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X O Ź D E N I E B O G O R O D I C Y P O M U K A M :
(THE JOURNEY OF THE MOTHER OF GOD THROUGH THE TORMENTS OF HELL)

A LITERARY AND TEXTOLOGICAL STUDY
OF A KIEVAN RUS' ESCHATOLOGICAL APOCRYPHON

by
Jennie Zayachkowski

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the School of Graduate Studies and Research of
the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic
Studies.

University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
1988



Jennie Zayachkowski, Ottawa, Canada, 1988.

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ISBN 0-315-46884-X



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

XOŽDENIE BOGORODICY PO MUKAM:

(THE JOURNEY OF THE MOTHER OF GOD THROUGH THE TORMENTS OF HELL)

A LITERARY AND TEXTOLOGICAL STUDY

OF A KIEVAN RUS' ESCHATOLOGICAL APOCRYPHON

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	i
Transliteration Chart	ii
Preface	iii

CHAPTER ONE - Historical Introduction

(a). Eschatological Apocrypha in Kievan Rus'	1
(b). The Kievan Rus' Manuscript	19
(c). The Question of Authorship	25
(d). The Role of the Scribe	27
(e). The Continuity of a Tradition	28
(f). The Purpose of <u>Xoždanie</u>	31
(g). A List of Manuscripts	33

CHAPTER TWO - Literary Analysis of The Kievan Rus'

Manuscript of Xoždanie

(a). Composition	43
(i). Form and Content	46
(b). Scene one - The Prologue	54
(i). The Setting	54
(ii). Central Characters	59
(iii). The Cult of the Mother of God in the Eastern Orthodox Church	63
(iv). Angelology	66

(c). Scene two - The Journey to The Underworld	75
(i). Structure and Function	75
(ii). Fiery Punishments	82
(iii). Hanging Punishments	85
(iv). Worms and Serpents	87
(v). Psychological Torments	89
(vi). The Sentencing of the Sinners	91
(vii). Geography of Hell	97
(d). Scene three - The Epilogue	101
(e). Stylistic Analysis	110
(i). Imagery - The Role of Nature	110
(ii). Numerology	113
(iii). Emotionalism in Prayer	117
(iv). Language	121
(v). Prayer Verse	126
(vi). The Isocolic Principle in <u>Xoždenie</u>	132

CHAPTER THREE - The Later Forms of Xoždenie in
Orthodox Slavdom.

The Texts	139
(a). <u>Xoždenie</u> in East Slavic Sources	142
(i). Russian	142
(ii). Ukrainian	162
(b). <u>Xoždenie</u> in South Slavic Sources	202
(i). Serbian and Croatian	202
(ii). Bulgarian	211
(c). Summary	215

Conclusion	219
Appendix One	223
Appendix Two The Kievan Rus' Text and Translation	229
Notes to Chapter One	268
Notes to Chapter Two	276
Notes to Chapter Three	285
Notes to Appendix One	295
Bibliography	297

Abbreviations

AP	Apocalypse of Peter
B	Bilaxevyč
Bil.	Bilec'kyj
C	Croatian
E	Efimenko
G	Gudzij
HB	Heorhij Biljavsk'kyj
K	Kuzykevyč
KR	Kievan Rus'
M	Museum
Myx.	Myxajlovsk'kyj
N	Nikolov
Nov.	Novakovič
P	Porfir'ev
Pet.	Petrov
RM	Revelation of Moses
S	Serbian
T	Turynsk'kyj
TA	Testament of Abraham
Tol.	Tolstoj
V	Volyn
Vra.	Vranska
XP	Xoždenie Pavla
ISO	International system for the transliteration of Slavic Cyrillic characters

Transliteration Chart

In this dissertation the International system for the transkiteration of Slavic Cyrillic characters, 2nd ed. (1968) is used.

а - a	п - p
б - b	р - r
в - v	с - s
г - h (Ukrainian)	т - t
- g	у - u
ґ - g (Ukrainian)	ф - f
д - d	х - x (h in ISO)*
е - e	ц - c
є - je (Ukrainian)	ч - č
ж - ž	ш - š
з - z	щ - šč
и - y (Ukrainian)	ъ - ' (hard sign) [not transliterated when final]
- i	
і - i (Ukrainian)	- ĭ (Bulgarian)
ї - ji	ы - y (Russian)
й - j	ь - ' (soft sign)
к - k	ѣ - e (Russian & Bulgarian)
л - l	- i (Ukrainian)**
м - m	э - e (Russian)
н - n	ю - ju
о - o	я - ja

* To avoid confusion between the transliteration of the Cyrillic letters г (Ukrainian) and x, the letter x will be substituted for h as the equivalent for Cyrillic x.

** not in ISO, transliteration based on modern Ukrainian orthography.

Preface

My interest in the Orthodox Slavic apocryphon Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam (The Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell) began with a research paper that I presented to the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures of the University of Ottawa entitled "Visions of Journeys to Heaven and Hell in Medieval Orthodox Slavic Apocrypha." In this paper I considered the formal structure of three distinct literary monuments of the Kievan Rus' literary and spiritual heritage: Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam, Xoždenie Pavla po mukam (The Journey of [the Apostle] Paul Through the Torments of Hell), and Slovo o svjatom Avraame (The Discourse of the Blessed Abraham).

In the present study, I will focus on one Kievan Rus' eschatological apocryphon, that of Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam (hereafter Xoždenie), the oldest extant Church Slavic translation of the Greek prototype, the Apocalypse of the Virgin.

This dissertation has three chapters. Chapter one serves as an introduction to Xoždenie and the dissertation itself. It examines such issues as the popularity of eschatological apocrypha in Kievan Rus', the question of "prohibited books," the range of scholarly opinion regarding the origin of

Xoždienie, its aim, authorship and date of composition, the relation of Xoždienie to its immediate sources and to the rest of the eschatological apocryphal literature, and finally, the necessity for the present study.

Chapter two, the central part of the dissertation, will be devoted to a literary analysis of Xoždienie. This chapter will focus on the poetic and formal structure of the apocryphon and the correlation between the theme of the text and its compositional patterns.

Chapter three of the dissertation will conclude the study by examining the later forms of Xoždienie in Orthodox Slavdom.¹ The textual variations of twenty extant versions of Xoždienie, dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, will be analyzed. It is hoped that a comparative study of the surviving versions of Xoždienie, combined with a literary analysis of the original Kievan Rus' manuscript, will not only broaden the scope of the whole work, but will be a first step towards a better understanding of the value of this text.

The system of transliteration employed is the International system for the transliteration of Slavic Cyrillic characters (ISO), 2nd ed. (1968). The scholarly apparatus follows the MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, 2nd ed. (1984),² with some exceptions (the original

v

Roman numerals have been retained for some periodicals and volumes).

The Church Slavic orthography has been modernized throughout the study for easier readability. Wherever possible abbreviations and contractions of the Church Slavic text, including numerals, have been extended. Letters of little importance to the understanding of the text, such as the nasals, have been replaced by corresponding Russian and Ukrainian letters. However, the phonetic and morphological peculiarities of the original Church Slavic language have been retained. All titles cited have been transliterated and translated (once when first introduced and again in the notes or bibliography).

An important key to understanding Xoždenie lies in the language of the Kievan Rus' text and the Orthodox Slavic traditions associated with it. Discussion of the language of Xoždenie would be virtually meaningless if the reader had only an English translation before him. For this reason, I have included wherever necessary the textual material in both English and the Church Slavic language. This inclusion helps the reader to follow the discussion and enjoy the true literary beauty of the work. Translations, unless otherwise specified, are my own.

The preparation of this dissertation has been a fascinating task, not only because of the attractiveness of the subject with which it is concerned, but also because of the help and inspiration of Professor Irena Makaryk who directed the progress of the dissertation and to whom I am grateful. To my readers Dr. Bohdan Budurowycz, Dr. Vladimir Grebenschikov, Dr. Harvey Goldblatt, and Dr. Richard Marshall (external examiner) I express my grateful appreciation.

Historical Introduction

(a). Eschatological Apocrypha In Kievan Rus'

Of all the translated works of Byzantine-Slavic ecclesiastical literature which flourished in Kievan Rus' after the adoption of Christianity in AD 988, none enjoyed a wider circulation among the Eastern Slavs than did the eschatological apocrypha. There were many reasons for their popularity. Most importantly, the eschatological apocrypha had a spiritual dimension. They were concerned with that which was beyond empirical observation, with the fate of the individual in the afterlife. Derived from the Greek theological word "αποκρυφος," meaning "things hidden or concealed," the general term apocrypha originally referred to a broad category of ancient religious pre-Christian writings which were hidden or kept secret, because they were divinely inspired. They were deemed to be both too difficult to interpret and too prophetic to be in everyone's hands and were reserved only for the select few. Apocryphal writings, in a derived sense, were divine revelations of heavenly secrets, as illustrated in the opening chapter of Daniel (2:28): "There is a God in heaven, who reveals mysteries." These heavenly revelations were disclosed through such direct means as visions, dreams, heavenly journeys, angelic visits

or journeys to the underworld. Hence, the apocrypha, by their very nature, were designed both to reveal (to the believer) and to conceal (from the unworthy). However, what began as a term reserved for secret knowledge, later degenerated into a term of disrespect. As early as the fourth century, when the heretical sects of Christianity began to utilize various apocryphal writings for the sake of propagating their basic gnostic principles, the term "apocrypha" gradually assumed among the early Church Fathers a derogatory meaning. Apocrypha came to be used as a collective name for those books which, while acknowledged as having a certain value and interest, were not recognized as canonical.

From this broad category of apocryphal writings, of unknown authorship and uncertain date, a large number were of a distinct eschatological nature. Derived from the Greek theological word "ἔσχατος," meaning "death, judgment," or "final, last things," eschatological apocrypha, as described by Ivan Franko, "dealt with matters of theology, ethics and science, the beginning and end of time, the antagonism of good and evil in one's life, and lastly, death, final judgment and the end of time."² In contrast to the Church's unelaborated definition of the afterlife, eschatological visions from the eleventh through the nineteenth centuries provided an accessible instructive guide to the fate of the soul after death. They furnished vivid descriptions of journeys to heaven and hell, with instructions on how to

reach the former and avoid the latter. The eschatological apocrypha thus formed a link between the visible and invisible worlds by attempting to describe the indescribable, and make the invisible visible.

The Orthodox Slavic apocryphal writers and translator-scribes did not need to invent their subject matter. Instead, they followed a long established tradition developed by the Christian and pre-Christian Church. Acquainted with such earlier eschatological apocryphal visions as the Old Testament Revelation of Moses and the Apocalypse of Peter, these writers knew the art of apocryphal writing. They had at their disposal many examples of the way an eschatological apocryphon ought to be written. Yet in spite of the apocryphon's homogeneous style, there was always room for individual variety, interwoven with religious didacticism. Writers could find in the monastic archives an abundant number of literary patterns to follow for such a work.

In spite of the official ecclesiastical condemnation of apocryphal writings, the Orthodox clergy did not hesitate to borrow all that was useful from them. Their religious contents provided suitable themes for independent development in sermons and liturgies. Their rich imagery was reflected in iconography to stress the spiritual and the divine, as opposed to the physical and the worldly.

Ancient Judaeo-Christian apocrypha were characterized by pseudonymity and anonymity, a feature designed to heighten the apocrypha's nature of concealing and revealing. This feature was also central to the development of this form of religious literature in Orthodox Slavdom. Since the art of apocryphal writing in medieval Orthodox Christendom was largely in the hands of the ecclesiastics and monastics, the scribes, whose task it was to copy and recopy the visions in order to preserve all records, were also active participants of a literary tradition. While revering tradition on the one hand, the medieval scribes also showed a need to revise, reinterpret and reelaborate what had already been revealed, thus contributing to the apocrypha's continuity, adaptability and popularity throughout the centuries. The concealment of the writer or translator-scribe may actually have contributed to the artistry of the narrative by forcing the scribes to develop the skill of rephrasing traditional textual materials, thereby focusing the reader's attention not on the narrator, but on the narrated.

In addition to being anonymous, religious, and didactic in purpose, the apocryphal writings were also a portable form of art, easily copied and transported from one locality to another. As a result, they lent themselves to inclusion in various religious or secular collections. Considering all these factors, it is not surprising that many eschatological apocryphal writings found their way into numerous Orthodox didactic anthologies, where they were preserved for

posterity. Xoždenie's inclusion, for example, into such ecclesiastical collections as Sbornik poučeníj XII veka (An Anthology of Instructions of the Twelfth Century), the Tolstoj sbornik (The Tolstoy Collection) of 1602, and the nineteenth-century Muzejnyj sbornik (The Museum Collection), No. 28, preserved in the Kiev Theological Academy, all designed to pursue specific goals and functions, demonstrates the apocryphon's essential Orthodoxy and its didactic appeal.

Lastly, the apocrypha were written in a highly sophisticated writing medium, the Church Slavic language, which was the ecclesiastical language of the Orthodox Church until the nineteenth, and in some cases, the twentieth century. Through the Church Slavic writing medium of the Eastern and Southern Slavs, the apocrypha secured for themselves a wide circulation and an important place in Orthodox Slavic literature.

Perhaps the longest-lived and the most influential of all eschatological apocrypha in Kievan Rus' was that of Xoždenie. The artistic force of Xoždenie's composition, describing the journey of the Mother of God through the torments of hell, coupled with a lyrical and tender mood, which conveys an expression of the Mother of God's love for her people, made Xoždenie one of the most popular didactic works of medieval times. Cvetana Vranska describes Xoždenie as "one of the earliest of apocrypha, the most circulated and most widely read apocryphon among the Eastern and Southern

Slavs."⁴ Nikolaj Gudzij, in his Xrestomatija, describes Xoždenie as "a New Testament apocryphon which enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages, and which had a profound influence on religious oral poetry and iconography in Russia."⁵

Xoždenie circulated freely throughout Orthodox Slavdom for over a thousand years, finding expression both in the tradition and literature of the Orthodox Slavs and kindling fascinating themes for literary scholars, poets and artists. Such works as Xoždenie and other similar works became the nucleus not only for the development of a distinctive Kievan Rus' apocryphal literature, but also for the medieval apocryphal literature that developed in the following centuries.

Despite Xoždenie's wide circulation in Orthodox Slavdom, a number of obstacles lie in the way of appreciating and understanding it today. As early as the eleventh century, the Eastern Orthodox Church no longer accepted the authenticity of some apocryphal writings (Xoždenie Pavla, for example). Eschatological writings, particularly, came to be equated with "false writings," fabricated for the bewilderment of the foolish by various medieval heretical sects (Bogomilism, for example), and relegated to obscurity. Since the fourteenth century Xoždenie has come down to us with the designation of non-canonical ecclesiastical literature, belonging to the category of "spurious" and

"prohibited" books, commonly known in Russian as "Otrečennyja knigi" or in Ukrainian as "Vidrečeni." From the oldest East Slavic ecclesiastical index found in Metropolitan Kiprian's (Cyprian) prayer book (1375-1460)⁶ to the Pogodin and Počajiv Nomokanon indices of the fourteenth century,⁷ the Halycko-Rus' indices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁸, to A.N. Pypin's collection of Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi russkoj stariny (Pamjatniki starinnoj russkoj literatury) (False and Prohibited Books of Russian Antiquity: Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature) (1862), to Nikolaj Tixonravov's publication of Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury (Monuments of Prohibited Russian Literature) (1863), Xoždenie figures prominently in all of them.

The study of "Otrečennyja knigi" and their publications was at the center of a flurry of interest in the nineteenth century. This interest was sparked by the publication in 1857 of A.N. Pypin's dissertation entitled Očerki literaturnoj istorii starinnyx povestej i skazok russkix (An Outline of the Literary History of Ancient Russian Stories and Tales),⁹ which dealt primarily with Old Russian translated literature. Later that same year, Pypin published a twenty-five page article in Otečestvennija zapiski (Annals of the Fatherland), entitled "Drevnjaja russkaja literatura. Starinnye apokrifys: Skazanie o Xoždenii Bogorodicy po mukam" (Early Russian Literature: Ancient Apocrypha: The Legend of the Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell.)¹⁰ In this article Pypin discusses in general terms a 1602 manuscript of

Xoždenie taken from the Tolstoj collection. In 1862, Pypin published his collection of apocryphal texts entitled Ložnyja i otrečenyja knigi rusckoj stariny (Pamjatniki starinnoj rusckoj literatury) which included twelve eschatological apocrypha of which the 1682 text of Xoždenie was one. In 1863, Nikolaj Tixonravov published his two-volume collection of apocryphal texts, Pamjatniki otrečennoj rusckoj literatury of which thirteen were texts of an eschatological nature based on various East Slavic ecclesiastical indices. Among the better known eschatological apocrypha found in both collections are:¹¹

- 1) Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam (Tixonravov includes the Kievan Rus' and Serbian manuscripts)
- 2) Xoždenie Pavla po mukam
- 3) Voprosy Ioanna Bogoslova na Eleonstej gore
(The Questions of John the Theologian (John the Divine) on the Mount of Olives)
- 4) Voprosy Ioanna Bogoslova na Favorstej gore
(The Questions of John the Theologian on Mount Tabor)
- 5) List nebesnij (A Letter from Heaven)

Tixonravov also included the following well-known apocrypha, which are also found in Ivan Franko's collection (see page ten).

- 1) Isaak son vide (Isaac had a Dream)
- 2) Isaino videnie (The Vision of Isaiah)

3) Otkrovenie Metodija patarskogo

(The Discourse of Methodius of Patara)

4) Zavety dvenadcati patriarxov

(The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs)

The Pypin and Tixonravov collections provided us with a corpus of Orthodox Slavic apocrypha which laid the foundation for the study of the history and development of eschatological apocrypha in Eastern Slavdom by such prominent Slavic literary scholars as O. Bilec'kyj, N. Bokadorov, D. Ciževskij, I. Franko, N. Gudzij, V. Jagić, O. Nazarevs'kyj, S. Novaković, I. Porfir'ev, V. Saxarov, M. Speranskij, I. Sreznevskij, N. Šumcov, N. Tixonravov, P. Vladimirov, and M. Voznjak.¹² Such well-known Western literary scholars as M. Gaster, M. James, P. Hasdeu and C. Tischendorf also collected, edited and published many Byzantine apocrypha.¹³

Several contributions on the general subject of eschatological apocrypha have been of help in the preparation of this study. The first is that of P. Vladimirov, who, in his valuable monograph Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov—otrečennyx knig v russoj literature vo vtoroj polovine nastojaščago stoletija¹⁴ (A Scholarly Study of Prohibited Apocryphal Books of Russian Literature in the Second Half of the Present Century) (1930), reviews the history of apocryphal scholarship in Eastern Slavdom and discusses briefly the later history of Xoždenie. He includes in this study three nineteenth-century versions of Xoždenie which will be

analyzed in chapter three.

Another important study on the general subject of eschatological apocrypha in Eastern Slavdom is I. Porfir'ev's Istorija russkoj slovestnosti (The History of Russian Literature), published in 1882. Porfir'ev takes up the general subject of the history of eschatological apocrypha and includes an eighteenth-century version of Xoždenie which will also be discussed in chapter three.

A third valuable work on the question of apocryphal literature in general is Sočinenija N.S. Tixonravova (The Works of N.S. Tixonravov), published posthumously in 1890 by his colleagues. Tixonravov discusses such issues as the circulation of "prohibited books" in Old Russia, canonical and non-canonical literature, Christian beliefs in the afterlife, ecclesiastical indices in Orthodox Slavdom, and the origin of eschatological apocrypha. He also offers a detailed description of some of the more popular eschatological apocrypha in Eastern Slavdom.

Perhaps the best work on the special subject of apocrypha is Ivan Franko's monumental five-volume collection of apocryphal texts entitled Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-rus'koji movy i literatury: Apokrify i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv (1906) (Monuments of Ukrainian-Ruthenian Language and Literature: Apocrypha and Legends from Ukrainian Manuscripts), accompanied by a scholarly introduction on the

history of apocryphal scholarship.¹⁰ From an ecclesiastical standpoint, Franko divided this wide field of religious, didactic and prohibited literature into five groups: Old Testament (vol. I), New Testament Apocrypha: The Apocryphal Gospels (vol. II), Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (vol. III), Eschatological Apocrypha (vol. IV) and the Legends of the Saints (vol. V). Franko further subdivides the eschatological apocrypha into four categories:¹¹

- 1) The Apocryphal Catechism, also known in Ukrainian as "Bonpocoopbitu" (Questions and Answers) mostly in fragmentary form, from the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine and preserved in the libraries of L'viv. Included in this group is a Transcarpathian version of Lucidarius (a thirteenth-century German apocryphal writing which was translated into Ukrainian from Polish in the sixteenth century).
- 2) Apocalypses on the Holy Feast days of the Orthodox Church, which usually appear in the form of letters from heaven, from Jesus Christ, or from the Holy Mother of God.
- 3) Revelations of the afterlife, which include such well-known apocrypha as Xoždenie Boqorodicy po mukam, Xoždenie Pavla po mukam, Slovo o svjatom Avraame, Vizija svjatoho Makarija (The Vision of St. Makarius), Vxid Isaja (The Ascension of Isaiah) and Cystec'

Svjatoho Patrykija (St. Patrick's Purgatory), which was translated from Polish into Ukrainian.

- 4) Apocryphal Prophecy, to which belong such works as Vidjinja Danyila (The Vision of Daniel) and Slovo Metodijskoho (The Discourse of Methodius of Patara).

Franko's thematic classification of the various forms of eschatological apocrypha is not arbitrary. This wealth of didactic literature indicates they were a body of writings representing an essential component of popular Orthodox spirituality.

While many apocrypha have been collected, classified, reproduced, and their contents discussed to varying degrees, to date the analysis of their literary features or artistic merit is limited. There has been no separate study by any of the above scholars (with the exception of Bokadorov and Nazarevs'kyj), on any of the above mentioned eschatological apocrypha, possibly because scholars such as Tixonravov, Pypin and most of their generation feared "aesthetic" evaluation of this literature. The study of Xoźdenie in particular received no scholarly attention from a literary point of view. Although not a scholar, Fedor Dostojevskij's appraisal of the work as "having descriptive passages and an audacity not inferior to that of Dante's,"¹⁷ speaks directly to the question of its literary significance. While one

cannot establish a comparison between Dante's work and Xoždenie, it is undoubtedly the question of evil, which in the thought of Dostoevskij's Ivan Karazov, establishes a relation between the two works. Moreover, both are medieval allegories dealing with life beyond the grave, and possess the character of universality. In a similar vein, Pierre Pascal notes, "The Pilgrimage of the Holy Mother of God which has so delighted the faithful of so many countries and ages, and which, as I hope will be seen, is not at all deficient in purely literary beauty, has not had the treatment it deserves from the scholarly world."¹⁰ Apart from two major works interpreted from two different points of view (a historical analysis by Bokadorov and a comparative-philological study by Nazarevs'kyj), Xoždenie has been cast aside by an earlier generation of critics and undeservedly ignored. The reasons for this neglect may be attributed partly to the conclusion drawn by some nineteenth-century scholars that Xoždenie was a popular member of a noteworthy class of disputed books deemed unworthy of any serious study and therefore ought to be disregarded. For example, Montague Rhodes James, an outstanding nineteenth-century scholar of Byzantine ecclesiastical literature, speaks disparagingly of the Greek Apocalypse of the Virgin [of which Xoždenie is the translated model], describing it as a "late and dismal work." "I will concede to any critic that it is extremely monotonous, quite contemptible as literature and even positively repulsive in some parts."¹¹ While James may find the work repulsive from an esthetic or possibly theological point of view, at the

same time, he concedes that the apocryphon does have historical value. "The Apocalypse of the Virgin does not merely furnish us with negative information," he says. "It throws, or may be made to throw, a good deal of light upon the dates and the mutual relations of the older documents upon which it is a variation."²⁰

Clearly, the first essential step in undertaking a study of this nature is to reevaluate the interpretation of the nineteenth-century critics who view the eschatological apocrypha as having too great a religious and ecclesiastical coloration to have any scholarly or literary value. As a result of this overly-negative evaluation, certain aspects of these writings have been neglected. For example, critics have paid little attention to the art of apocryphal writing. No attempt by nineteenth-century scholars has been made to correlate the literary structure of an apocryphon with its meaning, a fruitful area of study.

My study seeks to present Xoždienie in a new and positive light as a serious and valuable work of Kievan Rus' antiquity. Kievan Rus' apocryphal literature possessed a well-developed system of formal literary devices and compositional patterns that have been largely unexplored. Although religion played a significant role in Kievan Rus' apocryphal literature, one must not interpret literature solely from the ecclesiastical point of view. A wholly religious work, if it is artfully conceived and executed may

be eminently artistic as A.D. Stender-Petersen states: "The decisive criterion in every form of national literature, in every period of its development, must be its art."²¹ Similarly, D.S. Lixačev notes that "this literature [Old Kievan] was an art form created by means of the accretion of collective experience; it achieved tremendous effect by the wisdom of its traditions and the basically anonymous unity of its writings."²² We are concerned here not with something that was accepted or rejected by ecclesiastical authorities, but with a work that remained living for over a thousand years, giving rise to a literary tradition of its own. The importance of Xoždenie lies both in the antiquity of the manuscript (for its language, style and contents are part of the development of the Kievan Rus' literary spiritual heritage), and its particular narrative features, which reveal the climate of the epoch in which the work was written. What is important in this writing is not what is expressed, but how the apocryphon is constructed. That is, in what manner did the writer convey his poetic message and why did he choose to tell his story from this particular point of view? These questions, which constitute an indispensable first step in the study of an apocryphon, have been left unanswered by nineteenth-century scholarship. They were taken up by twentieth-century scholars such as Henrik Birnbaum, Dmitrij Čiževskij, Dmitrij Lixačev, Riccardo Picchio, Richard Pope, Kirill Taranovskij, Boris Uspensky and others, who reevaluated the literary heritage of medieval Slavic literature.²³ While nineteenth-century scholars were

essentially concerned with collecting, classifying and publishing apocryphal texts, the twentieth-century scholars focused their attention on such areas of investigation as authorship, the role of the scribe and literary models (the extrinsic), and rhythmic prose, prayer verse, Biblical thematic clues, prosodic features, and poetic form (the intrinsic), studies, which have radically changed our understanding and interpretation of Kievan Rus' ecclesiastical texts.

The purpose of this dissertation is twofold. The first objective is to illuminate the literary features of Xoždienie by devoting a study to its composition. Chapter two will show that Xoždienie has a definite, coherent tripartite structure, logically presented in accordance with the theme of the story. The relationship between the mode of presentation and its message has never been studied. Attention will be focused on the compositional devices the writer employs which serve to deepen and enrich the poetic value of the work. The basic motifs and the narrative patterns, which are a key to the construction of the apocryphon, play a dominant role in the story and must be understood within the framework of Biblical tradition. Understanding how the various devices function in the composition will enable us to understand why the writer adopted them. Only then can the apocryphon's significance be understood and appreciated.

The second objective is an attempt to examine the literary tradition of Xoždenie in Orthodox Slavdom by analyzing the textual variations of each extant Slavic version of Xoždenie dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and illuminating the ways in which Xoždenie was affected, both linguistically and textually, as it travelled across liturgical and linguistic boundaries. This study is facilitated by the availability of twenty East and South Slavic texts of Xoždenie which have been preserved in various publications of "Otrečennyja knigi" and other anthologies. The emphasis will be on presenting the different forms of Xoždenie from various centuries and from various geographical regions. Our work, however, would be very much simplified if we knew all about the different versions of Xoždenie which have survived and are available to us today. When was each of them written, and where, and by whom? What happened to each of the versions after it was written? Did the different versions travel from one place to another, or were they confined to one specific area? The answers to such questions provide an important background to our study of the apocryphon. While we cannot answer all these questions, we can by examining the different versions of Xoždenie determine with varying degrees of approximation the dissemination of Xoždenie in the different centuries. While each Slavic text may share with others the generic title of Xoždenie, each version at each successive phase acquires a certain character. Even the smallest variation may give the work a new meaning or a new spiritual value.

Thus each text of Xoʻdenie becomes a chapter of a longer story, a component of a literary tradition.

(b). The Kievan Rus' Manuscript

Modern critical study of this apocryphon began in 1863 with Ismail Sreznevskij's publication of the Kievan Rus' manuscript of Xoždenie together with a Greek text of the Apocalypse of the Virgin in "Drevnie pamjatniki russkago pis'ma i jazyka."²⁴ Sreznevskij compared his text of Xoždenie with an eleventh-century Greek manuscript found in the Vienna National Library. He came to the conclusion that: Xoždenie was a direct translation from the Greek, and that Greek was the language in which the apocryphon first took form.²⁵ Textually, the Greek apocryphon, which according to Edgar Hennecke, "was preserved in Armenian, Ethiopic and Old Slavonic versions,²⁶ differs little from the Kievan Rus' manuscript. (See description of contents page 224.) The cultural value of the Greek text is significant both for a general understanding of the Church Slavic text, and as evidence of the sort of Byzantine text that became available in Church Slavic translation. Shortly after Sreznevskij's discovery, the English scholar Montague Rhodes James published a different copy of an eleventh-century Greek text from the Bodleian manuscript marked Auct. E, 5. 12, the oldest copy available, in Texts and Studies (1893).²⁷ That same year, a sixteenth-century Greek text was published by A. Vassiliev in Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina from Codex Casanatenis (in Rome), who also regarded Xoždenie as a direct translation from the Greek.²⁸

The manuscript of Xoždenie (no. 12, leaves 30-38), preserved in the library of the Troicko-Sergieva Lavra²⁹ (The Holy Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius) at Zagorsk, is a short and unpretentious work of only eight pages. It was found in an anonymous Church Slavic collection of religious didactic teachings entitled Sbornik poučenij XII veka³⁰. We are not certain who discovered this religious codex, but we assume it was Sreznevskij himself, for he provides us with a detailed description of its contents in Drevnie pamjatniki russkago pis'ma i jazyka X-XIV vekov: Obščee povremennoe obozrenie (1882) (Ancient Monuments of Russian Literature and Language from the X-XIV Centuries: A General Periodical Review). Written on parchment, this Church Slavic collection consists of 202 pages and is divided into two parts. Part one is found on pages 1-63 of the volume, part two on pages 64-202. The collection is written in good Russian script, by the same hand, with twenty-three to twenty-four lines to a page. Unfortunately, the collection in which Xoždenie was discovered is incomplete. It lacks a beginning and an end, and is missing several pages in the middle. The subject matter is varied and includes sermons, canons, apocryphal and non-apocryphal writings, and, most interestingly, the teachings of the Church Fathers of Eastern Orthodox Christianity: Bishop Clement of Slovenia (Velika), Ephraem of Syria, Isidore of Pelusium, St. Antioch, St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom. Xoždenie is the twelfth item of part one. The eleventh item is a teaching of John Chrysostom, while the thirteenth item contains the daily

prescribed readings for the month of November, attributed to Reverend Arxip, a hermit and chaplain of the famous Holy Church of Arxangel Mixail in Chonae. The fourteenth item is a teaching of St. Basil the Great followed by more teachings of St. John Chrysostom.³¹ Since Xoždienie was included among the teachings of the Church Fathers, it is logical to assume that its apocryphal nature was either not recognized at that time, or as Franko observed, "the boundary between apocryphal and canonical writings was even less clear than between the Acts and the Lives of the apostles."³² Xoždienie was not regarded as heretical or contrary to the teaching of the Church, but was instead valued for its piety. As Dmitrij Ćiževskij points out in his History of Russian Literature, "apocrypha which contradicted Christian teaching were strictly forbidden by the Church, but other apocrypha were tolerated."³³

The 'Kievan Rus' manuscript of Xoždienie is also incomplete. It has two pages missing, the introductory page and one page in the middle of the text. In the process of editing, these missing pages were restored by Sreznevskij from an Old Croatian (1468) Glagolitic text, which, according to Ivan Sakcinski, "is true both to the Greek and the Old Russian Church Slavic text."³⁴ This Croatian text will be discussed in more detail in chapter three. Sreznevskij divided the Kievan Rus' text of Xoždienie into numbered paragraphs and added punctuation marks for easier readability. Sreznevskij's text of Xoždienie was reprinted by

Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-rus'koji movy i literatury: Apokrify i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (1906) pp. 124-134. In 1863 N. Tixonravov printed, without commentary, two texts of Xoždenie, the Kievan Rus' manuscript (with the two pages missing) and a fifteenth-century Serbian text in Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury vol. II, pp. 23-30 and 30-39. Xoždenie is the 47th item of Tixonravov's list of forbidden books; it is followed by Xoždenie Pavla po mukam and preceded by the Varfolomeevy voprosy Bogorodicy (The Questions of Bartholomew to the Mother of God).³⁵

The history of Xoždenie was first analyzed by Nikolaj Bokadorov in his special study of the apocryphon, "Legenda o Xoždenii Bogorodicy po mukam" (The Legend of the Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell) found in Isbornik Kievskij, 1904, dedicated to T. Florinskij, pp. 39-94. Bokadorov's study is a scholarly account dealing with the Byzantine origin of Xoždenie, its South Slavic and Russian background. For all its excellence, Bokadorov's research suffers from one serious shortcoming. He does not give us a clear picture of all the extant versions of Xoždenie. Bokadorov focuses his attention primarily on the travels of Xoždenie in the South Slavic lands, and ignores the textual transmission of Xoždenie in Ukraine. Except for a brief description of the 1747 Bilaxevyč text, Bokadorov makes no mention of the numerous Ukrainian Church Slavic versions of Xoždenie. According to Bokadorov's findings,

Xoždēnie has a lengthy history. Written as early as the fifth or sixth century in Byzantium, a copy of the Greek text was brought to Kievan Rus' with the adoption of Christianity in AD 988³⁶ where, as Nazarevs'kyj states, "it found fertile ground for its growth and development."³⁷ Franko agrees that Xoždēnie was first written in Greek, between the seventh and eighth centuries, but goes on to say that "it is known in Slavic translation only from the twelfth century."³⁸ Translated from Greek to Church Slavic, Xoždēnie circulated in one form or another throughout all of the Orthodox Slavic lands for the next one thousand years. Sreznevskij posits the idea that while the Church Slavic translation of Xoždēnie appeared in a twelfth-century codex, the work itself may be older than the collection in which it is preserved.³⁹ Vatroslav Jagić, who studied the subject of Xoždēnie in South Slavic literature, is of a different opinion. He claims that the Slavic legend of Xoždēnie was written, or translated from the Greek language somewhere between the tenth and the eleventh centuries in Bulgaria, since Bulgaria was both the centre of Slavic apocryphal literature in the tenth century and the home of the ecclesiastical indices of forbidden books.⁴⁰ "From Bulgaria, Xoždēnie travelled West to the Serbians and the Croats and from there North to the Eastern Slavs."⁴¹ Jagić is probably correct in assuming that the translation from Greek to Church Slavic was done in the South Slavic area, and that Xoždēnie probably came to Kievan Rus' directly from Bulgaria with the first missionaries. Jagić's contention, however, that Xoždēnie went to Serbia and

/ or Croatia before it came to Kievan Rus', is not proven. Moreover, the contents of the Bulgarian version published by Petăr Dinekov are identical to both the 1468 Old Croatian version and the Kievan Rus' manuscript, whereas, the fifteenth-century Serbian version is not only of a later date, but departs noticeably in some areas from the Bulgarian, Croatian and Kievan Rus' texts. Bokadorov's study also indicates that the Serbian version may have been influenced by a source other than the Greek.⁴² Hence, Jagić's theory that the translation was done in Bulgaria, while not unreasonable, is not altogether convincing. As long as there is no South Slavic copy of Xoždenie or any direct evidence of its prior existence, we cannot overlook other possibilities. It is possible, as Nazarevs'kyj suggests that the Greek apocryphon was brought to Kievan Rus' from Byzantium in AD 988, and was translated directly from Greek to Church Slavic on East Slavic soil.

Whatever the travels of Xoždenie may have been, Bokadorov maintains that "the work was written after its immediate predecessor, Xoždenie Pavla po mukam, for a Latin version of the Vision of St. Paul (Visio Pauli) was known to have existed in the Christian East as early as the fifth century.⁴³ According to Franko, the early ecclesiastical writers of the third and fourth centuries Origen, Sozomen and Epiphanius of Cyprus made reference to the Vision of St. Paul in their writings.⁴⁴ Bokadorov cautions, however, that Xoždenie had an independent historical development which

cannot be confused with that of the Vision of St. Paul or any other Western legend."⁴⁵

Xoždenie's entry into numerous didactic collections (Sborniky) did much to spread the early fame of the apocryphon in Eastern Slavdom, and, at the same time, preserve its contents. P. V. Vladimirov in Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov otrečennyx knig,⁴⁶ lists several collections into which Xoždenie was incorporated, while A. P. Konusov and V. F. Pokrovskaja list four different Sborniky in which various copies of Xoždenie are found.⁴⁷ When and by whom these collections were formed is unknown, but it is certain that they must have been considered canonical or quasi-canonical by their Christian writers and compilers.

(c). The Question of Authorship

Little can be said conclusively about the authorship of the Greek original or of the Slavic translator of Xoždenie. We only know that Xoždenie is the work of one scribe ("The Kievan Rus' codex was written by one and the same hand," says Sreznevskij)⁴⁸ and is anonymous. Whether the East Slavic scribe was merely a copyist or a translator, that we have no way of knowing. Reviewing the later history of the manuscript, we note that only the Bilaxevyč text (d. 1747) has recorded in the title of the work the name of the scribe. The later texts clearly indicate that the writing is a compilatory work of anonymous authorship. (For convenience,

however, we will refer to the author of Xoždanie in the singular.) The idea of pseudonymity or anonymous works was a widespread phenomenon in Byzantine literature and a common feature of many Judaeo-Christian apocrypha. It was also popular in the time period in which Xoždanie was written. Apocryphal writers did not, as a rule, reveal their names, or the period in which they were writing, but emphasized such Biblical figures as Abraham, Daniel, Moses, Lazarus, Paul, Peter, or the Mother of God, perhaps to lend credibility to their writings and raise their eschatological value. D. S. Russell has argued "that pseudonymity of an apocrypha has its origin in the Hebrew idea of corporate personality where there is a fluidity of transition from one to the many and from the many to the one."⁴⁷ Pseudonymity, of course, was not limited to apocryphal literature. Icons, with a few exceptions, were also anonymous. The idea of signing icons or other religious works was unthinkable, says Andrew Martindale in The Rise of the Artist: "The artist did not glorify himself, rather he glorified God with his work."⁴⁸ Icon painting was a "selfless activity," states Sviatoslav Hordyns'kyj. "The signature of a sinful mortal was unworthy of being placed close to a sacred monogram, which was an integral part of the icon."⁴⁹

As Picchio notes, "the Orthodox Slavic writer was an "author" only in the primeval, etymological sense of our Latin word (auctor from augeo 'to augment, to increase'). He was supposed to record factual or spiritual truths as they

were revealed to him by any aspect of the phenomenological experience of human life.... Given this conception of the art of writing, the function of authorship was much less relevant than that of the work itself."²²

(d). The Role of the Scribe

In approaching this work, we should bear in mind that Xoždienie was presumably written by a monk (In Dostoevskij's The Brothers Karamazov, Ivan Karamazov describes Xoždienie as "монастырская поэмка с греческого"²³ (a monastic poem from the Greek)), who was well-versed in the areas of both the apocryphal writings and the Holy Scriptures, and who knew how to mould the material at hand to suit his objectives. Since the art of writing in Eastern Orthodoxy was for many centuries the privilege of the ecclesiastically trained, the writer was, no doubt, as Andrew Martindale describes him, "an artist of the cloister, whose art was part of his existence subordinate to the religious purpose to which his life was dedicated."²⁴ It was his duty to express the spirit and meaning of the apocryphon, which was an avenue to knowledge and understanding. When Xoždienie is viewed as a monastic poem structured to emphasize the central disclosing message, we gain a better understanding why the medieval Slavic scribes preserved and developed this form. The eschatological journey was considered an ideal third-person narrative form for a revelatory vision.

(e). The Continuity of a Tradition

Although Xoźdenie's style comes from the translator-scribe's own creativity, the subject matter does not. The apocryphon had its basis in a much earlier ecclesiastical tradition. While many apocryphal ideas were naturally derived from ancient sources, namely Greece, Egypt and the Orient, "eschatological apocrypha were essentially a Judaic-Christian phenomenon," maintains Edgar Hennecke. "Many writings were textual variants of the ancient Old Testament legends, whose characters and events were transformed into the Christian spirit by a systematic process of interpolation."⁵⁵ According to G. M. Barats, "Xoźdenie represents a Christian reworking of two Jewish treatises on Gehenna."⁵⁶ Barats bases his arguments on three basic motifs which are common to both Xoźdenie and the Jewish treatises, namely, the classification of sinners, the seven heavens of hell, and the idea of mercy. Bokadorov claims that there is no literary connection between the works. Although there are numerous parallels, there are also major differences. The most obvious, and the one which distinguishes Xoźdenie from the Jewish writing is the belief in the Holy Trinity, the intercession of the Holy Mother of God and, in Christ Our Saviour. Bokadorov attributes the motif of the seven hells and the different classification of sinners to a general dependence upon the same apocalyptic world of ideas.⁵⁷

On the other hand, Moses Gaster, in his book Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archeology, claims that the Revelation of Moses was the fountainhead of this ecclesiastical tradition. He asserts that "this oldest extant Old Testament apocryphon may have served as a source to the Christian revelations of Peter, Paul, Ezra, Abraham, Isaiah, the Virgin Mary, St. Macarius and a host of others down to Dante and St. Patrick."²⁰ Although Gaster does not advance any argument to support this statement, an empirical analysis of three immediate sources, the Revelation of Moses, the Apocalypse of Peter and Xoždanie Pavla po mukam, and in some instances, Slovo o svjatom Avraame²¹ (although the latter is not primarily concerned with hell), reveals many common apocryphal features, including the function of an angelus interpres, the theme of mercy, sin and retribution, the use of numerical symbolism, the theme of reprieve, and the use of question and answer dialogue, which suggest that the author of the Greek Apocalypse of the Virgin drew upon preexisting authoritative models.

Journeys to heaven and hell, moreover, were not unique to Slavic apocryphal writings. They were a feature of many Judaic and Christian eschatological apocrypha, as the author of Xoždanie himself clearly indicates. In his narration, he informs us that the Mother of God was not the first person to visit hell. The sinners in Xoždanie ask: "How is it Holy Mother of God that you have visited us?" Your Blessed Son

came upon the earth and did not intercede for us, nor did Abraham, the forefather, nor Moses the prophet, nor John the Baptist, nor Apostle Paul, the Lord's beloved" (KR 126). The tradition of the Apostle Paul's journey to hell comes from the apocryphon Xoždenie Pavla po mukam, where we learn of the Apostle Paul being taken by the angelic guide from the region of happiness to the region of gloom and suffering.⁴⁰ From the Revelation of Moses, we learn of Moses being taken by Archangel Gabriel to hell, where he saw a fire that burned more than all the seven hells.⁴¹ There Moses saw men tortured by the angels of destruction. From the apocryphon Slovo Adama vo ade ko Lazarju⁴² (Adam's Address to Lazarus in Hell), a story based on the Gospel of Nicodemus, we learn that David, seated in hell, sent a prayer to Christ through his friend Lazarus to save his people from the snares of hell. From Slovo o svjatom Avraame, we learn of God sending Archangel Michael three times to Abraham, the first patriarch, to prepare him for death. Abraham refused to die until he had seen the heavenly abode. His request was granted.⁴³ The tradition of Christ's own Descent into Hell following his crucifixion comes from the Gospel of Nicodemus, and is the main theme of the Eastern Orthodox Easter church services. Holy Saturday is considered the day of "Descensus" and this doctrine is fully represented in the canon of the Holy Saturday Matins, as well as in the Easter Matins, which is inseparable from the glorification of Christ's resurrection. For example, "Аще ѿ во гробъ погребашися; Аще ѿ во адъ идеши, но ѿ гробы истощилъ еси, ѿ адъ обнажилъ еси,

Христе".⁴⁴ (Although you were buried in the grave; Although you have descended into hell, you have opened the graves and have overcome hell, O Christ); "Снизшелъ оси въ преисподняя земли, и сокрушилъ оси верои вечныя, содержащя сязанныя, Христе."⁴⁵ (Thou didst descend into the abyss of the earth, and didst shatter the bonds eternal which held the prisoners in captivity, O Christ.) Although the Evangelists say nothing of this mysterious event, Apostle Peter speaks of it in his First Epistle (I Peter 3:19): "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." The above examples illustrate a striking similarity between the Judaic-Christian apocryphal writings and the Eastern Orthodox liturgical services.

(f). The Purpose of Xoždenie

According to the 1682 manuscript of Xoždenie, preserved in the Tolstoj sbornik, the purpose of Xoždenie is made explicit in the subtitle. Xoždenie was intended as a prescribed reading "for the fifth Wednesday of Great Lent, on the peace of the whole world ... very enlightening;" "Въ среду е-и недѣли великаго поста слово ... велики душеполезно, о покои всего міра."⁴⁶ Xoždenie Pavla po mukam was also a prescribed spiritual reading for Tuesday the second week of Great Lent and for Thursday the fifth week of Great Lent, as indicated in the Pogodin sbornik (Pogodin Collection), manuscript no. 947, pp. 56-59, preserved in the State Public

Library in Leningrad and published by A. Рурин.⁴⁷ "Четвертокъ е-и недѣли поста, слово о епистолии святаго Апостола Павла, како бывъ въ дусъ святъ и видѣ, како души праведныхъ и грѣшныхъ прѣставляются." (Thursday, the fifth week of Lent, a sermon on the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle on how he was in the Holy spirit and saw how the righteous and sinful souls are presented [pass away]); "Вторникъ в-и недѣли святаго поста, отъ епистолии святаго Апостола Павла." (Tuesday, the second week of Holy Lent from the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle.)

We have no way of knowing whether this liturgical or paraliturgical function of Xoždienie was the original purpose of the Kievan Rus' scribe or whether the succeeding scribes assigned these functions. What we do know is that by the fourteenth century Xoždienie was already on the list of prohibited books, appearing in Metropolitan Kiprian's (Cyprian) prayer book and other ecclesiastical indices as indicated by Jacimirskij. In any case, judging by the nature of the contents of both apocrypha, what better way to instill the Lenten spirit and to enforce the necessity of righteous living than by invoking the theme of the correspondence of sin and retribution? Both apocrypha exhort the reader to consider the transitory quality of man's life on earth.

(g).- A List of Manuscripts

Of all the New Testament eschatological apocrypha which were collected and published by Slavic and non-Slavic scholars alike, Xoždienie may be said to have come down to us in the greatest variety of texts, adaptations and variations. Xoždienie is preserved, in whole or in part, in twenty Slavic manuscripts (six in South Slavic sources, and fourteen in East Slavic sources). It is extant in the Church Slavic of Belorussian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian, Russian and Ukrainian, as well as in Roumanian. The number of all extant texts, including adaptations, may well be over thirty, dating from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries. The apocryphon also exists in Ethiopic and Syriac, but whether these texts stem from the Greek prototype or other possible sources is unknown. However, I have included them in the appendix, for their similarity of narrative structure suggests a common Byzantine spiritual tradition. "There is no Latin source of the apocryphon," maintains Nazarevs'kyj. "Either a Latin original has never existed, or has not yet been discovered."⁶⁶ Tixonravov maintains that a Slavic Xoždienie was never found in Western European literature, either in the original translation or in the later Slavic variants,⁶⁷ although, according to Speranskij, the Greek Apocalypse of the Virgin was widely known in both the East and in the West.⁷⁰ Perhaps part of the reason why Xoždienie was not found in the Latin West was because of the liturgical language of the Orthodox Church, which acted as a barrier to

translation and dissemination; or its appeal may have been reduced because of the concept of purgatory in the West.

The following list of Xoždenie texts, while by no means exhaustive, bears witness not only to the popularity, continuity and diversity of the apocryphon, but also forms a broad picture of the development of this branch of literature. Although some texts may be of no individual importance, they have all been listed in order to give an idea of the extent and character of manuscript variations in a tradition of this nature. The texts, which fall clearly into two defined groups, namely, East and South Slavic sources,⁷¹ have been listed chronologically so as to show some uniformity of presentation.

East Slavic Sources

1) There are two Kievan Rus' editions of Xoždenie. The first (edited) was published by Ismail Sřeznevskij in "Drevnie pamjatniki russkago pis'ma i jazyka X-XIV vekov" Izvestija vtorago otdelenija imperatorskoj akademii nauk (Ancient Monuments of Russian Literature and Language of the X-XIV Centuries. Transactions of the Second Division of the Imperial Academy of Sciences) vol. X (1863) 551-577. Reprinted by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokrify i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenko, 1906) 124-134;

The second (unedited) was published by Nikolaj Tixonravov in Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury vol. II (Moscow, 1863) 23-38. In the present study all citations will be made from the Sreznevskij text, because of its completeness. The two missing pages of the Kievan Rus' manuscript have been restored by Sreznevskij from an Old Croatian (Glagolitic) manuscript, dated 1468. However, the readings from the Tixonravov text will be given careful consideration, for they are superior to those of the Sreznevskij edition which was transcribed into "Graždanka" orthography for easier readability.⁷²

2) A Russian Church Slavic text preserved in the Tolstoj sbornik (1602), manuscript no. 082, pp. 45-47 of the State Public Library in Leningrad, section II, no. 229, and published by A.N. Pypin in Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi ruskoj stariny (Pamjatniki starinnoj ruskoj literatury) vol. III (St. Petersburg, 1862) 118-124. Reprinted by Nikolaj Gudzij in Xrestomatija po drevnej ruskoj literatury XI-XVII vekov (An Anthology of Early Russian Literature from the XI-XVII Centuries), 5th ed. (Moscow: Ministerstvo prosvetščenija RSFSR, 1952) 92-98; and by D.S. Dmitriev and L.A. Lixačev in Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi XII vek (Monuments of Old Russian Literature of the XII Century) (Moscow: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1980) 167-183. An abridged version was published by I. Porfir'ev in Istorija ruskoj slovesnosti (History of Russian Literature) vol. I (Kazan', 1891) 272-275.

3) A Russian Church Slavic fragment (undated) published by P.S. Efimenko in Materialy po etnografii ru'sskago naselenija Arxangel'skoj gubernii (Ethnographic Material on the Russian Population of the Archangel Region) part I (Moscow, 1877) 223, under the title "Skazanija" (Legends), written by Reverend Fedorov, parish priest of the Lisestrov parish of the Arxangel'sk region in Russia.

4) A nineteenth-century Russian fragment from the Sbornik apokrifov volynskago eparxial'nago drevlexranilišča (A Collection of Apocrypha from the Archives of the Volyn Diocese) folios 32-34, published by P.V. Vladimirov in Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov otrečennyx knig, 2 vols. (Kiev: Universitetskie izvestija, 1900) vol. 2, 101-102.

5) A nineteenth-century Russian text, an abridged version, published by P.V. Vladimirov in Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov otrečennyx knig (Kiev: Universitetskie izvestija, 1900) 97-102, entitled "Xoždenie presvjatyja Bogorodicy s Mixailom Arxangelom po mukam" (The Journey of the Most Holy Mother of God and Archangel Michael Through the Torments of Hell), preserved in the Muzejnyj sbornik No. 28 of the Kiev Theological Academy.

6) Two Belorussian texts of the eighteenth century of the Mogilev and Vitebsk regions, published by Romanov in Belorusskij sbornik (Belorussian Collection), 5th ed. page 261, under the heading "Skazanie o mucex ix že Mixail

Arxangel pokaza presvjatii Bohorodice" (A Legend of the Torments as revealed to the Mother of God by Archangel Michael) and "O dvenadcati mukax" (On the Twelve Torments).

7) Other unpublished texts are listed by A.P. Konusov and V.F. Pokrovskaja in Opisanie rukopisnogo otdelenija biblioteki akademii nauk SSR (An Inventory of the Manuscript Division of the USSR Library of the Academy of Sciences), 1st ed. vol. 4 (Moscow: Biblioteka akademii nauk, 1951) as follows:⁷³

1. Sbornaja rukopis' no. 4501 (Manuscript Collection), of the nineteenth century. Contains a late copy of Xoždenie entitled "Spisok raznym mukam" (A List of Various Torments), on page 363.
2. Sbornik of 1763. Xoždenie is the seventh item.
3. Sbornik no. 140, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of Ukrainian origin. Xoždenie appears on page 219.
4. Sbornaja rukopis' arxeologičeskogo instituta no. 76 (A Collection of Manuscripts from the Archeological Institute), of the eighteenth century, of Russian origin. Xoždenie is the first item. This version is different from that published by Tixonravov.
5. Sbornaja rukopis' of the nineteenth century. Xoždenie appears on page 324.

8) The Myxajlovs'kyj Zolotoverxyj manuscript no. 1643, the oldest Ukrainian Church Slavic text, dated 1504, preserved in the library of the Myxajlovs'kyj Zolotoverxyj monastery in Kiev, and published by O. Nazarevs'kyj in Xoždenie Bohorodicy po mukam v novyx ukrajins'kyx spyskax XVII-XVIII v.v. (The Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell in New Ukrainian Copies of the XVII-XVIII centuries) (Kyjiv: Spilka tr'oxsvjatyh, 1908) 37-44, under the heading "A sie otkrovenie muka presvjati Bohorodicy Arxanhelom Myxailom" (The Revelation of the Torments to the Most Holy Mother of God by Archangel Michael.)

9) The Illja Jaremec'kyj Bilaxevič manuscript "E," dated 1747, of Ukrainian Church Slavic origin. First published by Ivan Franko in Zytje i slovo (Life and Works) vol. II (L'viv, 1894) bk.4, 81-88 and bk.5, 226-237. Reprinted by Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv, 1906) 135-153, under the title "Mandrivka Bohorodyci po mukam" (The Travels of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell.)

10) The Heorhij Biljavs'kyj manuscript "Z," dating from the eighteenth century of Ukrainian origin, published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-russkoji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenko, 1906) 153-159, under the heading "Otkrytie muk presvjatija Bohorodyci is ohljadsala gde mucacija grisnyi" (The Revelation of the Torments to the

Most Holy Mother of God as She Viewed the Place where the Sinners Suffer.)

11) The Ivan Kuzykevyč manuscript "Z," dating from the eighteenth century, of Ukrainian origin, published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-ruskoji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Sevčenko, 1906) 159-163, under the title "Slovo o otkrovenji muk egda xodila presvjataja Bohorodica z Mixailom, gde mucicja rod xristijans'skij" (A Discourse on the Révelation of the Hell Torments when Archangel Michael and the Most Holy Mother of God Journeyed to the Place Where the Christians Suffer.)

12) A Ukrainian Church Slavic text of the eighteenth century, edited by M.I. Petrov and published by O. Nazarevs'kyj in Xoždenie Bohorodicy po mukam v novyx ukrajins'kyx spyskax XVII-XVIII v.v. (Kyjiv: Spilka tr'oxsvjatyt, 1906) 5-17. Preserved in the Archeological Church Museum Collection (Zbirnyk) of the Kiev Theological Academy, pp. 184-188. Reprinted by O. I. Bilec'kyj in Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (An Anthology of Early Ukrainian Literature), 3rd ed. (Kyjiv: Radjaňs'ka škola, 1967) 670-675.

13) The Myxajlo Turyns'kyj manuscript, dated 1897, of the Bačka region of Southern Hungary, published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-ruskoji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i

legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenko, 1906) 163-172.

According to Nazarevs'kyj, the above Ukrainian Church Slavic texts could be divided into three main groups:⁷⁴

- a) A full text (the Turyns'kyj manuscript)
- b) An abridged text (the Biljavs'kyj, Kuzykevič, Bilec'kyj, Myxajlovs'kyj and Petrov texts).
- c) An expanded text (the Illja Jaremec'kyj-Bilaxevyč text).

South Slavic Sources

Xoždenie was preserved in the South Slavic sources in two scripts: the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic.

- 1) A Serbian Cyrillic manuscript of the fifteenth century discovered by V.I. Grigorovič in the Hilandar [also Chilandar] monastery of Mount Athos entitled "Ob'xoždenjie mukam presvetye vladyčice naše Bogorodyce" (On the Journey Through the Torments of Hell by Our Sovereign Mother of God), and published by Nikolaj Tixonravov in Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury vol. II (Moscow, 1863) 30-39.

- 2) A Serbian Cyrillic Church Slavic fragment of the sixteenth century, taken from the Nomokanon manuscript of the

XV-XVI centuries. Published by Stoyan Novaković in "Apokrifi Kijevskoga rukopisa" (Kievan Apocryphal Manuscripts) Starine vol. XVI (Zagreb, 1883) 91-92, under the title "Slovo o .7. gr̃st̃x neprostenyx" (A Discourse on the Seven Unforgiveable Sins). A seventeenth-century Serbian fragment was published by I. Polivka in "Opisi i izvodi iz jugoslavenskih rukopisa u Pragu" (A Description and Excerpts from the Yugoslavian Manuscripts in Prague) Starine vol. XXII, 203-204, under the heading "V'prosi pr̃svetije Bogorodice o .7. gr̃xov'" (The Questions of the Most Holy Mother of God on the Seven Deadly Sins.) Many Church Slavic texts were originally collected by Pavel Josef Safárik and preserved in the Czechoslovakian State Museum in Prague.

3) An Old Croatian text of 1468 in the Glagolitic script transcribed into the Cyrillic script by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, and published in Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku (The Yugoslavian Historical Archives) vol. IX (Zagreb, 1868) 110-118; and by Vatroslav Jagić in Prilozi k književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga (An Introduction to the Croatian and Serbian Folk Literature) vol. IX (Zagreb, 1868) 83-121. A fragmentary text of Xoždienie with a brief commentary was first published by Jagić in Historija književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga (Staro doba) (A History of Croatian and Serbian Literature: Early Period) bk.1 (Zagreb, 1867) 90-91.

4) A Bulgarian text of the eighteenth century published by P.A. Lavrov in Apokrifičeskie teksty (Apocryphal Texts) vol. 67, no. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1901) 144-148. Two undated Bulgarian texts were published by Petăr Dinekov, Kujo Kuev, and Donka Petkanova in Xristomatija po starobălgarska literatura (An Anthology of Old Bulgarian Literature), 3rd ed. (Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo, 1974) 173-177; and in Starobălgarski stranici. Antologija (Old Bulgarian Pages: An Anthology) (Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1966) 288-293.

5) An undated Bulgarian text published by En'o Nikolov in Apokrifna literatura (Apocryphal Literature) (Sofija: Narodna kultura, n.d.) 30-36.

6) An abridged Bulgarian version was published by Cvetana Vranska in Apokrifite za Bogorodica i Bălgarskata narodna pesen': Sbornik na bălgarskata akademija na naukite (The Apocryphon of the Mother of God and Bulgarian Folk Songs. A Collection of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) bk. 34 (Sofija: Dăržavna pečatnica, 1940) 61-63.

CHAPTER TWO

Literary Analysis

(a). Composition

To the general reader the world of an apocryphal work may seem limited, unsophisticated and even primitive, a disorganized mosaic of grotesque imagery and crude mythical symbolism. But an apocryphal writing, like an icon, "possesses several layers of meaning, which makes interpretation difficult, but at the same time, enriches the work of art," says Kurt Weitzmann.¹ "It matters not when and where the icon was painted, or under what influences, these are of secondary importance. What matters is their interpretation."²

While the icon may be likened to "a pictorial apocrypha," the apocryphon, conversely, is a literary equivalent of a hallowed old church icon, for it corresponds to the icon in many respects. That which the icon shows by pictorial representation, the apocryphon, the verbal icon, communicates by word. They are both a medium of influence and a mode of communication. We acquire knowledge of the same spiritual reality. Their form, symbolism and depth of content are the same. Both are a window to heaven, or as Leonid Duspensky describes it, "theology in images."³ Whether by graphic representation or by verbal communication,

both are an artistic expression of faith, a manifestation of the holy tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

The art of an Orthodox Slavic eschatological apocryphon is an allegorical form of verbal art. Its aim, like that of an icon, is to illuminate not the physical world, but the spiritual world of the Orthodox Slavic soul, inhabited by the angels, seers, saints, prophets, Jesus Christ, the Mother of God and God Himself, as expressed in the doctrine of the Eastern Orthodox Church. While the physical world is bound by the laws of time and space, the spirit world is not. It has its own eternal time, and space is limitless. The Orthodox apocryphal writer therefore represents not past events, but a state of being, important for its meaning today, a reality beyond the limits of time and space, but always within the bounds of man's knowledge, feelings and emotions. Religion is presented as an inner psychological experience, a spiritual conflict, a vision, struggle, search and suffering. As Vladimir Lossky explains: "There is a deep and indissoluble bond between theology and mystics, between doctrinal tradition and spirituality. Dogma cannot be understood apart from experience, the fulness of experience cannot be had apart from true doctrine."⁴

The Orthodox Slavic spirit, flowering in the apocryphal art of the medieval period, had its roots in Byzantium. The theology of the Eastern Orthodox Church centered on the doctrine of sin, suffering and redemption, and the conflict

of good and evil. Eschatology was central to Eastern Orthodox religion. Therefore apocryphal writers showed a great predilection for the problems of eschatology. Life beyond the grave consisted of either heaven or hell. Correspondingly, man's behaviour on this earthly life was either sinful or holy. There was no neutral behaviour, which was "neither holy nor sinful," nor was there a sphere such as purgatory, as seen in the medieval West. "The eschaton is the goal of the time process, that after which nothing further can occur," says S.B. Frost.² It is that beyond which the faithful never peer, although, in itself, the eschaton may possess the characteristics of continuity, absolute finality and timelessness.⁴ True life and deliverance for man came through "gnosis" (knowledge), conceived not as some intellectual perception of truth, but as a direct revelation from God. To the Slavic apocryphal writer, eschatological thought therefore took the form of a strong, imminent expectation of a supernatural intervention as the only basis for redemption. Thus Orthodox Christianity gave to the medieval art of apocryphal and canonical writing its basic sense of purpose with its specific imagery. On this deeply ingrained Eastern Orthodox theology, the apocryphal writer constructed his Xoždienie, which represents a whole structure of ideas, composed of many abstract symbols, each having its legitimate place in the organization of the whole composition. The language of the apocryphon, like the symbolism of the icon, is a language common to the Eastern Orthodox Church, for it expresses the common Orthodox

teaching and the common Orthodox experience. It is through this specific imagery and language that man receives the revelation from God and it is through this same imagery that man responds to this revelation. Xoždenie is therefore a testimony of the descent of God's spirit to man, as well as the impetus for the ascent of man's spirit to God.

(1). Form and Content

The narrative begins with the Mother of God on the sacred Mount of Olives praying to God for an eschatological revelation. She wishes to see the place where sinners are punished. Michael the Archangel appears in the company of four hundred angels and leads the Mother of God on a tour of hell. Hell is opened and the Blessed One sees a multitude of men and women in much anguish held in evil darkness. The Mother of God bids the veil of darkness be lifted, so that she can see the suffering souls. The journey of the Mother of God begins with the lifting of the veil of darkness. "Что есть тьма си, и кто соуть пребывающии въ ней?" (KR 125) (What is this darkness and who are those who dwell therein?) The reader is first presented with a general view of hell consisting of eternal darkness, a multitude of people and much suffering. As the Mother of God is escorted by the angels from the south to the north, from the east to the west (KR 125-131), she sees different categories of sinners enduring torment in their respective spheres, according to

the nature of their sins. The emphasis has now shifted from a general description of hell to individual descriptions of the sinners, so that the reader's view is broken down into smaller visual fields. The Blessed One sees sinners hanging by their sinful limbs, tortured by worms and serpents. Others are immersed in a burning lake or river, or are tortured on fiery beds. The Mother of God sees the punishment of sinful church officials who did not fulfill the will of God. She also sees the Jews, who crucified Christ. By describing a sequence of separate scenes and separate actions, the narrator produces an illusion of linear movement, a movement which is very extensive in Xoždienie beginning with the scene at the Mount of Olives, changing to the innermost depths of hell and then shifting from one category of sinners to the other, from one direction to the next. We are no longer given a general, external description of hell, but an internal description: the author has now placed himself within the represented world which he is portraying. The shift occurs with the lifting of the veil of darkness.

As the Mother of God travels through the underworld viewing the sins of mankind, she grieves and weeps, she admonishes and rebukes. By the end of the tour, she wishes to be tortured along with the sinners. But the Archangel Michael replies: "Rest in paradise" (KR 131). She then bids the host of angels carry her to the heights of heaven and place her before the throne of the invisible God to intercede for the sinners. Her efforts there meet with little success.

Only after her persistent pleas, supported by the prayers of the angels, the saints and all the prophets, do the sinners receive temporary reprieve from their suffering for the period of Pentecost. The work concludes with the sinners rejoicing and praising God (KR 132).

Based on an analysis of the thematic pattern, the following is an outline of the structure of Xoždienie.

- Scene 1: 1) The earthly realm. The sacred Mount of Olives.
- 2) A prologue, the introduction of the dramatis personae and the opening prayer.
- 3) A request, the announcement of the actio dramatica.
- Scene 2: 1) The journey to the underworld and the revelation.
- 2) The division of hell and the classification of sinners.
- 3) The judgment of the sinners.
- 4) The anguish of the Mother of God, and her second request.
- Scene 3: 1) An epilogue, man's earthly fulfillment.
- 2) The heavenly journey of the Mother of God.
- 3) Prayers and pleas for mercy. The Holy Mother's third request.
- 4) Reprieve granted. The glorification of the Lord.

From the above outline, we can see that Xoźdenie's compositional pattern is very simple, logically constructed, and presented in accordance with the theme of the story. The vision is organized into three registers of scenes, with three sets of characters (the angels, the Mother of God, who is the seer, and the sinners), representing the realms of heaven, earth and hell, respectively. There is no Lucifer and there are no devils. Each scene has its own pace, location and tone, which corresponds to the development of the plot. The plot line moves through the three scenes, from God's initial granting of a request to His final granting of a reprieve in scene three. The function of Xoźdenie's compositional framework is significant, because it presents for the reader a diagram of the order of forces ranging from heaven to hell. Between these two cosmic opposites the drama is enacted. The journey is the author's conception, in allegorical terms, of the pilgrimage of life, with the three scenes representing the three directions or movements of the soul's progress towards God. The first scene is what Francis Ferguson calls the extra nos, where man turns outward to the delights of the natural world. Scene two is the intra-nos, with man turning inward to the conflicts of his soul. Scene three is the super-nos, where man turns upward to God.⁷ These three stages are of direct significance for man, for they represent the three stages of spiritual life, purification, illumination and union with God. Man is born on the level of the earth, must overcome evil, and then ascend to the level where he can begin to do his ideal work.

Thus, the sacred number three, the number of the nature of God, symbolic of the Holy Trinity, is built into the structure of the vision, serving as a trinitarian motif.

Within the tripartite structure, there is, from a thematic point of view, a bipartite structure with emphasis on two central ideas representing the duality of existences: the principle of higher and lower cosmic levels, and the inner and outer life of the spirit and of the body. The drama is enacted through the use of repeated contrasts between the two opposing forces, good and evil, the sacred and the demonic, the temporal and eternal, all of which intensify the play of opposites.

The drama begins in scene one from a position of veneration of the Mother of God and Archangel Michael, and proceeds towards a series of many contrasts: the creative forces of God and the destruction of man, the relationship between the celestial angels and the earthly seer, the sombre portrayal of hell and the glorious portrayal of heaven, the correspondence of sin and punishment, justice and mercy, repentance and compassion, the idealization of the seer and the condemnation of the sinners, the humility of the seer and the sinfulness of mankind. The work is further unified by a series of thematic contrasts such as flesh and soul, and the triumph of light over darkness, and joy over sorrow. This duality of meaning also extends to spatial relationships such as time and timelessness. God is remote to those who do not

know Him. He is close to those who draw near to Him. Thus contrast becomes the organizing principle, the key to the presentation of the narrative, moving us to reflect upon our own sinfulness and, at the same time, consider the positive side of our existence. Contrast is a necessary feature of the structure, because it preserves the symmetry of form and meaning, reminding the reader of the necessity of maintaining balance and order in a world where every movement gives rise to countermovement.

Moreover, Xoždenie is constructed on two planes. The first plane represents the plot itself, the level of direct narration, and the second, the allegorical plane, the level of exegesis (the higher level of meaning). The author applies two narrative techniques to achieve this result: direct narration in the third person singular (the omniscient narrator), and Biblical allusions. The use of third person singular narration is not uncommon in writings which claim to be the "eye-witnesses" of God, for to talk about life hereafter one must have seen that life, or heard of it from someone who had been there. The use of Biblical references helps the reader bridge the gap between actual reality and the world of the inner spirit. To the medieval scribe the Bible was an authoritative text, "a source of analogues to the events being described and a means of bolstering the moral evaluation of a character's action," says V. Kuskov.² Since Biblical references often occur in the speech of the characters (for example, the Mother of God speaks with the

words of Christ: "лучъ бы было дабы ся не рахали" (KR 130) (It would have been better for man had he not have been born), we are constantly listening to the voice of the narrator, who holds the same spatial position as do his characters, placing himself in a position which, as Boris Uspensky says, "is internal to the narration." "The author's point of view is manifested on all corresponding planes, be it phraseological, psychological or theological." At the same time, the author is faithful to the principles of the supernatural order, illustrating truth not only from the point of view of his characters, but also from the point of view of God, as shown in the concluding paragraph of the apocryphon by the narrator himself, speaking in the voice of God. Here the message of the apocryphon is presented in a panegyrical oration by God Himself, announcing a final opportunity for repentance to those who have denied him in the past. "И рече владыка: "Слышите Все! Раи насадихъ и чловѣка създахъ по образу своему, и поставихъ и господина раеви, и животъ вѣчный дахъ имъ. Они же ослоухоу створиша и въ своємъ хотѣнии съгрѣшиша, и предаша ся смърти" (KR 133). (And the Lord said, "Listen all. I have planted paradise, and created man according to my own image. I have made him lord over paradise and given him life eternal. But they disobeyed me and sinned in their selfishness, and thus have merited death.) This same voice of God, which once spoke to Moses through a burning bush, now speaks through Christ to the sinners. By introducing the Biblical story of the fall of Adam and Eve, and by shifting from third person narration

to first person, and from dialogue to sermon, the narrator is interpreting the truth from the point of view of God, by showing the disobedience and insubordination of the first man before the will of God. In this way, both planes, the literal and the spiritual meanings, are inseparably merged in the text.

(b). Scene One - The Prologue

(i). The Setting

The story of Xoždenie opens with the Mother of God praying on the Mount of Olives for an angelic revelation. In his initial statement, the author introduces an essential Biblical clue -- "the Mount of Olives." "Хотѣ се. Богородица помолити ся къ Господу. Богу нашему на горѣ Елионъстѣй" (KR 124). (The Holy Mother of God wished to pray to Our Lord God on the Mount of Olives.) Her prayer was answered. The eschatological plot begins with the appearance of Archangel Michael and the four-hundred angels, who represent the scenery of the spiritual, unseen world. Reference to the Biblical holy mountain in the first line of the opening scene is significant for three reasons: First, by identifying the place where the event occurs, the vision is grounded in an earthly reality (setting), thus allowing the reader to see the present in the framework of God's divine plan. Second, the apocryphal writer uses the setting of the Mount of Olives as a stylistic device to announce the theme of the story and establish the narrative world of his account. The story then becomes true in its earthly sense. Third, the sacred Mount of Olives, an authentic historical setting, has long been regarded as the place of messianic disclosures and fulfilment. Christ spoke with His disciples about the end of the world on the Mount of Olives (Matthew 24:3). On Holy

Thursday, following the Last Supper, Jesus went up to the Mount of Olives with his disciples and told Peter that he would deny Christ thrice that night (Mark 14: 26-27). The Ascension of Our Lord took place on the Mount of Olives (Acts 1:12). The sacred mountain is also mentioned in the Old Testament: David, fleeing to the East, went up "by the ascent of Mount Olivet," where he worshipped God (II Samuel 15: 30). The Mount of Olives is also a starting point of action in many other eschatological apocrypha. In the opening scene of the Orthodox Slavic apocryphon, Voprosy svjatogo Ioanna Bogoslova o živyx i o mertvyx (The Questions of Saint John the Theologian on the Living and the Dead), we find Christ seated with his disciples on the Mount of Olives. "Възде Исусъ на гору Елеонскую со ученики своими и се рекъ имъ, глаголя: "се азъ возвожу съ собою и тѣхъ, иже суть были съ нимъ во адъ и въ преисподней земль" (Christ went up to the Mount of Olives with His disciples and spoke to them saying: "I will resurrect those who were with him in hell and in the nether regions of the Earth.")¹⁰ The Mount of Olives motif is also present in the Ethiopic text of the Apocalypse of Peter: "And when the Lord was seated upon the Mount of Olives, His disciples came unto Him;"¹¹ and in the conclusion of the Syriac text of the Apocalypse of Paul: "The angel of the Lord took me up and brought me to the Mount of Olives. I found the apostles assembled and told them all I had seen."¹² It is also found in the Apocalypse of John [also known under the heading of Pytannja Ivanovi do Hospoda na Eleons'kij hori (The Questions of John to God on the Mount of Olives)]¹³ It

follows, then, that because of its Biblical inspiration, the Mount of Olives has both a spiritual and a historical significance, which was intended to bridge the semantic gap between the two levels of meaning, the literal and the spiritual. The Mount of Olives motif was therefore not placed randomly in Xoždienie, but, instead, where it would be most effective, as a prelude that announces the main action. It is no accident, either, that the vision is set on the Mount of Olives, for only such a historical mountain could authorize the message, and become the symbol of all apocryphal revelations.

Xoždienie begins its eschatological theme with a question and a request, which function as a prologue to the contents of the narrative, evoking the appropriate atmosphere and conveying the mystical substance of man's earthly life. "How many sins are there that the Christian race is guilty of?" inquires the Mother of God. She asks to see the suffering of the Christians in hell. The journey is granted in response to the request. God sends his angels, headed by the Cherubim and the Seraphim, the highest angelic beings, to disclose the heavenly secrets. The divine disclosure begins with the conventional expression "отрепæ ся аѡ" (KR 125) (hell was opened), revealing the awesome destiny of man. The Mother of God, like the Apostle Stephen (Acts 7:56),¹⁴ now becomes the subject of a special revelation. The seer is shown the mysteries of hell. This is one of the most distinctive features of apocryphal literature; the power of the seer to

pierce the vault of heaven or the gates of hell, and enter either into the glorious world of God or the wicked world of Satan.

The action now switches to hell. The narrative journey from the top of the Mount of Olives on the surface of the Earth to the centre of hell has begun. The drama of scene two is depicted in a setting far removed from reality, but there is nothing absurd about it. The mind accepts it for it is presented in an allegorical sense, and therefore seems justified. There are no laws here governing the existence of time. The account of time is carried out from the point of view of the state of the sinners, who, as the narrator tells us, reckon time from the moment they have not seen light: "отъ вѣка нѣсмь свѣта видѣли" (KR 126). (For ages we have not seen light.) Time, as we see it, is not simply a feature of the structure of this narrative. It is a major element of the sinners' state of being. The pervasive image of this inner world of the spirit is one of suffering and redemption. The Mother of God sees represented all the sins that draw the world and each individual downward toward ruin. The theme of the journey and its significance is first introduced in the title as an allegory, using the neuter abstract noun "хожденіе," derived from the imperfective Church Slavic verb "ходити." In "xoditi" (to walk), an indeterminate verb, we have an indeterminate action, that by its very nature proceeds indefinitely, suggesting a prolonged journey of considerable scope. "Xoditi" is not an abstract word; it is

a "humanized walking," punctuated by the metaphor "po mukam." "Xoditi," suggesting a process of walking or wandering, serves as a vehicle for the journey of life, with the seer and the angel as the travellers. The author, too, is a traveller, whose journey the apocryphon charts. The metaphor "po mukam," with the feminine plural noun "mukam," in the dative case, being governed by the preposition "po," envisioning a distribution of pain and suffering over a wide area, imbues the vision with a overpowering sense of emotional intensity. Whether we interpret the metaphor "po mukam" in a realistic or a figurative sense, the author's choice of words elicits not a passive reaction, but a startling recognition of moral strife within the human mind, a moral journey downwards. Thus, the author has introduced into the title three essential elements — verb, agent, and location — necessary for structuring the semantic field of a journey. The agent (or traveller) is the Mother of God, walking (the verb) is the instrument or vehicle of the journey, and location is the specifiable locale where the action occurs. By virtue of their metaphorical use, the terms "xoždenie" and "po mukam" transform the setting of walking and torments into a metaphorical setting. The term "po mukam" becomes synonymous with hell, and the sufferings of the Mother of God for her people, whereas Xoždenie becomes synonymous with a spiritual journey from the earthly to the divine, that is, from the surface of the earth (Mount of Olives) to the depths of our religious experience. The topic of the metaphor is later introduced in passage four (and hell

was opened) (KR 125).

The apocryphal writer had a desire to tell a story not only emotionally, but also visually. The process of visual narration is distinguished by the frequent use of the imperfective Church Slavic verb "схѣтъи" (to see), which forms part of the initial request and is repeated throughout the journey over thirty times in one form or another to emphasize the visual aspect of the narrative, and to begin what Vladimir Saxarov terms as the circulus visionis, one sees what one believes and one believes what one sees.¹⁵ The frequent use of the word "see" in the eschatological vision also involves a metaphorical understanding. Since the seer and the archangel are operating in the field of eschatology, the author involves the use of "see" to describe the act of having knowledge or understanding of this spiritual world. The metaphor "to see" then becomes a movement across semantic fields.

(ii). Central Characters

The Seer and The Angelus Interpres

The most important feature of the opening scene is the eschatological discourse between the seer (the Mother of God) and Archangel Michael, the angelic intermediary (the angelus interpres), who is an exalted representative of the heavenly

hierarchy. This feature brings us at once into the atmosphere of the journeys, setting the scenes, introducing the characters and announcing the purpose and theme of the story, the actio dramatica. The choice of an angel and a seer is in no way arbitrary. It is linked with those Biblical figures to whom such experience was attributed by the Holy Scriptures or tradition, and coincides with the situation of a given area and culture. In the Eastern Orthodox Church, Archangel Michael is revered as the "six-winged Archistrategos, the warrior of the heavenly forces ("первый воинства") (KR 124), the chief of princes and the protector of Christians" (KR 124).³ He is referred to by the Holy Mother of God as the "eternal illuminator and enlightener" ("радуя ся Михаиле, свѣтильниче, просвѣщенія никакоже угасая") (KR 124). (Rejoice, O Michael, the eternal enlightener.) In a non-figurative sense, the word "свѣтильниче" means a light or candle, as if to illustrate his enlightening qualities. Michael, the proper name of one of the archangels, is derived from the Hebrew word "Mikha'el" (Mi-sha-el) meaning "who is like God."¹⁶ The word Michael appears for the first time in the Book of Daniel (10:13), where he is called, "Michael, one of the chief princes who came to help Daniel," and again in chapter 12:1, where he is referred to as "the great prince who has charge of his people." In Revelations (12:7) we learn that Archangel Michael and his angels were engaged in warfare in heaven against the devil. On Eastern Orthodox iconostases, Archangel Michael is always depicted as young and beautiful.

Resplendent wings rise from his shoulders. As the leader of the heavenly host, he is portrayed as a knight in armour, a warrior in full battle gear, holding a fiery sabre in his right hand. In his left hand he holds a shield decorated by a single eye surrounded by a triangle, symbolizing his spiritual watchfulness. The eye within the triangle also symbolizes the all-knowing and ever present eye of God as is written in Proverbs (22:12): "The eyes of the Lord preserve knowledge, and He overthroweth the words of the transgressor."

Thus, in accordance with Biblical and Eastern Orthodox tradition, Archangel Michael is portrayed in Xoždienie not as a passive attendant of the Mother of God, but as an active, mobile participant of the journey, a graceful six-winged personification of the sublime. This iconographic portrait of Archangel Michael takes on life and reality against a dark and immobile background of hell.

The Blessed Virgin, the birth giver of God, is referred to in Xoždienie as "Bogorodica" (Bohorodicja) and not "Our Lady" or the "Queen of Heaven" as she is known in the Christian West. The Mother of God is revered as the spiritual Mother of all mankind, "the heavenly protectress" ("застоупнице, ты еси родоу крестьяньскоу") (KR 126), the intercessor of the Christians, the "prophet's preaching" ("пророческое проповедание") (KR 124), the greatest of all in God's kingdom, ("превышная всѣх у престола Божия") (KR 124).

This is the portrait presented to the reader by Archangel Michael in the opening scene of Xoždienie. In the apocryphon, the Mother of God is portrayed as an Eastern Orthodox Mother of God, the beacon of hope for all the sinners, as characterized by the narrator in scene three, speaking in the words of Our Lord God: "Послушай, пресвятая Богородице, нѣсть того человека, иже не молитъ имени твоего" (KR 132). (Listen, O Most Holy Mother of God, there is not a human being, who does not beseech your name.)

All of these characteristics of the angel interpres and the seer are significant, for the apocryphal writer, like the icon painter, must convey a powerful, concentrated idea of the spiritual state of the figures he is portraying. The angel and seer are the main heroes of the drama, the central figures of the ideas presented to us and the center of composition. The angel and the seer take up the Biblical role of divine intercessors and mediators, "for all power hath been given to them to see the torments of hell."¹⁷ The Mother of God is depicted as the ideal person, a model of virtue, a holy personage who is worshipped in the Divine Liturgy, and a figure with whom the reader identifies. Although spiritually she is part of the heavenly realm, in the apocryphon the Mother of God's role is that of a birthgiver, the Holy Protectress and intercessor, who belongs neither to the higher nor lower realms. Instead, her function is to maintain a spiritual equilibrium between the two opposing forces of good and evil. In the world of the

apocryphon, the human element is very important, for although the main subject of all holy images is God Himself, He is revealed to the people in human form. In Xoźdenie the Mother of God exemplifies the human side of God. It is to her that the sinners turn for mercy and forgiveness. From the narrator's description of the two central characters, it appears that the Mother of God's traditional image, like that of Archangel Michael's, was firmly established in Kievan Rus' by the twelfth century. This basic image, instituted by the Byzantine prototype, grew into the tradition that was adhered to throughout the centuries.

(iii). The Cult of The Mother of God in The Eastern Orthodox Church

The figure of the Holy Mother of God was long a favourite with the writers of Christian apocryphal and ecclesiastical literature. The Mother of God, of whom the Son of God by essence and nature was born, served as an intercessor for mankind. As a human being, she served as the archetypal example of man's ideal relationship with God. It is precisely this image, embodied in the doctrine of Eastern Orthodox theology and the traditions which were attributed to her that prompted Orthodox Slavic writers to turn to the figure of the Holy Mother of God to support their theological views.

The practice of invoking the help of the Mother of God began to develop around the fourth century. The champion of Orthodoxy, Saint Athanasius, designated Mary as the "Theotokos," the birth-giver of God.¹⁶ Since the Council of Ephesus (AD 431), the Eastern Orthodox Church has surrounded the Mother of God with a veneration exceeding that of the other saints. The extent of her cult in Eastern Orthodoxy is supported by the numerous Feast Days and hymns dedicated to her: The Annunciation (April 07 (as they occur on the Gregorian calendar)), Nativity (September 21), Dormition (August 28), Presentation (December 04), and the Holy Protectress, also known among the Eastern Slavs as "Pokrova" (October 14), which commemorates the rescue of Byzantium (Constantinople) from Arab enemies by the prayers and intercession of the Blessed One. The Holy Feast Day "Pokrova," while unknown in Byzantium, was based on events that had taken place there in AD 903.¹⁷ It is believed that the Holy Mother of God, surrounded by angels and saints, entered the Church of St. Sophia, walking on the air above the people. She stopped before the Royal Doors and, weeping, took off the veil that covered her head. In a gesture of protection, she spread it with her hands over the heads of the people. That night, the city was spared from the hands of the enemy. This image of the Holy Mother of God, with her hands raised in a gesture of protection, is depicted on all the icons of the Holy Protectress, and is found on the magnificent Inviolable Wall in the vault of St. Sophia Sobor [Cathedral] in Kiev, built in 1037.²⁰ In establishing the

Feast Day of the Patronage of the Holy Mother of God, the Eastern Orthodox Church expressed the significant role played by the Holy Mother of God as the patron of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.

The exaltation and veneration of the Mother of God steadily increased during the Middle Ages. Stories multiplied about the efficacy of the Mother of God's miraculous intervention to save those devoted to her. Reference to the intercession of the Mother of God became an established feature of the liturgies of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom introduces the praises of the Mother of God in the following way: "We glorify thee, the birth-giver of God, ever blessed and wholly pure. More honorable than the Cherubim, more glorious than the Seraphim, we glorify Thee, Our Mother of God."²¹ In the troparion (Tone 4) for the Holy Feast of "Pokrova" we read: "Today, we Orthodox Christians joyfully celebrate your revelation and lift our eyes to you, and pray for your ecclesiastical protection. Save us from all evil. In the name of Our Father, we pray to save our souls."²²

The main source of Orthodox veneration of the Holy Mother of God comes from the Holy Scriptures themselves, from Archangel Gabriel's salutation: "Hail, thou who art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; Blessed art thou among women" (Luke 1:28), and the words of Jesus on the cross: "Behold thy Mother" (John 19:27).

The words of Archangel Gabriel's salutation later formed the words of the prayer to the Mother of God. It is to Archangel Gabriel, the Angel of the Annunciation, that the Mother of God appeals for help in Xoždienie, after her pleas for mercy are thrice denied. "Кде есть архистратигъ Гавриль, иже възвѣсти мнѣ: Радоуи ся яко же прѣже всѣхъ въкъ вънемляше отца, и нынѣ за грѣшники не призираеть?" (KR 133). (Where is Archangel Gabriel who once hailed me? Rejoice, he who had been chosen by the Father before all ages; today He pays no attention to the sinners.) Because of the importance of the Mother of God in Eastern Orthodox theology, it is not surprising that the author of Xoždienie chose her as the seer of the apocryphon.

(iv). Angelology

Like the cult of the Mother of God the belief in an exalted celestial angel is also central to Eastern Orthodox spirituality and must be seen within the context of Biblical angelology. Angels are widely represented both in icon painting and apocryphal writings. Angels appear to us as "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation" (Hebrew 1:14). Derived from the Greek word "αγγελος," meaning messenger or representative sent to announce the will of God, angels serve as intermediaries between God and man. Angels have long served

as divine messengers in Judaeo-Christian religion. Isaac was saved at the last moment from the knife of his father by an angel (Genesis 22:11). Elijah was swept away with his chariot in the wake of the flying angel, who held the bridle of his horses. The angel of the Lord appeared to many New Testament figures: to Priest Zacharias in the temple to announce the conception of John the Baptist (Luke 1:13), to Mary of Nazareth to announce the Incarnation (Luke 1:28), and to Joseph in a dream warning him to flee with Mary and the infant Jesus into Egypt (Matthew 2:13). Angels appeared to the shepherds at Bethlehem on Christmas night (Luke 2:13) proclaiming the birth of Christ. The descent of Christ to hell was accompanied by angels, as was his righteous ascent out of hell. An angel rolled away the stone from Jesus' tomb (Matthew 28:2). An angel released Peter from prison (Acts 12:7-9).

Angels are winged, but they walk the earth, always acting as God's spiritual emissaries, appearing as transmitters of decisions and requests, interpreters of dreams and visions, intercessors of mankind and guides or guardians of man. God is never alone in what He does; He always has a chosen messenger. A poetic description of the role of angels in God's kingdom is found in Xoŕdenie Pavla: "Angels are assigned to people as messengers, to record the good and evil deeds of man. Therefore, ye children of men, bless ye the Lord God without ceasing at all hours and on all days, but especially when the sun setteth. For in that hour

do all angels go into the Lord to worship Him and to present the deeds of man- which every man doeth from morning till evening whether good or evil."²³ A parallel description of the role of angels in God's kingdom is conveyed by Archangel Michael in Xoždienie: ".7. шды на день и .7. на ноць, егда хвалу приносимъ владыцѣ и за грѣшники, госпоже, господеви покланяемъ ся" (KR 131). (Seven times a day and seven times a night, when we bring praises to the Lord, we bow down for the sinners before the Lord God.) A similar account is found in the Book of Tobit (12:15): "I am Raphael, one of the seven Holy angels, who present the prayers of the saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One."

The writers of apocryphal literature use these angels' functions as a literary device to convey their theological message and inspire faith. Angels were used to show God's concern for man before and after death. The angelus interpres is therefore a standard feature of all eschatological apocrypha. While the archangels Gabriel and Michael are the two principal emissaries of God in most eschatological visions (Gabriel, the Archangel of Annunciation, is the chief angelic guide of the Revelation of Moses), Archangel Michael is the chief emissary of God in the Orthodox Slavic visions. He is present in Xoždienie, Xoždienie Pavla and in Slovo o svjatom Avraame. As the heavenly representative, Michael's chief role is that of mediator of the revelation and merciful intercessor, which is consistent with his role as the defender of the faithful in Orthodox

theology. In Xoždenie, Michael accompanies the Mother of God on a tour of hell, and explains to her the correspondence of sin and punishment. He orders the angelic host to carry the Blessed One to paradise to intercede on behalf of the sinners. He bows down to the ground before the heavenly throne of God in fervent prayer. The angels have similar functions in Xoždenie Pavla. The sinners cry out to Michael, beseeching him to intercede on their behalf: "Have mercy upon us, thou Michael, the archangel; have mercy upon the race of man, for it is by thy prayers that the earth standeth." "Day and night I cease not in my prayers for the human race," replied Archangel Michael.³⁴ In Slovo o svjatoj Avraame, Archangel Michael eats and drinks with Abraham and is given the role of interpreting Isaac's dream of the sun and the moon. He escorts Abraham to heaven and shows him the heavenly realm; he transports Abraham's soul to heaven much like the angels transport the Mother of God to heaven in Xoždenie. In the Greek Gospel of Nicodemus Michael is in charge of the heavenly host which leads the army of angels into hell with Christ.

Among the other exalted angels in Xoždenie are the Biblical Cherubim, the angels of knowledge (Genesis 3:24), whom God sent to guard the way to Eden, and the six-winged Seraphim who surround the throne of God and chant his praises, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts" (Isaiah 6:2-3). Heaven, according to Pseudo-Dionysius, has a complex ninefold angelic hierarchy arranged into three groups of

three, ranging from the least to the most important: Angels, Archangels and Principalities belonging to the lower hierarchy; Powers, Virtues and Dominations of the second hierarchy; and Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim, the most exalted hierarchy.²³ Seraphim (derived from the Hebrew word "Seraph," which means to burn), are described in Isaiah (6:6-7) as "purging the lips of the prophet with fire." The primary duty of the Seraphim are to sing without ceasing the praises of God. The name Cherubim (according to pseudo-Dionysius) "denotes their power of knowing and beholding God, their receptivity to the most high gift of light, their contemplation of the beauty of the Divinity in its first manifestation."²⁴ The appearance of Archangel Michael, a member of the lower hierarchy, accompanied by the heavenly host of angels led by the highest angelic beings, the Cherubim and the Seraphim, approaching from the four corners of the Earth, "one hundred from the East, one hundred from the West, one hundred from the South, and one hundred from the North," has an important function in the compositional structure of Xoždanie. Together they form a symmetrical spiritual movement, an iconographical representation of a splendour of glory around the Mother of God, whose role in this architectural center is that of a source of light and hope. The angelic host represents the revelation and the realization of God's design. Acting as heavenly witnesses, the host of angels descend upon the Blessed One and disclose to her the four corners of hell. The host of angels motif is significant, for we are reminded of

the host of angels present at the birth of Jesus Christ (Luke 2:13), and of Jacob's dream, in which he saw angels ascending and descending a ladder linking heaven and Earth (Genesis 28:12). The ladder of Jacob is significant, for it symbolizes for man a certain spiritual communication between God and man, as expressed in John (1:51): "Verily, verily I say unto you, hereafter, ye shall see heaven open and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." We gain a deep insight into the angelic ministry if we compare the actions of the host of angels in Xoždienie with those in the Holy Scriptures. In each case, we see a movement which starts from God (the descent of the angels), and returns to God (the ascent of the angels with the Mother of God); from God who controls the actions out of His goodness and mercy, to the praises and exaltation of God's glory as expressed by the sinners in the conclusion of the apocryphon; "Слава отцю и сыноу и святому Духу, и нынѣ и присно и въ вѣки вѣкомъ. Аминь" (KR 134). (Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and forever unto the ages of ages. Amen.)

Angels also play a major role in the eschatological picture in scene two. The guardian angels ("ангели стръруши") speak on behalf of the sinners. Although we are given no description of the angels who dwell in hell, the author uses them to advance the action of the story. First, they inform the Holy Mother of God that the sinners are not allowed to see light until the Son of God appears, who is

brighter than the seven suns. "Поручено ны естъ, да не видятъ свѣта, дондеже явит ся сынъ твой благии паче .7. солицъ свѣтълишь " (KR 125). (We have been entrusted not to let them see light until the appearance of your Blessed Son, who is brighter than the seven suns.) Christ here is characterized by a dazzling brilliance, a full proof of His glorious divinity. Second, the guardian angels of hell praise the Mother of God for giving the sinners a chance to see light. "Свѣтъ, свѣтъ, свѣтъ еси, Боже святыи и ты Богородице, благословимъ тя и сына Божія родившагося отъ тебе. Яко бо отъ вѣка не видѣхомъ свѣта и днесь видимъ свѣтъ" (KR 130). (Holy, Holy, Holy! Holy God and you the Mother of God, we bless you, and the Son of God born of you. For ages we have not seen light and today, we can see light.)

Second the singing of the trisagion hymn by the guardian angels plays a special function in the poetic structure of the apocryphon. It is, first of all, a hymn of glory of both angels and men, signifying all the attributes of the Holiness of God — Holy is His Justice, Holy is His Goodness and Holy is His Mercy. The praise of God and the Mother of God comes from the angels and men alike. It seems fitting that the host of angels should intone the hymn of glory. The trisagion hymn is also a chant of great joy celebrating the lifting of the veil of darkness, which hides the heavenly realities from human eyes; the veil of spiritual blindness of those who for ages have not heard or obeyed the word of God. The joy of the angels signifies the unspeakable joy of God Himself at the conversion of a sinner. The general meaning

of this passage is to be found in Holy Scripture, which, presumably, served as an authoritative source for Orthodox Slavic ecclesiastical and apocryphal literature. Metaphorically, the light motif is to be interpreted as a conversion which provides a rich source of reflection. In Acts (26:18), the Apostle Paul explains to Agrippa that his own mission was to preach to the Gentiles that they might "turn from darkness to light." First, Peter (2:9) refers to conversion as God's call "out of darkness into the marvellous light." To the writer, conversion involves a movement so radical that it is captured only by the images of darkness and light. It is, as Arthur Nock points out in his book Conversion, "a reorientation of the soul," "a turning away from indifference," "a consciousness that the old was wrong and the new is right."²⁷ This is dramatically illustrated by the Mother of God herself. Having seen the suffering sinners, she wept bitterly and rhetorically exclaimed: "Почто съблазниста ся? Не вѣсте ли выи, яко же мое имя чтесть все създание. То рекши святая Богородица, и пакы тьма паде на них" (KR 126). (Why do you live in temptation? Do you not know that all creation honours my name?" And the Holy Mother of God having thus spoken, and darkness fell upon them again.) It follows, then, that the light falling on the sinners clothed in darkness is characteristic of heavenly bliss; the spiritual light falling on the sinful earth is a symbol of the presence of God Himself, who dispels and destroys the shadows of darkness. The black-darkness motif is an ominous symbol and is used in connection with all that

is evil, alien and unnatural in human society. By contrast the Mother of God herself is a symbol of goodness and light.

(c). Scene Two — The Journey to The Underworld

(i). Structure and Function

The crucial drama of the apocryphon is enacted in scene two with the journey to the underworld and the portrayal of the eternal torments. Scene two offers a structural contrast to the inspirational lyricism of scenes one and three. Pervaded by an atmosphere of the supernatural, the judgment scene is filled with a description of the horrors of hell of the most extravagant sort. What we see is a convincing and comprehensive picture of life in all its mystery. We witness the never ending conflict between the divine and the demonic, between the good and evil. As the central characters come face to face with the torments of hell, they engage desperately in a search for meaning in a darkness that never lifts. Thus, the author probes the hearts of his dramatis personae.

In analyzing the significant aspects of the judgment scene, two points are of importance. First, the description of the elaborate hell torments is not intended to convey eschatological information for its own sake, but instead plays a crucial didactic role. The chief characteristic of hell is terror. As Edmund Burke notes: "No passion so effectually robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning as fear; for fear being an apprehension of pain or death, it operates in a manner that resembles actual pain."²⁰

The key function of the hell scene is to show the heinousness of sin and the workings of divine justice. Second, the plight of the sinners and the actions of the seer (her visit, her ascent, her pleas for mercy) are the means by which God is brought from indignation to compassion. Here we see the symbolic implications of the higher and lower forces, the good and evil, that play on a man's spirit as he struggles to maintain a balance between the two. Good and evil are constantly set against each other, contrasting present suffering, which is proportionate to the guilt, with future salvation. The author personifies the opposing forces; he presents the human vices of the soul as mortal sinners, thus rendering us a clear illustration of the unseen conflicts of the soul.

The following is a brief outline of the structure of scene two.

- 1) The description of the functionaries of hell and their actions.
- 2) The demonstrative question. The seer inquires about their identities. "Кто си суть?" "Что есть съгрѣшеніе тѣхъ?" (KR 128) (Who are these [people]? What is their sin?)
- 3) The demonstrative answer. The angelic guide explains who the sinners are and what are their sins. "Сии соуть, иже не вѣроваша въ отца и сына и святаго духа, то ни въ тя, святая Богородице" (KR 126). (They are those who did not

believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit and not in you the Holy Mother of God.)

- 4) The reaction of the Mother of God. She weeps, sighs, admonishes, rebukes and in the end, intercedes on behalf of the sinners.

The episodes in scene two unfold sequentially. Even the terrifying landscape of hell has its order. Hell is divided into seven lower heavens or depths, as indicated by the narrator, with the uppermost region in darkness and the lowest in fire. "И открылася тьма и семь небесъ яви сѧ" (KR 126). (And the darkness was lifted and the seven heavens appeared.) According to the author, hell is divided into as many levels as heaven itself. For every heaven of the seven heavens, there is a corresponding depth of hell. This concept finds a parallel in the Revelation of Moses, where Moses "ascended the seven heavens and saw the abode of the angels; in hell he saw a fire that burned more than all the seven hells" (RM 133). The hell scene is plotted not as a single dramatic action with a beginning, middle and an end, but rather as a series of actions, an episodic narrative, offering the readers a view of the judgment process. As the action shifts from one group of sinners to another, the narrative sequences set in the present tense constitute a scene of extended duration. A relatively long time in the story occupies a short part of the text. Significantly, however, the classification of the different types of hell torments is built into the physical structure of scene two.

The sins range from babbling and gossiping in church to sloth and theft, lying and cheating, denying the Incarnation and the Virgin birth, to the more serious crimes of adultery, infanticide and cannibalism. Together, they develop into the theme of the "inexpressibility of hell's torments." The Holy Mother of God asks the Archangel Michael: "И рече къ нему святая Богородица: "колько есть мукъ, идѣже мучит ся родъ християньскій?" (KR 125) (How many torments are there and where does the Christian race suffer?) Unable to relate adequately the number of infernal torments, he replies: "Неизреккомыи суть муки" (KR 125). (Ineffable are the torments.) The narrator formulates his questions and answers on the basis of his eschatological theme. This initial question "колько есть" (how many) and "идѣже" (where) becomes the point of departure for a long and detailed discourse on the theme of sin and the sinner, which the author strove to reflect in a broad and vivid terminology. While the apocryphon does not contain a numerical listing of all sins in the order of their gravity, hell as presented by the author includes sinners of different types and in different spheres.

- 1) In evil darkness, signifying moral and spiritual confusion, are the unbelievers; those who did not acknowledge the Holy Trinity, who denied the Incarnation, the Virgin birth and the Resurrection, who crucified Christ, who believed in the pagan gods.

- 2) Immersed to various levels in a river of fire are those guilty of moral failure toward God and their fellow man. They are the adulterous men and women, the drunkards, slanderers, thieves; those who ate human flesh and those who swore false oaths.
- 3) Suspended by various parts of the body, namely, feet, hands, teeth and ears, and tortured by worms and serpents are the usurers, the deceitful slanderers, the gossipers, the clergy and their wives, who overstepped or transgressed the word of God, and were derelict in their duties and immoral in their lives. Included here are the readers of the church, whose conduct contradicts the texts they read; the priests, who celebrate the Divine Liturgy negligently; the priest's wife, who remarries soon after her husband's death; and the nuns, who are unfaithful to their vows.
- 4) In a burning river of hot tar and covered with evil darkness are the murderers, the Jews who crucified Christ, and the renegade Christians, who rejected God and His sacraments, especially the sacrament of baptism.
- 5) Lying on a cloud of fire and on fiery beds are those who wilfully disobeyed God. They are the loafers, who overslept matins and missed the Divine Liturgy on Sundays.

- 6) Burning on tables of fire were those who had no respect for the priests; who did not rise before them when they came from God's church.
- 7) Hanging from a burning iron tree and suspended by a sinful limb are those guilty of the sins of speech: blasphemy, malicious gossip and slander. They are the sowers of discord, who parted brother from brother, and husbands from wives.

Although this list does not exhaust the vocabulary of sin and retribution in Xoždienie, the sins presented fall into two distinct categories: lack of theological and Christian virtues, and failure of ecclesiastical observances. While the author has devoted much time and space to describing the sin and the sinner, the Mother of God characterizes them all as "poor, cursed and unworthy souls." "Что сътвористе, бѣдъници, окаяньни и недостойниѣ? Какъ вы сѣмо постигосте ся?" (KR 126) (What have you done you poor, cursed and unworthy people?" What has brought you here?) There was no answer to her question. "Не бы гласа отъ нихъ ни ответа" (KR 126). (There was no word or any answer from them.) One may wonder why the narrator raises this question if he does not intend to answer it. What development of action or characterization does he wish to emphasize? It seems that although no answer is given, the tone of the Mother of God's voice shapes the reader's view of the action and the characters. To the author of Xoždienie, a sinner is one who

has trespassed against the commandments of God, thereby placing himself outside the church and far away from God. The sinners are shown as real human beings with simplicity and earthiness, with failures and human weaknesses with which the reader can sympathize. They meet the Mother of God in a world that is both real and recognizable. Her duality of being (as the Mother of God and as an earthly being) is a unifying force in the narrative. She becomes involved with every character in the journey from the sinners, the guardian angels of hell, the heavenly powers, to God Himself.

While the work in scene two may appear to be constructed like a maze concealing the central revelatory message, if we examine the scheme of infernal torments in all the individual scenes of hell, we can discern a standard narrative pattern consisting of four distinct categories:

- 1) Class of sinners: adulterers, babblers, cannibals, drunkards, fornicators, merciless princes, sinful church officials, usurers, thieves, murderers, slanderers and law breakers.
- 2) Types of punishment: burning tar, darkness, fire, serpents and worms.
- 3) Degree of punishment: sinners immersed in a burning river to various depths, knees, waist, chest, hair, and up to the top of the head.

- 4) Sphere of punishment: burning river, lake, stream, cloud; fiery beds, tables, waves and iron trees.

Let us now examine in detail the nature of these images of sin, their form and, especially, their content.

(ii). Fiery Punishments

While hell is frequently thought of as subterranean, its abyss and bottomless pits are not a prominent feature of the Kievan Rus' text of Xoždienie. These features are introduced in the later variants of Xoždienie five centuries later. (See the 1747 Illja Bilaxevyč text.) Instead, the world of hell is rather an underground plain, a place of eternal darkness and desolation, a place given to undying and constantly gnawing worms, three-headed serpents and the fire of hell; a place of divine punishment. The principal torment of hell is fire, appearing in many episodes and in many variations as seen in the following examples: Led by the Cherubim and Seraphim, the angels bring the Mother of God to the south hell, where she sees a river of fire. "400 ангель ижеведоша Богородицю на полудне, иде же рѣка исхожаше огъна" (KR 126). (And the four hundred angels led the Mother of God to the south [hell] where a fiery river flowed.) There she saw a multitude of men and women, who stood in the burning river, some to their knees, some to their waist, some to their shoulders, and still others above their heads (KR 126). In

another place, the Mother of God saw a multitude of people lying on fiery tables tortured by fiery serpents. "И видѣ на дреузѣмъ мѣсть столы огньны, и на них множество народа" (KR 128). (And in another place she saw fiery tables, on which lay a multitude of people.) In yet another place she saw women hanging by their fingernails, and fire coming from their mouths. "И видѣ прѣсвятая жены висяща за вся ногти, и пламень исхожаше изъ усть ихъ" (KR 129). (And the Most Holy One saw women hanging by their fingernails and flames flowed from their lips.) In the North, she saw a multitude of people lying on a cloud of fire. "И обратиша ся херувими и серафими и 400 ангель, изведоша благодатьною на полоуночь И бысть облакъ огньнъ распротърѣтъ, посрѣдъ его одрове яко и пламень и огнь, на нихъ лежаше множество моужъ и женъ" (KR 127). (And then the Seraphim and Cherubim and the four hundred angels turned around and led the Blessed One to the North where there was a great flaming cloud spread out and in the midst were beds like flame and fire upon which lay a multitude of men and women.) In a fiery lake, where there was much weeping and gnashing of teeth, she saw the Christians. "Поїди, прѣсвятая, да ти покажю езеро огньню, да видиши, кде ся моучить родъ крестьяньскъ" (KR 131). (Let us go, O Most Holy One, and I will show you the lake of fire so that you can see where the Christians suffer.) The motif of a burning lake finds a parallel in Revelation (21:8): "But the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable murderers, and the whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolators, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with

fire and brimstone." Throughout the Bible, in both the Old and New Testament, fire is associated with retribution, cleansing and purification. Brimstone served as a punishment for Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:24). In Deuteronomy (32:22) we find: "For fire is kindled in mine anger and shall burn unto the lowest hell." In the New Testament, Mark (9:43) talks about a "fire that shall never be quenched." In Matthew (13:36), Jesus tells a parable of the burning of the tares. "As the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man will send His angels and they will gather out of His kingdom all causes of sin and evildoers and throw them into a furnace of fire" (Matthew 13:36).

Fire is the chief means of punishment in nearly all eschatological apocrypha. It is a common motif in the Revelation of Moses, the Apocalypse of Peter, Xoždenie Pavla po mukam and Slovo o svjatom Avraame from which the author drew some of his inspiration. In Xoždenie Pavla we find: "And I saw there a river of fire burning with heat, and in it was a multitude of men and women sunk up to the knees, and other men up to the navel; others, also up to the lips and still others up to the hair; and I asked the angel and said: "Lord, who are these in the river of fire?"²⁷ In Slovo o svjatom Avraame, Abraham saw the unrighteous as he travelled through the heavens viewing the sins of mankind on earth and called down judgment upon them. "Нехай испаде огонь, да испалит их!"³⁰ (Let fire fall and burn them.) While both

apocryphal texts show sufficient evidence to justify motif borrowing, there are no direct quotations to infer literary dependence. The presence of similar forms of fiery motifs in all three apocryphal texts indicate that there was a general dependence on the same poetic world of ideas, for similar themes may have required similar images. The same characteristic imagery or compositional patterns could be used in different contexts to carry the same eschatological message. The author of Xoždanie took from these "literary models" or "models of imitation"³¹ those elements which best served his purpose.

(iii). Hanging Punishments

Hanging by a sinful limb is a characteristic form of punishment in Xoždanie not only for verbal sins, but also for deeds and doctrines that did not harmonize with the teaching of the Church. "И видѣ попы висяща, от краи ногѣтии исхожаше огонь." "Си суть, иже образъ ангельски носятъ и апостольски на земли, Величаючи ся патриархи и епископи..." (KR 128-129). (And she saw priests hanging, with fire issuing from their fingernails. These are they who wear the mantle of angels and apostles on earth, who are glorified upon the earth by the names of patriarchs and bishops...) At this point, the author seems to be intent upon admonishing not only the ordinary sinners guilty of babbling and gossiping, but even those of the ecclesiastical hierarchy for their ungodliness and

impiety. This was evidently intended as a moral example to the reader of the perils of departing from the traditional medieval code of conduct. Viewed from another angle, the author wishes to convince his readers that ecclesiastics are also subject to human frailties and fall into the same temptation as do the laity and are punished just the same.³²

Xoždenie owes much of its hanging imagery to earlier apocryphal tradition. Suspension by various portions of the body, according to the nature of the crime, is a common feature of the Revelation of Moses, the Apocalypse of Peter and Xoždenie Pavla po mukam. In the Revelation of Moses we find: "Some of the sinners were hanging by their eyelids, some by their ears, some by their hands, and others by their tongues. And Moses asked the Lord of hell: "Why are these hanged by their eyes and by their tongues and are so fearfully tortured?"³³ In the Apocalypse of Peter we find a parallel description: "And they were hanging by their tongues and these were they who blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was laid fire flaming and tormenting them."³⁴ And in Xoždenie Pavla, "Paul saw men hanging by their eyebrows and by their hair."³⁵

Hanging punishments are not only characteristic of eschatological apocrypha, but are also a common feature of the Holy Scriptures. It seems probable that the author of Xoždenie was well aware of these images and drew upon them for his own purpose. For example: The baker, who was

Joseph's companion in prison, was hanged from a tree (Genesis 40:19). In Deuteronomy (21:22) we find: "And if a man be committed of a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, thou shalt hang him on a tree." Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus for thirty pieces of silver, went and hanged himself (Matthew 27:5). Hanging was a very degrading and painful form of punishment. Its aim was not only execution as public disgrace and humiliation, and was an appropriate form of punishment for the never ending torment of the eschaton. While hanging forms an eye for an eye punishment, it is never in itself a final form of punishment in Xoždienie. Hanging is often combined with other forms of punishments such as fire, worms and serpents. In the later versions of Xoždienie, particularly the 1747 Ukrainian version, hanging is also combined with stench, the worst of all tortures, and numerous swarming creatures such as worms, serpents, mice, lizards, wasps and ants.

(iv). Worms and Serpents

The torment of worms, symbolizing the eschatological plague of mankind, is also an attribute of Christian and pre-Christian hell, as is evident from the following Biblical quotation: "For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched" (Isaiah 66:24). In Mark (9:48), quoting from Isaiah, we find a similar description of "undying worms:" "Where their worm dieth not, and their fire,

is not quenched." The Biblical, poetic expression of "undying worms" has changed to the "never sleeping" or "never resting" worms in Хождение. "И оувидъ святая, людие на пламени огненемъ, и ядыше их червь неосыпающа" (KR 129). (And the Holy One saw people on fiery flames devoured by the never sleeping worms.) "И оувидъ святая Богородица мужа висяща за нозъ и чрвьѣ ядыхоу его" (KR 127). (And the Holy Mother of God saw a man hanging by his feet and the worms were devouring him.) Worms play a significant role in Хождение, for they are portrayed as creeping, crawling, indefatigable creatures, constantly gnawing and consuming and plaguing the sinners for all eternity. Worms are also associated with serpents, the embodiment of vice and temptation, and the spirit of disobedience. "И видъ женоу висящую по зобы, и различныя змя исхожаху из оустъ ея и ядыхоу тело ея" (KR 127). (And She [the Blessed One] saw a woman hanging by her teeth and various serpents issued forth from her mouth and devoured her body.) "И видъ пресвятая жены висяща за вся ногти, и пламень исхожаше изъ устъ ихъ и опалаше вся, а змя исхожаше изъ пламени того ..." (KR 129). And the Most Holy One saw women hanging by all their fingernails, and flames poured forth from their lips, and burned everything, and serpents came out of the those flames...) The fiery serpents described, metaphorically by the author convey the image of "burning" in an allusion to man's evil deeds, as stated in Isaiah (14:29), "and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent." "The serpent is no ordinary animal," says Jacques Guillet. "It is a hideous, crawling beast, cursed by God...."

It is a spirit, a spirit of jealousy, of laziness, of impurity, a wicked spirit of ungodliness."³⁴ The serpent is an image of the devil's power of temptation, a symbol used to represent evil men, a reality of the physical world with which the apocryphal writer was quite familiar from the Holy Scriptures. "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world" (Revelation 12:9).

(v). Psychological Torments

In addition to the physical torments which the sinners have to endure, there are also psychological ones. The sinners weep, lament, groan, and gnash their teeth. In some instances, they also reveal to us their intimate thoughts. One of the most striking psychological torments is the inability of the sinners to look upon the bliss of the blessed. Since hell represents the eternity of damnation, the author has placed it outside time and space. He has deprived the sinners of all sights and sounds that would give them their bearings in time and space. The sinners cry out to the Mother of God: "Благодатная, отъ вѣка нѣсмь свѣта видѣли, да не можемъ възрѣти горѣ" (KR 126). (O Virtuous One, we have not seen light for all eternity, and we cannot look up [that is, upon the face of the Mother of God].) The Mother of God bade the angels to dispel the darkness so that she could see the torments. This passage is both reminiscent

of and yet a departure from the parable of the rich man and the beggar Lazarus (Luke 16:19-26): "And the rich man in hell lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me.... And Abraham said... between us and you there is a great gulf fixed so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence." Abraham's final words echo archangel Michael's reply to the Mother of God in Xoždenie "Аще ся кто затворить въ тмѣ сех, нѣсть памяти о немъ отъ бора" (KR 131). (Once a man is imprisoned in this darkness, God has no more remembrance of him.) The difference between the parable and Xoždenie lies in the power of the seers. The intercession and charity of the Mother of God is superior to that of Abraham, Moses, and John the Baptist, who had all visited hell, but did not intercede for the Christians (KR 126).

The author seems to have a keen sensitivity to the medium of light and gives serious thought to the place where it should be used. He talks about sinners unable to see light, of the Mother of God dispelling the veil of darkness, of Christ being brighter than the seven suns (the brightness being an outward expression of His Holiness), of light shining upon the sinners, of angels rejoicing because the sinners can see light, and of darkness falling on the sinners

again. This elemental opposition between light, the creative force and darkness, the destructive force, is central to Xoždienie and all eschatological visions. It gives birth to two divine images, the lord of good and the lord of evil. The conceptual unity of this eschatological image can be better evaluated if we see it within the Biblical context. God uses cosmic colors of lightness and darkness to discipline his own people. In Isaiah (45:7) we find: "I will form light and create darkness; I will make peace and create evil." Darkness in this case represents woe, insecurity and alienation from God; whereas light represents peace and goodness. The imagery of lightness and darkness in Xoždienie's architecture is important, for this common Biblical motif is used repeatedly and effectively to strengthen the structure of the story, while the interplay of change from darkness to light intensifies the action of the drama and increases the sense of expectation.

(vi). The Sentencing of The Sinners

The author portrays the sinners not as individual characters, but as groups of sinners, who serve as an integral part of the structure and plot of the story. The attention is focused not on one soul, but on a "multitude of sinners," for sin is the fate of all mankind. No man stands alone as a member of a particular race or group, but as a

member of the Christian race, as expressed by the Mother of God, herself: "Къдѣ моучит ся родъ християньскій?" (KR 125) (Where do the Christians suffer?) The narrator's field of vision, like the movement of a camera, moves sequentially from one group of sinners to another, from one detail to another. This action is conveyed through the repetitive use of the aorist verbs "видѣ and увидѣ" (saw), punctuated by the conjunction "и" (and) to describe a sequence of completed actions. The movement is not arbitrary, for the narrator stands close to the sinners, identifying himself with their suffering. The continuous use of such quantitative adverbs as "многы" (many), "ови" (some), "множество" (multitude), and the pronouns "нихъ" (them), "нас, мы" (us), and the plural form of nouns and adjectival participles "народ" (people), "стола" (tables), "моучащася" (the suffering ones), "жены" (women), [on two occasions a single sinner is mentioned], indicates that all mankind has sinned and comes short of the glory of God. For example: "Паки паде тьма на нихъ" (KR 126) (And darkness fell upon them again); "Многы душа прѣбывають въ мѣстѣ томъ" (KR 125) (Many souls were in that place); "И видѣ на друзѣмъ мѣстѣ стола огньны, и на нихъ множество народа" (KR 128) (And in another place she saw tables of fire with a multitude of people on them); "Не бы гласа отъ нихъ ни отвѣта" (KR 126) (There was no word from them, neither was there any answer); "И моучащася рекоша къ неи" (KR 126) (And the suffering ones said to her); "Како мы еси прѣстѣла, прѣсвятая Богородице?" (KR 126) (How is it that you have visited us O Holy Mother of God?)

The sentence imposed upon the sinners is not absolute, but neither is there any evidence that judgment is preliminary. The use of the present tense, punctuated by the adverb "накы" (again), indicates that punishment is in progress and is continuing. For example: "Многы душа прѣбывають въ мѣсть томъ" (KR 125). (Many souls dwell in that place.) "Идѣже моучит ся родъ христіаньскій?" (KR 125) (Where do the Christians suffer?) The action of the events is increased by the author's frequent use of both the narrative past tense and the descriptive present tense (particularly, the repetitive use of the active participles), which like the adverb "накы" carries the connotation of continued action, yet, at the same time, a sense of timelessness and a feeling of eternal suffering and condemnation, which is central to S.B. Frost's description of the absolute character of the eschaton.²⁷ Some key examples are: "Видѣ прѣсвятая жены висящася за ногти, и пламени исхожаше изъ усть ихъ и опаляше вся" (KR 129) (The Most Holy One saw women hanging by their fingernails, and flames poured forth from their lips, and burned everything); "И оувидѣ святая древо желѣзно ... и бѣше тоу висящихъ множество моужь и женъ за языки" (KR 128). (And the Blessed One saw an iron tree and on it a multitude of men and women were hanging by their tongues.) The foregoing examples indicate a striking interplay between process and state involving adjectival participles rooted in verbs ("висящася" from "висѣти," "моучащася" from "моучитися," "плачущася" from "плакати") and such verbal forms as the imperfect tense ("исхожаше,"

"лежаше," "опалаше") and the occasional perfective verb "не можаше въздъхнути" (KR 128) (they cannot rest), bespeaking a change from action to condition. Hence, the past tense (imperfect) speaks of them, of events narrated, while the present tense speaks of us, of you and me. The present is rhetorical and suggests an authorial, or at least a narratorial presence with a persuasive aim in mind. By using the past and the present tense simultaneously, we are meant to distinguish between the whole of the text and the individual events narrated in the scene.

According to Uspensky, the use of alternating verbal forms, "the descriptive present tense and the narrative past tense takes on a special meaning, both linguistically and poetically." "The particular juxtaposition of verbal forms, the past and present tense, shows both a contrast in the tense and durative aspect of the verbs."³⁰ The use of the imperfective verbs in the present and past tense allows the reader to be in the very center of the action. For examples: "плачущи ся съ слъзми" (KR 126) (the ones who are crying); "на вѣки моучить ся" (KR 127) (he is suffering forever); "огонь текущи" (KR 129) (the flowing fire); "до пояса въ огни погруженій" (KR 126) (immersed to the waist in fire); "ядаше же ихъ червь неосыпая" (KR 129) (They were tormented by the never sleeping worms); "Да заоутрню не вѣстаетъ, нъ лѣнюще ся лежать яко мъртви, да за то ти моучать ся" (KR 127). (They do not get up for matins, but lay lazily in bed, as if dead, for this they now suffer.) The direct speech of the

characters is also conveyed by the use of the imperfective aspect and the future tense. "Кудѣ хочеша, благодатная да мидемъ" (KR 130) (Wherever you want to go Blessed One, we will go there); "Рече пресвятая: "При едином молитвѣ молю ти ся, да вьниду и азъ, да моучю ся съ крестьяны" (KR 131). (And the Most Holy one said: I beg of you this one request, let me enter so that I may suffer together with the Christians.) Thus, the aspect of the verb takes on a direct relationship. For the narrator, the action he is describing is in the past; for the reader, the action is in the present. Every time the present tense is used, the narrator's point of view coincides with the position of his characters. The author encounters the past and the present together in a single sphere of experience.

One may ask how the punished sinners in hell and their ordeals, which are either repetitious or extended in time, fit into this time and timeless scheme. The readers of Xoždienie are confronted with the peculiar life-like quality of the sinners. The wayward church officials hanging by a sinful limb are in a sense alive, because they are experiencing a painful sensation. Their ordeal implies a timeless rhythm of pain and the renewal of pain. While the reader is conscious of the allegorical nature of the event, he still reacts emotionally to the event as he would to a current event.

In a journey through the underworld the reader soon becomes aware that the "narrator's walking" has no final destination. There is no one spot inside the process where life may rest for a while. To stand in one place, or to dwell on one's sins in one scene, is to break the essential rhythm of the journey. No one point in the journey provides a summary of the actions. The author, like the traveller, must move on through time and space, from one category of sinners to another. Circling through the mirage of the underworld, man comes to understand himself. Walking in Xoždienie symbolizes a process of reconciliation, of unity between man and God. As the Mother of God views the suffering of the sinners, she weeps, sighs, rebukes, admonishes and, in the end, concludes by saying: "Тяжко согрѣшающимъ, лѣтъ бы было дабы ся не рахали" (KR 130). (They have sinned grievously; it would have been better had they not been born.) While there may be no place inside the process for the Mother of God to rest, there is one outside. This possibility is clearly evident in Archangel Michael's reply to the Holy One, when she asks to be allowed to enter and suffer together with the Christians. He answers, "Почиваи въ рай" (KR 131) (Rest in heaven). His reply to the Mother of God resolves the question raised by the author in scene one (how many sins are there), and, at the same time, reiterates another theme repeated throughout the vision that of God's mercy and forgiveness. For man, this unity between God and himself is one of the most important dimensions of Xoždienie. The journey of life becomes a process of

reconciliation with God. At this point of the journey the reader becomes aware of three different forms of eschatology: The Mother of God is shown the torments of hell; she sees the powers of God's judgment, and, finally, the "place of rest."

(vii). Geography of Hell

In portraying hell in Xoždienie, no attempt is ever made to specify any definite geographical location. There are no gates of hell opening or closing, as in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Hell is not presented as a firm foundation with walls and locks. Instead, hell is shown in a variety of representations, depending upon the dramatic necessities of the story. Hell is either "на полунощъ или на полудне" (KR 126) (to the north or to the south), "на вѣстокъ ли или на западъ" (KR 130) (to the east or to the west), "На десно ли или на лѣво, иде же соуть великия моуки" (KR 130) (to the right into paradise, or to the left, where there are the greatest torments). These shifts are important to the structure of the work, for they emphasize the great spaciousness of hell with its abundance of evil and vastness of terror.

In contrast to this vastness are the images of depth, narrowness and confinement which are brought out in such key passages as "Ангели изведоша пресвятую отъ вѣстокъ на лѣвою страну, и близъ рѣки тоя бѣше тѣма мрачна, и тоу лежаше

множество мужъ и женъ, и клочотахоу яко въ котль, и яко морскыя вълны и ображють ся надъ грѣшники: да егда вълны въсхожахоу и погружахоу грѣшники тысящу лактъ" (KR 130).

(The angels took the Most Holy one from the East to the left side near a river where there was deep darkness, and in the river was a multitude of men and women boiling as in a cauldron, and tossed about like the surging waves on the ocean. And when the great waves rose, they submerged the sinners in a thousand feet of water.) Hell in this example is depicted as deep and bottomless, without measure, full of raging and consuming fire and unutterable sorrow and shrouded in darkness as expressed in Job (11:8): "High as heaven and deep as hell" (a possible source of the author's inspiration). This juxtaposition of terms, from vastness to confinement, is not unusual, for the spaciousness of hell is to be interpreted literally, while the narrowness and the agitation metaphorically portray a sense of oppressiveness, cruelty and pain. This greatness of dimension, both literally and metaphorically, is a powerful cause of terror. At the same time, an important opposition is advanced here in the apocryphon. Confinement is equated with immobility, and immobility is equated with death. Here the external mobility of the angels and the seer is contrasted with the physical and inner immobility of the sinners, who are bound to a particular place and cannot change their state or their environment.

Thus, the description of sin and retribution shows that judgment after death bears a direct relation to human deeds performed during one's life, as revealed by the Mother of God herself: "По делом ихъ боуди тако" (KR 131). (As their deeds are, so be it.) These words represent a crucial Biblical citation as stated in Peter II (2:4): "For ... God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." The plot line of Xoždienie reveals that man's destiny is in the hands of God and no one can resist it. What God has created, He can also destroy in His anger with man.

While the images of hell do have "a positively repulsive force,"³⁷ the intimacy of the images, like the nature of sin itself, is an inherent part of the vision, revealing the many faces of evil. The pictures of hell are important therefore for they carry a double meaning, a meaning both descriptive and allegorical. Descriptively, the pictures provide an artistic framework of images of life on earth, invoking a mood of gloom and despair. In purely symbolic terms, they display all the qualities of a corrupt society, where order is destroyed and death and madness reign supreme. It is important to consider the parallel that is maintained between the descriptive and the spiritual conditions which the images symbolize. While the journey represents a human journey through life with religious significance, it can also be interpreted as a psychological journey of uncomprehending

terror, a pilgrimage of the soul. The vivid description of torture provides the motivation for an analysis of the psychological state of the individual, of his spiritual and moral failure, where hell is less a place and more a timeless state of the utter loss of God and His love. The whole judgment scene is a most subtle study in which we are made to feel the heinousness of sin, not as something merely ominous and dreadful, but as something intensely spiritual and, consequently, deeply tragic. Sin is a condition of dreadful estrangement from God. Man finds himself in sin and suffers its painful effects. The pain of loss of God is combined with the pain of a sense of actual physical torment.

(d). Scene Three - The Epilogue

Scene three is the epilogue of both the story and the entire human experience. The ascent of the Mother of God to heaven is the dramatic climax of the whole journey. The complete journey from the foot of the Mount of Olives to heaven represents the process whereby man begins to move towards what he himself can see as good. This vertical and dynamic concept represents the ascent of humanity from the depths of despair. As the angelic host of the seven heavens transports the Mother of God to the invisible throne of God, so, too, does the reader complete his scale of the depths and heights of human emotion. Through this progression of thoughts, the reader ascends with the Mother of God from the depths of hell to the region of supreme bliss, from the disobedience of man to the obedience of God and hence to salvation. Here one feels the movement from lowness to height, from narrowness to space and from darkness to light. Despair gives way to hope, sadness to joy. The transition is stark. The author moves quickly from the state of man's deep degradation and humiliation to the stage of high exaltation. It follows, then, that the upward movement becomes the structural invariant not only of the antithesis of good and evil, but also of the antithesis of movement and non-movement. Death, the cessation of all movement, is movement downward. Life, the resurrection of movement, is movement upward.

While the consequences of sin are overwhelming in their effects on the human condition, the apocryphal writer does not dwell too long on the misfortunes of the present. The present suffering must be seen within a much broader framework. Through the dramatic effects of contrast, the author draws an analogy between the two realms of human experience, the human and the divine. The human realm represents the reality of the lost souls, while the divine realm symbolizes spiritual and intellectual enlightenment, the conversion of the soul from the grief and misery of sin to the grace of God.

In heaven the deep sympathy for the sinners is set against the stern and impassive judgment of God. Here the Mother of God takes up the Biblical role of intercessor. Three times She implores God for mercy and three times she is refused. "Како хоцю тыя помиловати, а вижю гвоздизь въ дланьхъ сыноу моемоу? Да не имамаь како я тѣхъ помиловати" (KR 132). (How should I have mercy on them, seeing the nails in the palms of my Son's hands? I have no mercy toward them.) But the Mother of God insisted that she was praying not for the unbelieving Jews, but for the Christians, she beseeches God's mercy. "И рече пресвятая: "Владыко, не молю ся за невѣрныя жиды, нъ за крѣстьяны молю твое милосердіе" (KR 132). (And the Most Holy One said: "Lord, I do not pray for the unbelieving Jews, but for the Christians I beseech your mercy.) The Lord God refuses saying: "Азъ вижю, яко братия моя не помиловаша, до нѣсть ми како тѣхъ помиловати" (KR

132). (I see that they had no mercy on my brethren. How can I have mercy upon them?) Then with hands uplifted, the Holy Mother of God entreats first the help of Moses the lawgiver "къдѣ есть Моисей пророкъ" (KR 132) (Where is Moses the prophet?) and all the prophets "къдѣ ли соуть вси пророци и вы Отци, иже грѣха не твористе николи же?" (KR 132) (Where are all the prophets and you, Fathers, who have never sinned?) She then appeals to the Apostle Paul, God's beloved, "къдѣ ли Павелъ възлюбленикъ Божи?" (KR 132) (Where is Paul, God's beloved?), to John the Evangelist and all the Church Fathers, "къдѣ ли есть Иоаннь Богословъ? Къдѣ соуть служители престола?" (KR 133) (Where is John the Theologian? Where are the servants of the altar?) and to Michael and Gabriel, the archangels and the rest of the angels to pray for mercy of all the sinners without distinction. She even implores the help of "Sunday," the glory of the Christians, and the power of the "Holy Cross," which had delivered Adam and Eve from the curse. "къдѣ ли есть недѣла, похвала крестьянская?" Къдѣ ли есть сила чьстнаго креста, имъже Адама и Евъгоу отъ клятвы избави?" (KR 132) (Where is Sunday, the glory of the Christians? And where is the power of the Holy Cross which delivered Adam and Eve from the curse?) The veneration of Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection, and the fourth commandment of God was very important to the Eastern Orthodox Christians. This importance is made evident in the respite granted to the sinners in Xoždienie Pavla, where the sinners received rest from suffering on Sundays.

The drama of Xoždenie is increased by the actions of Michael the Archangel, the prophet Moses and the Apostle Paul who joined in with their pleas for mercy. Archangel Michael and all the angels exclaim: "Помилоуи Владыко грѣшныя" (KR 133). (Have mercy O Lord, upon the sinners.) Moses implored: "Помилоуи владыко, яко азъ законъ твой дахъ имъ" (KR 132). (Have mercy upon them, O Lord, for I gave them your law.) Paul the Apostle prayed: "Помилоуи владыко, како азъ еписистолия твоя принесохъ церквѣамъ" (KR 132). (Have mercy upon them, O Lord, for I carried thine epistle to the churches.) [In Tikhonravov's text we find: "Евангелие твоѣ проповѣдахъ имъ" (28). (I preached thy gospel to them.)] Three times they implored God for mercy, and three times their prayers proved fruitless. In each of the pleas, which resemble the pleading of Abraham with God to save Sodom and Gomorrah from destruction (Genesis 18:16-34), the narrator uses the present tense which makes possible the movement from God's refusal to His mercy. The present tense illustrates, too, God's justice and power in the present times. Then the Archangel Michael fell down on his face before the throne of God and prayed with all the heavenly powers and all the incorporeal spirits for the mercy of the sinners. "Тѣгда паде ся Михаилъ ницѣ лицѣмъ своимъ предѣ престолѣмъ, и вся силы небесныя и вся чини бесплѣтныхъ. И видѣ владыка мольбу свѣтлыхъ и оумилосърди ся" (KR 133). (Then Michael fell on his face to the ground before the throne, and so did all the heavenly powers and all the incorporeal spirits. And the Lord beheld the prayers of the saints and was merciful.) He

then bade Christ descend from the invisible throne to speak to the sinners. While the sinners may not have been worthy of forgiveness, Christ decrees that because of the pleas of the Mother of God, the prayers of Archangel Michael and all the saints and prophets, and because of the great goodness of God the sinners receive a reprieve from suffering from Holy Thursday (which terminates the Lenten cycle), to Holy Pentecost (from the Greek pentekoste, the fiftieth day after Easter). While the pleas for mercy began with the Mother of God, the angels, saints, prophets and the Church Fathers became as much participants in this earthly-heavenly drama as did the central characters themselves. The common participation of men and angels in heavenly prayer forms an example of earthly worship. This compositional device of bringing all the Biblical figures together in heaven, both theologically and visually, underlines a fundamental motif, the unity of one God and all of humanity. The writer has now transferred our attention from the Mother of God to the apocryphon as a whole, thus restoring a necessary narrative balance. The Mother of God no longer occupies the central position; it is now the spirit of God who acts through all the Biblical figures underlying the unity of one God and the unity of humanity. This constitutes the essence of the whole apocryphal work.

There is a logical connection between the descent of the Mother of God to hell in scene two and her ascent to heaven in scene three. First, the ascent signifies a suspension of

torment for fifty-two days. Second, it serves as a psychological contrast between the joys of heaven and the tribulation involved in the attainment of this joy. The author uses this transition to balance the miracles of salvation wrought by the descent into hell by turning our minds to the fulfillment of the work of salvation, just as Easter, the first Resurrection, was preceded by Christ's descent into hell, whose purpose was the ascent of the righteous. This is clearly stated in the closing lines of Хождение by Christ himself: "Да и въ адъ сънидохъ и врага своего попрахъ, избранья своя възкръсихъ" (KR 133). (I descended into hell and vanquished my enemy and resurrected my chosen ones from hell.) These concluding remarks serve as a closing formula for the narrator who shifts from third person narration to first person. This final transition from the internal to external position of the narrator signals the cessation of the narrative and coincides with the traditional opening in scene one. The voice of God, the first person narration, fuses with the voice of Jesus Christ, His Son, "the king of eternity," (KR 123) who did not participate earlier in the action, but who appears suddenly at the end of the narrative. The shift from dialogue to monologue is significant, for it not only concludes the narration, it also provides hope for all mankind.

There appears to be a deliberate tendency by the narrator to refrain from any direct description of God and His heavenly throne. As Christopher Rowland rightly points

out; "The fascination with the world above was clearly matched by a growing reluctance to speak about matters which were beyond the wit of man to comprehend."⁴⁰ The Father and His Throne are invisible to man, as indicated by the Holy Mother herself: "Молимъ ти ся, повели воинъству ангельскому, и възнесеть мя на высоту небесную, и поставите мя предъ невидимымъ отцемъ" (KR 131). (I beg you, order the angelic host the host of angels to carry me to the heights of heaven and place me before the invisible Father.) It follows, then, that while man cannot really see God or comprehend what He actually is, he can experience the presence of God through the mystery of His revelations. Heaven, then, becomes the invisible sphere as opposed to hell, the visible sphere of unimaginable horrors.

The theme of the Holy Mother's intercession on behalf of the sinners who wander lost in darkness and the obtaining of a temporary reprieve from torment is central to the author's religious faith and holds an important place in the internal structure of *Xoždienie*. The power of prayer and repentance, the intercession of the seer, and the compassion of God are the threads which bind the structure together. The motif of intercession is a manifestation of God's benevolent mercy. In the fixing of time for repentance, God grants to his people a final hour of grace. The extension of time is based on the merciful character of God. The sinners are redeemed, the plot resolved. It is in this timeless realm that the opposites of good and evil, light and darkness are

reconciled. To the readers, the Mother of God serves as a recognizable model of virtue.

The respite motif places strong emphasis on the feast day of Pentecost. Two themes are traditionally incorporated in this feast day, both sharing the same date. In the New Testament, Pentecost, which falls on the seventh Sunday after Easter, commemorates not only the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles, but also the influence of Christ's Resurrection and His Ascension, as well as the period (ten days) that Christ spent on Earth in spirit form. Pentecost also symbolizes the "completion of the work of the redemption, the fullness of grace for the church and its children, and the gift of faith for all nations."⁴¹ The Holy Mother of God is associated with the church and the whole season of Pentecost for in Acts (1:14), the apostle tells us how the little assembly in the Cenacle in Jerusalem lived on after the Ascension. The apostles returned to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives and in that upper room they "all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren." It was fitting that the Mother of God should be there in that upper room with the apostles, who were soon to be transfigured by the Holy Spirit, since she had been present at all the other mysteries the Nativity, the crucifixion and the Ascension.

In the Eastern Orthodox Church, Pentecost is one of the most important feast days of the liturgical year. The fifty day period between Easter and Pentecost is a joyful season without penance or fasting, as indicated by Abraham in the apocryphon Voprosy Ioanna Bogoslova Avraamu na Eleonskoj hori⁴² (The Questions of John the Theologian to Abraham on the Mount of Olives). "Хлѣбъ ангелскій яде человекъ, и пищею небесною питается. Грѣшныхъ душа отъ Пасхи до пянтикостной недели тогда свѣтъ видятъ, то такожде им пища ест" (Man eats the angelic bread and tastes of the heavenly food. The sinful souls see the light from Easter to Pentecost Sunday, and at that time also partake of food.) The feast day of Pentecost is also known as Trinity Sunday in the Eastern Orthodox Church. On this day, God pours forth the fullness of His Deity upon all those who are capable of receiving it by means of the Holy Spirit.

Although there is much pessimism and despair in Xoždienie, it is not a prevailing feature of the text nor of Kievan-Rus' Christianity generally. "Christian optimism is the main ideological feature of early Kievan Rus' literature," says Čiževskij.⁴³ The apocryphon begins and ends on a jubilant note, from "Rejoice the Holy Mother of God and Archangel Michael" to "Glory to Thy goodness." The words "Слава" (Glory) and "Радуйся" (Rejoice) are a joyful response, a liturgical chant of jubilation which is used frequently in the Eastern Orthodox liturgy. The author concludes Xoždienie with a prayer intended to raise the reader

metaphorically from his concrete surroundings into a world of spiritual bliss. "Слава милосърдию твоему! Слава отцю и сыноу и святому доуху нынѣ и присно и во веки векомъ. Аминь" (KR 134). (Glory to Thy mercy. Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, now and forever, unto ages of ages. Amen.)

(e). Stylistic Analysis

(i) Imagery - The Role of Nature

If we turn our attention to the language and imagery used by the apocryphal writer we realize that he made extensive use not only of literary tradition for his vision, but also of the language of myth and the characteristics of nature to give his ideas poetic expression and parabolic force. Like an icon painter, the apocryphal writer did not merely reproduce what he saw, but what he perceived. The transfer of the elements of nature into ecclesiastical contents was inevitable. It was not surprising that fire, darkness, pitch, and the omnipresent creatures, worms and serpents, would become the principal torments of hell, for these images could speak to the visual imagination more readily than any abstract images. They were part of the author's psychological characterization of hell. Mythological deities, on the other hand, became a metaphorical expression of nature. A striking example of

this is the worship of the Slavic pagan Gods who were personifications of natural forces. "То они все боги прозваша: Солнце и месяцъ, и землю и водоу, звери и гады, то сетьнее и чловчьска мена та оутрия Трояна, Велеса, Херса, Пероуна на боги обратиша бесомъ злымъ въроваша" (KR 125).

(They [sinners] called everything God, the sun and the moon, the earth and the water, the beasts and the serpents, and they changed Trojan, Xors, Veles, and Perun to Gods and believed in evil demons.) The reference to the Slavic pagan Gods in Xoždienie is significant for two reasons. First, it identifies the work as Kievan Rus', for this characteristic passage is not found in either the Greek, the 1468 Croatian or the fifteenth-century Serbian texts. It suggests the possibility of an East Slavic interpolation by the Kievan Rus' scribe and readily adopted by the Tolstoj scribe. Moreover, the Slavic pagan god Trojan, one of the most obscure of the mythological Gods, is mentioned four times in Slovo o polku Igoreve (The Igor Tale), an East Slavic work of approximately the same period, whereas, Xors, Veles, and Perun are mentioned in the Nestor Chronicle under the years 907, 971, and 980.⁴⁴ Gudzij maintains that the reference to the worshippers of the Slavic pagan gods is "an interpolation that did not get into the apocryphon on South Slavic, but on Russian soil."⁴⁵ If Gudzij's theory is correct, Xoždienie was either translated directly from Greek to Church Slavic on

East Slavic territory or is an East Slavic adaption of a lost, or as yet undiscovered South Slavic translation.

Хождение's internal linguistic evidence also points towards its alleged East Slavic origins. First, the word "Велес" (Veles) reflects the East Slavic pleophonic form "ele" as opposed to the Church Slavic non-pleophonic form "la" "Влас" "Власии" (Vlas, Vlasii), Bulgarian "Влас" "Власий" derived from either the Greek "Βλασιος" or Latin "Blasius." There is also a large number of spellings with a front or back jer preceeding the liquid, a characteristic feature of both the Old Church Slavic and East Slavic languages, for example, ("вълюбленикъ" (KR 129) (favourite), "върха" (KR 129) (top), "държаще" (KR 129) (holding), "вълны" (KR 130) (waves), "чървь" (KR 130) (worms), "търпѣти" (KR 132) (to endure), "зърна" (KR 131) (seeds). Obvious, too, are many examples of the use of the medial consonant "ж" rather than "жд" in such verbs as ("ражалъ" (KR 127) (born), "исхожаше" (KR 129) (flowed), which also suggest that the Greek apocryphon may have been translated to Church Slavic in Kievan Rus', a place where numerous other translations of Greek and South Slavic ecclesiastical literature were made from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. 46

(ii). Numerology

Xoždenie is laden with medieval numerical symbolism which represents either trinity, infinity, eternity or immortality. It is through this language of symbolism that the author seeks to describe the reality of the represented invisible world and to convey his theological message. For example, the numbers three, four, seven, twelve and their multiples are employed symbolically as images which do not define, but which imply the subject, and are a key to the construction of the apocryphon. Numerical symbolism was evidently a type of shorthand employed by the writer to describe not a physical reality, but a mystical one, a reality that was both inexpressible and invisible, and for which there was no adequate language. As Jacob Burckhardt points out: "The Middle Ages had the faculty of seeing abstractions, of investing them with physical attributes." "Every single factor used in the language of symbolism is meaningful, and every symbol adds a further dimension to the narrative."⁴⁷ A distinguishing feature of Xoždenie is the way in which the writer of the apocryphon succeeds in correlating these symbols in the composition. For example, seventy, a multiple of seven and a round number with a suggestion of unknown dimensions, is a common figure in the Revelation of Moses. In heaven Moses saw seventy thrones, and around each throne stood seventy angels."⁴⁸ In hell Moses saw each scorpion with 70,000 mouths and each mouth had 70,000 stings and each sting 70,000 vesicles."⁴⁹ Seven, on

the other hand, an indefinite number symbolizing completeness, the totality of time and events, keeps recurring in the apocryphon. We find, for example, the following expressions: "the heavenly host of angels from the seven heavens"(KR 131), "brighter than the seven suns"(KR 125), "the seven heavens of hell"(KR 125), "the angels praising God seven times a day and seven times a night (KR 131), and Pentecost falling on the seventh Sunday after Easter.

In Xoždienie Pavla po mukam everything is reckoned by sevens, too. There are the "seven suns," "seven seals," "seven flames" and "seven pains." In heaven the Apostle Paul saw a mysterious vision of an altar with seven eagles of light on the right and seven on the left.²⁰ In Slovo o svjatom Avraame, Isaac came to Abraham on the seventh hour of the night.²¹ The frequent use of the mystical virtues of seven in these apocryphal writings illustrates the number's reputation for mysterious power.

The number seven is a prevailing feature of the Holy Scriptures. Famine and plenty came in seven-year cycles in the New Testament. Pharaoh dreamed of seven lean cows devouring seven fat cows, of seven plump ears of grain and seven blighted ones (Genesis 41). A supreme example of the use of the number seven is God's creation of the world in seven days. The Book of Revelation in the New Testament is filled with groups of seven: stars, angels, plagues,

trumpets, seals and the wise and foolish virgins. Seven was also associated with vengeance and punishment in the Old Testament. "If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and seven fold" (Genesis 41).

Seven plays an important role in the symbolism of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The seven-altar candelabrum symbolizes the seven Holy sacraments, and seven gifts of the Holy Spirit of which Isaiah speaks in chapter eleven of the Holy Scripture. There are also the seven deadly sins and the seven corporal works of mercy.

Seven is also an important number in nature. It is linked with the moon and with the cycles and rhythms of life in the universe. For example, each of the four phases of the moon's cycle lasts seven days. There are also the seven colors of the rainbow and the seven seas of the world. Hence we can see how the number seven is regarded almost universally as being endowed with special significance.

The numbers three and four take on a concealed meaning in Xoždanie, with the sacred number three built into the structure of the vision. We find the three scenes, three realms, three characters, three requests, three refusals the three-headed serpents. The number four, the conception of totality and the number of perfection, also comes into prominence in Xoždanie. There are the four corners of hell, four directions, four hundred angels, and a man hanging by

all fours. Four is also the number of the earth bounded by the four cardinal points. Four symbolizes the four seasons of the year, four phases of the moon, the four winds and the four times of the day (morning, noon, evening and night). It also applies to the four ages of man (infancy, adolescence, maturity and old age). Everything in nature is made up the four elements: fire, air, water and earth. Great importance is attached to the number four in the Holy Scriptures. There are the four evangelists, and the four Gospels. Ezekiel (10:21) describes the Cherubims as "every one having four faces apiece, and every one four wings." Ezekiel beheld "the four wheels by the Cherubims ... they four had one likeness, as if a wheel had been in the midst of a wheel (10:9-10).

Forty, a round number, and a multiple of four symbolizes the forty days Jesus spent in the desert (Matthew: 4:2); the earthly sojourn of Jesus after the resurrection was forty days; Noah spent forty days in an ark, for it rained forty days and forty nights. Although forty does not appear in the Kievan Rus' text of Xoždenie, it takes on a special significance in the 1747 Ukrainian variant of Xoždenie, which will be discussed in chapter three. There the motif of forty is built into the structure of the apocryphon.

The numerical symbolism of Xoždenie plays an important role in the composition and cannot be effectively studied outside the Scriptures or Eastern Orthodox theology. The use of biblical words, images and allegories requires an

iconographic interpretation based on a familiarity with specific themes and concepts. Xoždenie constitutes a form of art in which nothing is accidental. The special relationship of space and time, of numerical, cosmic and color symbolism are all canonical elements of Eastern Orthodox theology. Hence, Xoždenie was not written in isolation, but in close relationship to the tradition of Christian Orthodoxy. If separated from it, the symbolism loses its meaning and becomes as Leonid Ouspensky remarks, "a series of sterile abstractions."⁵²

(iii). Emotionalism in Prayer

Another stylistic trait characteristic of Xoždenie is the emotionalism of prayer. While the motif of tears is missing from the Revelation of Moses, it is a highly developed feature of the Kievan Rus' apocryphal visions. "The grace of tears and deep emotional prayer is a symbol of a deep religious experience, a dominating ethical attribute of Christian humility," says George Fedotov. "It is a sign of inward contrition and a warm sincere prayer."⁵³ The effect of tears is to melt away sin, and from the joyous tears of the repentant sinner arises a new man. Through the spiritual turmoils of the Mother of God and the penitential tears of the sinners, the author of Xoždenie conveys to the reader the message of Christian repentance. In turn, we are affected by the humility of the Mother of God. We are moved

by her weeping, which is in sharp contrast to God's harsh punishment and a severe Providence. It is a gentle scene played against a sinful and unrepentant world. The Mother of God saw the suffering of the Christians and wept bitterly. "И видевши Богородица ангелы сѣрбными, оуныи грѣшникъ ради, ѿ възплака ся пресвятая" (KR 130). (And the Mother of God seeing the angels saddened and grieved because of the sinners, the Most Holy One began to weep.) She expresses a mystical desire to share the pains of the sinners. "Да въниду и азъ, да ся моучю съ крестъяны, понеже чада нарекоша ся сына моего." (KR 131). (Let me enter, too, that I may suffer together with the Christians, for they have called themselves the children of my Son.) The author portrays the Mother of God here not as a remote figure long ago elevated to the celestial regions, but as an active participant of human affairs. We see before us an image of a mother with natural human feelings, who suffers deeply the anguish of her children.

One of the unique features of Xoždanie is the complete absence of detailed physical characterization surrounding the two central characters. The reader has no idea what the seer or the angels look like. We do not know whether they are dressed or naked, ugly or beautiful, young or old; nor does it matter. We know only how they feel. Apocryphal writers were indifferent to the physical description of the characters. Instead, the author was interested in portraying the universality of human experience, the tale of every man.

Physical characterization was less important. Emphasis was on the psychological characterization, the portrayal of the inner state of man, his inner religious experience, which was conveyed through an external manifestation of feeling: weeping, sighing, praying. The author is concerned with characterization in action. He introduces the characters, shows them in action, and lets their actions speak for themselves. The author aimed at entering into the psychology of the central characters by exploring character and emotion through movement, action, and the language of love. We feel, for example, the movements of the Holy Mother's eyes and hands. How gently and tenderly the Holy Mother gestures with her hands raised to God, as if in benediction, or as a witness to the suffering of her children (the gesture of a single forearm raised is also that which accompanies the taking of an oath). The sorrowing Blessed One, suggestive of the suffering Holy Mother of God under the cross, raises her eyes to the angel, to the invisible throne of God as an expression of her infinite sadness and pity for the Christian race, and begs for mercy. "И прискъръбна бысть пресвѣтая Богородица и ко ангеломъ възведе очи свои, и възъръ на невидимыи престолю отця своего" (KR 125). "И възведе роуцъ свои къ благодатному сыну своему и рече: "Помилоуй владыко, грѣшныя, яко видѣхъ я и не могоу търпѣти, да ся моучю и азъ съ крестьяны" (KR 132). (And the Most Holy Mother of God, was saddened, and she raised her eyes to the angels and looked at the invisible throne of her Father; And she raised

her hands towards her Blessed Son and said: "Have mercy O, Lord upon the sinners, for I have seen them and I cannot endure it. Let me suffer together with the Christians.)

There is something very human, yet symbolic, about these movements, for the face and the eyes are the elements which best express the spiritual life of man. By concentrating on the eyes and hands; the author presents the depicted figures with some degree of realism, which helps the reader to identify with the images. "The symbolic representation of the eyes and the gestures of the hands has long been preserved in iconographic tradition," notes Boris Uspensky.³⁴ The motif of the Holy Mother of God with her hands uplifted is seen on all the icons of the Protection of the Holy Mother of God (Pokrova), emphasizing her role as the protectress and the mediator before God for the Church and for the whole world.

The author uses images of immense evocative power to express hope in the midst of despair, and joy in the midst of sorrow. We become conscious of the grief and sorrow of the Mother of God, and we grieve together with her. Her experience becomes an element of our experience. What is particularly significant in this technique of presentation is the contrast between the simplicity of her actions and the complexity of her powers. By expressing the actions of the Mother of God through movements of her eyes and hands, the author conveys to the readers the immense power of the spirit

of mediation and her function in redemption.

(iv). Language

The very nature of the contents of Xoždienie determines its style. The sentences are short and abrupt and the words lucid and simple. The simplicity of the syntax is a necessary feature of the author's monothematic delivery and moral severity of content. Indeed, one may say that the effectiveness and the highly moving emotional and dramatic nature of the work is due to the simple construction of sentences which are meant to have an immediate effect. The reader is thus caught up in the action of the drama which, like a short story, is condensed and compressed into a few short pages in order to bring out the richness of its contents. Dmitrij Ciževskij describes the Kievan Rus' literature of this period as the "period of stylistic simplicity," characterized by a monumentality of style.³³ The function of this style is to stir the reader's imagination by its language, making the vision psychologically plausible and the moral lesson as striking as possible.

Among the characteristic features of the style of this period is the frequent use of dialogue. In Xoždienie the revelatory dialogue between the two central characters, the angel (the supernatural revealer) and the seer, functions as

a structuring feature of the apocryphon. The didactic question and answer form, both Socratic and catechetical, performs the function of keeping the narrative line moving. Since the journey takes on the form of a guided tour, the dialogue forms part of the revelatory process, itself representing the reactions of the Mother of God to the punishments of God and the gradual disclosure of the saving mercy of God.

Another stylistic feature of Хождение and a characteristic motif of visionary guided tours in general is the regular use of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. The narrator uses them at least fourteen times in Хождение. For example: "Кто си суть?" (KR 127) (Who are they?), "что ли грехъ сътворишь" (KR 127) (What sins have they committed?), "Си соуть иже не вероваша в отца и сына" (KR 125) (These are they who did not believe in the Father and in the Son), "Да быхъ видѣла сию моюку" (KR 125). (So that I can see this torment.) Martha Himmelfarb, in her discussion of Tours of Hell, claims, "the presence of demonstrative questions and explanations is not particularly surprising. After all, "What (or who) is this?" is the most natural of questions in a strange setting, and real life tours are full of explanations that begin with demonstrative pronouns reinforced by pointing figures.³⁶ While demonstratives appear within the direct speech of the central characters of Хождение, they do not belong to the speech characteristics of either the seer or the angel. Rather, they demonstrate what Boris Uspensky says, "the evaluative position of the

author."⁵⁷ While demonstratives enliven the narrative and add dramatic quality to the story, at the same time they are used in conjunction with two other grammatical categories, the present tense and third person plural, to describe the timeless plight of the sinners utterly lost in a realm that never changes. As the Mother of God and the angel journey through the infernal regions of obscurity, darkness, uncertainty and confusion, the role of the mobile characters contrasts with the immobility of the sinners, who are bound to a particular place and cannot change either their state or their environment.

Another striking, characterizing feature of this style is the recurrent use of imperative verbs to introduce concrete action. Scene one opens with the Mother of God requesting Archangel Michael to make known to her all the things that are upon the earth. "Исповѣжь ми, яже суть на земли всяческая" (KR 125). Archangel Michael does not hesitate. His response is one of obedience. "Якоже речеши, благодатная, азъ всяческая тебѣ исповѣмъ" (KR 125). (As you say, O Gracious One. I shall tell you all the things.) The phrase "Исповѣжь ми" (tell me) is significant, because it marks the transition from rhetorical prayer verse to the actual narrative. Having introduced the central characters in the opening paragraph, the narrator now prepares the way for the first episode involving the actions of these characters. The use of the imperative verbs "исповѣжь" and "исповѣмъ" derived from the verb "исповѣдати," with the

prefix "ис" suggests a kind of a "pouring out," which is in keeping with the theme of the revelation. Similarly, the prefixed imperative verb "изидемъ" (let us go), derived from the perfective verb "изити," together with the conjunction "да," conveys a desire or a request to see all the torments of hell. "Изидемъ, да походимъ, да видимъ вся мoуки" (KR 127). (Let us go from here, and go to see all the torments.) Other key examples of imperative verb forms used by the author are: "Радоуй ся" (KR 124) (Rejoice), "Поведи мя, да вижу вся мoуки" (KR 130) (Take me and show me all the torments), "Господи помилуй ны" (KR 130-131) (Lord have mercy upon us), "Помилуй Владыко, грѣшныя" (KR 132) (Lord have mercy upon the sinners), "Слышите вси" (KR 133) (Listen everyone), "Пресвятая, Богородице помози ми" (KR 132) (O Most Holy Mother of God, help me).

The concreteness of the action is also introduced by such words as: "теперь" (KR 133) (now), "нынѣ" (KR 133) (today), "вотъ именно" (KR 125) (truly), "тогда" (KR 125) (then), "да того ради мучать ся" (KR 129) (for this they suffer). The time between incidents is not important. The events move along with almost no lapse of time. In each case, a simple "then," "now" or "today" describes the passage of time.

Superlatives are also a common stylistic feature of Хожденіе and of the Eastern Orthodox prayers as a whole. Superlatives are predominately applied to the Holy Trinity

("пре́святая" (The Most Holy), the Saints ("преподобный" (the Most Righteous), the Blessed Virgin "пре́святая" (the Most Holy) "пречистая" (the most pure) or the Divine Wisdom "премудрый" (the Most Wise). Adjectival prefixes "про," and "пре," traditionally possess emotional overtones of awe, and are placed in successive phrases to create a rhythmic and alliterative effect. For example: "превы́шная все́х у престо́ла Бо́жия" (KR 124) (The highest of all at God's throne), "Все́я а́нгели просла́вшаго" (KR 124) (The most glorified of angels).

The author makes use of both the nominal and pronominal adjectives to convey definite and indefinite attributes. Nominal adjectives are usually used to describe concrete objects of a temporary nature, for example: "сто́лы огньны" (KR 128) (fiery tables), "оуды желе́зны" (KR 128) (iron hooks). Pronominal adjectives are used to convey an abstract meaning, or to describe objects of a more permanent nature, such as "вели́кыхъ моу́къ" (KR 130) (great torments), "живо́тъ вѣ́чныи" (KR 133) (eternal life), "си́лы небе́сныя" (KR 133) (heavenly forces), "неви́димыи престо́ль" (KR 128) (the invisible throne), "сы́нь твои́ благода́тныи" (KR 126) (your Blessed Son).

The mood of Хо́ждение is solemn and evangelical, yet at the same time, expressive, rhetorical and emotional, characteristic of Kievan Rus' ecclesiastical literature, in particular the sermons of Ilarion. The stress is on

compassion and repentance. The images and moods run the gamut from anger, terror, rebuke and admonishment, to sympathy and compassion. The author relates the punishments meted out to those who suffer in hell with the practical moral purpose of wishing to correct such worldly vices as adultery, avarice, sloth and ungodliness that he saw practised in the world. He reveals the need for repentance through the use of such phrases as "О лють грѣшникомъ; Тѣмъ согрѣшающимъ" (KR 130) (Woe unto you sinners!. You have sinned grievously); "О лють грѣшникомъ, яко неусыпаемыи есть пламя огня сего" (KR 131) (O evil sinners, for the flame of this fire never ceases). Other words and phrases carry with them an urgent eschatological expectation, a belief in the supernatural revealing the author's sympathy for mankind. The sinners cry out: "Помилуй ны правдыи судии! Господи помилуй ны" (130). (Have mercy upon us, O righteous judge. Lord have mercy upon us.)

(v). Prayer Verse

Although Хождение is written in prose with no apparent recourse to any form of metric poetry, one detects, nonetheless, a highly expressive rhythmic prose style. One feels in the language of the prayers a certain melody and rhythmical movement which seems to be patterned after the language of the Eastern Orthodox liturgical hymns and prayers which offer praise to God. The opening visionary prayers of

the central characters of Xoždenie contain formal and conceptual patterns reflecting what Kirill Taranovskij describes as "prayer verse" ("kondakarnyi" or "molitvoslovnyi stix"), "a free unsyllabic verse of a whole series of church hymns and chants, reflecting a definite rhythmic structure of the Acathistus (Akafist)." For example, in the opening scene of Xoždenie, the Archangel Michael descends from heaven with the four hundred angels, kisses the Mother of God and greets her with the traditional prayer of glorification:

Радуйся отчее исполненіе
 Радуйся сыновне пребываніе
 Радуйся святаго духа похвало
 Радуйся Христове утверждєніе
 Радуйся Давидово прореченіе
 Радуйся святое поклоненіе
 Радуйся пророческое проповѣданіе
 Радуйся превышная всѣхъ у престола Божія"
 (KR 124).

(Rejoice, O Lord's fulfillment! Rejoice, the coming of the Son! Rejoice, O praise of the Holy Spirit! Rejoice, Christ's affirmation! Rejoice, O David's prophecy! Rejoice, O Holy Worshipper! Rejoice, [you whom] the prophets preaching foretold! Rejoice, the highest among all who stand before God's throne!)

The Mother of God responds with similar praise for the "six-winged" glory:

Радуйся и ты архистратиге,
 Радуйся Михаиле первый воинства, святаго духа повеленіе.
 Радуйся архистратиге, шестокрильству похвала.
 Радуйся Михаиле, архистратиге, мучителемъ поспраніе,
 а престола владыки достойно, стоиши
 Радуйся Михаиле, просвѣщенія никакоже угасая
 Радуйся архистратиге, первый воине
 Хста вострубити и убудити отъ вѣка умершая
 Радуйся Михаиле, первый всемъ небеснымъ силамъ (KR
 124).

(Rejoice, and you O Archistrategos! Rejoice, O Michael, the first leader of all warriors, and command of the Holy Spirit! Rejoice, O Archistrategos, six-winged glory! Rejoice, O Michael Archistrategos, overthrower of tyrants and worthy to stand at the Lord's throne! Rejoice, O Michael, the eternal enlightener! Rejoice, O Archistrategos, leader of all warriors who shall sound the trumpet and wake the dead from eternity! Rejoice, O Michael, the highest of all the heavenly host)

As we can see from the above two prayers of glorification, Xoždene opens in a joyous and hopeful mood. Since Xoždene was meant to be used for worship during Great Lent, prayer verse functions in the opening scene as a sort

of traditional opening, a musical prelude to help prepare for worship. The dramatis personae are introduced and all the elements of their nature are revealed to the reader in terms of the narrator's point of view. We are presented with the functions and qualities of the angelus interpres and the Mother of God. We are made aware of their position in the heavenly hierarchy. Prayer verse takes on a special significance in Xoždienie, for it forms what Boris Uspenskiĭ refers to as "a natural frame" signalling the beginning of action.²⁷ Prayer verse sets the tone, giving the reader some indication of the problems or conflicts that the apocryphon will explore. Prayer verse also enables the reader to participate actively with all the senses within a framework that encompasses form and content, language and music, and, at the same time, generates a special atmosphere of exaltation, that universal responsiveness commonly referred to in Ukrainian as "cerkovnist'" (spirituality). The spiritual beauty of prayer verse is achieved by combining two grammatical categories: the impersonal form of the reflexive imperative verb and the vocative case. The successive repetition of the imperative verb "радуйся" (eight times in prayer one and seven times in prayer two) patterned after the New Testament Beatitudes, and the use of seven vocative forms in prayer two, emphasize both the content and the rhythm of the prayer and sets the mood of Christian hope and rejoicing.

The rhythm of the prayers is also achieved through the use of such stylistic devices as the harmony of sounds within

words, and the liberal use of the bilabial consonant "п" (первыи, повеленію, похвала, попранию, престолу, просвещенія, прославльшаго, пророческое, проповеданіе, превышная престола). There is a primary tendency to begin each musical phrase with the word "радуйся," which functions as the anaphora, the most dramatic form of repetition. The anaphora's function in the apocryphon is both emphatic and emotional, producing a solemn prayer-like rhythm which elicits a devotional response. What is particularly noteworthy about the prayer verse is the syntactic inversion of the verb before the noun (or noun phrase), allowing the imperative verb to function as a subject and attract the logical stress and the rising intonation on the first syllable, while the noun (or noun phrase) functions as a predicate. These lyrical intonations or "imploring appeals" to the two most highly revered Biblical figures reflect the state of the worshipper's soul. The grandeur of the language of the antiphonal prayers and the perfection of its poetic form are in every way equal to the apocryphon's solemn and yet awesome theme, which was intended to make the audience more receptive to the message of the work.

It seems quite plausible that the highly developed stylistic pattern of prayer verse found in Xoždienie was indeed modelled, as Kirill Taranovskij suggests, "after the Acatnistus" (Акаѳист), the Eastern Orthodox hymns of praise to Jesus Christ, the Mother of God and Holy Saints. If we compare Xoždienie's antiphonal prayers of glorification, so

steeped in the tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church, with one Ukrainian Church Slavic hymn of praise to the Mother of God sung at the Holy Saturday Matins, we are struck by the parallelism of the two forms. For example:

Радуйся, молчаніє просящихъ вѣро
 Радуйся, чудесъ хрїстовыхъ начало
 Радуйся, вельній его главизно
 Радуйся, лѣствице небесная, сюже сниде Богъ
 Радуйся, мосте прѣсвѣдѣй сущихъ отъ земли на небо
 Радуйся, аггеловъ многословущее чудо...."60

(Rejoice, assurance of those who pray in silence! Rejoice, prelude of Christ's miracles! Rejoice crown of His dogmas! Rejoice, heavenly ladder by which God came down! Rejoice, bridge that conveys us from earth to heaven! Rejoice, wonder of angels!)

Both prayers exhibit not only the same compositional style, but also reflect an oral style of composition, which presumably belonged to the Kievan Rus' monastic tradition. Of this tradition, which was preserved and transmitted orally, the author of Хождение certainly had a direct knowledge.

If we compare all the prayers found in Хождение, namely the two opening prayers of glorification, "Радуйся архистратихе, радуйся," the trisagion hymn "Святъ, святъ, святъ," the final thanksgiving prayer "Слава милосердию

твоому," and the litanies invoking mercy, "Господи помилуй
 ны," we are aware of an astonishing degree of uniformity,
 suggestive of the melodic chanting compositions of the
 Eastern liturgical prayers and hymns. All prayers reveal an
 underlying melody, simple in form, brief and uncomplicated,
 with an aura of spiritual beauty which was dependent upon a
 highly developed Kievan Rus' stylistic tradition that formed
 the spirit of these prayers.

(vi). The Isocolic Principle in Xoždenie

While acknowledging Taranovskyj's contribution to the study of verbal poetics in Old Russian prose, Riccardo Picchio takes a different view of the formal structure of such early Kievan Rus' works as Xoždenie. In looking for specific features peculiar to the verbal structure of Old Russian literature, Picchio discovered the "isocolic principle" (a recurrent poetic stylistic device characteristic of rhythmic prose, but not by itself constituting a means of converting prose into verse proper).⁴¹ According to Picchio, the "isocolic principle" is fairly recognizable in Xoždenie. Breaking down the prose text of Xoždenie into recurrent accentual units (cola) of three to five stressed syllables, Picchio achieves a clear rhythmization of certain passages of the prose text. He illustrates his approach using the following example:⁴²

5 / И видѣ / на друзѣмъ / мѣстѣ / тѣму / великоу / *
 3 / и рече / святая / богородица /
 5 / что есть / тѣма сѣи / и кто соуть / пребывающѣи / въ
 ней? /
 3 / и рече / архи / стратигъ /
 5 / многи / душа / пребываютъ / въ мѣстѣ / томъ ... /
 (KR 125).

5 / И видѣ / другія / жены / во огни / лежаща /
 4 / и различныя / змїя / ядаху / ихъ /
 5 / и рече / святая: / что / согрѣшенїе / ихъ? /
 4 / и отвѣща / Михайль: / то соуть монастыря /
 черницы /
 5 / яже / телѣса / своя / продаша / на блудъ /
 4 / да того / ради / эдѣ / моучат ся / (KR 129).

(And she saw in another place a great darkness, and the Holy Mother of God said: "What is in this darkness and who are they that dwell therein?" And the Archistrategos said: "Many souls are in this place." And the Mother of God saw other women who were lying in flames, and various serpents devoured them. And the Holy One asked: "What is their sin?" And Michael answered: "They are the nuns of a monastery, who sold their bodies for lechery. For this they now suffer here.)

*Virgules (/...../) indicate each stressed segment.

"By organizing the exposition into a series or alternant series of sentences with an equal number of stresses," maintains Picchio, "... helps the reader to grasp a general meaning stretching beyond a sentence or set of sentences."⁴³ While the isocolic sequences characterize a lofty style peculiar to apocryphal literature with each of the stresses acting as a kind of rhythmico-logical response, the sequences function as a carrying structure of the apocryphon. "The repetition of equal accentual units, their combination in varied word weavings, and, above all, the coincidence of rhythmic and logical pauses, make us believe," argues Picchio, "that this was intended to help the reading aloud of texts."⁴⁴

If we read these lines aloud, as Picchio convincingly demonstrates, observing all the pauses of the voice indicated by the rhythmical sequences, we cannot fail to recognize that the four and five stress sequences are for the most part used to mark the description of the functionaries, whereas the two and three stress sequences seem to be used to mark off the narrating voice. This poetic narrative technique creates for the reader a set of easily visualizable scenes, which, because of their imaginative power, evoke a heightened feeling. One cannot remain insensitive to the dramatic dialogue between the angel and the seer, or to the moving description of suffering sinners. We see here, as did Dostoevskij, not individual sinners, but the whole problem of evil and human suffering. The adherence of Xoždenie to the

isocolic principle also provides internal clues to the syntactic structure of the text. Besides offering a rhythmic-syntactic pattern that displays the text's organized prose, the isocolic distribution also helps the reader to recognize other stylistic devices such as cadences and rhetorical repetition within a single rhetorical interrogative sentence as illustrated in the following examples:

5 / како / ны / еси присѣтила, / святая / Богородице. /
 3 / ны / сынъ твой / благодатный /
 5 / на землю / приходи / и / не въпроси / насъ. /
 3 / то / ни Авраамъ / прадѣдъ. /
 4 / ни Моисѣи / пророкъ / ни Иоанъ / креститель, /
 4 / то / ни Апостоль / Павелъ / вълюбленникъ Божій, /
 5 / но ты / пресвятая / Богородице / и / заступнице /
 4 / ты / еси родоу / крѣстьяньскоу / стѣна, /
 3 / ты / молиши / Бога, /
 4 / како / еси насъ / приситила / бѣдныхъ? / (KR 126).

(How is it that you have visited us, O Holy Mother of God. Your gracious Son came upon the Earth and did not ask for us. Nor Abraham the forefather, nor Moses the prophet, nor John the Baptist, nor Paul the Apostle, the Lord's beloved. But you, O Most Holy Mother of God the intercessor and the protector of the Christian race. You pray to God [for us]. How is it that you have visited us, the poor ones?)

In this example, the isocolic reading follows a basis of five-four or five-three accentual units or their combinations. The word "како" (how) at the beginning of the first and last cola acts as a border signal which marks the introduction and end of the rhetorical question. The functional individuality of the negated particles "ни ... ни," "то ни ... то ни," "не ... ни" in the preceding example, is one of rhythm and contrast. The author has grouped them in pairs, using falling intonation to add rhythm to the narrative and demonstrate the totality of contrast which fits in with the whole structure of contrasts in the work. For example, "Ни Авраамъ прадѣдъ, ни Моисей пророкъ, ни Иоаннъ креститель, то ни апостоль Павелъ" (KR 126) negate the actions of the Biblical figures, whereas, the repetition of the anaphora "но ты ... ты" reinforces the role and function of the Mother of God.

The conceptual unity of the following passage can be fully evaluated if we divide four simple rhetorical questions, governed by the anaphora "къдѣ ли есть" (where is) repeated five times, into eight, simple syntactic units:

З / къдѣ есть / Моисѣи / пророкъ, /

З / къдѣ ли / соуть / вси пророци /

З / и / вы / отци, /

З / иже грѣха / не твористе / николи же? /

З / къдѣ ли / Павелъ / възлюбленникъ Божии? /

З / къдѣ ли / есть недѣла, / похвала крестьянская? /

З / къдѣ ли / есть сила / четьнаго креста, /
 З / иъже / Адама и Евъгоу / отъ клятвы избави? /
 (KR 132)

(Where is Moses the prophet; Where are all the prophets and you Fathers, who have never sinned? Where is Apostle Paul, the Lord's beloved? Where is Sunday, the praise of the Christians? Where is the power of the Holy Cross, which delivered Adam and Eve from the curse?)

Picchio's isocolic principle has much obvious merit. When the text's segmentation is marked off according to the isocolic stresses, interpretation and analysis becomes much easier. There is no doubt that what we are dealing with here is a highly poetic, artistically formed rhythmic prose style, but one which in no way qualifies as traditional poetry. Xoždienie may be considered a perfect example of a combination of two prosodic techniques, the prayer verse and the isocolic principle, the presence of which places Xoždienie within the literary norms of Medieval Eastern Orthodox tradition. For as Picchio has demonstrated in his article, the isocolic principle was not only a feature of Xoždienie, but of many other Kievan Rus' works such as the Igor Tale, Ilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace, the Supplication of Daniil, the Nestor Chronicle, Nestor's Life of Theodosius, and Vladimir Monomax's Instructions.⁶⁵

It is apparent that the more deeply we become acquainted with the language and the prosodic structure of Xoʒdenie, the more clearly we can see that its poetic structure was dependent not only upon the rich rhetorical monastic tradition of Kievan Rus', but also upon the "Byzantine poetics" which formed the spirit of this work.

CHAPTER THREE

The Later Forms of Xoždanie in Orthodox Slavdom

The Texts

In the preceding chapter I analyzed the structural features of the oldest surviving Church Slavic text of Xoždanie. In this chapter I will use the information accumulated to show the evolution of the apocryphon through a comparative analysis of the contents and structure of its later versions. Information about the different versions including bibliographical sources for each text is provided in chapter one.

The later forms of Xoždanie (from the fifteenth century onward) show a gradual process of modernization and editorial revision. Some of the texts have been divided into sections of torments. In others dialogue in prose passages has been divided into paragraphs. Orthography has been slowly unified and standardized. Also evident is an increasing number of phonetical and grammatical changes. Often, there are morphological innovations, such as the replacement of the imperfect and aorist tense with the category of aspect. The tendency to present the thematic material in a form attractive to the reader is ever obvious. At the same time, however, there is a strong archaizing

influence, which was adopted purposely, by different copyists to varying degrees.

The different versions of Xoždenie, in spite of their general unity and didactic tone, vary as to their content. As Xoždenie took root in different locales, it gradually began to take on linguistic and literary traits peculiar to each region. At first the differences were phonetic (see Tolstoj manuscript), later the differences became morphological (see 1604 Myxajlovs'kyj text), still later the differences became lexical and textual. Some texts became longer, amplified by the materials drawn from many sources and developed according to the special needs and interpretation of the scribe. A prime example is the 1747 Ukrainian Church Slavic version of Xoždenie, which had increased the length of the text from eight to eighteen pages. Other versions became more simplified through omission of repetitive, stereotyped passages, such as the nineteenth-century Ukrainian Church Slavic texts of Kuzykevič and Biljavs'kyj, which omitted features from the introductory section. Other texts were only superficially modified (such as the 1602 Tolstoj manuscript), while still others reduced Xoždenie to a one-page legend (the Efimenko tale). Nevertheless, all of these texts seem to stem from the same source, the Kievan Rus' prototype. As the apocryphon was copied and recopied, it was subjected to many variations by individual copyists. Each scribe added his own stylistic peculiarities. In the process, some lost the main idea of

mercy and forgiveness; others lost their tone of "sacredness" ("нема тиї сьвятости," says Ivan Franko)² in dwelling too much on the demonic. Still others lost the rhythmically organized prose and the poetic quality of the text.

I will now summarize briefly the contents of each of the texts and evaluate their textual changes. The textual tradition which I want to examine is that which Picchio describes as "a series of different texts which belong to the history of the same work, insofar as they contain a certain amount of common textual material." But, cautions Picchio, "if one did not establish and properly evaluate the features of each text, a crucial point of reference in our historical perception would be lost. How would one determine to what extent individual texts were subjected to textual alternations characteristic of the open tradition?"²

A necessary step in attempting a study of the history of the transmission of Xoždanie and in facilitating a discussion of textual variations is to arrange the extant manuscripts into two textual groups: East and South Slavic sources. In addition to applying linguistic and literary criteria to determine the developmental changes of the apocryphon, it is also necessary to analyze the objectives of the individual transmitters (copyists) of the material. What needs were met by Christians copying and recopying the apocryphon? Did the different variants of Xoždanie have different functions for

their users? Since little or no information is available on this issue, our conclusions may only be speculative.

(a). Xoždenie in East Slavic Sources

(i). Russian

- 1) The Tolstoj manuscript, dated 1602, published by A. Pypin in Ložnyja i otrečennija knigi russkoj stariny (1862) 118-124. Reprinted by Nikolaj Gudzij in Xrestomatija po drevnej russkoj literature XI-XVII vekov (Moscow, 1952) 92-98.

Preserved in the Tolstoj sbornik of 1602, section II, no. 229, this Russian Church Slavic text is a word-for-word copy of the Kievan Rus' original as indicated by the scribe's footnote.² Unfortunately, Pypin does not provide us with any information on the travels of this manuscript or the contents of its collection, except to say that the text of Xoždenie appears on pages 45-57 of the Tolstoj collection. The Tolstoj manuscript is a complete text containing the two introductory antiphonal prayers of the Mother of God and Archangel Michael, which are not included in the Tixonravov text or the subsequent Russian texts. While the scribe did not introduce any substantive alterations, we do notice a gradual penetration of many East Slavic linguistic features.

The nasals, for example, have disappeared. There is evidence of full vocalization of the jers in the strong position which is consistent throughout the text. (For example: "хърса" to "хорса" (Tol. 119), "мракъмь" to "мракомь" (Tol. 119), "сълнце" to "солнце" (Tol. 119), "съ слъзами" to "со слезами" (Tol. 119).) We see evidence of the East Slavic velar combinations "ки," "хи," "ги," instead of the Church Slavic "кы," "хы," and "гы," as seen in the Kievan Rus' manuscript. (For example: "многы" becomes "многи" (Tol. 119), "богы" becomes "боги" (Tol. 119), "пакы" becomes "паки" (Tol. 120), "въкы" becomes "въки" (Tol. 120), "моуки" becomes "муки" (Tol. 120).) The Church Slavic adjectival inflexion "аго" ("святаго духа, (the Holy Spirit) "невидимаго престола" (the invisible throne), necessary for conveying the solemn nature of the apocryphon, has been retained, as opposed to the East Slavic form "ого." The vocative case of the Church Slavic language has also been retained. ("Радуйся Михаиле архистратихе" (Tol. 118) (Rejoice, O Michael Archistrategos). The reflexive particle "ся" is joined to the verb as in "радуйся" (Tol. 118) (Rejoice), "помолитися" (Tol. 118) (to pray), "явится" (Tol. 118) (to appear). The Church Slavic morphological peculiarities, such as the imperfect tense, has also been retained; ("исхожаше" (Tol. 120) (flowed), "имаше" (Tol. 120) (had), "ядяше" (Tol. 121) (ate), "въроваше" (Tol. 119) (believed), "хожаше" (Tol. 120) (walked), "лежаше" (Tol. 122) (laid), "можаше" (Tol. 120) (able), "продаваше" (Tol. 121) (sold)). The text shows an occasional change of prepositions: (from "по зубы" (KR 127) to "за зубъ" (Tol.

120) (by the teeth)). It appears the scribe was imposing his own language on the text he was copying for purposes of easy communication. He seems to be following his own rules for spelling which reflect the system of spelling of the sixteenth century. Thus the Tolstoj manuscript, written four hundred years after the Kievan reflects those phonetical and morphological changes which were taking place in the languages of Eastern Slavdom from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

Apart from the grammatical changes introduced by the particular scribes, there is only one substantive difference between the Kievan Rus' and the Tolstoj manuscripts. The Tolstoj manuscript contains the subtitle "Въ среду е-и недѣли великого поста слово ... велики душеполезно, о покои всего мѣра" (Tol. 118). (For Wednesday of the fifth week of Great Lent, very enlightening, on the peace of the whole world.) Since this particular subtitle does not appear in the Kievan Rus' manuscript, nor in any of the subsequent versions with the exception of Gudzij's seventeenth-century abridged version in Xrestomatija,⁴ we must assume that this subtitle was added by the particular scribe at the time of writing and must naturally be cited as proof of the value of the apocryphon in the sixteenth century.⁵

- 2) The Porfir'ev text published in Istorija russkoj slovesnosti (Drevnij period: Ustnaja narodnaja i knižnaja slovesnosti' do Petra Velikogo) (History of

Russian Literature: The Ancient period: Folklore and Formal Written Literature up to Peter the Great) (Kazan', 1891) 272-275.

Porfir'ev does not provide us with any details or throw any obvious light on the origin of this text, except to say that it is a translation from a Greek copy. However, judging by its contents and its linguistic form (discussed below) this short fragmentary Russian text dates back to the late eighteenth century. Although many passages in this text are missing, the remaining contents are in basic agreement with the Kievan Rus' text. The narrative begins with the Holy Virgin on the Mount of Olives praying for an eschatological revelation. The remaining details from scene one are missing. Emphasis is placed on scene two with the journey to the underworld and the description of sin and punishment. Scene two is in complete agreement with the Kievan Rus' original. The apocryphon concludes with the motif of reprieve for the lost sinners and the final prayer of praise to God. The content of this text has been greatly simplified. Some repetitive passages have been omitted. New linguistic forms more in tune with Russian phonology have been introduced. For example in (P 273) we have: "Потомъ Богоматерь обратилась къ полудню. Здесь проходила огненная река и въ ней было множество мужей и жень" (Then the Mother of God turned to the South. There a fiery river flowed. In it was a multitude of men and women"), while in (KR 126) we had: "И тогда обратиша ся хъровими и серафими и 400 ангель

изведоша Богородицю на полуудне, иде же рѣка исхожаше огньна,
и тоу бѣше множество "мужъ и женъ" (And then turned the
Cherubim and the Seraphim and the four hundred angels and led
the Mother of God to the South, where a fiery river flowed.
Here was a multitude of men and women.) These examples
illustrate that while the contents may have been preserved,
the linguistic form reflected those changes which were
beginning to appear in the Russian language in the late
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example: the
imperfect tense was replaced by the 1-participle (without the
auxiliary verb); ("обратиша" becomes "обратилась" (P 273)
(turned), "исхожаше" becomes "проходила" (P 274) (flowed),
"бѣше" becomes "было" (P 274) (was)). The genitive plural of
the masculine soft stem (jo) was replaced by the genitive
plural of the short (i) stem ("мужъ" becomes "мужей" (P 274)
(men)).

- 3) A Russian Church Slavic text of the Arxangel'sk region
of Russia, published by P.S. Efimenko in Materialy po
etnografii russkago naselenija Arxangel'skoj gubernii
(Moscow, 1877) 223.

This undated Efimenko text is a short adaptation of
Xoždenie bearing the title Skazanie i skazky (Legends and
Tales) and a subtitle "Skazanie o mucex ix že Mixail Arxangel
pokaza Presvjatei Bogorodice" (A Tale of the Torments [of
Hell] Revealed to the Most Holy Mother of God by Archangel

Michael). It is one of three short tales written by Reverend Fedorov, parish priest of the Lisestrov Church Parish in Arxangel'sk. The length of the Efimenko tale is only one page, but it serves as an excellent illustration not only of the gradual shrinking of the elaborate apocryphon, but also of the gradual deterioration in the character of the apocryphon. The Efimenko text is concerned only with sin and punishment. While the structure of the Efimenko tale is similar to the Porfir'ev text, there are many changes in detail and composition, which suggest that it belongs to the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, the period which Ciževskij characterizes as "the decline of Russian piety."⁴ The tale begins with the Mother of God requesting Archangel Michael to show her the place where many people are suffering, the place of "thick darkness," the "never sleeping worms," and of "eternal torment." "Поведи меня, где мучатся многи народы, и где тъма кромешная, черви несыпучіе и мука вечная" (E 223). Archangel Michael first takes the Mother of God ("мати Божія"), as she is now referred to, not to the place of evil darkness as seen in the Kievan Rus' text, but to the place where an iron tree stands with fiery branches, a torment which finds a corresponding parallel in passage nine of the Kievan Rus' text. "И приведе ю ко древу железному, стоить древо железное, на немъ ветки огненныя, и тутъ многіе народы мучатся. И рече Мати Божія: сіи люди за кія дела мучатся? И рече сіи суть суди неправдіе. О горе имъ, горе!" (E 223) (And he led her to [the place] where stood an iron tree with fiery branches. Here many people were

suffering. And the Mother of God asked: "What sins have these people committed?" And Michael answered: "These are the unjust judges. Woe unto them, woe.)

The Efimenko tale omits images of sinners hanging by a sinful limb. All the reader knows is that a multitude of people are suffering there. Instead, the scribe places special emphasis on the metaphoric significance of "an iron tree with fiery branches," which must be understood within the context of the Holy Scriptures. Trees in Genesis (2:17) refer to the tree of life and knowledge, whereas, in Acts (5:30), (10:39), and (13:29), a tree refers to the cross on which Christ was crucified. It is the austerity of the cross, the medium of suffering and death, along with the degradation and humiliation of execution, which is the meaning implicit in the text.

The repetition of the formulaic biblical phrase "И приведе ю" (E 223) (And he brought her) repeated nine times in the text and patterned after Ezekiel (8:7-16), strongly suggests the hypothesis that the text was transmitted orally. The repetition of one and the same sentence no doubt facilitated the memorization of the tale. For example, the angel brought the Mother of God to a blazing river where many people were immersed to various depths according to the gravity of their sins. Then she was brought to a dark river filled with Jewish children. In a boiling cauldron, a primary image of suffering, were those who broke their fast.

The angel then brought her to the place of the "never sleeping worms" and the "insatiable moles" (E 223). In a lake filled with boiling pitch suffered the ecclesiastical church officials who were derelict in their duties, lazy and dishonest, who shaved their beards and moustaches, slept late, and spent their time with the evil boyars in idleness and drunkenness. Tortured by many-headed serpents were the cruel, wicked boyars and the German leaders, who, using whips, drove away the Orthodox Christians from the landlord's wineshops. The Mother of God was then brought to the place of the fierce serpent-dragon. With iron claws and a fiery tongue, he sucked the blood and tore the flesh of shopkeepers and the elected officials for mercilessly extorting rent from the Christians and denying the Orthodox children a proper education. The Mother of God saw all this and wept bitterly. "O горе бедному роду человеческому!" (E 223) (Woe unto the poor race of man.) She prayed to Christ her Son to have mercy upon them. But Jesus answered: "Кто будет носить сей свитокъ, того помилюю, сниму съ него все грехи, а кий человекъ его отрипетъ, тому мука безъутешная" (E 223). (Whosoever will carry this scroll [the apocryphon], upon him will I have mercy. I will forgive all his sins. But whosoever refuses, he will suffer inconsolably.)

It is apparent from the most cursory examination of the Efimenko tale that this is not an accurate copy of the original, but only an adaptation produced by the process of oral transmission. While it shares many similarities with

the Kievan Rus' and Tolstoj manuscripts, the scribe has introduced many new features with local colouration, which were evidently adapted to serve the needs of the particular area. The class of sinners has become more individualized. Their sins are more specific. Proper names have been introduced. Here we find sinners depicted whose conduct affected all the citizens of the community. We see, too, the apocryphon influenced by Russian daily life. Reference to the cruel and merciless boyars and the German leaders points toward a form of social protest, the sharp unmasking of certain social injustices of the times. The shaving of the beards and the problem of drunkenness among the clergy is indicative not so much of the growing immorality of the clergy, who violated strict monastic rules for the sake of their own worldly pleasures, but a growing relaxation in the standard of behaviour among the ecclesiastics. Viewed from another angle, the problem of shaving of beards and the consumption of alcohol yields insight into the conflict between the Church (The Old Believers) and the state. As Čiževskij explains, the Old Believers were against smoking and the cutting of beards. The official Church called the Old Believers "heretics" and had recourse to the police help of the State, which resulted in cruel persecution and the fleeing from the "anti-Christian" world.⁷

Many other features, which once played a dominant role in the Kievan Rus' manuscript, have been lost in the tale. Numerology no longer has any significance. It may be that

the conventional signs and symbols were no longer understood and thus lost their meaning. The dramatic question and answer dialogue, so prominent a feature of Xoždenie and of apocryphal visions in general, is visibly absent in this text. The angel does not speak at all in the course of the journey. The dialogue between the seer and the angelus interpretes has been reduced to one initial question: "Сіи люди за кія дела мучатся?" (E 223) (For what sins are these people suffering?)

There is no doubt that the local colouration of this particular text had a different function for the user than did the original Kievan Rus' or the Tolstoj manuscripts. The dramatic potential of the theme of the Mother of God's purpose in visiting hell (to save the sinners) has been lost in this tale. The copyist appears to be more intent on telling a story and impressing his audience with the consequences of sin. In this new atmosphere Xoždenie becomes a vehicle of popular protest against the oppressive innovations introduced by the new rulers. As P.V. Vladimirov aptly points out, "The details of Russia's daily life are highly significant for they present in a bookish-folk style, a satirical picture of the morals of New Russia."⁹ The condemnation of particular practices (the lack of religious education, the growing immorality of the clergy, the social injustices, the whipping of Christians) indicate that they were all a living issue both for the scribe of the text and for his community at the time. The sinners are merely

collective images of the social milieu being depicted, while the sins of hell have become figurative vehicles for political and religious conflicts. At the same time while these instances may be viewed as a form of social protest, they could also be interpreted as a christian-ascetic protest directed not at any specific form of social oppression, but against the degeneration of spiritual culture in general. In either case, the Efimenko tale is clearly a product of the Old Believers.

- 4) A Russian Church Slavic text of the nineteenth-century, published by P.V. Vladimirov in Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov otrečennyx knig vol. 2 (Kiev, 1900) 101-102.

Preserved in the Archives of the Volyn Diocese, this nineteenth century text of Xoždenie (the "Volyn text") was part of a larger collection of writings entitled Sbornik apokrifov volynskago eparxial'nago drevlexranilišča (A Collection of Apocrypha from the Archives of the Volyn Diocese). While the collection assumes the title of an apocryphal anthology, this religious miscellany contains both apocryphal and non-apocryphal writings. The text of Xoždenie is the sixth item of thirteen, and appears on pages 32-34. Vladimirov provides a general description of the contents of this church collection.

- 1) The Legend of Queen Magdona.
- 2) The Life and Martyrdom of Gregory in the year 5796.
- 3) The Sermon of Saint Basil the Great concerning the child who was possessed by the devil.
- 4) The Dream of the Holy Mother of God, dated 1805, p. 24.
- 5) A Sermon of Jesus Christ, from a Jerusalem scroll.
- 6) A Sermon on the torments of hell as revealed to the Mother of God.
- 7) A Sermon on the twelve most important Fridays of the year.
- 8) The Miracles of Jesus Christ.
- 9) The Sermon of Saint Andrew of Crete.
- 10) The Miracle of Saint Gregory, the dragon fighter.
- 11) The Life of Joseph.
- 12) The Life of the Most Holy Saint Agapit.

The beginning of the Volyn text shows substantial uniformity with the preceding Efimenko text, with the Mother of God wishing to see the place of "pitch darkness" and the place of the "never sleeping worms." Archangel Michael first brings her to the iron tree with fiery branches, where many people were suffering. As in the Efimenko text, so here the emphasis is on the judgment scene, with the angel leading the Mother of God from one torment to the next. The opening paragraph appears to be a word-for-word reproduction of the Efimenko text. While preserving the general framework of the judgment scene, there are many textual variations which make this text remarkably different from, yet dependent upon, the

Efimenko text. A close analysis of the torments of hell reveals the following points of divergence.¹⁰

- 1) Punished on an iron tree with iron branches are those guilty of causing strife between families, friends and neighbours.
- 2) In the three fiery circles of hell are the evildoers, those who committed evil deeds on Sunday. The fiery circles of hell is a new feature, hitherto not seen in Orthodox Slavic apocrypha. They may be an echo from Dante's Divine Comedy, where the city of Dis was subdivided into three circles. The appearance of this motif in Xoždenie, six centuries later, suggests a possible Western influence.
- 3) In a river of fire flowing from the East to the West are those who broke their fast on Wednesdays and Fridays.
- 4) In an iron palace burning with eternal fire are the unjust judges, who accused the innocent and freed the guilty.
- 5) Immersed to their knees, in a fiery river are the disobedient children, who did not respect or honor their parents. Submerged up to their waists are mothers with illegitimate children, and to the lips are those who did not respect their spiritual leaders.
- 6) Tortured by the "never sleeping worms" are those who did not observe the fast days on Wednesdays and Fridays.
- 7) Punished in a river of fire are the ecclesiastical church officials, who did not obey the commandments of

God; who neglected to teach children religion, or the fear of the Lord.

Among the divergences one, also finds similarities such as the repetition of one identical phrase found in the Volyn version which suggests that the Volyn version may have been the source for both the Kiev Museum and the Efimenko tale. For example, the sentence "и приведе ея" (and he brought her...) which is repeated nine times in the Efimenko text, also appears five times in the Volyn text, while the question "си люде за которія дела мучатся?" (V 101) (For what sins are these people suffering?) is repeated four times in the Volyn text, and only once in the Efimenko text.

The most common class of sinners seen thus far in all the Russian texts of Xoždienie has been the false ecclesiastics, while the most common type of punishment appears to be that of fire and worms. In the Volyn version, fire appears in three different representations: circles, a river and an iron palace. There is no mention in the Volyn version of heaven, nor is there any elaboration of angelology. Aside from Archangel Michael acting as the mediator of the revelation, angels play no special function in the Volyn version. It is thus apparent that in the Russian nineteenth-century versions of Xoždienie angelology had no special theological interest for the scribe. We may conclude, then, that certain eschatological features, widely current in medieval times were appropriated by the late

copyists for their special didactic purposes, and crowded out certain other, earlier features, such as angelology.

- 5) The Kiev Theological Museum Text, no. 28, entitled "Xoždenie presvjatyja Bogorodicy s Mixailom Arxangelom po mukam" (The Journey of the Most Holy Mother of God and the Archangel Michael to Hell) published by P.V. Vladimirov in Naučnoe ižučenje apokrifov otrečennyx knig (Kiev: 1900) 97-100.

Preserved in a nineteenth-century museum collection (pages 15-17) of the Kiev Theological Academy, this Russian Church Slavic text (the "Museum version") was discovered in a peasant's home in the village of Sulaevka, Ukraine. The version has an assigned number, which serves to indicate that the scribe had to account for all his copied items. Stylistically, this version is very similar to the Efimenko text, and, according to Vladimirov, corresponds textually to the eighteenth-century variant of Xoždenie published by Romanov in the Belorussian Sbornik.¹¹ Vladimirov claims that Romanov had several copies of Xoždenie from the Mogilev and Vitebsk regions on hand.¹² Comparing the Museum and the Romanov versions Vladimirov found many substantial similarities. For example, torments 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, and 10 of the Romanov version are in complete agreement with the Museum one.¹³

An analysis of the morphological and phonological peculiarities of the Museum version indicates that while the it shares some points of similarity with the Efimenko Tale, the Museum version was definitely modelled upon the Volyn text. While no mention is made of scenes one and three, they nevertheless preserve, in somewhat reduced form, most of the content of scene two, the judgment scene. The Volyn and the Museum versions differ from each other only in certain minutiae of language and substance, which are the result of scribal intervention. Some examples from the two versions cited above illustrate both their similarities and minute differences.

Volyn

Kiev Museum

Organizational

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1) Prose is not paragraphed. | Prose is paragraphed. |
| 2) Number of torments is seven. | Number of torments is ten. |
| 3) Torments 8, 9, and 10 are missing. | Torments 8, 9, and 10 include the torments of the unmerciful tsars and boyars, the dancers and the wandering minstrels (skomoroxi) (99-100). |

Descriptive

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Thick darkness. ("тьма кроменная") (101). | Eternal darkness ("тьма безконечная") (97). |
| 2) To an iron tree with fiery branches ("ко древу желзному на немъ вѣтви огненія") (101). | To a tree with fiery leaves ("къ древу а на немъ листьа огненныа") (97). |
| 3) Three fiery circles of hell, those circles filled with people.
("къ тремъ кругамъ огненимъ, ти круги наполнени народомъ") (101). | Three circles of hell and those circles filled with people.
("къ тремъ кругамъ и тѣ круги наполнены народомъ") (97). |

Linguistic

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) "по колѣна стоятъ посреде огня" (101). (They stand immersed up to their knees in the fire.) | "по колѣно в огне" (97). |
| 2) Collective form of the nominative plural ("сиа люде") (101) (These people.) | The Russian form of the nominative plural. (сиа люди) (98). |
| 3) Church Slavic (also the Ukrainian) nominative plural ending in "и" ("епископи, архимандрити, игумени, священники, | The Russian form of the nominative plural (попы, діаконы, патріархи, митрополиты") (99).
(priests, deacons, |

дияконы") (102). (bishops patriarchs and metropoli-
 archimandrites, abbots, tans.)
 priests and deacons.)

The most striking feature of the Museum version is the appearance of the demons ("дiаволы"), who with iron combs tear the flesh of man and with kindled horns pierce through human flesh the grief of the robbers, murderers, minstrel-jesters ("skomoroxi") and dancers (Torment 10). "Дiаволы деруть железными гребенками тело человеческое и разоженными рожнами промываютъ (sic) [пробываютъ] сквозь тело человеческое горе разбойникамъ душегубцамъ и скоморохамъ и плясунамъ" (M 100). We see a preoccupation with the morbid underway here. The dancers, wandering minstrels, and jesters who are now listed along with the murderers and robbers, suggests a denunciation by the medieval scribes of the songs and dances of the "skomoroxi," who performed at public festivals. The church's hostility toward them was due partly to their secular content and pagan background. However, this does not necessarily imply that such lesser sins as indulging in public entertainment were considered to be as serious as the crimes of the robbers and murderers. More likely, those who were minstrels and jesters were also perceived to be engaged in robbery and murder.

As the centuries passed some scribes or copyists who handled this material grew less interested in the figure of the Mother of God and her redemptive powers, and turned their

attention on the description of hell, as if hypnotized by its horrors. Since this was the age of the Baroque in Eastern Slavdom, the scribes were more interested in the spectacular aspects of scene two than in the grace and mercy of scenes one and three. With their interpolations, the later scribes emphasized and intensified not the joys of salvation, but the pain and misery of hell. Their primary aim was no longer to edify, teach and instruct, but to frighten by increasing the dramatic tension, to excite with horror by condemning negative characters. Since the Baroque had a "predilection for adventure, tension and catastrophe ... the idea was to astonish the reader with the unexpected, to disturb, move and shake him with extreme," says Čiževskij,¹⁴ all in keeping with the characteristics of the Baroque period.

These are a few of the differences between the two nineteenth-century texts. These differences (which occur sometimes in the smallest detail of word or word phrases) nevertheless illustrate the changing function of Xoždienie in Eastern Slavdom in the course of time.

On the basis of these observations, we may now tentatively plot the history of the main development of the Russian extant versions of Xoždienie. Of the six versions examined, only one is a complete work. The Tolstoj manuscript has preserved all the features of the Kievan Rus' prototype. The Volyn, Museum and Porfir'ev versions are all incomplete texts, with some passages shortened, altered or

omitted altogether. The Efimenko text is only a short tale, while the Gudzij text is an abridged version compiled for educational purposes. With the exception of the 1602 Tolstoj manuscript, the later Russian versions of Xoždienie lack the completeness and the strong Kievan Rus' flavour seen in the Ukrainian variants, which will be discussed later. Nonetheless, whether they are excerpts in anthologies, fragments, tales, paraphrases or translations, they are all valuable evidence of the literary transmission of Xoždienie in Russia.

In examining the Russian textual history of Xoždienie, it is important to bear in mind the methodology of the scribes, who preserved these texts. It appears from our analysis that the scribe's function was to preserve certain parts of the apocryphon, while not necessarily reproducing every paragraph or detail. The rule among the Russian scribes was not to reproduce an identical copy, but instead to interpolate, to replace images which had fallen into oblivion with new ones, or to concentrate on certain aspects of the work. While these versions of Xoždienie may not in themselves have played any significant part in creating the concept of heaven or hell, they helped to keep the spirit of Xoždienie alive in the hearts of the clergy and laity alike.

(ii). Ukrainian

"Xoždenie was especially popular in Ukraine, particularly in the Transcarpathian (Zakarpattia) region of Western Ukraine, where it became part of the literary and cultural tradition of the people," says O. Nazarevs'kyj.¹⁵ So popular were eschatological apocrypha in Ukraine that Halyc'ko-Rus' had its own indices of forbidden books ("zakazani knihi,") two of which, the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries indices, were published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-rus'koji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. I.¹⁶ Franko, the first person in modern times to recognize the importance of Xoždenie in Ukraine, was especially interested in tracing the history of the Ukrainian tradition of the work. In Apokryfy esxatol'ogični vol. IV, of his collection, Franko published in addition to Sreznevskij's Kievan Rus' text, four different versions of Xoždenie, dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Franko's collection was augmented by Nazarevs'kyj's discovery of two additional Ukrainian Church Slavic texts, the "1604 Myxajlovs'kyj" and the "Petrov" texts. The relationship of these Ukrainian Church Slavic texts to the Kievan Rus' prototype will now be analyzed.

1) A sixteenth-century manuscript, no. 505, of the Myxajlovs'kyj Zolotoverxyj monastery of Kiev bearing the subtitle "A s'jie otkrovenjje muka svjati Bohorodici

arxaanhelom Myxailom. Blahoslovy otče prosveščenja" (The Revelation of the Torments [of Hell] to the Holy Mother of God by Archangel Michael. Bless this Enlightenment O Father) published by O. Nazarevs'kyj in Xoždenie Bohorodicy v novyx ukrajins'kyx spyskax XVII-XVIII v.v. (Kyjiv, 1908) 37-44.

Preserved in a monastic library, the Myxajlovs'kyj version is, according to Nazarevs'kyj, "the oldest Ukrainian Church Slavic text."¹⁷ It was discovered in a Ukrainian manuscript collection (sbirnyk no. 1643) dated 1604. Xoždenie is the last item of the collection, appearing on pages 505-510.¹⁸ While preserving the Church Slavic language of the Kievan Rus' manuscript, the scribe has introduced either intentionally or unintentionally, many Ukrainian phonetical, morphological and lexical features which point to a Ukrainian copyist at work. As Nazarevs'kyj remarks, "definite Ukrainian features of the scribe's spoken language force their way through the artificial Church Slavic (Middle Bulgarian) orthography."¹⁹ Examples of this substratum influence include the following.

- 1) The frequent use of the Ukrainian present verbal participles: ("читаючи" (Mux. 41) (reading), "подядаючи" (Mux. 41) (devouring), "разлучаючи" (Mux. 41) (separating), and the past active participles: "послушавше" (Mux. 43) (having listened), "видѣвши" (Mux. 142) (having seen), "вставши" (Mux. 43) (having risen), "неоуоставше" (Mux.

- 40) (not having risen).
- 2) Occasional use of the first and third person plural of the present tense ending in "мо" and "ють": ("моучимосѧ" (Мух. 41) (they are suffering), "слухають" (Мух. 39) (they are listening), "почивають" (Мух. 43) (they are resting).
 - 3) Interchangeable forms of the conjunction "what": ("што," "що," and "что" (Мух. 39).
 - 4) Regular use of the Church Slavonic vocative case, a feature retained by the Ukrainian language: ("Михаиле" (Мух. 37) (O Michael), "Богородице" (Мух. 40) (O Mother of God), "архистратиге" (Мух. 42) (O Archistrategos), "помилуй Владыко" (Мух. 43) (Have mercy, O Lord), "заступнице" (Мух. 40) (O Intercessor), "Отчее" (Мух. 40) (O Father).
 - 5) Evidence of second palatalization, a characteristic feature of the Old Church Slavonic and Ukrainian languages: ("патрiарси" (Мух. 41) (patriarchs), "разбойници" (Мух. 41) (robbers), "клетвеници" (Мух. 41) (slanderers), "князи" (Мух. 42) (princes), "перекупници" (Мух. 41) (retailers)).
 - 6) Occasional use of Ukrainian lexical phrases: ("оу вогни стояше" (Мух. 38) (standing in the fire), "своим кумом" (Мух. 39) (with the godfather of his child), "съ

трепетом" (Мух. 39) (with trepidation), "псом и свиніям" (Мух. 39) (with the dog and the pigs), "черноризци" (Мух. 41) (monks), "погани жидове" (Мух. 38) (the pagan Jews), "все праведни" (Мух. 41) (all the righteous), "служители" (Мух. 40) (servants), "расплакалася" (Мух. 38) (began to cry).

The Myxajlovs'kyj version has been conveniently divided into twenty passages or paragraphs with the episodes for the most part, following the same order as in the Sreznevskij edition. However, the scribe felt free to omit certain passages and insert his own interpolations. For example, the worshippers of the Slavic pagan Gods, a prominent feature of the /Kievan Rus' and Tolstoj versions, are conspicuously absent in the Myxajlovs'kyj 1604 version. This passage was replaced by the non-believers in Christ and the pagan Jews ("погани жидове,") taken from paragraph seventeen of the apocryphon. This substitution occurred because, obviously, the Slavic pagan gods were no longer worshipped at this time. Another example of lexical substitution is found in passage twelve, where the three-headed serpent is replaced by the three-headed beast ("звери бо них триглавий") (Мух. 39), who tortures the cantors of the church. However, the scribe did not venture too far from his exemplar. Having a reverence for tradition, he faithfully preserved the general structure and tone of the Kievan Rus' archetype. While there is little originality to applaud in the handling of the available material, the Myxajlovs'kyj scribe produced a modest, but

pious work which travelled beyond his immediate circles providing a paradigm for other Slavic scribes.

- 2) The Illja Jaremeč'kyj-Bilaxevyč manuscript "E," published by Ivan Franko in Žytje i slovo (L'viv, 1894) and Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv, 1906) 135-153; and by Myxajlo Voznjak in Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury: XVII-XVIII viky vol. IV (L'viv, 1924) 33-43.

Of all the Ukrainian Church Slavonic versions of Xoždenie, this eighteenth-century version (the "Bilaxevyč text") is the longest and the most elaborate of all versions, and, undoubtedly, a secondary development of the Kievan Rus' prototype. The apocryphon is divided into forty torments or paragraphs, each with a separate subtitle. The Bilaxevyč version deviates textually, stylistically, and even theologically from the Kievan Rus' original, and may be considered an independent "expanded version." The scribe did not feel bound to adhere to the text in every detail, but instead felt free to depart from it in various ways and allow his poetic inspiration to take over. He seemed to have tried to create something new from the available eschatological material at his disposal, or at least to select the more prominent images from other known apocryphal visions in order to combine them into an imaginative, but yet pious narrative

work, which had no parallels in other Slavic languages.

There are two editions of this version, an extended edition published by Ivan Franko, which consists of thirty-four torments (the others are missing), and an abridged edition, published by Myxajlo Voznjak, which consists of twenty-four torments. Of the thirty-four torments listed by Franko, eleven describe exactly the same torments as do previous versions (Tolstoj, Gudzij). Both the Franko and Voznjak texts are defective for they are incomplete. The Franko edition begins with torment six and ends with torment forty. The Voznjak edition, while beginning with torment nine and ending with torment forty, has many intermediate passages missing. We have no way of knowing whether the missing passages include any features from scene one. The Franko edition is written in an Ukrainianized Church Slavic language, preserving the nasals and other Church Slavic morphological features, while the Voznjak edition is written in a modernized form of Ukrainian. Voznjak describes the apocryphon as "a nationalized text depicting many interesting details of Ukrainian life from the eighteenth century."²⁰

In his introduction to the text in Zytje i slovo, Franko gives a brief history of this version of Xoždenie.²¹ It was written (or perhaps copied) in September 1747 by Reverend Illja Jaremec'kyj-Bilaxevyč, parish priest of the village of Vovčkivci, from the district of Snjatyn in Ukraine. The

"legend," as Franko characterizes it (perhaps because of its eschatological elements), originally formed part of a larger collection of religious works compiled between 1747 and 1752. The contents of this collection are miscellaneous, including apocryphal and non-apocryphal writings such as verses, legends, lives of the saints and the teachings of the Church Fathers. Xoždenie appears on pages 11-33 of the collection, with the first page missing. In both the Franko and the Voznjak editions, the title has been changed from Xoždenie to "Mandrivka," meaning travels or wanderings. In Franko the text reads "Mandrivka Bohorodicy po pekli" (The Wanderings of the Mother of God in Hell), whereas in Voznjak the text reads "Mandrivka Bohorodyci po mukax" (The Wanderings of the Mother of God Through the Torments [of Hell]), with the original metaphor "po mukam" changed from the dative plural to the locative plural "po mukax" to reflect the current Ukrainian grammatical form. In addition, the Franko text in Pamjatky has a subtitle which reads as follows: "Otkrovenjie muk tjažkyx pohanyx carej nečestyvyx i inyx zloslyvyx hrišnykov, prez anhla Myxajla Prečystoi Divy Bohorodicy, materi hospoda našeho Isusa Xrysta, ot Heronyma Vyžnavca" (The Revelation of the Infernal Torments of the Wicked Kings and Other Evil Sinners by angel Michael to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, by Heironym (Heironymus)² Vyžnavec.). Interestingly, this is the only version of Xoždenie to include the scribe's name in the title, and clearly points toward a Ukrainian monk at work.

This 1747 Ukrainian version of Xoždenie, like that of its Russian counterparts, does not include scene one. Franko makes no mention of it, while Voznjak adds his own brief description of scene one, with emphasis on the four hundred angels. Obviously, the chief purpose of the Bilaxevyč scribe was to give an account of the final day of judgment. While hell to the Kievan Rus' scribe of Xoždenie was a dreadful place, dark and fiery with innumerable torments, it had no Lucifer or satan. It was left to the imagination of the Bilaxevyč scribe to add this feature. Demonology plays a prominent role in passages 17, 19, 20, 23, 24-29, and 33. In passage twenty, the scribe provides us with a vivid description of an enormous devil called "Skymen." (Skimen),²² who is likened to a huge malevolent beast. To the scribe, he is a personification of bestial monstrosity. "On the edge of a plank bridge huge as a mountain sat a devil, by the name of Skymen." He is endowed with a serpent head, flaming eyes, a long fiery tongue, feet like a lion, horns like an aurochs, a pair of jaws wide open, a gaping mouth wide as a pit, from which a dreadful odour is emitted; his teeth are sharp as a sickle to typify his strength and cruelty. His right paw outstretched, ready to consume the sinful souls" (B 228). The scribe's conception of the devil Skymen, who is at all times stationary, is one of agonizing terror and horror. He has created an image of the greatest embodiment of evil. The plank bridge on which the devil sits is a variant of the bridge of judgment. The devil orders the souls to cross the narrow precarious plank bridge. The more sinful a soul, the

smaller his chance of crossing the narrow plank successfully; the less sinful a soul, the greater the rapidity with which he will cross the bridge." "Сгдаже беси принесут грешною душу, тогда той Скимень радуется вельми и кажетъ тим душамъ ити через тоти узкіе кладки хибкіе. Аще которая душа вельми грешная, то упадаетъ в тую пропасть глубокою" (В 143). (When the demons bring a soul, then Skymen rejoices greatly, and orders those souls to cross the narrow shaky plank bridge. Whichever soul is very sinful, will fall into the deep abyss below).

The scribe's concept of the devil here is foreign to both the Byzantine apocryphal tradition and Eastern Orthodox theology. While the "devil which is likened to a lion" is mentioned by the Apostle Peter in (5:8), "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour," it is not in accordance with the iconographic theology of Christian Orthodoxy. Eastern Orthodox iconographers in medieval times took much pains to represent the beauty and virtues of the angels, and laid less stress on the monstrosity of the devils. Because of the emphasis on the positive and the tendency to illuminate the angels and their role, demonology was not depicted as forcefully in the Christian East as it was in the West. The scribe of the Bilaxevyč text must have received his inspiration from other pre-existing sources, possibly even Western religious artworks, to have depicted so cogently the physical horror and the ugliness of hell.²³

While the scribe of the Bilaxevyč text found the question and answer technique useful rhetorically, he did not recognize the need to pursue the active role of the Mother of God. She does not weep or rebuke, neither does she intercede on behalf of the sinners. She only sighs deeply and inquires; "What sins have they committed?" She does not enter into a conversation with them; neither does she question them about their fate. She only listens to their pleas and lamentations. "Ох, Ох, Ох, нам смажим! Горе, горе, горе, нам грешним" (B 138-139). (Oh, Oh, Oh, We fry! Woe unto us the sinners.) This phrase is repeated twelve times in the narrative and was intended, presumably, to reinforce the theme of correspondence of sin and punishment, rather than the theme of intercession of the Mother of God. These phrases do not appear in the Kievan Rus' text or in any of the Russian variants, and appear to be an echo from the Revelation of Moses, where the sinners, too, cry out bitterly for mercy. "Woe unto us for the terrible punishment of Hell; would we could die." But they cannot die" [sic]. "Woe unto us, woe unto us!" [sic] But nobody takes pity on them"(135).

In spite of the tendency toward demonology in the Bilaxevyč text, angelology continues to play a significant function. The scribe obviously intended to emphasize the contrast between heaven and hell, or the "harmony of opposites," to stretch old forms to the point of explosion. The four hundred angels which accompany the Mother of God to hell and show her the four corners of hell have been changed

to nine hundred angels, echoing perhaps the "myriads of angels" mentioned in Daniel (7:10), who was unable to count them all. The Cherubim, the highest angelic beings and the ideals of perfect knowledge, have been assigned an additional task, that of transporting a live coal of fire, as the Seraphim did in Isaiah (6:6): "Then flew one of the Seraphim unto me, having a live coal of fire in his hand which he had taken from the altar with the tongs." In the Bilaxevyč text, the Cherubim transports the live coal of fire from the depths of the abyss. "В той час херувим полетѣл наче стрѣли, яко мочнїя блиснеть, и оухватил оугль еден клѣщами ... тогда огонь сануль аж под небо. Тогда небеса распалют ся, земля страхом потрасе ся, а клѣщѣ яко воскъ растопили ся." В той часѣ повель Михаил кинути херувиму той огонь назадъ" (В 140). (Then the Cherubim flew swift as an arrow, like flashing lightning, and grabbed one live coal of [hell] fire with the tongs. Then the fire reached up to the sky. The heavens lit up, the earth shook with fear and the [forge] tongs melted down like wax in the fire. Then Archangel Michael bid the Cherubim to throw the consuming fire back to the devil.) From this description, it seems reasonable to conclude that the vivid imagery of the angel and the live coal fire was taken from the Holy Scriptures, especially from Ezekiel, where we find the "appearance of the Cherubim compared to the "burning coals of fire" (1:13), where "creatures run like a flash of lightning" (1:14), and where Ezekiel witnessed "live coals of fire taken from the Cherubim and scattered over all the city" (10:1-7).

By the eighteenth century, the "ineffable torments" of the Kievan Rus' manuscript have been changed to forty torments and forty days of purgatorial fire. The number forty is integrated into the structure of the 1747 apocryphal text of Xoïdenie in much the same way as the number three was built into the Kievan Rus' text and the number seven into the fifteenth-century Serbian text, which will be discussed later.

By the eighteenth century there was also a vast expansion in the range and complexity of sins, sinners, demons, torments and in the topographical images of hell. If we look at the names of the inhabitants of hell quoted in the Bilaxevyč text, we find a formidable array of sinners ranging from the lower strata of society (including robbers of beehives and birds, drunkards, soothsayers, sorcerers and usurers — the hoarders of gold and silver), to the middle strata of society (the tradesmen — weavers, who cheated in cloth and thread; hammerers, who made off with iron; millers and furriers, who gave false weight, the sinful blacksmiths, shoemakers and tailors), to the upper strata of society (the false ecclesiastics who controlled the structure of the church and such historical figures as Nero, Pilate and Caiaphas, who betrayed the confidence entrusted to them), thereby, transforming the apocryphon into what Bokadorov describes as "a kind of Divine Comedy."²⁴

An analysis of the forty torments reveals five distinct groups of sinners:

- 1) The ecclesiastical hierarchy: metropolitans, archbishops, priests, cantors, deacons, monks and priests' wives (torments 9-13).
- 2) The lower strata of society: drunkards, thieves, robbers, slanderers, magicians, gossipers, sorcerers, usurers and soothsayers (torments 15, 19, 22, 31-33).
- 3) The historical and Biblical figures: Cain, Caiaphas, Annas, Herod, Nero, Pilate, Nestorius, Maximianus, Diocletian and Decius (torment 17).
- 4) The tradesmen: blacksmiths, goldsmiths, furriers, millers, saddlers, tillers, tailors, hammerers, weavers and shoemakers (torments 23, 24, 27-34).
- 5) The slothful Christians who did not attend Divine Services on Sundays and Holy days (torment 18).
- 6) The Jewish and Greek heretics (torment 16).

In this gloomy kingdom of hell, the readers are also confronted with new torments. Hell is not only a place of everlasting heat and ceaselessly gnawing worms and serpents, but a region of agonizing cold, wind, ice and snow and

eternal winter, a place of innumerable swarming creatures such as mosquitoes, frogs, grasshoppers, birds, mice, lizards, reptiles, scorpions, wasps and hornets, which are descriptive of the ugliness of hell, and, in a moral sense, the spiritual ugliness of the soul of the sinner. "Видъ святая Богородица тужь дебрь глубоком, а в том дебри лютія звіріє триглавнія крилатія, тамже со ними лютая птица и муравлі и комарі якъ орли великія, шершеница і оси, имже не було числа" (torment 22, B 144). (The Mother of God saw here a deep wilderness, and in it were fierce three-headed winged beasts, and with them were ferocious birds and ants and mosquitoes, big as eagles, and hornets and wasps without number.) In torment ten, the Mother of God saw not far off a deep pit filled with countless three-headed beasts, an image perhaps based on the classical portrayal of the three-headed Cerberus, the monstrous hound dog posted at the gates of Hades and one of the main figures in Dante's Inferno. Tortured by the beasts are the cantors of the church, the readers of the word of God, who themselves lie, steal, cheat and tempt others to do the same. The sinners are unable to defend themselves from the beasts, because they are bound by their arms and legs with hell ropes. "Видъ святая Богородица десятю муку: тамже недалеко ровъ и дебрь глубокій зъло, в томже ровъ звѣріє, имже не було числа, а кождій звѣрь триглавній ... а одогнати ся не могутъ, бо суть опутанни узами пекелними руцъ и нозъ." "Сій есть человекци дяки: а чтуще лжутъ, крадутъ, блудъ творят и иних на тое приводятъ" (torment 22, B 144). (The Holy Mother of God saw the tenth

torment. There, not far off was a chasm and a very deep wilderness, and in that chasm were countless beasts, and every beast was three-headed; and they [the sinners] could not defend themselves from them for their hands and feet were bound with infernal ropes. These men are the cantors, [the readers of the word of God], who lie, steal, do evil and instigate others.) Here the scribe unmasks the hypocrisy, and the falsehood of the external piety of the cantors of the Church.

The topography of hell becomes more precise in the Bilaxevyč text. By the late half of the eighteenth century, rhetorical style gives way to poetic imagery. Hell is depicted as a deep gorge, a bottomless pit lying in the extremity of the earth, an abyss of great breadth and depth, of infinite length and incalculable immensity, stretching from the East to the West and as deep as the distance from the earth to heaven. "Такая пропасть и глубина, якъ отъ востока до запада, якъ отъ земля до неба." "Буши человекъ 30 лѣтъ и хабѣ вѣял камень и хинул изъ усей силъ своихъ в тоя пекло и пропасть, теде будетъ летѣти три лѣтъ нѣкъ на дно долетитъ" (torment 16, B 140). (The depth of this abyss was like the distance from the East to the West, from the earth to the sky. If a thirty year old man should take a stone and throw it with all his might into that abyss of hell, it would take three years for the stone to reach the bottom.) Such an allegorical description of hell was obviously intended to capture the reader's attention by creating a concept of the

unfathomable and unmeasurable depths of the abyss. The reader is moved, even terrified by the poetic imagery.

With each succeeding description of hell, the sphere of hell also becomes more varied and descriptive. There are now lakes mixed with blood, sulphurous rivers, a lake with seven abysses, and Tartar, the mother of all Jewish (Gehennas) and Hellenic hells, the most dreadful and dangerous of all hells, bound in chains: "Видъ Пресвятая пекло жидовское и еллинское, иже надъ всѣхъ пекла страшнѣйшiя и грознѣйшiя окутное, грозное, всѣмъ пекламъ матица.... Тому пеклу имя Тартар" (torment 16, B 139). (The Holy One saw the Jewish and Hellenic hell, the most dreadful and dangerous of all hells, bound with chains and threatening, the mother of all hells.... The name of that hell is Tartar.) The Tartarus of the Greeks is described by Homer as an underground region, vast dark and subdivided into four districts. One of them is terrible, with its infected lake, the river of fire, its burning furnaces and its furriers, whose job it is to torment the tormented. Tartarus is the hell of the Greeks, a region beyond, a prison of the infernal gods, where the offspring of the Cyclops, Uranus, Saturn and the Titans are confined."²⁵ In the Esphigmenou monastery at Mount Athos, M. Didron found a Greek manuscript entitled "Byzantine Guide to Painting," which describes the "Fall of Lucifer" into the region of hell known as the "Tartarus." "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. All around are choirs of angels filled with profound dread. Michael stands in the midst holding a scroll

on which is written, "Let us stand in fear; let us here adore the King of our God." Below are seen the mountains, a vast crater beneath which is inscribed Tartarus.... At the bottom and in the midst of the abyss Lucifer, most fearful and blackest of all, lies forward on the ground, looking upward."²⁴

The torments of intense cold, ice and snow, although a universal feature of vision literature (particularly the Revelation of Moses and Хождение Павла), were not a feature of the earlier texts of Хождение. It was probably from these literary sources that the author of this version of Хождение chose these significant images to show the state of frozen immobility, the annulment of all life. "Видѣ Богородица на стѣвери дебрь глубину валю, з обохъ бокѣхъ стѣни ледяніе, а зверху зацѣпнено люто мразом, яко на триста сажень во глубину мраза. Там зима несогрѣмая, тма неосвѣтима, там скрехуть грѣшници зубами" (torments 19, B 142). (To the North, the Mother of God saw a very deep wilderness, whose walls on both sides were covered with ice, and the top was sealed with a three hundred foot layer of fierce frost. There was the place of perpetual winter, of eternal darkness; there the sinners gnash their teeth.) That hell is found in a northerly direction is a theological and literary commonplace ultimately derived from the description of Lucifer's throne in Isaiah (14:12-14): "I will sit also upon the mount of congregation, in the sides of the North." In Jeremiah (1:14), we find: "His direction is north, the domain of darkness and

penal cold." A similar description is found in Job (26: 6-7): "Hell is naked before him, and destruction hath no covering. He stretched out the north over the empty place...."

The scribe was obviously driven to evoke a set of images which was contrary to heaven's reality. The hierarchy of demons, ranging from the dreadful open-jawed Skymen and the three-headed beasts to the countless swarming creatures, the hornets, wasps and ants, was in total contrast to the myriad angels (nine hundred) headed by the Cherubim and Seraphim. The countless number of angels was intended to manifest the greatness of God and His Divine power, while the innumerable number of swarming creatures reflect the abundance of evil. Out of this system of comparisons and analogies arises a terrifying world with its own rulers, laws, substance, time and even weather. In contrast to this terrifying world of hell, the author in his conclusion points with great insistence to the hopeful moral of the narrative. He does this by introducing the repentant sinners, who, through almsgiving and the practice of the seven spiritual acts of mercy, receive forgiveness for their sins (torment 37, 38, and 39). While earlier the author devoted much time and space to the description of sin and the sinner, he now makes it abundantly clear that the kernel of the story lies in the sinner's salvation, which is achieved through repentance. Therefore, the scribe replaces the theme of mercy with the theme of the repentant sinners and the concept

of purgatory. "Видъ пресвятая Богородица душъ прелѣтающихи през оную очистительную огненную рѣку. Тѣи душъ черноризци, схимници, іермонаси, іереи, иже нарекоша ся на земли ангели ... іже правдиве на сем свѣтѣ в законѣ іноческомъ Господу Богу оугодили постомъ, молитвами, чистотою, оубожствомъ, послушаніемъ и иными оучинками іноческими" (B 151). (The Most Holy Mother of God saw souls flying over the purgatorial river of fire. "Who are these souls who fly so easily over the purgatorial river?" she asks. These are the souls of the monks, hermits, hieromonks, bishops, who had been called angels on earth, who had lived a life pleasing to God with prayer and fasting, purity and obedience and other religious acts.) The angels now lead them from the dreadful place of hell to the Holy place of eternal joy and happiness, the home of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The apocryphal writer has clearly defined the concept of purgatory as a distinct abode for moderately sinful souls; a state of temporal punishment, a place of progressive purification in which the souls are cleansed by fire from their evil deeds, in preparation for entrance to heaven. The length of purgatorial punishment is forty days, and the purgatorial agents are fire and water. The scribe concludes his text with the quotation: "Пройдохомъ сквозь огонь и воду, ізведе насъ во покой." "Богу нашему слава во вѣки вѣкомъ. Аминь" (B 153). (We have passed through fire and water into peace. Glory to our God forever and ever. Amen.)

The conceptual unity of this description of purgatory (the first version of Xoždienie to emphasize the doctrine of

purgatory) can be fully understood if we examine it in the light of its Biblical context. The scriptural passages upon which the concept of purgatory rests are found in Corinthians III (11-15): "Every man's work shall be made manifest for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." The apocryphal writer conceives of the fires of judgment as purgatorial, lasting forty days. The motif of forty days of purgatorial punishment also found expression in the apocryphal writing The Questions of Saint John the Theologian on the Living and the Dead,²⁷ in which John asks Abraham, "What happens to a sinful soul after death?" Abraham replies: "Грѣшную душу 9 дній держать ангели у себя, глаголющи: негли кто помянетъ ю въ молитвахъ; аще ли не будетъ памяти, то паки держать до 40 дній у себя, ишедше же 40 дній, да иже до милостини ни откуду же, и рекутъ ей: иди, убогая душе, во тму кромѣшную" "Колко ту душа пребываютъ во тмѣ? — "Чадо отъ великаго четверга до пянтикостныя недѣли во свѣтъ пребываютъ" (B 115). (A sinful soul is kept by the angels for nine days saying: If during this time the living do not remember the departed soul in their prayers, the angels keep the sinful soul till the fortieth day. If after the fortieth day there are still no prayers of mercy on behalf of the dead, the angels say to her: Go, you poor soul into pitch darkness. How long do the souls stay in darkness? Child, from Holy Thursday to Pentecost Sunday they see light."

Despite the tendency to moralize at the end of the story, the scribe felt it necessary to omit altogether the theme of respite. Since the chief purpose of Xoždanie seemed to have been a discourse on the correspondence of sin and punishment, the scribe uses this purpose to underline the dreadfulness of the approaching judgment day and the need for Christian repentance. The scribe uses the repentant sinners as a rhetorical tool to heighten the urgency of a Christian's righteous performance in this world, especially his devotion to the Church during the Lenten season. This motif is an effective device, because by turning the attention of the reader from the central issue of the hell scene to the repentant sinner, the author is able to contrast psychologically the ideal Christian with the careless one.

From the pages of this apocryphal writing much may be gathered about the spirit of the times, the different conception of hell and the devil and the imaginative powers of the scribe. The Bilaxevyč text, however, for all its brilliance and originality, did not achieve a high degree of popularity or widespread distribution. It appears to have been a localized phenomenon and limited to a brief period. What makes this version unique is its obvious change in style from that of simplicity with emphasis upon a lucid construction to a more elaborate and detailed structure characteristic of the Baroque style.²⁰ One may conclude, therefore, that the Bilaxevyč manuscript, while preserving

basic concepts, but embellishing them with such expressive variations as hyperbole, overwhelming contrasts, exaggerations of the most extravagant kind, and an endless wave of rhetorical amplifications and repetitions appears to be a distinct product of the Baroque style, a style which strongly influenced Western European literature, and contributed to the formation of Ukrainian Baroque literature.

Beginning with the works of Meletij (Meletius) Smotryc'kyj, Teofan Prokopovyč, Stefan Javors'kyj, Ioanykyj Volkovyč, Lazar Baranovyč, and ending with those of Hryhoryj Skovoroda, "the Baroque was a wide-spread phenomenon in Ukraine lasting from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth."²⁷ The term Baroque carries a variety of meanings, the basic ones being Baroque as a "specific, definable style,"³⁰ introduced into Eastern Slavdom from Western Europe by writers who had been educated in the West, and Baroque as a literary period. I.V. Ivan'co describes Baroque in Ukraine as "a form of reactionary art,"³¹ "an art of syntheses, a reconciliation of opposites between heaven and earth, spiritual and wordly, antiquity and Christianity."³² To A.M. Robinson the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was "a period of transition" in the development of East Slavic literature, a transformation of traditional genres and styles which gradually acquired new contents and new functions, thus changing their character, structure and artistic

specificity."³³ To Baroque writer Lazar Baranovyč, Baroque was a style "a concept of art which foresaw a special relationship between the author and reader. The poet was above all a didacticist and a moralist, who had to adhere to the triad of docere, movere, delectare, to teach, excite and entertain."³⁴ This principle of oratorical and poetic art was employed by Baranovyč in all his sermons. Similarly, the Bilaxevyč scribe had a tendency to revel in exaggeration, to heighten every source of conflict, to perceive everything on a cosmic scale or as Čyževs'kyj explains, "to overburden, overload and overcharge the narration with formal elements,"³⁵ in order to move the beholder, to terrify him with the work of art.

The Bilaxevyč manuscript, discovered in Western Ukraine, which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was situated at the crossroads of Western learning and Eastern Orthodoxy, is an amalgam of Orthodox-Slavic and Latin-Catholic elements. The combination of the two cultural heritages resulted in the creation of an apocryphon unique both in poetic form and content. Its chief characteristics which distinguish it from the other versions are: a dramatic structure; the division of the text into forty torments, twelve of which end with the phrase "Woe unto the sinners," once considered a popular rhetorical device and an integral part of a homily; the mingling of a multitude of historical and biblical figures with common folk revealing to the reader

the manners and customs of the people of that era and the shortcomings of society; its emphasis upon the experience of the senses, and the inexpressibility and the unimaginability of the transcendent realm of the absolute; the stylistic embellishment of the infernal geography of hell and its inhabitants coupled with the reference to Tartarus, the mother of all hells; its stress upon demonology, a theme that developed in Western Europe and which was very popular in Baroque literature; the physical horror, ugliness and grotesque portrayal of the devil Skymen as the omnipotent lord of the whole sphere of the nether world; and lastly, the disappearance of the anonymity of the apocryphal writer, and the emergence of an individual name from a formerly homogenous mass of apocryphal writings. Collectively, all these features could be viewed as being characteristic of a broader, stylistic phenomenon known as European Baroque.

- 3) The Heorhij Biljavs'kyj manuscript, dated the eighteenth century, entitled, "Otkrytjje muk presvjatij Bohorodycy iz ohljadala, gde mučatsja hrešnyi" (The Revelation of the Torments [of Hell] to the Most Holy Mother of God, who viewed [the place] where the Sinners Suffer). Published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokrify i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv, 1906) 153-159.

This eighteenth-century Ukrainian Church Slavic text of Xoždienie (the "Biljavs'kyj text"), appearing on pages 36-48 of an unknown source, is a simplified version of either the Myxajlovs'kyj 1684 text discussed earlier or the "Petrov text," which will be discussed in the following pages. The copyist was careful to preserve the unity of composition and the sequence of events. A cursory glance at the text shows that the copyist was combining two readings from two different sources in a very interesting way. His aim was to produce a similar, but not an identical copy of the Kievan Rus' manuscript through superficial modifications and emphasis on the simplification of the language. The result is a lively narrative, which stresses action and the visual qualities of the apocryphon. The linguistic changes reflected in this text clearly point to a Ukrainian copyist at work, who frequently substituted one grammatical form or lexical item for another in an attempt to standardize the language and enrich the message. This tendency to substitute is evident in such expressions as "Отверсе ся ад" (KR 125) (hell was opened) which has been replaced by the Ukrainian expression "Пекло отворило" (НВ 153). The Church Slavic imperative form in "Да отъимет ся тьма си, да быхъ видела сию моюку" (KR 126) (Let the darkness be lifted so that I would see this torment) has been replaced by the Ukrainian form of the imperative "нехай же обачу муку сию" (НВ 154). The Church Slavic subjunctive form with the pluperfect tense "да быхъ видела" has been changed to a perfective verb "обачу" (I will see) in the future tense.

Other forms of lexical substitutions are:

- 1) "исповежь ми" (KR 125) (tell me or make known to me) becomes "покажи ми всѣ муки" (NB 153) (show me all the torments).
- 2) "идемь, да походимь, да видимь все муки" (KR 121) (Let us go and see all the torments) becomes "пойдемь, святая Богородице" (NB 156) (Let us go O Holy Mother of God).
- 3) "Помилуйте нас" (KR 129) becomes "амилуйте ся над нами" (NB 157) (Have mercy upon us).
- 4) Other examples of grammatical substitution are seen in the regular use of the Ukrainian first person plural: "маемо" (we have), "видимо" (we see), "терпимо" (we suffer), "мучимо ся" (we suffer).

At the same time, we see a strong archaizing influence. The Church Slavic perfect tense has been retained in such expressions as "Як еси к нам пришла?" (NB 154) (How is it that you have come to us?), as compared to the Kievan Rus' expression "Как ны еси присѣтила?" (KR 126) (How is it that you have visited us?). We also see retention of the pluperfect tense in some instances such as "Сынъ твой благословенный сыйшолъ был на землю и не ишолъ к нам" (NB 154). (Your Blessed Son came to this earth and did not come to [see] us.)

In this text the reader becomes aware of two tendencies. On the one hand, the scribe tries to standardize the language by introducing new linguistic forms more in keeping with eighteenth-century usage, while on the other hand, he retains some of the Church Slavic morphological forms. The scribe's tendency to simplify and reduce the contents suggests that his reasons were esthetic: to reduce the monotony and increase the tempo for the impatient reader. For example, the three consecutive verbs "идемъ, да походимъ, да видимъ" (KR 127) have been replaced by one functionally equivalent imperative verb, "пойдем" (HB 156), in the Biljavs'kyj text. Since the overall effect of these changes was primarily for comprehension and dissemination, simplicity and directness were the dominant features. As Alexander Veselovs'kyj, in his article to the Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction (1864) writes: "The influence of the foreign element [in this case the Church Slavic vocabulary] is always conditioned by its inner accord, with the level of the milieu upon which it happens to be at work. Anything which departs too much from this level remains incomprehensible and is brought into equilibrium with the environment."³⁴ Thus, it seems that a basic criterion for using certain forms and rejecting others was their suitability of ensuring adequate comprehension of written texts within certain areas of literary circulation, particularly if they were intended to be included in various Sborniky.

- 4) The Ivan Kuzykevyč text, of the eighteenth century, found on pages 161-179 of an unknown source, entitled "Slovo o otkrovenjii muk egda xodyla presvjataja Bohorodycja z Myxailom, gde naučytsja rod xrestjianskii" (A Discourse on the Revelation of the Torments [of Hell] when the Most Holy Mother of God and Archangel Michael Visited the Place of Suffering), published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv, 1906) 153-159.

While preserving the general framework and the narrative techniques of the Kievan Rus' text, the Kuzykevyč version is in basic agreement with the preceding Biljavs'kyj text. It appears that the scribe worked very faithfully from this model. Many features of the Kuzykevyč text are found in equivalent form in the Biljavs'kyj text. A few key examples will illustrate the similarities between the two texts:

- 1) Omitted in both the Kuzykevyč and the Biljavs'kyj texts are all references to the Mount of Olives theme, the worship of the Slavic pagan gods, and the function of the Cherubim and Seraphim. These omissions are significant, for they indicate that either one is derived from the other, or that both are dependent upon a common source.

- 2) Both texts have preserved some portions of the opening prayer verse (the prayer of glorification), which was lost in the Bilaxevyč text. The Kuzykevyč text has preserved three sentences of each prayer; whereas, the Biljavs'kyj text has preserved one line of each prayer with some minor changes. For example; in the Kuzykevyč text, the Mother of God refers to Archangel Michael as "Voevod, commander of heavenly and earthly forces and the highest of all at the altar of God" ("Радуйся Михаиле, воеводо всехъ небесныхъ и земныхъ и над всеми превышній у престола Божія стоящи") (K 159), as opposed to "первый воинъ" (KR 124) (the first warrior). This line is missing in the Biljavs'kyj text. Instead the Mother of God refers to Archangel Michael as "всехъ превышнии оу престола Божія невидимого отца" (НВ 153) (the highest of all at the throne of God of the invisible Father).
- 3) Both texts have one similar line in common with the Kievan Rus' manuscript. "По делом ихъ буди тако" (KR 131) (Let it be according to their deeds), "По делом ихъ буди имъ" (НВ 158), "По дѣлом ихъ да будетъ имъ" (K 162).
- 4) Other examples of parallel passages, although not word-for-word reproductions are: "Отъ вѣка нѣсмь свѣта видѣли, да не можемъ възвѣрѣти горѣ" (KR 126). (We have not seen light for a long time, and we cannot look

up); "Ми тутъ отъ вѣка свѣта не видимъ и не можемъ зрѣти горѣ" (K 160); "Мы свѣта нѣкды не видимо и муки великїи терпимо" (HB 154). (We do not see light anywhere, and we are suffering great pain.) The Biljavs'kyj text has the addition of complementary words. The scribe has replaced the unfamiliar phrase "не можемъ възрѣти горѣ" (KR 126) (We cannot look up) with a more familiar phrase "и муки великїи терпимо" (HB 154) (We suffer great pains), obviously, to improve the quality of the reading.

- 5) In both the Kuzykevyč and the Biljavs'kyj texts, the Church Slavic imperfect tense has been replaced in some instances by the Ukrainian present tense. For example, "исхожаше" (to flow) with the prefix "ис" (meaning out, ex-) suggesting a kind of an out flowing or out pouring, has been replaced by the Ukrainian imperfective present tense verb "текти," "а отъ них течеть кров" (HB 156) (and blood flows from them).
- 6) In both² texts, we see occasional evidence of East Slavic pleophonic forms ("оло," "оро") alternating with non-pleophonic forms: (For example: "головами" (K 162) and "главами" (HB 155), "перед" (HB 155) and "предь" (K 159), "голосом" (HB 153) and "гласом" (HB 159).
- 7) One prominent feature of the Kuzykevyč text and a characterizing feature of the Ukrainian language is the

regular use of the third person singular and plural verbs with a soft consonant ending. ("лежить пекло" (K 160) (hell lies), "покриеть все небо" (K 160) (will cover all the heaven), "просвітить синь твою" (K160) (Your Son will enlighten), "не встають на утреню" (K 160) (they do not rise for matins).

- 8) To passage seven which describes lazy Christians who do not get up for matins on Sunday morning and who refused to go to church, the Kuzykevyč scribe has added: "Челяди своя не будять, оферы не приносять" (K 161) (They do not wake their children [on Sunday morning]. They do not bring an offering to God).

On the basis of the foregoing examples, it seems likely that the copyist was working simultaneously from two sources, the Kievan Rus' and the Biljavs'kyj texts with the intention of producing a different Ukrainian version. The linguistic changes indicate an attempt to correct as much as possible certain peculiarities of the language which were perceived as being archaic, and to bring the writing into conformity with the living language of the time. The scribe introduced features characteristic of his own system of representation. This seems to be the most logical explanation for the changes in textual and linguistic detail.

- 5) The Archeological Church Museum text of the eighteenth century from the library of the Kiev Theological Academy, published by O. Nazarevs'kyj in Xoždenie po mukam v novyx ukrajins'kyx spyskax XVII-XVIII v.v. Reprinted by O. Bilec'kyj in Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (do kincja XVIII st.) (Kiev, 1967) 670-675.

Discovered in an eighteenth-century Ukrainian manuscript anthology, this text (the "Petrov text") is preserved in the Archeological Church museum of the Kiev Theological Academy. A study of it was made by Professor M.I. Petrov.²⁷ While the text preserves the archetypal language of the Kievan Rus' manuscript, it also contains more modern linguistic phenomena. A selection of a few examples will illustrate the phonetical, morphological and lexical characteristics which occur everywhere in the narrative, sometimes in the smallest detail of word or phrases. For example, there is an increasing tendency towards the use of a Ukrainian vocabulary, a characteristic feature of the two preceding texts. "хорій" (Pet. 10) (sick), "нехай" (Pet. 7) (let be), "обачу" (Pet. 7) (I will see), "обачила" (Pet. 7) (she saw), "для чого" (Pet. 8) (for this), "ланцюги" (Pet. 9) (chains), "кохаччи" (Pet. 15) (loving), "дармо" (Pet. 11) (in vain), "мовили" (Pet. 16) (they said), "покутовали" (Pet. 14) (they suffered), "мовлячи" (Pet. 11) (speaking), "сварилися" (Pet. 8) (they quarrelled), "обмовляють" (Pet. 9) (they slander), "соромълися" (Pet. 14) (they were ashamed). There is also an

increasing number of phonetic changes, particularly evident is the confusion between the vowels "ы" and "и" (чтобы (Pet. 16) vs. абы (Pet. 5) (therefore), оны (Pet. 11) vs. они (Pet. 13) (they), тыхъ (Pet. 12) vs. тихъ (Pet. 12) (those)). There is some evidence of interchangeable prepositions ("до мене" (Pet. 14) (to me), "к горъ" (Pet. 7) (to sorrow), "из усть" (Pet. 11) (from the lips), as well as a few isolated cases of alternating adverbs ("коли" (Pet. 10) (when) and "когда" (Pet. 10)). We also find interchangeable forms between the two Church Slavic nominative plural declension types, the "и" and "а" stems ("епископи" (Pet. 12) (bishops), "патрiарси" (Pet. 12) and "патрiархове" (Pet. 13) (patriarchs), "жидове" (Pet. 6) (Jews), "игуменове" (Pet. 13) (abbots), "гетьманове" (Pet. 14) (Hetmans)). The vocative case, a characteristic feature of the Church Slavic and Ukrainian language is used freely. ("Архангеле" (Pet. 16) (archangel), "Михайле" (Pet. 16) (Michael), "воеводо" (Pet. 17) (commanders), "началниче" (Pet. 16) (director), "архистратихе" (Pet. 14) (archistrategos)).

The most evident substantive omission in the Petrov text involves the length of the sinners' reprieve. While the scribe has retained the respite motif, he has omitted completely the passage referring to the fifty-two days extending from Holy Thursday to Pentecost. The reprieve consists of only "days and nights of joy." There is no association with any event of the liturgical year. We have no way of knowing whether this was an intentional or

unintentional omission by the scribe, but the granting of a reprieve now takes on a different meaning. While God sets no period to eternal punishment, He accords the sinners some relief. Clearly, the scribe moves from the specific to the general: "Нынѣ ѡмилосердився Богъ Всемогушій ѿ за молитвами пречистой Богородици и безплотныхъ силъ и всѣхъ святыхъ божіихъ, же оумоли за васъ отца небеснаго, для того вамъ даетъ мучающимся покой во дни ѿ в нощи радост и Веселіе" (Pet. 17). (Today, the Almighty God was merciful, because of the prayers of the Most Holy Mother of God, the heavenly [spiritual] forces, and all the saints who prayed to God on your behalf, for this you sinners now receive rest from suffering during the days and nights of joy.)

While the contents of the Petrov text coincide with both the Myxajlovs'kyj and the Biljavs'kyj texts, the events are presented in a much shorter form. The differences between the texts consist primarily of word and phrase order, and the omission of some passages. The differences in phraseology and orthography are such as would naturally arise in three independent copies stemming from a single source. All three bear the unmistakable mark of copies of the original Kievan Rus' text. The Petrov text appears to have been copied from the 1604 Myxajlovs'kyj text, while the Biljavs'kyj text was copied from the Petrov text.

The Petrov text provides yet another significant witness to the variant forms Xoʒdenie took on as it began to multiply

and be known throughout Eastern Slavdom from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. The Petrov text was reprinted word-for-word by O. Bilec'kyj in his Xrestomatija with a few minor modifications. [Bilec'kyj stipulates in his footnotes that the text is based on Nazarevs'kyj's eighteenth-century text.]³⁰ Bilec'kyj's editing shows a process of orthographical modernization. The abbreviations, a common feature of the Petrov text, have been extended (from "Ѣру" to "Бору" (B 670), "старо" to "свѣтаро" (B 670), "Бца" to "Богородица" (B 671). The archaic letter juš "ѣ" which plays a major part in the scribe's life, has been changed to "y" ("часѣ" to "часы" (B 670) (time)). These changes are systematic throughout the Bilec'kyj' text. What we have before us now is an eighteenth-century Ukrainian Church Slavic text edited by a twentieth-century scholar.

- 6) The Myxajlo Turyns'kyj text "I," of the village of Balyneč in Bačka, Hungary ³¹ (now in Yugoslavia) copied from the Bačkavian original by V. Hnatjuk, dated 1897; published by Ivan Franko in Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV (L'viv, 1906) 163-172.

Of all the Ukrainian versions of Xoždenie, this late nineteenth-century text has preserved virtually all the features from the twelfth-century Kievan Rus' manuscript. The scribe of the Turyns'kyj text has retained all of scene

one, including a word-for-word reproduction of the seven-line antiphonal prayers of Archangel Michael and the Mother of God. With the exception of the Tolstoj manuscript (1602), this is the only East Slavic text to have retained this feature in its entirety. The only passage omitted in scene one deals with the Slavic pagan gods. Passages 1-3, 5, 7-9 and 19 are a word-for-word reproduction of the Kievan Rus' text, while passages 4, 6, 10, 12, 14, 16-18 and 20 show only minor linguistic changes. It seems reasonable to assume that to have produced such a similar copy the scribe was working from one of the prototype manuscripts.

Another interesting feature of the Turyns'kyj text is the amalgamation of the Bačkavian dialect and the Church Slavic grammatical forms. In some passages the copyist found it necessary to accommodate new linguistic forms, while in other passages the copyist retained the Church Slavic grammatical patterns such as "рекоша" (T 165) (they said) "чомъ не глаголете?" (T 165) (why do you not speak?) "паки" (T 169) (again), perhaps considering them useful for the composition and style. Thus, the language of this text is a mixture of several historical layers, using new forms where the copyist could substitute without breaking the old patterns of composition, and using old forms where he could not, thus preserving the traditional nature of the Church Slavic language, and the Bačkavian dialect of the region. A few key examples will illustrate the amalgamation of the two aforementioned forms, which are symptomatic of the entire

work.

Kievan Rus'

Мухажло Турынс'кыј

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1) "исповежѣ ми" (KR 125)
(tell me).</p> | <p>"повецѣ мы" (T 164). (the
prefix "ис" disappeared; the
East Slavic "ж" has changed to
"ц".)</p> |
| <p>2) "неизрекомыи суть муки"
(KR 125) (ineffable are
the torments).</p> | <p>"нѣвиповедзени муки томи нѣ
маю числа" (the Church Slavic
velar cluster "кы" has been
changed to "ки".)</p> |
| <p>3) "колько" (KR 125) (how
much).</p> | <p>"кельо" (T 164).</p> |
| <p>4) "червь" (KR 125) (worms).</p> | <p>"хробаци" (T 166).</p> |
| <p>5) "Еліоньстѣй горе" (KR 124)
(Mount of Olives).</p> | <p>"Елеонской горе" (T163)
(on the Mount of Olives).</p> |
| <p>6) "полуночь" (KR 126)
(north).</p> | <p>"полуночь" (T 165).</p> |
| <p>7) "со ангелы" (KR 124) (with
the angels).</p> | <p>"со ангелами" (T 163). (The
Church Slavic instrumental
plural of the "o"- "jo" - stems
assumed the ending of the
instrumental case of the
"a"- "ja" - stems (-аму, -јаму).</p> |
| <p>8) "оуды желъзны" (KR 128)
(iron hooks).</p> | <p>"конари желъзны" (T 167).</p> |
| <p>9) "от великаго четвърька"</p> | <p>"от великаго штвартку" (T 172).</p> |

(KR 134) (from Holy
Thursday).

10) "тъгдѣ паде ся Михайль
лиць лицемъ своимъ предъ
престольмъ" (KR 133)
(Then Michael fell down on
his face before the throne
of God).

"тогда поклѣкали лицемъ до
земли" (T 171) (Then they knelt
with their faces to the
ground).

(The aorist "паде" has been
replaced by the 1-participle
"поклѣкали" (T164).

11) "многы" (KR 125) (many).

"вельо" (T 164).

12) "мужъ и женъ" (KR 126)
(men and women).

"хлопи и жени" (T 164).

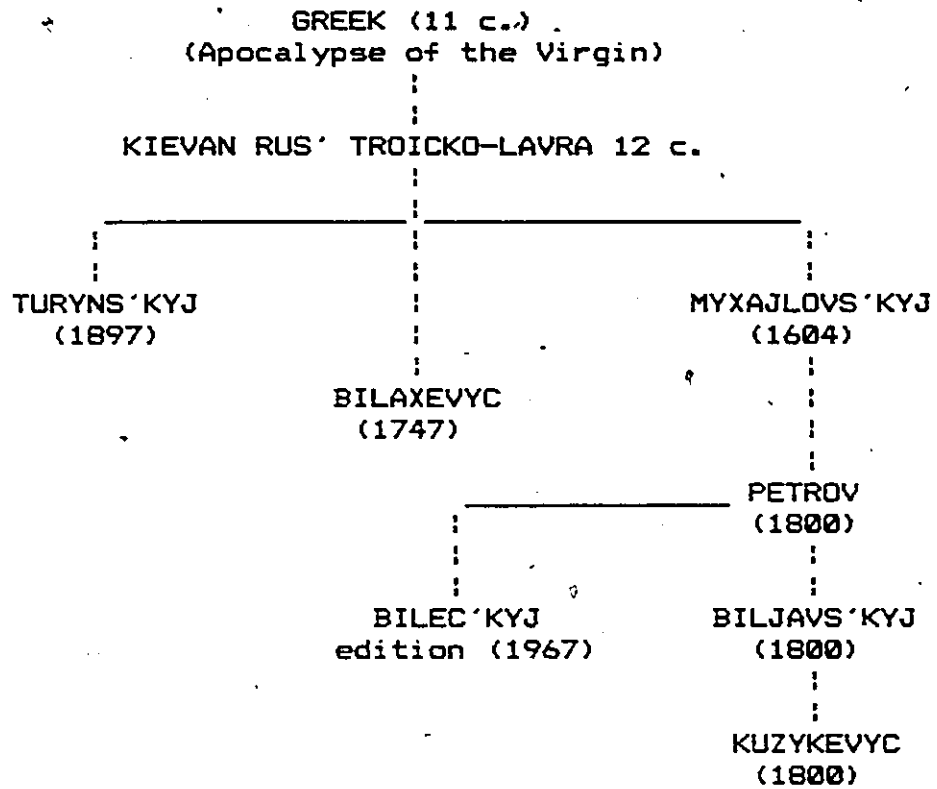
The Turýns'kyj text provides us with yet another link in the literary tradition of Хождение in Ukraine, all stemming directly or indirectly from the same Slavic prototype.

It is perhaps difficult to characterize in general terms all the Ukrainian treatments of Хождение, yet one cannot help but see that Хождение took a different course of development in Ukraine than it did in Russia. It appears that the textual tradition of Хождение in Eastern Slavdom had two main branches of development. The Ukrainian scribes, while introducing individual variations, tried to preserve the style, composition, and the archetypal language of the apocryphon, which acted as a distancing factor discouraging too much personal intervention by the scribe. With the exception of the Bilaxevyč text, which introduces several new

features, the Ukrainian scribes as a whole were interested in preserving the spirituality of the Byzantine prototype, thus proving to be worthy masters of their artistic inheritance. They handled the same body of knowledge in a manner significantly different from the Russian scribes. This perhaps explains why these manuscripts were copied and recopied. It was a sense of continuing a tradition, and a need to preserve all available records. At the same time, the recopying of texts would have provided a paradigm for the scribes to follow. The minor changes introduced were part of the normal scribal practice. The Russian scribes, on the other hand, were not too concerned with preserving accurate or even identical copies. Their primary concern was the elaboration of the hell scene and its concentration on sin and punishment. As Pypin notes: "Xoždienie became, as it were, a narrative depicting a popular judgment scene without any conciliatory thought."⁴⁰

In summary, the possible relationships among the six Ukrainian texts of Xoždienie presented here may be outlined in graphic form as follows. As complicated and speculative as the interrelationship appears to be, the diagram which is not to be construed as a stemma, presents a simplified view of what the probable development of Xoždienie in Eastern Slavdom may have been.

A Suggested Outline of The Probable Interrelationships
of Ukrainian Xoʒdenie Texts



(b). Xoždenie in South Slavic Sources

(i). Serbian and Croatian Texts

- 1) A Serbian manuscript of the fifteenth century, pages 20-32, entitled "Ob'xoždenjie mukam presvetye vladyčice naše Bogorodice" (The Journey of Our Sovereign Mother of God Through the Torments [of Hell]), published by N. Tixonravov in Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury, vol. II (Moscow, 1863) 30-39.

Xoždenie was preserved in Serbia in three versions: a fifteenth-century text, a sixteenth-century fragment, and a seventeenth-century fragment. While the general consensus of the scholars (Bokadorov, Jagić and Tixonravov) is that Xoždenie travelled from Byzantium to Serbia via Bulgaria, Bokadorov does admit, however, that the history of Xoždenie in Serbian is cloudy. He is of the opinion that the fifteenth-century Serbian text, discovered by Grigorovič in the Serbian Monastery Hilandar (Chilandari) on Mount Athos, is the result of an oral process of composition.⁴¹ Our study shows that the opposite is true. The syntactical similarities between the Kievan Rus' prototype and the Serbian text make it highly unlikely that the text was written from memory. Instead, we should attribute the Serbian variation to the tradition of copying. There are convincing signs that the Serbian version is a reworked text of the

Kievan Rus' manuscript. The mere fact that the Serbian version of Xoždenie was found in the Hilandar monastery points toward the role Mount Athos played as a literary and cultural center as Constantine Cavarnos and George Vernadsky indicate.⁴² Since Mount Athos served as a powerful link between Byzantine and Orthodox Slavdom, the Serbian version of Xoždenie was in all probability translated or copied by a Serbian monk, who lived on Mount Athos at that time. As Faith C.M. Kitch notes: "The most accessible sources of manuscripts for translation were the rich libraries of the Greek monasteries on Mount Athos. Not surprisingly, therefore, most of the copying and translation of manuscripts intended for use in Serbia was undertaken by Serbian monks resident on Mount Athos."⁴³ While the Serbian text shows corresponding uniformity in general structure, style and narrative patterns, the text does have its own points of divergence. The most obvious one is the introduction in scene one of the theme of the seven cardinal sins, never before encountered in the dialogue between Archangel Michael and the Mother of God. The seven deadly sins are as follows:

- 1) Denying Christ as Our Saviour.
- 2) Committing sins against one's neighbour.
- 3) Refusing to believe in God the Father.
- 4) Ignoring the laws of the Church.
- 5) Creating strife and discord in the home, family and among relatives.
- 6) Showing no mercy or compassion to the poor.

- 7) Neglecting to attend the Divine Services on Sundays and Holy Days. The discussion ends with the Biblical quotation "И рече боле бы било человеку тому не родитисе" (S 32). (And said, it would have been better had that man not been born.)

From the above list it is easy to see that the apocryphal seven cardinal sins are quite different in character from the Western picture of the seven deadly vices, which include pride, greed, gluttony and drunkenness, anger, lust, despondency and sloth. The Serbian apocryphal deadly sins are more characteristic of the commandments of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the seven spiritual acts of mercy, which include observing the Holy Days and Feast Days, attending Divine Liturgy, keeping the fasts in accordance with the teaching of the church, feeding the hungry, and so on.⁴⁴ Our task however, is to determine why the Serbian copyist introduced the theme of the seven unforgiveable sins into the introductory scene of the apocryphon. It appears from an examination of the text that the theme of the seven deadly sins may have served two purposes. First, the scribe wished to show that among the external sins listed in the apocryphon [those guilty of civil law], there are also the moral and ecclesiastical sins for which there can be no forgiveness, regardless of the prayers of the Mother of God and the intercessors in heaven -- but there is mercy if only for a brief period. The scribe enumerates seven ways of obtaining this mercy. He expresses in negative terms his

disapproval of various forms of behaviour: not getting up for church on Sunday morning, not worshipping God, not showing mercy to the poor, and so on. The seven cardinal sins reiterate in a more distinct way the theme of man's wilful transgression, and are therefore included by the scribe in the framework of the analysis of sin. Second, the introduction of the seven deadly sins could also be considered a rhetorical device to give the author an opportunity to outline further his theme of mercy and forgiveness in scene three. In this way, the Serbian copy becomes an instructive moralizing work appropriate for the Lenten and Easter season. On the other hand, it seems quite probable, maintains Cvetana Vranska, "that this apocryphon was influenced by another apocryphal text, namely the Văprosite na Bogorodica za sedemte grexove.⁴⁵ (The Questions of the Mother of God on the Seven Deadly Sins), which was very popular among the Southern Slavs. In either case, the Serbian version offers concrete proof of the need for modifications appropriate to local conditions and times.

Following the discussion of the seven deadly sins, the text adheres to the general sequence of events of the Kievan Rus' text. While each line in the Serbian text may seem to parallel convincingly an equivalent line of the Kievan Rus' text, when one examines these equivalent lines, there are many small changes in detail, such as the omission of paragraphs, the substitution of nouns, verbs, adverbs and prepositions. For example, there is no trace in the Serbian

text of the Slavic worshippers of the pagan gods; the 400 angels in the Kievan Rus' text has been changed to 500 angels. While portions of the opening antiphonal prayers have been preserved, they nevertheless, reflect the vocabulary of a Serbian monk. For example, "Радусе аγγльское похваление" (S 30). (Rejoice, O angel's glory!) "Радусе, Михаиле невидмаго отца служилю" (S 30). (Rejoice, O Michael, the servant of the invisible Father!) Many other passages show corresponding similarities. For example, the Holy Mother of God wishes to see the place where the Christians suffer, "И рече Богородица, хошу видети где мучатсе род хрестіанскы" (S 32). (And the Mother of God said, I want to see where the Christians are suffering.) She bid the evil darkness be lifted, so that she can see the suffering souls. She saw a multitude of men and women, and great cries were heard from them. "Виде народ много мужіе и жены и плачь вѣликъ исхождаше от них" (S 32). And the Mother of God asked Michael, "Что суть что ли имь суть грѣсы?" (S 32) (Who are they, and what are their sins?) With a few minor variations, these passages appear to be copied directly from the Kievan Rus' manuscript. If we compare other passages from both texts, we can see that the scribe uses the same linguistic forms to render the same message. "От вѣка несмо видели свѣта" (S 32). (From time immemorial, we have not seen light.) In other instances, we see lexical substitution. The sentence "и не можаше реци Господи помилуй" (S 35) (and they were unable to utter "Lord, have mercy"), replaces the Kievan Rus' sentence "и не можаше въздѣхнути" (KR 128).

(And they were unable even to sigh.) In other cases, the only difference between texts appears to be primarily phonetical, a change from the East Slavic "ж" to the South Slavic "жд." (from "иде же рѣка исхождаше огъна" (KR 126) (and here flowed a fiery river) to "и тут исхождаше река огниина" (S 33).)

The theme of divine mercy and intercession is highly developed in the final scene of the Serbian text. The Mother of God entreats all the angels, archangels, and the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Thrones, to pray for the mercy of the sinners. "Съберетесе вси свѣти ангели архангели прѣстоли херувѣми и Серафѣми. Да помолмсе за хрестіане" (S 38). (Gather together all the Holy angels, archangels, the Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Thrones. Let us pray for the Christians.) Then all the saints knelt around the heavenly throne of God and prayed for the mercy of the Christians. "Тогдѣ прїидоше вси свѣты и поклонїше и падоше нїць. Вси в зупише в лїемь гласами помилуй владико хрестіане" (S 38). (Then all the saints came and fell on their knees face downward. They all cried with one voice saying, "Lord have mercy upon the Christians.") The inclusion of the actions of the saints, kneeling around the heavenly throne of God begging for forgiveness, a feature absent in all other versions, is perhaps one of the reasons why the length of the reprieve was extended in the Serbian text from the original 52 to 59 days, so as to include the Feast of All Saints, which falls on the Sunday after Pentecost. Everyone in

heaven rejoices, the angels, archangels, apostles, prophets and martyrs, praising God in the highest. "Тогда же святая Богородица и вси светы ангели, архангели апостоли, и пророци и мученици, вси единомъ гласомъ възвущше слава царствію ти владико (S 38-39). (Then the Mother of God and all the Holy angels, archangels, apostles, prophets and martyrs exclaimed together in one voice saying, "Glory to God and His Kingdom.") At this point one may ask, what does the Serbian scribe want us to learn from this image? His message is obviously no different from the one we had seen earlier in the Kievan-Rus' text. The figure of the Mother of God together with the saints, apostles, and martyrs kneeling in worship around the throne of God represent the unity of all creation. While discord may reign in the world, there is no discord in God's plan. All are one.

- 2) A sixteenth-century Serbian fragment entitled "Slovo o .7. gresex neprostenix. Oče blagoslovi." (A Sermon on the Seven Unforgiveable Sins. Father, Your Blessing!) published by Stojan Novaković in "Apokrifi kijevskoga rukopisa" (Kievan Apocryphal Manuscripts) Starine vol. XVI (Zagreb, 1884) 91-92; and a seventeenth-century fragment by I. Polivka in "Opisi i izvodi iz jugoslaven-skih rukopisa u Pragu" (A Description of Excerpts from Yugoslavian manuscripts in Prague) Starine vol. XXII, 1890, entitled "V'prosi presvetie Bogorodice o .7. grexov (The Questions of the Most Holy Mother of God on

the Seven Deadly Sins) (also known as "Pitanja o sedam glavnih grijeha") 203-204.

Stojan Novaković is of the opinion that this Serbian fragment is an adaptation of Xoždenie, which was influenced by another apocryphal writing, The Questions of the Mother of God on the Seven Deadly Sins. According to Polivka, "the apocryphon Questions of the Mother of God on the Seven Deadly Sins was not listed in the indices of false and forbidden books."⁴⁶ Polivka maintains that the Serbian text "Slovo o .7. gresex" is a fragment of Xoždenie itself. Bokadorov is of a different opinion. He claims this Serbian fragment is a witness of the disintegration of Xoždenie's true literary form. As the apocryphon crossed linguistic and liturgical boundaries, the Serbian apocryphon of Xoždenie merged with the work of the seven deadly sins, and with the passing of time, became a didactic lesson in Christian living.⁴⁷

This short fragmentary text of Xoždenie, occupying only one page, consists of a dialogue between the Mother of God and Christ Our Lord. The action begins with the usual introduction, the preparation for revelation. The Holy Mother of God prays to God for mercy and the forgiveness of sins. Christ tells her that while her prayers and tears may have interceded for many sinners, there are seven unforgivable sins for which there is no mercy. Christ enumerates the seven deadly sins, which are in complete agreement with those listed in the Serbian fifteenth-century

text published by Tixonravov. The text concludes with two brief theological questions by the Mother of God; "Which angel sends down hail upon the crops of man?" And what is a church?" In response to her question, she receives an allegorical answer. "Archangel Michael sends down hail not only upon the crops, but upon all evil men." "And a church," says Christ, "is a house of God" (Nov. 91). Through the medium of questions and answers, the author places emphasis on the significance of Archangel Michael and on the church as a heaven on earth. The text concludes here.⁴⁰

A similar seventeenth-century fragment was reprinted by I. Polivka in "Opisi i izvodi iz jugoslavenskih rukopisa u Pragu" with one noticeable addition. To the list of seven deadly sins, which are essentially the same as those enumerated by S. Novaković, a final prayer has been added.

- 3) An Old Croatian Glagolitic text dated 1468, pages 360-344, transcribed into the Cyrillic by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, published in Arxiv za povestnicu jugoslavensku vol. IX (Zagreb, 1868) 110-119.

This 1468 Old Croatian text of Xoždenie is considered to be an extremely valuable manuscript for according to Sakcinski, "it corresponds more closely to the Greek and the Church Slavic text than does the Serbian text."⁴¹ Sreznevskij used it to complete the missing pages of the Kievan Rus'

text, particularly the missing introductory passages from scene one, which included the antiphonal prayers. The Croatian text has been somewhat shortened. Some repetitive passages have been omitted. Most significantly, the seer is no longer referred to as Bogorodica, but Diva Marija (the Virgin Mary), no doubt the influence of Catholicism. The motif of reprieve begins not with Holy Thursday, but with Easter Sunday and extends to Pentecost. "Се даю вам от вскръшениѣ моего до петикост" (C 118). (I am giving you rest from the day of my resurrection to Pentecost.) This minor change, while attributable to scribal intervention, places emphasis on Christ's Resurrection, rather than on his crucifixion. The text concludes with the Gloria of acknowledgement from all those who prayed for the mercy of the sinners. "Слишавши же сие пресветаѣ дѣва Мариѣ и вси ангели и вси свети записахъ еднимъ гласомъ глаголюще: Слава милосердию твоему, слава царствию твоему, Господи, слава величаствию твоему" (C 118). (Having heard this, the Virgin Mary and all the angels and saints exclaimed together in one voice saying, "Glory to God for his mercifulness, Glory to God and to His Kingdom, Glory to God in the highest.)

(ii). Bulgarian

- 1) An undated Bulgarian text entitled "Xodene na Bogorodica po mäkite" (The Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments [of Hell]), published by Petär Dinekov in

Staro Bălgarski stranici. Antologija (Old Bulgarian Pages: An Anthology) (Sofija, 1966); 288-293; reprinted by Petăr Dinekov, Kujo Kuev and Donka Petkanova in Xristomatija po starobălgarska literatura (An Anthology of Old Bulgarian Literature), 3rd ed. (Sofija, 1974) 173-177.

In spite of its fragmentary beginning (the first two pages are missing), this Bulgarian text of Xoždenie contains substantially all the material of the archetypal text. The Bulgarian copyist was careful to preserve the thematic and structural individuality of the Kievan Rus' text. An abridged version of these texts was published by Cvetana Vranska in Apokrifite za Bogorodiča i Bălgarskata narodna pesen' (The Apocryphon on the Mother of God and Bulgarian Folksongs) 61-63.

- 2) A Bulgarian text entitled "Xodene na Bogorodica po măkite" (The Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments [of Hell]), published by En'o Nikolov in Apokrifna literatura (Apocryphal Literature) (Sofija, n.d.) 30-36.

A cursory analysis of this Bulgarian text indicates that it is yet another variant of the same theme. Its linguistic features indicate that it is a copy of a later date, possibly the nineteenth century. The variations between the Nikolov

and the Dinekov copies reveal two different forms of translations, which clearly point toward two copyists at work. Their narrative patterns nevertheless reveal similar sound patterns resounding throughout all three Bulgarian texts, which, although belonging to different copyists and possibly different times, still seem to be based on the same theme. Unfortunately, neither Nikolov nor Dikenov provide us with any background information on the source or preservation of their copies. Vranska indicates that her copy was translated into the living Bulgarian language from an XVIII century text based on Tixonravov's manuscript.³⁰

The Nikolov text has been greatly reduced in content. Scene one, for example, has been reduced to the Mother of God praying on the Mount of Olives and the appearance of Archangel Michael and the four hundred angels. No mention is made of the angels appearing from the four corners of the earth. Neither are there any traces of the introductory antiphonal prayers. For example: "Богородица излиза на Елеонската планина и моли Бога да види мъките на грешните. Тозчас слиза от небето архангел Михаил и 400 ангели с него ... и адът се открива" (N 30). (The Mother of God went to the Mount of Olives and prayed to God to see the suffering of the sinners. At that time, Archangel Michael descended from heaven with the four hundred angels ... and hell was opened.) The Nikolov text has, interestingly, preserved the passage with the Slavic pagan gods, a feature omitted in many of the later Ukrainian and Russian texts, and visibly absent from

the Serbian and Croatian texts as well. "Наричали Богове слънцето и месеца; земята и водата, зверовете и пълзещите животни.... Считали Богове Троян, Хорс, Велес, Перун. Затова се мъчат тук" (N 31) (They called everything God, the sun and the moon, the earth and the water, the beasts and the serpents. They considered Trojan, Xors, Veles and Perun as gods. For this they suffer here.) This passage is clearly a word-for-word reproduction of the text published by Tixonravov in Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury. Moreover, Nikolov makes reference to Tixonravov in his footnotes. We may assume, then, that Nikolov's copy is a direct translation from the Tixonravov text.

Although there are many omitted passages in the Nikolov text (particularly those in scene two), there are no new additions. It is noteworthy, however, that the theme of sinners immersed to various depths in the river of fire is well preserved in both the Bulgarian apocryphon and its native folklore. Cvetana Vranska in Apokrifite za Bogorodica i Bălgarskata narodna pesen' cites numerous examples of the survival of some of Xoždanie's main themes in Bulgarian folksongs, long after the apocryphon ceased to be credible.²¹

The South Slavic texts of Xoždanie provide yet another witness to the popularity of the apocryphon in Orthodox Slavdom, and the variant forms Xoždanie took as it travelled from nation to nation. Each literary text of Xoždanie became at various levels a chapter of a longer story, a

representative of a literary tradition. The Bulgarian and Serbian folksongs, on the other hand, serve to illustrate how Xoždienie themes abounded in a diversity of media and locale, giving an indication of their influence.

Summary

Based upon a comparative analysis of the contents and structure of Xoždienie's later East and South Slavic versions, several observations may be made. 1) On the basis of the evidence presented, the primary witnesses of the oldest extant Slavic manuscript are the Old Croatian (1468), Tolstoj (1602), Myxajlovs'kyj (1604), and the nineteenth-century Turyns'kyj text. The remainder of the versions appear to descend from an amalgam of texts which combine passages from one of the immediate copies and the original plus outside work. 2) The Xoždienie literature, which should be treated as a series of different, but related texts, all belonging to the history of the same work, can be divided into three distinct subgroups: a) the oldest and the most important text is the Tixonravov and Sreznevskij manuscript; b) the direct descendants of the Kievan Rus' manuscript and frequent sources for many later versions and adaptations are the Tolstoj, Old Serbian (fifteenth century), Old Croatian, and the Myxajlovs'kyj text; and c) versions of a later period which are closely dependent upon the direct descendants.

Since all versions share common textual material, along with an overall similarity in languages and order of content, we must conclude that the texts were ultimately derived from a common ancestor, which, as my study suggests, was the Kievan Rus' manuscript, translated directly as Sreznevskij claims from the Byzantine prototype.

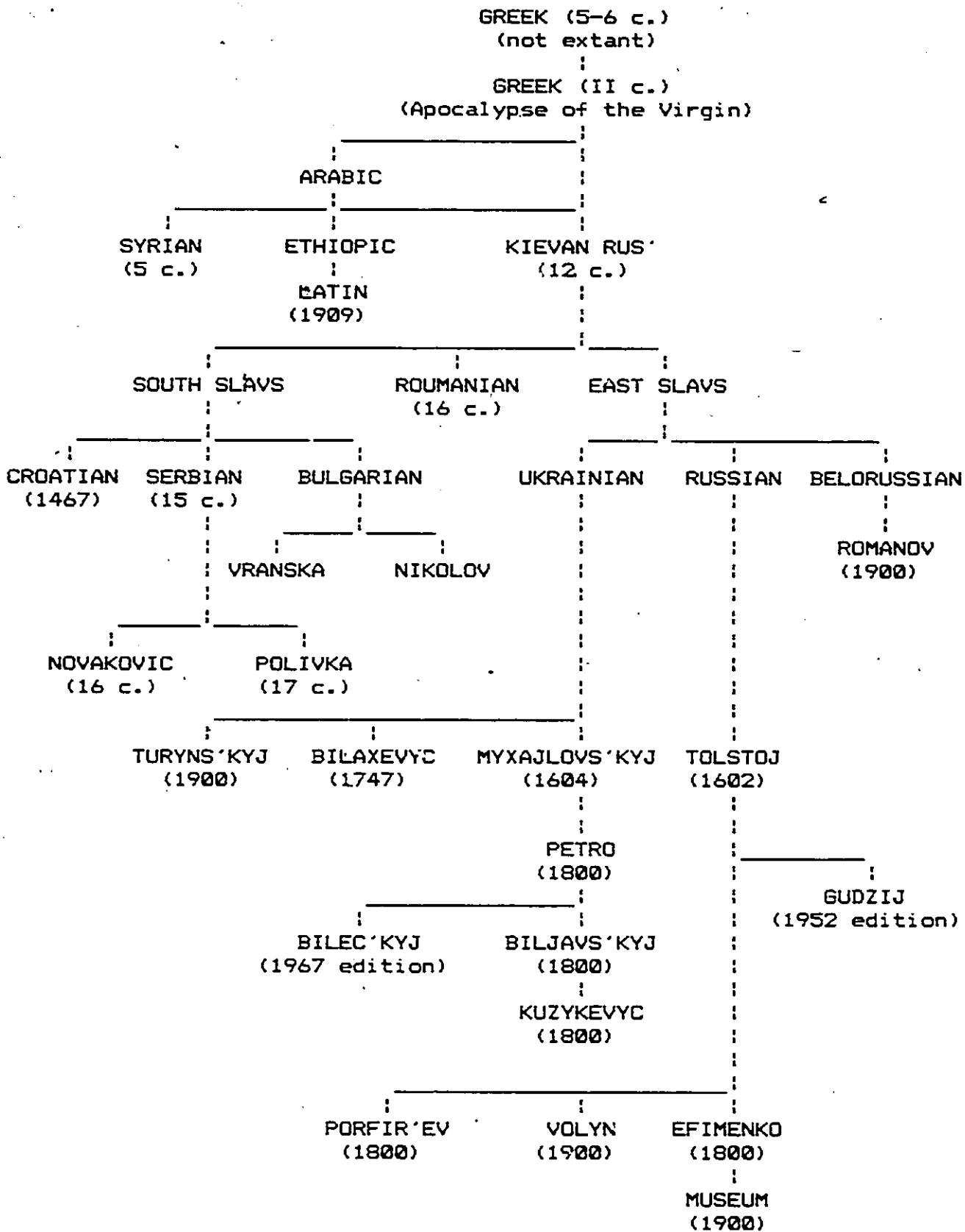
The purpose of chapter three was to provide neither an exhaustive analysis nor a fully developed interpretation of any of the versions, but to use them to illustrate that they were all derived from one source. Typical examples from each of the twenty Slavic texts have been chosen for analysis. Together, these examples offer sufficient proof to establish the existing relationships between the surviving versions and the Kievan Rus' manuscript. All versions display phonetic changes, the addition of complementary words, lexical substitution, the omission of stereotyped passages, changes in word order, and other attempts to produce a smoother and more readable text. The rearrangement of word order and the intentional substitution of lexical items were by far the most common form of scribal changes, and, in most cases, the most easily identifiable.

In reviewing the substantive changes of later versions of Xoźdenie, certain characteristics emerge with certainty. The variations introduced by the individual scribes (an expansion in the range and complexity of sins, sinners and geographical images of hell, the portrayal of the devil

Skymen and the motif of purgatory) were not simply features with local coloration adapted to serve the needs of the particular area, but were in part the result of a changed literary, religious and cultural climate. These characteristics become more defined when we compare, for example, the twelfth-century Kievan Rus' text with the rather elaborate 1747 Bilaxevyč narrative. Separated from each other by a span of some six-hundred years, these texts reveal an obvious change in style, from a "period of stylistic simplicity" with its emphasis on a lucid construction and monothematic delivery, to the style of the Baroque characterized by its emphasis on detail, embellishment, imagery, demonology and overwhelming contrasts, all designed to increase dramatic tension and enrich the artistic vitality of the apocryphon.⁵²

It is now possible to complete the diagram of the relationships among the different versions within each source group. This new outline (not to be construed as a stemma), based upon the observed patterns of relationships, is designed to throw light on the possible development of the tradition of Xoždenie in both the East and South Slavic lands and beyond their borders, thus securing the type of interchange which gave birth to a literary tradition of its own.

Xoʻzdenie in The Literary Tradition of The Orthodox Slavs.



Conclusion

While Xoždenie may share some characteristics with its immediate predecessors, particularly Xoždenie Pavla and Slovo o svjatom Avraame, in terms of its language, compositional method and specific stylistic devices, Xoždenie stands alone, having no immediate literary match in Kievan Rus' apocryphal literature. The author of Xoždenie told the story of the infernal journey in his own way, enriching it with a new theme, and a new spiritual value. The prominence assigned to the glorification of the Holy Mother of God as the Divine Protectress of her people on earth and as a powerful intercessor in heaven, the veneration of Archangel Michael and his power as divine mediator, the role of the angels to convey the theological message, the mood of Christian optimism and emotionalism in prayer, the theme of intercession and divine mercy, the correspondence of sin and punishment, the physical representation of hell torments, the heavily underlined didacticism, the question and answer form, the tripartite composition, the repetition of contrasts, and the use of rhythmically organized prose collectively create a new work, a narrative of Eastern Orthodox theology and spirituality.

In analyzing the unity of formal devices of composition in Xoždenie, the correspondence of form, content and poetic expression have been revealed. The author achieves a synthesis of affirmation and negation, good and evil, spirit

and flesh, reward and punishment, God and nothingness, through the repeated use of thematic contrasts which intensify the play of opposites. Abstract symbols (the concealed use of numerals three, four, seven and forty) are transposed into a medium for the expression of ideas, an affirmation of man's Christian beliefs as represented by the seer, the angels and the sinners. The apocryphon's traditional imagery of lightness and darkness portrays both the eternal conflict between good and evil and the final bliss of God. The theme of the infernal journey represents an allegorized journey of life, a linear movement of man's existence from a lower to a higher state of being.

An examination of Xoždenie's later versions from the fifteenth century onward show both a process of change and a process of preservation. A study of these forms must take into account many factors: the numerous textual versions, their script and stylistic traits, approximate dates of composition, place of origin, compositional process, methods of textual transmission, function and reception. All of these factors are sufficient to indicate that the relationships involved are more complex than a simple grouping of texts into East and South Slavic sources will allow. While every new fact brought to light opens up numerous historical relationships, it is problematical in many respects. First, the date of composition, for most later texts of Xoždenie can be given only to the nearest century; their place of origin can be answered with varying

degrees of approximation. Second, the information gleaned from these sources has by no means been exhausted, as Konusov's and Pokrovskaja's collections clearly indicate. What has survived represents only a fraction of what once was. New discoveries may compel us to change or modify our present views.

In drawing upon evidence from a comparative analysis of twenty extant East and South Slavic texts of Xoždenie, this study reveals that the relationship between the Kievan Rus' prototype and the later versions preserves an underlying unity and dependence upon an Orthodox tradition, which, regardless of place of origin or differences in language and dates of composition, forms the spirit of this verbal art. While individual texts may show numerous local, linguistic variations, they also reveal the existence of stable and inextricable narrative patterns, which resisted significant alterations for the following reasons: 1) Bearing the vestiges of an ancient and well-established apocryphal tradition going back to the Revelation of Moses, the fountainhead of this tradition, Xoždenie's narrative patterns (pseudonymity, guided tour, eschatological discourse between the seer and the angelus interpres, numerical symbolism, belief in an exalted angel, intercession of the righteous, and a reprieve for the sinners), withstood the transmission from Byzantium to the East and South Slavic lands and beyond its borders; 2) the medieval Slavic scribes and copyists, while showing a need for revising and reinterpreting the

message of the revelation, also showed a concern for revering tradition and a need to preserve all available records. The textual changes introduced by the scribes (for example, omission of redundant passages, adaptations, interpolations, word order) did not greatly disturb or distort Xoždenie's identity. Xoždenie remained a revelatory writing whose contents disclosed the secrets of the beyond, and therefore could not be greatly changed or altered. At the same time, the scribes' individual reelaboration of common textual material contributed to the richness of Xoždenie literature, a fact which explains why the later versions of Xoždenie are both similar and yet different; 3) the Church Slavic language, serving as a living ecclesiastical language and a common medium of transmission in Orthodox Slavdom, was also a powerful unifying force in the cultural world. While the later scribes found it necessary to impose conventional linguistic uniformity, in order to correct as much as possible the peculiarities of the language which were perceived as archaic, they also (being governed by the norms of the ecclesiastical body), retained many old Slavonic forms considering them useful for the composition and style. It seems reasonable to assume that the Church Slavic language acted as a factor discouraging too much scribal alteration, thereby preserving the traditional nature of the language and, at the same time, the structural integrity of Xoždenie.

* * *

Appendix One

Other Orthodox Non-Slavic Sources

(i). Roumanian

There are two extant Roumanian texts of the apocryphon Xoždenie which I was unable to obtain for an examination, although these texts may prove most fruitful for a comparison with East Slavic texts. One was published by Moses Gaster in Literatura Populară Romăna (Roumanian Popular Literature) (Bucuresti (Bucharest), 1883). The other, a sixteenth-century text, was published by Petriceicu-Hasdeu in Cartile poporane ale Românilor vol. II (Bucuresti [Bucharest], n.d.) 313-367. Franko, in his introduction to Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokrifny i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv vol. IV, makes a brief reference to a sixteenth-century Roumanian text of Xoždenie being published alongside the Sreznevskyj Kievan Rus' text by Petriceicu-Hasdeu.² There is no mention of any comparative analysis. We can only assume that this Roumanian text was derived from the Kievan-Rus' manuscript. Pascal claims that the apocryphon [Pilgrimage of the Mother of God], "passed from the Slavonic regions over into Rumanian-speaking areas. The first translation from Slavonic was made in Transylvania around the middle of the sixteenth century, and a second from the Greek, was produced in the eighteenth."² An English abstract of Xoždenie was also published by Moses Gaster in

Greeko-Slavonic: Ilchester Lectures on Greeko Slavonic Literature (London, 1887) 59-62, which is similar in content to the Kievan Rus' manuscript.

(ii). Greek

1) An eleventh-century Greek manuscript entitled Apocalypse of the Virgin edited and published by Montague Rhodes James in Apocrypha Anecdota. Texts and Studies vol. 11, (Cambridge, 1893) 115-126.

This eleventh-century Greek text is, according to Sreznevskij, the Byzantine prototype of the Kievan Rus' text of Xoždenie. In his "Introduction to the Apocalypse of the Virgin," James states that "similar documents, if not actual versions of this Greek text are to be found in Slavonic (Kozak's list of Slavonic Apocrypha) and in Ethiopic (Dillmann's catalogue).³ This Greek text is, according to James, "the oldest copy that he could find, occupying eight and half leaves (ff. 342-350) and preserved in the Bodleian Manuscript marked Auc. E. 5. 12."⁴ Like Xoždenie, it, too, was part of a twelfth-century codex, whose contents, according to James, included Homilies, Canons and Lives of Saints. The Apocalypse of the Virgin is the twelfth item of 23; the eleventh is the martyrdom of Saint Demetrius, the thirteenth, is a Homily on Job attributed to Saint John Chrysostom.⁵

The nature of the Greek revelation is similar to the Kievan Rus' text. The only characterizing feature of the Kievan Rus' text not found in the Greek text is, naturally, that of the worshippers of the Slavic pagan gods. The Apocalypse of the Virgin opens with the Virgin Mary praying for an eschatological revelation on the Mount of Olives. Archangel Michael appears in the company of four-hundred angels from the four corners of the earth, North, East, West, South. He greets the Holy Virgin with the traditional prayer of glorification. She responds with a similar greeting. The earth opens and the Blessed Virgin is shown the tortures of the damned. She sees first the unbelievers in great darkness. She bids the darkness be lifted so she can see the suffering souls. No one as yet has interceded on their behalf. Neither Abraham, John the Baptist, Moses nor Paul the Apostle. She sees those who cursed their parents, false witnesses, usurers, gossipers and those guilty of abortion. In the West she sees sinners on fiery tables; they were those who did not respect the clergy, who did not rise upon their entry. On an iron tree hung blasphemers and slanderers, wicked priests, readers of the word of God, bishops, widows of priests, who remarried, covetous women, and nuns. All were severely punished. A great appeal of the Virgin Mary follows, in which she entreats all the angels and saints to intercede with her for the Christians. The climax of the apocalypse is reached with the Blessed Virgin gaining reprieve for the sinners during the days of the Pentecost.◊

(iii). Ethiopic

The Ethiopic version of the Apocalypse of the Virgin was edited and translated into Latin from a single manuscript by M. Chaine Apocalypsis sen Visio Mariae Virginis, and published in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium series 1, vol. VII (1909) 43-68. "Chaine takes the apocalypse to be a version from the Arabic, and the Arabic he thinks, was translated from the Greek."⁷ Chaine also claims that the Ethiopic text is wholly different from the Greek and Slavic versions. Montague James notes that in some parts the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin follows that of the Apocalypse of Paul very closely.⁸ A brief synopsis of the text is given by James in The Apocryphal New Testament.⁹ The Ethiopic text commences with the Holy Virgin praying at the Mount of Golgotha at noon on the sixth day of the week. The Mount of Golgotha, like the Mount of Olives, has a historical significance for it was the mountain on which Christ was crucified. A cloud appears and takes her to the third heaven in much the same way as Apostle Paul was taken to the third heaven. The Son of Man appears and tells the Virgin Mary that He will show her a great mystery. She is taken on a tour of hell. A description of hell follows, which in some cases follows that of Xoždenie Pavla. The text ends with the Blessed Virgin procuring rest for all the sinners from the evening of the sixth day to the morning of the second (from Friday evening to Monday morning). This probably was in keeping with the Sabbath observance of the Ethiopic Church,

and at the same time parallel to the respite received by Apostle Paul for the sinners.

Thus the relationship between the Kievan Rus' text and the Ethiopic one involves much more than the mere appropriation of common textual material. Both texts reveal a similar narrative structure from the beginning to the end. It is therefore highly probable that these texts are linked together by a common Byzantine tradition.

(iv). Syriac

The Syriac version of the Apocalypse of the Virgin exists only as a fragment, and is entitled "The Dreadful Place of Torments which the Disciples begged of Our Lord that they may see." The fragment forms part of a larger chapter entitled "The Obsequies of the Holy Virgin," which was published and edited by W. Wright in Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament.¹⁰ Wright claims that "this was the oldest of his manuscripts, belonging probably to the latter half of the fifth century."¹¹ While the central characters of the Syriac Apocalypse are the same, the textual content differs. The scene begins with the apostles, the Holy Virgin, Archangel Michael, and Christ the Saviour being taken away in a cloud to the place where the sun sets. The setting of the sun refers here to the place of death. In this apocryphon, it is Christ who speaks with the

guardian angels of the pit. The pit is opened, revealing much weeping and groaning. The sinners speak to Michael; "Michael, chief of the angels! Michael, our strength and our general! Why have you forsaken us? Why have you not asked God for mercy on our behalf? The Virgin Mary and the apostles, seeing the plight of the sinners, fell down to their knees and wept. But the Lord God spoke to them saying: "Apostles, arise and learn, for I told you beforehand that you will not be able to endure the sight of what you see in the pit." Michael then spoke to the sinners. "He liveth who hath power over all the creatures."¹² The text concludes with the angels praising God for his mercy.

One striking feature of this Syriac fragment is the image and function of Archangel Michael, which corresponds to the image we have seen in the Slavonic versions. He is still the "chief of angels," "the protector of Christians," the "merciful intercessor and mediator," as presented to us in scene one of the Kievan Rus' manuscript.

Unfortunately, Wright does not mention whether the Syrian apocryphon goes back to a Greek source. However, on the basis of a parallel analysis of the Syrian copy with the Slavic texts, we see that many details mirror each other. It is therefore highly probable that these texts have a literary connection.

Appendix Two The Kievan Rus' Text and Translation

The following Kievan Rus' text (Sreznevskij edition) was reproduced from Ivan Franko's Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-rus'koji movy i literatury: Apokryfy i legendy z ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv. Apokryfy ecxatol'ogični vol. 4 (L'viv, 1986) 124-134. The page breaks have been indicated in the margins in parentheses for easy reference. Line references have been included in the margins both in the reproduced text and the translation to facilitate comparison.

Д. Рукописний збірник XII в. Троїцької Сергієвої Лаври. (pp. 124-134)

[Слово пресвятыя Богородицы велии душеполезно о поков всего мира. Гл. бл. в. и отче]. (p. 124)

1. [Хоть св. Богородица помолити ся къ Гду Бу нашему на горѣ Еліонствѣ: „Во имя Отца и Сна и св. Дха, да свидеть архангелъ Михаилъ, и 400 ангелъ съ нимъ, 100 отъ востока, 100 отъ запада, 100 отъ полудня, 100 отъ полунощъ“. [И пришедъ] и цѣлова благодатную Михаилъ со англы и рече: „Радуй ся отчее исполненіе. радуй ся сыновне пребываніе. радуй ся св. духа похвало. радуй ся Христово утвержденіе. радуй ся Давидово пророченіе. радуй ся святое поклоненіе. радуй ся пророческое проповѣданіе. радуй ся пресынная возмъ у престола божія“.

Рече же благодатная ко архангелу Михаилу: „Радуй си [и] ты архистратиге, радуй ся. Михаиле первый воинства, святого дха повелѣніе. радуй ся архистратиге, шестокрильству похвала. радуй ся Михаиле архистратиге, мучителемъ побраніе, а престолу владыки достойно олоши. Радуй ся Михаиле, [святителче] просвѣщенія никакоже угасая. Радуй ся архистратиге, первый воин, хотя вострубити и убудити отъ вѣка умершая. Радуй ся Михаиле, первый возмъ небеснымъ силамъ, первый же и до престола божія вся англы прославльшаго“.

2. [Бца хотящи дабы видѣла, како ся душа мучать, и рече Михаилу архистратигу: „Исповѣждь мн, яже суть на земли всяческая“.

И рече къ ней архистратигъ Михаилъ: „Якоже речеши, благодатная, азъ всяческая тебѣ исповѣмъ“.

И рече къ нему св. Бца: „Колько есть мукъ, пѣже мучит ся родъ христіанскій?“

И рече къ ней архистратигъ Михаилъ: „Неизреккомыи суть муки“.

Рече къ нему благодатная: „Исповѣжь мн на нбси и на земли“.

3 [Тогда повелѣ архистратигъ явити ся ангеломъ отъ полудне, и отверзе ся ад. И видѣ въ адѣ мучащая ся, и бѣше ту множество мужъ и женъ, и вопль многъ бѣше. И вопроси благодатная архистратига: „Кто си сугь?“

(p.125)

И рече архистратигъ: „Сии сугь, иже не вѣроваша въ отца¹⁾ и сѣна и стго дѣа, нѣ забыша Бѣ и вѣроваша юже нѣ бѣ тварь Бѣ на работу створилъ, то то они все богы проваша: сѣнце и мѣць, и землю и воду, звѣри и гады, то остьнѣе и члвчѣска мена²⁾ та оутриш Тромва, Велеса, Пероуна на бѣмъ ѿбратѣша, бѣсомъ алчимъ вѣроваша, до и доселѣ пракъмъ алчимъ одержимъ соугь. того ради оде тако моучать са.“

30

35

4. И видѣ на друзѣмъ мѣстѣ тѣмоу великоу, и рече стам гжа: „Что мѣсть тѣма си и кто соугь пребывающен въ нѣен?“

И рече архистратигъ: „Многы дша прѣбывають въ мѣстѣ томъ.“

И рече стам Бца: „Да ѿиметь са тѣма си, да бѣхъ видѣла в тѣ моукоу.“

40.

И ѿмѣщаша англи стрѣгоущен мѣкоу: „Поручено нѣмъ мѣсть, да не видать свѣта, донѣдеже мѣнѣ са Снѣ твой блгын паче ѿ сѣнчѣ свѣтъдѣншѣ.“

И прѣокърбѣна бѣмъ стам Бца и къ англомъ възведе очь свои, и възрѣ на невидимыи прѣстоиѣхъ ѿца своего и рече: „Въ нѣмъ ѿца и сѣна и стго дѣа да огънѣеть са тѣма си, да бѣхъ видѣла [сню муку]“.“

45

И ѿи са тѣма и ѿ. ибсѣ мѣнѣ си [и тѣмъ прѣбывающе] множество народѣ, мужъ и женъ, и вопль многъ бѣмъ и гласѣ великѣ исхожаше. и видѣвши и прѣтамъ Бца и рече къ нимъ плачущи са съ злызани: „Что створисте, бѣдѣницѣ оканѣни и недостонни, и како въ сѣмъ постигосте са?“¹⁾

(p.126)

Не бѣмъ гласа ѿ нѣхъ ни ѿ свѣта. и рекоша англи стрѣгоущи: „Почто не глѣте?“ и рекоша моучащен ся: „Благодатная, ѿ вѣка нѣсомъ свѣта видѣли, да не можемъ възрѣти горѣ.“

50

И възвръщени на нѣмъ стана Бѣда и въсплаха се вельми. и видѣвъше (р.126)
 ю моучащя се рекоша къ нѣмъ: „Како нѣ ты нѣси прѣстѣла, стана Бѣда.
 нѣ съ твои блгодатѣнѣи на землю приходи и не въпроси насъ. то 55
 ни Авраамъ прадѣдъ, ни Моисей прѣрокъ, ни Ишанъ кръститель, то
 ни апѣлъ Павелъ, възлюбленникъ бжии, нѣ ты прѣстанъ Бѣда и за-
 стоупьнице, ты нѣси родоу кръстьицьскоу стѣна, ты молиши Ба,
 како нѣси насъ прѣстѣла бѣдѣнѣихъ“.

Тогда ре^ч стана Бѣда къ архистратигу [Михаилоу]: „Что нѣсть 60
 съгрѣшеннѣ тѣхъ?“

И [рече Михаилъ]: „Си соуть, нѣже не въроваша в [отца
 и сна в] стго дѣа, то нѣ в та, стана Бѣда, и не хотѣша пропо-
 вѣдати имени твоего, ижеже ѿ тебе роди се Гь нашъ Іс Хс, плѣть
 прѣимъ ѿсти землю кръщеннѣихъ, да того дѣла [въ] томъ мѣстѣ
 моучать са“.

И пакы прослѣзаша се стана Бѣда и рече къ нимъ: „Почто 65
 съблзвнѣсте са? не вѣсте ли вѣи, ижеже мѣи нѣа чтѣтъ все съ-
 съданиѣ?“ То рекше стана Бѣда, и пакы тѣма паде на нихъ.

Б. И ре^ч къ нѣмъ архистратигъ: „Кюудѣ хочеша, блгодатѣнамъ,
 да изведемъ, на полоудне или на полоунощъ?“

И ре^ч блгодатѣнамъ: „Да изведемъ на полоудне“. И тѣгда обра- 70
 тиша са хѣровни и сарафни и ѿ. англь изведоша Бѣдоу на по-
 лоудне, иде же рѣка нехожаше огньа. и тоу бѣше множество
 моужъ и женъ, и бѣхоу погружени ови до помса, ови до пазоухоу,
 ови до шни, и друзни до вѣрха. и видѣвъши стана Бѣда възвѣи 75
 гла^нь великѣмъ и въпроси архистратига: „Котори се соуть, нѣже
 до помса въ огни погружени?“

И рече къ нѣмъ архистратигъ: „Си соуть, нѣже о^дцю [п] мтръ[ню]
 клатвоу прѣимша, да за то се моучать са иже и проклати“.

И пакы ре^ч Бѣда: „Иже соуть подѣ пазоусѣ въ огни, котори 80
 сѣтъ?“

И ре^ч къ нѣмъ архистратигъ: „Си соуть нѣже прѣимѣи кумѣи
 били кораше и, а блудѣ друзни творѣхоу, да за то те се моу-
 чать са“.

И рече архистратигъ: „Си соуть, гже, иже въ стоую не-лю да заутрню не въстають, въ лѣвнѣ сѣ лежать яко и мъртви, да за то те моучать сѣ“.

И рече стѣ Бца: „Да аще кто не можетъ въстати, что да створилъ?“

115

И рече Михайлъ: „Послоушан, престаи: аще комоу загорать сѣ храмина на четверо и обидеть и огнь и сѣгорить не мога въстати, то таковы не имать грѣха“.

(р. 128)

И видѣ на друзѣмъ мѣстѣ столы огньны, и на нихъ множество народа, и мужь и жевъ, нагарахоу на нихъ. и въпросъ архистратига престаи: [„Кто соуть сѣ и какъ сѣгрѣшении ихъ?“

120

И рече: „Си соуть] иже поповъ не чѣтоуть, то не въстають имъ, кгда прѣходатъ ѿ црѣве бжпѣ, да того ради моучать сѣ“.

9. И оувидѣ стѣ древо желѣзно, [имѣюще отрасли и вѣтви желѣзны], и вѣршию вѣтви того имѣше оуды желѣзны, и быше тоу висащихъ множество мужь и женъ за языкъ. и видѣвши стѣ прослышан сѣ и въпросъ Михайла: „Кто сѣ соуть, что ли сѣгрѣшении ихъ?“

125

И рече архистратигъ: „Се соуть клеветницы, сѣвадницы и кже разлучаша брата ѿ брата и мужь ѿ женъ своихъ“. и рече Михайлъ: „Послоушан, престаи, да те азъ скажу сихъ. аще кто хоташе крѣтити сѣ или покаяти сѣ грѣхъ своихъ, то те разглаголаху и не посучахоу сисенню, да того ради тако сѣ моучать сѣдѣ¹⁾ на вѣкы“

130

10. И видѣ стѣ на друзѣмъ мѣстѣ висаща мужа за четверо, за всѣ краи ногъти его, искожаше крѣвь вельми зѣло, и языкъ его вазаше сѣ ѿ пламене огньнаго, и не можаше вѣдѣхнути на рещи: „Ги помилу ма!“ и видѣвши его престаи Бца и въсплака сѣ в рече: „Ги помилуи!“ г-и створи мѣтвоу, и приде къ немъ англь, иже обладаше моуками, отрѣшити языкъ мужевъ томоу. и въпроси престаи: „Кто сѣ есть бѣдныи члвкъ приимли сѣю моувоу?“

135

140

И рече англь: „Съ естъ иконамъ и цркви слоужитель, в не твора воли божии, нъ да продаше съсоуды, и ивниѣ црковноѣ, и глаше, иже цркви работаютъ, то ѿ цркви питають сѧ, и того ради мучать сѧ сде“.

И рече преставъ: „Ико же естъ сътворивъ, тако и приѣмляеть“ 145

И пакы кмоу англь свѣза кмоу мѣтъкъ.

И рече архистратигъ: „Повди, гже, да ти покажю, кѣде мучать иврѣи“.

И видѣ пошъ висѣща, ѿ краив ногъти псхожаше огнь, ѿ тѣмне ихъ, и опалеше ѧ. и видѣвши преставъ и рече: „Кто си соуть, что ли сѣгрѣшеннѣ ихъ?“

И рече Михайль: „Се соуть лѣтоурги слоужители и предстоише престолоу бжию и достовни сѧ твораще. да кгда проскоумвсахоу проскоуроу и не хранахоу и ронахоу кроупицѣ на землю, ико и звѣды бжии, тогда страшнѣи престоль колѣбаше сѧ и подножнѣ бжии трепеташе. да того ради тако мучать сѧ“.

(р. 129)

150

12. И видѣ стая мюжа, и змии врилатъ имѣющъ три главы, кдана же бѣ глава къ очма мюжу, а ѣ. къ оустомъ кго. и рече преставъ архистратигу: „Кто съ естъ бѣднѣи члвкъ, ико не можетъ ѿдѣхвоути ѿ змии сего?“ 155

И рече архистратигъ: „Съ естъ, гже, иже стѣи кнѣги прочиташе и еуаглия самъ не послоушаше; люди оучаше, а самъ не твораше воли бжии, блудѣмъ и всѣмъ безаконїемъ“. и рече архистратигъ сплѣ Гна: „Повди, преставъ, да ти покажю, кде сѧ мучать члвкъ англѣскѣи и апѣльскѣи“.

160

И оувидѣ стая, къ[дѣ¹] лежаху [люди] на пламени огненемъ, и ядыше ихъ червь неусыпая. И рече стая: „Кто си сугъ?“

И отвѣща Михайль: „Си сугъ, иже образъ англѣски носятъ и апостольски на земли, величающѣи [сѧ] патриархи и еписпи, славныи имены, и словяху благословити отцы святѣи, но на небеси не зваша сѧ святѣи. не сотворивша бо яко бо англѣскѣи и апѣльскѣи образъ носивша, да того ради тако мучать сѧ“.

165

14. И видѣ прстая жены всяща за вся ногти, и пламень
всхожаше наъ усть ихъ и опаляше вся, а змія всхожаше наъ пла- 170
мени того и прилѣпляхоу[са] къ намъ. и вопіяху, глаголаше: „По-
милуйте нас, яко мы едни мучим ся паче всѣхъ мукъ“.

И рече святая прослезивши ся: „Что есть согрѣшеніе тѣхъ?“

И рече архистратигъ: „То суть пошадые, вже поповъ своихъ 175
не почытоша и по смерти ихъ вдоша за мужь, да того ради
мучать ся“.

15. И видѣ другія жены во огни лежаща и различныя змія
ядяху ихъ. И рече святая: „Что согрѣшеніе ихъ?“

И отвѣща Михайль. „То суть монастыря черницы, ажѣ телѣса
своя продаша на блудъ, да того ради здѣ мучат ся“.

16. И рече архистратигъ: „Подн пресвятая и покажу ти, гдѣ 180
[ся] мучить множество грѣшникъ“.

И видѣ святая рѣку огненую, и видѣніе рѣки тоя яко огнь
текущи, и пояда всю землю, и посредѣ волны тоя множество

грѣшникъ. И видѣвши Бца прослезя ся и рече: „Что есть согрѣ- 185
шеніе ихъ?“

Рече архистратигъ: „То суть блудницы и любодѣвци, татіе, 190
(р. 130)
вже послуша(ша) и отав, что ближніи глѣть, свадницы и клевет-
ницы, вже чужіи навывуживаху влц урояху [sic зам. уоряху], ажѣ
брани ся остави дождають, вже ядятъ труды чужи и ма(л)жены
и разлучають, пѣвницы, немилостивы князи, епископи и патриарси 190
и царь, вже не сотвориша воля божія, сребролюбци, вже лхву
емлють, беззаконьници“.

Слышавше то прстая Бца прослезя ся и рече: „О лють грѣш-
никовъ!“ И рече ко архистратигу: „Тяжко согрѣшающимъ [лѣнѣ
бы было], дабы ся не ражали“.

17. И рече къ ней Михайль: „Почто ся плачешь, святая?
Нѣси ли видѣла великихъ мукъ?“

И рече пресвятая¹⁾и: „Новеде ма, да вижду вса моукы“.

И рече къ нея Михайль: „Кудѣ хочешь, блѣдатынамъ, да пав-
демъ, на вѣстокъ ли или на западъ, или въ рай? на десно ли или
на лѣво, иде же соуть великыи моукы?“ 200

И рече престаи: „Издѣмъ на лѣвою страну“.

И слово рекши престои и обратиха се хъровими и серафими и ѿ англь, изведоша престою ѿ востока на лѣвою страну. и близъ рѣкы тои баше тма мрачна, и тоу лежаше множество моужь и жень, и влокоутаю яко въ котль, и яко морскыи вълны и ображають се надъ грѣшныи: да егда вълны въсхожаюу и погружаюу грѣшныи тмъщю лають, и не можахът рещи: „Помилоуи ны правдыи судав!“ и даше же и чрвь неустыпан и скръжьть, зобомъ. и видѣвъше престою англь стрѣгущи [ихъ] възвнша вси еднѣи оусты глюще: „Стъ, стъ, стъ ꙗсв Боже и ты Бже, блгословимъ та и сна бжьи родившаго се ѿ тебе! яко бо ѿ вѣка не видѣхомъ свѣта, и днѣ видимъ свѣтъ тебе ради, Бже“. и пакы възвнша вси еднѣи гласъи глюще: „Радоуи се благодатнаи Бже, радоуи се прсвѣщеніе вѣчнаго свѣта, радоуи се и ты архистратже Михаиле мола се влцѣ за весь миръ! мы бо видимъ грѣшныи моучащя се и зѣло скърбимъ“

И видѣвши Бца англь скърбыи, оуныи грѣшныи ради, и възплака се прстаи. и възвнша вси еднѣи гласъи глюще: „Добрѣ есте пршли въ тмоу сю, да ны видеть, како ны кестъ вѣка“. и помоли се прстаи съ архангльи, и слыша плачь грѣшныи. и въздвигоша гла свои възвнюще и глюще: „Ги помилоуи ны!“ да яко опростиша млтву, оустави се боура рѣчнаи и вълны огньныи, и ивиша се грѣшныи яко и зрна горюшечьва. и видѣвъши стая просльви се и рече: „Что кестъ рѣка сѣ вълны ꙗсв?“

И рече къ ѿен архистратгъ: „Си рѣка вса смольна, а вълны ꙗсв вса огньны. а яже се моучать, то соутъ Жидове, яже моучиша Га нашего Исъ Ха Сва бжьи, и вси изыци, яже крѣстиша се въ нма оца и сна и стого дѣа, яже крѣстише соуще ти вѣроукъ въ дѣловы, и ѿвергоша се Ба и стого крѣщеня, и ꙗже блудъ сътворши о стѣи крѣщеня съ коумыи своимъ и съ матерьи своимъ и съ дѣщерьи своимъ, и отравници, (яже) даше оуморають члвкы, и ороужіемъ оубиваю(ть). яже даватъ дѣти свои, и того ради моучать се пртивоу дѣломъ своимъ“.

И рече стая: „Но дѣломъ ихъ боудя тако“. И пакы наиде на ны боурьная рѣка, и огньныи вълны и тьма покрыи. и рече Михаилъ къ Бже: „Аще са кто затворитъ въ тьмѣ сев, вѣсть память о немъ огъ Ба“. и рече прстай: „О люте грѣшникомъ, яко неустыпакыи вѣсть пламы огны сего“.

18. И рече къ вѣи архистратигъ: „Поиди, прстай, да ти покажу езеро огнино, да видиши, кде си моучитъ родъ крѣтшныскъ“.

Видѣ и оуслыша плачь и вѣплъ ѿ нихъ, а свѣтъ не бѣ видѣти. и рече: „Котории се соутъ, что ли съгрѣшении ихъ вѣсть?“

И рече къ вѣи Михаилъ: „Се соутъ иже крѣстиша са в крѣгъ словъмъ нарицахоу, а дивволи дѣла твораше и погубиша врѣмя покаяню, и того ради тако сде моучатъ са“.

19. И рече прстай къ архистратигу: „При единомъ млтвѣ молю ти са, да вѣнду и азъ, да са моучю съ крѣстывы, повѣже чада нарекоша са сна моего“.

И рече архистратигъ: „Почивая въ рай“.

И рече прстай: „Молю ти са, подвигни вѣннства ѿ. нбсъ и вса воннства англ. да са молимъ за грѣшныи, не бы ли насъ оудышалъ Гъ Бъ и помилувалъ ихъ“.

[И рече архистратигъ]: „Живѣ Гъ Бъ, има юго велико ѿ-шдѣ на днь. и ѿ. на ношь. югда хвалоу приносимъ влцѣ, и за грѣшныи, гже, Гвѣ поклонимъ са, да не хоудѣ чзъ послушають влдка“).

И рече прстай Бжа: „Молимъ ти са, повели вѣннствоу англьскомуу, и възнесеть ма на вѣсотоу нбсьноюу, и поставите ма прѣдъ невидимымъ оцѣмъ“.

20. И повелѣ архистратигъ, и предѣсташа хѣровимъ и себѣ ениѣ и възнесоша блгдательноюу на вѣсотоу нбсьноюу и поставиша ю прѣдъ невидимымъ оцѣмъ оу прѣстола. и възведе роуцѣ свои къ блгдательномуу сноу своему и рече: „Помилуи, влдко, грѣшныи, яко видѣхъ и не могу тѣрпѣти, да са моучю и азъ съ крѣстывы“.

И прѣде гла° къ нѣмъ гла: „Како хоцю тыи помилувати, а вижю гвоздѣи въ дланѣхъ оному моему? да не имамъ како и тѣхъ помилувати“.

265

И рече [прѣтая]: „Влдо, не молю са за невѣрныи Жиды, въ за крѣстьяныи молю твоѣ мѣрдныи“.

И прѣде къ нѣмъ гла° гла: „Азъ вижю, яко братныи мои не помилуваша, да вѣсть ми како тѣхъ помилувати“.

270

И рече пакы прѣтая: „Помилуи влдо грѣшныи, помилуи Гв тварь роукоу своєю, яко по всей землѣ твоѣ има нарицають, и въ моукѣхъ и на всакому мѣстѣ и по всей землѣ глюще: „Прѣтая гже Бце помаган намъ!“ и югда ражають са и глеть: „Стан Бце, помови ми!“

275

Тъгда рече къ нѣмъ Гь: „Послоушан, прѣтая Бце влдчце, вѣсть того члвка, иже не молвь мене твоего, азъ же не оставлю тѣхъ то ни на нбсв ни на землѣ“.

И рече прѣтая Бца: „Кде юсть Моисеи прркъ, кде ли соуть вси пррци и въ оци, иже грѣха не твористе ни оудъ же? кде ли Павель възлюбленникъ бжии? кде ли юсть недѣла, похвала крѣстьянскан? кде ли юсть сила чьстнаго крста, ижеже Адама и Ювьгоу ѿ влатвы избави?“

280

Тъгда Михайль архистратигъ и вси англы рекоша: „Помилуи влдо грѣшныи!“ Тъгда Моисеи възвни гла: „Помилуи влдо, яко азъ законъ твои дахъ имъ“. тъгда Павель възвни гла: „Помилуи влдо, како азъ кепистоли твои принесохъ прѣвамъ“.

285

И рече Гь Бъ: „Послоушанте вси вы, аще [есть] по еунглью моему или по закону моему, и аще юсть по юунгльскому проповѣданью, юже проповѣда Иоанъ, (и по) кепистолиамъ, иже привесе Павель, то такъ соудъ примоутъ“.

290

И [не] оумѣшь чсо ради рещи англы, толкко: „Помилуи, правдѣнь юсв Ги!“

И рече прѣтая Бца: „Помилуи влдо грѣшныи, яко ти еунгльи твоѣ приша и законъ твои съхраниша“.

Тъгда рече къ нѣмъ Гь: „Послушан, прѣтая, аще кто тѣхъ сътвори зло не покаи са, ни ѿ работы, да добръ глѣши. яко же закону твоему поучиша са и пакы сътвориша зло? югда не

295

Ѡдаша злаго, азъ что да рекоу, яко юсть речено: дасть тѣмъ про-
тивоу злюбѣ ихъ". Тѣгда вь вси стѣни слышавъши влдоку не съмѣша
что Ѡвѣщати.

(р. 133)

И видѣвъши прстани, яко вси не оуспѣша ничсоже, и Гь стѣхъ
не послуша, нѣ оудалиеть мѣсть свою Ѡ грѣшникъ, и ре^ч прстани:
„Кде юсть архвстратигъ Гаврилъ, вже въззвѣств мѣв: „Радоуя са!“
яко же прѣже всѣхъ вѣкъ вѣнемлѣше оца, и нѣмѣ на грѣшникъ
не призвѣаетъ? кде юсть велкѣти, вже градъ носѣтъ на върсѣ
своємъ. и на юдавои землѣ? за непрививна дѣла члвча съкална
бѣ^о землѣ, и посла Гь (сына) своего, и оутвѣрди плодъ аземьти.
кде соуть слоужители престолау? кде юсть Ишанъ бгословѣць?
почто не мѣвсте са съ вами на мольбоу влдѣв за крѣстивныи
грѣшникъ? не видите ли мене плачущу са за грѣшныи? прѣ-
дѣте вси англѣ соущи на нбсѣхъ, прѣдѣте вси правѣднии, иже
Гь оправдѣ! вамъ дано юсть моляти са за грѣшныи. прѣдѣ в тѣхъ
Михаиле, тѣхъ юси първыи бесплѣтныи до прѣстола Бжии,
повелѣя и всѣмъ, да припадемъ предѣ невидимъ оцѣмъ, и не под-
вижимъ себе, дондеже послушають насъ Бѣ и помилоуютъ грѣш-
ныи".

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Тѣгда паде са Михаилъ ниць лицѣмъ своимъ предѣ престолѣмъ,
и вся силѣ нбсѣныи и вси чини бесплѣтныихъ. и видѣ влдка
мольбоу стѣхъ, и оумілосърди са сна ради своего юдиночадаго,
и рече: „Съниди сноу мой възлюблѣныи, и вижь мольбоу стѣхъ,
и мѣви лице свое на грѣшникъ".

315

И съшьдѣ Гь Ѡ невидимаго прстола, и оувидѣша. и въ тѣмъ
соущи, и въззѣвшиа вси юдинѣмъ гла^смъ глюще: „Помилоуи ны,
снѣ бжии, помилоуи ны, цѣсарю всѣхъ вѣкъ!"

И ре^ч влдка: „Слышите вси! ран насадихъ и члвка създахъ
по образу своему, и поставихъ и гна раевѣ, и животъ вѣчнѣи
дахъ имъ. они же ослоухоу створиша и въ своемъ хотѣнии съгрѣ-
шиша, и предаша са смѣртѣ. азъ же не бѣхъ хотѣлъ обузрѣти
дѣла роукоу своею моучима Ѡ дивола, и сънидохъ на землю
и възплѣтихъ са Ѡ двци, възнесохъ са на крѣтъ, да свобожю и Ѡ
работы и Ѡ първыи клатвы. водѣи просихъ и даша ми зѣлѣчи

320

325

размѣнены съ оцѣтъмъ; роуцѣ мои създаста члвкѣ, и въ гробѣ
 възложиша мѣ. да и въ адѣ сѣнадохъ и врага своего попрахѣ,
 избраныи свои възскрѣсенѣ и Юрданѣ благословихѣ, да вы прощю
 ѿ първыи клятвы. и вы небрегосте са покаити своихъ грѣхѣ,
 въ крестыне са твораша словѣмъ, гѣчю, а заповѣди мои не
 съблюдоште. да того ради обрѣтоште са въ огнѣ негаснѣмъ, да не
 имавѣ васъ помяловати. нѣмѣ же за милердѣю оца моего, яко
 посла ма к вамѣ, и за млтвыи мотре мои, яко плака са много за
 васъ, и за Михаила архистратѣга завѣтоу, и за множество мчвкѣ
 моихъ, яко много трюдиша са за васъ, и се даю вамѣ моучащи-
 нѣмъ са дѣнь и ноше, ѿ великаго четвъртка до стѣмъ пѣнткостѣи
 виѣта вы покон, и прославѣте оца и сына и стого дѣа. и ѿвѣщаша
 вси: „Слава милосердѣю твоюмоу!“ слава оцю и соу и стомоу
 дху нѣмѣ присно и въ в...

330

(р. 134)

335

340

D. A MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE XII CENTURY. TROICKO-SERGIEVA
LAURA

[A DISCOURSE OF THE MOST HOLY MOTHER OF GOD, VERY ENLIGHTNING, ON
THE PEACE OF THE WHOLE WORLD. YOUR BLESSING LORD FATHER.]

1. The Holy Mother of God wished to pray to the Lord Our God on the
Mount of Olives. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the
Holy Spirit, let Archangel Michael descend and with him 400 angels,
100 from the East, 100 from the West, 100 from the South, and 100
from the North." And having come, Michael greeted the Blessed One
with the angels and said: "Rejoice, O Lord's fulfillment! Rejoice, the
coming of the Son! Rejoice, O praise of the Holy spirit! Rejoice,
Christ's affirmation! Rejoice, O David's prophecy! Rejoice, O Holy
worshipper! Rejoice, [you whom] the prophets' preaching foretold!
Rejoice, the highest among all who stand before God's throne!"

And the Blessed One spoke to Archangel Michael: "Rejoice, and you O
Archistrategos! Rejoice, O Michael first leader of all warriors and
command of the Holy Spirit. Rejoice, O Archistrategos, the six-winged
glory! Rejoice, O Michael the Archistrategos, overthrower of tyrants
and-worthy to stand at the throne of the Lord! Rejoice, O Michael the
eternal enlightener! Rejoice, O Archistrategos, the first leader of all
warriors, who shall sound the trumpet and wake the dead from
eternity. Rejoice, O Michael the highest of all the heavenly host and

highest of all the glorified angels before the throne of God

2. And the Mother of God who wanted to see how the souls are suffering said to Michael the Archistrategos: "Tell me [make known unto me] all things that are upon the earth." 20

And Archistrategos Michael said to her: "As you say O Blessed One. I shall declare all things unto you."

And the Holy Mother of God said to him: "How many torments are there, and where do the Christians suffer?"

And Archistrategos Michael said to her: "Ineffable are the torments."

The Blessed One said to him: "Reveal unto me [all things] that are in heaven and upon the earth." 25

3. Then the Archistrategos bade the angels of the South to appear, and hell was opened. And she saw in hell those who were suffering and there was a multitude of men and women here and much weeping. And the Blessed One asked the Archistrategos: "Who are these [people]?"

And Archistrategos said: "These are they who did not believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, but forgot God and believed in the creatures that God created to work for man, and called them all gods; the sun and the moon, the earth and the water, the animals and the serpents. They [sinners] changed Trojan, Kors, Veles and Perun into gods and believed in evil demons, therefore they are now suffering here." 30 35

4. And she saw in another place a great darkness, and the Holy Mother of God said: "What is this darkness and who are they that dwell therein?"

And the Archistrategos said: "Many souls dwell in that place."

And the Holy Mother of God said: "Let this darkness be lifted that I may see that torment as well." 40

And the the angels guarding this torment answered: "We have been entrusted not to let them see light until the appearance of your Blessed Son who is brighter than the seven suns."

And the Holy Mother of God was saddened, and she raised her eyes to the angels, and looked at the invisible throne of Her Father and said: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, let this darkness be lifted so that I can see this torment." 45

And the darkness was lifted and the seven heavens appeared, and here was a multitude of people, men and women, and there was much weeping and a great noise emanating. And having seen them, the Holy Mother of God, weeping, tearfully said to them: "What have you done, you poor cursed and unworthy people, and how did you get here?"

There was no word or answer from them. And the guardian angels [of hell] said: "Why do you not speak?" And the tormented said: "O Blessed One for all eternity we have not seen light and we cannot look up [that is, at the face of the Mother of God]. 50

And having seen them, the Holy Mother of God wept very hard. And

having seen her, the tormented said to her: "How is it O Holy Mother of God that you have visited us. Your Blessed Son came upon this earth and did not ask for us nor Abraham the forefather, nor Moses the prophet, nor John the Baptist, nor Apostle Paul, God's beloved, but you, O Most Holy Mother of God, you are the intercessor and protector of Christians, you pray to God [for us]. How is it that you have visited us, the poor ones?"

55

Then the Holy Mother of God said to Michael the Archistrategos: "What is their sin?"

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And Michael said: "These are they who did not believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, and not in you O Holy Mother of God, who did not want to proclaim your name nor that of Our Lord Jesus Christ who was born of you and who sanctified the earth with his baptism, for this deed they are suffering in that place."

65

And again the Holy Mother of God began to cry and said to them: "Why do you live in temptation? Do you not know that all creation honours my name?" And the Holy Mother of God having thus spoken, and darkness fell upon them again.

5. And the Archangel said to her: "Wherever you wish to go, O Blessed One, we will go, to the South or to the North?"

70

And the Blessed One said: "Let us go to the South."

And then the Cherubim and the Seraphim and the 400 angels turned around and led the Mother of God to the South [hell], where a river of fire flowed. And here was a multitude of men and women, who were

immersed some to their waist, others to their armpits, others to their neck and others to the top of their head, and the Holy Mother of God, having seen this, cried out in a loud voice, and asked the Archistrategos: "Who are these [people] who are immersed in the fire to their waist?"

75

And the Archistrategos said to her: "These are they who have been cursed by their father and mother and therefore are suffering here like the cursed."

And the Mother of God spoke again: "Who are they who are immersed up to their armpits in the fire?"

80

And the Archistrategos said unto her: "These are the godparents who punished their fellow brethren and committed wickedness and therefore are now suffering."

And the Most Holy Mother of God said: "And those who are immersed up to their neck in the flame of fire, who are they?"

85

And the angel said unto her: "They are those who ate human flesh and for that they are now suffering here."

And the [Holy Mother of God] said: "And those who are immersed to the top of their head in the flame of fire, who are they?"

And the Archistrategos said: "These are they O Blessed One, who while holding the cross have sworn false oaths; Such is the power of the holy cross that the angels who look upon it tremble and bow down in fear before it, and those men who hold the cross and swear falsely upon it cannot imagine what suffering awaits them; therefore they are now suffering."

90

6. And the Holy Mother of God saw a man hanging by his feet and worms devoured him, and she asked the angel: "Who is this and what sin did he commit?"

And the Archistrategos said unto her: "This is [the man] who had taken interest on his gold and silver, therefore he is now in torment forever."

And she [the Blessed One] saw a woman hanging by her teeth, and various serpents issued forth from her mouth and devoured her body. And having seen [this] the Most Holy One asked the angel: "Who is this woman, and what is her sin?"

95

And the Archistrategos answered and said: "She is the one who went about her friends and neighbours listening to what they were saying and then gossiped unkindly about them which led to quarrelling, therefore she is suffering here."

100

And the Holy Mother of God said: "It would have been better had that man never been born."

7. And Michael said unto her: "You have not yet seen the great torments."

And the Holy One said to the angel: "Let us go from here and go to see all the torments."

105

And Michael said: Wherever you wish, Blessed One, there we will go."

And the Holy One said: "To the North."

And the Seraphim and Cherubim and the 400 angels turned around and

led the Blessed One to the North where a cloud of fire was spread out flat and in the midst of it were beds like flame and fire upon which lay a multitude of men and women. And having seen, the Holy One sighed and said to the Archistrategos: "Who are they and what sin are they guilty of?" 110

And the Archistrategos said: "These are they, O Blessed One, who did not get up for matins on Holy Sunday, but lay lazily in bed like the dead, therefore they are now suffering."

And the Holy Mother of God said: But if someone is unable to get up what should he do?" 115

And Michael answered: "Listen, most Holy One, if he whose house catches on fire on all four sides, and the fire surrounds and scorches him and he cannot get up, such a man is without sin."

[8.] And she saw in another place tables of fire, and a multitude of people, both men and women burned on them. And the most Holy One asked Archistrategos: "Who are these and what are their sins?" 120

And [he] said: "These are they who had no respect for the priests; who did not rise before them when they came from God's church, therefore they are suffering."

9. And the Holy One saw an iron tree with iron boughs and branches, and on the ends of these branches were iron hooks, and here were hanging a multitude of men and women by their tongues. And having seen them, the Holy One wept and asked Michael: "Who are these 125

[people] and what sin are they guilty of?"

And the Archistrategos answered: "These are the slanderers, the babblers who separated brother from brother and husband from his wife." And Michael said: "Listen, most Holy One, to what I will tell you of these [people]. If someone wanted to be baptized or repent of his sins, they turned him away and did not instruct him how to obtain salvation, therefore they are suffering here forever."

130

10. And the Holy One saw in another place a man hanging by all fours and much blood flowed forth from the end of his nails, and his tongue was bound with flames of fire, and he could not sigh and say: "Lord have mercy upon me." And having seen him the most Holy Mother of God began to weep and said: "Lord have mercy," and repeated the prayer three times, and the angelic guardians of hell came to her and freed the tongue of that man. And the most Holy One asked: "Who is this poor man who is suffering this torment?"

135

And the angel said: "This is a servant of the church and the icons who did not fulfill the will of God, but sold the church vessels saying: "He who works for the church lives from the church," and for this he is now suffering."

140

And the most Holy One said: "As he has done, so is he now receiving."

145

And the angel bound his tongue again.

And the Archistrategos said: "Come, O Blessed One, that I may show you where the patriarchs are suffering."

[11.] And she saw priests hanging by the ends of their nails, and fire flowed from their heads and burned them.

And having seen them, the most Holy One said: "Who are these [people] and what is their sin?"

And Michael said: "These are the celebrants of the [Divine] Liturgy who served with dignity at the altar of God, but were careless when preparing the proskomydija [the offering] and let morsels fall on the floor like God's stars. Then the altar shook terribly and God's pedestal trembled, for this they are suffering.

150

12. And the Holy One saw a man and a winged serpent with three heads, one of these heads was between the man's eyes, and the other two against his lips. And the most Holy One said to the Archistrategos: "Who is this poor man who cannot rest from this serpent?"

155

And the Archistrategos answered: "This is the one Blessed One who had read the Holy Book and the Gospel, but who himself did not heed [the word of God], he instructed other people, but himself did not do the will of God, but committed wickedness and all forms of iniquity"

160

And the Archistrategos, Lord of Hosts, said: "Come, most Holy One that I may show you where the angelic and apostolic order is suffering."

And the Holy One saw people lying on flames of fire, devoured by the never-sleeping worms. And the Holy One said: "Who are these [people]?"

And Michael answered: "These are they who wear the mantle of angels and apostles on earth, who are glorified on earth by the names of the patriarchs and bishops and called Holy Fathers, but in heaven were not

165

called holy for they did not conduct themselves like those who wore the mantle of those ordained, for this they are now suffering.

14. And the Most Holy One saw women hanging by all their fingernails and flames poured forth from their lips and burned everything, and serpents came out of those flames and clung to them, and they cried and said: "Have mercy upon us for we alone suffer the most grievous torments."

170

And the Holy One wept and said: "What is their sin?"

And the Archistrategos said: "They are the priest's wives who did not honour their priests and after their husband's death remarried therefore they now suffer."

175

15. And she saw other women who were lying in the flames and various serpents devoured them. And the Holy One said: "What is their sin?"

And Michael answered: "These are the nuns of the monastery who sold their bodies for lechery. For this they are suffering here."

16. And the Archistrategos said: "Come, most Holy One and I will show you where a multitude of sinners are suffering."

180

And the Holy One saw a river of fire and the appearance of that river was like a flowing fire devouring the whole earth, and in the midst of those waves was a multitude of sinners. And having seen them, the Mother of God wept and said: "What is their sin?"

185

The Archistrategos said: "These are the fornicators, the adulterers and

the thieves, and those gossipers and slanderers who listened secretly to what their friends were saying, those who harvest or root up their brethren's field or wait for these mortal's remains, those who eat the fruit of someone else's labour, and come between man and wife, the drunkards, the unmerciful princes, the bishops, patriarchs and tsars, who did not do the will of God, the money lovers (the lovers of silver), who collect interest and the lawbreakers. Having heard this, the Holy Mother of God wept and said: "Woe unto the sinner." And she said unto the Archistrategos: "They have sinned grievously, it would have been better had they not been born."

190

195

17. And Michael said to her: "Why are you crying, O Holy One?" You have not yet seen the great torments?"

And the most Holy One said unto him: "Lead me [to the place] that I may see all the torments."

And Michael said to her: "Wherever you wish to go, O Blessed One, there we will go, to the East or to the West or to paradise on the right or to the left, where there are the greatest torments."

200

And the most Holy One said: "Let us go to the left."

And the most Holy One having spoken, and the Cherubim and Seraphim and the 400 angels turned around and led the most Holy One from the East to the left side, and near that river was obscure darkness, and here was a multitude of men and women lying and boiling as in a cauldron, and tossed about like the ocean waves, and when the waves rose they submerged the sinners in a 1000 feet [of water], and they could not say

205

"Lord have mercy upon us O righteous judge." And the neversleeping worms devoured them. And they gnashed their teeth. And the guardian angels [of hell] seeing the most Holy One, all cried out in one voice saying: "Holy, holy holy! Holy God and you the Mother of God, we bless you and the Son of God born of you! For ages we have not seen light, and today we see light because of you, O Mother of God." And again they all cried with one voice saying: "Rejoice, O Blessed Mother of God! Rejoice the illuminator of eternal light! Rejoice and you O Archistrategos Michael who prays to the Lord for the whole world, for we have seen the suffering sinners and are very saddened."

210

215

And the Mother of God seeing the angels saddened and grieved because of the sinners, the Most Holy one began to cry. And they all cried with one voice saying: "It is good that you have come to this darkness, to see the torments that we suffer, and pray O Holy One with the Archangel. And she heard the sinners crying and they raised their voices, lamenting and saying: "Lord have mercy upon us." And when the prayer ended, the storm and the fiery waves on the river abated, and the sinners appeared like the grains of mustard seed.

220

And the Holy One having seen this, said: "What is this river and its waves?"

And the Archistrategos said to her: "This river is full of tar, and its waves are full of fire, and those who are suffering are the Jews, who tormented Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and all the heathens, those who were baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the Christians who believed in demons and rejected God and the

225

Holy Baptism, and after baptism were led astray by their wickedness with their godparents, mothers, daughters; and the murderers who poisoned men or killed them with weapons; those who strangled their children and for this they are suffering according to their deeds.

230

And the Holy One said: "As their deeds are, so be it." And the stormy river and fiery waves came upon them again and darkness covered them.

And Michael said to the Mother of God: "Once a man is imprisoned in this darkness, God has no more remembrance of him."

235

And the most Holy One said: "Woe unto the sinner, for the flame of this fire never ceases."

18. And the Archistrategos said to her: "Come, O most Holy One, and I will show you the lake of fire, that you may see where the Christians are suffering."

She saw and heard their weepings and lamenting, but could not see them.

240

And she said: "Who are these [people]?" "What is their sin?"

And Michael said to her: "These are those who were baptized, but did the devil's deeds and lost the time for repentance, for this they are suffering here."

19. And the most Holy One said unto the Archistrategos: "This one thing I ask of you that I, too, may enter and be tormented with the Christians, for they have called themselves children of my Son."

245

And the Archistrategos said: "Rest in paradise."

And the most Holy One said: "I beg you to summon the host of the seven heavens and all the heavenly angels that we may pray for the Christians, so that the Lord God may hear us and grant mercy upon them?"

250

And the angel said: "The Lord is a living God and great is His name. Seven times a day and seven times a night we [the angels] bring praises to the Lord and bow down before Him for the sake of the sinners, but He pays little attention to us."

And the Most Holy Mother of God said: "I beseech you, command the host of angels to carry me to the heights of heaven and place me before the [throne] of the invisible Father."

255

20. And the Archistrategos gave his command and the Cherubim and Seraphim appeared and carried the Blessed One to the heights of heaven and placed her at the throne before the invisible Father.

260

And she raised her hands towards her Blessed Son and said: "Have mercy, O Lord, upon the sinners for I have seen them and I cannot endure it. Let me suffer together with the Christians."

And a voice came to her saying: "How can I have mercy upon them when I see the nails in the palms of my Son's hands. I have no mercy toward them."

265

And the Most Holy One said: "Lord, I am not praying for the unbelieving Jews, but for the Christians I beseech your mercy." And a voice came to her saying: "I see that they had no mercy on my brethren, so how can I have mercy upon them."

270

And again the Most Holy One spoke: "Have mercy, O Lord upon the

Christians. Have mercy O Lord, upon the creation of Thine own hand, who throughout all the land call upon your name in suffering and in all places upon the earth saying: "The Most Holy Mother of God help us! " And when he is born they say " Most Holy Mother of God help me!"

275

Then the Lord spoke to her: "Listen O Most Holy Mother of God. There is not a human being who does not beseech your name; I will not abandon those either in heaven or upon the earth."

Then the Most Holy Mother of God said: "Where is Moses the prophet? Where are all the prophets and you, fathers, who have never sinned? Where is Apostle Paul, the Lord's beloved? Where is Sunday, the praise of the Christians? Where is the power of the Holy Cross which delivered Adam and Eve from the curse?"

280

Then Michael the Archistrategos and all the angels spoke: "Have mercy upon the sinners, O Lord!" Then Moses cried out saying: "Have mercy O Lord for I gave them your law. Then Paul cried out saying: "Have mercy O Lord for I carried thine epistle to the churches."

285

And the Lord God spoke: "Listen all of you! If they are judged by my Gospel or by my law or by the Gospel which John preached or by the Epistle which Paul brought, then such justice they will receive."

290

And the angels did not know what to say, except, "Have mercy, you are a righteous God."

And the Most Holy Mother of God said: "Have mercy O Lord upon the sinners, for they received your gospel and kept your law."

And the God spoke to her: "Listen O Most Holy One. If anyone who has committed evil did not repent of his deeds, then you are right in saying,

how can I submit to your commandments and commit evil at the same time. When they do not renounce evil, what I can say but what has already been spoken, to give them according to their evil deeds. Then all the saints, having heard the Lord, knew not what to answer.

295

And the Most Holy One saw how fruitless all the efforts were, the Lord did not listen to the saints and did not grant mercy to the sinners.

And the Most Holy One said: "Where is Archistrategos Gabriel, who once hailed me. "Rejoice, he who had been chosen by the Father before all ages and today has no interest in the sinners. Where is the great one who carries the hailstones on his back and hurls them upon the earth because of the wickedness of man?" And the Lord sent His Son and assured the fruits of the earth. Where are the servants of the altar? Where is John the Theologian? Why do you not join with us in prayer to the Lord for the mercy of the Christian sinners? Do you not see how I weep for the sinners? Come all you angels in heaven, come all you righteous whom the Lord has vindicated. To you is given the power to pray for the sinners. Come, you too, Michael. You are the chief of the incorporeal spirits before the throne of God. Command all to fall down upon their faces before the throne of God and we shall not rise until God hears us and grants mercy to the sinners."

300

305

310

Then Michael fell on his face to the ground before the throne, with all the heavenly powers and all the orders of the incorporeal spirits. And the Lord beheld the prayers of the saints, and granted mercy for the sake of His only Son, saying: "Come down my beloved Son and behold the prayers of the saints and show your face to the sinners."

315

And the Lord came down from the invisible throne and having seen those in darkness, and they all exclaimed with one voice saying: "Have mercy upon us King of all ages."

And the Lord said: "Listen all! I have planted paradise and created man according to my own image, and made him Lord over paradise and given him life eternal. But they disobeyed me and sinned in their selfishness and thus have merited death. I did not want to see the work of my creation destroyed by the devil and I came down upon the earth and was born of a Virgin, and was crucified on the cross to free mankind from original sin. I asked for water and they gave me gall mingled with vinegar. My hands were wrapped by a man, and they placed me in the grave. I descended into hell and vanquished my enemy, resurrected my chosen ones and blessed Jordan to receive pardon from original sin. But you did not care to repent of your sins. You are Christians in word only, and do not obey my commandments, for this you find yourself in inextinguishable fire, and I have no mercy toward you, but today because of the mercy of my Father who sent me to you and the prayers and intercessions of my Mother who wept for the sinners, for the sake of the covenant of Michael the Archistrategos and for the multitude of martyrs who have laboured much on your behalf, I grant you who are suffering days and nights rest from Holy Thursday to Pentecost, and to praise the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And they all replied: "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and forever unto the[ages of ages. Amen.]"

Notes to Chapter One

¹ Riccardo Picchio, in his article "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of Slavic Orthodoxa," Slavica Hierosolymitana vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1977) 2, defines Orthodox Slavdom (Pravoslavnoe slavjanstvo) as "a spiritual community sharing a common heritage as opposed to a territorial and administrative unit." In this study the terms Orthodox Slavdom and Orthodox Slavic will be used to refer to pravoslavnoe slavjanstvo.

² International system for the transliteration of Slavic Cyrillic characters, 2nd ed. (Switzerland: ISO International Organization for Standardization, 1968); Joseph Gibaldi and Walter S. Achtert, MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, 2nd ed. (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1984).

³ Franko cited in O. Nazarevs'kyj, Xoždenie Bohorodicy po mukam v novyx ukrajins'kyx spyskax XVII-XVIII v.v. (The Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell in New Ukrainian Copies from the XVII-XVIII Centuries) (Kyjiv: Spilka tr'oxsvjatyj, 1908) 2.

⁴ Cvetana Vránska, Apokrifite za Bogorodica i bálqarskata narodna pesen': Sbornik na bálqarskata akademiya na naukite (The Apocryphon of the Mother of God and Bulgarian

Folksongs: A Collection of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) bk. 34 (Sofija: Džržavna pečatnica, 1948) 172.

▫ Nikolaj Gudzij, Xrestomatija po drevnej ruskoj literature XI-XVII vekov (An Anthology of Early Russian Literature from the XI-XVII Centuries), 5th ed. (Moscow: Ministerstvo prosvetščenija RSFSR, 1952) 92.

◄ Fedor Buslaev, Russkaja xrestomatija: Pamjatiniki drevnej ruskoj literatury i narodnoj slovesnosti (A Russian Anthology: Monuments of Early Russian Literature and Popular Folklore) (Moscow: Sinodal'naja tipografija, 1909) 161.

▸ According to Myxajlo Voznjak in Istorija ukrajins'koj literatury (The History of Ukrainian Literature) vol. 1 (L'viv: Prosvita) 105-106, the Korščaja knyha or Nomokanon was a collection of Byzantine norms and canon laws, which was accepted by the Eastern Orthodox Church from apostolic times to the last Ecumenical Council of AD 787. This Nomokanon index was subsequently included into Metropolitan Kiprian's prayer book of the fourteenth century. To this index, Kiprian added a list of books on astrology, witchcraft and divinity, considered "vile in the eyes of the Lord" ("Богоотметні і ненавидимі книги.") The Kiprian prayer book index later became part of the Kirillova kniga of 1644. See also A. I. Jacimirskij's Bibliografičeskij obzor apokrifov v južnoslavjanskoj i ruskoj pis'mennosti (Bibliographic Survey of Apocrypha in South Slavic and Russian Literature), 1st

ed., (St. Petersburg, 1921) 46-47. Xoždenie appears on the following indices of forbidden books: Council of Laodicea, Pogodin Nomokanon No. 1; Council of Chalcedon, Počajiv Nomokanon No. 3; The Holy Apostolic Laws Nos. 1 and 7; Council of Chalcedon Nos. 1, 2, and 5; Metropolitan Kiprian-Zosima Nos. 37 and 65; Kormčaja-Susdal No. 40; L'viv No. 25; The Prayer book of Kiprian Nos. 61, 10 and 96; Serbian indices Nos. 78, 79, and 119; The Apostolic Commandments No. 68, and the Soloveckij index No. 6.

Ivan Franko, Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury: Apokrifny i legendy z' ukrajins'kyx rukopysiv (Monuments of Ukrainian-Ruthenian Language and Literature: Apocrypha and Legends from Ukrainian Manuscripts), 5 vols. (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenko, 1906) vol. I, 1-6.

Ivan Franko, introduction, Apokrifny eschatol'ogični (Eschatological Apocrypha) in Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-rus'koji movy i literatury by Franko, vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenko, 1904) xiv.

Aleksandr N. Pypin, "Drevnjaja russkaja literatura. Starinnye apokrifny: Skazanie o Xoždenii Bogorodicy po mukam" (Early Russian Literature. Ancient Apocrypha: The Legend of the Journey of the Mother of God Through Hell), Otečestvennija zapiski (Annals of the Fatherland) (St. Petersburg, Nov. 1857) 335-360; Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi ruskoj stariny (Pamjatniki starinnoj ruskoj literatury)

(False and Prohibited Books of Russian Antiquity: Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature), ed. Grigoriev Kušelev-Bezborodko (St. Petersburg, 1862) vol. III, 118-124.

¹¹ Nikolaj Savič Tixonravov, Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury (Monuments of Prohibited Russian Literature) (Moscow: Universitetskaja tipografija, 1863) 30-39.

¹² See Dmitrij Ciževskij's History of Russian Literature From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque (S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960) 20-40; M.N. Speranskij's "Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva" (Ancient Monuments of Literature and Art) in Iz istorii otrečennyx knig (From the History of Prohibited Books), 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1899-1908); N.S. Tixonravov's "Otrečennye knigi v drevnej Rossii" (Prohibited Books in Old Russia) in Sočinenija N.S. Tixonravova (The Works of N.S. Tixonravov) (Moscow, 1898) 127-255; Two studies by Ivan Porfir'ev, Apokrifičeskie skazanija o vetxozavetnyx licax i sobytijax po rukopisjam Soloveckoj biblioteki (Apocryphal Legends of Old Testament Personages and Events from Manuscripts of the Soloveckaja Library), vol. III (St. Petersburg: Sbornik akademii nauk, 1890), and "Drevnej period ustnoj narodnoj i knižnoj slovesnosti do Petra Velikogo" (The Early Period of Folk and Written Literature to Peter the Great) in Istorija russkoj slovesnosti (The History of Russian Literature) (Kazan', 1882) 132-190. In addition to the above literary

histories, the following general works on the apocrypha are significant: O. Bilec'kyj's, "Apokryfy" in Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (An Anthology of Early Ukrainian Literature) (Kyjiv: Radjans'ka škola, 1967) 663-675; Myxajlo Voznjak's, "Apokrify" in Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury (The History of Ukrainian Literature), vol. I (L'viv: Prosvita, 1920) 104-125; and Vladimir Saxarov's Esxatologičeskija sočinenija i skazanja v drevnerusskoj literature i vlijanie ix na narodnyje duxovnye stixi (Eschatological Works and Legends in Early Russian Literature and Their Influence on Religious Folk Poetry) (Tula, 1879).

¹³ According to Ivan Franko, introduction, vol. IV, p. XLV, 1883 Moses Gaster published in Literatura Populară Romăna (Roumanian Popular Literature), a collection of eschatological apocrypha which were very popular in Roumania. He included in his collection such well known eschatological apocrypha as the Apocalypse of Paul (pp. 357-361), A Legend of the Twelve Fridays (pp. 381-382), and A Letter from the Mother of God commonly known as Xoždenie Bohorodicy po mukam pp. 372-380.

¹⁴ P.V. Vladimirov, Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov-otrečennyx knig v russkoj literature vo vtoroj polovine nastojaščago stoletija (A Scholarly Study of Prohibited Apocryphal Books in Russian Literature in the Second Half of the Present Century) XL, no. 2 (Kiev: Universitetskaja

izvestija, 1900) 45-109.

¹⁵ Ivan Franko, Apokrifny novozavitni. Apokrifični jevanhelyja (New Testament Apocrypha: The Apocryphal Gospels); vol. II (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo; 1899) i-Lx; Apokrifny esxatol'ogični (Eschatological Apocrypha) vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo, 1906) v-Lxxx.

¹⁶ Franko, introduction, Apokrifny esxatol'ogični vi-x.

¹⁷ Fedor Dostoevskij, Brat'ja Karamazovy (The Brothers Karamazov) Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v tridcati tomah (A Complete Collection of Works in Thirty Volumes) vol. 14 (Leningrad: Nauka, 1976) 224-225. In Book five, chapter V, The Grand Inquisitor ("Великий Инквизитор,") Ivan Karamazov, in a conversation with Alyosha, relates the story of Хождение. He says: "Есть, например, одна монастырская поэмка конечно, с греческого: "Хождение Богородицы по мукам," с картинами и со смелостью не ниже Дантовских. Богоматерь посещает ад, и руководит ее по мукам архангел Михаил."

¹⁸ Pierre Pascal, The Religion of the Russian People, trans. Rowan Williams (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976) 64.

¹⁹ Montague Rhodes James, "Introduction to the Apocalypse of the Virgin," Apocrypha Anecdota, Texts and

Studies. Contribution to Biblical and Patristic Literature
vol. II, no. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1893)
110-111.

²⁰ James Apocrypha Anecdota 111.

²¹ A.D. Stender-Petersen, Anthology of Old Russian Literature (Columbia Slavic Studies: Columbia University Press, New York, 1954) vii.

²² D.S. Lixačev, introduction, Sbornik proizvedenij literatury drevnej Rusi (An Anthology of Ancient Russian Literary Works) (Moscow, 1969) 7.

²³ Henrik Birnbaum, "The Supplication of Daniel the Exile and the Problem of Poetic Form in Old Russian Literature," On Medieval and Renaissance Slavic Writing (The Hague-Paris, 1974) 45-61; Dmitrij Čiževskij, "The Period of Stylistic Simplicity," History of Russian Literature From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque (S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960) 31-81; Dmitrij Lixačev, Poetica drevnerusskoj literatury, 2nd ed. (Leningrad: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1971); Horace Lunt, "On Editing Early Slavic Manuscripts: The Case of the Codex Suprasliensis, The Mstislav Gospel, and the Banica Gospel," International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics XXX (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1984) 7-75; a number of articles by Riccardo Picchio, "The Isocolic Principle in Old Russian

Prose," Slavic Poetics. Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky, ed. Roman Jacobson, C.H. Van Schooneveld, and Dean S. Worth (The Hague-Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1973) 299-331; "The Impact of Ecclesiastic Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques," Medieval Russian Culture, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Michael S. Flier (Los Angeles: University of California, 1984) 247-279; "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists. Warsaw, Aug. 21-27, 1973, vol. II, Literature and Folklore, ed. Victor Terras (The Hague-Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1973) 439-467; and Richard Pope, "On the Fate of Utopian Apocryphal Apocalypses among the South and East Slavs: The Narration of Our Father Agapius," Canadian Slavonic Papers XXV.1 (1983): 1-12.

²⁴ As noted by Franko, Apokrify esxatol'ogični 134. See also Nazarevs'kij Xoždenie Bohorodicy 3.

²⁵ Nazarevs'kij 3.

²⁶ Edgar Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963-65) vol. 2, 753.

²⁷ James 115-116.

²⁶ V. Vassiliev, Anecdota Graeco-Byzantinae (Sbornik pamjatnikov vizantijskoj literatury A. Vasil'eva.) (A Collection of Monuments of Byzantine Literature by A. Vasil'ev) (Moscow, 1893) 125-134. Montague R. James in Apocrypha Anecdota states that "Vassiliev's text is on the whole shorter and more modern than his, and that Vassiliev adds a short and meagre vision of paradise, and a notice on the death and the assumption of the Virgin" (141).

²⁷ Troicko-Sergieva Lavra (also known as Troicko-Sergievskaia), located seventy-one kilometres north of Moscow, was one of Russia's major monasteries, founded between 1337 and 1340 by Sergij of Radonež. (See Bol'saja sovetskaja enciklopedija (The Great Russian Encyclopedia) vol. 43, 272.

²⁸ For a description of the manuscript and the codex in which it was preserved, I am fully indebted to Ismail Sreznevskij's publication Drevnie pamjatniki russkago pis'ma i jazyka X-XIV vekov: (Obščee povremennoe obozrenie) (Ancient Monuments of Russian Literature and Language of the X-XIV Centuries. A General Periodical Review) (Sankt Petersburg: Tipografija imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1882) 80, 196-199.

²⁹ Sreznevskij 79-80; 196-198.

32 Dmitrij Čiževskij, History of Russian Literature From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960) 23.

33 Franko, introduction, Apokrify esxatol'ogični vi.
("Тут границя між апокрифічними і церквою допущеними творами ще менше виразна, як при апостольських житіях і діянях.")

34 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku (The Yugoslavian Historical Archives) (Zagreb: Dragutina Albrechta, 1868) 118-119.

35 Tixonravov, preface, v.

36 Nikolaj K. Bokadorov, "Legenda o Xoždenii Bogorodicy po mukam" (The Legend of the Journey of the Mother of God Through the Torments of Hell), Isbornik Kievskij (Kiev, 1904) 39-94.

37 Nazarevs'kyj 1.

38 Franko, Apokrify esxatol'ogični 134.

39 Franko, Apokrify esxatol'ogični 134.

40 Vatroslav Jagić, Historia književnosti naroda Hrvatskoga i Srbskoga (A History of Croatian and Serbian Literature) Book 1, (Staro doba) (Zagreb: Dragutina

Albrechta, 1867) 90. ("Neima sumnje, da je taj tekst izvorno južnoga i bulgarskoga porijekla, original dakle, iz kojega je ovaj priepiz učinjen, spadat će jamacno u 11, možda čak u 10 vjek, a to i jest doba ložnich knjiga.") The earliest known South Slavic index of forbidden books is found in the Isbornik Svjatoslava of 1073, which was originally translated from Greek to Bulgarian for Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria (d. 927). According to I. Porfir'ev's Apokrifičeskija skazanija o vetxozavetnyx licax i sobytijax (Kazan': Universitetskaja tipografija, 1872) 154-157, the Isbornik contains three lists of the canon of books of the Old and New Testaments (with apocrypha and pseudepigrapha). Xoždenie is not among the twenty-five apocryphal works cited by Porfir'ev (p. 157), contrary to what M.V. Roždestvenskaja claims in Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti drevnei Rusi (A scribal and academic dictionary of Ancient Rus' (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987) 464. The Pogodin Nomokanon index, which was brought to the East Slavic lands, was also compiled in Bulgaria in the eleventh century.

⁴¹ Jagić 90.

⁴² Bokadorov 69-72.

⁴³ Bokadorov 64.

⁴⁴ Franko, Apokrify esxatol'gični 123.

⁴⁵ Bokadorov 62.

⁴⁶ P.V. Vladimirov, Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov otrečennyx knig v russkoj literature vo vtoroj polovine nastojaščago stoletija (Kiev: Universitetskie izvestija) vol. 2, 97-102.

⁴⁷ A.P. Konusov, and V.F. Pokrovskaja, Opisanie rukopisnogo otdelenija (An Inventory of the Manuscript Division of the USSR Library of the Academy of Sciences) (Moscow: Biblioteka akademii nauk SSSR, 1951) vol. 4, 225-438. (For a list of unpublished texts, see chapter one, p. 30).

⁴⁸ Sreznevskij 196.

⁴⁹ Quoted by Christopher Rowland, The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity. (London: SPCK, 1978) 65.

⁵⁰ Andrew Martindale, The Rise of the Artist (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972) 65.

⁵¹ Sviatoslav Hordyns'kyj, The Ukrainian Icon of the XIth to XVIIIth centuries, trans. Walter Dushnyck (Philadelphia: Providencé Association, 1973) 7.

32 Riccardo Picchio, "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," American Contributions to the Seventh Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, Aug. 21-27, 1973, vol. II, Literature and Folklore, ed. Victor Terras (The Hague-Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1973) 447-448.

33 Dostoevskij 224-225.

34 Martindale 65.

35 Edgar Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha vol 2, 600-628.

36 A. Barats', "Sledy iudejskix' vozzrenij v drevne-russkoj pis'mennosti," Letopis' Istoriko-filologičeskago občestva pri imperatorskom novorossijskom' universitete "Traces of Judaic Influences in Early Russian Literature Chronicle. Historico-Philological Society of the Imperial Novorossijsk University) (1891) vol. 4, 26. Quoted by Bokadorov 43.

37 Bokadorov 42-43.

38 Moses Gaster had published for the first time in English translation the oldest extant Old Testament apocryphon the Revelation of Moses in Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and

Samaritan Archaeology (New York: Ktav, 1971) 124-141.

59 In my paper presented to the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures of the University of Ottawa entitled "Visions of Journeys to Heaven and Hell in Medieval Orthodox Slavic Apocrypha," I examined the formal structure of three Kievan Rus' eschatological apocrypha, Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam, Xoždenie Pavla po mukam, and Slovo o svjatom Avraame. I compared them with two non-Slavic eschatological apocrypha, the Revelation of Moses and the Apocalypse of Peter, which, in my opinion may have constituted the foundation of the literary patterns of Orthodox Slavic apocrypha. I argued that while Orthodox Slavic apocrypha were influenced by earlier ecclesiastical tradition, they were, nonetheless, distinct literary monuments of the Kievan Rus' literary and spiritual heritage. Xoždenie Pavla po mukam is a fifteenth-century Russian Church Slavic manuscript (ng. 1264) of the Sofijskij Sobor in Novgorod. The text was published by Nikolaj Tixonravov in Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury vol. 2, 40-58. An English translation, from a Latin version of the Apocalypse of Paul was published by Montague James in The Apocryphal New Testament. The English translation used in this thesis will be that of James, for it is very close in content and style to the Russian Church Slavic text. Slovo o svjatom Avraame is an eighteenth-century Ukrainian Church Slavic manuscript (Univarskyj) of Ušgorod, and published by Ivan Franko in Apokrifj esxatolo'ogični vol. IV, 104-109. The English

translation used is that of the author. The Akhain and Ethiopic fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter were published by Montague James in The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) 505-521. James holds this apocalypse to be the oldest Christian vision dating to the second century AD.

40 Tixonravov 49.

41 Gaster 133.

42 An English translation of this apocryphon was published anonymously in the Slavonic Review X (1931): 246-252. Rpt. in Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales, ed. and trans. Serge Zenkovsky (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1963) 129-136, and by Donald Raymond Hitchcock in The Appeal of Adam to Lazarus in Hell (The Hague: Mouton Publishers 1979).

43 Franko, Apokrify esxatol'ogični 104.

44 Tit Myškovs'kyj, comp. and ed., Izbornýk: Blahopotrebnýx cerkovnyx činov i služb (A Collection of Holy Church Rites and Services), 5th ed. (L'vov: Starvrcpyhijskyj institut, 1914) 230. (Tit Myškovs'kyj was an Old Ruthenian professor of the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy in L'viv. His name is officially listed in Latin as Titus Myškovs'kyj.)

46 Myškovs'kyj 253. For an English translation see Isabel Florence Hapgood, Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church (Englewood: Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese, 1975) 229.

46 Pypin 118. For a detailed description of the Tolstoj manuscript, see "List of Manuscripts" p. 35, and chapter three, pp. 140-142.

47 An undated Russian Church Slavic text of Xoždenie Pavla was also found in a Pogodin sbornik, no. 947, leaves 56-59, under the heading Pavlove Videnie (The Vision of St. Paul) and published by Pypin in Ložnyja i otrečennija knigi ruskoj stariny 129-134.

46 Nazarevs'kyj 3.

47 Tixonravov, Sočinenija: N.S. Tixonravova, 204.

70 Mixail Speranskiĭ, Iz istorii otrečennyx knig, 193.

71 I follow the grouping suggested by Donald S. Cooper and Harry B. Weber in "The Church Slavonic Testament of Abraham," Studies on the Testament of Abraham, ed. George W.E. Nickelsburg Jr. (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976) 308-309.

72 Franko 134. Franko describes it as a "careless Graždanka."

73 Konusov and Pokrovskaja 235-485.

74 Nazarevs'kyj 34.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ Kurt Weitzmann, The Icon (London: Evans Brothers, 1982) 242.

² Weitzmann 240.

³ Leonid Ouspensky, Theology of the Icon (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978) 10.

⁴ Vladimir Lossky, The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976) 236.

⁵ S.B. Frost, "Eschatology and Myth," Vetus Testamentum 2 (1952): 70.

⁶ Frost 70.

⁷ Francis Ferguson, Dante (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1966) 135.

⁸ Vladimir Kuskov, A History of Old Russian Literature (Moscow: Progress Publishers: 1980) 20.

⁹ Boris Uspensky, A Poetics of Composition, trans. Valentina Zavarin, and Susan Wittig (Berkeley: University of California, 1973) 50.

¹⁰ Pypin, Ložnyja i otrečennija knigi 113-115. The apocryphon was preserved in a seventeenth-century collection of the State Public Library, place not given, manuscript no. 258, folios 217-224. A fragment (apocryphal catechism) from the apocryphon Voprosy Svjatogo Ioanna Bogoslova o živyx' i o mertvyx' (The Questions of St. John the Theologian on the Living and the Dead) was published by Ivan Franko under the heading Voprosy Jioanna Bohoslova Avraamu na Eleonskoj hori (The Questions of John the Theologian to Abraham on the Mount of Olives) in Apokrify esxatol'ogični vol. IV, 24-25.

¹¹ Montague James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) 510.

¹² James, The Apocryphal New Testament 554.

¹³ Franko, Apokrify esxatol'ogični vol. IV, xi.

¹⁴ Acts (7:56): "And said: Behold, I see the heavens opened."

¹⁵ Vladimir A. Saxarov, Esxatologičeskija sočinenija i skazanija v drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti i vlijanie ix na narodnyje duxovnyje stixi (Tula: n.p. 1879) 33.

¹⁶ Pascal P. Parente, The Angels (St. Meinrad, Indiana: Grail Publications, 1958) 75.

¹⁷ Tixonravov, Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury 54.

¹⁸ Stan Carlson, and Very Reverend Leonid Soroka, Faith of Our Fathers (Minneapolis: The Olympic Press, 1958) 16.

¹⁹ Leonid Uspensky, "Icons and Frescoes," The Orthodox Church in Russia: A Millennial Celebration (New York: The Vendome Press) 147.

²⁰ Hrehgry Lohvin, "Art of Kiev-Rus'," Forum 66 (1986): 29-34.

²¹ Tit Myškovs'kyj, comp. and ed., Izbornyk: Blahopotrebnyx cerkovnyx činov i služb, 5th ed. (L'vov: Stavropyhijskyj institut, 1914) 97. See also Isabel Florence Hapgood, Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic

Church (Englewood: Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese, 1975) 107-108.

22 Myškovs'kyj 366.

23 Tixonravov, Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury 41.

24 Tixonravov, Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury 55.

25 Parente 43-44.

26 Parente 64-69.

27 Arthur Darby Nock, Conversion: The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo (London: Oxford University Press, 1931) 1-16.

28 Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful, ed. James T. Boulton (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968) 57.

29 Tixonravov, Pamjatniki otrečenoj ruskoj literatury 49.

30 Franko, Apokrifj esxatol'onični vol. IV, 108.

³¹ Riccardo Picchio, "Models and Patterns" 439-441.

³² The motif of a punishable hierarchy was preserved in an old Serbian folk song entitled "Prečista Marija i sveti Arxandželo u raju i paklu", (The Virgin Mary and the Holy Archangel in Paradise and Hell), collected by Bogoljub Petranović and published in Srpske narodne pjesme (Serbian Folksongs) (1867). Cited by Bokadorov 85.

"Плывуть два епископа
Горять у них волосы до очей,
Синее пламя уста ихъ лижетъ
Горять руки у нихъ до плечъ
Горять ноги до колънь
Богу нашему тяжко согрѣшили."

(Two bishops were sailing on the river, their hair burning to their eyes. The blue flames licking their lips; their hands burning to their shoulders. Their feet burning to their knees. They have sinned grievously against God.)

³³ Gaster, Studies and Texts 134.

³⁴ James, The Apocryphal New Testament 509.

³⁵ Tixonravov, Pamjatniki otrečennoj ruskoj literatury 52.

³⁶ Jacques Guillet, Themes of the Bible (Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers Inc., 1960) 139.

³⁷ Frost 70.

³⁸ Uspensky 65.

³⁹ Montague James, "Introduction to the Apocalypse of the Virgin" Texts and Studies 111.

⁴⁰ Rowland 87.

⁴¹ Francis Weiser, Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1958) 247.

⁴² Franko, Apokrifj esxatol'ogični vol. IV, 24-25.

⁴³ Čiževskij 83.

⁴⁴ G. Alexinsky, "Slavonic Mythology," Encyclopedia of Mythology (London: Batchworth Press Limited, 1959) 293-310. Perun was the Slavic god of war. Neither history nor tradition has preserved anything exact on the subject of Perun's divine image. There was in Kiev until the end of the tenth-century a wooden idol of Perun (when it was toppled and destroyed). According to Nestor the Chronicler, in his Primary Chronicle Igor, the prince of Kiev, climbed the hills where the image of Perun (Pyerun) stood and there placed his arms, shield, and his god.... Volos or Vyelyes was the god of cattle, who was associated with Perun's war-like exploits.

Nestor the Chronicler, also tells us that Prince Oleg led his warriors into battle and swore by their arms, invoking the god of Perun and Volos, the god of beasts (Alexinsky 304). The name Xors, derived from the Church Slavic word "хърсъ," (Old Serbian "хръсъ") was in Eastern Slavic folklore, the god of sun. According to Bohdan Kravciv, Do Problemy Tura-Svaroha Trojana, (Philadelphia, 1952) 1-13, Trojan is an old Ukrainian mythological God, who is mentioned four times in Slovo o polku Igoreve. In his opinion, Trojan is the most prominent representative of the Ukrainian mythological world. Trojan is also mentioned in Letopis' russkoj literatury bk. V, 2nd ed. p. 5 (Kravciv 9). George Vernadsky, in his book Kievan Russia (New Haven, 1948) 53 maintains that in Ukrainian Trojan (Troian) means the father of three sons (triplets). Other scholars have suggested that the name Troian is derived from the name of the Roman Emperor Trajan. Henri Gregoire and Roman Jacobson claim the name is a derivative of Troy (Vernadsky 53).

⁴⁵ Gudzij 49.

⁴⁶ For a list of Slavonic translations available in Russia in the tenth to the fourteenth centuries see Francis J. Thomson's article, "The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries and its Implications for Russian Culture," in Belgian Contributions to the Eight International Congress of Slavists, Zagreb, Sept. 1978, Slavica Gandensia 5

(Gent, Belgium. 1978) 107-139.

⁴⁷ Quoted by Justina Besharov, Imagery of the Igor' tale in the Light of Byzantine-Slavic Poetic Theory (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956) 51.

⁴⁸ Gaster, Studies and Texts 139.

⁴⁹ Gaster, Studies and Texts 135.

⁵⁰ James, The Apocryphal New Testament 554.

⁵¹ Franko, Apokrify esxatol'ogični vol. IV, 106.

⁵² Uspensky 45.

⁵³ George Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1946) 213.

⁵⁴ Uspensky 52.

⁵⁵ Čiževskij 31-33.

⁵⁶ Martha Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983) 47.

⁵⁷ Uspensky 52.

58 Kirill Taranovskij, "Formy obščeslavjanskogo i cerkovno-slavjanskogo stixa v drevnerusskoj literature XI-XIII v.v.," (Forms of Common Slavic and Church Slavic Verse in Old Russian Literature from the XI-XIII Centuries) American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague, 1968, vol. 1, Linguistic Contributions, ed. H. Kučera (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1968) 377-394.

59 Uspensky 146.

60 Vasylij Antynovyč, comp. and ed., Molytvoslov: dlja pravoslavnyx xristijan (Prayer Book for Orthodox Christians) (Cernovcy [Chernovtsy]: Bukovinskaja obščestvennaja tipografija, 1900) 307-308. Irmos 2. For an English translation see Prayer Book (Jordanville, New York: Holy Trinity Monastery, 1960) 272-273.

61 Riccardo Picchio, "The Isocolic Principle in Old Russian Prose," Slavic Poetics: Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky, ed. Roman Jakobson (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1973) 299-331.

62 Picchio 327.

63 Picchio 302.

64 Picchio 304.

↪ Picchio 305-327.

↪ See Besharov's discussion on Byzantine-Slavic metaphors, allegory, simile, and inversions. (pp. 51-88)

Notes to Chapter Three

1 Ivan Franko, Apokrifny eschatol'ogični vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenko, 1906) xxi.

2 Riccardo Picchio, "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists vol. II, Literature and Folklore, ed. Victor Terras (The Hague - Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1973) 456. See also his article "The Impact of Ecclesiastic Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques," in Medieval Russian Culture, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Michael S. Flier (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984) 266-268.

3 Pypin, Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi russkoj stariny 118. ("Изъ Толстовского сборника 1602 отд. II, но. 229 ... и варианты из Сборника Троицкой Лавры, XII-XIII в.")

4 Nikolaj Gudzij, Xrestomatija po drevnej russkoj literature XI-XVII vekov (Moscow: Ministerstvo prosvješčenija

RSFSR, 1952) 92. ("проводится по списку начала XVII века с исправлениями по древнейшему русскому списку.")

³ An English translation of the Tolstoj manuscript entitled The Pilgrimage of the Mother of God Among the Torments was published by Pierre Pascal in The Religion of the Russian People, trans. Rowan Williams (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Press, 1976) 66-81. The Gudzij text of Xoždenie was translated into English by Susan Wilbur Jones entitled The Virgin's Visit to Hell published in Nikolaj Gudzij's, History of Early Russian Literature (New York: Macmillan, 1949) 46-49; by Leo Wiener entitled The Holy Virgin's Descent into Hell (XII century) published in Anthology of Russian Literature (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967) 96-99; by Serge A. Zenkovsky entitled The Descent of the Virgin into Hell published in Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales (New York: E.P. Dunton and Company, 1963) 122-129; and into French by Jean-Yves Le Guillou, Marie Bouchard and Nicole Rich Plumet entitled "Document inédit: Pélerinage de la Mère de Dieu à travers les peines," in Etudes Slaves et Est-Européennes XIX (1973-1974): 66-75. These translations are a valuable contribution to Xoždenie scholarship.

⁴ Dmitrij Čiževskij, History of Russian Literature From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque (S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960) 331.

7 Čiževskij 369. "Old Believers," is a general name for those who refused to accept Nikon's reforms. The most eloquent opponent of Nikon's reforms was Archpriest Avvakum.

8 P.V. Vladimirov, Naučnoe izučenie apokrifov-otročennyx knig v ruskoj literature vo vtoroj polovine nastojaščago stoletija (Kiev: Universitetskie izvestija, 1900) 101.

9 Vladimirov 102.

10 Vladimirov 97-102.

11 Vladimirov 97. The Belorussian text of Xoždenie is entitled "Skazanie o mucex', ix že Mixail Arxangel pokaza presvjatei Bogorodice" (A Discourse on the Torments of Hell which Archangel Michael Showed to the Most Holy Mother of God) also known under the heading "O dvenadcati mukax" (On the Twelve Torments).

12 Vladimirov 100.

13 Vladimirov 100.

14 Čiževskij 322-324.

15 Oleksander Nazarevs'kyj, Xoždenie Bohorodicy po mukam v novyx ukrajins'kyx spyskax XVII-XVIII v.v. (Kyjiv: Spilka tr'oxsvjatyt, 1908) 2.

¹⁶ Franko, Apokryfy starozavitni (Old Testament Apocrypha) vol. I, 1-6.

¹⁷ Nazarevs'kyj 36.

¹⁸ Nazarevs'kyj 36.

¹⁹ Nazarevs'kyj 36.

²⁰ Voznjak 33.

²¹ Ivan Franko, "Mandrivka Bohorodyci po pekli," Zytje i slovo, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1894) vol. II, bk. 4, 81-88, and 224-237.

²² Maks Fasmer (Vasmer), Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka, 4 vols. (Moscow: Progress, 1973) vol. 4, 639. Derived from the Greek, Skyman was in Church Slavic "скимен-зверь," "ским-зверь," (a monster) "чудовище." In Slavic folklore, Skyman was a "львенок" (a young lion).

²³ The hellmouth portrayal on the dome of the Florence baptistry is remarkably similar to the Slavic description of Skyman. He, too, is endowed with a serpent-head, horns and lion-like feet. Slippery serpents wind around each ear and limb. His right paw is outstretched toward the sinners. His mouth is filled with sinful souls. A painting of the Last Judgment in the Church of the Phaneromene Monastery on the

Greek island of Salamis, could also have served as an inspiration to the author. Painted by Georgios Markos in 1735, this painting contains more than 250 individuals. Among them were Caesar, Pontius Pilate, Maxentius, Diocletian, and such persons of early church history as Arius, Dioskorides, Nestorius, and Maximus of Alexandria. Cited by Desanka Milošević, The Last Judgment, trans. George H. Genzel and Hand Rosenwald (Vaduz: Overseas Publishers, 1964) 60-63.

24 Bokadorov 81.

25 E. Cobham Brewer, Dictionary of Miracles (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966) 414.

26 Adolphe Napoleon Didron, Christian Iconography, trans. E. J. Millington, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1965), vol. II, 263-399.

27 Aleksandr N. Pypin, Ložnyja i otrečennyja knigi ruskoj stariny (Pamjatniki starinnoj ruskoj literatury), ed. Grigorij Kušelev-Bezborodko (St. Petersburg, 1862) vol. III, 113.

28 As outlined by Čiževskij in his History of Russian Literature From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque 31-34; 321-346.

≈⁹ I.V. Ivan'c, "Pro ukrajins'ke literaturne barokko"
 (On Ukrainian Literary Baroque), Ukrajins'ke literaturne
 barokko (Ukrainian Literary Baroque), ed. O.V. Myšanyč
 (Kyjiv: Naukova dumka, 1987) 9.

≈⁰ Ivan'c 3.

≈¹ Ivan'c 4.

≈² Ivan'c 6.

≈³ D.S. Nalyvajko, "Kyjivs'ki poetyky XVII-počatku XVIII
 st. v konteksti evropejs'koho literaturnoho procesy" (Kievan
 Poetics from the XVII-to the Beginning of the XVIII Century
 in the Context of European Literary Process), Literaturna
 spadščyna kyjivs'koji rusi i ukrajins'ka literatura XVI-XVIII
 st. (The Literary Heritage of Kievan Rus' and the Ukrainian
 Literature of the XVI-XVIII Centuries), ed. O.V. Myšanyč
 (Kyjiv: Naukova dumka, 1981) 157.

≈⁴ R.P. Radyševs'kyj, "Barokkovyj konseptyzm poeziji
 Lazarja Baranovyča" (The Baroque Conception of the Poetry of
 Lazar Baranovyč), Ukrajins'ke literaturne barokko (Ukrainian
 Literary Baroque), ed. O.V. Myšanyč (Kyjiv: Naukova dumka,
 1987) 164.

≈⁵ Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, A History of Ukrainian Literature
 (From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century), trans. Dolly

Ferguson, Doreen Gorsline, and Ulana Petyk, ed. George S.W. Luckyj (Littleton, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1975) 262.

³⁶ Cited in Gudzij 24.

³⁷ Cited in Nazarevs'kyj 4-17.

³⁸ O. Bilec'kyj, Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (do kincja XVIII st.), 3rd ed. (Kyjiv: Radjans'ka škola, 1967) 670.

³⁹ Jaroslav Rudnyc'kyj, Ukrajins'ka mova to jiji hovory (The Ukrainian Language and its Dialects) no. 15 (Winnipeg: Department of Slavic Studies, University of Man., 1974) 64. Bačka was a region of Southern Hungary [now a part of Yugoslavia]. During the eighteenth century, Ukrainians immigrated to this region from the Transcarpathian (Zakarpattja) region of Ukraine. The dialect reflects the influences of the Slovak, Serbian, and Croatian languages.

⁴⁰ A. Pypin, "Skazanie o Xoždenii Bogorodicy po mukam," Drevnjaja russkaja literatura: Otečestvennye zapiski (St. Petersburg, Nov. 1857) 353.

⁴¹ Bokadorov 69.

42 Constantine Cavarnos, The Holy Mountain (Belmont: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1973) 15. "Of the twenty monasteries on Mount Athos," maintains Cavarnos, "seventeen are Greek, one Bulgarian, one Russian and one Serbian. Of the twelve sketes on the island, seven are Greek, two are Russian, two Roumanian and one Bulgarian. All the monasteries trace their establishment to Byzantine times." George Vernadsky in Kievan Russia (New Haven: University Press, 1959) 325, states: "Mount Athos offered a meeting place for Russian and Serbian monks. Russian monks first settled there in the ten-seventies, in the Xylourgou Monastery; in 1089 they moved to the St. Panteleimon Monastery, while the Serbs took over the Xylourgou. From 1100 to 1169 the St. Panteleimon was in a state of decay and such Russian monks as remained on Mount Athos lived at Xylourgou among the Serbs. In 1169 the Serbs received the St. Panteleimon, which they shared with the Russians until 1197, where they moved to the Khilandar Monastery, thenceforth the main center of Serbian monasticism."

43 Faith C.M. Kitch, The Literary Style of Epifanij Premudryj.Pletenije Sloves (München (Munich) Verlag Otto Sagner: 1976) 35.

44 Right Reverend Andrew, The Orthodox Faith, trans. Reverend Father Mirone R. Klysh (Winnipeg: Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1962) 232-239.

45 Vranska 64.

46 I. Polivka, "Opisi i izvodi iz jugoslavenskih rukopisa u Pragu," (A Description and Excerpts from the Yugoslavian Manuscripts in Prague) Starine XXII (1890): 203-204.

47 Bokadorov 72.

48 Some elements of this apocryphon found lyrical expression in a Serbian folksong entitled "Ognjena Marija u paklu" (St. Marija in Hell) collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and discussed by Pypin in Skazanie o Xoždenii Bogorodicy. (The Legend of the Journey of the Blessed Virgin) (pp. 353-354). In the song, the Virgin Mary prays to God for the keys to the gates of hell. The Lord hears her prayers. Her request is granted. God sends the Apostle Peter to accompany her on the journey. They enter hell together and see different groups of sinners enduring torment in their respective spheres according to the nature of their sins. Apostle Peter, acting as the mediator of the revelation, explains to the Virgin Mary the correspondence of sin and punishment.

49 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Arkiv za povestnicu jugoslavensku (Zagreb: 1868) 110-119.

80 Vranska 68.

81 The motif of sinners immersed to various depths in the river of fire found an echo in the Bulgarian folksong entitled "Opisanie na ada" (A Description of Hell); while the motif of the "fifty-day reprieve" found lyrical expression in the song "Razpuskane na mrutivite" (The Release of the Dead.)

"Opisanie na ada"

Дето гора тия мъртви души.

Едни гора души до колена.

Они гора, очи йим гледа

Други гора, души до пояса

Они гора, очи йим гледа

Треки гора души до рамена,

И им гори коса на главата (Vra. 181-182).

(Where the dead souls burn. Some were burning in hell fire to their knees; others to their eyes; others to their waist; the third to their shoulders with their hair on fire.)

82 Based on Čiževskij's description of the period of stylistic simplicity and the Baroque. 31-34; 321-346.

Notes to the Appendix One

- ¹ Ivan Franko, Apokryfy esxatol'ogični vol. IV (L'viv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenka, 1906) 47-48.
- ² Pierre Pascal, The Religion of the Russian People, trans. Rowan Williams (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press) 62-63.
- ³ Montague Rhodes James, Apocrypha Anecdota. Texts and Studies vol. II (Cambridge, 1893) 109.
- ⁴ James, Apocrypha Anecdota 109.
- ⁵ James, Apocrypha Anecdota 109.
- ⁶ James, Apocrypha Anecdota 115-126.
- ⁷ Montague Rhodes James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarence Press, 1966) 563.
- ⁸ James, The Apocryphal New Testament 563-564.
- ⁹ James, The Apocryphal New Testament 564.
- ¹⁰ W. Wright, Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament (London: Williams and Northgate, 1865) 47-48.

11 Wright 11.

12 Wright 47-63.

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Abstract

This study presents Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam, an anonymous, twelfth-century eschatological apocryphon in a new and positive light, as a serious and valuable work of Kievan Rus' antiquity. Transmitted from Byzantium to Kievan Rus' with the adoption of Christianity in AD 988, and translated into Church Slavic no later than the twelfth century, Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam (hereafter Xoždenie) was one of the most popular medieval apocrypha in Orthodox Slavdom as numerous extant copies attest. Very few scholars have attempted a literary analysis of Xoždenie, often viewing such eschatological writings as non-poetic and non-literary. In the last decades, however, this unfavourable view has begun to fade. Scholars such as Riccardo Picchio, Dmitrij Lixačev and Pierre Pascal have turned to medieval works, examining them from an artistic point of view.

There are two separate but interconnected objectives in this dissertation. The first and central objective is concerned with elucidating the formal devices and compositional patterns of Xoždenie, one of the few rare monuments preserved from this early medieval period. Its importance lies in its language, style and contents, which reveal the climate in which it was written.

The ~~second~~ objective focuses upon the literary tradition of Xoždenie in Orthodox Slavdom, upon the evolution of its contents, language and style as it crossed liturgical and linguistic boundaries.

The dissertation has three chapters. The opening chapter first examines the popularity of eschatological apocrypha among the Orthodox Slavs, the question of prohibited books, the contributions of nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship to Slavic apocryphal literature, and the more speculative issues of the aim, origin, and authorship of Xoždenie.

The second chapter examines Xoždenie's structure, language, themes and formal stylistic devices. This compact, didactic work (consisting of only eight pages), has a clearly delineated narrative form, logically constructed and presented in accordance with the theme of the story. The vision is organized into three registers of scenes, with three sets of characters (the angels, the Holy Mother of God, and the sinners), representing the realms of heaven, earth, and hell respectively. Within this allegorized structure, the themes of repentance and salvation, mercy and forgiveness are expressed through the narrator and the dramatis personae. In addition, other aspects of the author's techniques (the use of angels to convey the theological message, emotionalism in prayer, psychological characterization, rhythmic prose, imagery of movement and nature, and numerical symbolism) are

studied.

Chapter three concludes the study by examining the textual variations of twenty extant versions of Xoždienie from both the East and South Slavic lands. The analysis reveals that Xoždienie from the fifteenth century onward underwent both a process of change and a process of preservation. While undergoing numerous local linguistic and textual changes (for example, word order, lexical substitution, rephrasing, expansion, and the omission of redundant passages), the later versions of Xoždienie preserve an underlying structural and compositional unity and a dependence not only upon a common Slavic ancestor, which in the absence of any South Slavic copy was in all probability the Kievan Rus' manuscript, but also upon a rich rhetorical Eastern Orthodox monastic tradition which formed the spirit of this verbal art.