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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 9-15th centuries, sometimes accompanied by the books of *Prophets*.

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

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 5. 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 6. The evidence for

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1 Information on Greek manuscripts is taken from Rahlfs 1914: 410-14.
3 Eccl.: *Ecclesiastes* interpolated version.
4 For a synoptic table of the 17 breviaries containing the text of *Ecclesiastes*, see Zaradija-Kiš 1997: 629-635.
6 Alekseev posits four criteria for ascribing biblical translations to Methodius; for *Ecclesiastes* the following criterion is applicable: “При выявлении переведенных Методием 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 10th 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.

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*. I also compare the quotations appearing in the 13th 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 7th century, is a guide to Christian morality and spirituality. His compilation is based on excerpts from Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers. The *Pandects* were translated in all probability in Bulgaria in the 10th century. They became known in Medieval Rus’ soon afterwards as the earliest extant East Slavonic manuscript dates from the 11th century. Archimandrite Amfiloxij (1880) and Josif Popovski (1989) published the text from this manuscript (Voskre-
senski 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

κλεβετάνης εὐκρατείματε μᾶκραν. η ποιοῦσαι ὀρίσε σαρκοφαγίαν πα (39; 64,14:2-3)
κλεβετά λειτή μᾶκραν παλαιαλ ὀρίσε ὀρίσε σαρκοφαγίαν εὐγενίας εὐγενίας γβ

The translator of PA later probably misread εὐτονίας as εὐγενίας.

8:16 ἐν όις ἐδώκα τὴν καρδίαν μου τοῦ γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ τοῦ ίδειν τὸν περιτακτῆς τὸν πεποιμένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὥστιν ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ὥπων ἐν ὄφθαλμῳ αὐτοῦ

ουκ ἐστιν βλέπων

β η γης χε αμα ρα με γενημιν ράχα μοι και ϊδįτες εἴδωνεν εὐγενίας εὐγενίας εὐγενίας η γεμαλ ιακ ιε β η δύτα και β η γνωμή. γαν ὅν ἱε μετε εὐγενίας πα (14; 26, 3:5-8)

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

9:8 ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐστωσαν ἱματίαν ᾧ κατὰ καὶ ἐλαιον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ μὴ ύστερησάτῳ
The readings of Eccl. can be explained on palaeographical grounds: ὀπλῶτα – ‘fence’ could have been mistaken for πᾶδ – ‘fruit’ and similarly the word ὀγγραῖνε – ‘bites’ was misread as ὀγγραῖτε – ‘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 ἄπαθεν λυτὰ πᾶδ (12; 24, 9: 4-9) οὐδὲν ἔχει χανάρχησε (119; 176, 33-35) οὐδὲν ἐίσαχθέναι ἀποφαγεῖ σεβαστὸν οὐκ ἔχει βραχονοχία πᾶδ (119; 176, 37) οὐδὲν ἐίσαχθέναι κόσμον ἔχει βραχονοχία οὕποθεν ἔχει βραχονοχία οὕποθεν ἔχει βραχονοχία οὕποθεν ἔχει βραχονοχία

There is not a satisfactory explanation how the word ζῆμα appeared in the continuous text. There is a slim chance that the word κόσμον 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 ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ μισῆται ἐγὼ ἔχω χασάναις εἰς ἀνεμοὺς ζῆμαν ἐπὶ ἄκορον ἐν κυρίῳ χριστῷ θύμαι (16; 29, 2:2-3) ἐγὼ ἔχω χασάναις εἰς ἀνεμοὺς ζῆμαν ἐπὶ ἄκορον ἐν κυρίῳ χριστῷ θύμαι (32; 56, 8:2-4)
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 ῥογαὶ ἐμοὶ ῬΑ – ἐμοὶ ῥογαὶ ῬΒ

4:10 ἰακὸ δωτὲ ῬΑ – δώτε ἰακὸ ῬΒ

5:11 σαλαῶκε σῶνα ῬΑΒΟΥ ῬΑ – σῶνα σαλαῶκε ῬΑΒΘ ῬΒ

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

10:18 ἡ δόξωσις ἡδεξάνα ῬΑ (36; ἹΡ, 61, 6:2-3) στροφίνα ῬΒ

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 11th century, and entered into the text by all other manuscripts.

2:11 ἐν μάχῳ ᾧ ἐμάχησα

(οὐσιλῆ) ἐν τῆςταν εἰς ἔρη ρῶ ῬΑ (14; 25-6, 6-9)

κα τρῆχῃ ἱκε ποιητικὴ ῬΒ

3:10 περισπασμὸν

(τῆςταν) Βρήκεν ῬΑ (91; 135, 61-3)

πενεῖν ῬΒ

9:12 ὅτι καὶ γε σὺ ἐγὼ

ἰακὸ οὐ (ράγαυλλέται) σὺ ῬΑ (91; 135, 58-9)

νικέ ῬΑΒΘ ῬΒ

Out of 56 quotations only the quotation in 5:9 λαβῶλας σαββα. ῬΑ (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 ῬΑ and later attestations of Ecclesiastes in Church Slavonic to conclude that (even) if the quotations in ῬΑ were taken from a continuous version, it was not the same translation as the circa

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10 The remaining examples of lexical and grammatical variations in ῬΑ are listed separately in the appendix at the end of the article.
15th-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 13th century. The text was published by Semenov (1893) from an East Slavonic manuscript of the 15th 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.

4:6 δύο δρακόνων μόχθου
Δώοι Προφητεύματα στὸ τρόπανναία τῷ (398, 7-10)
Δώοι γορτήθη τρίκλα αὐτῷ, Und.13, PA
Δώοι γορτήθη τσιμπᾶτοι Eccl.

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

5:2 περιπασμόν
Πείρασμα (πειρασμοῦ)12 κατὰ (375, 3-4)
Πείρασμα Eccl. στὶκῆσα, Und.13
Πείρασμα RA

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11 I use the identification of the quotations from Ecclesiastes in Pčela made by Makeeva and Pičxadze (2000: 91).
12 The reading supplied by Semenov according to the 11th-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 περιπασμός – ‘distraction’, ‘worry’ and πειρασμός – ‘temptation’, ‘enticement’ is found in the textual tradition of the lxx. Cf. the translation of περιπασμός as (πο)πευτῆνε in 1:13, 2:23, 2:26, 3:10, 4:8, 5:13, 5:19, 8:16 in the EccP.
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7:2 εἰς οἶκον πένθους
καὶ δομῆς πεῦζαντίνης M (259, 21-3)
καὶ δομῆς πλαῦτα GB
καὶ δομῆς πλαῦτα Und.13, Eccl.
καὶ δίνῃ πλαῦτα PA

Probably δίνῃ was a scribal mistake, a misreading of the noun δομῆς.

7:6 φωνὴ τῶν ἀκανθῶν
γλα τρούστων καὶ τερνωνών M (372, 15-7)
γλα τρόστων GB, Und.13, Eccl., PA

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

10:12-13 καταποντιοῦσιν αὐτὸν
ποτοπλαύτα καὶ M (358, 5-8)
ποτοπλαύτα GB
ποτοπλαύτα PA

10:13 καὶ ἐσχάτη στόματος αὐτοῦ περιφέρεια πονηρὰ
καὶ σκότωσεν οὐτε γῆ κρούγια M (358, 5-8)
καὶ σκότωσεν οὐτα ἐστὶ λεστὰ λάκαβα...

The noun κρούγια is a formal equivalent of the Greek περιφέρεια – ‘circumference’ but the word λεστὰ 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 ἄργυριον ἐπακούστηκαν σὺν τὰ πάντα
Σκεύῳ βελαύκκαί ποσλογίσντεναι βελαύκκαί τὸ M (126, 28-9)
Σκεύῳ βελαύκκαί GB

11:9 καὶ γνώθι ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀξίει σὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐν κρίσει
παραδίδῃν καὶ σαλῇ, ἵππον ἐκεῖ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σοῦδα M (340, 26-9)
παραδίδῃν ἵππον τῇ σεκὴ σῇ ... πριν δὲ τῇ ἐκ τῇ σοῦδα GB
καὶ σῇ σκέφτῃ ἐκ τῆς σκέφτῃ πάθες. ἵππον πριν δὲ τῇ ἐκ τῇ σοῦδα PA
The reading строение – ‘management, solution’ in the continuous text might have been a corruption of створение – ‘creation’.

The notable differences between Піела and Pandects of Antioch indicate that the quotations in Піела were not drawn directly from Pandects and that Піела does not depend on the Eccl. versions. We thus have some evidence to assume that the translator of Піела 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 Je-hoash on f. 1v-2 of the Izbornik 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 есть пакъ великъ. нъ мнѣ малъ. мало же въ немь и мужии. и приде цръ великъ. и обистоупи и твьрдью. и бѣ въ градѣ томь моужь нищь нъ моудръ. и тъ моужь спѣ градъ.

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

гръ малъ. и моужи въ немъ мало. и приде цръ велики и скроти и ... 15. обраше въ немъ идьжъ нищъ и лидръ и тъ спѣетъ гръ лидарости своею.

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

7:4 кардіа σοφῶν ἐν οἰκῳ πένθους καὶ καρδία ἀφρόνων ἐν οἰκῳ εὐφροσύνης σφάζε μυδρύζης κ ὁμοῦ πλανᾶ. σφάζε же безψυχής κ ὁμοῦ πιρὰ Izb.
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

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, трьперемѣньнo не скоро сѧ претьгнеть (Ponyrko 1992: 132) оуже трьперемѣньнo не скоро сѧ претьгнеть Izb.15
There are a few passages corresponding to each other found in the texts of Kliment of Smolensk, the 13th 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 sources16. 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 11th or early 12th centuries.

Skazanie o Borise i Glebe17

The Tale and Passion and Eulogy of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb

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

16 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.

17 Quoted from Knjazevskaja et al. 1971.
Ne възможетъ убѣйть глѣти и не насытить сѧ око зѣрѣти и не напълнить сѧ оухо слышанія. рѣе еклѣнасть (p. 58, 18 б, 5)
1:8 не възможетъ моужь глѣти. не насытит сѧ око зѣрѣти. ни исплѣни сѧ оухо слышанія вѣ

Kievo-Pečerskij paterik
The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery. Слово 21

унѣ бо есть не обѣщати сѧ, нежели обѣщавшѣ сѧ, не вѣздати (p. 120)
5:4 бѣгѣ не вѣщавати сѧ ли еже вѣщати сѧ вѣдати вѣ
добѣрѣ не обѣщати. нежели обѣщати и не вѣздати ра

Kirill of Turov († 1182)
On the Tale of a Layman

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

и рѣхъ Соломонскѣ съ суетне, суетою буди! (todrl XII: 352)
1:2 Сѣ суетствѣ всѣєрѣская сже та вѣ

Poslanie nekoego starca k bogoblažennomu Vasiliju o skimѣ
Epistle of a Certain Elder to the Blessed Archimandrite Basil

И паче: Луче не обѣщати сѧ, нежели обѣщавшѣ сѧ, не вѣздати (Ponyrko 1992: 168)
5:4 бѣгѣ не обѣщати сѧ ли еже вѣщати сѧ вѣдати вѣ

Poslanie Jakova ěernorizca ko knjazju Dmitriju Borisoviću
Epistle of Jacob to prince Dimitry

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

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18 Quoted from bldr, iv (1997).
19 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).
20 Quoted from the publication of Ponyrko (1992: 155-165), who attributes this letter to Kirill of Turov.
7:26 Solomon 

... the king, and the gadfly: ... and he went to the king, and the gadfly in his hand, and the hunting of the gadfly in his hand (add. in some mss) (Ponyrko 1992: 199)21

7:26 ... is the lot of the king, and the gadfly in his hand and the snare of the king in his hand GB

Slovo Daniila Zatočnika22

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

Ochi bo mудрых желают благих, а безумного — дому пира (p. 278)
cf. 7:2-4 ... и ходить в доме пира [...] и сердце безумного в доме веселья23

Лучше слышать прьсение умных, и наказания безумных (p. 278)
cf. 7:5 бього е слышать прьсение мудра, паве мудра слышаца гнень безумных GB
бього слышат прьсение мудраго, паве мудра слышаца гнень безумных
Und.13

In the text of Ecclesiastes there is прьсение – ‘reproof’ and not прьние – ‘dispute’.

Povest’ vremennyx let24
Russian Primary Chronicle

лютѣ бо граду тому, в немже кнꙗꙁь унъ
cf. 10:16 горе тевѣ града емоу црꙗ твои хънъ GB

5.2. Ecclesiastes was not used liturgically and therefore could have been known only from written sources: either continuous or commented 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.

21 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.

22 Quoted from BLDR, IV: 278.

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

24 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'ski j sbornik and Euchologium Sinaiticum and original Church Slavonic compositions.

**Suprasl'ski j sbornik**\(^{25}\)

3:4  

веўма плякати сѧ веўма смѣꙗти сѧ (f. 356, 14)  

веўма плякати сѧ и веўма кланꙗти сѧ (f. 364, 12)  

веўма плякати сѧ и веўма смѣꙗти сѧ GB

**Euchologium Sinaiticum**

5:4  

ъко слово рече. не помолити сѧ. ли помольшю ти сѧ не въздати (f. 91a 23-25)  

благо е не вѣбѣшати сѧ ли еже вѣбѣшати сѧ ѥдати GB

**Domentijan, Život sv. Simeona**\(^{26}\)

11:9  

весели сѧ ќното въ ќности своꙗи (2.41)  

весели сѧ ќното въ ќности своꙗи GB

**Danilo, Danilov učenik i nastavljaci**

1:2  

по глаголомѣтому: ѳгла бо землѣнихъ сѹиетъ сѹиетъ [k.b.: сѹиетъстѣ] и всє [k.b.: вѣлѣскѣ] сѹиетъ (968)  

Сѣ сѫиетѣва всѣлѣскѣ ѕѳетѧ GB

4:9-10  

оуньша бо два паꙗе ѥдинаго ѥдиному бо лютѣ (1034)  

благо два паꙗе ѥдинаго... горе товаꙗ ѥдиномѣ GB  

благо два паꙗе ѥдинаго Eccl.  

оуньша бо два паꙗе ѥдинаго [...] а лютѣ ѥдиному ра

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\(^{25}\) The two quotations below are taken from the publication of Dunkov (1995).

\(^{26}\) All examples are quoted from Stanojević, Glumac 1932.
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. 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 15th 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 15th 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-15th 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.

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27 This assertion can be inferred from reading Starowieyski (1993: 405-40).
Appendix

1:8  πάντες οἱ λόγοι ἔγκοποι – ΚΑΚΩ ΣΛΟΒΟ ΤΡΟΥΔΛΝΟ ΡΑ (91; 134, 2.4) ΡΑ ΣΛΟΒΕΛ ΤΡΛΔΝΑ GB

1:13  περιστασιων τονηρ – ΜΑΛΒΕΝΕ ΛΥΤΟ ΡΑ (14; 25, 2-4) ΡΑ ΛΥΤΚΟ GB (cf. also 2:26, 5:13)

1:13  τοτ κατασκηνασθαи ἐν τῇ σοφία – ΠΟΣΙΟΤΡΙΤΙ ΠΡΙΜΟΥΔΡΟΣΤΙΚΡ ΡΑ (14; 25, 2-4) ΡΑ ΣΛΟΒΕΛ ΤΡΛΔΝΑ GB

1:13  περιστασιων – ΑΛΒΕΤΙΚΡ ΡΑ (14; 25, 2-4) ΡΕΙΣΙ GB

2:11  πονημασιν – ΤΚΡΕΝΗΝΙΑ ΡΑ (14; 25-6, 6-9) ΣΤΡΟΕΝΑ GB

2:26  εὐφροσύνην – ΡΑΔΟΣΤΑ ΡΑ (14; 26, 2-8) ΡΕΕΛΕ GB, Und.13

2:26  περισπασιων – ΜΑΛΒΕΝΕ GB (cf. also 1:13, 5:13)

3:1  χρόνος – ΛΕΤΟ ΡΑ (91;134, 12) ΜΟΓΤ GB

3:7  λαλεῖν – ΒΕΘΑΙΡ ΡΑ (91;134, 13-14) ΜΟΓΤ GB

3:20  εὐπρέπει – ΒΣΕΛΗ ΣΑ ΡΑ (14; 26, 2:9) ΒΣΩΡΑΙΜΑΤ ΣΑ GB

4:1  τὰς συκοφάντιας – ΚΛΕΒΕΤΖΙ ΡΑ (39; 64, 13:1-4) ΚΛΕΒΕΤΑΙΝΑ GB

4:9  ἀγαθοί – ΟΥΝΗΧΑ ΡΑ(80; 118, 64-5) ΒΛΗ GB, Und.13, Eccl.

4:10  και οὐαι – Α ΛΟΤΘ ΡΑ (80; 118, 65-70) Η ΓΟΕ GB, Und.13

4:11  κοιμηθῶσιν – ΒΟΥΔΕΤΕ ΡΑ(2; 10, 2:2-3) ΟΥΝΙΤΑ GB, Und.13

4:12  αὐτοῦ – ΠΕΛΟΥ ΡΑ ΣΕΛΟΥ GB

4:12  ἐπικραταϊοθη – ΟΥΚΡΙΠΛΑΙΤΕ ΡΑ ΟΥΚΡΙΠΙΤ ΣΑ GB

5:2  περισπασιοῦ – ΝΑΠΛΑΤΙΝ ΡΑ (84; 12:4 1: 21-4) ΝΕΚΘΑ GB

5:3  εὐχαί – ΟΒΙΘΑ ΡΑ ΟΒΙΘΑΕΙΝ ΣΑ GB

5:3-4  εὐχὴν τῷ θεῷ – ΜΑΛΙΤΖΚΟ ΡΑ (106; 156, 156-60) ΟΒΙΘΑ ΚΖ ΒΚ GB

5:3-4  μὴ χρονίσῃ – ΗΝ ΟΥΚΖΖΑΝΗ ΡΑ(106; 156, 156-60) ΗΝ ΥΜΕΛΑΙ GB

5:4  ἀγαθόν – ΔΩΡΘΕ ΡΑ(106; 156, 156-60) ΒΛΟ GB

5:5  ὀργηθῇ – ΡΑΠΟΓΘΑΕΤΕ ΣΑ ΡΑ ΡΑΠΟΓΘΑΕΤΕ ΣΑ GB

5:13  ēκεῖνος – ΤΟ ΡΑ ΖΗΘO GB

5:14  ἐξῆλθεν – ΠΡΟΔΕ ΡΑ ΠΖΘΕ GB

5:16  αἱ γε πάσαι αἱ ἰμέραι – Α ΒΛΗ ΑΙΝΗ ΡΑ Α ΒΚΙ ΝΗ ΑΙΝΗ GB

6:2  ἀνήρ ξένος – ΧΡΑΙΜΒΡΡ ΡΑ(119; 176, 40-1) ΣΩΜ ΜΘΚ ΣΑ GB

6:8  κατέναντι τῆς ζωῆς – ΠΡΩΙΚΟ ΖΙΣΗΝΙ ΡΑ(119; 176, 42), ΡΑ(9; 20, 7) ΡΟΤΙΗΚΖΖ ΖΙΣΗΝΙ GB, Und.13

6:8  διότι ὁ πένης – ΖΑΝΕ ΝΙΣΙΤΙΝ ΡΑ (9; 20, 7) ΖΑΝΕΖΕ ΟΥΒΟΓΖΗ ΡΑ (119; 176, 42) ΠΟΗΗ ΝΙΣΙΤΙΝ GB, Und.13
7:4 ἀφρόνων – θεραπευτής ρα (90; 133, 27-8) θεραπευτής gb, Eccl. βάλλα Und.13
7:5 ἀγαθόν – δόμημα ρα (82; 121, 51-2) βάλλο ρ. Und.13, Eccl.
7:9 ἐν κόλπῳ – αν λογία ρα (2.4; 42, 8:1-2) θεραπευτής gb
7:10 αἱ πρότεραι – πρόσεγγισμένο πα (28; 51, 17:2-4) ανεβαίνει gb
7:16 πολύ – θαλάσσα ρα (4.4; 71, 3:3-4) βαλλοί gb
7:16 περισσά – λίθος ρα (4.4; 71, 3:3-4) βαλλοί gb ιαλοι Und.13 λιθεί Eccl.
7:16 ἐκπλαγῇ – ουκλείσμενο σα ρα (4.4; 71, 3:3-4) ιαλοι Und.13 σα λεί gb
7:17 ἐν οὐ καιρῷ – αν ευρεθῇ Und.13, Eccl.
7:26 σαγήναι – ενεκατάρ σα (18; 33, 13:2-6) σεταί gb
7:26 ἐξαρθῆσθαι – ιζάτα βουδετά ρα (18; 33, 13:2-6) ιζηνεῖς cb gb
7:26 συλληψθῆσθαι – ουκαλεθῇ ρα (18; 33, 13:2-6) αν θεω βαδείς gb
8:5 ῥῆμα πονηρόν – όλα τατάρα τα (79; 116, 60) γλα γλα ρα (114; 170, 93-4) γλα αδικαρ gb
9:10 εὑρη – ιμαίτω ρα (98; 143, 52-3) οραματί ρ. gb
9:18 σκεύη πολέμου – σύνεξ θρανί ρα (101; 147, 71-2) σύνεξ θρανί gb
10:4 σε – τα ρα gb
10:14 πληθῦνει – κνοιχίτω ρα Κνοιχίτω gb
10:20 ἐν ταμιείοις κοιτῶνων – αν σεφρακισμένων λοκα σαρχώ ρα (31; 55, 5:3-6:1) κατειλ λοχιμί cb gb
10:20 ἁποίσει – αυτάμενης ρα (31; 55, 5:3-6:1) δομεί gb
11:9 γνώση – ουκέτάρ ρα (18; 33, 13:8-11) βαδίσμεν gb
11:9 ὁ θεός – γῆ ρα (18; 33, 13:8-11) βά ρα gb (cf.also 5:3-4, 12:13)
11:10 σου – σφετηρ ρα τροφηρ gb
11:10 παράγαγε – λιμοβεδι ρα (2.4; 42, 3:3-4) πριβεδι gb
11:10 πονηρίαν – ζαλάσαρ αμ (2.4; 42, 5:3-4) αδρακσταρ gb
12:1 τοῦ κτισιστοῦς – σκαδαρακαλόρρα ρα (23; 41, 4:2-5) στραθαρ ρα gb
12:13 τὸν θεόν – γῆ ρα (127; 188, 31-2) βά ρα gb (cf. 5:3-4, 11:9)
Abbreviations

**BLDR:** Biblioteka literatury drevnej Rusi (1. xi-xii veka; iv. xii vek, SPb. 1997).

**GB:** Gennadievskaya Biblija, gim, Synodal collection, № 915, 1499, 1°, 1007 ff., contents: biblical books, Ecclesiastes ff. 437r-443r.

**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, 13th century.

**M:** Pêla (Melissa).

**PA:** Pandects of Antioch.

**PG:** Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca.

**Pg.1:** Pogodinskij i, rnb, Pogodin collection, No 1, Sbornik, first half of 15th century, 1°, 60 ff., contents: Song of Songs with commentary, Discourse of John of Thessalonica, Ecclesiastes (f. 47r-59r).

**RNB:** Rossijskaja Nacional’naja Biblioteka (Sankt-Peterburg).

**RSIL:** Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka (Moscow).

**TODRL:** Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literature, Instituta russkoy literature (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), Alphavitatar’ 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 15th century; they do not give positive support for the existence of a complete translation before the 15th 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.