

The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition

Edited by
LORENZO DITOMMASO and
CHRISTFRIED BÖTTRICH

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Continuity and Diversity

Edited by

Lorenzo DiTommaso and Christfried Böttrich

with the assistance of Marina Swoboda

Mohr Siebeck

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
Abbreviations	IX
<i>Lorenzo DiTommaso and Christfried Böttrich</i>	
Introduction: Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition	1
<i>James H. Charlesworth</i>	
The Uniqueness and Importance of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha	5
<i>Florentina Badalanova Geller</i>	
<i>The Sea of Tiberias</i> : Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition	13
<i>Christfried Böttrich</i>	
Die Geschichte Melchisedeks (<i>HistMelch</i>) im slavischen Kulturkreis	159
<i>Irina M. Gritsevskaya</i>	
Some Problems of Textology of Indexes of Prohibited Books	201
<i>Tomislav Jovanović</i>	
Old Testament Apocrypha in the Serbian Manuscript Tradition	225
<i>Alexander Kulik</i>	
Church Slavonic Apocrypha and Slavic Linguistics	241
<i>Basil Lourié</i>	
Propitiatorium in the <i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	267
<i>Anissava Miltenova</i>	
Slavonic <i>Erotapokriseis</i> : Sources, Transmission, and Morphology of the Genre	279
<i>Liudmila Navtanovich</i>	
The Slavonic <i>Apocryphon of Zorobabel</i>	303
<i>Andrei Orlov</i>	
The Heirs of the Enochic Lore: “Men of Faith” in 2 <i>Enoch</i> 35:2 and <i>Sefer Hekhalot</i> 48d:10	337

<i>Michael Pesenson</i>	
The Sibylline Tradition in Medieval and Early Modern Slavic Culture . . .	353
<i>Nicolae Roddy</i>	
Slavonic Apocryphal Traditions in the Romanian Lands: Diffusion and Diffraction	373
<i>Aurelio de Santos Otero</i>	
Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der <i>Apokalypse Abrahams</i>	389
<i>Cornelia Soldat</i>	
The <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> in the Russian Tradition and the Contexts of Their Reception	407
<i>Marina Swoboda</i>	
The Old Testament “Apocrypha” in Early Russian Drama	429
<i>Evgenij G. Vodolazkin</i>	
Zu einer Rohfassung der Polnaja Chronografičeskaja Paleja und zum Verhältnis zwischen den verschiedenen Paleja-Redaktionen	453
List of Contributors and Editors	471
Index of References	473
Index of Modern Authors	480

Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i>
<i>AATor</i>	<i>Atti (della reale) Accademia (delle scienze di) Torino</i>
<i>AB</i>	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (ed. D. N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992)
<i>ACW</i>	Ancient Christian Writers
<i>AEH</i>	<i>Acta ethnographica Hungarica</i>
<i>AGAJU</i>	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>AKG</i>	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
<i>ALW</i>	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
<i>AMRG</i>	Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte.
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1972–)
<i>AOC</i>	Archives de l'orient chrétien
<i>AP</i>	Arheografski prilozi
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i>
<i>Apoc</i>	<i>Apocrypha</i>
<i>ARW</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i>
<i>ASPh</i>	<i>Archiv für Slavische Philologie</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>BAC</i>	The Bible in Ancient Christianity
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BEATAJ</i>	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
<i>BETL</i>	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BulgF</i>	<i>Bulgariski folklor</i>
<i>BiLDR</i>	<i>Biblioteka Literaturny Drevnej Rusi</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands (University) Library</i>
<i>BJS</i>	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>BLE</i>	<i>Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique</i>
<i>BP</i>	Biblioteca patristica
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines</i>
<i>ByzNGJb</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>

BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
CA	Christianisme antique
CahO	Cahiers d'orientalisme
CahRTP	Cahiers de la <i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> Monograph Series
CCCM	Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis
CCR	<i>Coptic Church Review</i>
CCSA	Corpus christianorum, series apocryphorum
CCSG	Corpus christianorum, series graeca
CCSL	Corpus christianorum, series latina
CDR	Classici delle religioni
CHR	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
CistS	Cistercian Studies
ČOIDR	<i>Čteníja v Imp. Obščestve Istorii i Drevnosti Rossijskich pri Moskovskom Universitete</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DBSup	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément</i> (ed. L. Pirot, et al.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928–)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DPAC	<i>Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane</i> (ed. A. Di Bernardino; Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983–1988)
ÉAC	<i>Écrits apocryphes chrétiens</i> (2 vols.; ed. F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain, and J.-D. Kaestli; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442, 516; Paris: Gallimard, 1997–2005)
EEC ²	<i>Encyclopedia of Early Christianity</i> (ed. E. Ferguson; New York: Garland, ² 1997)
EO	<i>Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie</i>
EP	<i>Etnografia Polska</i>
EPh	<i>Ekklesiastikos Pharos</i>
ÉPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ÉTR	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i>
FC	Fontes christiani
FO	<i>Folia orientalia</i>
FoSl	<i>Forum slavicum</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GOTR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
GCS	Die griechischen-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GNO	Gregorii Nysseni Opera
HLEUL	Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature
HS	Hellenic Studies
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>

HUAS	Hebrew University Armenian Studies
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HUS	Harvard Ukrainian Studies
IP(M)	Instrumenta patristica (et mediaevalia)
IORIS/IzvORJS	<i>Izvestiia Otdeleniia Russkogo Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk</i> / <i>Izvestija Otdelenija Russkogo Jazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>Ir</i>	<i>Irénikon</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of Palestine Oriental Society</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSHRZ.NF	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Neue Folge
JSHRZ.St	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Studien
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJT	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought</i>
JSNTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> Supplement Series
JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i> Supplement Series
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCI	<i>Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LTK ³	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> . (ed. W. Kasper, et al.; Freiburg: Herder, ³ 1993–)
LZAK	<i>Letopis' zanjatij Archeografičeskoj Kommissii</i>
MGWJ	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MTS	Marburger theologische Studien
NAWGött	<i>Nachrichten von der [königlichen] Gesellschaft der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
<i>NedTT</i>	<i>Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
NH(C)	Nag Hammadi (codex)
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTE	<i>Narodna Tvorchist ta Etnografija</i>
NTOA	<i>Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBC	<i>Orientalia biblica et christiana</i>

OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OCP	Orientalia christiana periodica
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> (ed. A. P. Kazhdan; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991)
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
ÖT	Ökumenische Theologie
OKS	<i>Ostkirchliche Studien</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
OSP	<i>Oxford Slavonic Papers</i>
OTP	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday: 1983–1985)
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> (ed. J.-P. Migne; Paris, 1857–1866)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> (ed. J.-P. Migne; Paris, 1844–1864)
PMS	Patristic Monograph Series
PPS	<i>Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik</i>
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i> (ed. R. Graffin, <i>et al.</i> ; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907–)
POC	<i>Proche-orient chrétien</i>
PRL	Patrimoines. Religions du livre.
PS	<i>Patrologia syriaca</i> (ed. R. Graffin; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894–1926)
PSor	Patristica Sorbonensia
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	<i>Realexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (ed. T. Klauser, <i>et al.</i> ; Stuttgart, 1950–)
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBen	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (ed. G. Wissowa, <i>et al.</i> ; München: A. Druckenmüller, 1914–1972)
RÉA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
RÉS	<i>Revue des études slaves</i>
REK	<i>Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike</i> (ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer; Stuttgart: A. Druckenmüller, 1964–1975)
RFV	<i>Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik</i>
RGG ³	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> (ed. K. Galling, <i>et al.</i> ; Tübingen: Mohr, ³ 1957–1962)
RGG ⁴	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> (ed. H.-D. Betz, <i>et al.</i> ; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ⁴ 1998–2005)
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RIB	Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka
RL	<i>Russian Linguistics</i>

<i>RSC</i>	<i>Rivista di storia del cristianesimo</i>
<i>RSPT</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i>
<i>RTP</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
<i>SAWBay</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der (königlich) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>SAWBerl</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
<i>SBF.CMi</i>	Studium biblicum franciscanum, collectio minor
<i>SBLSCS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SBLEJL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
<i>SBLTT</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
<i>SbNU</i>	<i>Sbornik za Narodni Umotvorenija</i>
<i>SbORIS/SbORJS</i>	<i>Sbornik Otdeleniia Russkogo Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk/Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo Jazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>SbPVL</i>	Sbornik Pamjatnikov Visantijskoj Literatury
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta classica Israelica</i>
<i>ScrHier</i>	Scripta Hierosolymitana
<i>SEC</i>	Studies in Early Christianity
<i>SEcc</i>	<i>Sciences ecclésiastiques</i>
<i>SECT</i>	Sources of Early Christian Thought
<i>SEER</i>	<i>Slavonic and East European Review</i>
<i>Se-S</i>	<i>Scripta & e-Scripta. Journal of Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies</i>
<i>SG</i>	Sagesse chrétiennes
<i>SHR</i>	Studies in the History of Religions
<i>SIJD</i>	Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum
<i>SJ</i>	Studia Judaica. Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums
<i>SJLA</i>	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SKKDR</i>	<i>Slovar knižnikov i knižnostej drevnej Rusi</i>
<i>SL</i>	<i>Starobŭlgarska Literatura</i>
<i>SIBQF</i>	Slavisch-baltische Quellen und Forschungen
<i>SIP</i>	Slavische Propyläen
<i>SMon</i>	<i>Studia monastica</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas Monograph Series
<i>SNTSU</i>	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia patristica</i>
<i>SPap</i>	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
<i>SPB</i>	Studia post-biblica
<i>SPM</i>	Studia patristica Mediolanensia
<i>SRS</i>	Studies in Religion and Society
<i>SS</i>	Slavische Sprachgeschichte
<i>SSS</i>	Sagners Slavistische Sammlung
<i>S&T</i>	Studi e testi
<i>STAC</i>	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum

STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubH	Subsidia hagiographica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
<i>SVTQ</i>	<i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i>
TDEHC	Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du christianisme
<i>TODRL</i>	<i>Trudy ot dela drevnerusskoi literatury</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> (ed. H. R. Balz, G. Krause, and G. Müller; Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1977–2006)
T&S	Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur
UPATS	University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigilae christianae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigilae christianae</i>
VL	Vetus latina
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WSt</i>	<i>Weiner Studien. Zeitschrift für classische (klassische) Philologie</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZBalk</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Balkanologie</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZINU</i>	<i>Zapiski imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZKT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZSlPh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie</i>

Introduction: Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition

Lorenzo DiTommaso and Christfried Böttrich

It is a well-known fact that many biblical apocrypha are preserved or were created in Slavonic or cognate languages. In addition to the ancient additional texts included in the Orthodox canon, there are several important compositions which survive exclusively in Slavonic, including the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Ladder of Jacob* (although claims have been made to its partial preservation in some manuscripts from the Cairo Genizeh), and, of course, *2*, or *Slavonic, Enoch* (although at the time of press we have heard news of portions of *2 Enoch* which have been preserved in a mediaeval Coptic text).

What is less well-known, at least by specialists, is the full extent of the corpus of this biblical apocrypha, or, indeed, the sheer number of editions, translations, commentaries, and secondary studies which have been produced over the past 150 years. This material includes the pre-Revolution studies, which often appeared in the transactions of the learned societies of Imperial Russia and Eastern Europe, the lesser but not insignificant work produced in the Soviet era, and, since the early 1990s, the scholarship which has resulted from the implosion of the Soviet system and the rekindling of the spirit of the academy.

The present volume seeks to build on this scholarship, particularly with respect to the study of the preservation and creation of biblical apocrypha in Slavonic and cognate languages, and the use of these texts and traditions in the context of the Slavic cultures. To this end it offers sixteen papers that reflect the great diversity and vast influence of the Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition.

If we concentrate on the nature of the past and present scholarship, we immediately observe several general characteristics. The most singular of these is the vast amount of work which has been produced since the 1970s, and particularly over the past twenty years. Part of the explanation is that a renewed attention to Slavonic biblical apocrypha is a product of the much larger renaissance of Pseudepigrapha studies that has occurred in western scholarship since the 1970s. But another part, of course, seems to be a result of the political changes in Russia and Eastern Europe since the early 1990s.

One also recognises the cardinal changes in the texture of the recent scholarship. Even today, scholars must consult the magnificent collections of texts which were published by Tikhonravov, Pypin, Speranskii, Istrin, and many others during the late Imperial era. But such collections do not always meet modern standards of textual evidence or criticism. The recent work, then, has done much to provide scholars with up-to-date critical editions and reliable translations of many of the key texts.

It is also the case that the older scholarship was to a large extent driven by nationalist concerns. One ramification of this was that the Slavonic apocrypha – preserved or composed – were understood less with respect to the study of biblical apocrypha, or of ancient or mediaeval Judaism and Christianity, and more as part of the literary *monumenta* of the nation. This is true of pre-1914 European scholarship in general, the primary expressions of which included a distinctive emphasis on nationalistic philology and the publication of volumes such as the *Monumenta germaniae historica*. Scholarship in Russia and Eastern Europe was no exception.

More than two decades ago, James H. Charlesworth observed that the Pseudepigrapha preserved in Slavic versions would demand careful study by scholars who were both proficient in the Slavonic languages and who also were experts in early Judaism and Christianity (see also his “Introductory Essay” in this volume). The recent scholarship on the Slavonic apocrypha has answered Charlesworth’s call admirably, and its focus has properly grown to include its significant contributions to research. At the same time, the study of the diffusion of Slavonic apocryphal traditions in their specific cultural-linguistic contexts remains fresh and meaningful.

Another signal characteristic of the recent scholarship is its constitution. Whereas the older scholarship was, with notable exceptions, primarily the work of scholars in Imperial Russia and Eastern Europe, modern scholarship is international. To cite a handy example, in the present volume we count many scholars from North American and Western European countries as well as those from points east and south-east of the German-speaking lands.

A last point on the topic of characteristics concerns method. Only in the past few decades has the study of biblical apocrypha in general begun to transcend the balkanisation that had been imposed on it for a variety of historical and theological reasons. Although certain distinctions among the categories of apocryphal literature remain important, it is now clear that they do not automatically warrant the rigid classification of the corpus on the basis of chronology, canon, or community.

The modern study of the Slavonic biblical apocrypha has made many major contributions. To begin, we now know of the tremendous multiplicity of texts. If we focus on the standard corpus of the “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” specifically, and what is reasonably available in translation to biblical scholars in

the West, we can cite the translations or versions of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *Testament of Abraham*, the *Vita of Adam and Eve*, *Achiqar*, *3 Baruch*, *4 Baruch*, *2 Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Ladder of Jacob*, the *Testament of Job*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Apocalypse of Zosimus*. Some of these texts are addressed by papers in this volume.

But even this roster – significant as it may be – does not come close to exhausting the rich veins of literary material which have only been partially mined. Again, some of these texts, the *Apocryphon of Zorobabel*, the *Sea of Tiberias*, various *Sibylline* and *Erotapokriseis*-texts, among others, are wholly or partially edited or translated in this volume.

And of course there is the manuscript evidence for each text, a subject that in turn cannot be mentioned without due consideration of the many manuscripts which have yet to be located and/or identified. The search, however, proceeds apace, and several papers in the present volume make significant contributions in this area.

All this apocryphal texts and other material may be grouped more or less into three categories. The existence of these categories seems to be universal, in that we find them in every language where there are enough samples.

The first category is the *legenda*, or narratives about the births, lives, deeds, and deaths of biblical figures, usually told in the third person. We might also describe such texts as *associative apocrypha*, which are correlated to a biblical story and its figures or setting. Some of these texts closely retell the biblical story, while others rewrite or recast a section of the biblical record, in effect fashioning a fresh account. Still other texts present an entirely new episode. The motives for their composition are as diverse as the quality of their relationship to the Bible. Some apocrypha are designed to bridge a gap in a biblical story, or extend a story by means of additional biographic or narrative information. Other apocrypha resolve questions raised by a careful reading of the Bible, or disclose its deeper meaning. Associative apocrypha can have didactic, explanatory, moralizing, hortative, or consolatory purposes. Tales about exemplary biblical figures, often highly entertaining in themselves, also served social functions by delineating appropriate patterns for personal or community behavior.

The second broad category of material are the *attributive apocrypha*. Normally these are pseudonymously ascribed to authoritative figures from the biblical past, and so are typically related in the first person. These include apocalyptic literature, prayers, psalms, odes, and hymns, as well as prognostic-scientific treatises, which include the sub-categories such as *medica*, *astronomica*, *astrologica*, *calendrica*, *computi*, and *meteorologica*. Attributive apocrypha are almost always new texts, *i. e.*, they do not retell or rework a portion of the biblical record. Instead, they are linked to scripture principally through their form and attribution, both of which express their function. Since many of these texts exhibit an apocalyptic worldview or otherwise reveal the existence of a transcendent reality

that is shaped by a radical dualism, their functions often correspond to those of apocalyptic literature.

Such categories can be quite useful, although only to a point. With respect to the Slavonic apocrypha specifically, they obscure the fact that quite often there was no distinction made between what we as scholars characterise as “biblical” and “apocryphal” texts. This issue is brought out quite clearly by many of the papers in this present volume.

Unfortunately the volume does not include a paper on the overlapping Daniel and Pseudo-Methodius complexes of apocalyptic literature, which of course not only are preserved in certain forms in Slavonic, but which also played an enormous role in the Byzantine Greek, Syriac, Jewish, and Islamic traditions for such a very long time. One of the volume editors (DiTommaso) had intended to compose such a paper, but other obligations forced the paper to be temporarily postponed. What might be said here, and following from the ground-breaking work of the late P.J. Alexander, is that several key Slavonic Daniel apocalypica clearly demonstrate that the lines of transmission throughout this complex were more radial than linear, contrary to what had been previously thought. Also, these lines of transmission persisted for many centuries, and readily crossed languages as well as religions. Furthermore, the evidence of the Slavonic and Byzantine Greek texts denote that even the basic concept of the “transmission of texts” requires revision. Instead of a model involving the ideas of texts and versions, the manuscript evidence suggests a spontaneous creation and recreation of discrete documents, out of a shifting pool of short oracles and other microstructures, and in response to contemporary exigencies.

In sum, the recent study of the Slavonic biblical apocrypha is both vital and dynamic. In many ways it is an analogue of the same vitality which, on a larger scale, has powered the renaissance in Pseudepigrapha studies that has continued unabated over the past four decades. We sincerely hope that this volume makes a small contribution to this wonderful process.

Lorenzo DiTommaso and Christfried Böttrich
Montréal/Greifswald

The Uniqueness and Importance of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

James H. Charlesworth

In focusing on one question – why are the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha unique and important? – presupposes a definition and a prior question. What are the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha?

1. Definition

The Slavonic Pseudepigrapha is a corpus of ancient texts that are alleged Jewish writings antedating the Mishnah (c. 200 CE) and perhaps the burning of the Temple and the end of Ancient Judaism (70 CE). They are preserved in Slavonic manuscripts and sometimes only in them. Here is a list:¹

PRESERVED IN SLAVONIC	PRESERVED ONLY IN SLAVONIC
<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>	<i>The Ladder of Jacob</i>
<i>3 Baruch</i> (Slavonic)	<i>Second (Slavonic) Enoch</i>
<i>4 Baruch</i>	<i>Merilo Pravednoe</i>
<i>Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>

These eight early Jewish texts are so important that each of them was included in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* and are now recognized as fundamentally important for describing and understanding Second Temple Judaism (300 BCE to 70 CE) and Early Judaism (300 BCE to 200 CE).

Other documents preserved in Slavonic and important for comprehending either early Jewish thought or early medieval thought are discussed in Andrei Orlov's *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*.² Other essential works include Alexander Kulik's *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham*,³ Christfried Böttrich's *Das slavische Henochbuch*,⁴

¹ For introductions to and translations of these compositions, see J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–85).

² TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

³ Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2005.

⁴ JSHRZ 5.7; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1995.

R. Rubinkiewicz's *Die Eschatologie von Hen 9–11 und das Neue Testamnt* (translated by H. Ulrich),⁵ and Rubinkiewicz's *Sacrum i kultura: Chrześcijański e korzenie przyszłości [materiały kongresu kultury chrześcijańskiej: Lublin, 15–17 września 2000]*.⁶

2. Uniqueness of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

Six unique problems confront the scholar who has chosen to master or understand the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha.

2.1. Language

These documents are biblical or quasi-biblical and can be mastered only by scholars well trained in biblical criticism. However, most biblical scholars or specialists of Early Judaism or Early Christianity cannot work sufficiently with Slavonic texts. They are trained in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, and other languages. Slavonic is not customarily taught in seminaries and universities that focus on biblical research.

2.2. Language Traditions

The texts of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha, mentioned above, are preserved in Slavonic. These are usually renderings of lost Old Church Slavonic manuscripts (probably once in Glagolitic). These lost manuscripts were most likely translated from Greek manuscripts no longer extant. Moreover, these lost Greek manuscripts are separated, sometimes by an obscure labyrinth of editorial alterations by Jews and Christians, from lost manuscripts that originally were composed most likely in a Semitic language. The texts and translations, therefore, are uncertain and the complex means of transition precludes certainty and sometimes even probability – the level of confidence that is usually necessary for solid historical reconstructions of Early Judaism (or Early Christianity).

Let it suffice to focus on only one example, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. This pseudepigraphon is preserved only in an Old Slavonic translation, but that is available to us primarily in numerous Russian editions which are not separate

⁵ ÖBS 6; Klosterneuburg: Verlag Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984.

⁶ Lublin: Tow. Naukowe Katolickiego Uniw. Lubelskiego, 2000. Other recent books that should be consulted in studying the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha are: S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative in 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text* (Munster: Ugaritic-Verlag, 2005), and A. Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

manuscripts of the work but often within a miscellany or within the Explanatory Palaia, a review of Old Testament history that contains exegesis and even an anti-Jewish polemic. Only one complete independent manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* exists.⁷ Even discerning the original form of the Slavonic text leaves many issues obscure and uncertain. The crucial question for me is the following: To what extent and where does this pseudepigraphon preserve traditions, concepts, and symbols that help us reconstruct the creative world of pre-70 Judaism? To what extent was that world also chaotic, and how and in what ways is it possible to distinguish so called “Jewish” from “Christian” sentences? And to what extent is that enterprise helpful or foolish?

2.3. *Ascertaining the Putative Jewish Original*

Discerning if the text of one of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha is composite is not easy, since there is often a mixture of early Jewish text and expansions by Christians. In the last forty years scholars have learned that decisions for separating Jewish and Christian strata in a text was often misled by strict definitions that failed to recognize that Jews and Christians share the same concept of God, much of the same scripture, the same hope, the same symbols, the same belief in the resurrection of the dead, and the same moral code (the Ten Commandments). Moreover, as I have endeavored to prove for over thirty years, Jesus and most of the authors of the documents later collected within the New Testament lived and breathed within Early Judaism. Thus, I seek to avoid the term “Christian” for the early decades of the Palestinian Jesus Movement (a far better term than the anachronistic “church”).

Christian redaction may not be limited to translation into Slavonics. The early centuries of Christianity, when the work may have circulated in Greek, provided ample time for Christian scribes to expand and redact a source, as with other early Jewish texts, notably the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, the *History of the Rechabites*, the *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*, and the *Testament of Adam*. Moreover, Old Church Slavonic is itself Christian, since it was created by Christian missionaries.

2.4. *Late Date*

All of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha are preserved in late medieval copies. *Jubilees* and the *Books of Enoch* are preserved in late medieval Ethiopic copies (and *1 Enoch* 37–71 is preserved only in late Ethiopic manuscripts), but these pseudepigrapha are now represented by pre-70 Semitic manuscripts. No fragments of the

⁷ See R. Rubinkiewicz in *OTP* 1.681–2.

Slavonic Pseudepigrapha have been recovered from the caves that dot the Dead Sea. For example, the earliest manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is the fourteenth-century *Sil'vesrovskij sbornik* in Moscow. While the *Ladder of Jacob* is preserved in many manuscripts, most are from the sixteenth and more recent centuries. The earliest witness is the fifteenth-century *Explanatory Palaia*. The critical scholar is nervous about depending on such late manuscripts to recreate the world of pre-70 CE Judaism. This point should not be isolated from the fact that copies of Josephus' monumental works are very late. Thus, the task is complex; these Slavonic texts must be consulted in comprehending Early Judaism, but their late date and the presence of possible medieval additions cause concern.

2.5. *Defining Early Judaism [c. 300 BCE to 200 CE]*

With what criteria may a scholar use medieval texts to comprehend Early Judaism? More work should be devoted to solving this problem. In applying this question to the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha one is confronting something familiar. It appears also with research on other collections that are late but are invaluable for discerning life and thought before 70 CE. These issues shape research on Josephus, the Mishnah, Tosephta, and Talmudim. We also dare not forget that sixth-century and later copies of the New Testament are invaluable in discerning the text of the Gospels which were all composed in the first century CE. For too often, specialists like those who launched *Formgeschichte* assumed we had what the Evangelists wrote before 100 CE. Unfortunately, the new (2000) edition of *Novum Testamentum Graece*, the "editione vicesima septima revisa," contains many new readings not found in the twenty-sixth edition. Hence, many New Testament experts are now basing research on one of the Uncials or early papyri.

In preparing more critical methodologies for sifting out early Jewish strata from later medieval strata in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha, we can learn from N.A. Meschersky and other specialists. First, we must not use a concept of Judaism that is antithetical to Christianity and choose Jewish-looking phrases or concepts in Slavonic works. The appearance of ostensibly Jewish ideas does not necessarily prove that such sections of a Slavonic pseudepigraphon is an example of pre-Christian early Jewish thought.

When can we be relatively certain that we have discovered an early Jewish stratum? It is when we find ideas or metaphors typical of Early Judaism but atypical of medieval dualism. One example alone must now suffice. In the fourteenth-century Russian Primary Chronicle, we most likely have isolated an early Jewish stratum or strata. Meschersky deserves credit for isolating and stressing one of these.⁸ Apologetics for a solar calendar and polemics against a lunar calendar is typical of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is

⁸ For bibliographical information, see J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepi-*

not an aspect of medieval dualistic texts. There should not be any doubt (*bez somneniya*) that 2 *Enoch* A 15.3–16.1 preserves an early phase in the evolution of this pseudepigraphon. Thus, most likely an early Jewish idea preserved in *Second Enoch* appears before our eyes in the following passage:

And they showed me this augmentation of the sun and the gates by which he goes in and out; for these gates the Lord created to be an annual horologe. [16] But the moon has a different augmentation. [F. I. Andersen in *OTP* 1.127]

2.6. Medieval Dualistic Sects or Groups

The Qumranites developed a clear and definitive dualism. One finds it in the *Rule of the Community*, in columns three and four. While this dualism has antecedents in Zoroastrianism (especially in Zurvanism), it also has parallels in much later traditions. The medieval Bogomils were also dualists.

There is a lack of consensus on how to discern early Jewish passages in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha. On the one hand, these passages may have been shaped by the Bogomils. On the other hand, they may preserve early Jewish traditions which shaped the Bogomils. As I stated almost thirty years ago, thinking about the importance of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha, “the phrases and passages most interesting for New Testament scholars are almost always the ones in which there are reasons to suspect that medieval dualists, especially the Bogomils, have heavily redacted the document.”⁹

3. Importance of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

I now wish to highlight five reasons the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha are important. First, they help us comprehend the power of the emerging Roman Catholic Church and the shaping of the Christian canon. Some of the documents included in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha were often mentioned in lists of excluded works. The canon was shaped by such lists and discussions of documents to include and exclude from the canon. Ironically, one text, the Letter of Jude in the New Testament, included a work that was not finally included in the biblical canon, though some early Christians obviously imagined it belonged among the prophetic or scriptural documents. As Lee M. McDonald emphasizes in *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon*, “the OT, the deuterocanonical (apoc-

grapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins (SNTMS 54; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 152.

⁹ Charlesworth, “Slavic Pseudepigrapha,” *OT Pseudepigrapha and the NT*, 32–6; the quotation is on 32.

ryphal), and the pseudepigraphal literature all informed the theology of the NT writers.”¹⁰

Efforts of the Holy Roman Catholic Church to establish a canon and rule of faith pushed some “questionable” theological ideas and documents on the fringes of the Holy Roman Empire. To many of us today these works are no longer “questionable.” East of Rome, Jewish works were preserved in Armenian, notably the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Prayer of Aseneth* (= *Joseph and Aseneth*), as well as numerous works attributed to Adam, Eve, and Ezra. South of Rome, valuable early Jewish texts were preserved in Ethiopic, notably the *Books of Enoch* (which contains at least five books composed from about 300 BCE to the late first century BCE) and *Jubilees*. Both these pseudepigraphical documents are part of the Ethiopic Bible and now recovered in their Semitic originals in texts found near Qumran. Near Rome, and in the Roman Empire, other Jewish writings were preserved in Latin, notably the *Fourth Book of Ezra*, and *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (= Pseudo-Philo). North of Rome, in the Slavic Empire, other early Jewish works were preserved in Slavonic texts; these are the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha.

As I intimated above, works originally composed in a Semitic language (usually Aramaic but also Hebrew) were often translated into Greek. These were sometimes translated into Gagolitic or Old Church Slavonic (as for example *Joseph and Aseneth*). Thus, many early Jewish works never imagined by their authors to be “apocryphal” were successively pushed to the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

Second, the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha witness to early Slavic culture. Here emphasis should be placed on the sections of a Slavonic pseudepigraphon that are additions by east European Christians. We should ask two questions: Why did Slavs devote so much energy and resources to translate ancient Jewish documents? Second, what Christian theological concepts are preserved in the Christian expansions of the early Jewish works?

Third, the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha prove the continuing importance of early Jewish texts for western culture. We should ask another question that is related to the ones just asked: “What does the attempt to translate and preserve ancient Jewish texts (the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha) inform us about the relation between Jewish thought and Christian thought in the Middle Ages?”

Fourth, the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha are important because they preserve Jewish writings that otherwise would have been lost. What do I mean? Many early Jewish texts once considered authoritative even sacred by Jews (including Jesus’ followers) are lost. Ancient lists of scripture and ancient documents mention works now lost. Early Jews and Christians scholars refer to writings we no

¹⁰ L.M. McDonald, *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995 [rev. and expanded edition]), 133.

longer possess. These lost Jewish works include the “*Apocryphon of Lamech*,” the “*Interdiction of Solomon*,” and the “*Book of the Daughters of Adam*.” Some of these early Jewish documents were lost due to random fires, disintegrated over the centuries, disappeared in the burning of Qumran in 67, Jerusalem in 70, Rome in the late sixties, and even perhaps the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii in 79. In addition to these accidents of history, some texts were deliberately mutilated, by bandits, conquering armies, or political or ecclesiastical authorities who sought to destroy undesirable writings. These lost works are sometimes recovered, as the last sixty years prove, and more often than not they prove far from “undesirable.”

Fifth, the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha are important since they help us obtain a better comprehension of the human’s need for duality, from the Zoroastrians, through the Qumranites to the Bogomils. Long ago Aristotle stressed that two methods of reasoning were important: deductive logical and inductive logic (the latter was missed until the time of the Enlightenment). He also emphasized the need of thinking with *contraities* (opposites). Thinking dualistically is often the best means of obtaining precision and perspicacity.

5. Conclusion

A new day has dawned in the study of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha. Scholars, usually those who lived formerly in Russia or East Europe are now devoting their scholarly pursuits to the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha. These young experts are well trained in biblical studies and in Slavonic. Many of the questions posed above plagued me in the nineteen-seventies, as I was working on *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Now, I can expect attention devoted to them and better comprehension of them and answers to them. The many contributions included in the following pages are a witness to this new perception.

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

Florentina Badalanova Geller

1. Introduction¹

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

* For Boris Uspensky, *от души языческой*.

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

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

³ Ia. Shchapov, “Istoricheskie ocherki narodnago mirosozertsaniia i sueverii (Pravoslavna-ga i Staroobriadcheskago),” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia* 117, 4 (March 1863), 91.

⁴ I. A. Porfir'ev, “Apokrificheskie skazaniia o Vetkhozavetnykh litsakh i sobytiakh po rukopis'iam Solovetskoii biblioteki,” *SBORIS* 17, 1 (1877), 87–9.

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

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

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

about the important contributions of A. Veselovskii⁸ (an indisputable authority in the domain of pre-revolutionary Russian philology, whose observations are still valid), as well as the many works devoted to a philological analysis of the *SoT* or the issues of its origin, redactions, and *Vorlage*. The problem of recovering the *Urtext* of the *SoT* was pursued within the complex, intricate context of Slavonic apocrypha, with special emphasis on the possible impact of *The Life of Adam and Eve*,⁹ *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*,¹⁰ *The Apocalypse of*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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