

V. TÄPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, A. MILTENOVA

**HISTORICAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE
IN BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL BULGARIA**

Sofia, 2011

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Vassilka Tapkova-Zaimova
Anissava Miltenova

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*История и историзъм в православния свят.
Изследване на идеите за история
Национален фонд научни изследвания*

CONTENTS

PREFACE	7
<i>V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, A. Miltenova</i>	
ABBREVIATIONS.....	9
Abbreviations of Libraries and Archives	9
Secondary Sources	10
Abbreviations of Manuscripts	12
Principles of the Edition	14
Abbreviations and Sigla	16
INTRODUCTION.....	17
<i>V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, A. Miltenova</i>	
Underlying Concepts and Problems	17
Origin and Development of Prophetic Literature in Byzantium.....	22
The Historical and Apocalyptic Works in Medieval Bulgarian Literature	27
Periodization of Historical and Apocalyptic Works in Medieval Bulgarian Literature	40
Miscellanea of Prophecies in the Balkan Cyrillic Manuscript Tradition	46
Approach in Compiling and Composing the Historical and Apocalyptic Works....	52
MYTHOLOGY AND REAL HISTORY	59
<i>V. Tăpkova-Zaimova</i>	
THE SUCCESSION OF EARTHLY KINGDOMS AND “HOLY” CITIES	61
THE FIGURE OF THE IDEAL KING-SAVIOUR AND REAL HISTORICAL CHARACTERS.....	87
NATIONS: HISTORICAL REALITY AND MYTH	119
SOURCES	139
<i>A. Miltenova</i>	
CYCLE OF THE LATE 11 TH C.....	141
1. Vision and Interpretation of Daniel	141
2. Narration of Isaiah.....	186
3. Revelation of Methodius Patarensis.....	218
4. Commentary of Hippolytus of Rome and of Hypatius of Ephesus.....	257
5. Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle	274
CYCLE OF THE 13 TH –14 TH CC.....	301
1. The Visions of Prophet Daniel.....	301

2. Vision of Prophet Isaiah of the Last Times.....	332
3. Pandeh's Prophetic Story.....	353
4. Apocalypse of St Andrew the Fool-for-Christ's-Sake	365
5. The Legend of the Antichrist.....	405
6. Tale of the Twelve Dreams of King Shahinshahi.....	427
7. Oracles of Leo the Wise	450
8. Story about Sibyl	469
9. Razumnik-ukaz	505
 WORKS OF THE TIMES UNDER THE OTTOMANS	 547
1. Sermon on the Ishmaelites of the Last Times.....	548
2. Legend of the Turkish Invasion	556
INDEXES	565
I.....	565
II	568
BIBLIOGRAPHY	573

PREFACE

Parts of this book are based on materials originally published by Vassilka Tăpkova-Zaimova and Anissava Miltenova some fifteen years ago in Bulgarian (“Историко-апокалпичната книжнина във Византия и в средновековна България”, Sofia, 1996), which have been wholly revised, expanded, and translated into English for the present edition. We have also included five new chapters based on the papers previously published in various Bulgarian journals and anthologies and therefore until now inaccessible to many potential readers.

The original texts from Old Church Slavonic miscellanies included here have been edited and prepared for publication by Mariana Nikolova. The format and the style of the edition have been updated to facilitate both reading and citing, and transcription and typographical errors were corrected after verification against the manuscripts. The bibliography has also been updated substantially. The index of proper names and toponyms is based only on the historical sources discussed in the first part of the book; the names of contemporary authors may be found in the list of literature cited.

We are grateful to have had the opportunity to work with collections in the libraries of Belgrade, Bucharest, Zagreb, Vienna, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg, many of which generously provided copies of manuscripts for our use. Vassilka Tăpkova-Zaimova had an opportunity to work in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, and Anissava Miltenova in the Hilandar Research Library and Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, for which we are very thankful. We would like also to express our gratitude to several Bulgarian institutions: the State Archival Agency in Sofia, the National Saint Cyril and Methodius Library, the Ivan Duichev Center for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, Sofia University, and the Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

We owe special thanks to our colleagues in Bulgaria and other countries for their help and advice: Anatoly A. Turilov, Marina A Salmina, Olga A. Knyazevskaya, Igor I. Kaliganov, Predrag Matejic, Radoman Stanković, Francis Thomson, Ralph Cleminson, Vassil Gyuzelev, Angelina Mincheva, Tatjana Slavova, Krassimir Stanchev, Miliana Kaymakamova, Angel Nikolov, and Lorenzo DiTommaso. We are also grateful to the following colleagues who are no longer with us: Gennady Litavrin, Olga P. Lihacheva, Pavlinka Boycheva, and Stefan Kozhuharov.

Finally, we would like to express our appreciation to Anna-Maria Totomanova for her invitation to participate in the History and Historicism in Orthodox Slavic World: Study of Ideas of the History project (sponsored by National Fund for Scientific Research of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education, Youth, and Science), whose support made feasible the English translation and the publication of this book.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS OF LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Archive of CASA	Archive of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Archive of SASA	Archive of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
CHAI-Sofia	Church Historical and Archival Institute – Sofia
CSBS- Sofia	Center of Slavo-Byzantine Studies “Iv. Duichev” – Sofia
CSL-Kyiv	Central Scientific Library “V. I. Vernadsky” – Kyiv
IL-Kyiv	Institute of Literature collection – Kyiv
LRAS-Saint Petersburg	Library of Russian Academy of Sciences – Saint Petersburg
MSOC-Belgrade	Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church
NL-Berlin	National Library – Berlin
NLCM-Sofia	National Library “SS Cyril and Methodius” – Sofia
NLIV-Plovdiv	National Library “Iv. Vazov” – Plovdiv
NLS-Belgrade	National Library of Serbia – Belgrade
NL-Vienna	Austrian National Library – Vienna
NM-Lviv	National Museum – Lviv
NM-Prague	National Museum – Prague
RAS-Bucharest	Rumanian Academy of Sciences Library – Bucharest
RNL-Saint Petersburg	Russian National Library – Saint Petersburg
RSL-Moscow	Russian State Library – Moscow
SA-Bucharest	State Archive – Bucharest
SHM-Moscow	State Historical Museum – Moscow
SL-Lviv	State Library “V. Stefanik” – Lviv
SL-Odessa	State Library “M. Gorky” – Odessa
UL-Leiden	University Library – Leiden
UL-Sofia	University Library – Sofia
UL-Vienna	University Library – Vienna

SECONDARY SOURCES

ABoll	Analecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles : Société des Bollandistes
ASPh	Archiv für slavische philologie, Berlin
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. Par <i>Halkin, F.</i> Bruxelles, 1957, 1–3.
BHGa	Bibliothecae hagiographicae graeca. Auctarium. Par <i>F. Halkin.</i> Bruxelles, 1969.
BHR	Bulgarian historical review, Sofia
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Leipzig
PG	Patrologia Graeca
Slavia	Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii, Praha
Starine	Starine. Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umetnosti, Zagreb
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Jusah, Leiden
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Gotha
БЕ	Български език, София
ВВр	Византийски временник
ГИБИ	Гръцки извори за българската история
ГСУ фсф	Годишник на софийския университет “Св. Климент Охридски”, Факултет славянски филологии
ЖМНП	Журнал Министерства народного просвещения, Москва
Записки НТШ	Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка, Львів
ЗИАН	Записки Императорской Академии наук, Санкт Петербург
ЗРВИ	Зборник радова Византолошког института, Београд
ИИАН	Известия Императорской академии наук, Санкт Петербург
ИИБЕ	Известия на Института за български език, София
ИИБИ	Известия на Института за българска история, София
ИИБЛ	Известия на Института за българска литература, София
ИИИ	Известия на Института за история, София
ИОРЯС	Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук, Санкт Петербург
ИПр	Исторически преглед, София
КМЕ	Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия
ЛИБИ	Латински извори за българската история, София
ОЛДП	Общество любителей древней письменности, Москва
ПСП	Периодическо списание, София
ПСРЛ	Полное собрание русских летописей
СбНУ	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина, София

СОРЯС	Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук, Санкт Петербург
Споменик СКА	Споменик Српске Краљевске академије, Београд
ТОДРЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы. Институт литературы (Пушкинский дом), Ленинград / Санкт Петербург
ЧОИДР	Чтения в Обществе любителей древней письменности

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript	Abbreviation
Hilandar Monastery (Athos) № 382 (24)	Hil
St. Panteleimon's Monastery (Athos) № 97	Pt97
NL–Berlin № 48	Berl
SL–Odessa № 12 (38)	G12
SL–Odessa № 1/111	G1
SL–Lviv № 138	Petr138
Svarichevski izmaragd	Svar
NM–Lviv № 36	L36
CSL–Kiiiv № 119	Mel
CSL–Kiiiv № 47 (116)	K47
CSL–Kiiiv № O. 8. 30	K0830
Institute for Literature–Kiiiv № 4760	Fran
Bodleian Library Oxford No Canon. Lit. 413	Bodl
SA–Bucharest № 740	Buk740
SA–Bucharest № 741	Buk741
RAS–Bucharest № 72	Buk72
RAS–Bucharest № 310	Buk310
NM–Prague IX.H.16	Š
NL–Vienna № 149	W149
NL–Vienna № 108	W108
NL–Vienna № 76	W76
UL–Vienna № I 26054	WI
NLS–Belgrade № 53	B53
NLS–Belgrade № 651	Drag
NLS–Belgrade № 40	B40
NLS–Belgrade № 149* (Стојановић 487)	B149*
NLS–Belgrade № 312* (Стојановић 471)	B312*
NLS–Belgrade № 313* (Стојановић 472)	B313*
Archive of SASA № 56	B56
Library of Serbian patriarchate № 163	SK163
MSOC–Belgrade № 100	Dan
Nikoljac Monastery, Bijalo Polje (Montenegro) № 52 (39)	Nik
Savina Monastery (Montenegro) № 29	S29
Savina Monastery (Montenegro) № 15	S15
UL–Leiden № 74 (Scaliger Patericon)	Scal
UL–Sofia № 217Г	U
NLCM–Sofia № 667 (Veleshki)	Vel

Manuscript	Abbreviation
NLCM–Sofia № 309 (Beliakovski)	Bel
NLCM–Sofia № 433 (Panagyurski)	Pan
NLCM–Sofia № 326 (Adzharski)	Adž
NLCM–Sofia № 684 (74) (Sofiyski)	Sof
NLCM–Sofia № 1348, of Todor Prirdopski	TP
NLCM–Sofia № 1051	Sof1051
NLIV–Plovdiv № 89 (45)	PI89
NLIV–Plovdiv № 101 (36)	PI101
Miscellany of Loveč (Michael Popnedelčev collection)	Lov*
CSBS– Sofia № 17	D17
Belovski miscellany (Community center in Belovo)	Belov
CHAI–Sofia No 1161	Sof1161
Archive of CASA № III.a.20 (Šibenički)	Šib
SHM–Moscow № 237	HI237
SHM–Moscow № 123 (Kichevski)	Kič
SHM–Moscow № 241	HI241
RSL–Moscow № 1	U1
RSL–Moscow № 363	Sin363
RSL–Moscow № 183/566	Vol183
RSL–Moscow № 794, ф. 304	Tr
RSL–Moscow № 173, ф. 299	Tih173
RSL–Moscow № 44, ф. 310	U44
RSL–Moscow № 621, ф. 310	U621
RSL–Moscow № 378, ф. 299	Tih378
RSL–Moscow No 43 (1472)	M43
RNL–Saint Petersburg No 22/1099	R
RNL–Saint Petersburg № 86/86	Sol86
RNL–Saint Petersburg № 1309	P1309
RNL–Saint Petersburg № 886	P886
RNL–Saint Petersburg № 1304	P1304
RNL–Saint Petersburg № F. I. 376	Lavr
RASL–Saint Petersburg № 13.3.19	Gavr
RASL–Saint Petersburg № 13.4.10	Baj

Manuscripts which are not preserved or destroyed are marked with a star after the abbreviation.

PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

- The edition reproduces the texts of the witnesses as accurately as possible, with missing words and textual fragments supplemented according to other copies.
- Supplied textual segments following other copies are enclosed in angle brackets < >. In the variant readings, those are marked by *suppl.*
- Words are separated, and word boundaries are indicated by space.
- Readings of unclear/illegible fragments that have been recovered by the author of the edition are enclosed in small square brackets [].
- Unclear/illegible text is indicated by dots, enclosed in small round brackets (...).
- Original spelling and syntagmatic division of the text are preserved, while abbreviation marks are held in their original places, with abbreviations not deciphered.
- Only middle dot is used for punctuation (as a functional doublet of the comma and full stop). Among diacritics such as accents or spiritus, only rectangular titlo and paerok are used, regardless of the variants found in the manuscripts.
- Letters that are written above a letter in the copy are taken down in the line, enclosed in round brackets ().
- Capital letters are used only in personal and geographic names that are reference points in the literary works.
- The two forward slashes // indicate the page end in the copy. They are followed by number of folio, page and column (if the text is written in two columns per page) in the manuscript.
- Footnote comments by the editor are marked by a small Latin letter in the upper right or left corner of the commented word or longer fragment.
- The scribe's errors are indicated by /!/*, complemented in the variant readings by an interpretation of the editor.
- /?/ indicates unclear fragments.
- The edition follows a semantic principle in the text segmentation, while variant readings follow other copies.
- Variant readings of the text of the page are given in a footnote at the bottom. The number of the segment (or **Tit** – title), where the variant reading is placed, is given first, followed by the relevant part of the text. The closing square bracket] is followed by the variant reading and sigla of the manuscript. Variant readings in one segment are separated by one vertical line |, while two vertical lines || separate variant readings of different segments.
- Editor's readings are given in italic, at the end of the variant readings for each word.

- If the word that is accompanied by variant readings is the same as other words in the same segment, their sequence is marked by a number in the right upper corner.
- If there are missing words or segments or any significant change in the entire segment, the text is given in variant readings, while being marked by the index number with no sign of separation (e.g., 14 *om.* W149). If the variant reading covers several consecutive segments, the index numbers of the first and the last segment of the changed text are given, separated by a hyphen (e.g., 14-17 *om.* W149). If the amendment covers only parts of two (or more) consecutive segments, the index number and the first word of the changed segment are given along with the index number and the last word of the last segment (e.g., 14 и – 17 *сѣдрьжьзѣтъ]* *om.* W149). Shifts in texts are marked in footnote comments by the editor. All other important features of the copies are given outside the footnote critical apparatus.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

- | separator between one reading in a given textual segment
- || separator between textual lemmata
-] separates the reading according to the principal text witness from other readings
- , separates textual readings of one and the same place and the sigla of MSS with the same reading
- > or om. (omittit) = omission. The abbreviation *om.* in cases when bigger textual part (e.g., segment) is missing or the textual variation does not follow immediately after the cited part ending with]
- + Addition
- < > In the edition: the text in brackets is supplied according to another witness. The apparatus criticus gives more information on this witness (c.f. *suppl.*
- () Letter(s) enclosed in round brackets are written above the line
- [] Reconstructed, not present in the MS, readings
- // Designates a new page
- /!/* Designation follows an apparent scribal mistake in the text
- /?/ Unclear part of the text
- MS manuscript
- MSS manuscripts
- n. l.* non leguntur, characters or parts of the text, which could not be read
- pr.* (praemittit), text is added before the lemma
- repet.* (repetit), part of the text is repeated
- suppl.* *supplied* according to other text witness (used in apparatus criticus)
- Tit** Title
- tr.* (transponit, transposition), the order of the words transposed is indicated by numerals, e.g., 31245 means that the order 12345 of the words in the primary witness is transposed in order as given by the numerals.

INTRODUCTION

UNDERLYING CONCEPTS AND PROBLEMS

The main ideas forming the core of eschatological literature and the “prophecies” in the Middle Ages stem from the Christian concept of the salvation of the soul and the afterlife – it applies both to the individual and to entire societies and nations. According to Christian beliefs, the final retribution will come at the Second Coming, the Last Judgment, which will separate the righteous from the sinners. The fate of the mankind and the world at the Second Coming and the Last Judgment are revealed in the genre of apocalypses (from the Greek ἀποκάλυψις – disclosure of secrets, revelation). Apocryphal apocalypses are based mainly on the Old Testament apocalyptic texts (the Day of Jehovah when God will triumph over his enemies on earth) and on the deuterocanonical biblical book Revelation (Apocalypse) of St John the Theologian from the New Testament. The latter contains prophecies on world history, starting from the persecution of Christians under the Roman Emperor Nero (54–68 AD) to the end of the world and the Last Judgment. Although this is the only New Testament book not included in the Orthodox Church liturgy, it has influenced strongly the literary tradition. The Byzantine as well as the Latin and the Medieval West-European apocalyptic literatures are a direct continuation of the traditions established by the early Christian authors in the spirit of the church of the Late Antiquity, which is the successor to the Jewish apocalyptic heritage. The Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic texts follow these traditions too. Eschatology, on the other hand, is part of the Christian doctrine of the “last things” (Greek τὰ ἔσχατα) in the life of the individual at the time of the Second Coming. In the texts of the New Testament this part is connected with the doctrine of the Salvation and the Savior Jesus Christ, of the immortality of the soul and the fair judgment on everyone in the “last days” (Acts 10:10–42). The evangelic idea of the Day of Judgment occupies a special place in the Christian literary tradition (Matthew 25:1–46; Luke

16:19–31, etc.) and is widely developed in the exegetic works interpreting the biblical text with view of events of a nearer or a farther future – until the visible world and the human race exist. The eschatological theme in medieval literature is elaborated in different genres (sermons, lives, etc.), but is most extensively present in the so-called *visions* (revelations). There Christian ethics is closely interwoven: i.e. the sinful or righteous behavior of individuals, the actions of rulers and ethnic societies, etc., which will cause certain events within the framework of the existence of the visible world, of its history, and the results of these events will be a peculiar retribution for deeds good or bad. Most of the texts containing “prophecies” and predictions reflect the true historical reality since the events have been described by the writers after they’d happened, in other words, we are speaking of *vaticinia post eventum*, and of *vaticinia ex eventu* respectively. The historical data in the eschatological works make them a valuable source of information on the mentality of medieval man¹.

The problems related to the prophecies and the eschatological literature of the Middle Ages in general are explored in academic literature in several directions:

- 1) Characterization of the genre in Byzantium and Western Europe as related to the Eastern traditions contained in the Bible, but also in relation to the legends of Mesopotamia and to some extent of Ethiopia;
- 2) Drawing of historical information on the “prophecies” being treated as sources; in some aspects this information coincides with or differs from the information drawn on hagiography and chronography;
- 3) A comparative analysis of the texts from linguistic and textological perspective, ascertaining of their sources, revisions, translations, etc.

¹ *Pertusi, A.* Il pensiero politico e sociale Bizantino dalla fine del secolo XIII. Unione tipografico-editrice Torinese, 1983; *Kampus, E.* Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage. München, 1985; *Брандес, В.* Византийская апокалиптическая литература как источник изучения некоторых аспектов социальной истории. – ВВр, 50, 1989, 116–122; *Brandes, W.* Die Apokalyptische Literatur. – In: Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz. Berlin, 1990, 304–322; *Klein, P. K.* Programmes eschatologiques, fonction et réception historiques des portails du XIIe s. Moissac – Beaulieu – Saint Denis. – Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 33, 1990, № 4, (Octobre–Décembre), 319–320; *Podskalsky, G.* Byzantinische Reichseschatologie. Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20). Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung. [= Münchener Universitäts-Schriften; Reihe der Philosophischen Fakultät, 9]. München, 1972; *Magdalino, P.* The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda. – In: The Making of Byzantine History. Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol on his Seventieth Birthday. Ed. by R. Beaton and C. Roueché. Aldershot, 1993, 3–34 and literature cited.

In Bulgarian academic literature there are editions of Old-Bulgarian and Middle-Bulgarian texts, published both separately or in relation to apocryphal literature studies². But until the first edition of the present book³, an integral comparative analysis has hardly been made both from a philological perspective as well as in a philosophical-historical aspect. Drawing information from historical and apocalyptic works, many of the existing studies offer different and often contradictory explanations of events connected with the history of the Balkans in 11th–12th and the 13th cc. The interpretation of the texts is additionally hampered by the fact that sometimes these historical data don't rest upon real events or "feats" performed by certain figures, but have been borrowed from earlier sources and have been used repeatedly in a long succession of works. One of the most interesting and important problems of the eschatological literature and prophecies lies in distinguishing the constituent parts of this type of works, i.e. in finding out how reliable or pseudo-historical they are by their nature. This would determine whether they can be used as sources about the historical reality of a certain area or to what extent legends or common cultural or religious stereotypes prevail in the interpretation of the events. In order to answer these questions however, it is crucial to separate the commonplaces (κοινὰ τόποι, *loci communes*) from the historical data drawn from chronicles or other types of sources. Such a distinction predetermines the possibility of a historical interpretation and, more important, it allows us to trace out the ideological interaction of ethno-cultural communities, which is the focus of historical and apocalyptic works. This interaction can be seen in the intertwining of different borrowings, of certain explanations and interpretations, which build the fate of the nations and their "kingdoms" in the medieval world, refracted through the layers of ancient beliefs, local folklore,

² In general on eschatology and apocryphal books in Bulgaria see: *Георгиев, Е.* Литература на изострени борба в средновековна България. С., 1966, p. 61 sq., p. 100 sq., p. 142 sq.; *Ангелов, Д.* Общество и обществена мисъл в средновековна България (X–XIV в.). С., 1979, 275–277; *Каймакова, М.* Две старобългарски летописни съчинения от XI в. – *ИПр*, 5, 1976, 86–96; *Милтенова, А., М. Каймакова.* Неизвестно старобългарско летописно съчинение от XI век. – *Palaeobulgarica*, 7, 1983, 4, 52–73; *Тълкова-Заимова, В., А. Милтенова.* Пророчествата във византийската и в старобългарската книжнина. – *Palaeobulgarica*, 8, 1984, 3, 23–32; philosophical-historical analysis in: *Ангелов, Д.* Българинът в средновековието (светоглед, идеология, душевност). Варна, 1985, 179–197. Translations in modern Bulgarian: *Старобългарска есхатология.* Антология. (Съст.: Д. Петканова и А. Милтенова.) С., 1993.

³ *Тълкова-Заимова, В., А. Милтенова.* Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина във Византия и в средновековна България. София, 1996. To the literature of our first edition we would like to add the fundamental research work by *DiTommaso, L.* *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, Leiden-Boston, 2005 (with exhaustive bibliography), and especially chapter III, p. 78 sq.

biblical tradition and a more or less real historical contemporaneity. The same goes for the figures, who excel in the “prophecies” as agents of certain ideas. Most often they materialize the monarchic idea, but rather as it is developed in the East – and from there in Byzantium, or in the West – amidst the ever more intricate relations between the monarchies, or among the Slavdom, with the specific features of the Bulgarian or, more generally speaking, of the Southern Slavonic traditions.

The study of the eschatological literature and the prophecies is a longitudinal section of the ideological position of medieval societies: from the “high” (“elite”) literature, which keeps the canonical straightforwardness, to the “low” (“popular”) literature, meant for the middle social layers and brimming over with mythological elements.

A more in-depth analysis reveals that in the recent past there has been a trend among both Bulgarian and Serbian scholars in the spirit of vulgar sociology to overstate the influence of the heresies – and of Bogomilism in particular – in the views of the anonymous compilers of historical and apocalyptic works. Actually, their position is far from the Bogomil interpretation of the authority of the state and the church in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the “low” literature shows loyal reverence for any authority much more often and more consistently because it follows a sacral tradition originating from the Holy Scripture⁴. The “ideologization” of the eschatological literature is connected with the power of the church and above all, of the state in Byzantium and follows a pattern, naturally spread in Bulgaria and across the Balkans.

On the other hand, many scholars both from the Balkan and the Middle East countries, and most of all, from Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada, are more concerned with the eschatological literature of the East: of Jews, Persians, Copts, Armenians, etc. In this way the spreading of this type of literature is traced back over many centuries as well as in a wide geographic area. Similarities can be found not only in the translations of the same texts in different languages but also in the analogical interpretation of the ideas contained therein.

One of the main motifs explored in the historical and apocalyptic literature is the model of the sequence of reigns, of the universal dimensions of monarchy as the only option because it has been “sanctified by God”. There are several stands to this model, which occur in certain historical periods. On

⁴ Търкова-Займова, В. Византийская и болгарская государственная идеология в эсхатологической литературе и пророчествах. – In: *Typologie rané feudálních slovanských států*. Praha, 1987, 147–173 and literature cited. The value of Bulgarian texts as historical sources in: *Каймакова, М. Българска средновековна историопис*. С., 1990, 124–151; *Търкова-Займова, В. Die eschatologische Literatur und die Byzantinisch-bulgarische Beziehungen*. – *Βυζαντινά*, 12, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1992. 103–117.

the one hand, Byzantium faced the issue of the Roman heritage and on the other, the contradistinction between pagan Rome and the Christian Empire, i.e. Byzantium itself. Hence the complications of Bulgaria's fitting in between the continuously alternating reigns, mentioned as early as in the biblical Book of Daniel, i.e. of the states claiming royal power such as the Empire of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire in the West and the Bulgarian State in the Balkans. The grounds for Bulgaria's right of existence next to or after Byzantium are developed on local soil by means of a revision of different elements borrowed from Byzantine eschatology, and always in the spirit of the medieval *theologising* of history.

Another very productive model throughout the Middle Ages is related to the expected end of the world, which is calculated differently in the East and in the West in the different periods⁵. It is a well-known fact that the whole or almost the whole Byzantine chronography, as well as a considerable part of the historiography, is imbued with the idea of the correspondence between the seven days in which the world was created and the period of its total existence of 7,000 years; hence almost an obsession with the coming end of the world and with the calculations of when the last millennium has to be expected. The motif is based on the concept of the "cosmic week", popular in the 3rd–4th cc. (e.g., in the Chronicle of Julius Africanus and especially in Hippolytus of Rome's *Interpretation of the Book of Daniel*). According to the Eastern chronological scheme the human history encompasses 6,000 years and the birth of Jesus Christ, i.e. the Incarnation of the Word, happened in the mid-6th millennium, therefore the world history would continue for 500 more years. In the West a different chronology is accepted based on the calculation of Eusebius of Caesarea, according to which the Incarnation of the Word would happen 5,200 years after the Creation and hence the history of mankind would continue for another 800 years, till the end of the 6th millennium. Later on St Augustine offered a new interpretation of the "cosmic week" perceiving it in a typological sense, which was later accepted by other authors as well. The calculations of the last times when the apocalyptic signs prior to the Second Coming were to appear are also based on the events from the life of Jesus Christ: his birth, crucifixion and resurrection, sometimes complemented with arguments from John the Theologian's Revelation and sometimes with numerological elements such as the numeric

⁵ *Magdalino, P.* 'The End of Time in Byzantium'. In *Endzeiten*, ed. W. Brandes and F. Schmieder (De Gruyter), 2008, 119–133; *The History of the Future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda*. – In: *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. Roderick Beaton & Charlotte Roueché (Aldershot, Hampshire; Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1993), 23–24.

value of the name Ἰησοῦς – 888⁶. In a similar manner at the end of the 10th c. the popular belief was that the signs of the Second Coming would be noticed 6,500 years after the Creation, that is in 922 (with coefficient 5508); later a similar calculation was made for the year 1025 (again with coefficient 5508 but with a result giving the year of Christ's crucifixion) or for the year 1092 (where another 100 years were added to the coefficient 5508); since the late 14th and the early 15th cc. paschalia have been circulated, in which the Second Coming is said to happen in the year 1492 (coefficient 5508 but giving the result of 7000) in the context of the Turkish invasion of the Balkans. In this sense the idea of the end of the visible world was given an eschatological meaning: that is the coming of the Judgment Day was not an end but a completion of a certain mystical mission. These beliefs, which lie at the core of the historical and apocalyptic literature, became widespread in Byzantium and from there – among the Slavic world.

The problems we address here are reduced to two main directions, which will be further explored:

- 1) The reception of the Byzantine literary historical and apocalyptic works in medieval Bulgaria, their adaptation to the Bulgarian historical reality, to the ideological, political and cultural specifics of the Bulgarian state.
- 2) Specific features of Bulgarian original and compilative historical and apocalyptic works in terms of form and content; chronology and periodization of the extant works; miscellanies of “prophecies” in the Southern Slavonic tradition; methods of compilation and composition of the text; dominant means of expression.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PROPHETIC LITERATURE IN BYZANTIUM

The “prophecies” of Byzantine origin have been a matter of great interest all along the Middle Ages. The initial stimulus of this type of literature has presumably happened ca. 500, when Christendom awaited the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, some 6,000 years after the world's Creation according to the in-

⁶ *Magdalino, P.* The Year 1000 in Byzantium. – In: *Byzantium, P. in the Year 1000*. P. Magdalino (ed.), Leiden, 2002, 247–248, 267–268.

terpretation attributed to Hippolytus of Rome⁷. No doubt, the intensity of the copying and spreading of similar texts increased under Emperor Anastasius (491–518)⁸.

It has been ascertained that the “prophecies” do not necessarily occur independently. In the Middle Ages they were spread as part of different types of works and most of all in chronography. And it is only natural because annalistic literature was accessible to a wider circle of readers and along with events of political nature these works contain a lot of encyclopedic information as well, which was of interest to the “average” reader. Along with the different details contained therein, they abound with “prophetic” legends: about two-headed monsters, about children with fish-tails, about predictions of earthquakes and other natural disasters. We know of predictions and charms in the form of inscriptions-admonishments, which were allegedly discovered by chance. Such “prophecies” appear in the 4th–5th cc.⁹ and some are based on chronographic materials dating back to the 3rd c. (Sextus Iulius Africanus). A typical example of a prophetic inscription is the text, which (according to its contemporaries) dated from before the invasion by the Goths during the rule of Emperor Valens and which portended a disaster and the ruler’s death. These “prophecies” always contain an element of retribution and correspond to a certain negative feeling (sometimes politically charged) which is reflected in literature: Valens was an adherent of Arianism and therefore the prediction of his death often occurs in the historical works reflecting the negative opinion of him¹⁰. In this type of works elements are woven, which are to be found in the later monastic chronicles; then they gradually start circulating as separate, independent, more or less canonical prophecies accompanied by commentaries. Such works were being translated in Latin since the early Middle Ages¹¹, as well as into Arabic, German, Flemish, etc. even until the age of the European Renaissance and Humanism.

⁷ *Bonwetsch, G. N., H. Achelis.* Hippolytus Werke. Leipzig, 1897, 140–248; *Podskalsky, G.* Byzantinische Reicheschatologie, 79–80, 92 sq.

⁸ *Alexander, P.* The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress. Washington, 1967, 116–120.

⁹ *Alexander, P.* Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques. – Actes du XIVe Congrès international d’études byzantines. 2. Bucarest, 1974, p. 4 sq.

¹⁰ *Socrates.* Historia ecclesiastica. PG, LXVII, coll. 477.

¹¹ *Landes, R.* Lest the Millennium be fulfilled: apocalyptic expectations and the pattern of western chronography, 100–800 C.E. – In: The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages. Ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, A. Welkenhuysen. [Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, series 1, Studia 15]. Leuven, 1988, 137–211.

Pure prophecies appeared as far back as the 6th c. for instance in John the Lydian's *De Ostentis*, a work known in Old-Bulgarian translation as well¹². Famous is also the work of Stephan of Alexandria Αποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία¹³, which is believed to have been written under Emperor Heraclius but in fact comes from the 970s and gives information about the spreading of Islam, the relations with the Bulgarian State, etc.¹⁴

Noteworthy are also the so-called Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως circulating mainly between the 6th and the 10th cc.; these are fragments collected in a small codex around the 9th–10th c., which describes the monuments, constructions and other landmarks of the Byzantine capital city. There the eschatological idea of the Second Rome and the forming of the idea of the new Christian *politeia* is clearly reflected. The text has been studied by Charles Diehl, Paul Alexander, Gilbert Dagron, among others¹⁵. The edition of Theodore Preger of the late 20th c. is still topical¹⁶.

Greatest popularity enjoyed the prophecies in the name of the Old-Testament Prophet Daniel¹⁷ as well as the work named *Revelation* or *Chronicle of Pseudo-Methodius Patarensis*¹⁸. Just as famous were the prophecies attributed to Emperor Leo VI, who had the reputation of a scholar and was therefore surnamed The Wise¹⁹. All these historical and apocalyptic works have been translated into Old-Bulgarian and have been circulating in Slavonic literatures with some ad-

¹² Publication of fragments in: ГИБИ (Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae), III, 1958, 95–98.

¹³ See in general: *Moravcsik, Gy.* Byzantinoturcica. 1. Berlin, 1958, p. 182, 275, 400, 404, 426, 512.

¹⁴ Publication of fragment in: ГИБИ, 6, 1959, 206–207.

¹⁵ *Diehl, Ch.* De quelques croyances byzantines sur la fin de Constantinople. – BZ, 30, 1929–1930, 192–196; *Alexander, P.* Historiens byzantins..., p. 6; *Dagron, G.* Représentations de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle Rome dans les sources byzantines des VIIe–XIIe ss. – In: *Da Roma alla terza Roma. 1. Documenti e Studii.* Napoli–Roma, 1983, 295–306. Recent bibliography in: *Orlov, A.* From Apocalypticism to Merkabah mysticism. Studies in Slavonic Pseudepigraphy. [Supplements to JSJ], 114]. Brill, 2007.

¹⁶ *Preger, Th.* Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum. 1. Leipzig, 1907.

¹⁷ *DiTommaso L.* A Report On Pseudepigrapha Research Since Charlesworth's Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. – Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2001, 179–207; *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, Leiden–Boston, 2005.

¹⁸ *Lolos, A.* Die Apocalypse des Pseudo-Methodios. (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie. Vol. 88), Meisenheim am Glan, 1976; Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Pseudo-Methodios. (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie. Vol. 94). Meisenheim am Glan, 1978.

¹⁹ *Mango, G.* The Legend of Leo the Wise. – ЗРВИ, 6, 1960, 59–93 (= Variorum Reprints, London, 1984, № XVI).

ditions or in compilations, just as the famous Sibylline Books and other works, which will be further explored in more detail.

Big part of predictions and magic are connected (according to some authors rather formally)²⁰ with the tradition of magical practices in Antiquity and mainly with the occult sciences of the East. On the other hand, in Byzantine literature the “Chaldean magic” is often mentioned and those who practice it are anathemised by the church. But here too a distinction must be made: on the one hand, the early Christian literature seeks proofs that the old pagan oracles have lost their power and that their prophecies are not valid for Christian rulers. Theodoret of Cyrus for example pointed out²¹ that the Oracle of Delphi (or respectively some of the famous oracles of the Hellenic Antiquity) had given a false prediction on Julian the Apostate and he was defeated instead of winning the expected victory during his notorious march to Persia, which ended with his death. On the other hand, most of the prophecies, which occur in Byzantine literature, are built on the basis of the ancient Greek and Eastern traditions. While in the first case the aim is to unmask the emptiness and fatuousness of paganism, the second makes an almost routine link between the words of the biblical prophets and the Hellenic mythology, and the sages and the great writers of antiquity. This is how commonplaces appear – *toposes* (τόποι) – which comprise many elements of ancient and eastern origin²².

Attempts have been made at classifying Byzantine prophecies according to their themes. It is pointed out that the name of Emperor Leo VI is connected mainly with “prophecies” about Constantinople and its fate, while other prophetic works, in the name of Prophet Daniel for example, have more to do with the idea of the end of the world. In Byzantine literature miscellanies are compiled of different thematic content. Some combine works predicting political events through natural phenomena (*Brontologion* or the prediction of ill-omens or political events interpreted by the sound of thunder on a certain day of the month; *Oneirocritica* or the interpretation of dreams, etc.)²³. A strict distinction by theme could hardly be made since this type of literature has been circulating widely for centuries most often in miscellanies regardless of their title.

²⁰ *Mango, G.* Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium. – In: *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*. Birmingham, 1981, 56–57 (= *Variorum Reprints*, N° III).

²¹ *Thompson, E. A.* The Last Delphic Oracle. – *The Classical Quarterly*, 40, 1946, 1–2, 34–36.

²² *Moravcsik, Gy.* Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I. – *Studia Byzantina*, (Dumbarton Oaks), 1967, 147–220.

²³ *Oberhelmann, S. M.* Prolegomena to the Byzantine Oneirokritika. – *Byzantion*, 50 (2), 1980, p. 487–503.

Last but not least comes the issue of the events, which – regardless of the general direction of prophetic literature – have caused the popularization and spreading of this literary works in some particular periods. In some cases the official or semi-official Byzantine literature speaks of people of whose fate a supernatural explanation is sought so that their rise could be accepted by the society of the time. Such was the case with Basil I (867–886), founder of the Macedonian Dynasty, who came to the throne after a coup and the assassination of Emperor Michael III (842–867). Around this low-born ruler legends were created, prophetic dreams, etc.²⁴. And on the contrary, some of the historical works aimed against him attributed certain eschatological features to the “drunkard” Michael III²⁵.

The main periods in which historical and apocalyptic works appeared are related to some kind of danger (existing or expected) threatening the capital of Byzantium. The first siege by the Avars, Slavs, Proto-Bulgarians and Persians dates from 626. Then the capital city survived miraculously, it was saved by the Holy Virgin, to whom an *akathist hymn* was dedicated. Under Heraclius (610–641) other prophecies arose. A lasting trace in this type of literature left the Arab attacks and the predictions of the victories of Byzantine rulers over them, as well as the siege of the Russians in 860. The fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204 stirred greatly the historical and apocalyptic literature. The last blow on the capital city – the capture by the Türks in 1453 – gave birth to a wide range of works containing prophecies about the downfall of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire. Literary works on this topic kept appearing during the Ottoman period as well where the predictions were aimed at the expected liberation of the Balkan countries.

Like in the medieval *paschalia*²⁶ the historical events that were reflected in the historical and apocalyptic works were situated in time in relation to two basic points: the Creation of the World and the Second Coming, as mentioned above. The calculations were applied both in annalistic literature as well as separately, as independent works, very popular especially in the 14th–15th cc.

²⁴ *Moravcsik, Gy.* Sagen und Legenden..., 147–220.

²⁵ *Vasiliev, A. A.* The Emperor Michael III in apocryphal Literature. – *Byzantina-metabyzantina*, 1, 1946, 237–248.

²⁶ *Турилов, А. А.* О датировке и месте создания календарно-математических текстов – ‘семитысячников’. – In: *Естественно-научные представления Древней Руси*. М., 1988, 27–38.

THE HISTORICAL AND APOCALYPTIC WORKS IN MEDIEVAL BULGARIAN LITERATURE

Although historical and apocalyptic works have an established place in Byzantine literature, the question of non-canonical semi-apocryphal and apocryphal apocalypses (revelations), visions (contemplations) and predictions of different genres in the history of Bulgarian “high” and “low” literature is not clear enough. The difficulties in studying the works stem from the lack of a detailed research of their sources (in the Byzantine and Eastern traditions), from the lack of data on their circulation in Slavonic Cyrillic manuscripts and of a description of the of Bulgarian copyists’ principles in making the translations or the compilations. This is why the classification of the known texts according to their genre characteristics and their chronology is still being made. So far many works remain unpublished according to the contemporary scientific criteria, which is especially important for the ones, which bear doubtless marks of revisions on Bulgarian soil.

A crucial moment in studying the manuscript tradition of apocrypha with apocalyptic and eschatological subject matter are the connections and interrelations of Bulgarian literature with the literatures of other Balkan peoples beside the Byzantine. The connections with Serbian literature were especially productive. Many works and entire miscellanea containing prophetic cycles have survived in Serbian copies. In the 15th–17th cc. many literary phenomena have become common and belong to the characteristic features of both Southern Slavonic literatures, the Serbian and the Bulgarian. The prevailing amount of copies of the historical and apocalyptic works in question are preserved in Southern Slavonic manuscripts of the time of the Ottoman domination where the texts bear marks of multiple layers of Serbian and Bulgarian linguistic characteristics and intertwining of various dialect features. Moreover, due to the tendency toward unification of orthography on a wide territory in that age²⁷, quite a few copies exist, which cannot be located with certainty in either Western Bulgarian lands or in Eastern Serbia.

The connections of Bulgarian literature with the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldova have a different character. Thanks to the rich Wallachian-Bulgarian literature not only the works of the most eminent Bulgarian writers of the 14th–15th cc. are preserved but on their basis the picture of the separate translations and revisions of some historical and apocalyptic works of the 13th–14th cc. can be better recreated.

²⁷ *Иванова, Кл.* Правописно-езикови проблеми при описването на южнославянските кирилски ръкописи. – In: *Славянска палеография и дипломатика*. С., 1980, p. 105.

The popularity of prophetic works and their wide circulation calls for a complex study and a comparative analysis of all copies in the Balkan Cyrillic tradition, which have been found so far, on the basis of which further conclusions on their literary specifics will be drawn.

In Old Bulgarian literature a cycle of little explored prophetic works is established which arose and spread under the Byzantines (1018–1185) in medieval manuscripts, and another one, dating from the first decades of the 13th c. after the Bulgarian state institutions were reestablished. As literary works these cycles are of special interest because they bear one of the most important features of Bulgarian literature: the original transformation of translated texts in the spirit of the patriotic and nationalistic idea. The dating of the separate works, their ideological and thematic characteristics and a philological analysis reveal that we can speak of historical and apocalyptic texts remarkable for local interpolations of topical political significance, thus providing valuable information about the historical reality of the Balkans, interpreted from a Bulgarian viewpoint. In this case the term “cycle” stands for a group of works united by a common subject-matter and created approximately at the same time. Some of the works are also related through their origin since the same sources have been used to compile them.

1. A cycle originating in the late 11th c. (not earlier than 1040–1041 and not later than the last decade of the century), comprising the following works: *Vision of Daniel*, *Interpretation of Daniel*²⁸, *Narration of Isaiah*²⁹, *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius Patarensis* (abridged redaction)³⁰, *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle*³¹. The chronology of the listed works follows the historical events reflected therein: one of the most popular movements against the Byzantines – the Uprising of Peter Delyan and the invasions by Ouzes (Oghuz) and Pechenegs and other Türk groups south of the Danube in the second half of the century.

2. A cycle compiled from the late 12th c. to the end of 14th c. It covers the events of the time of the Crusades: above all the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 and the struggle of the Bulgarian people for independence after the uprising of Peter and Asen in 1186. The cycle distinguishes two sub-

²⁸ The texts have been published first in: *Срећковић, П. С.* Зборник попа Драгоља. Садржина и пророштва. – Споменик СКА, 5, 1890, 10–13.

²⁹ First announced in: *Милтенова, А, М. Каймакамова.* Неизвестно старобългарско летописно съчинение от XI век..., 52–73.

³⁰ First published in: *Срећковић, П. С.* Зборник попа Драгоља..., 17–20.

³¹ First published in: *Стојановић, Љ.* Стари српски хрисовули и акти, биографије, летописи, типичи, поменици, записи и др. – Споменик СКА, 3, 1890, 160–193; *Иванов, Ђ.* Богомилски книги и легенди. С., 1925 (фот. изд. 1970), 180–187 (publication of the Stoјanović edition).

groups of works: on the one hand, *The Vision of Daniel the Prophet*³² (a couple of translations and a compilation) and the *Vision of Prophet Isaiah of the Last Times*³³, which thematically and in terms of genre are a continuation of the historical and apocalyptic works of the 11th c., and on the other, the *Pandeh's Prophetic Story*³⁴, the *Story about Sibyl*³⁵ and *Razumnik-Ukaz*³⁶, which have a different genre and composition structure but share a similar idea. Because of its content the *Salonica Legend*³⁷ could be associated with the second sub-group. This is not a prophetic work although it features such an element of a messianic nature. The flourish of prophetic literature during the Second Bulgarian State bears the characteristic features of Bulgarian people's spirit and confidence of a God-elected (God-illuminated) nation, which carries on its historic mission in the Balkans³⁸.

Are there grounds for the above-listed Old-Bulgarian works to be viewed as a separate genre of specific composition and style as compared to the rest of the apocrypha with eschatological subject matter, which have been penetrating the mediaeval Bulgarian and the other Balkan literatures from the Byzantine literary tradition? This question arises because under the titles of "revelation", "vision"

³² *Срећковић, П. С.* Зборник попа Драгоља..., р. 12.

³³ *Срећковић, П. С.* Зборник попа Драгоља..., 15–16.

³⁴ *Срећковић, П. С.* Пос. съч., 14–15; *Радоичич, Г. С.* Пандехово сказание 1259 г. (О Византии, татарах, куманах, руских, венграх, сербах, болгарах). – ТОДРЛ, 16, 1960, 161–166; *Георгиев, Е.* Литературата на Втората българска държава. 1. Литературата на XIII в. С., 1977, 244–254; *Лазаров, И.* Пророческото сказание на българския книжовник Пандех като исторически извор. – Търновска книжовна школа. 4. Културното развитие на българската държава – краят на XII–XIV в. С., 1985, 310–317.

³⁵ *Милтенова, А.* "Сказание за Сиви́ла". Археографски бележки, текстологическо изследване, издание на текста. – *Palaeobulgarica*, 8, 1984, 4, 44–72.

³⁶ *Милтенова, А.* "Разумник–Указ". (Текстологическо проучване. Издание на старобългарския текст). – *Palaeobulgarica*, 10, 1986, 4, 20–44.

³⁷ *Ангелов, Б. Ст.* Солунска легенда. – In: Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература. II. С., 1967, 44–66; *Рибарова, З.* Солунска легенда. – Спектар, 2, 1984, 4, 5–14; *Ангелов, Б. Ст.* За два преписа на Солунската легенда. – Кирило-Методиевски студии, 1, 1984, 9–20. *Добрев, Ив.* Солунска легенда. – КМЕ, 3, 2003, 707–715.

³⁸ *Гюзелев, В.* Възобновяването на българското царство в среднобългарската книжовна традиция. – In: Средновековна България в светлината на нови извори. С., 1981, 42–50; *Тъпкова-Заимова, В.* Българо–византийските отношения и концепциите за "втория" и "третия" Рим. – *Studia Balcanica*, 17. Изследвания в чест на акад. Н. Тодоров, 17, 1983, 32–34; *Милтенова, А.* Неофициалната книжнина през XIII век в контекста на идейните и литературните тенденции на епохата. — In: Търновска книжовна школа. 4. Културното развитие на българската държава – краят на XII–XIV век. С., 1985, 102–114.

or “ascension” we can find different genres of works but also because of the need to find their place in regard to the apocalyptic tradition of the Orthodox East.

The prophecies in question can't be referred either in terms of content or form to the apocryphal visions (ὁράσεις), which represent descents to the netherworld, to the skies, hell or heaven (Slavonic Book of Enoch or En. 2, Revelation of Baruh, Vision and Ascension of Isaiah, Vision of Paul, etc.)³⁹. They don't speak about the Creation, of the make-up of the invisible world and its inhabitants but about the fate of the human race in the “last days”. Besides, they cannot be defined as “pure” apocalypses like the apocryphal Apocalypse of John the Theologian for example. In most of them (*Narration of Isaiah, Vision and Interpretation of Daniel, Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius Patavensis* of the 11th c.; *Vision of Prophet Daniel and Vision of Prophet Isaiah* of the 13th c., etc.) the text is clearly divided into two parts: an annalistic part and an apocalypse. The first part speaks of rulers who will reign in world history and especially over Bulgarian lands in the “last days”, before the coming of the Antichrist. The second part most often includes the popular Byzantine legend of the “last king”⁴⁰, the rule of the Antichrist and the picture of the Second Coming. It is only indicative that the interpolations of original sources are located mainly in the annalistic part, which in *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle* is broadest and represents a chronicle. In this sense the prophetic works connected with the names of Daniel and Isaiah have genre specifics, which differentiate them from the rest of the eschatological apocrypha. They are historical and apocalyptic works, which carry on the trends of the official historical literature of the 9th–10th cc. but are transformed under the pressure of the changing political situation. The primary place is allotted to events contemporary to the anonymous translators and compilers, which are presented as part of the world history in the vein of Christian eschatology.

In order to explain the essence of the cycles of apocalyptical “prophecies” from the perspective of the medieval literary tradition, and to shed light over the principles followed by the Old-Bulgarian authors in translating and compiling, it is necessary to point out the common features which unite them with the biblical model of prophetic revelation, refracted through the apocryphal interpretation of this model.

It is a well-known fact that the appearance of the Old Testament apocrypha and of the prophetic pseudepigrapha can be referred to the 2nd–1st cc. B.C. at the

³⁹ Analysis in: *Коссова Джамбелука, А.* Наблюдения върху старобългарската традиция на Видение Исайево. Съответствия и различия с текстовата традиция на Възнесение Исайево. – *Palaeobulgarica*, 7, 1983, 2, 66–79.

⁴⁰ *Веселовский, А. Н.* Опыты по истории развития христианской легенды. – ЖМНП, 178, 1875, 283–331; *Vasiliev, A. A.* The Emperor Michael III in apocryphal Literature, 237–248, *Alexander, P.* The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its messianic Origin. – *Journal of the Wartburg and Cortauld Institutes*, 41, 1978, 1–15.

earliest, when an ideological and political turning point in Jewish society occurred and a tendency appeared to create works reproducing the literary genre of prophetic speech⁴¹. The apocryphal visions and revelations arose as parallel to the works in the name of Enoch, Baruh, Jeremiah, Esdras, Isaiah, Daniel, etc., having all the characteristic composition features of the apocalyptic style and of the biblical model. The prophetic pseudepigrapha reflect actual ideas of the society of the period: the awaiting of the times of the Messiah, of the last judgment and the Messiah's eschatological victory in "the last days" after which God's Kingdom will come on earth. Later, in the first centuries AD the messianic ideas were connected with the ideas of the chiliasm – the doctrine of the "millennial Kingdom of God" which has found an expression in many prophetic works from different epochs, as mentioned above⁴². The typical stylistic form of the prophetic apocalyptic works both canonical and non-canonical is symbolism: images of animals, plants, objects and materials interpreted as symbols⁴³.

It is widely accepted that the biblical prototype of the apocryphal apocalypses reflecting historical events is the canonical Book of Daniel, a typical example of an Old-Testament apocalyptic work, which was the last to be shaped as a prophetic literary work⁴⁴. The historical and the political element in the Book is prevailing, it is an immediate expression of topical messianic ideas. Later, under the influence of the developing Christian doctrine, these ideas started changing and brought forth a rich literary tradition of political prophecies and predictions bearing the prophet's name. In Rome and in Byzantium (where there were anti-Roman sentiments) alike the prophecies spoke of the activities of the rulers and arose in periods when the fate of the empire was threatened by foreign enemies or internal tumult⁴⁵.

⁴¹ *Volz, P.* Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur dargestellt. Tübingen, 1934, 4–10; *Ulfgard, H.* Biblical and Para-Biblical Origins of Millenarianism. – *Religiologiques*, 20, Fall 1999, 25–49.

⁴² In *Снегаров, Ив.* Кратка история на съвременните православни църкви. 1. С., 1944, 10–12; *Аверинцев, С. С.* Хилиазм. – In: *Философская энциклопедия*. 5., М., 1970, с. 435; *Podskalsky, G.* Die Herleitung des Millenarismus (Chiliasmus) in den antihaeretischen Traktaten. – *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 125, 1981, 455–458. A survey of the contemporary research in: *Magdalino, P.* The End of the Time in Byzantium. – In: *Endzeiten, Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*. Ed. W. Brandes and F. Schmieder. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York, 2008, 119–133.

⁴³ *Collins, J. J.* The Symbolism of Transcendence in Jewish Apocalyptic. Chicago, 1974, p. 12 sq.; *Aune, D. E.* Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays, Baker Academic, 2008.

⁴⁴ *Вълчанов, Сл.* Тълкуване на книгата на пророк Даниил. С., 1975, 4–8.

⁴⁵ *Истрин, В. М.* Откровение Мефодия Патарского и апокрифическия Видения Даниила. М., 1897, 253–255.