical patterns inlaid in cosmogonic and anthropogonic narratives. The motif of 'Seven substances employed in composition of human body' is classified by him as type **A 1260.1.4**; the anthropogonic paradigm of *2 Enoch* falls into this category. The parallel motif of *Adam octipartite* (i.e. man made of eight components: body — from earth, bones — from stones, veins — from roots, blood — from water, hair — from grass, thoughts — from winds, spirit — from clouds, warmth — from fire, cold — from air, dryness — from earth, instability — from water) is classified as **A 1260.1.3**. The latter has differing attestations in Slavonic apocrypha; see Mochul'skii [1886: 163-180], Böttrich [1995: 73-82] and Orlov [2007: 11-12]. On the shifting numerical patterns in Slavonic anthropogonies, see Badalanova [2008: 223, 230-235].

²¹⁹ See also the discussion in Forbes and Charles [1913: 448-449, footnote XXX.8] and West [1971: 377]. The anthropogonic paradigm of *2 Enoch* has its counterparts in other Slavonic apocrypha (e.g. *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*, *The Sea of Tiberias*, etc.), and in folk poetry. Thus the Thompson motif **A 1260.1.4** ('Seven substances employed in composition of human body') is found in some Russian oral poems, such as 'The Poem on the Dove Book' / 'The Poem of the Unfathomable Book' [*Стих о Голубиной Книге*], and *The Jerusalem Scroll* [*Свиток Ерусалимскій*]. According to one such text, the creation of man was described as follows:

Первая часть, кости — отъ камня; | Вторая часть, тѣло — отъ земли; | Третія часть, руда — отъ Чер<м>наго моря; | Четверая часть, дыханіе — отъ вѣтру; | Пятая часть, мысли, отъ облыцевъ; | Как оболаци ходють на небеси, вѣтромъ и ненастьемъ, | Такожда въ челоуѣкѣ ходють мысли худыя и добрыя; | Отъ добраго разума душа воскресаетъ, | Отъ худаго разума душа погибаетъ; | За добрымъ пошель, — добро и будетъ, | За худымъ пошель, — пропаль во вѣки. | Очи — отъ сонца, разумъ — от Святаго Духа.

The bones — from stone, the first element; | the body — from earth, the second element; | the blood — from the Black/Red Sea, the third element; | the breath — from the wind, the forth element; | the thoughts — from clouds, the fifth element; | as clouds wander along in the sky, {moved by} wind and storm, | so do good and bad thoughts in man; | from good reason [i.e. good sense] soul resurrects, | from bad reason soul perishes; | if you follow good {cause}, you will be well; | if you follow evil {cause}, you will be lost forever. | The eyes {are made from} sun, {the sixth element}; | the intellect {comes from} the Holy Spirit, {the seventh element}.

The above text (entitled *The Jerusalem Scroll*) was recorded by P. Yakushkin in the first half of the 19th century in the Ryazan province of the Russian Empire, and published by P. Bessonov [1861: 68-74, text No. 564, lines 150-161]. Among Russian peasants there existed many different versions of this spiritual poem; some of them were transmitted orally, others were copied by the indigenous scribes, thus becoming part of local vernacular writings ['народные рукописи']. Their headings varied; titles such as: *The Jerusalem Verse* [*Стихъ Ерусалимскій*], *The Jerusalem Scrolls* [*Списки Ерусалимскіе*], *The Jerusalem Sheet* [*Листъ Ерусалимскій*], *The List Regarding the Jerusalem Portent* [*Списокъ*

[крѣ̂ ѿ рощи и слѣнца],²²¹ his eyes from the Abyss of the sea [ѿвѣн ѿ бездны морскыѣ],²²² his bones from stone [костн ѿ каменїа],²²³ his thoughts from angelic alacrity and from clouds [помысль ѿ врьзостн аггакыѣ ѿбла^к],²²⁴ his sinews [жнлы ѿ] ²²⁵ and hair [космн] from the grasses of the earth [ѿ траве

Ерусалимского знаменїа], *The Legend of the Scroll* [Сказанїе о Свѣткѣ], *The Scroll of the Jerusalem Portent* [Свитокъ Ерусалимского знаменїа], *Parable* [Притча], *About Signs and Epistle of Our God Jesus Christ* [О знаменїи и посланїи Господа Бога нашего ІХ], *The Epistle of the Lord God, Our Saviour Jesus Christ* [Посланїе Господа Бога и Спаса Нашего ІХ], *The Epistle of Our Lord Himself* [Посланїе отъ Самаго Бога Нашего] were among the most popular ones [Bessonov 1861: 68]. Parallels between the vernacular Slavonic anthropogonies and *2 Enoch* are analysed elsewhere [Badalanova Geller, forthcoming 2011: 74-79]. See also the discussion in Lincoln [1986: 4-40] who suggests that the anthropogonic narrative in *2 Enoch* (along with other creation accounts from the 13th-14th century Irish sources, the 15th century Old Frisian *Code of Emsig*, etc.) and the Russian *Stikh o Golubinoi Knige* betray a common Indo-European mythological lineage; beware, however, of some erroneous translations of Russian material (e.g. *Стух о Голубиной Книге* [Stikh o Golubinoi Knige] being rendered by Lincoln as 'Poem on the Dove King' instead of 'Poem on the Dove Book' / 'The Poem of the Unfathomable Book'). Further on the spiritual ballad/poem *Stikh o Golubinoi Knige* and its links with Zoroastrian cosmology and Armenian heresiology, see Russell [2009: 141-208].

²²⁰ On the homologies of earth and flesh in Indo-European cosmogonies and anthropogonies, see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov [1984: 821]; on the reflexes of these homologies in *2 Enoch*, see Lincoln [1986: 4-16, 21-25].

²²¹ Identical with MS *J*; however, in MS *P* Adam's blood is from the dew, whereas his eyes are from Sun. It is most intriguing that some other sources also mix up the description of components of Adam's blood with the components for the eyes. One such example comes from the 15th-century *Erotapokriseis Razumnik* [Разоумникъ ѿ все(м) шпросе ѿ(в)е] from the *Tikveshky Miscellany* (MS № 677 from the Archaeographic Collection of Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, Bulgaria). According to this source, the body of the first man is created, like in the Enochic anthropogenesis, out of seven parts; however, the blood is described as a substance which originates from the sea, whereas the eyes are 'from the Sun and dew.'

Въпро(с)ь. ѿ кого сътвори бѣ аѡама. ѿ вѣт. ѿ .ꙗ. вѣстн .ѡ. тело ѿ зем(л)е .ѡ. кость ѿ камена .ꙗ. кровь ѿ рощи и ѿ слѣнца .ꙗ. днх(а)нїе ѿ вѣтра. дшѡу ѿ дѣа вжнїа .ѡ. разоумъ ѿ ѿблака .с. ѿвн ѿ моря .ꙗ. помнсь ѿ врьзостн ѿ аггл(с)кнн [Nachov, 1892: 402]

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

On the derivation of blood from dew and sun in Indo-European cosmogonies and anthropogonies, with special emphasis on *2 Enoch*, see Lincoln [1986: 11-12].

²²² As in MS *J*; on the attestation of 'Sun' as a macrocosmic alloform for 'eye(s)' in Indo-European languages and mythologies, see Lincoln [1986: 17-18, 21-25].

²²³ On implementation of 'bone' as a corporeal alloform for 'stone' in Indo-European creation myths, see West [1971: 377] and Lincoln [1986: 7, 12-16, 21-25].

²²⁴ On the mythological derivation of 'thoughts' from 'clouds', see Lincoln [1986: 19-25].

²²⁵ Referring to tendons, veins, or ligaments.

ЗЕМНІЕ],²²⁶ his soul [ДШЖ ѿГО]²²⁷ from My spirit [ѿ Дѣа моѿго] and from the wind [н ѿ вѣтра].²²⁸ And I gave {man} seven traits [да^x ѿмоу 7 ествѣ]:²²⁹ hearing²³⁰ to flesh [слоу^x къ плѣти], seeing²³¹ to eyes [възрѣнїе ѿчїю], smell to the spirit/soul [ѿвонѣнїе дшѣвно],²³² touch to the sinews [ѿсазанїа жнлѣ], taste to blood [въкоушенїе крѣве], the durability²³³ to bones [костн трѣпѣнїе], pleasure²³⁴ to

²²⁶ On the Indo-European homology 'plants=hear' as manifestation of the inner reciprocity between the microcosmic body and macrocosmic universe, see Lincoln [1986: 16-17, 21-25].

²²⁷ Instead of 'soul', Morfill and Charles suggest 'spirit': 'his spirit from My Spirit and from the wind' [1896: 39-40]; Andersen also recommends 'his spirit from My spirit and from wind' [1983: 150].

²²⁸ Cf. St. Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 185.12 (Deity provides man with soul); on the Indo-European mythopoeic equation 'soul=wind=God's breath', see Dukova [1988: 214-219], Tolstaia [2000: 54, 58, 60], Mencej [2008: 232-234], Badalanova Geller [forthcoming 2011: 41-49; 74-79].

²²⁹ A similar idea of seven traits, i.e. 'seven spirits' which were given to the man at the creation 'to be the means of his doing everything' is attested in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (and in particular in *The Testament of Reuben, About Ideas*, Chapter 2):

Also seven spirits were given him at the Creation to be the means of his doing everything. The first is the spirit of life, with which man's substance is created. The second is the spirit of sight, with which comes desire. The third is the spirit of hearing, with which is given teaching. The fourth is the spirit of smell, with which is given to draw in air and breath. The fifth is the spirit of speech, with which comes knowledge. The sixth is the spirit of taste, with which comes eating and drinking; and by them man's strength is built up (for food is the foundation of strength). The seventh is the spirit of procreation and sexual intercourse, with which sin enters through love of pleasure. For this reason it is the last in the order of creation and first among the desires of youth, because the truth about it goes unrecognized, and it leads the young man like a blind man to a pit, and like a beast over a precipice (Quoted after M. De Jonge [Sparks 1984: 516-517]).

The above fragment comes from the earliest surviving witness from a 10th century MS, Cambridge University Library [MS. Ff. 1.24]. For the Slavonic parallels, see *Завѣты Девѣнадцати Патріарховѣ* in the 14th century *Palaea* from Aleksandro-Nevskaia Lavra and *Palaea* from the Synodal Library in Moscow (MS No 210 dated 1477) in Tikhonravov [1863: 96-232]; see also *Palaea* No 653 in Solovetskaia Library published by I. Porfir'ev [1877: 158-94].

Further on seven sensory faculties in the anthropogonic narrative of 2 *Enoch*, see Lincoln [1986: 32-33]; on the list of senses in *De Hebdomadivus* (and cosmology of 'Hippocrates'), see West [1971: 379-379-380].

²³⁰ Linguistic data from various Slavonic dialects suggests that *слоухъ* has rather broad semantic coverage; see the data presented in Dal' [1882: 225-226]. Apart from 'hearing' *per se* it can denote also 'sense' in general (with emphasis on the ability to feel things physically, especially through the senses of touch). According to Dal', in Russian dialects the verb *слышать* (i.e. 'hear') can likewise mean 'to have the physical abilities of smell, hearing, touch and taste, excluding only sight' [ibid., 226]. Besides, the semantic coverage of the noun *слух* and the verb *слышать* ('to hear'), can include 'intuition'. Furthermore, the *слух/ слышать* semantic cluster may cover the notions of 'reason' / 'comprehension' / 'understanding'. Finally, some cognate lexemes (such as Russ. *слушать*, Bulg. *слушам*, etc.) may imply the concept of 'obeying', 'conforming' (e.g. the word *послушник* denoting novice, neophyte in Bulg. and Russ.); see also the discussion in Vasmer [1987: 178-680].

²³¹ Or 'sight'.

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

²³³ Or 'tangibility'.

thoughts [ПОМЫСЛОУ СЛАДОСТЬ].²³⁵ So I thought of saying this wise²³⁶ word [СЕ ПОМЫСЛѢ ХИТРОЕ СЛОВО СКАЗАТИ]: from invisible and visible natures [ѿ НЕВИДИМАГО ЖЕ И ВИДИМАГО ЕСТЬВА],²³⁷ I created man, from both death and life [СЪЗДА^Х УЛКА ѿ ОБОЕГО, СЪМР^ТЬ И ЖИВО^Т]. The image came to know the Word and a new small creature {came into being} — small in greatness and great in smallness [И ОБРАЗА ВѢСТЬ СЛОВО, ЯКЪ НѢКАКОУ ТВАРЬ ИИЖ ВЪ ВЕЛИЦѢ МАЛЖ, И ПАКЪ ВЪ МАЛѢ ВЕЛИКЖ]. And I placed him on Earth as a second angel, honourable, great and glorious [НА ЗЕМЛѢ ПОСТАВИ^Х ЕГО АГЛА ВТОРАГО УТНА И ВЕЛИКА И СЛАВНАА]. And I put him as king on Earth [ПОСТАВИ^Х ЕГО ЦРЬ ЗЕМЛѢ], having {rule through} My wisdom [ИМАЩА МОЕА МЖДРОСТІЖ], and there was no equal to him on Earth among My creatures [И НЕ БѢ ЕМОУ ПОДОБНА НА ЗЕМЛѢ И ѿ СЖИЦИ^Х ТВАРИ МОИ^Х]. And I gave him a name from four components [ПОСТАВИ^Х ЕМОУ ИМА ѿ ЧЕТЫРИ СЪСТАВЪ]: from East [ѿ ВЪСТОКЪ], West [ѿ ЗАПА^А], North [ѿ СѢВЕРА], and South [ѿ ЮГА].²³⁸ And I gave him four special stars [ПОСТАВИ^Х ЕМОУ ДЪ ЗВѢЗДАЫ ПАРΟΥИТИ] and I called him the name 'Adam' [РЕКЪ ИМА ЕГО АДА^М]; and I gave him his {free} will [ДА^Х ЕМѢ ВОЛА ЕГО].²³⁹ And I showed him two paths — the light and the darkness [ОУКАЗА^Х Ъ ПЖТИ, СВѢ^Т И ТЪМЖ], and I told him [рѣ^Х ЕМОУ], 'Here is the Good, and here is the Evil [СЕ ТИ ДОБРО, А СЕ ЗЛО],' in order to find out whether he has love or hate for Me [ДА ОУВѢ^М ЛЮБОВ ЛИ ИМА^Т КЪ М'НѢ ИЛИ НЕИВАНЕСТЬ], so that one who loves Me may appear among his kin [ДА ЯВНТ СЯ ВЪ РОДѢ ЕГО ЛЮБАЦИЕН МА].²⁴⁰ I saw his nature [АЗ ЖЕ ВИДѢ^Х ЕСТЬВО ЕГО], but he did not know his own nature [ѿ НИЖЕ НЕ ВѢ^АШЕ СВОЕГО ЕСТЬВА]; and this lack of knowledge caused a grave trespass [ТОГО РАДИ НЕВѢДЕНІЕ Ъ ГОРЕ СЪГРѢШЕНІА],²⁴¹ since he was {fated} to sin [ЯКО СЪГРѢШИТИ ЕМОУ Ъ]. And I told him [И РѢ^Х] that after the trespass, there is nothing but death [ПО СЪГРѢШЕНІИ НИ ОУЗВѢ СЪМР^ТЬ]. And I granted him a {deep} slumber [ПОСТАВИ^Х

²³⁴ Alternatively: 'enjoyment', or 'sweetness'.

²³⁵ Or 'intentions'.

²³⁶ Alternatively: 'crafty', or 'clever'.

²³⁷ Alternatively, 'substance', or 'character'.

²³⁸ An acronym composed from the Greek words denoting the four corners of the Universe:

A ⇒ **Ανατολή** (East)
D ⇒ **Δύσις** (West)
A ⇒ **Ἄρκτος** (North)
M ⇒ **Μεσαμβρία** (South)

Further on medieval Greek and Slavonic sources interpreting the same idea, i.e. that the name of ADAM was an acronym composed of the initial letters of the words denoting the four corners of the Universe (East, West, North and South), see Morfill and Charles [1896: xvi, xxvii] and Böttrich [1995: 59-72]; consult also Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index: A* 1241.5 (Man made of earth brought from four different places) and A1281.6.1 (Adam's name composed of initial letters of four stars from the four quarters of the heaven).

²³⁹ Or 'will-power'.

²⁴⁰ Or 'later generations', 'progeny'.

²⁴¹ Or 'sin'.

ѠМОУ СЪНЬ],²⁴² and I put sleep into him and he fell asleep [ВЪЛОЖИ^X ѠМОУ СЪНЬ, Н ОУСПЕ]. And I took from him, the sleeping one, a rib [ВЪЗЕ^X ѠМОУ СПАЦЮУ РЕБРО] and created woman for him [СЪТВОРИ^X ѠМОУ ЖЕНЖ],²⁴³ so that his death comes through woman [ЖЕНОЖ ДА ПРИНДЕ^T ѠМОУ СЪМР^TЬ]. And I took the last letter²⁴⁴ from him {i.e. the letter M} [ВЪЗА^X ПОСЛАДНА СЛОВО ѠГО] and called her the name 'Mother' [НАРЕКО^X ѠН НМА М^TИ], which is to say, 'Eve' [СНРѢ^V ЕВВА]: Adam {and} Mother, Earthly and Life [АДА^M М^TИ ЗЕМЛЪНЬ Н ЖИЗНЬ ЖЕ].²⁴⁵ I then created a garden in Eden to the East [СЪТВОРИ^X ѠГРАДЖ ВЪ ЕДОМѢ НА ВЪСТОЦѢ] so that they keep the covenant and observe {My} commands [ДА БЛЮДА^T ЗАВѢ^T Н ХРАНИ^T ЗАПОВѢ^A]. And I opened the skies above him so that he may see the angels singing the song of glory [СЪТВОРИ^X ѠМОУ НѢСА ѠВРѢСТА, ДА ЗРН^T АГЛАН ПОЖИЕ ПѢ ПОВѢДИЖА],²⁴⁶ and there was eternal light without darkness in Paradise [СВѢ^T БЕЗМРАУНЫ БѢ ВЫИЖ ВЪ РАН]. And the Devil realised that I want to create another world [РАЗОУМѢ ДІАВО^A, ЯКО ДРѢГЫ МНРЬ ХОЦИЖ СЪТВОРИТИ], which was to obey Adam on Earth and to be ruled by him [ЗАНЕЖЕ ПОВНИЖЛО СЕ Ѡ АДАМОУ НА ЗЕМЛН Н ѠБЛАДАТИ Н ЦРѢВОВАТИ НМН]. Being the demon of the Lower World [ДІАВО^A Ѡ ДОЛЪШИН^X МѢСТЬ БЖДЕ^T ВѢСЬ],²⁴⁷ the

²⁴² Sleep and shadow are homonyms in some texts.

²⁴³ Cf. Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A 1275.1 (Creation of first woman from man's rib).

²⁴⁴ Implied in this statement is most probably the Platonic concept of the letters of the alphabet as graphic symbols representing the primordial elements of Creation [Dornseiff: 1925].

²⁴⁵ This is a play on words in Hebrew: Adam and *adamah* (earth), and Eve and 'life' (Chava/*chay*).

²⁴⁶ Lit. 'victory'.

²⁴⁷ The Bulgarian linguists Tikhova and Ivanova [2001: 171-184] have recently offered an exhaustive analysis of the diachronic aspects of the semantic coverage of *Bēs* [ВѢСЬ], as attested in the medieval (i.e. from 9th to 14th cent.) Slavonic translations of the Greek edition of *Dialogorum libri IV, de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum et de aeternitate animarum* (composed in 593-594 by Saint Gregory the Great), with a special emphasis on the 14th century versions of *ПАТЕРНИКЪ РИМСКЪИИ* and *Бесѣдовникъ*. Provided there, with reference to N. Gerov [1895: 100-101], are parallel lexicographic data corresponding to the wide attestation of the lexeme **ВѢСЬ** in vernacular tradition (including magic and medicine). Following L. Sadnik and R. Aitzetmüller [1955: 10; 214 (39)], Tikhova and Ivanova suggest that the Old Church Slavonic lexeme **ВѢСЬ** is cognate to the Lithuanian *baisa* ('fear') and *baisis* ('frightful/'horrible/'terrible/'horrifying'), to the Latin *foedus* ('abominable, 'vile'), etc.; they maintain that the latter forms are etymologically related to the Indo-European **bhoidh-* and **bhoi-dh-so*, with reference to the Avestan *bayente / byente* ('being frightened'). The same is held by the authors of the *Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary*, who examine the relevant Slavonic dialectal forms and provide a comprehensive survey of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic sources in which **ВѢСЬ** and its cognates (**ВѢСЬНЬ**, **ВѢСЬНОВАТИ**, **ВѢСОВАННЮ**, **ВѢСОВЬСКЪ**, **ВѢШЕННЮ**, **ВЪЗВѢСНТИ СА**, **ВЪЗВѢСЬНЕТИ**, **ВЪЗВѢСОВАТИ СА**, **ВЪЗВѢШЕННЕ**) are attested; these include *Glagolita Clozianus*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus*, *Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis* (from the late 10th and early 11th centuries); see Georgiev *et al.* [1971: 190-110]. Their survey shows that in most of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic sources, the form **ВѢСЬ** and its cognates (along with **ДНМВОЛЪ** and/or **ДНВОЛЪ**) are predominantly used to denote a cluster of related concepts, such as *δαίμόνιον*, *δαίμων*, *διάβολος*. In some cases, however, the glossa **ВѢСЬ** may stand for, rather surprisingly, *πνεῦμα* and even *θεός*. The noun **ВѢСОВАННЮ** on the other hand, is used to translate *μανία*, *εἰδωλομανία*, *ἄθεος οἰκοδομή*. As for the (reflexive) verbs **ВѢСНТИ СА** / **ВѢСЬНОВАТИ СА**, they are employed to indicate mental conditions such as *μαίνεσθαι*, *λυττᾶν*, *δαιμονιᾶν*, *δαιμονιζεσθαι* ('being possessed by an evil demon', 'being insane'); see Tseitlin *et al.* [1999: 106-7] and Sreznevskii [1893: 220-223]. However, it still remains a mystery why the translators of the canonical biblical text into Old Church Slavonic preferred to substitute the 'convenient' Greek form *δαίμων* with

Devil, by running away from the Heavens, became Sotona, since initially his name was Sotana-il [ІАКО БѢЖЕ СЪТВОРНЛЪ СЪ НБСЕ СОТОНА , ІАКО НМА ЁМОУ БѢШЖ Сатанаи^А].²⁴⁸ With this he differed from angels [ГѢ^М СА ПРѢМѢНН ѿ агѢлъ]. He did

бѣсь. Why was the form *бѣсь* so heavily employed in the Slavonic lexicon used to translate the canonical Old and the New Testament, as well as parabiblical (apocryphal) literature? Was it more familiar to the audience at which the Bible was aiming in comparison to the form *δαίμων*? Indeed, hypotheses on the origins of *бѣсь* still remain doubtful; see also the discussion in Dukova [1983: 5-46], Gusev [1994: 14-17], Tolstoy [1995: 245-249, 250-269, 270-279], and Belova [1995: 164-166]. Even Vasmer avoids committing himself to any specific etymological deductions, apart from those involving a brief survey of already attested sources, with reference to critical literature [1986: 160], which is significant; this is one of the very few cases when he abstains going into detail and remains rather vague.

The key to the *бѣсь* puzzle may lay in the substratum (and indeed lexicon) of an esoteric scribal tradition which was contemporary with and complementary to both the Septuagint and to the New Testament; although its channels for transmission and diffusion of knowledge were running independently from those of the Bible, they did not entirely supplant them. The ideal candidate for this kind of medium is the corpus of Greek Magical Papyri, a genre stretching from the Early Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, i.e. as late as the 5th century AD. Indeed, the demonic being *Bes/Besa/Besas* featured prominently in these texts as a frightful evil spirit; see Betz [1986: 122-123, 147-148] and van der Toorn [1999: 173]. In Hellenistic Egypt *Bes* was regarded as a pantheistic deity and was described as such in PGM VII: 222-49 and PGM VIII: 64-110 [Betz 1986: 333]; in the latter case, the appellation *Besa* occurs alongside other 'clandestine' divine appellations (e.g. 'SALBANACHAMBRE ANOUTH ANOUTH SABAOTH ADONAI IE IE IE'). Even centuries after the demise of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, *Bes* was still popular in Coptic magic and continued to be feared by ordinary Egyptian peasants until the 19th century [Pinch 1994: 170]. On the other hand, *Bes* [бѣсь] featured in Slavonic magic and healing spells and incantations from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period, in the same way as in Coptic texts. Insanity and mania, spirit possession and even rabies were regarded as conditions caused by him. An interesting description of a healing ritual against bite of a rabid dog [ѿ бѣса], for instance, was found in a 16-17th cent. Bulgarian MS containing therapeutic recipes (MS No 80 from the Archaeographic Collection of Sts Cyril and Methodius Bulgarian National Library):

Write these words against {bite of a} rabid {dog} on unleavened bread which is not salted and give it to someone to eat on Thursday and you will witness how {the sick man will recover and} get {back his health} as a gift from God [Сна слова ѿ бѣса напиши на хлѣбъ прѣсень вѣ солень. и дан ему. да нзедѣ прежд(а)е слънца. вѣ ѹе(к). та да вѣдншь даръ вѣжы]: л. г. б. ѿ. г. ф. и. г. о. е. ф. п. г. р. и. а. д. е. з. ю. с. а. д. ѿ. р. к. а. д. ч. л. а. л. ш. об. м. е. п. р. е. ѿ. ѿ. с. г. с. л. р. к. а. л. г. ѿ. д. г. е. ѿ" д. б. ѿ. ѿ. д. д. ∴∴∴ [Arkhangel'skii 1899: 132].

This is one of the many cases of healing rituals involving the writing and/or chanting of the name of *Bēs* [бѣсь]; see also Iatsimirskii [1913: 91-102]. Although being attested in the early modern period, these texts have their roots back in the fertile imagination of the Greco-Roman world; recent archaeological excavations provide further supporting evidence, since amulet-figurines of *Bes* were found in 5th century AD archaeological contexts in the Balkans [Giunio and Gluščević 2007: 77-82].

In the light of the above it can be argued that the form *бѣсь* was familiar not only to those who translated the Old and the New Testament into Old Church Slavonic, but also to those for whom the text was translated. This link is much more direct than the intricate etymological lineage of the lexeme *бѣсь* suggested by L. Sadnik and R. Aitzetmüller. Although the reference to other Indo-European languages supplied by them is not impossible, the Greek Magical Papyri offer a much more simple and straightforward solution to the debated ancestry of *бѣсь*.

²⁴⁸ See the discussion in Vaillant [1952: 102-103]. He is challenged by Andersen [1984: 154-155, footnote 31 d] who suggests that the form *бѣсь* reflects paronomasia: 'the *devil* will become a *demon* (*bēsi*) [*бѣсь*] because he fled (*běžě*).' This is a *sui generis* folk etymology.

not change his nature but changed his thoughts, as is the case with the mind of the righteous and sinful [ЕСТВА НЕ ПРѢМѢНИ, НЖ МЫСЛЬ, ЯКО ЖЕ ОУМЪ ПРАВЕДНЫ^X И ГРѢШНЫ^X]. He understood his own damnation and sin, which he had committed previously [РАЗУМѢ СВОЖ ѠСЖЖДЕНІЕ И ГРѢ^X НЖЕ СЪГРѢШН ПРѢЖДЕ]. And that is why he thought of {doing something evil to} Adam [ТОГО РАДИ ПОМЫСЛИ НА АДАМА]. He entered Paradise and enticed Eve [ТАЦѢ^M ѠБРАЗО^M ВЪННДЕ^T ВЪ РАИ И ПРѢЛЪСТИ ЕВВЖ]; yet Adam he did not touch [АДАМОУ ЖЕ НЕ ПРИКОСНѢ СЯ]. Because of her {their?} ignorance, I cursed them [НЖ ЗА НЕВѢЖЬСТВА ЕЖ ПРОКЛА^X И^X]. Yet what I previously blessed I did not curse [А ЕЖЕ ПРѢЖДЕ БЛѢВ^X, ТѢ^X НЕ ПРОКЛА^X], nor did I curse what I previously did not bless [НХЖЕ ПРѢЖДЕ НЕ БЛѢВ^X, И Т^X НЕ ПРОКЛА^X]. I did not curse man [НИ ЧЛѢКА ПРОКЛА^X] nor the Earth [НИ ЗЕМЛА], nor other creatures [НИ ННОЕ ТВАРИ], but the evil fruits of mankind [НЖ ЧЛѢКЪ СКОЕ ЗЛОЕ ПЛО^AСТВО], which are the deeds of the good but yet the fruit of exertion [ТО ДѢЛѢ ДОБРО ТВОРЕНІА ПЛО^A ПОТО^M ТРОУДИ]. I told him, 'You are dust and will return to dust [ЗЕМЛА ЕСИ И ВЪ ЗМЛА ТЖЖДЕ ПОИДЕШИ], {since} I took you from it [Ѡ НЕЕ ЖЕ ТА ВЪЗЕ^X]; and I will not destroy you [НЕ ПОГОУБЛЮ ТЕ], but I will send you there from where I took you [НЖ ПОСЛАЖ ѠЖДОУ ТЕ ВЪЗА^X]. From there I may take you once again, at my Second Coming [ТОГДА МОЖ ПАКЫ ВЪЗАТИ ТЕ, ВЪ МОЕ ПРИШЕСТВІЕ ВТОРОЕ!]' I blessed all My creatures [БЛѢВ^X ВЪСА ТВАРЬ МОЖ], visible and invisible [ВИДИМѢ И НЕВИДИМѢ], and the seventh day on which I rested from all My work [И ДНѢ СЕДМИ, ВЪ Н ЖЕ ПОУИ^X ОТЪ ВСѢ^X ДѢЛѢ МОИ^X].

(Marginal note: And Adam was in Paradise for 5½ hours).

On the eighth day [ВЪ Н ЖЕ ДНѢ], I also appointed the {very same} eighth day to be the first day of My first created week [ПОЛОЖИ^X ТЪЖД^E ДНѢ Н ДА БЖДЕ^T А ПРѢВОЗДАНИИ НЕДѢЛА МОЕГО]; so that it may revolve in the image of 7 myriads [И ДА ѠБРАЩАЖТ СЯ ВЪ ѠБРАЗѢ 7 ТИАСИИ^X ТИ],²⁴⁹ and 8000 {years} [Н ТИАСИИ^X] might be at the beginning [ДА БЖДЖ^T ВЪ НАЧЕЛО] {of chronology}; and may the first day and the eighth day always revolve like this forever [ЯКО Ѡ ПРѢВѢ^M ДНѢ НЕ^AЛА, ТАКО И Н ДНѢ НЕ^AЛА ДА ВЪЗВРАТАТ СЯ ПРѢНО].

(Marginal note: It was the beginning of disparities of boundless time {reckoning}, and regardless of years, or months, or weeks, or days, or hours).

And now, Enoch [И НИѢ ЖЕ, ЕНОШЕ], everything which I told you [ЕЛНКА ТИ СКАЗА^X] and what you understood [И ЕЛНКО РАЗУМѢ] and what you saw in heavens [И ЕЛНКО ВИДѢ НА НБСЕ^X], and what you saw on Earth [И ЕЛНКО ВИДѢ НА ЗЕМЛИ], and what you wrote in books [И ЕЛНКА НАПИСА ВЪ КНИГА^X], I managed to create with My wisdom [ПРѢМЖДОСТІА МОЕЖ ОУЧИТИ^X ВЪСА СІЖ СЪТВОРИТИ]. I created it from the highest to the lowest fundamentals, and to the {very} end [СЪТВОРИ^X Ѡ ВЫШНѢГО ОСНОВАНІА ДО НИЖНѢГО И ДО КОНЦА]. There is no adviser nor heir for my Creation [НѢ СЪВѢСТНИКА, НИ НАСЛѢДНИКА МОИ^M ТВАРЕ^M]; I am Myself eternal and made by no hands [АЗЪ ЕСМЪ СА^M ВѢЧЕ^N И НЕРЖКОТВОРЕ^N]. My thought is immutable [БЕЗЪ ПРѢМѢНЕНІЕ МЫСЛЬ МОА], My wisdom is My counsellor [СЪВѢТНИКЪ МОИ^E МЖДОСТЬ МОА], and My word is a deed [СЛОВО МОЕ ДѢЛО Е]. My eyes see everything [ОУИ МОИ ГЛАДАЕТА НА ВСА], and whatever I cast My eye upon stays and quakes from

²⁴⁹ Lit. 'seven thousand thousands'.

fear [аще призѣраж на вса, то стож^Т н трасжт са страхом^М]. If I turn My face away, everything will perish [аще ли ѿвратицѣ лице мое, то всѣ потрѣбат са]. Enoch, employ your faculties and recognise the One speaking [положи оумъ свои, Еноше, и познай гл҃ащаго]! You take the books which you yourself wrote [и ти възми кн҃игы, ѣже ты са^М написа]! I give you Samuil and Raguil, who brought you to me [даж ти Самонла и Рагоула, възведшаго та къ мнѣ]. Descend to Earth [сѣниди на земла] and tell your sons what I told you [скажи сино^М своим^М ѣлнко гл҃а^Х к тебѣ] and about whatever you saw from the Lower Heaven to My Throne [и ѣлнко видѣ ѿ нижнѣго нбсе до прѣстола моѣго]. I created all hosts and all powers [всѣ воинства азъ сътвори^Х и вса силы]. Nobody challenges Me or disobeys Me [нѣ протнвѣжцаго са мнѣ или непокарѣжца мнѣ]. Everyone submits to My autocratic rule and works only for My power [всѣ бо покаржт са моѣмоу еднновластїа и работж^Т моен ѣднннн властн]. Give them the books written by your hand [даждь н^М кн҃игы ржкописанїе твоѣго], so that they {may read them and learn how to} worship and acknowledge Me, the Creator of all [поубтж^Т и познае^Т ма творца всѣ^Х], and to understand that there is no other but Me [и разоумѣж^Т ти, яко нѣ^Н иного, разѣ мене]. May they distribute the books written by your hand [да раздада^Т кн҃игы ржкописанїа твоѣго]; offspring to their offspring [ѡдо^М ѡда], kin to their kin [ро^А родоу], relatives to their relatives [жжнкы жжнка^М]. I will give to you, Enoch, my *archestrategos* Michael as an intercessor [да^М ти, Еноше, ходатаа моѣго архнстратнга Мнханла], on account of your covenant [за ржкописнїе твоѣ]²⁵⁰ and on account of the covenants²⁵¹ of your grandfathers [ржкописанїа ѿць твои^Х] Adam [Адама],²⁵² and Seth [Сита],²⁵³ and Enosh [Еноса],²⁵⁴ and Cainan [Каннана],²⁵⁵ Mahalaleel [Малеленла]²⁵⁶ and Jared, your father [Ареда ѿца твоѣго].²⁵⁷ I am not going to exterminate them until the Last Age [не потрѣбла н^Х до послѣднѣаго вѣка], as I ordered my angels [запе азъ заповѣда^Х агл҃ома монма], Ariukh [Ариуху]²⁵⁸ and Pariukh [Париух8],²⁵⁹ whom I put on Earth as their guardians [нже ја поставн^Х на земли хранителѣ н^М] {to protect them}. I ordered them to keep watch over them for the time being [повелѣ^Х време^М да снабда^Т н^Х], so that they do not perish in the future Flood [да не погнѣнж^Т въ бж^Аце^М потопаѣ], which I will cause among your kin [нже азъ

²⁵⁰ Lit. 'manuscript' (sing.).

²⁵¹ Lit. 'manuscript'.

²⁵² The form *Адама* (i.e. Adam) is in *genetivus possessivus*.

²⁵³ The form *Сита* (i.e. Seth) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 3-8.

²⁵⁴ The form *Еноса* (i.e. Enosh) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 6-11.

²⁵⁵ The form *Каннана* (i.e. Cainan) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 9-14.

²⁵⁶ The form *Малеленла* (i.e. a corrupt spelling of Mahalaleel) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 12-17.

²⁵⁷ The form *Ареда* (i.e. Jared) is in *genetivus possessivus*; see Gn 5: 15-20.

²⁵⁸ The form is in dative.

²⁵⁹ The form is in dative.

сѣтворѣ въ родѣ твоѣ^М. Because I have come to recognise human malevolence [Азѣ оубо съвѣ^М злобѣ ѹлѹа], since they cannot tolerate the yoke which I placed on them [ѹако не понесѣ^Т ѹр'ма, нже азѣ въздвнѣж^Х н^М]. And they rejected my yoke [н ѡврѣгошѣ ѹремѣ мон] and accepted another yoke [н въспрѣж^Т ннн ѹре^М], and planted the seed of devastation [н въсѣаше сѣмена поуостошпаа], and bowed down before vain gods [н поклоннша^Ѡ богѡ^М соуетны^М]. They repudiated My Oneness [ѡрннжше мож ѣдннство] and the entire Earth was polluted by iniquities [всѣ земаа сѣгрѣзи са неправдами],²⁶⁰ offenses [ѡвндами],²⁶¹ and fornication [прѣлюбодѣнство^М],²⁶² and evil service {to false gods} [зло слоуженіѣ^М].²⁶³ This is why I will bring a Flood on the Earth [того ради азѣ наведѣ потопѣ на земаа] and the Earth will be wrecked in a great mud [земаѣ сама сѣкроушнт са въ тнмѣніѣ велнко]. I will leave a righteous man from your seed, together with his entire household [оставла мжжа праведн а ѡ племенн твоѣго съ вѣсѣ^М домѡ^М ѣго], who will act according to My will [нже сѣтворнтн по воле моѣн], and from their seed another great kin will rise [н ѡ сѣмене н^Х вѣстает^Т ро^А ннѣ послѣ^{Анн} многѣ], but many of them will be rather greedy [нж ѡ тѣ^Х мношн несѣтн бѣдѣ^Т сѣло]; and I will make the books written by you and your ancestors appear among the descendants of this kin [въ нзводѣ рода то^Ѡ ѹвла н^М кннгы рѣкопнсаніѣ твоѣго н ѡцѣ твои^Х]; and I will show them the earthly guardians, My faithful pious men, who will not call My name in vain [нмже стражіѣ земнн показовати нмѣ^Т мжже^М вѣрнн^М оугоднннко^М мон^М, нже нменн моѣго вѣсоуе не прнзовѣ^Т]; and they will tell their kin [ты скажѣ^Т родоу ѡномоу] and become glorious; and they will be honoured more afterwards than in the beginning [н ѡнн, поуѣтшѣ прославет са въ послѣдокѣ, нежелн прѣвѣа]. Now Epoch [ннѣ же, ѣноше], I am giving you a period of 30 days to return to your home [даж ти рокѣ прѣж^Ааніѣ ѡ днн сѣтворнтн въ домѣ твоѣ^М] and to recount everything to your sons and household on My behalf [нсповѣдати снѡ^М твои^М вса н домоуадецѣ^М твои^М в'са ѡ лица моѣго]; and may they fulfil what is said by you [да слышѣ^Т глѣаное н^М тобож], and to read [н проуѣтѣтѣ] and understand [разоумѣжѣ^Т] that there is no other but Me [ѹако нѣ^Ѡ нного развѣ мене]. May they all keep your commandments [всн да сѣхранѣ^Т заповѣдн твоѣ] and start copying your books [наѹжѣтѣ кннгы рѣкопнсаніѣ твоѣго]. In 30 days [по ѡ-тн^Х днѣ^Х] I will send to you My angel [азѣ пошла по та аггѣла моѣго] who will take you up from the Earth [възма^Т та ѡ земаа] and {from} your sons [ѡ снѡвъ твои^Х] {and bring you} to Me [мнѣ].

Chapter Twelve

And God summoned one of his senior angels [възва Гѣ ѣднного ѡ аггѣль старѣннн^Х], awesome [страшна] and terrifying [грозна], and placed him next to me [н поставн ѣго ѣ мене]; and the visage of this angel was white as snow [вндаѣніѣ

²⁶⁰ The form is in *instrumentalis*.

²⁶¹ The form is in *instrumentalis*.

²⁶² The form is in *instrumentalis*.

²⁶³ The form is in *instrumentalis*.

агѣла того бѣло яко снѣгъ], his hands {and arms}²⁶⁴ looked like ice, extremely cold [рѣцѣ ѣго лѣ^а вндѣнїе^м нмаца стоденъ велнкж]. My face cooled down in such a way that I had no fear of God and it was not possible to feel the burning fire [огнѣ пецинаго], and the heat of the sun [зноа слѣнеунаго] and the freezing air [мраза въздоушнаго]. God said to me [Гѣ къ мѣѣ], 'Enoch, if your face does not cool down here {in Paradise}, no man could see it [Еноше, аще не оустодн са лице твоа зде, не може^т ѣлкѣ зрѣти лица твоѣго]!' Then God said to these men who took me to Him [ре^в Гѣ мжжема ѡнѣма, възведшма ма прѣжде], 'Let Enoch descend down to Earth with you [да сѣннде^т Ено^х на земаа съ вама]; and you wait for him until the appointed day arrives [пожданта ѣго до оуроунаго дне]!' And during the night they placed me in my bed [поставнста ма ноцие на ѡдрѣ мое^м]; Methuselah was waiting for my return, keeping guard day and night next to my bed [Метусала^м ѣаше прншествїе моѣго, въ дне н в ноци стрѣгын стражж ѡ ѡдра моѣго]. When he heard my returning, he got frightened [оужасе^н бѣ^ѣ ѣгда слѣша мо прншествїе]. I told him [рѣ^х ѣмоу], 'May my entire household be summoned [да сѣннджт са всн домаѣдци мон]!'; and I spoke to them [азѣ же гѣ^а къ нн^м].

Chapters 13-17: Enoch repeats the description of his vision to his children; the account is similar to the above.

Chapter Eighteen

When Enoch was talking to his household²⁶⁵ [вънегда бесѣдовашж Ено^х люде^м свон^м], God sent dusk on Earth [Гѣ пѣстн мра^к на земаа] and darkness fell [бѣ^ѣ т^ама], covering the men standing with Enoch [покры мжже, стожще съ Енохо^м]. The angels hurried [оускорн^ш агѣлн] and took Enoch [пожще Еноха] and raised him to the Heaven above [възнѣше н на вышinea нѣбо], where God received him and placed him before His face forever [ндеже Гѣ прнж^т н поставн ѣ прѣ^а лице^м свон^м въ вѣкы]. The darkness lifted from the Earth and it became light [ѡстжпн тѣма ѡ земаа, н бѣ^ѣ свѣ^т]. People saw without comprehending how Enoch was taken [вндѣшж людїе н не розоумѣшж како възать бѣ^ѣ Ено^х]. Having praised God, they returned to their homes [прославншж Бѣ н тогда ндо^ш къ домы своа].

Chapter Nineteen

Enoch was born on the 6th day of the month Pamovous [Ено^х же родн са въ 6 днѣ мца памовоуса],²⁶⁶ and he lived for 365 years [жн^т лѣ^т тѣ^ѣ].²⁶⁷ He was brought up

²⁶⁴ In Slavonic languages, the word for 'hand' and 'arm' is the same.

²⁶⁵ Lit. 'his people'.

²⁶⁶ i.e. Tammuz.

to Heaven during the month of Nisan, on its first day [ВЪЗД^Т БЫ^Н НА НБО МЦА ННСАНА, ВЪ А ДНЬ], and he spent 60 days in Heaven [ПРФБЫ^Н НА НБСН ТЪ ДНН], {during which} he wrote down all wonders created by God [ПНШЕ В'СА ЗНАМЕНІА ВЪСА ТВАРН, НЖЕ СЪТВОРН ГЪ]. He wrote 366 books [НАПНСА ТЪС КНИГЪ], which he passed on to his sons [ПРФА^Н Х СНОМЪ СВОИ^М]; and after that he spent another 30 days on Earth speaking with them [ПРФБЫ^Н НА ЗЕМЛН Л ДНН, ГЛАВЪ СЪ НМНН]. And again, he was brought up to Heaven [Н ПАКЪ ВЪЗЕ^Т БЫ^Н НА НБО], in exactly the same month of Ramovus, on the very same 6th day on which he was born, and at the very same hour [МЦА ПАМОВДСА ТОГОЖДЕ Н ВЪ ТЪЖДЕ ДНЬ С, ВЪН'ЖЕ Н РОДН СА, Н ВЪ ТЪЖДЕ ЧА]. Because every man has a non-transparent²⁶⁸ side to his current life [ІАКО^Ж НМА^Т ВЪСЪКЪ ЧЛКЪ ЕС^ТВО ТЪМ'НО НАСТОЖЩАГО СЕГО ЖНТІА], since at whatever hour a human being is conceived, at the very same hour one will be born and at the same hour will die [ТАКО Н ЗАЧАТІЕ Н РОЖЬСТВО Н ПРЪСТАВЛЕНІЕ Ъ СЕГО ЖНТІА: ВЪНЖЕ ЗАЧНЕТ СА, ВЪ ТЪ ЧА^Н Н РОДНТ СА, ВЪ ТЪ Н ПРЪСТАВНТ СА].²⁶⁹

Chapter Twenty

Methusalam [Μεθουσала^М] rose up early, together with his brothers and all the sons of Enoch, and they raised a sacrificial altar [жрѣтъвнн^К] at the place called Akhuzan [Ахоузаны],²⁷⁰ where Enoch was taken up {to Heaven}. Having taken sheep [бравы] and cattle [говеда] they summoned all the people and offered sacrifices [пожрѣшж жрѣтъж] before God's face [прѣ^А лице^М гнн^М]. Having come along to the celebrations [веч^Ліе],²⁷¹ people brought gifts to Enoch's sons; and they happily rejoiced [сътворишж веч^Ліе ра^Дужщеса] and made merry [веселещеса] for three days.

Chapter Twenty-one

On the 3rd day, in the evening, the Elders spoke to Methusalam [Μεθουσалаμου] and said,²⁷² 'Stand up before God's face [прѣ^А лице^М гнн^М] and before the face of all

²⁶⁷ According to some scholars, this particular detail (i.e. that 'the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty and five years' when God took him away), 'may show calendary or astronomical connections of Enoch' [Greenfield and Stone 1979: 93]; see also the discussion there [1979: 92-95].

²⁶⁸ Lit. 'murky'.

²⁶⁹ At this point Ms P ends.

²⁷⁰ Identified as Jerusalem on the account of a later narrative associating this place with Melchizedek; see the discussion in Ginzburg [1968: 162].

²⁷¹ Lit. 'feast' / 'festivity' / 'revelry'/'merriment'. However, in this particular context the noun веч^Ліе most probably denotes 'mourning customs'; see in this connection the discussion in S. M. Tolstaia and N. I. Tolstoy [1993].

²⁷² The name is in the dative.

the people, and before the face²⁷³ of God's hymnal [прѣ^л лице^м трѣбника гѣѣ], and you will become famous among your people!' And Methusalam answered his people, 'Wait, O men, until God, the Lord of my father Enoch, Himself raises up a priest [жрѣца]²⁷⁴ among His people!' The people spent one more night at the place of Ahuzan [Ахоузана], while Methusalam [Меѳоусала^м] was next to the altar [ѡлтарѣ]. And he prayed to God and said, 'O God of all ages, One-and-Only, Who chose my father Enoch, please appoint a priest [жрѣца] of your people and put wisdom into their hearts, so that they fear Your glory and begin doing everything according to Your will!' Then Methsalam fell asleep and God appeared to him in a night vision [вндѣвнн ноциѣ^м] and told him, 'Listen to Me, Methusalam, I am the Lord, the God of your father Enoch. Listen to the voice of these people and stand before the face of My altar [олтара моего] and I will glorify you before the face of all the people and you will be glorified for all the days of your life.'

And Methusalam woke up from his dream and gave praise to God, who appeared before him. The Elders of the people hastened to Methusalam and the Lord God made Methusalam's heart listen to the people's voice. And the Lord spoke {thus}, 'May these people who are standing in front of My eyes today be blessed!' The elders Sarsan [Сарса^н] and Kharmis [Хармис^с] and Zazas [Заза^с] hastened and dressed up Methusalam in fine garments and placed a bright wreath on his head. And the people hastened, bringing sheep, cattle, and birds, everything which Methusalam was supposed to sacrifice [пожрѣти] in the name of God and in the name of the people. And Methusalam went up to God's altar [жрѣтъвннкѣ гѣѣ] and his face brightened like the midday sun rising, and all the people followed him in his footsteps²⁷⁵ [градѣще въ слѣд его]. And Methusalam stood up before God's altar [олтарю гѣѣ]²⁷⁶ and all the people surrounded the {sacrificial} altar [жрѣтъвннкѣ]. The Elders took the sheep and cattle and tied their four legs²⁷⁷ and then they placed them on the altar's capital [на главѣ олтароу] and said to

²⁷³ An overly literal translation of Hebrew *lifnê* ('before', literally 'to the face of') probably reflecting the language of the Vorlage of this text.

²⁷⁴ The noun used here to denote 'priest' [жрѣцѣ] (var. **жърѣцѣ**, **жърцѣ**, **жърѣцѣ**, **жерцѣ**) is a cognate to the nouns for 'sacrificial offering' [жѣртва, жрѣтва, жрѣтва, жертва], 'sacrificial victim' [жѣртва, жрѣтва, жрѣтва, жертва], 'sanctuary' (=templum) [жѣртваѣ, жрѣтваѣ, жертваѣ], and 'altar' [жрѣтъвннкѣ, жърѣтъвннкѣ, жрѣтъвннкѣ, жърѣтъвннкѣ, жърѣтъвннкѣ, жърѣтъвннкѣ]; the same is true for the adjectives 'sacrificial' [жерѣтъвннѣ, жърѣтъвннѣ, жерѣтъвннѣ] and 'priestly' [жърѣцѣ, жерѣцѣ, жърѣцѣскѣ, жерѣцѣскѣ, жрѣцѣскѣ]. The verb 'to perform sacrifice' / 'to offer sacrifice' [жърѣти, жрѣти, жърѣти] on the other hand is identical with the verbs denoting 'to eat' and 'to drink' [i.e. жърѣти, жрѣти, жърѣти]; see the data presented in Sreznevskii [1893: 888-890].

²⁷⁵ Lit. 'walked in his footsteps'.

²⁷⁶ Here the phrase **жрѣтъвннкѣ гѣѣ** [God's altar] is replaced by **олтарѣ гѣѣ**; the lexemes **жрѣтъвннкѣ** and **олтарѣ** are used as synonyms.

²⁷⁷ Anthropological data collected among the Balkan Slavs indicates that the *Qurban* sacrificial rituals follow this rule; the four legs of the sacrificial animal are to be tied, otherwise the offering is incorrectly performed. However, the explanation given is usually with reference to the Akedah (i.e. Abrahamic narrative), but the obligatory customary to bind the four legs of the sacrificial animal may have originated with awareness of *2Enoch*; see the earlier discussion in Pennington [1984: 326] and Badalanova [2001: 39-46]. The picture is much more complex and requires more detailed explanation.

Methusalam, 'Take this knife and slaughter these animals which are designated {for sacrifice} before the face of God!' Methusalam stretched his hands towards the sky and called upon God, saying, 'Hear me O God, who am I to be in the front rank of Your sacrificial altar [ЖРЪТЪВНИКА ТВОЕГО], at the head of these people? O God, look at Your servant and all these people now! May they now all be tested and give blessings to your servant before the face of the whole people, so that they may understand that You have appointed a priest for your people.' While Methusalam was praying, the altar [ΩΛΤΑ^p] shook, the knife raised itself from the altar [ВЪСТА ПО^ж ΩΩ ΩΛΤΑΡΑ] and jumped into Methusalam's hand, before the face of all the people; and the people trembled and praised God. From this day onwards Methusalam became holy before God's face and before the face of the entire people. Methusalam took the knife and sacrificed [НЗЪКЛА]²⁷⁸ everything brought by the people; and the people rejoiced and became merry on this day before God's face and before the face of Methusalam. And after that, people went off {and returned} under their own roofs.

Chapter Twenty-two

From this day onwards, Methusalam began serving at the altar [ΟΥ ΩΩΛΤΑΡΑ] before the face of God and all the people. For a period of ten years, he was reassuring them regarding {their} eternal heritage and mentored the entire Earth and his entire people well. There was not a single person who turned his face away from God in vain, during all the days of Methusalam's life. And God blessed Methusalam and graciously accepted his sacrifices and offerings and all his service which he conducted before the face of God. When the time of Methusalam's death²⁷⁹ approached, God appeared to him in a nightly vision and said to him, 'Listen to me, Methusalam, I am the Lord, God of your father Enoch, telling you to be aware that the days of your life are coming to an end. The day of our peace is approaching. Summon Nir, son of your son Lamech, the second one born after Noah, and dress him in your priestly garb and place him next to My altar, and tell him everything which will take place during his days. Because the time of the destruction of the entire Earth and every man and living creature on Earth is approaching, since in his days a great upheaval on Earth will take place. Because man has started hating his next of kin and people have taken to pride over other people, and nation²⁸⁰ has started wars {against nation}, and the entire Earth is full of desecration, blood and all kinds of evil; and having abandoned their Creator and they will bow before vain gods and before the heavenly firmament and before what goes on Earth²⁸¹ and before the waves of the sea; and {My} adversary {the Devil} will take pride in his deeds, to My great regret. And the entire Earth will alter its makeup, each tree and each fruit will change its nature,²⁸² anticipating the time of destruction. And all the nations²⁸³ on

²⁷⁸ Lit. 'slaughtered'.

²⁷⁹ Lit. 'presentation {before God}'.

²⁸⁰ Lit. 'tongue'.

²⁸¹ Var. 'before Earth's path.'

²⁸² Lit. 'seeds'.

Earth will alter, to My sorrow.²⁸⁴ Then I will order the Abyss to sweep over the Earth and the vast storehouses of heavenly waters will descend to Earth in great substance [ВЕЩЬСТВО ВЕЛНКО],²⁸⁵ back to primordial matter [ПО ВЕЩЬСТВО ПРЪВОМОУ]. Everything existing on Earth will perish [И ПОГЫБНЕ ВСА СТАВЛЕНІЕ ЗЕМЛА]. The entire Earth will quake [СЪТРЕСЕТСА ЗЕМЛѢ ВСѢ] and from that day it will lose its firmness [ЛНШЕТСА КРЪПОСТН СВОЕ ѿ ДНѢ ТОГО]. Then I will save Noah, the firstborn son of your son Lamech, and from his seed I will create another world. His seed will last for ages, until the second destruction, when mankind will also sin in the same way before My face.' Methusalam started from his dream and his dream saddened him greatly. He summoned all the elders of the people and told them what God had announced to him, as well as the entire vision which was portended to him by God. The people were saddened on account of his vision and said to him, 'It will be done according to the will of God the Ruler. As for you, Methusalam, do today whatever God told you to do.' Methusalam summoned Nir [ННРЬ], the son of Lamech, the younger brother of Noah, and dressed him in priestly garb before the face of the entire people. He placed him next to the altar capital and taught him everything which he was to do before the people. And Methusalam said to the people, 'From now on, Nir [ННРЬ] will be prince [КНАЗЬ] and ruler [ВОЖЬ] for you.' The people replied to Methusalam, 'May this be according to your words. And may you be the voice of God, since God spoke to you.' And as Methusalem was talking to the people in front of the face of the altar, his spirit became disturbed and while still kneeling on his knees, he straightened his hands towards heaven and prayed to God; and while he was praying, his spirit departed towards God. And Nir and all the people hastened and made a tomb [гробъ]²⁸⁶ for Methusalam at the place called Akhuzan [АХОУЗАНЫ], finely adorned in holy vestments, and with candelabra. And then Nir went with much glory and the people moved Methusalam's body and glorifying him, put him into the tomb which was created for him, and they covered him and said, 'May Methusalem be blessed in front of the face of God and before the face of the people!' When they wished to depart to go to their {own} places, Nir said to the people, 'Hurry today and bring sheep [БРАВЫ] and young oxen [ЮНЦЕ] and turtledoves [ГРЪЛНЦЕ] and pigeons [ГОЛЖВЫ], so that we sacrifice [пожрѣ^М] them before God's face today, and afterwards you go to your homes.' And people obeyed Nir the priest [оуслыша^М людїе ННра їреа], and they hastened and brought {the animals} and tied them up to the capital of the altar. And Nir took the priestly knife and slaughtered everything which was brought along and sacrificed it in front of God's face. And all the people rejoiced in front of God's face, and on that day they praised the Lord, God of heaven and Earth, on which Nir was dwelling. From this day on, there was peace and harmony on all the Earth during Nir's days, which were 202 years. And afterwards the people turned away from God and they began to be jealous of one another, and people rose up against people and nation made war

²⁸³ Lit. 'tongues'.

²⁸⁴ Perhaps a scribal error? If so, the word желаніе ('will', 'wish') may be emended to съжаленіе (or сожаленіе), as the reading 'with all My will' will make little sense; other MSS (e.g. MS Б) suggest въ жалѣніе. See the survey of variant readings in Sokolov [1899: 68-69 fn. 30].

²⁸⁵ Lit. 'matter'.

²⁸⁶ The noun **гробъ** can also mean 'sepulchre', as well as 'grave'.

against nation.²⁸⁷ Although they had one mouth, their hearts understood differently. Because the Devil started ruling for the third time [ЗАНЕ НАУ А ДІАВО^А ТРЕТЦЕ А ЦР^СТВОВАТИ]. The first {time} was before Paradise; the second {time} was within Paradise; the third {time} outside of Paradise and lasted until the Flood. And wars and great unrest started, and the priest Nir [НИРЬ ІЄРЕЕ] heard and became saddened and said in his heart, 'Indeed, I understood that the time about which God was talking to Methusalam, the father of my father Lamech, has approached.'

²⁸⁷ Lit. 'tongue against tongue'.

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Fig. 5

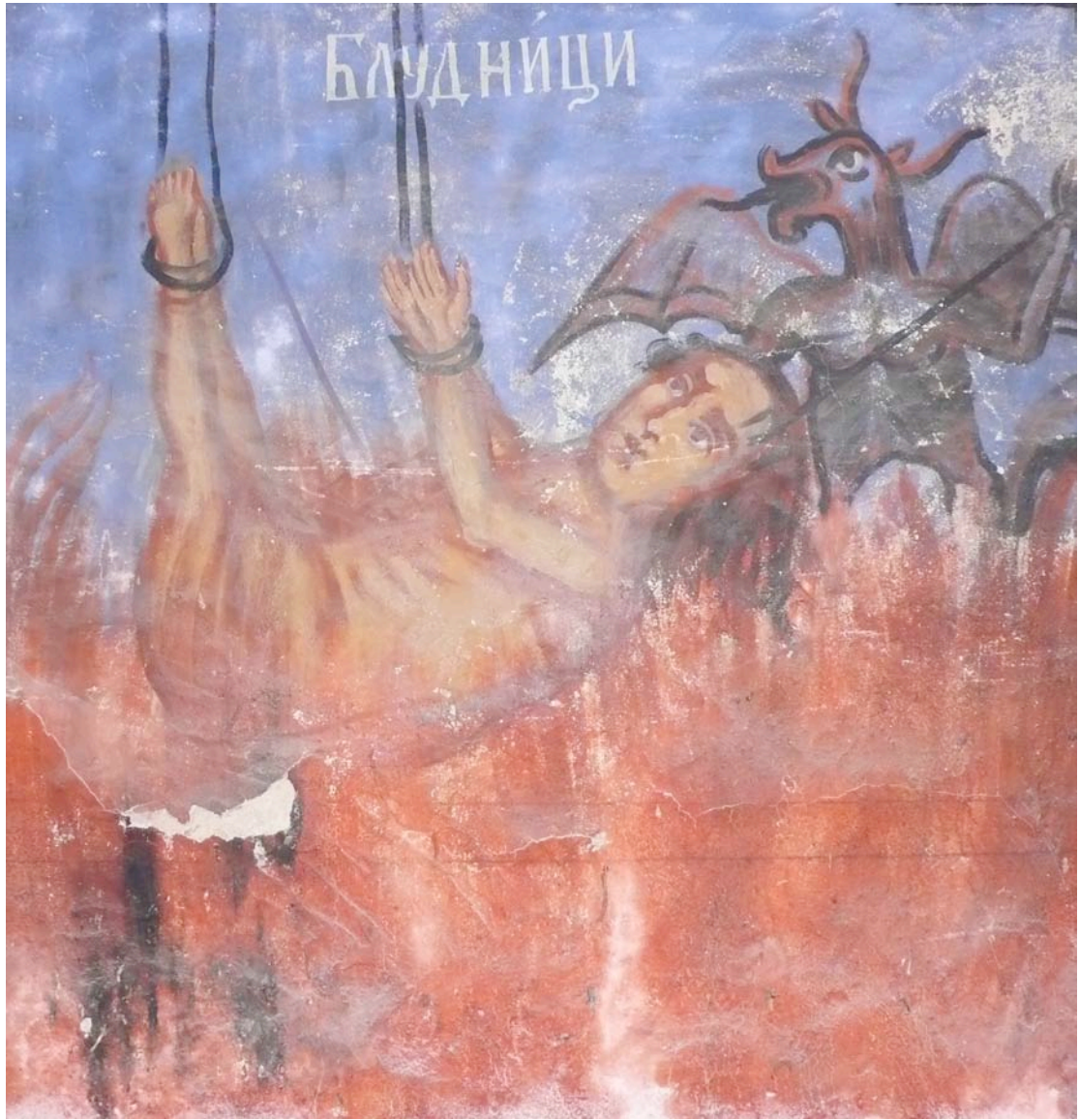


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

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