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## Quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in Church Slavonic texts

### 1. Introduction

1.1. *Ecclesiastes* is a part of the *Sapiential* books, the well-defined varieties of which were transmitted from Byzantium to Slavonic soil. *Ecclesiastes* is usually accompanied in Byzantine florilegia by *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Wisdom of Sirach*, *Song of Songs*, and *Wisdom of Solomon*. In its complete form it is extant in 25 Greek manuscripts from 9-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, sometimes accompanied by the books of *Prophets*<sup>1</sup>.

We see a similar pattern in the extant East Slavonic manuscripts where *Ecclesiastes* is found with the same convoy, sometimes with the addition of the book *Menander*. However the book of *Ecclesiastes* is not attested in South Slavonic Cyrillic manuscript tradition. But aside from its absence in this particular manuscript tradition the Church Slavonic translation of *Ecclesiastes* survives in four distinct types:

1. a Cyrillic continuous version of the text (32 MSS of the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries),
2. a Cyrillic fragmentary annotated version of the text (1 MS of the 16<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>2</sup>,
3. a Cyrillic fragmentary annotated insertion (8 MSS of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>3</sup>,
4. a Croatian Church Slavonic version in Glagolitic Breviaries (17 MSS of the 13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>4</sup>.

1.2. There is no consensus among scholars about either the origin or the time of the translation of *Ecclesiastes*. Joseph Vajs believed that the Croatian version of the book was translated directly from the Vulgate<sup>5</sup>. Anatolij Alekseev has argued that *Ecclesiastes* was translated by Methodius, alleging that there were similarities between the two texts of *Ecclesiastes* in the Cyrillic manuscripts and in the Croat Glagolitic breviaries<sup>6</sup>. The evidence for

<sup>1</sup> Information on Greek manuscripts is taken from Rahlfs 1914: 410-14.

<sup>2</sup> Undol'skij 13: RSL, Undol'skij collection 310, № 13. (Und.13), Commentary, 16 c., 4<sup>o</sup>, ff. 14+1.

<sup>3</sup> Eccl.: *Ecclesiastes* interpolated version.

<sup>4</sup> For a synoptic table of the 17 breviaries containing the text of *Ecclesiastes*, see Zaradija-Kiš 1997: 629-635.

<sup>5</sup> Vajs 1905: VI. Thomson (1998:844) repeated his assertion.

<sup>6</sup> Alekseev posits four criteria for ascribing biblical translations to Methodius; for *Ecclesiastes* the following criterion is applicable: "При выявлении переведенных Мефодием текстов мож-

the early existence of *Ecclesiastes* is fragmentary and puzzling, making the study of this book difficult. The fact that *Ecclesiastes* was not included in the *Prophetologium* may be an indication that there was no pressing need for translating a non-liturgical book of *Ecclesiastes*.

1.3. If we are to accept the assumptions that *Ecclesiastes* was translated either by Methodius or in 10<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria as a basis for argument, then there is a gap of almost 500 years between this hypothetical date and the extant manuscripts of the translation. It may be possible to trace the history of the text through these 500 years and to bridge this gap by examining quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in Medieval Slavonic texts. Although stylistic and textological aspects of biblical quotations in Medieval Slavonic texts have been studied by Slavists, the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* have been overlooked<sup>7</sup>.

1.4. My aim is to evaluate the evidence provided by quotations and to see if there is a textual link between these quotations and the continuous text. However there is one caveat: only if the textual history of *Ecclesiastes* were known, would it be possible to do so. Otherwise we would be falling into the trap of circular argument.

In this article I compare firstly the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* found in the Medieval Slavonic translations of the *Pandects of Antioch* and *Pčela* (Byzantine *Melissa*) with the relevant passages from the continuous and annotated texts of *Ecclesiastes*<sup>8</sup>.

I also compare the quotations appearing in the 13<sup>th</sup> century miscellany *Izbornik* with the ones from continuous and annotated versions.

Then I compare the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* which occur in original Old Russian and South Slavonic texts. In doing so I try to establish whether these quotations were simply extracted from the existing continuous or annotated texts, or whether they were translated afresh along with the whole body of the texts in which they appear, or alternatively quoted from memory or even various florilegia.

1.5. I start with the largest and the earliest body of quotations: 56 in total as they appear in the *Pandects of Antioch*. This book, composed by the monk Antioch in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, is a guide to Christian morality and spirituality<sup>9</sup>. His compilation is based on excerpts from Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers. The *Pandects* were translated in all probability in Bulgaria in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. They became known in Medieval Rus' soon afterwards as the earliest extant East Slavonic manuscript dates from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Archimandrite Amfiloxij (1880) and Josif Popovski (1989) published the text from this manuscript (Voskre-

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но руководствоваться следующими критериями: единством текста в кириллических списках и в глаголическом бревиарии” (Alekseev 1988: 128). It appears that in his work Alekseev consulted only the publication of Evseev (1916: 17-19) without directly referring to Vajs' edition of *Ecclesiastes*.

<sup>7</sup> See Naumow 1983, Alekseev 1985: 74-92, Garzaniti 2001: 295-301.

<sup>8</sup> For ease of reference I use the abbreviations PA for the *Pandects of Antioch*, M for *Pčela*. The continuous text is quoted from GB, the commented from Und.13, the interpolated from Pg.1.

<sup>9</sup> The Greek text is published by Migne (PG, XCIII, 1865, col. 1428-1849).

senskij 30 now housed in GIM). The length of quotations varies from one verse (complete or partial) to a combination of several verses. Sometimes verses are combined from different chapters and are not necessarily in strict sequence. Out of 56 quotations 5 are repetitions of the same quotations. The biblical passages quoted below are from Popovski's edition with the chapter number, the page and the subdivision if necessary and the line number.

2. *Comparison of Quotations from Ecclesiastes in the Pandects of Antioch with Continuous and Annotated Texts*

2. 1. It is not my intention to attempt a detailed textological analysis of this material in a short article. Instead examples of lexical variants from the biblical passages are given as the clearest and most compelling evidence to support my argument that the passages belong to different translations, while other types of divergences are characterised only briefly. First the Greek parallel from the standard text of the Septuagint is given, followed by the variants from the continuous or (if available) commentated texts. The list is arranged according to the usual order of the verses in the book of *Ecclesiastes* and not in order of appearance of the quotations in the *Pandects*.

The passages below, i.e. PA in contrast to GB, etc. clearly belong to different versions.

7:7 ὅτι ἡ συκοφαντία περιφέρει σοφὸν καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὴν καρδίαν εὐτονίας αὐτοῦ  
 КЛЕВЕТАНИЕ ВЪЗМЖШТАЕТЪ МѢДРАДГО. И ПОГОУБАЕТЪ СРЦЕ БЛАГОРОДИВАДГО РА (39;  
 64,14:2-3)  
 КЛЕВЕТА ЛЬСТІ МѢДРАГО РАСЛАБЛѢ СРЦЕ БЛГБІА МОЩИ ЕГО GB

The translator of PA later probably misread εὐτονίας as εὐγενίας.

8:16 ἐν οἷς ἔδωκα τὴν καρδίαν μου τοῦ γινῶναι σοφίαν καὶ τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὸν περισπασμὸν τὸν πεπονημένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὅτι καὶ γε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ὕπνον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν βλέπων  
 ВЪ НИХЪ ЖЕ ДАХЪ СРДЦЕ МОЕ ПОЗНАТИ ГРѢХЪ МОИ И ВИДѢТИ МЛЪВЕНИЕ СЪТВОРЕННОЕ НА ЗЕМЛИ ІАКО И ВЪ ДЪНЕ И ВЪ НОШТИ. СЪНЪ ОУИ ГО НБСТЕ ВИДАШТИ РА (14; 26, 3:5-8)  
 В НИХЪ ДАХЪ СРЦЕ МОЕ РАЗДМѢТИ МОУ ДРѢ И ЕЖЕ ВИДѢТИ ПЕЧЕНІЕ СТВОРЕННОЕ НА ЗЕМЛИ. ІАКО В ДНѢ И В НОЩИ СНА ВЪ ОУІЮ СВОЕЮ НБСТЪ ВИДА GB

A scribe or the translator perhaps made a mental slip by associating the first part of the verse γινῶναι σοφίαν with the expression γινῶναι ἁμαρτίαν from the Psalm 50:5 and Psalm 31:5. A copyist possibly misread the last letter ю as syllable го in the word οὔϊο. Popovski divides the text as follows: го нбсте, while Amfiloxij reproduces it in one word.

9:8 ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἔστωσαν ἱμάτιά σου λευκά καὶ ἔλαιον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆν σου μὴ ὑστερησάτω

ДА БЖДОУТЬ ВЪ ВСЕ ВРЕМА РИЗБИ ТВОА Б'БЛБИ И МАСЛО НА ГЛАВѢ ТВОЕИ ДА НЕ  
ОСКЖД'ВНЕТЬ. РА (91; 135, 66-7)

ВЪ ВСАКО ВРЕМА ДА СДѢТЬ РИЗБИ ТВОА Б'БЛБИ И МАСЛА ДРЕВАНАГО ДА НЕ ЛИШИТ СА  
ГЛАВА ТВОА GB

10:8 καὶ καθαιροῦντα φραγμὸν δήξεται αὐτὸν ὄφις  
И ОРАШТААГО ОПЛОТЪ ХОПИТЪ И ЗМИНА РА (49; 77, 3:5)  
И ПОТРЕБЛАЮЩАГО ОГРАДЪ ОУГРБИЗНѢ И СМІА GB  
И ѠЕМЛАИ ПЛѠ. ОУЗРИТЬ ЗЪМИНЮ Eccl.

The readings of Eccl. can be explained on palaeographical grounds: оплотъ – ‘fence’ could have been mistaken for плѠ – ‘fruit’ and similarly the word оугрбизнѢ – ‘bites’ was misread as оузритъ – ‘sees’.

2.2. We have a number of quotations included in different chapters of the *Pandects*. If the existing version of *Ecclesiastes* was consulted, then they should appear similar. However, the divergences in repeated biblical quotations, given below, demonstrate that these were translated afresh on each occasion. If this is the case, then it seems unlikely that they were copied from a hypothetical early version either. The other possibility exists that the translator simply did not know the early version or chose not to quote from it.

5:12 ἀρρωστία неправда люта РА (12; 24, 9: 4-9) НЕДУЖЬЕ РА (119; 176, 33-35) НЕДѢГЪ  
GB

5:15 ἡ μοχθεὶ εἰς ἀνεμον и ТРОУДЪ ЕГО ВЪ ВѢТРЪ РА (12; JP, 24, 9) И ОУСИЛИЕ ЕГО И  
ПОДВИГЪ ВЪ ВѢТРЪ РА (119; 176, 37) И СПѢШИѢ В МИРЪ GB

There is not a satisfactory explanation how the word миръ appeared in the continuous text. There is a slim chance that the word κόσμος was a scribal mistake in the Greek copy used by Slavonic translator and he translated it accordingly.

A quotation from 8:1 is repeated twice in two different chapters with minor variations only, but this single example does not affect the overall tendency of translating the quotations anew.

8:1 καὶ ἀναιδῆς προσώπω αὐτοῦ μισηθήσεται  
ВЕСТОУДЪНЪИ ЖЕ ЛИЦЕМЪ СВОИМЪ ВЪЗНЕНАВИДѢНЪ БОУДІЕТЪ РА (16; 29, 2:2-3)  
И ВЕСТОУДЪНЪИ ЛИЦЕМЪ ВЪЗНЕНАВИДѢНЪ БОУДІЕТЪ РА (32; 56, 8:2-4)  
И ВЕСТѠДНЪИ ЛИЦЕМЪ СВОИМЪ ВЪЗНЕНАВИДѢНЪ ВѠДѢТЬ GB

2.3. Syntactic variants, given below, such as variation in the use of verbal forms, aspect, participles, conjunctions, particles and word order, as well as transpositions are frequent in the manuscripts and could also be observed in the quotations from the *Pandects*. Transpositions may be typical errors of memory. Therefore these spontaneous changes could have been introduced unconsciously.

- 2:11      ρΟΥЦѢ МОИ РА – МОИ ρΟΥЦѢ GB  
 4:10      ІАКО ДШТЕ РА – ДЦЕ ІАКО GB  
 5:11      СЛАДЪКЪ СЪНЪ РАБОУ РА – СОНЪ СЛАДОКЪ РАБЪ GB

In 10:18 the translator possibly misunderstood ἡ δόκωσις – ‘roofing’ which is a neologism in the LXX and associated it with the more familiar noun ἡ προσδοκία – ‘expectation’ and translated it accordingly as НАДЕЖДА.

- 10:18      ἡ δόκωσις НАДЕЖДА РА (36: ЈР, 61, 6:2-3) СТРОПТИВО GB<sup>10</sup>

In the examples below wording in brackets marks lexical variants (hendyadis notes) given by the translator, copied in the margin in the Voskresenskij manuscript of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and entered into the text by all other manuscripts.

- 2:11      ἐν μόχθῳ ᾧ ἐμόχθησα  
 (ΟΥСИЛЪЕ) НА ТЪШТАНИЕ ИМЪ ЖЕ ТЪШТАХЪ СА РА (14; 25-6, 6-9)  
 ВЪ ТРЪДЪ ИЖЕ ПОСПѢШИ GB  
 3:10      περισπασμόν  
 (ТЪЦАНИЕ) ВРЪТЕНИЕ РА (91; 135, 61-3)  
 ПЕЧЕНИЕ GB  
 9:12      ὅτι καὶ γε οὐκ ἔγνω  
 ІАКО НЕ (РАЗОУМѢТЬ) ОУВѢСТЬ РА (91; 135, 58-9)  
 НИЖЕ РАЗЪМѢ GB

Out of 56 quotations only the quotation in 5:9 ЛЮБЛИА СРЕВРО. НЕ НАСЪИТИТЬ СА СРЕВРА. РА (9; 20, 3:5-6) corresponds with the text in the continuous and annotated versions, but this single similarity is purely coincidental. There is enough evidence of divergences between РА and later attestations of *Ecclesiastes* in Church Slavonic to conclude that (even) if the quotations in РА were taken from a continuous version, it was not the same translation as the circa

<sup>10</sup> The remaining examples of lexical and grammatical variations in РА are listed separately in the appendix at the end of the article.

15<sup>th</sup>-century one. It is possible to argue that the number and type of differences between PA and the various Eccl. versions suggests that the latter are more likely to derive, throughout various processes of redaction, from a single translation than to be separate translations.

3. *Comparison of Quotations from Ecclesiastes in Pčela with Annotated and Continuous Texts*

3.1. Amongst the books of Holy Scripture included in *Pčela* are excerpts from the Gospels, Apostol and some OT books, namely *Wisdom of Sirach*, *Proverbs of Solomon*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Job*, *Isaiah*, and *Leviticus* as well as extracts from the Church Fathers and antique authors. *Pčela* is divided into chapters, each chapter being devoted to a specific theme. Chapters have a specific structure: in the beginning there are excerpts from the Gospels, then Apostol, then quotations from the OT Wisdom books. Sometimes under the name of Solomon there are quotations from *Ecclesiastes* and *Sirach*. The quotations from *Ecclesiastes* are not numerous in *Pčela*: there are nine of them in total. The length of a quotation varies from one to several verses linked together. The Slavonic translation of the Byzantine text appeared not later than the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The text was published by Semenov (1893) from an East Slavonic manuscript of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. All the biblical passages from *Pčela* are quoted below from his edition with the page and line number. I give the biblical passages according to their sequence in *Ecclesiastes* and not in the order of their appearance in *Pčela*<sup>11</sup>.

4:6        δύο δρακῶν μόχθου  
 ДВОИ ПРИГОРЪЦИ СЪ РОПТАНИЕМЪ М (398, 7-10)  
 ДВОЮ ГОРЕСТІЮ ТРЪДА ГВ, Und.13, PA  
 ДВОЮ ГОРЬСТІЮ ТЦАНИИ Eccl.

The noun *роптание* usually is the translation of the Greek *γογγυσμός* – ‘murmuring, muttering’ and could be the expression of displeasure.

5:2        περισπασμοῦ  
 ИСКОУШЕНИЯ (πειρασμοῦ)<sup>12</sup> М (375, 3-4)  
 ИСКЪСА ГВ, Und.13  
 НАПАСТИИ PA

<sup>11</sup> I use the identification of the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in *Pčela* made by Makeeva and Pičxadze (2000: 91).

<sup>12</sup> The reading supplied by Semenov according to the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Greek MS of *Melissa* from the Paris National library. However, it is possible that all three Slavonic variants may be different translations of the same Greek word, since the Greek variation in 5:2 between *περισπασμός* – ‘distraction’, ‘worry’ and *πειρασμός* – ‘temptation’, ‘enticement’ is found in the textual tradition of the LXX. Cf. the translation of *περισπασμός* as (ΠΟ)ΠΕΥΗΝΙΕ in 1:13, 2:23, 2:26, 3:10, 4:8, 5:13, 5:19, 8:16 in the EcclP.

- 7:2 εἰς οἶκον πένθους  
 ВЪ ДОМЪ ПЕЧАЛЫНБИ М (259, 21-3)  
 В ДОМОУ ПЛАЧА GB  
 ВЪ ДОМЪ ПЛАЧА Und.13, Eccl.  
 ВЪ ДНЬ ПЛАЧА PA

Probably ДНЬ was a scribal mistake, a misreading of the noun ДОМЪ.

- 7:6 φωνή τῶν ἀκανθῶν  
 ГЛА ТРОСТЫНБИ И ТЕРНОВНБИ М (372, 15-7)  
 ГЛА ТРЪНІА GB, Und.13, Eccl., PA

A.I. Sobolevskij (1897:60) noted that the characteristic feature of *Pčela* is a double translation, i.e. one Greek word is rendered by two Slavonic synonyms. Makeeva and Pičxadze (2004:88) observed this peculiarity in the quotations from the biblical books in *Pčela*.

- 10:12-13 καταποντιούσιν αὐτόν  
 ПОГРОУЗИТА И М (358, 5-8)  
 ПОТОПЛАЕТА ЕГО GB  
 ПОТОПАТЪ И PA
- 10:13 καὶ ἐσχάτη στόματος αὐτοῦ περιφέρεια πονηρά  
 И ПОСЛѢДОКЪ ОУСТЪ ЕГО КРОУГЪ ЛΟΥКАВЪ М (358, 5-8)  
 И ПОСЛЕДНАА ДСТЪ ѐ ЛЕСТЬ ЛДКАВА... GB

The noun ΚΡΟΥΓЪ is a formal equivalent of the Greek περιφέρεια – ‘circumference’ but the word ЛЕСТЬ usually translates Greek πανουργία – ‘craftiness, deceit, cunning’. The translator may not have been familiar with the word περιφέρεια as it occurs only in *Ecclesiastes* and thought instead of πανουργία which occurs several times in *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*.

- 10:19 καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπακούσεται σὺν τὰ πάντα  
 СРЕБРОУ ВСАУЪСКАА ПОСЛОУШЬСТВОВАНА БЫВАЮТЪ М (126, 28-9)  
 И СРЕБРА ПОСЛЪШАЮТЪ ВСАУЪСКАА GB
- 11:9 καὶ γνώθι ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἄξει σε ὁ θεὸς ἐν κρίσει  
 ΡΑΖДМВНІ САМЪ СА, ІАКО О ВСЕМЪ СЕМЪ ВЕДЕТЬ ТА БЪ ВЪ СОУДЪ М (340, 26-9)  
 ΡΑΖДМЕНИ ІАКО W ВСѢ СІ ... ПРИВЕДЕТЪ ТА БЪ НА СДЪ GB  
 И СИ ОУВѢЖДЪ ВЪ ВСѢХЪ ПЖТЕХЪ. ІАКО ПРИВЕДЕТЪ ТА ГЪ НА СѢДЪ PA

- 12:13 τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ φύλασσε  
 Б̄А БОИ СА, ЗДПОВѢДИ НЕГО ХРАНИ СЕБЕ М (223, 10-2)  
 Б̄Г̄А БОИ СА И ЗДПОВѢДИ ЕГО ХРАНИ GB  
 ВЪЗВОИ СА Б̄А. И ХРАНИ ЗДПОВѢДЬ ЕГО РА
- 12:14 πᾶν τὸ ποίημα [...] ἐν παντὶ παρεωραμένῳ  
 Всю тварь [...] во все̄ призираемъ (призримъ) М (297-8, 27-3)  
 все строеніе [...] всакомъ презрѣніи GB

The reading *строеніе* – ‘management, solution’ in the continuous text might have been a corruption of *сътвореніе* – ‘creation’.

The notable differences between *Pčela* and *Pandects of Antioch* indicate that the quotations in *Pčela* were not drawn directly from *Pandects* and that *Pčela* does not depend on the Eccl. versions. We thus have some evidence to assume that the translator of *Pčela* had not referred to an existing version of *Ecclesiastes*.

#### 4. Comparison of Quotations from Ecclesiastes in Izbornik with Commentated and Continuous texts

Apart from commentaries on *Psalter* and the *Song of Songs* there are a few verses from the book of *Ecclesiastes* with commentaries which are examined below.

4.1. There is a quotation from *Ecclesiastes* in the story about the Dream of King Jehoash on f. 1<sup>v</sup>-2 of the *Izbornik*<sup>13</sup> which has been identified by Alekseev and which appears to be a paraphrase of verses 9:14-15. I consider this quotation as evidence for the adaptation of approximate quotations from *Ecclesiastes* to other contexts.

Градъ же ти кестъ пакъзи великъ. нъ мнѣ малъ. мало же въ немъ и мужии. и приде црѣ великъ. и обистоупи и твърдыю. и бѣ въ градѣ томъ мужъ ниць нъ мударъ. и тъ мужъ сѣсе градъ.

Cf. the text from GB (9:14-15):

г̄ра малъ. и мужїи в немъ мало. и прїиде црѣ великъ и викроти ѱ ... 15. обрацїе<sup>т</sup> в немъ мѣжъ ниць и мѣдръ и тъ сѣсетъ г̄ра мѣдростїю своею.

The quotation of verse 4:12 from *Izbornik* is cited in the section dedicated to Kliment of Smolensk.

- 7:4 καρδία σοφῶν ἐν οἴκῳ πένθους καὶ καρδία ἀφρόνων ἐν οἴκῳ εὐφροσύνης  
 ср̄дце м̄дръихъ в домоу плача. ср̄це же безумныхъ в домоу пирѣ Izb.

<sup>13</sup> Wątrobska 1987: 1-2.



- сѣце мѡдрѣи вѣ дому пладѣа. и сѣце безѣмныи вѣ домѣ веселїа GB  
 Сѣце мѡдрѣи вѣ дому пладѣа. и сѣце безѣмныи вѣ домѣ веселїа Und.13  
 Сѣце мѡдрѣи вѣ дому пладѣа. и сѣце безѣмныи вѣ дому весельа. Eccl.
- 10:1 τιμιον ὀλίγον σοφίας ὑπὲρ δόξαν ἀφροσύνης μεγάλης  
 Ὑтѣно малѡ мѡдрѡсти. пдѣе славы великѣи безѡумна Izb.  
 Чдстѣ малѡ мѡдрѡсти пдѣе славы безѣмнїа великѣа GB  
 Ὑтѣно малѡ мѡдрѣи. пдѣе славы велики безѣумна. Eccl.
- 10:2 καρδία σοφοῦ εἰς δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ καρδία ἄφρονος εἰς ἀριστερὸν αὐτοῦ  
 сѣдце мѡдрѡмоу вѣ десници его. сѣдце же безѡумномоу вѣ шюници его Izb.  
 сѣдце мѡдрѡго о десндю его. сѣдце безѣмнѣа ѡ шдюю его GB  
 Сѣдце мѡдрѡмоу вѣ десници его. сѣдце безѣумномоу вѣ шюници его Eccl.

The quotations in 7:4 and 10:1-2 appear to have an affinity with the base text of the translation. However such similarities could still be coincidental. At the same time there is not enough evidence to conclude whether the annotated *Ecclesiastes* ever existed in its entirety. We may only say that separate quotations from this book were spread among various florilegia and exegetical compilations.

#### 5. *Quotations from Ecclesiastes in Original Old Russian Literature*<sup>14</sup>

5.1. I now turn to quotations in the original medieval Slavonic texts. The small number of quotations from *Ecclesiastes* is perhaps not surprising owing to the fact that the book was not used liturgically and could have been known only or primarily through written form.

KLIMENT OF SMOLENSK († AFTER 1164)

EPISTLE OF KLIMENT OF SMOLENSK TO PRESBUTEROS THOMAS

Kliment of Smolensk was the second Metropolitan of Eastern Slavic origin after Ilarion. He is mentioned several times in the Old Russian chronicle, where he is called a bookman and philosopher such as there had not been in Rus. He is the author of the single surviving epistle to his contemporary bishop Thomas. In his epistle he quotes extensively from Scripture and patristics.

- 4:12 Уже, трременноплетѣ[но](sic), не скоро сѣ преторгнет (Понурко 1992: 132)  
 оуже трьперемѣбно не скоро сѣ претьргнетъ Izb.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> My choice of editions is dictated mainly by the factor that their editors identified and marked quotations from *Ecclesiastes*.

<sup>15</sup> The quotation 4:12 appears on f. 161 and 11:2 on f. 176 of the *Izbornik*.

И ВРВЬ ТРЪПРАМЕННАА НЕ СКОРО ОТЪРЪЗИЕТЬ СА РА  
 И ВРВЬ ТРЕПЛЕГНЫ СКОРО НЕ ПЕРЕРВЪТ СА GB  
 И ВРВЬ ТРЕПЛЕНА НЕ СКОРО РАСТОРГНѢ СА Und.13

- 11:2 Да же чѣсть седми, таѣ и осмому (Ponyrko 1992: 133)  
 ДАЖЬ ЧѢСТЬ СЕДМИ. ТАѣ И ОСМОМУ Izb.  
 ДАЖДЬ ЧѢСТЬ СѢМИ И БОИ СА GB  
 ДАЖЬ ЧѢСТЬ СЕДМИ ТАѣ ОСМОМУ Eccl.

There are a few passages corresponding to each other found in the texts of Kliment of Smolensk, the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Izbornik* and Niketas of Heracleia, *Scholia in orationes* Gregory of Nazianzos. However, the relationship between these is not exactly clear. Scholars in the past (Nikolskij 1892: 42-47) thought that Kliment of Smolensk had used either the passages from the *Izbornik* or its early prototype as one of his sources<sup>16</sup>. The important point, however, is that the passages were circulating in the form of florilegia and erotapokriseis literature. Kliment in his letter has taken the two passages above almost *verbatim*, and within their larger contents, either from the *Izbornik* or the translation of Niketas of Heracleia. The correspondence between these two quotations in the letter of Kliment and the latter two corroborates the view of Thomson (1999: 71-72) that the quotations were not taken directly from Greek but through the intermediary of secondary sources in available translations.

The next example is from the popular anonymous work on the death and posthumous cult of the brothers Boris and Gleb, murdered in 1015 for political reasons and canonized in 1072. The *Skazanie* could have been written in the late 11<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### СКАЗАНИЕ О БОРИСЕ I GLEBE<sup>17</sup>

##### THE TALE AND PASSION AND EULOGY OF THE HOLY MARTYRS BORIS AND GLEB

- ВЪСЕ СОУЧЕТА И СОУЧЕТИЕ СОУЧЕТИЮ БОУДИ (р. 45, 10 а, 10)  
 1:2 СѢ СЪЕТЬСВѢДА ВСАЧЪСКАА СЪЕТА GB  
 12:8 СЪЕТА СЪЕТЬСѢТИ Рече ЗБОРНИКЪ ВСАСКА СЪЕТА GB

Fennell and Obolensky (1969: 160) give a reference to verse 12:8 in *Ecclesiastes*, but it could equally be 1:2.

<sup>16</sup> Modern researchers (Ponyrko 1992: 97-114) infer that the compiler of the *Izbornik* may have used the similar fragments from the letter of Kliment of Smolensk and the commentary of Niketas of Heracleia.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted from Knjazevskaia *et al.* 1971.

- Не възможець члѣкѣз глѣти и не насытитиь сѧ око зрѣти и не напѣлнитъ сѧ оухо слышаниѧ. рече еклисиастъ (р. 58, 18 б, 5)
- 1:8 не възможець моужь глѣти. не насытит сѧ око зрѣти. ни исплзнь сѧ оухо слышаниѧ ГВ

КІЕВО-РЕЧЕРСКИЈ ПАТЕРИК<sup>18</sup>

THE PATERIK OF THE KIEVAN CAVES MONASTERY. SLOVO 21

- у не бо есть не овецати сѧ, нежели обѣцавшу сѧ, не въздати (р. 120)
- 5:4 бл҃го ѿ не обѣцавати сѧ ли еже веѣцати сѧ ѿдати ГВ
- добрѣе не обѣцати. нежели обѣцати и не въздати РА

KIRILL OF TUROV († 1182)<sup>19</sup>

ON THE TALE OF A LAYMAN

Kirill of Turov was a famous rhetorician whose compositions were popular during the medieval period.

- и речи Соломонскы О суетне, суетою буди! (ТОДРЛ XII: 352)
- 1:2 Сѡѣ сѡетствѣд всауьскаѧ сѡета ГВ

POSLANIE NEKOEHO STARCA K BOGOBLAŽENNOMU VASILIJU O SKIMĚ<sup>20</sup>  
EPISTLE OF A CERTAIN ELDER TO THE BLESSED ARCHIMANDRITE BASIL

- И паѣ: луѣе не обѣцати сѧ, нежели обѣцавши сѧ, не въздати (Понурко 1992: 168)
- 5:4 бл҃го ѿ не обѣцавати сѧ ли еже веѣцати сѧ ѿдати ГВ

POSLANIE JAKOVA ČERNORIZCA KO KNJAZJU DMITRIJU BORISOVIČU  
EPISTLE OF JACOB TO PRINCE DIMITRY

Ponurko, who published this epistle, assumes that it was written after 1276, possibly between 1281-1288.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted from BLDR, IV (1997).

<sup>19</sup> On the problems of consistency in the transliteration of proper names see the recent remarks of S. Franklin (2002: XI). The works of Kirill of Turov are quoted from the publication of Eremin (1956).

<sup>20</sup> Quoted from the publication of Ponurko (1992: 155-165), who attributes this letter to Kirill of Turov.

- 7:26 СОЛОМОН БО, ... ВСЕМЪ ЗАПОВѢДА И ГЛАГОЛА: ... И НЕВОДЪ БО СЕРДЦЕ ЕЯ, И СЪБИ УДЫ ЕЯ (И УЗЫ В РУКУ ЕЯ, И ЛОВЛЕНИЕ БЕСЪДЫ ЕЯ add. in some MSS) (Ponyrko 1992: 199)<sup>21</sup>
- 7:26 ... ЕСТЬ ЛОВИТВА И СЪБИ СЪЦА ЕА И СЪДЪЗЪ ЛЮБВИ ЕА РЪКЫ ЕА GB

SLOVO DANIILA ZATOČNIKA<sup>22</sup>

These passages from Daniil the Exile seem to be distant reminiscences of *Ecclesiastes*.

- ОЧИ БО МУДРЫХЪ ЖЕЛАЮТЪ БЛАГЫХЪ, А БЕЗУМНАГО – ДОМУ ПИРА (р. 278)
- cf. 7:2-4 ...ЛИ ХОДИТЬ В ДОМОУ ПИРА [...] И СЪЦЕ БЕЗЪМНЫИ В ДОМѢ ВЕСЕЛІА<sup>23</sup>
- ЛѢПШЕ СЛЫШАТИ ПРЪВНІЕ УМНЫХЪ, НИЖЕЛИ НАКАЗАНИЯ БЕЗУМНЫХЪ (р. 278)
- cf. 7:5 БЛГО ꙗ СЛЫШАТИ ЗАПРЕЩЕНІЕ МОУЖА. ПАЧЕ МОУЖА СЛЫШАЦА ПЪСЕНЬ БЕЗЪМНЫХЪ GB
- БЛГО СЛЫШАТИ ПРЕЩЕНІЕ МУДРАГО. ПАЧЕ МЪЖА СЛЫШАЦАГО ПЪСЕНЬ БЕЗЪМНЫХЪ Und.13

In the text of *Ecclesiastes* there is *прещение* – ‘reproof’ and not *пръвние* – ‘dispute’.

POVEST' VREMENNYX LET<sup>24</sup>  
RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE

- ЛЮТЪ БО ГРАДУ ТОМУ, В НЕМЖЕ КНЯЗЬ УНЪ
- cf. 10:16 ГОРЕ ТЕВЪ ГРАДЕ ЕМОУ ЦРЬ ТВОИ ДНЪ GB

5.2. *Ecclesiastes* was not used liturgically and therefore could have been known only from written sources: either continuous or commentated text or passages from florilegia. The case of Kliment of Smolensk may be an example of how *Ecclesiastes* could have been disseminated in various compilations from which one might draw one's quotations. Some of the quotations above are so commonplace that they could have been quoted simply from memory even without reference to written sources.

<sup>21</sup> This passage is included in the longer sentence, the second part of it being identified by Ponyrko as Proverbs 7:21-23, 24. But the beginning of the sentence could be a paraphrase of Eccl. 7:26.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from BLDR, IV: 278.

<sup>23</sup> The quotation 7:4 in the *Pandects* and Daniil the Exile may have an affinity with EccP and Eccl. as they have similar wording.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from BLDR, I: 184.

There are no extant South Slavonic MSS containing *Ecclesiastes*, but there is a small number of quotations in the South Slavonic texts.

#### 6. *Quotations from Ecclesiastes in South Slavonic Tradition*

The quotations given below are distinguished between the translated texts such as *Suprasl'skij sbornik* and *Euchologium Sinaiticum* and original Church Slavonic compositions.

#### SUPRASL'SKIJ SBORNIK<sup>25</sup>

- 3:4 ВРѢМА ПЛАКАТИ СѦ ВРѢМА СМІНАТИ СѦ (f. 356, 14)  
 ВРѢМА ПЛАКАТИ СѦ И ВРѢМА КЛАНАТИ СѦ (f. 364, 12)  
 ВРЕМА ПЛАКАТИ СѦ И ВРЕМА СМѢЯТИ СѦ GB

#### EUCHOLOGIUM SINAITICUM

- 5:4 'ВКО СЛОВО РЕЧЕ. НЕ ПОМОЛИТИ СѦ. ЛИ ПОМОЛШЮ ТИ СѦ НЕ ВЪЗДАТИ (f. 91a 23-25)  
 БЛ҃ГО ѿ НЕ ВѢЩАВАТИ СѦ ЛИ ЕЖЕ ВѢЩАТИ СѦ ѠДАТИ GB

#### ДОМЕНТИЈАН, ЖИВОТ СВ. СИМЕОНА<sup>26</sup>

- 11:9 Весели се юноше въ юности своени (241)  
 весели сѦ ѡното въ ѡности своени GB

#### DANILO, DANILOV UČENIK I NASTAVLJAČI

- 1:2 по глаголюшгѡмоу: Вьса во зѡмльнѡихъ соудѡта соудѡтѣ [к.б.: соудѡтѣствѣ] и  
 вьсе [к.б.: вьсауьскаѡ] соудѡта (968)  
 Сѡѣ сѡѡтѣствѡѡ всауьскаѡ сѡѡта GB
- 4:9-10 оуьнша во два паѡе ѡдинаго ѡдиномоу бо лѡтѣ (1034)  
 БЛ҃ГА два пѡ ѡдинаго... горе томѡ ѡдиномоѡ GB  
 БЛ҃ГА два паѡе ѡдинобо Ессѡ.  
 оуьнша во два паѡе ѡдинобо [...] ѡ лѡтѣ ѡдиномоу РА

<sup>25</sup> The two quotations below are taken from the publication of Dunkov (1995).

<sup>26</sup> All examples are quoted from Stanojević, Glumac 1932.

## KONSTANTIN FILOZOF, ŽIVOT DESPOTA STEFANA LAZAREVIČA

1:16 СОЛОМОН КЕГДА ГЛАГОЛЕТЬ: ПАЧЕ ВСѢХЪ БЫВЪШИИХЪ ПРѢЖДЕ МЕНЕ ВЪ ИЕРОСАЛИМѢ  
(1475)  
ПАЧЕ ВСѢ ИЖЕ БЫША ПРЕЖЕ МЕНЕ ВЪ ІЕРИМѢ ГВ

It is, perhaps, not altogether surprising that the quotation in Danilo is closer to the one found in *Pandects* than to the continuous or interpolated text. Quotations from *Ecclesiastes* might have been more easily disseminated and known through florilegia than through continuous version that is not attested in the South Slavonic tradition.

## 7. Conclusions

7.1. In the medieval period *Ecclesiastes* remained a book which was more frequently commented on rather than quoted from<sup>27</sup>. As there are so few quotations from this book which circulated in medieval Slavonic literature there is no hope of reconstructing the whole text of *Ecclesiastes* with their help, though it is possible to compare them with the fuller versions of the text which we have. Quotations found in medieval Slavonic texts, both translated and original, appear to be independent of the EccP translation of *Ecclesiastes* known from manuscripts circa the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The quotations in the original texts are mostly *clichés* that could have been quoted from memory as they are quite short.

7.2. Moreover, as was previously mentioned in the discussion of PA, the different versions of the same quotation found there imply that the scribe did not have a preexisting translation to hand. This does not disprove the existence of *Ecclesiastes* before the 15<sup>th</sup> century: the text of *Ecclesiastes* might have been simply unknown to the translator or he had chosen not to use it; but the quotations differ radically from the text of *Ecclesiastes*, as we have it, therefore they offer no support to the existence of pre-15<sup>th</sup> century text. At the same time the differences between PA and the *Ecclesiastes* versions seem to be more helpful in reminding us that the divergences between the three fuller versions of *Ecclesiastes* are likely to be redactions of a single translation.

Thus the quotations do not prove the existence of the continuous or commentated texts, as we know it. The only thing they prove that parts of *Ecclesiastes* were known in some form of exegetical compilations.

<sup>27</sup> This assertion can be inferred from reading Starowieyski (1993: 405-40).

## Appendix

- 1:8 πάντες οἱ λόγοι ἔγκοποι – всако слово троудьно PA (91; 134, 24) вса словеса трѣдѣна GB
- 1:13 περισπασμόν πονηρόν – мльвение люто PA (14; 25, 2-4) попеуение лѣкаво GB (cf. also 2:26, 5:13)
- 1:13 τοῦ κατασκεύασθαι ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ – посмотрити прѣмомудростиѣ PA (14; 25, 2-4) съсѣтити мѣдрости GB
- 1:13 περισπᾶσθαι – мльвити PA (14; 25, 2-4) пециѣ GB
- 2:11 ποιήμασιν – творения PA (14; 25-6, 6-9) створена GB
- 2:26 εὐφροσύνην – радостѣ PA (14; 26, 2-8) веселіе GB, Und.13
- 2:26 περισπασμόν – мльвение PA (14; 26, 2-8) печеуение GB попеуение Und.13 (cf. also 1:13, 5:13)
- 3:1 χρόνος – лѣто PA (91; 134, 12) годѣ GB
- 3:7 λαλεῖν – вѣщати PA (91; 134, 13-14) глѣти GB
- 3:20 ἐπιστρέφει – вѣтели са PA (14; 26, 2:9) вѣзвращають са GB
- 4:1 τὰς συκοφαντίας – клеветѣ PA (39; 64, 13:1-4) вклеветаніа GB
- 4:9 ἀγαθοί – оуныша PA (80; 118, 64-5) блѣга GB, Und.13, Eccl.
- 4:10 καὶ οὐαὶ – а лютеѣ PA (80; 118, 65-70) и горе GB, Und.13
- 4:11 κοιμηθῶσιν – боудете PA (2; 10, 2:2-3) оуспѣта GB, Und.13
- 4:12 αὐτοῦ – ѣмоу PA семоу GB
- 4:12 ἐπικραταιωθῆ – оукрѣплаеть PA оукрѣпит са GB
- 5:2 περισπασμοῦ – напастии PA (84; 124 1: 21-4) искѣса GB
- 5:3 εὐξή – оуѣща PA оуѣщавши GB
- 5:3-4 εὐχὴν τῷ θεῷ – молитвѣ гѣ PA (106; 156, 156-60) оуѣтъз кѣ вѣ GB
- 5:3-4 μὴ χρονίσῃς – не оукѣсни PA (106; 156, 156-60) не ѣмедли GB
- 5:4 ἀγαθόν – добрѣ PA (106; 156, 156-60) блѣго GB
- 5:5 ὀργισθῆ – радзгнѣваеть са PA прогнѣваеть са GB
- 5:13 ἐκεῖνος – то PA оно GB
- 5:14 ἐξῆλθεν – приде PA изиде GB
- 5:16 αἱ γε πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι – а вси днѣи PA и вси иже днѣи GB
- 6:2 ἀνὴρ ξένος – странньз PA (119; 176, 40-1) чѣо мѣжь GB
- 6:8 κατέναντι τῆς ζωῆς – прѣмо жизни PA (119; 176, 42), PA (9; 20, 7) противѣ животѣ GB, Und.13
- 6:8 διότι ὁ πένης – зане ницѣтии PA (9; 20, 7) занеже оубогѣи PA (119; 176, 42) поѣ ницѣи GB, Und.13

- 7:4 ἀφρόνων – ВЕЗОУМЪНЪИХЪ РА (90; 133, 27-8) ВЕЗУМНЫ GB, Eccl. ВЪИХЪ Und.13
- 7:5 ἀγαθόν – ДОБРЪЕ РА (82; 121, 51-2) БЛГО GB, Und.13, Eccl.
- 7:9 ἐν κόλπῳ – НА ЛОНѢ РА (24; 42, 8:1-2) В НѢДРѢ GB
- 7:10 αἱ πρότεροι – ПРѢЖДЪНИИ РА (28; 51, 17:2-4) ДРЕВНІИ GB
- 7:16 πολὺ – ЗЪЛО РА (44; 71, 3:3-4) ВЕЛМИ GB
- 7:16 περισσά – ЛИХО РА (44; 71, 3:3-4) ВЕЛМИ GB ИЗЛИШЕ Und.13 ЛИШЕ Eccl.
- 7:16 ἐκπλαγῆς – ОУКЛОНИШИ СА РА (44; 71, 3:3-4) ИЗЪМЪЕШИ СА GB
- 7:17 ἐν οὐ καιρῷ – ВЪ ВЕЗГОДИЕ РА (38; 63, 15:2-4) ВЪ ВРЕМА GB НЕ ВО ВРЕМА Und.13, Eccl.
- 7:21 λαλήσουσιν – СЪВѢШТАЖЪТЪ РА (31; 55, 5:1-2) ВЪГЛЮТЪ GB, Und.13 ВЪЗМОЛВАТЬ Eccl.
- 7:26 σαγήναι – НЕВОДЪ РА (18; 33, 13:2-6) СЪТИ GB
- 7:26 ἐξαيرهθήσεται – ИЗАТЪ БОУДЕТЪ РА (18; 33, 13:2-6) ИЗВИНИТ СА GB
- 7:26 συλλημφθήσεται – ОУВАЗНЕТЪ РА (18; 33, 13:2-6) НЕ УБА БЪДЕТЪ GB
- 8:5 ῥῆμα πονηρόν – ВСЕГО ЗЪЛА РА (79; 116, 60) ГЛА ЗЪЛА РА (114; 170, 93-4) ГЛА ЛЪКАВА GB
- 9:10 εὕρη – ИМАТЪ РА (98; 143, 52-3) ОБРАЩЕ GB
- 9:18 σκευὴ πολέμου – СЪЖДА БРАНИ РА (101; 147, 71-2) СЪЪДЪ РАТНЫ GB
- 10:4 σέ – ТА РА НА GB
- 10:14 πληθύνει – МНОЖИТЬ РА УМНОЖИТЬ GB
- 10:20 ἐν ταμείοις κοιτώνων – ВЪ СЪКРОВИШТИХЪ ЛОЖА СВОГО РА (31; 55, 5:3-6:1) В КЛѢТИ ЛОЖНИЦИ СВОЕИ GB
- 10:20 ἀποίσει – ОТЪНЕТЪ РА (31; 55, 5:3-6:1) ДОНЕСЕ GB
- 11:9 γνῶθι – ОУВѢЖДЪ РА (18; 33, 13:8-11) РАЗЪМЕНИ GB
- 11:9 ὁ θεός – ГЪ РА (18; 33, 13:8-11) БЪ GB (cf. also 5:3-4, 12:13)
- 11:10 σου – СВОЕГО РА ТВОЕГО GB
- 11:10 παράγαγε – МИМОВЕДИ РА (24; 42, 3:3-4) ПРИВЕДИ GB
- 11:10 πονηρίαν – ЗЪЛОБОУ РА (24; 42, 5:3-4) ЛЪКАВСТВА GB
- 12:1 τοῦ κτίσαντός – СЪЗДАВЪШААГО РА (23; 41, 4:2-5) СТВОРШАГО GB
- 12:13 τὸν θεόν – ГЛА РА (127; 188, 31-2) БГА GB (cf. 5:3-4, 11:9)



*Abbreviations*

- BLDR: *Biblioteka literatury drevnej Rusi* (I. XI-XII veka; IV. XII vek, SPb. 1997).
- GB: *Gennadijevskaja Biblija*, GIM, Synodal collection, № 915, 1499, 1°, 1007 ff., contents: biblical books, Ecclesiastes ff. 437<sup>r</sup>-443<sup>r</sup>.
- GIM: Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej (Moscow).
- Eccl.: *Ecclesiastes* interpolated version (quoted from MS Pg. 1).
- EccP: *Ecclesiastes* plain version (quoted from MS GB).
- Izbornik: *Izbornik* Q.p.l.18, RNB, (former Tolstoy collection otd. II, № 6), Exegetical florilegium, 13<sup>th</sup> century.
- M: *Pčela* (*Melissa*).
- PA: Pandects of Antioch.
- PG: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*.
- Pg.1: Pogodinskij 1, RNB, Pogodin collection, No 1, *Sbornik*, first half of 15<sup>th</sup> century, 1°, 60 ff., contents: *Song of Songs* with commentary, *Discourse* of John of Thessalonica, *Ecclesiastes* (f. 47<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>).
- RNB: Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka (Sankt-Peterburg).
- RSL: Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka (Moscow).
- TODRL: *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, Instituta russkoj literatury (Pushkinskogo doma) AN SSSR.
- Und.13: Undol'skij 13, RSL, Undol'skij collection 310, № 13. Commentary, 16 c., 4°, ff. 14+1, contents: *Ecclesiastes* with commentary.
- Voskr.30: Voskresenskij 30, GIM, collection of Voskresenskij monastery № 30, 11-th century, 310ff, contents: Pandects of Antiochus (ff. 1-308), *Alphavitar'* of Gregory the Theologian.

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### Abstract

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*Quotations from Ecclesiastes in Church Slavonic Texts*

The article deals with the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in early translated texts and in original Old Rus' literature. Quotations found in medieval Slavonic texts, both translated and original, appear to be independent of the translation of continuous *Ecclesiastes* known from manuscripts of around the 15<sup>th</sup> century; they do not give positive support for the existence of a complete translation before the 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, the quotations prove that parts of *Ecclesiastes* were known in some form of exegetical compilations.

### Keywords

Bible; Church Slavonic; Quotations; Ecclesiastes; Old Russian Literature.