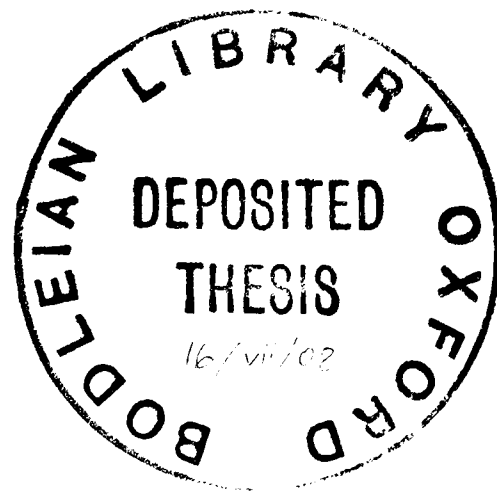


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The Textual History of *Ecclesiastes* in Church Slavonic

Thesis submitted to
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The Textual Tradition of *Ecclesiastes* in Church Slavonic.

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Long abstract.

So far only a limited number of biblical books in Church Slavonic has been studied and edited, and the book of *Ecclesiastes* does not feature among these. *Ecclesiastes* is not a mainstream book such as the *Gospels* and the *Psalter* but rather a peripheral biblical text never used in Eastern Orthodox liturgical services. Its late date and small number of witnesses, which also reflect its marginal status, are additional reasons why this particular book has not attracted much scholarly attention in the past. This thesis is intended to contribute to studies in the history of the Church Slavonic Bible by editing the unpublished text of *Ecclesiastes* including its catenary versions and discussing its textual tradition.

Ecclesiastes surfaces as a complete text relatively late: the earliest extant Cyrillic manuscripts are from the 15th century. Such a late date may be an indication that there was no pressing need for translating the non-liturgical book of *Ecclesiastes*. Two Church Slavonic translations of *Ecclesiastes* are extant: one, attested in Cyrillic manuscripts, survives in three distinct types: a continuous version of the text (32 manuscripts of the 15th-17th centuries), a fragmentary commentated version (1 manuscript of the 16th century), a fragmentary commentated insertion (8 manuscripts of the 15th-16th centuries). The other translation is a Croatian Church Slavonic version in Glagolitic breviaries (17 manuscripts of the 13th-16th centuries).

The structure of the thesis is determined by the nature of the subject, which deals with textual criticism. The chapters are organised into a series of sections which all have headings. This somewhat 'atomistic' approach is necessitated by the fact that we are faced with fragmentary and incomplete evidence of manuscript sources, and therefore only detailed examination and comparison of various manuscripts and versions of the text will enable us to solve, at least in part, the textual history of the book in question. The limitations of the present study are the scarcity of manuscripts and the lateness of the

tradition. These, however, are familiar ‘obstacles’ recognised by Slavists working on similar subjects.

The thesis consists of an introduction, which presents a brief historical outline of the Church Slavonic biblical translations, 4 chapters, conclusion, bibliography and 2 appendices: the first of these contains a variorum edition of the continuous text of *Ecclesiastes*; the second, the parallel texts from continuous, commentated and interpolated versions.

Chapter 1 gives a list of all the extant manuscripts of *Ecclesiastes* with short descriptions including dating (on palaeographical grounds), and investigates the textual relationships between various groups of manuscripts using the classical method of textual criticism and stemmatics. This leads on to a discussion of the type of edition to be used. At the end of the chapter a *stemma codicum* is constructed. Analysis of the language is carried out in an attempt to date the translation on linguistic grounds.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the Greek and Slavonic catena and explores some of the key issues arising out of the existence of several versions and early fragments of *Ecclesiastes*. It deals with problems concerning the date and place of the translation of *Ecclesiastes*. Detailed analysis sheds some light on the textual peculiarities of the three versions: commentated, interpolated and continuous. The complex interrelationship between these three versions is investigated further and a comparison with the earlier extant fragments of the catena is also carried out.

Chapter 3 deals with the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in early translated texts and in original Old Russian 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. However, the quotations prove that parts of *Ecclesiastes* were known in some form of exegetical compilations.

Chapter 4 investigates the translation of *Ecclesiastes* in the Croatian Church Slavonic breviary tradition. It examines claims made by scholars in the past and present with regards to its authorship and to the language of the source from which this text was translated. The conclusion is drawn that the text was translated purely from Latin. This conclusion is based on a number of findings: errors of translation, divergences in wording

and grammatical forms between the Croat Glagolitic and Cyrillic Church Slavonic texts, and certain syntactical constructions such as periphrastic expressions for the future, which point unambiguously to a Latin original. In addition the date of the translation is placed roughly between the 12th and the 13th centuries.

The conclusions summarize the findings of the study: textual analysis of the continuous text of *Ecclesiastes* indicates that all the extant Cyrillic manuscripts come from a single translation; this translation was made at some time between the 10th century and the beginning of the 15th century. Commentated and interpolated versions should be treated as redactions deriving from a fuller catena. This fuller catena may have given rise to the continuous text through the removal of the commentary. Alternatively, the original plain text may have been added to the newly translated commentary to produce a commentated version. Bearing in mind that it is hard to decide conclusively between these possibilities, the difficulties of reconstructing archetypes of the plain text and the commentary are shown. The investigation of the text in the Croatian tradition demonstrates that the translation in the breviaries was made from Latin, and thereby eliminates the hypothesis that Methodius was the translator of this version.

GB is chosen as a base text for the edition in Appendix 1. The main reason for doing so is pragmatic, for it offers as complete a text as is available to us. Besides, the availability of information on the cultural and historical circumstances surrounding the production of GB, in addition to its importance for the history of the East Slavonic biblical tradition makes it more worthwhile. By publishing the text from manuscript Sinodal'nyj 915 (GB) with a critical apparatus, supplying variants from other manuscripts, the editorial 'control' which the compilers of GB exercised while working with the text translated from Greek is illustrated. They appear to have compared their exemplar with another Slavonic witness to fill a lacuna in the middle of the text, and they shortened the interpolation by removing the commentary. It seems that they deliberately left the biblical verses in the interpolation intact. The textual evidence does not support the supposition that the compilers of GB collated their text of *Ecclesiastes* with any Greek or Latin sources. The choice of GB for the edition constitutes a significant step towards wider research into and eventual publication of the Gennadian Bible, which has

received little attention hitherto, despite its significance as the first complete Church Slavonic Bible.

In appendix 2 three versions of *Ecclesiastes* are presented in a tabular form: the continuous version is taken from the manuscript Sinodal'nyj 915 (GB), the commentated version from the manuscript Undol'skij 13, and the interpolated version from the manuscript Pogodinskij 1 with variant readings from the manuscripts of group 1.

In the thesis several new findings are presented. These are: the absence of any link between the versions of *Ecclesiastes* in the Cyrillic and in the Glagolitic manuscripts, and the implausibility of a Methodian origin for the Croatian Church Slavonic text. Our review of evidence from quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in other sources shows that they do not give positive support for the existence of a complete translation before the 15th century. The edition locates the GB version textologically and shows that it is a conflation of two branches of the tradition.

This study of *Ecclesiastes* shows that certain views of the history of the text are untenable, fills a lacuna in the investigation of the Church Slavonic biblical translations, and will contribute to the eventual production of a complete critical edition of the text.

Abstract.

This thesis is intended as a contribution to studies in the history of the Church Slavonic Bible by editing the unpublished text of *Ecclesiastes* and discussing its textual tradition. Two Church Slavonic translations of *Ecclesiastes* are extant: one, attested in Cyrillic manuscripts, survives in three distinct types: a continuous version of the text, a fragmentary commentated version, a fragmentary commentated insertion. The other translation is a Croatian Church Slavonic version in Glagolitic breviaries.

The thesis consists of an introduction, 4 chapters, conclusion, a bibliography and 2 appendices: the first appendix contains an edition with the critical apparatus of the continuous text of *Ecclesiastes*, the second the parallel texts from continuous, commentated and interpolated versions.

The introduction presents a brief historical outline of the Church Slavonic biblical translations. In Chapter 1 short descriptions of all known Cyrillic manuscripts are given, followed by an investigation of the textual relationships between various groups of manuscripts. This leads on to a discussion of the type of edition to be used in the present study. At the end of the chapter a *stemma codicum* is constructed. In Chapter 2 an examination of the three versions (continuous, commentated and interpolated) is carried out. In Chapter 3 quotations from the book of *Ecclesiastes* in early translated texts and in original Old Russian literature are investigated. In Chapter 4, the version of *Ecclesiastes* in Croat Glagolitic breviaries is examined.

The conclusions summarize the findings of the study: the textual analysis of the continuous text of *Ecclesiastes* indicates that all the extant Cyrillic manuscripts come from a single translation; this translation was made at some time between the 10th century and the beginning of the 15th century. The investigation of the text in the Croatian tradition demonstrates that the translation in breviaries was made from Latin, and so eliminates the hypothesis that Methodius was the translator of this version.

This study of *Ecclesiastes* fills a lacuna in the investigation of the Church Slavonic OT translations, and will contribute to the eventual production of a complete critical edition of this book.

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List of abbreviations.

A - codex Alexandrinus

acc. - accusative

act. - active

AKD – avtoreferat kandidatskoj dissertacii

Ald. – Aldine Bible of 1518 (in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons)

Alex. - codex Alexandrinus edited by Grabe (in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons)

B - codex Vaticanus

BAN – Library of Academy of Sciences

BDB - *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* edited by Brown, Driver and Briggs (see the appended bibliography)

CBAN – Central Library of Academy of Sciences (Kiev)

II Chron. – II Chronicles

Compl. – Complutensian Polyglott Bible of Cardinal Ximenes 1514-1517 (in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons)

CPG – Clavis Patrum Graecorum

DPS - Dopolnenija k predvaritel'nomu spisku

EccP – Ecclesiastes, plain text

EccC – Ecclesiastes, commentated text

EccI – Ecclesiastes, interpolated text

f. - feminine

GB – Gennadian Bible (1499)

gen. - genitive

GIM – State Historical Museum

gr.- group

Gr. - Graeca

HP – Holmes and Parsons

ind. - indicative

Izb. - Izbornik

Lab. – breviarium Labacense

LLP – Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae

LXX – Septuagint

M – Pčela

II Macc. – II Maccabees

MDA – Moscow Theological Academy

MS – manuscript

MSS – manuscripts

MT – Masoretic text

N 1, 2 – manuscripts Novianum 1, 2

NT – New Testament

OCS – Old Church Slavonic

OR – otdel rukopisej

OT – Old Testament

p.- person

PA – Pandects of Antioch

pass. - passive

perf. - perfect

PG – Patrologia Graeca

pl. - plural

Pr – manuscript of Congregatio Propagandae Fidei Illyricum now *codex Borgianus illiricus 5* in the Vatican Library

praes. – present tense

PS – Predvaritel'nyj spisok

RNB – Russian National Library

RO – rukopisnyj otdel

RSL – Russian State Library

S – codex Sinaiticus

s., sing. – singular

Vat. – breviarium Vaticanum

Introduction.

This study aims to provide insight into the textual history of the Church Slavonic translation of the biblical book *Ecclesiastes*. Prior to discussing *Ecclesiastes* itself a brief historical outline of the Church Slavonic translations of OT books in general needs to be given.

Corpus of Biblical books in Church Slavonic.

Written sources suggest that there was an Old Church Slavonic translation of the whole Bible in the 9th century. It is assumed that liturgical books were translated by Cyril and Methodius during the early Moravian period, continuous books were translated by Methodius shortly before his death also in Moravia¹ and books with commentaries appeared at a later stage (in Bulgaria in the 10th century).² This hypothesis, however, is not fully proven and is not unanimously accepted.³

Church Slavonic biblical books and their translation and transmission were for the most part shaped by liturgical use or the absence of it. Hence, not only historical information but also common sense prompts us to conclude that the first texts needed for religious services among the Slavs were the *Gospel Lectionary*, the *Epistle Lectionary*, and the *Psalter*. For the *Gospels*, the *Epistle*, and *Psalter* a full translation is attested, and they have a long and complicated textual history. The entire *Psalter* is necessary for celebrating the liturgy in the Orthodox Church; all other biblical texts can be drawn from *Lectionaries* and the *Prophetologium*⁴ arranged in order of their use during the liturgical year. Given this situation, it is fair to surmise that the language and the vocabulary of the *Prophetologium* are earlier than the translations of complete Biblical books.⁵

¹ In Chapter 15 of the *Life of Methodius* it is stated that he translated the whole of the Bible apart from *Maccabees*. There is also the testimony of the Bulgarian writer of the 10th century John the Exarch, who in his preface to the translation of John Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa* indicates on the basis of hearsay that Methodius translated all the sixty canonical books of the Bible. See Lavrov, 1934:160.

² Evseev, 1905: IX-XXXVIII, Vajs, 1910.

³ Thomson, 1998:719.

⁴ See the recent critical edition of the Grigorovičev parimejnik by Ribarova and Hauptová, 1998.

⁵ Mixajlov, 1912: CCCII

Scholars try to assign translations of biblical books to different historical periods. But at present scholarship cannot with certainty date or locate these translations because we do not have a complete Bible translation by Methodius.⁶ What we have extant from the early period are *Gospels*, *Psalter*, the *Prophetologium* and some commentated books, while other books are attested later. All this makes the manuscript tradition of the Church Slavonic Bible fragmentary and difficult to work on. Since not all OT books have been studied and edited, scholars continue to work on various books but the evidence is still very fragmentary.

No complete codex of biblical books in Church Slavonic is extant before the 15th century. Even in Byzantium codices of the complete Bible were rare, as they were expensive and were produced as special gifts for monasteries. There had been attempts among the Slavs to compile a fuller bible prior to the end of 15th century. The earliest known collection of biblical books which had previously been in separate manuscripts was made in 14th century Bulgaria. MS F.1.461 in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg containing 1-2 *Samuel*, 1-2 *Kings*,⁷ *Prophets*, *Proverbs*, *Song of Songs*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Job* is an example of such compilation.

In 1499, Archbishop Gennadij of Novgorod accomplished the compilation of the entire Bible. For the books that could not be found, new translations were made from Latin. Thus the Gennadian Bible contains books translated not only in different periods but also from different languages. It is pertinent for this study as it contains one of the extant versions of *Ecclesiastes*. Moreover, the Gennadian Bible became an important text to serve as a basis for subsequent revisions.⁸

⁶ It is hard to imagine that Methodius' entire Bible was copied many times during his life and that the disciples of Cyril and Methodius carried with them into exile heavy parchment manuscripts. Nowadays scholars tend to think that Methodius' entire biblical translation did not reach Bulgaria. Even if parts of it reached Bulgaria, they may well have been revised. Cf. Thomson, 1998:646 and Thomson, 1999:149-64.

⁷ To avoid confusion the English titles and numbering of the biblical books are used in all instances. In this I follow the established practice, cf. Thomson, 1998:698, footnote 485.

⁸ Thomson, 1998: 665.

Investigations of OT books.

It is not my intention here to give a detailed examination of Church Slavonic Old Testament studies since this has been provided recently by Francis Thomson (1998: 605-920) and Anatolij Alekseev (1999). However, I shall mention several works relevant to the history of the Church Slavonic Bible. The beginning of Russian scholarship with regard to the Slavonic Bible is connected with the publication in 1855 of the first volume of 'Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki' by Gorskij and Nevostruev. They gave a detailed description of the Gennadian Bible (1499) and other Church Slavonic MSS and compared these with the Greek originals. Their observations continue to be of interest to modern scholars.

The Commission for the Critical Edition of the Slavonic Bible, founded in 1915 and inspired by the Göttingen production of a critical edition of the Septuagint, aimed to produce an edition of the Church Slavonic Bible within fifty years. The chairman of the Commission, I. E. Evseev, compiled an inventory of Church Slavonic OT manuscripts and distributed the work among various scholars. *Ecclesiastes* was to be prepared for publication by X. M. Loparev.⁹ Another prominent member of the Commission was A. M. Mixajlov who wrote his dissertation on the textual tradition of the book of *Genesis*. He also studied the Croat Glagolitic texts as sources for the history of the Slavonic Bible. Evseev and Mixajlov identified and studied translations of OT books made during the 'golden age' of Bulgarian literary culture in the 10th century. Members of the Commission wanted to invite Joseph Vajs, the famous authority on the Croat Glagolitic liturgical texts, to join their ranks, but sadly historical events intervened.

Vajs made important contributions to the publication and study of Croatian Church Slavonic biblical texts. He initiated the series *Analecta Sacrae Scripturae* for which he edited several OT books from Croat Glagolitic sources: *Job*, *Ruth*, *Ecclesiastes*, and several of the *Minor Prophets*. In the last 20 years scholars have resumed textual studies of several OT books which in the past had already been investigated. Among these are studies of the *Psalter* by E. V. Češko, I. Karačorova and C. M. MacRobert, *Octateuch*

⁹ Logačev, 1975: 166-256.

(*Exodus*) by A. A. Pičxadze, *Esther* by Horace Lunt and Moshe Taube, *Minor Prophets* by Rumjana Zlatanova, *Ezekiel* with commentaries by L. Taseva and M. Jovčeva.

At the same time they have scrutinised previously unstudied biblical books; to give but a few examples, the investigation of *Job* by E.V. Afanas'eva and A. Zaradija Kiš and the *Song of Songs* by A. A. Alekseev. None of these scholars has focused on the book *Ecclesiastes*. Even so, their research is helpful in providing background information for my present study.

Books not used liturgically in the Eastern Orthodox tradition.

The non-liturgical book *Ruth* found in the Croat Glagolitic breviary may be an early Bulgarian translation.¹⁰ What the case of *Ruth* tells us is that it is not altogether impossible that a translation of a non-liturgical book was made prior to or around the 10th century. However, results obtained from the study of one particular biblical book cannot be automatically extended to another book. Each book has its own history. And therefore we cannot assume that a 10th century translation of *Ecclesiastes* was also made.

Attention should be drawn to some of the texts that seem parallel: two other OT books, the *Song of Songs* and *Esther*, like *Ecclesiastes*, are examples of non-liturgical texts. Like *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther* is extant only in late East Slavonic manuscripts, and since we find both *Esther* and *Ecclesiastes* in later manuscripts we do not have evidence for their earlier existence in South Slavonic tradition.¹¹ The question as to when the Church Slavonic translation of *Esther* was made is still an open one.¹² The *Song of Songs*, however, (closer to *Ecclesiastes* by virtue of its inclusion in the *Sapiential* collection), is attested, in its continuous text, in the South Slavonic tradition and in its

¹⁰ Vajs, 1905.

¹¹ For *Ecclesiastes*, however, there is some evidence of its existence prior to the 13th century in the form of the Croatian Church Slavonic translation found in Croat Glagolitic breviaries. (This translation will be discussed in chapter 4).

¹² While Meščerskij (1956: 198-219) and Alekseev (1988: 154-96) are in favour of a translation of *Esther* from Hebrew into Russian Church Slavonic made in Kievan Russia, Lunt and Taube (1998) are of the contrary opinion that the translation was made from Greek and at a later date. Thomson (1998:788) supports the view of Lunt and Taube with regard to its dating, saying that if the Ruthenisms in the text were in the original translation and are not the result of later scribal activity then the translation can be dated to the 14th century. If the Ruthenisms are secondary, then the early linguistic features indicate an early

exegetical version only in the East Slavonic manuscripts. It is debatable whether these exegetical versions were produced by East Slavs, which might imply the existence of a school of translation in 12th century Kievan Rus'.¹³ Many swords have been broken over this issue, and I have nothing to add to the debate at present. On the whole, I would not exclude the possibility of *Ecclesiastes* having been translated by East Slavs.

The book of *Ecclesiastes*.

The Hebrew original and its early translations.

Ecclesiastes is a book of wisdom writing in the OT of the Bible, a philosophical essay on the meaning of human life. The Greek title is a rendering of Hebrew *Qohelet*, which is generally translated as 'preacher', but the precise meaning is not clear. The author identifies himself at the beginning as the son of David, king of Jerusalem, and by implication the book of *Ecclesiastes* has traditionally been ascribed to the Israelite king Solomon. *Qohelet* is one of the mysterious books of the Bible.¹⁴ It is claimed that the book was written around 300 BC, but scholars still disagree about its origin, language, and literary genre.

It is now accepted that the Greek bible translation may have been associated if not directly with Aquila, then with a translator of his school, since it is a very literalistic translation which retains certain features of its Hebrew original such as *οὐν* representing the Hebrew accusative particle, and followed by an accusative in Greek.¹⁵ Rahlfs admitted that the Greek of *Ecclesiastes* is so strange that it probably suffered badly in transmission, as scribes tried to make sense of impossible constructions.¹⁶

There are also various other translations: Vetus Itala, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, etc. The Latin translation of the Vulgate was apparently made by Jerome from

Bulgarian origin prior to the 11th century. Cf. also the conclusions of Lysen (2000), the comments on the subject by Peresvetoff-Morath (2002:73-8) and the latest article by Alekseev (2003:185-214).

¹³ A view advocated by Meščerskij and Alekseev, cf. the previous footnote.

¹⁴ Bickerman, 1968.

¹⁵ Aquila is known as a representative of the so-called *kaige* recension, which was not a single recension but rather part of a Palestinian trend towards revising parts of Old Greek translations in the direction of MT. This tendency became more and more compelling and culminated in the revision of Aquila in the 11 AD. See Wevers, 1996:90.

¹⁶ Rahlfs tried to reconstruct an 'original' text of the Greek *Ecclesiastes*, using the Hebrew to correct the Greek of the manuscript tradition, often along the lines suggested by Lagarde, see Hall, 1993: 2.

the Hebrew. Though *Ecclesiastes* was not often quoted by early Christian writers, it was frequently commented on.¹⁷

The Greek manuscript tradition and editions of *Ecclesiastes*.

In the Byzantine tradition the book of *Ecclesiastes* is known in both plain and exegetical versions. In total there are approximately a hundred extant manuscripts of *Ecclesiastes* dating from about 300 AD to the 17th century. Among the extant copies are 5 papyri as well as 6 manuscripts written in uncial and about 92 manuscripts written in minuscule.

Unfortunately the manuscript tradition of *Ecclesiastes* remains largely unexplored and there is no comprehensive edition of this book yet. Currently it is in preparation under the auspices of Septuaginta Unternehmen in Göttingen. In the absence of the new critical edition this study employs extant editions of *Ecclesiastes* as follows: for the plain Greek text I have used Rahlfs's 1979 edition of the Septuagint. I have also made use of Grabe's 1707-20 edition of the Codex Alexandrinus. However, Rahlfs's edition does not explain all the readings of the Church Slavonic translation. For the textual variations from Rahlfs's text I have used the edition of Holmes and Parsons (1798-1827). Their main text is based on the codex Vaticanus of the 4th century according to the Sixtine edition of 1587. In their critical apparatus for the book of *Ecclesiastes* Holmes and Parsons used variant readings from 18 manuscripts of the 5th–15th centuries, from printed editions of the Greek Bible, namely Aldine (1518), Complutensian (1514-17), and Alexandrine (in Grabe's edition of 1707-20), as well as quotations from Church Fathers.

In their edition Holmes and Parsons employed Latin numbers to denote the manuscripts written in uncial and Arabic numerals for those in minuscule. Their numeral system was adopted by Rahlfs with some changes and alterations. The alterations were necessitated by certain inaccuracies in the classification of manuscripts by Holmes and Parsons. Some of their minuscules were in reality uncials, and manuscript 23 could be given as an example of such wrong classification. It is not in minuscule but in uncial, codex Venetus of the 8th–9th centuries from Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. Changes

¹⁷ Starowieyski (1993: 405-40) lists in his article all known ancient commentaries with their editions and studies.

introduced by Rahlfs included the use of capitals of the Roman alphabet for the uncials. Thus he designated manuscript 23 as V and MS III (Codex Alexandrinus of the 5th century from the Library of the British Museum) as A. These changes allowed the well-established numbers of Holmes and Parsons to stand despite a few alterations. The notation for minuscules is still retained by scholars today and the normal and standard procedure is to use Rahlfs's correlated numbers which are often the same as those of Holmes and Parsons.¹⁸

Several commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* exist,¹⁹ but here I shall concentrate on one in particular, the Commentary by Olympiodorus of Alexandria, since it is believed to be the possible source of the Church Slavonic translation of the catena.²⁰ There are 21 manuscripts containing Olympiodorus' Commentary which are known to the scholarly public.²¹

For the commentated text of *Ecclesiastes* I have used Migne's edition of Olympiodorus' Commentary published in PG, vol. 93, 477-628, a reprint of Fronton du Duc's 1624 edition. In addition to Migne I have made use of the most recent edition of Olympiodorus' Commentary produced by Theodora Boli.²² As references will be made to this edition later on in my thesis it is appropriate to provide the reader with a short overview of it here.

New edition of Olympiodorus' Commentary by Theodora Boli.

Boli has produced an edition with a critical apparatus providing a hypothetical reconstruction of the original text based on the ten manuscripts she used. While Migne based his edition on two manuscripts, Paris gr. 174, 10-11 century (siglum B in Boli's

¹⁸ From here on I use siglum A for the codex Alexandrinus but retain both siglum V and number 23 for the single manuscript, codex Venetus. With the exception of these two the rest of the designation for manuscripts used by Holmes and Parsons remains the same. For correlation between numbers used by Holmes-Parsons and Rahlfs I have used the table in Jellicoe, 1968:221-2.

¹⁹ A discussion of the commentaries is on pages 100-1.

²⁰ See Alekseev, 1988: 186.

²¹ For the list of existing manuscripts of Olympiodorus see the appended microfiche in Sinkewicz, 1992.

²² I am grateful to Professor D. Hagedorn of Heidelberg University for providing me with the edition of T. Boli.

list) and Paris gr. 175, 14 century (siglum H in Boli's list), which contain a shorter version of the commentary, Boli in addition to these two manuscripts used manuscripts which offer a longer version of Olympiodorus' commentary. In a short preface to her edition she gives a list of these manuscripts with sigla. They are as follows: Marcianus gr. 22, 12-13 century (A); Paris gr. 153, 10-11 century (Γ); Flor. Laur. Plut. X 29, 13-14 century (Δ); Genua Durazzo-Giustiniani A.I.10, 9-10 century (E); Marcianus gr. 23, 10-11 century (Z); Vatic. Ottob. gr.75, 16-17 century (Θ); Athos, M. Lauras MS gr. Gamma 38, 14 century (I); Athos, M. Iberon Ms. gr. 614, 13 century (K). Thus altogether Boli has used 10 manuscripts out of 21 listed by Sinkewicz. The remaining manuscripts were either copies of the ones which she already had or were unavailable to her.

Boli constructs the *stemma codicum* and discusses the textual relationships among these 10 manuscripts. They are divided into groups. One group is formed by manuscripts BHΘ, i.e. the shorter version. Within the other group of manuscripts ΑΓΔΕΖΙΚ belonging to the longer version Boli separates manuscripts ΑΓΖ from the rest on the basis of common variant readings. She sets apart manuscript E, which has a number of individual readings and additions, from the remaining manuscripts ΔΙΚ. Boli distinguishes manuscripts ΔΙΚ, for they contain many common readings such as ὁ θεῖος δὲ vs. ὁ δὲ θεῖος in the comment to verse 1:8, παρεκτενόμενα vs. συμπαραεκτενόμενα in the comment to verse 1:9, δόξης vs. γνώσεως in the comment to verse 1:18. These common readings are all indicated as found in the commentary rather than the biblical text itself.

When considering the textual tradition of Olympiodorus' commentary there is an important issue to remember: the relationship among the manuscripts based upon the commentary may or may not be the same as the relationship represented by the biblical text of the commentary. It is fully possible that these are two distinct and separate textual traditions. However, my observation of the texts leads me to believe that the biblical text accompanied by Olympiodorus' commentary does not have a separate tradition.

Comparison of the biblical text in Rahlfs's edition with the one in Boli's edition reveals that the two texts remain close. The differences between them amount to mostly low level variation such as absence or presence of articles, particles, differences in cases, etc. It seems to me that on various occasions the text in Rahlfs's edition is closer to the Greek manuscripts ΔΕΙΚ, two of which come from Athos. The following examples (all of

which are of minor variation) are sufficient to show their proximity. In 8:14 the form of εἶπα in the text of Rahlfs is the same in ΔΕΙΚ, while in the reconstructed text of Olympiodorus we read εἶπον. In 10:6 in Rahlfs's text we have prepositional phrase ἐν ὑψέσσι and the same in ΔΕΙΚ, while in the reconstructed text of Olympiodorus the preposition is omitted. In 9:8 in the text of Rahlfs the article τὰ before the noun ἰμάτια is omitted (it is cited in his critical apparatus as belonging to S); it is also omitted in ΔΕΙΚ, while in the reconstructed text of Olympiodorus the article is present. This issue should be further researched by the editors of the Greek *Ecclesiastes*, and when the new edition of *Ecclesiastes* is published, we will be in a better position to determine the relationship of the biblical text to the commentary.

My primary interest in the Greek text is in its relationship to the Church Slavonic translation. In my thesis I shall be addressing three main questions: 1. can a relationship be discerned between the Church Slavonic version and some specific part of the Greek tradition? 2. Are there any differences between the biblical text in the plain version and the biblical text in the commentated versions which go back to Greek variants? 3. Is there any secondary correction against Greek in individual Slavonic manuscripts, that is to say, do any of the variants found in these go back to Greek variants?

The Church Slavonic translations.

The Church Slavonic translations of *Ecclesiastes* survive in four distinct types: 1. a Cyrillic continuous version of the text (32 MSS of the 15th -17th centuries), 2. a Cyrillic fragmentary commentated version of the text (1 MS of the 16th century), 3. a Cyrillic fragmentary commentated insertion (8 MSS of the 15th -16th centuries), 4. a Croatian Church Slavonic version in Glagolitic Breviaries (17 MSS of the 13th-16th centuries).

There are two translations of the book of *Ecclesiastes*, one from Greek and one from Latin. The former is preserved in East Slavonic Cyrillic manuscripts, the latter is to be found in the Croatian Glagolitic Breviaries²³ (this translation is discussed in chapter 4). The evidence for 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*. *Ecclesiastes* surfaces as a complete text more or less late, the earliest extant Cyrillic MSS are of the 15th century. Prior to this we have only several commentated passages in an Izbornik of the 13th century and a number of quotations from this book in early Slavonic translated and original literature. A Church Slavonic translation was made at some time before the 15th century, but the exact time and place are not known. The situation is no clearer when one looks at the South Slavonic tradition, i. e. Croatian Church Slavonic. In this tradition we find *Ecclesiastes* included in the Croat Glagolitic Breviary according to the Roman rite.

As it is clear that the version of *Ecclesiastes* extant in East Slavonic manuscripts was translated from Greek not Latin, it is automatically excluded from the books translated from Latin for the Gennadian Bible. As the Gennadian Bible is a product of East Slavonic scholarship, then the book of *Ecclesiastes* must have existed in the East Slavonic tradition prior to its inclusion. But it is hard to be more precise at this stage.

Convoy.

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 the stable 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 MSS from 9-15th centuries, sometimes accompanied by the books of *Prophets*.²⁴ We see a similar pattern in the extant East Slavonic MSS where *Ecclesiastes* is found with the same convoy, sometimes with the addition of the book *Menander*.

One might reasonably expect that *Ecclesiastes* would be included in the *Sapiential* collection in South Slavonic manuscripts, but puzzlingly, *Ecclesiastes* is not present among them. For example, the well-known manuscript RNB, F.I.461 of the late 14th

²³ Cf. Vajs, 1910: 34.

²⁴ Information on Greek manuscripts is taken from Rahlfs, 1914: 410-14.

century, the so-called South Slavonic Bible, does not contain *Ecclesiastes*, though it contains other *Sapiential* books: *Proverbs*, *Song of Songs*, *Wisdom of Sirach*, and *Job*. This raises the question of whether it was translated in the South Slavonic lands but did not survive there, or whether *Ecclesiastes* was translated exclusively in the East Slavonic area.

The catenary version.

The Church Slavonic *Ecclesiastes* has survived in two forms in the East Slavonic tradition: as a plain text and a text with commentary. Although in the Byzantine tradition a number of commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* are known, none of these can be identified as a direct source for this Church Slavonic catena, which is extant only in fragments.²⁵ The Church Slavonic catena is predominantly based on the *Commentaries* of Olympiodorus of Alexandria (PG, 93).

It is known that a number of texts with commentaries were produced in Bulgaria in the 10th century and survived in East Slavonic copies. These include: the commentary of Hippolytus of Rome on the book of *Daniel* found in a 13th century manuscript; the books of the *Prophets* with commentaries, extant in a large number of later manuscripts of the 15-17th centuries, which can be traced back to an 11th century manuscript, copied from a South Slavonic exemplar;²⁶ Theodoret of Cyrillus' commentary on the Psalms, which is extant in a number of manuscripts, the oldest being an East Slavonic copy from the 11th century;²⁷ the catena on the *Song of Songs* compiled from the commentaries by Hippolytus of Rome, Gregory of Nyssa, and Procopius of Gaza, preserved in thirty-one manuscripts, the oldest of the 13th century; and the earliest copy of the Church Slavonic translation of the Commentary on the book of *Job* by Olympiodorus of Alexandria, dating from the end of the 14th century. Non-commentated versions were sometimes extracted from the commentated ones; for example, the text of *Job* was extrapolated twice from the catena: the first extrapolation is found in South Slavonic manuscripts, the

²⁵ For the list of commentaries I have consulted CPG and the article of Starowieyski, 1993:405-40.

²⁶ Tunickij, 1918.

second extrapolation was made by the compilers of the Gennadian Bible.²⁸ Since such extrapolations are known for other books including *Job*, we may entertain the possibility that this also happened in the case of *Ecclesiastes*.

If we assume that the majority of these texts were also circulating amongst the East Slavs in the 12- 15th centuries, then it is possible that *Ecclesiastes* is another example of such a text. But as all the extant manuscripts of the book are of late date (15-16th centuries) and the textual tradition appears to be late (see chapter 1) it is difficult to say when the text appeared and whether there was any revision prior to this.

Such revision of biblical books among the Slavs was not unusual and was normally done by consulting the Greek originals or by collating the available Slavonic copies. For example, this was often done with books used for liturgical purposes such as the *Psalter*. The extent to which *Ecclesiastes*, a non-liturgical text, was checked against the Greek remains to be established.

²⁷ See Pogorelov, 1910.

²⁸ Thomson, 1998: 794-5.

Chapter 1.

Comparison of Cyrillic manuscripts.

It is known that medieval texts underwent modifications during copying, either accidental, when a scribe inadvertently made a slip in copying a source text, or deliberate, when a scribe consciously changed a source text in order to correct what he believed to be an error or to improve it. The evolution of orthographical and linguistic norms was one of the reasons lying behind conscious changes. A scribe could change a word if he considered it inappropriate and replace it with a different variant or a synonym. Scribes might introduce some changes while working with one or two manuscripts of the same text or after consulting Greek manuscripts. The ubiquitous and familiar text of the *Psalter* underwent such changes. Scribes who knew this text by heart could introduce changes because they knew better or thought that they knew better, or were more familiar with the older wording.

But *Ecclesiastes* probably did not belong to the type of text which they knew by heart, and therefore in copying they had to pay far closer attention to their exemplars. Even very attentive and careful scribes could produce mechanical errors, and one can see examples of such errors in any manuscript tradition of Church Slavonic texts. Thus we must expect a number of scribal errors in manuscripts of *Ecclesiastes*.

My task is to establish from the evidence of the manuscripts which are available to me the transmitted text or the *paradosis*; this term was used by Martin West as ‘a convenient term meaning the data furnished by the transmission, reduced to essentials’,¹ and has been adopted by Slavists.² In this chapter I first give a brief description of manuscripts, then I turn my attention to the reconstruction of the archetype and the intermediary stages. The conclusions about the archetype will provide grounds for the choice of a particular manuscript for the present edition. At the end of the chapter the *stemma codicum* is given.

¹ West, 1970:53.

² Veder, 1999:14.

The appended description of MSS contains the name of the MS, its present location, date, number in brackets under which the manuscript is listed in 'Predvaritelnyj spisok' and in 'Dopolnenija k predvaritel'nomu spisku'³, format, number of folia, its contents, the folia on which the text of *Ecclesiastes* is found and wherever possible the water mark identification, the abbreviation used to refer to the MS in the dissertation. In order to establish whether extant MSS of *Ecclesiastes* predate the Gennadian Bible, all the water marks were checked irrespective of any published descriptions of the MSS. Where a relevant description of the water marks was available, these were then cross-checked to confirm my own identification to those already made. And only where no relevant literature was available, was my own identification used. In all these cases the folia on which the water marks are found have been noted. The watermarks were identified by reference to standard reference works⁴ and to published descriptions of MSS which include references to water marks. In the latter case I tested several conclusions by cross-referencing existing identifications. As a result I was able to correct the water mark identification and dating in several cases. However, the quality of the paper and the density of the script obscured the outline of some of the water marks, thus making their identification practically impossible to the naked eye.⁵

The book of *Ecclesiastes* is preserved in 33 Cyrillic manuscripts, all of which are of East Slavonic provenance. These manuscripts are written on paper, apart from Pg.1, which is written on parchment. All MSS with the exception of Rumjancevskij 36 are roughly in the same type of hand, i. e. semiuncial.

Their brief descriptions:

1. Pogodinskij 1, RNB, Pogodin collection, No 1, Sbornik, first half of 15 c., (PS 444), 1⁰, 60 ff., contents: Song of Songs with commentary, Discourse of John of Thessalonica, *Ecclesiastes* (f. 47^r-59^r). (Pg.1)⁶

³ 'Predvaritelnyj spisok' and 'Dopolnenija k predvaritel'nomu spisku' do not extend to the 16th century.

⁴ See the list of cited literature.

⁵ It should be noted that working conditions (absence of reference works and table lamps in the manuscript department of RSL) were not ideal for this study.

There is no chapter division. It contains corrections inserted between the lines, and there is one instance of a conflated passage. There are visible signs of overwriting of faded words. The scribe obviously was not a very careful one.

2. Volokolamskij, RSL, Volokolamsk collection 113, N^o 13, OT books, third quarter of 15 c., (PS 1810), 4^o, 261+1 ff., contents: Song of Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff.131^v-145^r), Ecclesiasticus with additions. (Vol.13)

water marks: 1. Small bull with a long trifurcated tail ff. 5, 7, 9 – similar to Lixačev N^o 1020-21 (1455/56), Lixačev N^o 2591-2 (1440-50), Briquet N^o 2783 (1447-52); 2. Bull's head with a shaft between the horns terminating in a seven petalled flower ff. 257, 258 - Lixačev N^o 3486 (1476).

There is chapter division written in the margins, no traces of correction. There are several glosses in the margin.

3. Iosifo-Volokolamskij 605, RSL, Volokolamsk collection 113, N^o 605, Sbornik, last quarter of 15 c., (PS 2645), 4^o, 346 ff, contents: the life of John Chrysostom, the life of Athanasius of Athos, Song of Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 245^r-256^v), Ecclesiasticus, Job. (I-Vol.605)

water marks: 1. Letter P with a quatrefoil above ff. 1,3,7 – Briquet N^o 8660 (1474-5); 2. Bull's head f. 245 – similar to Lixačev N^o 1116-1119 (1466/7); 3. Collared dog ff. 259, 272, 298 (this particular type of dog has not been found).

There is no chapter division; it displays a few minor corrections in the main text and two in the margins. The confused order of verses is caused probably by the wrong binding of folia in the quire in the exemplar.

4. Undol'skij 1, RSL, Undol'skij collection 310, No 1, Sbornik, last quarter of 15 c., (PS

⁶ All Pogodin MSS are described in Tvorogov, O. V. and Zagrebin V. M. eds, 1986.

1799), 1⁰, 476+3 ff., contents: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1-2 Kings, Wisdom of Solomon, Song of Songs with commentary, Ecclesiastes (ff. 296^v-304^r), Esther, articles from Chronograph. (Und.1)

water marks: 1. Three mounts with cross ff. 5, 31 - Lixačev N^o 2683-4 (15 4/4 c); 2. Large letter X with crown and a cross above f. 3 - Lixačev N^o 2679 (15 4/4 c); 3. Bull's head with eyes but no nose and with a double line between the horns with a large crown at midpoint and a six-petalled flower at its extremity f. 1 - Lixačev N^o 2685 (15 4/4 c)⁷; 4. Bull's head with mast and a cross above ff. 20, 186, 189 - similar to Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf* vol. II, part 3, type XI, N^o 227 (1473), 230-35 (1471-80); 5. Crown with cross f. 475 - Lixačev N^o 2686 (15 4/4 c).

There is no chapter division, no traces of correction, the biblical verses are written in red ink in the interpolation.

5. Soloveckij, RNB, Soloveckij collection, No 807/917, Sbornik, last quarter of 15 c.,⁸ 4⁰, 442 ff., contents: Life of Theodosius of the Caves Monastery, The Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Discourse on faith by Gennadius, archbishop of Constantinople, Ecclesiastes (ff. 135^v-149^r), the book Kaaf, short erotapokriseis commentaries on OT, Pseudo-Athanasian Commentary on Psalter, Song of Songs with commentaries, brief erotapokriseis commentaries on Gospels and Apostol, brief commentaries on Solomon's books, Dream of King Jehoash, Discourse of Gregory the Theologian. (Sol.)

water marks: 1. Bull's head ff. 1, 7, 9, 22 – Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf* vol. II, part 3, type XV, N^o 233 (1478-82) and another variant ff. 418, 420, 435 – Piccard, type XVI, N^o 102 (1496-99); 2. Three mounts with a long cross rising from centre, ff. 204, 205, 208 - distorted mark Lixačev N^o 2623 (1460-70); 3. Letter P ff. 211, 213, 219 - Briquet N^o 8692 (1473), another variant of letter P ff. 355, 358, 400 - Briquet N^o

⁷ For comments on this watermark see Simmons, 1994, vol.1:119. See also Kloss, 1971:68.

⁸ MS Sol. is not listed in the PS.

8606 (1470); 4. Letter Y ff. 345, 352 - Briquet N° 9183 (1472); 5. Collared dog with a flower on its back ff. 401, 407, 412 - similar to Briquet N° 3624 (1476-82); the dog's tail is closer to Briquet N° 3623 (1475).

There is no chapter division. The scribe was a careful one. There is one single gloss in the margin.

6. Pogodinskij 78, RNB, Pogodin collection, N° 78, Sbornik, end of 15 c., (PS 443), 4⁰, 76 ff., contents: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (26^v-34^v), Song of Songs, Menander, Ecclesiasticus. (Pg.78)

water marks: 1. Pot ff. 52, 64, 76 - Briquet N° 12478 (1481).

There is no chapter division. The text of 5:16: и вси дѣиѣ его въ тмѣ и плачѣ и въ ѡрости is omitted from the body of the text but inserted in the margins; individual scribal errors of dittography are crossed out: 5:15 недорѣчь, 7:2 сердце.

7. Sbornik of Biblical books, BAN, 33.10.4., end of 15 c., (PS 2495), 1⁰, 316 ff., contents: 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1-2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 123^r-127^r), Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs, 1-2 Maccabees. (MS2)

water marks: 1. Three mounts with serpent-entwined mast and a cross above ff. 6, 7, 46, 126 - similar to Piccard vol. XVI, part 2, type VII, N° 2620 (1480-81).

There is chapter division. The text has minor editorial corrections in the margin and erasure in the main text that indicate comparison of this copy with another Church Slavonic MS.

8. Gennadian Bible, GIM, Synodal collection, No 915, 1499, (PS 336), 1⁰, 1007 ff.,

contents: biblical books, Ecclesiastes ff. 437^r-443^r (GB) ⁹

water marks: 1. Bull's head with a cross and an entwined serpent ff. 1-16 (Introduction), 972-8 - Lixačev N^o 1279 (1499), another variant as preceding but with the monogram - Lixačev N^o 1280 (1499); 2. Large and wide tall crown ff. 15, 979-86 - Lixačev N^o 1287 (1499), cf. Briquet N^o 4902 variants (1480); 3. Small sphere with the letters I and B on either side surmounted by a fleur-de-lis ff. 1-16 - Lixačev N^o 1288 (16 2/2 c), cf. Briquet N^o 14056 (1548-52); 4. Large pot with a cross ff. 1-971 - Lixačev N^o 1287 (1499), cf. Briquet N^o 12481-6 (1468-1515). The main text is separately foliated. The water mark in it is large pot except for the inserted f. 913 which has a bull's head. It follows then that an initial stock of possibly French paper was used which had the pot water mark and when this was exhausted further paper with the bull's head and tall crown was bought. A sheet of paper used in the binding contains N^o 1288 which shows that the MS was rebound in the second half of the 16 century.

There is chapter division. The text has glosses and insertions in the margins.

9. Arxangel'skij, BAN, Arxangel'skij collection, N^o 3, Sbornik, end of 15–beginning of 16 c., (PS 2496), 4^o, 135 ff., contents: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (53^v-69^r), Song of Songs, Hosea, Jonah, Amos, Nahum, Obadiah, several small articles, letter of Gennadius about the coming of Christ; ff. 64 and 71 are missing (the first and the last of the 9th gathering). (Arx.)

water marks: 1. Bull's head with a serpent-entwined shaft above, ending in a cross ff. 3, 7, 9 – Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf*, vol. II, part 3, type XVI, N^o 204 (1498); 2. Gloved hand gauntleted under a star ff. 80, 83, 105 – Briquet N^o 11154 (1482); 3. Circle with

⁹ For codicological description of GB see Levočkin, 1985:90-6. In his article he does not make his own inspection of the water marks but refers to Lixačev's identification. I have not been able to inspect the manuscript and the water marks but used comments in Simmons (1994, vol.1, 54). It would be desirable to inspect all the water marks in GB afresh.

a vertical mast ff. 119, 124, 125 – similar to Briquet N° 3056-58, 3061 (1492-1503);
4. Crown ff. 112, 115, 116 – Piccard, Kronen, vol.1, type XIII, N° 5 (1497-1502).

There is chapter division written in the margins. It has a number of individual omissions, scribal blunders, corruptions and a lacuna 8:8-8:17 because of a missing folio. There are no traces of any correction.

10. Čertkovskij, Čertkov collection, N° 192, GIM, Sbornik of biblical books, end of 15-
beginning of 16 c., (DPS 245), 4⁰, 185 ff., contents: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 63^r-
81^r), Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus, Menander.

water marks: 1. Cross ff. 181, 183 – Briquet N° 5709 (1499); 2. Letter P with
quatrefoil ff. 113, 115, 116 – Briquet N° 8669 (1486), another variant ff. 98, 105, 110
- Briquet N° 8672 (1489-90); 3. Letter B ff. 3, 17, 82 – Briquet N° 8033 (1487); 4.
Cross ff. 164, 181, 183 - Briquet N° 5710 (1500).

There are no chapter divisions in the text.

11. Trinity – Sergius Lavra 730, RSL, Trinity – Sergius Lavra collection N° 730, Paleja
with additions, end of 15 - first half of 16 c., ¹⁰ 4⁰, 492 ff., contents: Song of Songs,
Ecclesiasticus, Menander, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 329^r-354^r). (TSL 730)

water marks: ¹¹ 1. Bull's head with cross and a serpent ff. 18, 32, 440 – similar to
Piccard, Die Ochsenkopf vol. II, part 3, type XV N° 147 (1512-14); 2. Letter P ff.
266, 268, 279; 3. Crown ff. 115, 126, 131; 4. Wheel ff. 250, 252 – Briquet N° 3998
(1492); 5. Bull's head with cross and a star ff. 375, 377; 6. Two fleur de lis on shield
with crown ff. 119, 206.

¹⁰ MS TSL 730 is not listed in the PS.

¹¹ I was unable to identify these water marks apart from N° 1 and 4.

There is no chapter division, there are a few corrections in the text and in the margins; after Ecclesiastes 11:9 the commentary on the Song of Songs 2:10-17 follows. The end of chapter 11 and the whole of chapter 12 are missing. This confusion could have resulted from the quires being lost or mixed up in the exemplar.

12. Egorov 891, RSL, Egorov collection, fond 98, N° 891. Sbornik, end of 15—first half of 16 c., ¹² 2⁰, ff. 301+2, contents: Homilies to the Catechetes by Cyril of Jerusalem, Song of Songs with commentary, Song of Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 259^r-301^r), Ecclesiasticus, Menander.

water marks: 1. Hand under a quatrefoil ff. 171a, 254, 255 – Piccard, vol. XVII, type III, N° 901, 902 (1527, 1535), another variant f. 171b – Piccard, type III, N° 983 (1498); 2. Three fleur de lis in a shield with a quatrefoil above ff. 187, 208, 277 – Briquet N° 1811 (1483), 1812 (1496).

13. Pogodinskij 81, RNB, Pogodin collection, N° 81, Sbornik, end of 15- middle of 16 c., ¹³ 4⁰, 175+1 ff, contents: Discourse of John Chrysostom, Song of Songs, Song of Songs with commentary of Philo of Carpasia, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 116^v-126^v), Ecclesiasticus (without end). (Pg.81)

water marks: 1. Letter P ff. 19, 23, 26 - Briquet N° 8727 (1539-44); 2. Three fleur de lis on a shield with a quatrefoil above ff. 29, 35, 101 - Briquet N° 1743 (1480-88), could be also Briquet N° 1744 (1482, 1502-09); 3. Coat of arms f. 53 - Briquet N° 1808 (1480-86); 4. Bull's head ff. 72, 79, 83 – Piccard, Die Ochsenkopf vol. II, part 2, type IX, N° 161 (1492) and N° 162 (1488).

There is no chapter division. It displays a low level of corruption. The text may have been checked against the Greek in a number of places.

¹² MS Egorov 891 is not listed in the PS.

¹³ MS Pg. 81 is not listed in the PS.

14. Suprasl'skij, BAN, 24.4.28. Bible books, colophon 1507, 1⁰, 550 ff., contents: Sixteen Prophets,¹⁴ Job, Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, three pericopes from the 1st Book of Kings, Ecclesiastes (ff. 141^v-144^r), Song of Songs, Menander, small dictionary, Ecclesiasticus, Psalter, New Testament, additional articles and OT pericopes. (Supr.)¹⁵

water marks: 1. Bull's head ff. 138, 146, 479 - Briquet N^o 15391 (1496); 2. Crown ff. 24, 45, 62 - Briquet N^o 4922 (1506).

There is no chapter division. It has a number of individual readings, no visible traces of correction, a few omissions and corruptions. The scribe, Matthew the Tenth son, was a careful scribe.

15. Rumjancevskij 204, RSL, Rumjancev collection 256, N^o 204, Polemical sbornik, first third of 16 c., 2⁰, 491 ff., contents: Discourse against the Novgorodian heretics by Iosif of Volokolamsk, Discourse against the Latins, Ecclesiastes (ff. 350^v-370^v), Questions and answers of Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian, Letters of Russian Metropolitans Cyprian and Photius to Pskov. (Rum.204)

water marks: 1. Two fleur de lis on shield, in the middle letter F, crown over ff. 3, 5 - Briquet N^o 8160 (1526); 2. Hand in a cuff, a quatrefoil above ff. 141, 150, 252 - Briquet N^o 11427 (1522); 3. Monogram DP ff. 307, 309 - Briquet N^o 9753 (1507)¹⁶; 4. One fleur de lis on shield with a flower above and a letter N below ff. 486, 487 - similar to Piccard, vol. XIII, type II, N^o 1181-83 (1529).

There is no chapter division, no traces of correction.

¹⁴ The expression 'Sixteen Prophets' is not in English practice, in using it I follow the Church Slavonic usage, in doing so I reproduce the printed Russian description of the MS. However, below under N^o 24 I list all the Prophets because again I continue to follow the printed description of this MS.

¹⁵ For the description of the MS see Alekseev and Lixačeva, 1978:54-88.

¹⁶ See the discussion of this water mark in Briquet, 1907, vol. 2: 510.

16. Volokolamskij, RSL, Volokolamsk collection 113, N^o 14, OT books, first half of 16 c.,
4^o, 360+3 ff., contents: Song of Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 199^r-223^r),
Ecclesiasticus with additions. (Copy of Vol.13)

water mark: 1. Pot with a quatrefoil on it ff. 3, 8, 200 – similar to Briquet N^o 12660 (1534).

17. Uvarovskij 652, GIM, Uvarov collection, No 1 (652), Bible, first half of 16 c., 1^o,
885 ff., Ecclesiastes ff. 411^r-416^r. (Uvar.652)

water marks: 1. Boar ff. 201, 233, 384, 400 - not identifiable but close to Piccard, vol. XV, part 3, type II, N^o 68 (1527) and N^o 70 (1531); 2. Coat of arms (not identifiable) ff. 423, 429, 460; 3. Coat of arms (not identifiable) ff. 481, 539.

There is chapter division, the first word of each chapter starts with a red initial, there are corrections and glosses in the margins.

18. Čudovskij 200, GIM, Čudov collection, N^o 200. Sbornik, first half of 16 c., 1^o, 234 ff., contents: Commentary on the Apocalypsis of Andrew of Caesaria with other articles, Tale of Andrew of Caesarea about the Apocalypsis, commentated Apocalypsis, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 135^v-149^v), Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus. (Čud.200) ¹⁷

water marks: 1. Pot with letters BR ff. 21, 29, 73 – Briquet N^o 12704 (1542); 2. Unicorn ff. 114, 119 - Lixačev N^o 2947 (1529); 3. Hand under a quatrefoil ff. 205, 207 – Briquet N^o 10749 (1504); 4. Shield charged with a sun in a circle, there is a crown above the shield ensigned with a quatrefoil and letter B below it ff. 208, 223, 230 - Lixačev N^o 2946, 2957 (1515, 1520).¹⁸

¹⁷ For the description of this MS see Protas'eva, 1980:108.

¹⁸ See also the recent correction of date to 1533-43 in Simmons, 1994, vol.1, p.135.

There is no chapter division, no traces of correction.

19. Sinodal'nyj 251, GIM, Synodal collection, N° 251. OT books, first half of 16 c., 1⁰, 163+5 ff., contents: Song of Songs, Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon (fragments), Ecclesiastes (ff. 44^v-54^v), Ecclesiasticus, Job, Wisdom of Solomon.

water marks: 1. Letter P ff. 4, 9, 11 – similar to Briquet N° 8538 (1505); 2. Crown with a shaft ending in a cross ff. 150, 151 – similar to Piccard, Kronen, vol. 1, type X, N° 4 (1550-54); 3. Fleur de lis on a shield with letter C underneath ff. 159, 163, 165 - exactly such a water mark is not found in the albums, shield could be the type of Piccard vol. XIII, type III, N° 1450 (1505), though the letter C is of a different configuration, similar type can be found in Briquet N° 8159 (1520) but with other letters. It belongs to French manufacturers of the 16th century (1520s), Namur 1525, similar type could be found in Lixačev N° 2879 (1530).

There are no chapter divisions in the text. The confused order of verses is caused probably by the wrong binding of folia in the quire in the exemplar.¹⁹

20. Sofijskij, RNB, Sofijskij collection, N° 1323, Mineja-četja, second half of 16 c., 1⁰, 470 ff., contents: Mineja-četja for July, Prolog, Discourse against the Latins, Ecclesiastes (ff. 336^v-342^v), Discourse on Nativity. (Sof.)

water marks:²⁰ 1. Hand in a cuff, quatrefoil above ff. 9, 16 - Lixačev N° 1725 (1547), Lixačev N° 1603 (1535), Briquet N° 11430 (1547); 2. Small pot with letters SM with crown and a quatrefoil ff. 132, 133, 138 – distorted mark Briquet N° 12812 (1559-65), Briquet N° 12768 (1558/9), Lixačev N° 1522 (1527).

There is no chapter division. It has a number of omissions, one correction in the margin.

¹⁹ This confusion was noted by Gorskij and Nevostruev (1855, 197) in their description of the manuscript No 251.

21. Barsovskij 12, GIM, Barsov collection, N° 12. Sbornik from the Solovki monastery, second half of the 16 c., 4⁰, 283 ff., semiuncial, contents: Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes (ff. 87^v-110^r), Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus, Menander.

water marks: 1. Flower ff. 20, 56 - similar to Lixačev N° 1908 (1567), 3204 (1564) though the middle circle is smaller than in Lixačev's album; 2. Ship ff. 138, 139 - close to Lixačev N° 4110 (1565); 3. Crown ff. 233, 234, 271 – Piccard, Kronen, vol. 1, type X, N° 6 (1557-1559); 4. Sphere ff. 280, 281 283 - similar to Lixačev N° 2996 (1562) though at the bottom is a round drop as in Lixačev N° 2849 (1560) but the star above is like N° 2996; 5. Small unicorn f. 272 (this mark is not identified).

There are no chapter divisions in the text.

22. Sinodal'nyj 21, GIM, Ioakimov Bible, 1558. (Copy of GB), 1⁰, 1043 ff., Ecclesiastes (ff. 492^v-499^v).

water marks: 1. Several variants of small narrow tall crown, some with symbols or monograms within the tall crown or below it (passim) - Lixačev N° 1814-23 (1558), cf. Briquet N° 4971 (1538), N° 5004 (1550), N° 5007 (1550); 2. Fantastic animal f. 498 - Lixačev N° 1824 (1557/8), cf. Briquet N° 2203 (1571).

23. Sinodal'nyj 30, GIM, Bible, second half of the 16 c. 1⁰, 1013 ff. (Copy of GB), 1⁰, 1013 ff., Ecclesiastes (ff. 420^v-425^v).

water marks: 1. Orb with a cartouche below ff. 10, 204, 921 - Lixačev N° 1800-2 (1551 mould-dated); 2. Cartouche ff. 974, 977 - Lixačev N° 1804 (1561-3); 3. Shield with three fleur-de-lis with a quatrefoil above and a long cartouche below ff. 997,

²⁰ I was unable to identify other watermarks.

999, 1002 – type of Lixačev N° 3049 (1570), cf. Briquet N° 1844 (1562); 4. Sphere with a star above and a circle at the end of a line below-Lixačev N° 1803 (1561-3?)²¹

24. Pogodinskij 85, Pogodin collection, N° 85, RNL, Biblical books, middle of the 16 c., 1⁰, 385 ff., contents: 2 Chronicles – end of prayer of Manasseh, 1-4 chapters of 1 Esdras, Tobith, Judith, Esther, Job, Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes (ff.127^v-132^r), Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habbakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 1 Maccabees.

water marks: 1. Boar ff. 41, 158, 216 – Briquet, N° 13577-78 (1542-47).

25. Q.I.6, RNL, second half of 16 c., 4⁰, 586 ff., contents: Erotapokriseis, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 556^r-602^v).

water marks: Hand in a cuff with a star above the middle finger and letter B on the hand ff. 597, 598, 705 - Lixačev N° 1902 (1567).

26. F.I.4, RNL, OT books, colophon 1567-8, 2⁰, 677 ff., contents: Ecumenical Councils, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 157^v-181^v), Ecclesiasticus, Discourses of John Chrysostom.

(water marks are not identified)

27. Undol'skij 13, RSL, Undol'skij collection 310, N° 13. Commentary, 16 c., 4⁰, ff. 14+1, contents: Ecclesiastes with commentary. (Und.13)

²¹ The water mark N° 4 appears to be on one leaf, which I was unable to identify. The description of it is taken from Simmons (1994, vol.1, 73), where it is also stated that the erased colophon is dated 1570/1 but the MS itself was in all probability written earlier over a period of several years, about 1561-3.

water mark: Shield charged with a letter N and with a crown above ensigned with a quatrefoil f. 3 - Lixačev N^o 4059 (1533), cartouche with the legend 'Jean Nivelles' f. 15.

28. Undol'skij 1121, RSL, Undol'skij collection 310, N^o 1121, Bible books with additional articles, 16 c., ²² 2^o, 153+ 2 ff., contents: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 47^v-62^v), Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus, Menander. (Und.1121)

water marks: 1. Letter P ff. 5, 68, 111 (not identifiable); 2. Crown and coat of arms with lions ff. 153, 155 – similar to Lixačev N^o 4260 (1710).

There is no chapter division, no traces of correction.

29. Pogodinskij 83, RNL, Pogodin collection, N^o 83, OT books, second half of 17 c., 4^o, 141 ff., contents: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 54^r-70^r), Ecclesiasticus.

water marks: 1. Easter lamb ff. 77, 100, 103 – Geraklitov N^o 1480 (1658); 2. Foolscap ff. 15, 24, 36 – Geraklitov N^o 1378 (1680); 3. Cross f. 58 – Geraklitov N^o 356 (1643).

30. Q.I.795, RNL, OT books, second half of the 17 c., (PS 430), 4^o, 220 ff., contents: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (ff. 51^r-60^v), 1–2 Esdras, Daniel, Tobit.

water marks: 1. Shield with fleur de lis and a crown with a small trefoil, underneath letters BA? ff. 30, 41, 69 (is not identifiable); 2. Circles with a cross and letter B? ff. 155, 173, 180 – Dianova N^o 606 (1697), though it is not an exact match, analogues could be seen in Dianova N^o 956 (1655-56).

31. Q.I.4, RNL, OT books, second half of the 17 c., 4^o, 94 ff., contents: Song of Songs, Jonah, 1-2 Esdras, Ecclesiastes (ff. 24^r-46^r), Daniel.

²² The date of the MS is taken from the library catalogue. I should point out that water marks do not seem to support this dating.

water marks: 1. Fleur de lis ff. 25, 30, 36, 102 – Dianova N° 909 (1646-54), N° 912 (1653).

32. Pogodinskij 82, Pogodin collection, N° 82, RNL, OT books, last quarter of the 17 c., 4^o, 975 ff., contents: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes (ff. 357^r-366^r), Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, 1-2 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1-2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah.

water marks: 1. Foolscap ff. 446, 625, 671 – Geraklitov N° 1357 (1665), another variant ff. 965, 970 similar to Geraklitov N° 1222 (1681), on f.956 foolscap with letters AD in a frame – Geraklitov N° 1338 (1659), also Dianova N° 149 (1667); 2. Pot ff. 921, 923 – Heawood N° 3679 (1674); 3. Strasbourg lily ²³ ff. 410, 426, 926 – Churchill N° 428 (1678).

33. Rumjancevskij 36, RSL, Rumjancev collection 256, N° 36 (from the collection of Moscow Theological Academy, N° 9. (19-th century copy of an older unspecified MS)

The text of Ecclesiastes is incomplete, it ends in verse 7, chapter 9.

Two questions follow from our re-examination of the water marks. First, does it make the dating of the manuscripts more accurate and second, does it support the view that some of the extant manuscripts of *Ecclesiastes* predate GB? Our answer to the first question can be both ‘yes’ and ‘no’ inasmuch as we should always allow a degree of imprecision when dealing with water marks. This imprecision arises partly from the time which elapsed between the production of the paper and its actual use as a writing material. Moreover, the use of a single water mark could span a considerable period of time, thus adding difficulty in dating the manuscripts.

²³ The water mark N° 3 is Strasbourg lily and not the coat of Amsterdam as stated in the published description of the MS. See Tvorogov O.V. and Zagrebin V.M., eds., 1986:69.

One example of such difficulty is the case of dating manuscript Undol'skij 1121. The water mark 'Letter P' was used continuously during the 15th and 16th centuries, therefore it is not easy to decide to which one it belongs. The fact that the manuscript is not included in 'Predvaritel'nyj spisok' suggests that someone thought it was 16th rather than 15th century, but that dating is only as good as the judgement of the person who decided not to include it in the 'PS'.

Generally the dating of a manuscript depends on water marks, colophons, paleography, not on scholarly judgements, and the example below shows we cannot always rely on the latter. There are no other water marks in the manuscript apart from the ones found on the empty ff. 153, 155. However, these pages bearing a later-date water mark and being the end ones could have been added at a considerably later stage. I was not able to date with confidence manuscript Undol'skij 13 which is incomplete as it contains only 14 ff., and thus may have had other water marks; therefore in this case I suggest a broad range of dates.

On the other hand, after the examination of the water marks of MS Q.I.795 (number 30 in my list) I changed its date to the 17th century, rather than 15th century as in 'Predvaritel'nyj spisok' of manuscripts belonging to the 15th century where it is listed under number 430.²⁴ My dating is also corroborated by the text of *Ecclesiastes* which shows clearly the signs of later revisions and corrections. However, as I failed in a number of cases to identify the water marks I still cannot give a definitive answer to my first question.

I cannot give a single answer to my second question which is closely linked with the first, in so far as it requires more accurate dating of the manuscripts. According to Lixačev the water marks in GB show that it cannot have been written before 1499, whereas an earlier date in the last quarter of the 15th century is possible for several manuscripts which I list before GB. At the same time, the verification of water marks in GB, ascribed by Lixačev to the year 1499, could shed additional light on the amount of time for which GB's paper was kept and the period over which the manuscript itself was written. Furthermore, it leaves open the possibility that there are even earlier manuscripts, such as Pogodinskij 1 which is assigned in my description to the 1st half of the 15th

²⁴ The editors have given the same dating in their 'Dopolnenija'.

century. However, it must be said that there is no certain way of dating of Pogodinskij 1 manuscript more precisely, as it is written on parchment. My conclusion is that though on average the differences in date between the manuscripts containing *Ecclesiastes* and GB are insignificant in terms of manuscripts of this period, being no greater than 10-20 years, there is some room for doubt over the answer to the second question and therefore the answer 'yes' cannot be excluded.

Out of 33 known manuscripts 26 were available to me at the time for collation (N^o 1-9, 11, 13-18, 20, 24-32).²⁵ Of these manuscripts N^o 16 is excluded as *codex descriptus*; N^o 17 is excluded because it was copied from GB; N^o 24-26, 29-32 are not taken into account since these manuscripts are reproduced from later printed copies of the bible; while N^o 27 represents a commentated version; N^o 22 and 23 are excluded because they are later copies of GB. In my research of the continuous text I have used No 1-9, 11, 13-15, 18, 20, 28. Thus 16 manuscripts are used in the present study.

On the basis of their content and structure these 16 manuscripts can be divided into two branches: one which contains an insertion with commentary and a second which consists of the plain text. The former branch (with the insertion with commentary) can be further divided into two groups: a group with the full commentary and one with commentary mostly removed. The resulting divisions are important because they tell us much about the development of the textual tradition:

- A. The MSS with lacuna and the insertion with commentary (Pg.1, Und.1, Sol, TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof.)
- B. The MSS with the insertion with the commentary mostly removed (MS2, GB)
- C. The MSS with the plain text (Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200)

At first glance there seem to be three distinctive families of manuscripts, however on textual grounds, as we shall see, Rum.204 and Sof. are more closely related to MS2 and

²⁵ MSS Egorov 891, Barsovskij 12 and Čertkovskij 192 were unavailable for collation because of the long time closure of GIM where they are currently kept. These were checked for water marks at a later stage.

GB than to other manuscripts listed under A. From now on we shall operate with the following slightly different division into three groups: group 1: Pg.1, Und.1, Sol, TSL 730; group 2: Rum.204, Sof., MS2, GB; group 3: Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200. The evidence for the position of Rum.204 and Sof. will be given later on page 65.

There are 8 MSS with the insertion. The order and number of verses in the insertion which occurs in the middle of verse 1:12 is exactly the same in these 8 manuscripts. It is as follows: 2:14, 3:5, 4:6, 4:9, 5:5, 7:3-4 (with abridged commentary in MS2, GB), 7:5, 7:6 (with short commentary in MS2, GB), 7:7, 7:16 –23 (7:20 with commentary left in MS2), ²⁶ 7:29, 10:7, 8:2-4, 8:8, 9:4, 10:1 (with short commentary in MS2, GB), 10:2 - 8, 10:16, 10:17, 11:2-3, 11:4, 12:5. ²⁷

Probably at an early stage a scribe inserted these verses with a commentary and in this form subsequent scribes copied the text.²⁸ The editors of MS2 and GB removed most of the commentary but left the verses intact. Whether the plain version came into being as the latest development (with the insertion being gradually removed) in the textual tradition, or on the contrary, it represents an early stage of the tradition is not absolutely clear at present.

The standard order in which these manuscripts are quoted is: Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, GB, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200.

²⁶ In the insertion after verse 7:20 MS2 contains part of the commentary which is the same as in gr.1 but which is not found in GB: **Ничтоже тако въща. исхытиѣ ѿ въѣ. ꙗко мѣдроѣ. а еже паѣ. десѣти владѣциѣ рекѣ. паче волѣ коѣ члѣчскыѣ силы.**

²⁷ There is confusion among scholars about the number of the inserted verses. Gorskij and Nevostruev (1855, 68) counted 38. Alekseev (1988, 185) remarked that they were mistaken and that verses 8:2 and 8:3 are not there, consequently there are 36 in total. Thomson (1998, 845) however, gives the number as 37. I can confirm that the number of verses is 39 in total but verse 10:7 occurs twice, and that verses 8:2 and 8:3 are present in the insertion of GB.

²⁸ Gorskij and Nevostruev (1855, 68) remark that the text of *Ecclesiastes* as it appears in inserted verses differs greatly from the continuous text.

Textual characteristics relevant to all 16 manuscripts.

On page 74 the *stemma codicum* is given in order to clarify the relations between all the manuscripts discussed. The comparison of the manuscripts and their textological analysis permit us to suppose the existence of several stages α , β , γ , δ , ϵ etc. anterior to the manuscripts under discussion. The first and second stages are identified in the stemma by letters α and β , where α represents the initial translation of *Ecclesiastes* into Church Slavonic. The α stage is characterized by a number of variants and omissions which are paralleled in Greek. β represents a copy made from the α manuscript. This β stage is characterized by a number of mistakes which stem from misreadings of Church Slavonic. The β stage gave rise to the stages γ and δ .

In order to show the development of the textual tradition a set of indicative errors, including variants, omissions, additions and misreadings of the Church Slavonic text, is used. By looking at variants in a group of manuscripts we can hypothesise about the relations that exist between them. For example, if they all share variants we can suggest that the group of manuscripts descended from one common parent manuscript. If variants occur in all the available manuscripts, then it is evident that they either appeared at a very early stage (maybe in the archetype), or were present already in the Greek source.

The examples provided below illustrate the different sorts of evidence that various readings, omissions, additions and errors may produce. In some cases, a mistake arose in Greek or the stage of translation from the Greek, whereas in other cases the error can only have arisen within the Church Slavonic tradition. Some cases are ambiguous, so it is not possible to determine the point at which the error arose. The orthographical variants are not included here because, unlike the lexical and grammatical variants, they appear not to be significant for the textual tradition.

I start with a section on variant readings, omissions and additions that are paralleled in the Greek. In doing so I attempt to locate the Greek original of the Church Slavonic text as far as this is possible. I compare the biblical text in Rahlfs's edition with the text in Boli's edition to see whether these furnish any relevant variants. For all examples I quote the Greek text of the LXX from the edition of Rahlfs first (in the form closest to the Church Slavonic), then the Church Slavonic from GB. For those Greek variants close

to the Church Slavonic, which are absent from Rahlfs's edition, but which are found in the editions of Holmes and Parsons and Boli, I use square brackets. Words omitted in the Church Slavonic version are underlined in the Greek. To elucidate the readings of the Church Slavonic translation that differ from the text in Rahlfs's edition but have similarities to the readings in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons, the number of coincidences between the Church Slavonic readings and individual Greek manuscripts was counted.

The order of Greek manuscripts which I quote starts with the text or manuscripts used by Rahlfs, continues with the manuscripts employed by Holmes and Parsons and ends with the text or individual manuscripts used by Boli. This order of manuscripts is for convenience only, it does not necessarily reveal the importance of the sources; obviously, later Byzantine manuscripts are more important and relevant for the Church Slavonic tradition than the early uncials. Sometimes the same capital letters are used by Rahlfs and Boli to denote sigla of their manuscripts. To avoid confusion which may be caused by the same lettering I accompany Boli's sigla with the abbreviation com., for example A_{com}.

Church Slavonic text reflecting Greek variants.

2:3 εἰ ἡ καρδία μου
 аѡе срѡе моѡ

In editing this passage Rahlfs emended the reading of Greek manuscripts ... εἰ ἡ καρδία μου ἐλκύσει ὡς οἶνον..... τοῦ ἐν καρδίᾳ μου τοῦ ἐλκύσαι εἰς οἶνον... In doing so he adapted his reading to the Latin text. The Church Slavonic text starts as in Greek manuscripts with аѡе срѡе моѡ, but has lost the intervening text before the next occurrence of срѡе - καρδία. This omission will be discussed later in the section on omissions.

2:3 ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη
 в вѡеліи

Rahlfs emended the main text by putting the word ἀφροσύνη following the Latin. The Church Slavonic text follows the reading of the Greek manuscripts.

2:24 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ [εἰ μὴ] ὃ φάγεται καὶ ὃ πίεται
 нѣ бѣго члкъ нѡ токмо ѣстѣ и пїетѣ

Boli's text has the variant reading εἰ μὴ and so do the MSS 147, 154, 157, 159, 161, 248, 252, 296, 299, Compl. Ald. in the apparatus of HP. The variant reading εἰ μη which is a common Greek equivalent for the expression **нѡ токмо** forms the basis for the Church Slavonic translation. Rahlfs in his critical apparatus indicated the reading πλήν preserved by the MS S. This reading also features in the MSS 23, 254 in the critical apparatus of HP. However, I consider Boli's text and the manuscripts mentioned by HP in their apparatus to be more relevant sources than the ancient codex Sinaiticus. Though the reading of S is preserved in two later manuscripts, the first reading is preferable as it is supported by the majority of manuscripts.

3:10 ἀνθρώπων in B (=Boli) vs. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 члкъ

The reading of gen. plural члкъ reflects the variant found in the Vaticanus codex and in Boli's Olympiodorus as opposed to gen. sing. in the main text of Rahlfs.

3:16 ἐκεῖ εὐσεβής (=Boli)
 тѣ бѣго чѣтвѣмѣ

The Church Slavonic text follows the reading εὐσεβής, found in both plain and commentated versions, while Rahlfs has chosen the reading ὁ ἀσεβής following Grabe and Complut. Ald. Rahlfs's emendation is an accordance with the the Masoretic text, where in both instances the word עֲשֵׂה is found; but the textual tradition of the Greek manuscripts displays here an antithesis of impious and pious. It is worth mentioning here that the case of the Church Slavonic adjective is not explicable from the masc. nom. sing. in the Greek tradition.

3:17 ... καὶ ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιήματι ἐκεῖ [ὁ θεός]
 И НА ВСАКО^м СТВОРЕНІИ Т^ѡ Б^ѣ

The reading τ^ѡ corresponds to the Greek variant ἐκεῖ in A given in the critical apparatus of Rahlfs. Holmes and Parsons have ἐκεῖ] + ὁ θεός in MSS 23, 253, 254. Holmes and Parsons state that in this sequence it is preserved in the MSS 106, 155, 159, 161, Ald. Alex. It is absent in Boli's edition.

4:4 ἀνδρί in B (=Boli) vs. ἀνδρός
 МУЖЕВИ

The reading of dat. sing. МУЖЕВИ (МУЖЮ gr. 1, 3) is closer to the variant found in the Vaticanus codex and in Boli's Olympiodorus than to the gen. sing. ἀνδρός in the main text of Rahlfs.

5:1 μὴ σπεῦδε ἐπὶ στόματί σου ἐξαμαρτῆσαι
 Не поспѣи с^ѧ ѡсты своими п^рити с^ѧ

Rahlfs has placed the infinitive ἐξαμαρτῆσαι, -τανειν S*, -τειν AS^c not in the main text but in his critical apparatus with reference to Thackeray who noted that the verb is used 'in causative sense'.²⁹ Thackeray must have referred back to the Hebrew text where we find hiphil infinitive construction in place of ἐξαμαρτῆσαι.

The reading ἐξαμαρτῆσαι in Rahlfs's critical apparatus is not present in either HP or Boli's editions. I presume that the infinitive may have appeared here because of its close proximity to verse 5:5 where it is used in almost the same context. It must be said, however, that the rendering of ἐξαμαρτῆσαι by the verb п^рити с^ѧ remains somewhat odd.

5:2 πειρασμοῦ (=Boli)
 ИСК^ѡСА

The Church Slavonic text corresponds to the reading found in Greek MSS and not to the reading περισπασμοῦ given by Rahlfs in the main text following Grabe's emendation.

²⁹ Thackeray, 1909:234.

5:3 συ οὖν ὅσα (=Boli)
ТѢ ѢВО ЕЛИКО

The Church Slavonic **ТѢ** reflects the reading *συ* found in Greek MSS and not the reading *σὺν ὅσα ἐὰν* given in Rahlfs's main text as followed the emendation by Klostermann according to the codex A.

5:9 ἐν πλήθει αὐτοῦ γένημα
ВЪ МНѠ*СТВѢ ЕГО ЖИВО^Т

Rahlfs in his critical apparatus gives the variant reading *αὐτοῦ* AS^c *γενήματα* S, which agrees with the the reading of the commentated version in Boli's edition. The Church Slavonic pronoun **его** corresponds to the reading of the Greek MSS AS^c and not to the reading *αὐτῶν* found in the main text of Rahlfs; the word **ЖИВО^Т** corresponds to the neut. acc. sing. *γένημα*.

5:10 ἀρχή (BS*A) = Boli
НА^ΛΟ

The Church Slavonic text corresponds to the reading of MSS BS*A indicated in Rahlfs's critical apparatus and not to the reading *ἀλλ' ἢ* (supported by MSS S^cV) given in the main text. HP indicate that the reading *ἀλλ' ἢ* is found in MSS 23, 253, 254.

5:18 καὶ [ἐξουσίαν ἐν αὐτῷ]
И ВЛАСТЬ НА НЕ^М

In Rahlfs's edition we find the verb *ἐξουσίασεν* in the main text. The Church Slavonic translation reflects the reading *καὶ ἐξουσίαν* found in MS 298 (MSS 106, 252 - *καὶ ἐξουσίας*) in the critical apparatus of HP. In Boli's edition the reading is *ἐξουσίαν ἐν αὐτῷ*.

5:19 ὅτι οὐ πολλὰς SA *μνησθήσεται* vs. Rahlfs *οὐκ ἀλλά* B* †, *οὐ πολλὰ* main text. HP *ὅτι οὐ πολλὰ*, Boli *οὐ πολλὰς*.
ІАКО НЕМОГЫ ПОМАНѢТИ

It seems likely that the Church Slavonic text is a corruption of $\eta\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\sigma\gamma\iota$ which corresponds with the Greek variant οὐ πολλάς.

7:2 ... + ἀγαθόν MSS εἰς καρδίαν αὐτοῦ (=Boli)
 ... БЛГО В СРЦЕ СВОЕ

Rahlf's in his critical apparatus does not specify which particular manuscripts have this reading.

7:15 [ἐν ἡμέραν]
 ДНЬ

The reading ДНЬ is closer to the Greek acc. sing. ἐν ἡμέραν given in the MSS 298, 299 of HP critical apparatus (Boli's main text ἐν ἡμέρας) than to the form of ἐν ἡμέραις dat. pl. found in the main text of Rahlf's. In the Church Slavonic text, however, the equivalent of the preposition ἐν is missing.

7:21 εἰς πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς λαλήσουσιν + ἀσεβεῖς BS μὴ θῆς καρδίαν σου
 ВСА ПА* СЛОВЕСА И* ВЪГЛАЮТЬ НЕЧТИВІИ И НЕ ВЛОЖИ СРЦА СВОЕГО
 = HP, Boli

8:10 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγίου
 И Ѡ [-----] С҃ГГО

Rahlf's word τόπου in the main text is a reconstruction on the basis of Vetus Latina, and in this case the Church Slavonic translation faithfully follows the Greek MSS where we find the article τοῦ which is usually omitted in translations.

11:9 καὶ περιπάτει ἐν ὁδοῖς καρδίας σου + ἄμωμος В καὶ ἐν ὁράσει ὀφθαλμῶν σου
 И ХОДИ В ПѢТЕХЪ СРЦА ТВОЕГО. НЕПОРОЧЕНЪ. И В ВИДѢННИ ОЧІЮ СВОЕЮ
 = HP, Boli

Rahlfs's edition is a reconstructed one, in many places he suggested his own emendations. Thus the correspondence of the Church Slavonic version with variants not from his main text but from the extant manuscripts including those of Holmes-Parsons and Boli is what we would expect. On many occasions the Church Slavonic version agrees with both Greek early uncial manuscripts and later extant manuscripts. However, the agreement of the Church Slavonic text with the variant readings from later Byzantine manuscripts, contemporaneous with the Slavonic version, is of far more importance than the same agreement with the early uncial manuscripts, on which Rahlfs based his edition, which can have had no direct influence upon the Church Slavonic text.

On a number of occasions the Church Slavonic text reflects the variant readings found not only in the Greek plain version but also in the commentated one. This proximity to the commentated version reveals its significance for the textual history of the Church Slavonic text.

Omissions resulting from homoeoteleuton in all 16 MSS.

Below I present examples where omissions resulting from homoeoteleuton in all 16 manuscripts are paralleled in Greek. Thus it is plausible to conclude that they appeared in the archetype and even possible that they already occurred in the Greek exemplar, which may therefore have been defective. However, since this type of mistake can easily happen independently in both original and translated texts it is still not certain whether the omission occurred early in the Church Slavonic manuscript tradition or already existed in the Greek *Vorlage*.

1:2 ματαιότης ματαιότητων εἶπεν ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής ματαιότης ματαιότητων
 c8e^r c8e^tcbtβiā. [-----]
 τὰ πάντα ματαιότης.
 ВСАЧЬСКАА СЖЕТА СЖЕТА

HP in their critical apparatus note the omission of ματαιότητων 1⁰ - ματαιότητων 2⁰ in MS 157.

1:5 καὶ ἀνατέλλει ὁ ἥλιος καὶ δύνει ὁ ἥλιος καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ ἔλκει
и вѣсіяе^т снѣце [-----] и въ мѣсто свое влече^т

HP in their critical apparatus note the omission of δύνει and ὁ ἥλιος in MS 23.

1:16-17...καὶ καρδία μου εἶδεν πολλά, σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν.
...и ср^аце мое видѣ мнѡгѡ премоудростѣ и разоумѣ.
καὶ ἔδωκα καρδίαν μου τοῦ γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν,
[-----]
παραβολὰς καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἔγνω...
притча и хитрости разоумѣхъ...

In Boli's main text we find the same omission. HP in their critical apparatus note the omission starting with καὶ ἔδωκα... in MSS 68, 106, 248, 253, 261, 296, 298.

It must be noted that the order of these particular versicles in the editions of Rahlfs and HP is reversed. While in Rahlfs's text the order is the same as presented above, in HP text the words καὶ ἔδωκα καρδίαν μου τοῦ γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν are placed before καὶ καρδία μου εἶδεν πολλά σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν.

3:21 εἰ ἀναβαίνει αὐτὸ εἰς ἄνω καὶ πνεῦμα τοῦ κτήνους εἰ καταβαίνει αὐτὸ κάτω εἰς γῆν
аце вѣсходити емѡ [-----] до мѡ (sic) в землю.

Boli notes in her critical apparatus the omission of εἰς ἄνω - κτήνους in MS Γ_{com}.

4:1 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς παρακαλῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρὸς συκοφαντούντων αὐτοὺς ἰσχὺς
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς παρακαλῶν
и нѣ^ѣ имѣ стѣшайемо. [-----]

Boli notes in her critical apparatus the omission of καὶ ἀπο - παρακαλῶν in MSS AE_{com}.

6:4 ὅτι ἐν ματαιότητι ἦλθεν καὶ ἐν σκότει πορεύεται καὶ ἐν σκότει ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
ако в сѡтѣ приде и во тмѣ [-----]
καλυφθήσεται
покрыет сѡ.

HP noted the omission starting with the words καὶ ἐν in MS 254. Boli notes in her critical apparatus the omission of ἐν¹ and καὶ ἐν σκότει πορεύεται in MS A_{com}. Although the omission in Boli's text is not an exact match to the Church Slavonic

omission, it nevertheless illustrates the difficulties caused by so many repetitions in the text of *Ecclesiastes*.

8:11-12 ...ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ὃς ἤμαρτεν ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἀπὸ τότε...
 ...створи лѣкавое. [-----] и ѿтолѣ ...

HP in their critical apparatus note the omission of ὃς ἤμαρτεν ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν in MSS 23, 106.

Omission due to homoeoarcton that is paralleled in Greek.

For the following omission in verse 9:9 we lack evidence from manuscripts of group 1, Rum.204 and Sof. because of the lacuna, therefore it may be of less weight than the others. However, I feel that it would be appropriate to incorporate this example together with the other omissions in all 16 manuscripts which all have parallels in Greek.

9:9 πάσας ἡμέρας ζωῆς ματαιότητός σου τὰς δοθείσας σοι ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον
 всѣ днѣ сретства живота твоего. даны по^ снцемь
 πάσας ἡμέρας ματαιότητός σου ὅτι αὐτὸ μέρος σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου
 [-----] ꙗко часть твоѣ в животе твоємь

This omission resulting from a *homoeoarcton* was recorded by Boli as occurring in manuscripts ΑΓΔΖΚ_{com}. Rahlfs registered in his apparatus this omission as occurring in manuscripts AB^c. Holmes and Parsons have an omission in their main text in accordance with codex Vaticanus. They note in their critical apparatus that in manuscript 252 the words πάσας ἡμέρας ματαιότητός σου are written in the margin.

The relatively large number of omissions suggests that the Greek source may have been defective. We can see this happening in verses 1:2, 1:5, 1:16-17, 3:21, 4:1, 8:11-12 where there are omissions in the manuscripts containing both plain and commentated versions of the biblical text. It seems that manuscripts 23 and 106 used by Holmes and Parsons have more omissions due to homoeoteleuton than the rest. To these examples I shall add the omission due to homoeoarcton in 9:9. This omission has also taken place in some of the Greek sources both plain and commentated.

However, it is still possible that the omissions occurred independently within the Church Slavonic tradition at an early stage and not necessarily in the Greek source. Because omissions due to homoeoteleuton are a common phenomenon in manuscripts, both Greek and Slavonic scribes can be equally susceptible to it. At the same time the large number of omissions may have arisen because the text is very repetitive. A scribe might easily have lost his place during copying and accidentally missed out some sections or parts of text. Considering that *Ecclesiastes* is not a narrative book omissions and mistakes might not have been immediately recognizable.

In the section above we have looked at the omissions for which there are parallels in Greek. Though omissions of this kind could happen spontaneously in both traditions, there is nevertheless a strong possibility that the Greek exemplar used for the Church Slavonic translation was already defective. With this section we leave behind the hypothetical Greek copy which was our ‘starting point’ and turn our attention to the Church Slavonic tradition. This tradition appears to be imperfect from the beginning due to a faulty Greek exemplar or to careless translation.

Although now we examine mistakes peculiar to Church Slavonic, there are several mistakes that could happen in the process of translation. The following examples may serve as an illustration to the process of translating the Greek text into Church Slavonic.

Common errors in all 16 MSS which may be due to misreading of Greek.³⁰

5:5 ἵνα μὴ ὀργισθῆ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ φωνῇ σου
 еда прогнѣваетъ сѧ бѣ о мьсли твоєи.

³⁰ Thomson’s remark (1998:843) about the confusion of γεννάω with γίγνομαι in the Church Slavonic translation of 6:3 is incorrect. In all the manuscripts examined the text of *Ecclesiastes* has родит - beget. His allegation is repeated in his later article, cf. Thomson, 2006: 37. It is possible that he based his assertion on the reading from the Ostrog Bible.

The Greek scribe in this context may have confused the word φωνῆ by some association of his own with the noun γνώμη or alternatively the word **мысли** may have resulted from misreading of the noun φωνῆ as γνώμη. However, the second possibility seems less likely.

5:15 καὶ τίς περισσεῖα αὐτῷ ἢ μοχθεῖ εἰς ἄνεμον
и что избыліе его. и* спѣшиѣ в мирѣ

I do not have a ready explanation for the occurrence of the lexeme **мирѣ** in this passage except that the confusion of ἄνεμον and κόσμον may have somehow happened in the Greek copy which in turn caused this translation.

12:5 καὶ γε ἀπὸ ὕψους ὄψονται καὶ θάμβοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
ибо на высотѣ оузриѣ и дрѣвеса на пѣти.

One explanation seems plausible enough, that it was a misreading of the Greek θάμβοι ‘fears’ as θάμνοι-‘bushes, shrubs’.

It is clear that these three mistakes may have resulted from mistranslation of the Greek text or from a faithful translation of an already corrupted Greek text. We do not have any evidence for such corruptions in the Greek textual tradition. Thus, the first possibility seems to be more likely.

Omissions which might have happened in the Church Slavonic text.

2:17 ... τὸ ποίημα τὸ πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον...
... створеніе. [-----] подъ с̄лнце^m.

This omission might occur in Greek or Church Slavonic text, though we do not have evidence of it in either HP or Boli’s critical apparatus. However, it may be easier for a Slav scribe to miss out the participle **στωρενοε** because of its close proximity to the noun

створеніє. Therefore on paleographical grounds it seems to me that it is more likely to be a mistake in copying Church Slavonic.

4:2 καὶ ἐπήνεσα ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς τεθνηκότας τοὺς ἤδη ἀποθανόντας ὑπὲρ τοὺς ζῶντας
и похвалихъ вса оумръшала. [-----] паче живыхъ

This example may have been prompted by two instances of the word οὐμρῶσαλα standing next to each other, so it would not be difficult to miss one while copying Church Slavonic. On the other hand, the Greek source might have an omission of the words τοὺς ἤδη ἀποθανόντας as Holmes and Parsons indicate in their apparatus referring to the reading in Origen's version.

In the section above the two classes of omissions are evident. The misreading of Church Slavonic text is most likely in 4:2, while the other example might have happened either in the Greek or Church Slavonic text. Misreadings of Church Slavonic make it likely that there was at least one intermediary copy β from which all the MSS descend.

Omissions from homoeoteleuton in all 16 MSS for which no parallels in Greek are found.

2:3 καὶ κατεσκεψάμην εἰ ἢ καρδίᾳ μου ἐλκύσει εἰς οἶνον τὴν σάρκα μου
и поскѣтихъ. аще срѣце мое [-----]
καὶ καρδίᾳ μου ὠδήγησεν
[-----] настави ...

3:1-2 ...καιρὸς τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καιρὸς τοῦ φυτεῦσαι καὶ καιρὸς
τοῦ ἐκτίλαι πεφυτευμένον
[-----] время садити и время
въстрѣзати саженое

Omissions of a single word and omissions by homoeoteleuton of less weight than others.

For the following omissions in verses 8:17, 9:6, 9:11 we lack evidence from manuscripts of group 1, Rum.204 and Sof. because of lacuna. Therefore these examples are excluded from the main list of all 16 manuscripts. However, I feel that it would be appropriate to incorporate them together as a separate group. These omissions are not paralleled in Greek.

8:17 ὅσα ἂν μοχθήσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ ζητῆσαι καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσει καὶ γε ὅσα ἂν
 елико же аще [-----]
 εἶπη ὁ σοφὸς
 рече^т мъдрыйи

9:6 καὶ γε ἀγάπη αὐτῶν καὶ γε μῖσος αὐτῶν
 [-----] и ненависть ихъ
 (the beginning of the verse is omitted)

9:11 ὅτι οὐ τοῖς κούφοις ὁ δρόμος καὶ οὐ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὁ πόλεμος καὶ γε οὐ τοῖς
 σοφοῖς ἄρτος
 гако [--] легкымъ теченіемъ и силнымъ. [--] врани^и мъдрымъ хлѣбъ

Omission of a single word or phrase in all 16 MSS.

The following variants are not paralleled in Greek.

1:9 καὶ τί τὸ πεποιημένον
 и [--] творимое

1:10 καὶ ἐρεῖ ἰδέ τοῦτο
 и рече^т [---] все

cf. also omissions of ἰδέ in 7:27, 7:29 in the Church Slavonic text.

2:5 ἐποίησά μοι κήπους καὶ παραδείσους καὶ ἐφύτευσα
сѣтвори^х о҃грады [-----] и насади^{хъ}...

2:7 ἐκτησάμην δούλους καὶ παιδίσκας καὶ οἰκογενεῖς
притѣжѣ^х [-----] рабынѣ и домоча^ци

HP in their critical apparatus note that in MS 296 the word παιῖδας appears in the main text while δούλους is placed in the margin. Could the two similar words παιῖδας and παιδίσκας or рабы and рабынѣ written next to each other have led to the eventual loss of one of them and consequently to the omission in Church Slavonic?

2:9 ἐμεγαλύνθην καὶ προσέθηκα
вѣзвеличи^х [-----]

2:19... ἐν παντὶ μόχθῳ μου ὧ ἐμόχθησα καὶ ὧ ἐσοφισάμην
... всемъ трѣдомъ моимъ [-----] еже м^αρωвахъ

2:22 ἐν προαιρέσει καρδίας αὐτοῦ
въ изволеніи [-----] его

3:1 καιρὸς τῷ παντὶ πράγματι ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν
времѣ всѣкои вещи [-----]

3:10 εἶδον σὺν τὸν περισπασμὸν ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
видѣ^х [---] печеніе все [-----] члѣкѣ

4:3 ὅστις οὕτω ἐγένετο ὃς οὐκ εἶδεν σὺν τὸ ποίημα τὸ πονηρὸν
еще не вы е^с [-----] створеніе лѣкаво

4:4 ὅτι αὐτὸ ζῆλος ἀνδρὸς / ἀνδρί
[-----] мужевн

4:15 τοὺς περιπατοῦντας ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου τοῦ δευτέρου ὃς
στήσεται ἀντ' αὐτοῦ
ходѣшѣ по^а слѣце^м [-----] иже
вѣстане^т в него мѣсто

4:16 τοῖς πᾶσιν ὅσοι ἐγένοντο ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν
 всѣмъ иже [-----] прѣ^α ними

4:17 θυσία σου ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν εἰδότες τοῦ ποιῆσαι κακόν
 жрътвѣ твою [-----] (the end of the verse is missing)

5:3 μὴ χρονίσῃς τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτήν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν
 не змедли ѿдати [-----] ꙗко несть

5:5 καὶ διαφθείρη τὰ ποιήματα χειρῶν σου
 и растли^τ [-----] твоѣ

5:7 ἴδης ἐν χώρᾳ
 видиши [-----]

5:13 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδέν
 и несть в рцѣ [-----] ничто*

6:6 καὶ εἰ ἔζησεν χιλίων ἐτῶν καθόδους καὶ ἀγαθωσύνην οὐκ εἶδεν
 [-----] влгостына не видѣ
 (the beginning of the verse is omitted)

7:14 ἐν ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακίας
 [-----] вѣ днѣ злобы

7:14 ἵνα μὴ εὖρη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ μηδέν
 да не обраци^т [-----] злбою* ничто*
 * за собою gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof. gr. 3

8:3 ὅτι πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν θελήσῃ ποιήσει
 ꙗко всѣ еже аще [-----] створи^т

11:5 τίς ἢ ὁδὸς τοῦ πνεύματος
 что вѣдетъ [---] аха

The word **πῆτς**- ὁδός is omitted in all the MSS, and the verb **βδεται** seemingly has no support in the Greek.

12:4 ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ φωνῆς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἀναστήσεται εἰς φωνὴν τοῦ στρουθίου
В НЕМОУЦИ [----] МΕΛЮЩАА И ВСТАНОУТЬ ГЛАСЪ ПТИЦА

There is a comparatively large number of omissions of single words, but they do not always affect the meaning of the text. Given that these omissions appear in all the manuscripts, they may have happened either in the Church Slavonic archetype or already taken place in the Greek text, since we do not know what the Greek exemplar was from which the Church Slavonic translation was made. However, we find no support for the second possibility among the Greek manuscripts and it seems less likely. It is also possible that the omissions of words at the beginning or the end of verses were the result of converting commentated into plain text. This question will be addressed in the following chapter.

Additions that are apparently independent of the Greek text.

2:15 τοῦ ἄφρονος [-----] καί γε ἐμοὶ συναντήσεται
ВЕЗОУМНАГО МОУДРЫИ. МНѢ ЖЕ СЛОУЧИ МИ СѦ.

3:11 σὺν τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν [--] καλὰ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ
ВСѦ ПѦ СТВОРИ БѢ. ДОБРА ВЪ ВРЕМѦ СВОЕ.

8:12 ὅπως [--] φοβῶνται
ДА НЕ БОУТ СѦ

The negation is absent in Greek text, thus the Church Slavonic translation gives the opposite meaning to this passage.

In proportion to the number of omissions the additions are relatively rare. This is to be expected as in Scriptural texts the material generally was not added while copying. After

the examination of omissions and additions in all 16 manuscripts under scrutiny, there remains a need to search for the errors that occurred in the text.

Mistakes in copying Church Slavonic abbreviations.

7:19 ἡ σοφία βοηθήσει τῷ σοφῷ
 МЛѢТЬ ПОМОЖЕТЬ МДРОМЪ

This mistake is due to the misreading of the abbreviated word МДРОСТЬ as МИЛОСТЬ.

9:3 καί γε καρδία υἱῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπληρώθη πονηροῦ
 и СЛНЦЕ СНѠВЪ ЧЛЧЬ ИСПЛЪНИ СѠ ЛДКАСТВІА
 (gr. 1 – lacuna)

A wrong word appeared in the text as a result of misreading the abbreviated срдце as слнце.

10:20 καί γε ἐν συνειδήσει σου βασιλέα μὴ καταράση
 и тѣѢ ВЪ СВѢСТИ СВОЕЙ СРДЦА НЕ КЛЕНИ

This is a similar example of misreading a word цѣра as срца.

There are three mistakes of this kind. All these examples are errors in copying abbreviations. They indicate that all Cyrillic manuscripts derive from β which is an intermediary stage in the stemma.

Other errors in copying Church Slavonic text.

Below are more examples of errors in copying Church Slavonic text. These errors might have been caused by a visual difficulty during the copy process. When an unusual change is found in a manuscript involving letters which look alike, then it is possible that this error arose from confusion of letters. There are also errors caused by mental lapse: by sight, by transposition of letters, by mishearing, by misreading, etc.

3:14 καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἵνα φοβηθῶσιν
и бѣ створи да δβο ε̂

The verb δβοκτ̂ was written as δβοε̂ in the process of copying and was probably understood as two separate words δβο – ‘so’ and ε̂ – ‘is’ a form of 3rd p. sing. praes. of the verb ‘to be’. I have no ready explanation for the Church Slavonic singular when Greek has plural. Could it be a Serbian spelling?

5:7 ἐὰν συκοφαντίαν πένητος
аще Ѡидѡ ницаа

Miscopying of the letter **в** as **т** in the noun οβιδυ or, perhaps, mishearing resulted in the form of the 1-st p. sing. verb Ѡидѡ. All the MSS have the ligature Ѡ at the beginning of the word. There is another problem there with the form ницаа instead of gen. sing. ницаго.

5:19 ὅτι οὐ πολλὰ μνησθήσεται τὰς ἡμέρας
яко немогы поманѡти д̄нии

This particular mistake resulted from the accidental omission of the second letter **н** in the word немногы.

6:9 ἀγαθὸν ὄραμα ὀφθαλμῶν
блго дѡаніа очью

A misreading of видѡннн as дѡаніа led to this mistake.

7:2 καὶ ὁ ζῶν δώσει
иже выдасте

The wrong word division of the collocation и живыи дастѣ caused this mistake.

7:18 ἐν τούτῳ καὶ γε ἀπὸ τούτου
о всемѣ Ѡ всего

It is possible that with the variants о всемѣ – Ѡ всего appear under the influence of the word все which is found at the end of the verse.

11:5 ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν γινώσκων
 в нихже нѣсть воды.

Misreading or miscopying of one letter ϰ or ε for the letter ο led to the misinterpretation of the participle **вѣдыи** into the gen. sing. form of the noun **воды** - 'water'. This mistake is easier to imagine within the immediate context where there is mention of clouds.

For the errors below the original readings, which can be reconstructed on the basis of Greek, are given on the right.

2:3 живѣ - вижѣ? - ἴδω cf. also 9:9

This particular error resulted from transposition of letters.

2:15 ꙗко дѣчи - слѣчѣи? - ὡς συνάντημα

2:19 то естъ - кто вѣсть? - τίς οἶδεν

It looks like both Church Slavonic words in 2:15 and 2:19 lost their initial letters.

4:16 καί γε τοῦτο ματαιότης καί προαίρεσις πνεύματος
 ꙗко не света ни изволеніе дѣ. [се? - τοῦτο; и? - και]

The negation is not in Greek. I assume that these negations resulted from miscopying the Church Slavonic words **се** and **ни** at an early stage.

5:11 обавлаѣи - оставлаѣи? - ἀφίω (cf. 2:18 оставлаю - ἀφίω)

6:9 хотѣщаго - ходѣщаго? - πορευόμενον

6:10 светити сѣ - сѣдити сѣ? - κριθῆναι

6:10 къ почетшим - крѣпѣчѣишим? - ἰσχυροτέρου

The Church Slavonic reading should correspond to the variant found in S according to the critical apparatus in Rahlfs's edition.

9:9 и **ЖИВИ** ЖИВО^Т С ЖЕНОЮ - ВИЖЬ? - ἰδὲ

It is likely that the transposition of letters was helped by alliteration. And perhaps, the substitution of the imperative **ВИЖЬ** with **ЖИВИ** makes a better collocation in this context.

10:4 **НА НА** (НА НЬ Pg.81) - НА ТА? - ἐπὶ σέ

12:5 **ЯКО ВЕДЕ^Т ЧЛКА** - **ИДЕТ ЧЛКЪ**? - ὅτι ἐπορεύθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος

10:18 ἐν ὀκνηρίαις ταπεινωθήσεται ἡ δόκωσις

В ЛѢНОСТИ СМИРИТ СѦ **СТРОПТИВО**

The current mistake may have resulted from the misreading of perhaps what was not such a common word **СТРОПИЛО** – ‘wood beam’ as **СТРОПТИВО** – ‘obstinately’.

8:8 **СДВЫ** – ἀποστολή

I do not have a ready explanation for this reading and can only suppose that there was some corruption in Church Slavonic.

Although the next three examples do not fully conform to the definition of common errors observed in all 16 MSS, I nevertheless have included them here. In contrast to the previous examples where errors were simply copied by scribes, the three examples below show attempts by scribes to emend and ‘improve’ the text.

3:18 ὅτι διακρινεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός

ЯКО РАА БЪ

РАВЪ Supr.

6:3 εἶπα ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τὸ ἔκτρομα

И РѢХЪ ВЛГЪ ПАСЕ ЕГО **ВЗИРАЕ^Т**

возратъ Pg.1,Und.1; възрастъ Sol.,TSL730; възврати Pg.81; възвратъ Vol.13, I-Vol.605

7:14 ζῆσι ἐν ἀγαθῷ
 ЖИВА И ВЪ ІЗЛИ
 или Pg.81

In 3:18 and 6:3 MSS Supr. and Pg.81 retain individual readings.

Dittography.

3:19 ТАКО ТАКО смѣрть сего.

Conclusions about the archetype.

There is no critical edition of the Greek text of *Ecclesiastes*, therefore it is not possible to relate the Cyrillic archetype α precisely to the Greek manuscript tradition. However, comparison of variants given in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons and Boli reveals that there are omissions in the Greek plain and commentated versions which correspond with the Church Slavonic text. Though the precise textual characteristics of the Greek exemplar which the Slavonic translator used are not known, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Greek text was defective. Therefore copy α could have flaws from the start. In addition to omissions this stage α could have been characterized by mistakes made in the process of translation. Concerning the other errors and omissions the possibility remains that they appeared during successive copying of the Church Slavonic text. Furthermore, errors in copying Church Slavonic speak strongly for the existence of an intermediary stage β .

The number of coincidences between the variants readings in the Church Slavonic text with the readings in Greek manuscripts is not large and is distributed more or less evenly. The coincidences with codex Vaticanus are six, with codex Alexandrinus five, with MS 23 also five, with MS 106 four, with MS 254 also four, with MSS 157, 253, 298, 299 two. However, no clear pattern emerges from these correspondences.

Manuscript 106 is a Bible of the 14th century, MS 23 or codex Venetus is a complete Bible of the 8th century, MS 254 is Sbornik of the 10th century containing Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus. The Church Slavonic version seems closer to these manuscripts though they are not closely related.

The next logical step to take is to establish the relationship between the groups of manuscripts. Groups 1, 2 of the branch γ and group 3 of the branch δ have been already mentioned. Group 3 in δ branch contains a plain text not contaminated by interpolation and therefore *prima facie* has a stronger claim to be closer to the tradition. However, the absence of the interpolation does not necessarily make this group earlier than the branch γ . The omissions and corruptions in δ which are not found in γ make it possible to suppose that this group could derive from a poorer copy of the β MS. If we are to suppose that branches δ and γ were almost contemporaneous, it might be feasible to argue a case for both groups having developed independently from each other.

The methodology used to posit the former existence of α and β is also applied for the reconstruction of the later stages γ and δ . The group 3 in branch δ is chosen in the first place because it seems to be less structurally complicated and is more straightforward than groups 1 and 2 in branch γ with their intricacy of the insertion and the lacuna.

Relationships of MSS in group 3.

Omissions in Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 MSS.

The following omissions demonstrate that these MSS are related to each other.³¹

7:10 ἀγαθαὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτας
* БЛАЗНИ ПАЧЕ СИ * (gr. 1, 2)
* * - om. gr. 3

7:28 καὶ οὐχ εὔρον ἄνθρωπον
и не * ѠБРѢТОХЪ ЧЛКА (gr. 1, 2)
* не - om. gr. 3

7:28 εὔρον καὶ γυναῖκα
ѠБРѢТОХ * и женъ (gr. 1, 2)
* Ѡбретох - om. gr. 3

The word ѠБРѢТОХ occurs 5 times in verses 7:27-7:29 so it could easily be missed once by a copyist.

8:10 καὶ ἐκ τόπου ἀγίου ἐπορεύθησαν
и Ѡ сѢГО ИДЕНІА * идоша (gr. 1, 2)
* иденіа – om. gr. 3

The reading in group 3 is closer to the standard Greek text where no equivalent for the word иденіа is found.

³¹ These are the examples of major variation which consist of the omission of a content word: 1:9, 7:26, 11:6. Certain linguistic characteristics such as differences in case endings, aspects of verb, short and long adjectives, absence or presence of certain conjunctions, particles, etc. are qualified as minor variation. They are nevertheless important because they form a pattern which distinguishes this group of MSS from the rest, e.g. 2:14, 11:3 ∅ vs. и; 2:25 ∅ vs. ктo; 4:8 ∅ vs. не; 8:9 ∅ vs. вѢ; 10:11 ∅ vs. нѢ.

Addition.

10:17 и силѣ рати не постыдаѣт^ѣ

The reason for the inclusion of the word **рати** is not entirely clear, this could be an interpretation on a part of a scribe.

Apart from omissions and the addition there are variant readings which unite manuscripts Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 as a group descending from the hyparchetype δ.

Variant readings common to group 3.

There are variants (1:13, 4:6, 6:2, 10:6, 11:3, 12:5, 12:9) that may stem from scribal errors in copying Church Slavonic. For example, in 6:2 the adjective **долгъ** may be a corruption of the word **золъ**. In 11:3 we have the reading **равнѣ местѣ** in group 3 vs. **вѣрнемъ местѣ** in Rum.204, MS2, GB vs. **сѣвернѣ местѣ** in gr. 1 and Sof. The reading in MSS Rum.204, MS2, GB is a truncation of the adjective **сѣверныи** when the first syllable was lost. But the reason behind the reading in group 3 is not entirely clear, it may be banalisation. It is not easy to explain the corruption of the noun **дом** into **днѣ** in 12:5 **в днѣ века своего** vs. **в дом (εις οίκου) века своего**. A scribe may have thought that **днѣ века** is obviously a more appropriate collocation than **дом века** and consequently may have changed it. In 10:6 there is a slight possibility that the form **вждуть** in group 3 might resulted from a confusion of ‘jusy’ – ж and ѡ and the substitution of letter **с** for **в** in the verb **сѡдѣт** found in gr. 1 and 2. In 12:11 gr. 3 has the variant reading **пастырѡ** vs. **пастѣха** in gr. 1 and 2.

7:26 **извинет сѡ** vs. **извинит сѡ** gr. 1, 2 **избавит сѡ?**

HP ἐξαρθήσεται MSS 147, 157, 159.

Sreznevskij following Vostokov presents the word **ИЗВИНЕТ СѦ** with this particular quotation from *Ecclesiastes* 7:26 under the entry **ИЗВИНѢТИ СѦ** - 'to be delivered', 'to be saved' with the Greek parallel ἐξαίρεθήσεται. Sreznevskij's second example under the same entry is a quotation from the *Pandects of Antioch* **НЕ ИЗВИНЕТЪ СѦ ВЪСЬ ПРИКАСАИ СѦ ЕИ** - 'to be justified' with the Greek parallel οὐ ἄθωωθήσεται. This particular quotation in the *Pandects* is drawn from *Proverbs* 6:29. In LLP under the entry **ИЗВИНѢТИ СѦ** we find the same quotation (*Proverbs* 6:29) from Zaharjin and Grigorovičev parimejnik: **НЕ ИЗВИНЕТЪ СѦ ВЪСАКЪ ПРИКАСА СѦ ЕИ** – οὐκ ἄθωωθήσεται – 'anyone will not be held guiltless who touches her'.

Vostokov's sources for *Ecclesiastes* in his dictionary were two MSS of the 16th century from Rumjancevskij museum and St. Petersburg Theological Academy. In 1842 Vostokov published his 'Opisanie russkix i slovenskix rukopisej Rumjancevskago muzeuma'. I assume that for his dictionary he probably used Rumjancevskij 204 and MS 9 from St. Petersburg Theological Academy.³² However, Rum.204 has the reading **ИЗВИНИТЪ СѦ**, therefore Vostokov must have used another manuscript.

I presume that Sreznevskij simply repeated the quotation of Vostokov in giving the first Greek parallel. In my opinion it is more likely to be an erroneous reading in *Ecclesiastes*. I have two explanations for this error. Firstly, there could be a scribal mental lapse in confusing the wording in verse 6:29 from *Proverbs* with the wording of 7:26 of *Ecclesiastes*. Their contexts are similar purely for the reason that women are the subject of both quotations. Secondly, there could have been a scribal error in incorrectly copying the word **ИЗБАВИТ СѦ** from **ИЗБАВИТИ СѦ** which according to LLP is a translation of the Greek ἐξαίρεῖσθαι – 'to be delivered', 'to be saved'; this suggestion, however, seems to be less plausible on palaeographical grounds. At the same time it is quite obvious that at an early stage the text existed in a poor quality form, which engendered the copying mistakes in later Church Slavonic MSS.

In addition there are cases (4:10, 5:7, 8:11) where variants might arise from scribal endeavor to 'improve' the text. 3:13 **ЖИВОТЪ** gr. 3 vs. **ЖИТЬИ** Sol., TSL 730, gr. 2 vs. **ЖИВОТЬИ** Pg. 1 (**ВО** is crossed out), Und.1. 4:10 **КОМЪ** gr. 3 vs. **В ТОГО** gr. 1, 2. 5:7 **О**

³² I have been unable to get access to MS 9 from Theological Academy. This MS is incomplete, it ends 9:7.

бывшем gr. 3 vs. о вещи gr. 1, 2. Since бѣвати could render the Greek verb *πραγματεύεσθαι*, the reading о бѣвшем may be 'better' Church Slavonic usage. 8:11 извѣщениа gr. 3 vs. изволениа Pg.1, Sol., Und.1 vs. избавлениа TSL 730, gr. 2. It seems obvious that something went wrong here. The reading of group 3 is a puzzling one, it may be taken as a translation of the Greek word *ἀντίρρησις*.³³ The readings of groups 1 and 2 can be explained on palaeographical grounds, as they are very close in appearance: избавлениа could have changed into изволениа, besides the word изволениа is quite frequently repeated in the text.

There is a number of minor variations between group 3 and groups 1 and 2. The importance of these variations is that they form a pattern which distinguishes group 3 from other groups. A few examples are presented here, and the rest are given in the footnote.³⁴

1:16 своем vs. моем

2:8 имѣнїа црѣска vs. имѣнїа црѣ

2:11 еже поспѣших vs. иже поспѣших

2:12 премдрѣть vs. мдрѣть

Conclusions about the archetype of group 3.

On the basis of omissions, addition and variant readings peculiar to group 3, which contains a plain text, it could be presumed that these MSS go back to a hyparchetype δ. A number of scribal errors indicate that this branch of the tradition has become corrupted during successive copying. Lexical variants do not necessarily imply that a correction against the Greek was made. The variant readings peculiar to these manuscripts divide

³³ The Greek word *ἀντίρρησις* meaning here 'controversy, contradiction' is considered to be a neologism by J. Lust (1992, 41).

³⁴ Minor variation: 2:10; 2:11; 2:12, 2:21, 3:9, 3:15; 4:3; 4:8; 4:9; 4:17; 5:17; 6:5; 6:6; 7:7; 7:8; 7:9x2; 7:12; 7:14; 7:23; 7:26; 7:29; 8:1; 8:3; 8:4; 8:6, 8:8 x2; 8:10; 8:13x3; 8:14; 8:16; 9:3; 10:6; 10:7; 10:8; 10:10x2; 10:16; 10:18; 10:11; 11:6; 11:6; 11:7; 11:7; 12:5; 12:6; 12:12.

them into two subgroups: η which includes Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 and θ which includes Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121 and Čud.200.

Variants common to Pg.81, Vol.13 and I-Vol.605

MSS Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 agree against other manuscripts in the following readings:

2:23 потеченіє vs. попеченіє Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200

5:8 ε̂^ стpанoю цр̂ь vs. стpанoю ε̂^ цр̂ь Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200

5:4 или vs. ли all other MSS

9:3 позади и^x vs. позадн^x all other MSS ³⁵

9:7 в сердце бл̂зе вино свое (ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀγαθῆ οἴνου σου) vs. въ [...] блазе вино свое all other MSS

9:9 даны тебе (δοθείσας σοι) vs. даны all other MSS

The strength of agreement in 9:7 and 9:9 is more than in 5:4 where it is easier to make a slip in copying или vs. ли. In the last two examples Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 are closer to the standard Greek text.

Variants common to Pg.81, I-Vol.605

Furthermore, it appears that two manuscripts Pg.81 and I-Vol.605 are closer to one another than to Vol.13, showing agreement in the following readings:

1:3 изъовилде^т vs. изъовиліє all other MSS.

3:11 все ѿ^м vs. вса ѿ^м Vol.13

6:8 изъовличіє vs. изовиліє all other MSS

³⁵ For 9:3, 9:7, 9:9 in MSS of gr.1, Rum.204 and Sof. there is no evidence because of the lacuna.

In 7:5 Pg.81, I-Vol.605 have the reading *мужа слышаша пѣ̂ бездмныхъ* – (ἄνδρα ἀκούοντα ἄσμα ἀφρόνων) which is also attested in MS2 and GB vs. *мужа слышаша нѣ̂ бездмныхъ* in all other manuscripts. A copyist misread a letter *п* as *н* and consequently wrote it as *нѣ̂* instead of *пѣ̂*. It is especially difficult to distinguish when written, as it seems to be in our case, under a *titlo*. The reading *пѣ̂*, which unites Pg.81, I-Vol.605 and is found in MS2 and GB, may be either a result of independent correction by the scribes of *λ* and *κ* (perhaps by reference to Greek ἄσμα, or by a happy surmise of a scribe). Alternatively *λ* may have been corrected on the basis of *κ* or vice versa.

It seems that I-Vol.605 could not have inherited it from Pg.81 directly but via some intermediary copy, since the order of verses in I-Vol.605 is incorrect due to some confusion with the folia in its antigraph. It needs to be said however, that this example is not a very effective one, as these two abbreviated words are not irreversible and they can be easily confused. Furthermore, Vol.13 seems to be the only MS to share glosses in 12:5 *мигдалъ, проу̂* with GB.

The peculiarities of Pg.81.

The further examination of the relationship between Pg.81 and other manuscripts in group 3 reveals that in two instances (3:3, 7:17) Pg.81 gives the readings closest to the standard Greek text within group 3. In 3:3 Pg.81 has the reading *врѣмѣ съзати* while all the other MSS do not have such reading. In 3:5 Pg.81 has an individual reading *врѣмѣ мьслити* while all other manuscripts omit this phrase. A similar picture may be observed in 7: 14 where in place of the correct reading *въ влѣтъ- ἐν ἀγαθῷ* Pg.81 has the reading *или* while all other MSS have *въ изли*. Perhaps, this was a scribal attempt to remedy the text.

In 7:17 Pg.81 stands out as having a reading which follows the standard Greek exactly: *не во врѣмѣ своѣ*. However, this particular example carries less weight because such omission/inclusion of the negative particle could happen independently, as might be the case with TSL 730, which has the same reading. In all other manuscripts there is no second negative particle: *и да не умреши [--] въ врѣмѣ своѣ - ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνης ἐν οὐ*

καίρω σου. While in 2:13 all other MSS in group 3 share a conjunctive error, a dittography: и видѣх азъ тако видѣх, in Pg.81 there is no dittography: и видѣх азъ тако. In 3:7 Pg.81 has the individual reading издрати. In 4:1 Pg.81 has an omission of a pronoun вса, while all the other MSS contain this word. In 9:3 Pg.81 has a corrupt reading лочапа. In addition Pg.81 also displays differences in low level variation in a number of places: 6:3, 7:3, 7:26, 8:3, 8:5, 9:17, 10:1, 10:9, 10:13, 10:15.

As we can see Pg.81 presents a small number of readings closer to the standard Greek text. Although Vol.13 and I-Vol.605 share the same filiation with Pg.81, they do not fully contain these readings. It might be that individual readings (2:13, 3:3, 3:5) in Pg.81 are secondary rather than inherited. In all probability it was the scribe of Pg.81 who introduced these corrections.

Pg.81 was compared to group 1 to investigate whether they share significant common readings which are not found in group 3. If they share common readings, then we may assume that Pg. 81 can be conservative in these readings which might go back to the archetype. But I could not find strong enough examples of common readings shared with group 1 to prove the case. However, Pg.81 still may be conservative in some readings and innovative at others. Because not all the MSS have been available for collation there may be some additional information found as to the position of Pg. 81.

Variants peculiar to Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200

MSS Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 have common errors in 3:22 възвеличит са vs. възвеселит са all other MSS, 10:1 чѣть масло мдрѣти vs. чѣть малло мдрѣти all other MSS. The mistake in 10:1 could be a result of substitution of a similar word, especially when in the same sentence earlier there is another instance of the word масло. In 4:8 (нѣкъ всемоу vs. нѣкъ конца всемоу), and in 5:4, 5:5, 9:7 all these 5 manuscripts have omissions as opposed to the rest of the MSS. Other divergences, given here in the footnote, display minor variation but nevertheless these seem important as they form a pattern which

distinguish this group from other MSS.³⁶ On the basis of variant readings this subgroup θ is further divided into two: μ with Und.1121, Čud.200 and ν with Pg.78, Arx., Supr.

Variants peculiar to Und.1121 and Čud.200.

Und.1121 and Čud.200 share omissions which distinguish them from the rest of group 3 in 4:12 (СТАНЕТА [...] СЕМОУ vs. СТАНЕТА ПРОТИВЪ СЕМОУ all other MSS) and in 9:10 (∅ vs. ЕЛИКА ТИ СИЛА ТВОРИТИ = gr. 2). The rest are examples of minor divergences which form a pattern distinguishing this subgroup from other MSS.³⁷

Variants peculiar to Pg.78, Arx., Supr.

1:3 смѣшени vs. спѣшени all other MSS

10:13 начало словесъ [...] его vs. начало словесъ оустъ его Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Und.1121, Čud.200

Variants peculiar to Pg.78 and Arx.

Arx. and Pg.78 seem close because they share an omission in 6:4 (in Pg.78 it is written in the margin: БЛГО ПЧЕ ЕГО И ВЪЗВРАТИ^Т ПЧЕ ЛКО ВЪ СЪЕТЪ.) Therefore we may reasonably assume that this omission was already in a hyparchetype π from which both of them might have descended. Alekseev (1983, 232) suspects that Pg.78 is a copy of Western Russian provenance. Thus it could come from the same geographical area as Supr. Besides omissions there are a few scribal errors and a variant reading peculiar to Pg.78 and Arx. in 7:6 смѣри Arx. and смѣри^х Pg.78 (ри in Pg.78 is crossed out) = смѣх. There is some evidence of scribal correction on the basis of other MSS. In 7:10 Arx. and Pg.78

³⁶ 1:16, 2:26, 3:5, 4:6, 4:8, 4:13, 5:3, 5:8, 5:9, 5:17, 7:1, 7:20, 8:9, 8:12.

³⁷ 2:9, 3:11, 7:16, 8:1, 8:13, 10:14, 10:16, 11:8, 12:8, 12:10.

share the same reading **бѣша** vs. **бѣша** in all other MSS. The following examples cited below demonstrate the minor divergences of Pg.78 and Arx. from the rest of group 3, while the rest of the minor divergences are given in the footnote.³⁸

1:13 **премоудрости** vs. **моудрости**

4:10 **падает сѧ** vs. **падет сѧ**

5:1 **и ѿ сем** vs. **ѿ сем**

It might be concluded that, in addition to errors peculiar to all manuscripts from group 3, these two manuscripts share certain errors and omissions which are not found in the other manuscripts of the same group. While Arx. bears no traces of any correction, Pg.78 displays some signs of correction which may have resulted from collation with a copy like Supr.

Conclusions about group 3.

The text of the MSS of group 3 displays a comparatively high level of corruption, which may suggest that it was subject to more copying than the other two groups. Despite this, in my stemma I have drawn the hyparchetype δ for the manuscripts in group 3 descending directly from β because there is insufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that the textual tradition was more complex.

From the stemma we can see that the five manuscripts Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121 and Čud.200 are closely related to each other, and so they derive from the single hyparchetype θ . Und.1121 and Čud.200 have variant readings peculiar to them, and therefore seem to derive from the younger hyparchetype μ . On the other hand, we can see that three manuscripts Pg.78, Supr. and Arx. are closely related to each other, and so they have their own single hyparchetype ν .

Pg.78 and Arx. share an omission which is not in Supr., and therefore derive from the younger hyparchetype π . It is suggested that Pg.81, Vol.13 and I-Vol.605 constitute a separate group η on the basis of variant readings. Pg.81 and I-Vol.605 seem closer to

³⁸ 9:1, 9:11, 10:15, 11:5, 12:5.

each other because they have the same variant reading in several places: 1:3, 3:11, 6:8 and particularly in 7:5 **нѣснѣ** vs. **нѣсѣтъ**, which they share together with MS2 and GB and which is not to be found in any other manuscripts including Vol.13. Therefore it could be presumed that Pg.81 and I-Vol.605 have their own junior hyparchetype λ. As was already discussed on page 38 I-Vol.605 could not be directly descended from Pg.81.

Further consideration must be given to the fact that Pg. 81 deviates sometimes from the rest of the manuscripts and is closer to the standard Greek than the other manuscripts. If there was evidence to suggest that the readings in Pg.81 were conservative, we might suppose that they went back to an earlier, perhaps, Bulgarian source and that the rest of the MSS followed a more corrupt tradition; but if the deviant readings in Pg.81 are the result of correction, then their time and place of origin are an open question. MS Pg.81 is a typical East Slavonic copy of the period demonstrating Second South Slavonic influence. Therefore it could reflect the spelling habits of an east Slavonic scribe and does not necessarily reproduce the spellings of a South Slavonic exemplar of whatever date. This in turn may be an impediment to suggestion that corrections were made to the text using the Greek manuscripts in the East Slav area.

The textual analysis shows manuscripts from group 3 do not look very promising as the source for the base text because of their corruptions, and in the case of Pg.81, some later editorial corrections. Thus dismissing group 3, we turn our attention to groups 1 and 2 in order to determine what divergences there are between all three groups, and whether any manuscript contained within the first two groups is a suitable candidate to be the base text for the edition.

Relationships of MSS in group 1.

Although the manuscripts Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, and Sof. form a separate group because they share an insertion with the commentary, and they all have a lacuna (8:16-9:14) which shows that they all go back to one copy, a number of omissions, additions and common errors in Rum.204 and Sof. and in MS2 and GB allow Rum.204 and Sof. to be grouped together with MS2 and GB. Therefore Rum.204 and

Sof. will be examined jointly with MS2 and GB as a separate group. Prior to this, however, the relations between Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., and TSL 730 will be analysed.

Variant readings common to Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. and TSL 730 .

3:13 καί γε πᾶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς φάγεται καὶ πίεται καὶ ἴδῃ ἀγαθὸν
 ИБО ВСА^к ЧЛКЪ И ПИЕТ * И ЪСТЪ** ВИДИТЬ БЛГОЕ
 * И ВИНО – ро. Und.1
 ** ІАСТЪ Sol., ЪСТЪ TSL 730, ИЪ^ѣ gr. 2, 3

It is worth noting that in 3:13 the word order is different from the Greek. The scribe of Und.1 added the noun **ВИНО** –‘wine’, a certain elaboration, which may not have been so uncommon in the production of medieval texts. In TSL 730 there is some minor correction of the first letter in the word **И ЪСТЪ** but it is not possible to guess from the photocopy what it is. It may be **И** or **И** or even **М** which makes it the word **МЪСТЪ**. However, paleographically these possibilities do not seem to be very probable for two reasons. Firstly, the scribe of TSL 730 writes the letter **М** quite wide and secondly, he displays the habit of abbreviating the word **ИЪ^ѣ**.

I assume that the reading **ЪСТЪ** in group 1 was corrected rather than inherited. Thus group 1 could be innovative here. All the manuscripts in groups 2 and 3 share the corruption of the word **ЪСТЪ-φάγεται** into **ИЪСТЪ**- a negated verb ‘to be’. It is plausible that the common source was not very legible and misreading of **И** as **И** has resulted in convergent errors in groups 2 and 3. The variant readings in the footnote are examples of minor variation.³⁹

Though Pg.1, Sol., and Und.1 share a few variant readings with TSL 730, the one in 3:13 being especially significant, at the same time in a number of instances these three MSS agree against TSL 730. The majority of these divergences, however, are examples of minor variation.⁴⁰

³⁹ 2:2, 4:9, 11:7, 11:8.

⁴⁰ 2:26, 3:14, 3:20, 7:18, 8:11, 10:3, 10:4, 10:13, 10:18, 11:7, 11:9.

Variant readings that unite Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. against TSL 730.

2:11 створения vs. створенаа

2:26 дастъ vs. да есть

3:14 оуати vs. 8таити

In a number of instances (1:13, 3:13, 4:10, 10:20, 11:3) Pg.1 and Und.1 can be grouped against Sol. and TSL 730. These are the examples of minor variation. However, the variants in 6:3 **возратъ** Pg.1, Und.1 vs. **и възраст** Sol., TSL 730 are more important. All the manuscripts in this place display corrupted readings. As the usual tendency in medieval writing practice was to trivialise, the unfamiliar **возратъ** in Pg.1, Und.1 could have given rise to the more common **възрастъ** found in Sol., TSL 730. TSL 730 seems quite often to agree with group 3 (2:9, 2:24, 5:18, 10:18) but these are examples of minor variation.

The examples below display superficial trivial differences but these are not supportive in defining the textual relationship.

7:18 **бл̄г̄ости есть** Pg.1, Und.1 vs. **бл̄го есть** Sol. vs. **блго ти есть** TSL 730

8:8 **влад̄ющаго** Pg.1, Und.1 vs. **влад̄оуца** Sol. vs. **влад̄ѣщаго** TSL 730

8:12 **бл̄го блго боащимса** Pg.1 vs. **блго боащимса** Sol., Und.1, TSL 730 ⁴¹

2:11 **мога га*** Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730 vs. **мога** Sol.

2:12 **иже и поидет** Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730 vs. **иже поидет** - ὅς ἐπελεύσεται Sol.

3:12 **твори** Pg.1, Und.1 vs. **сътворити** Sol. vs. **творити** TSL 730

Though the differences between Pg.1, Und.1 and Sol., TSL 730 are minute, nevertheless these examples are suggestive because they form a pattern. This pattern shows that sometimes Und.1 is closer to Pg.1, while TSL 730 may be closer to Sol.

⁴¹ In Pg.1 the second **блго** is written above the line.

Conclusions about group 1.

A smaller number of omissions and textual corruptions in group 1 could indicate that γ was a more accurate copy of β than δ , and that ϵ , the hyparchetype of group 1, was in its turn fairly close to γ . On the other hand, it has a structural deficiency - a lacuna. It is very likely that the lacuna resulted from a missing folio and this in turn indicates that the MSS Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. derived from one copy.

Relationships of MSS in group 2.

As has been already stated, in terms of textual tradition as opposed to terms of content Rum.204 and Sof. seem closer to MS2 and GB. Yet the lacuna peculiar to Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204 and Sof is not in MS2 and GB. My working hypothesis is that the antigraph of Rum.204 and Sof. going back to the *hyparchetype* ζ served as one of the sources for MS2 and GB. This seems plausible not only because of the presence of identical readings, but also because Sof. comes from the Novgorod area, where Gennadij compiled his Bible. The compilers in all probability turned to local resources. And it seems reasonable to assume that at this stage the commentary in the insertion was largely removed.

Variant readings common to Rum.204, Sof., MS2, GB.

The examination revealed that these MSS share an omission in 10:12-13, additions in 7:29 ἐζήτησαν λογισμούς πολλούς – взи́скаша помы́сль до́брь мнѡ^ѣ and in 7:26 δεσμοὶ (HP δεσμός 253, Alex.) χεῖρες αὐτῆς - сѣдзѣ (sic) [гр. 3 сѣдзѣ] ЛЮБВИ ЕѦ РҮКѦ ЕѦ. The reason for these additions is not known. In 10:10 аще спадеѣт сѣчи́во и тѣ самѣ лице^ѣ спадеѣт и смѣтеѣт the second occurrence of the verb спадеѣт stems from the Church Slavonic tradition where a scribe could have absent-mindedly repeated the same word twice.

Apart from omission and additions Rum. 204, Sof., MS2, GB show an agreement in common errors which set them apart as a group.⁴² To give but one example: 2:12 **иже не поидет** vs. **иже и поидет** Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730 (и s.l.); **иже поидет** Sol., gr. 3 (ὅς ἐπελεύσεται). This error was probably made by association with the well-known line from the Psalm 1 where there is a negation: **блаженъ мѹжь иже не идеть...**

There are examples (2:11 and 3:5) of variant readings peculiar to this group, the cause of which is ambiguous. It is possible that variant readings in 2:11 **изволенїа** vs. **иззовбилїа** and in 3:5 **рассыпати** vs. **собрати** may be the result of scribal errors in copying Church Slavonic. At the same time I would not completely exclude the possibility that these go back to the variation in Greek. As can be seen from the critical apparatus to the edition of the Septuagint the variation between the nouns *προαίρεσις* and *περισσεία* is attested in the Greek manuscript tradition. **Рассыпати** is an odd rendering of *συναγαγεῖν*, but it may go back to the reading *τοῦ ῥύψαι*. Though in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons it is said that this reading is encountered in the margins in MS 161, it is still possible that at some point this marginal reading may have found its way into the main body of Greek text. However, I must admit that this is a very remote possibility. Below are examples of minor variation.

12:1 **речеши ми** vs. **речеши**

2:16 **бывша** vs. **быша**

7:10 **что бо** vs. **что бы**

The significance of these and other examples is in their forming a pattern that unites Rum. 204, Sof., MS2, GB against other MSS.⁴³

⁴² 1:14, 1:15, 2:1, 2:17, 3:18, 5:8, 8:10, 10:15, 12:6, 12:11.

Readings peculiar to Rum.204, Sof.

These variant readings (1:17, 2:1, 3:11, 5:1, 5:7, 5:14, 5:18x3, 7:15, 11:2, 12:3, 12:5) demonstrate that Rum.204 and Sof. belong to the more corrupt branch of the tradition. In Rum.204 and Sof. we find a nonsensical word **серакю** in 2:1. A later scribe may have thought that this mistake was a simple case of metathesis. He then corrected it into a meaningful word **секарю** – ‘wood cutter’. This correction differs from the reading in the majority of manuscripts where a correct reading **серацю** can be found. We may safely assume that this scribe did not compare his text with other Church Slavonic copies. This case proves, firstly, that *Ecclesiastes* was not such a familiar text for a scribe to spot mistakes easily and secondly, that thorough revision of the whole text was not undertaken.

In 5:14 we read **поспѣ** vs. **поспѣсѣ** in MS2 and GB, whereas all other MSS have **поспѣшеніи**. And in 12:5 we find **разроу** vs. **разрѣшитъ сѧ** in MS2 and GB. In these two instances the incomplete meaningless words were either reinstated in MS2 or GB or alternatively the complete words might have been inherited from a less faulty manuscript than the antigraph of Rum.204 and Sof. The reason behind the reading **спѣніе** of Rum.204 and Sof. in 5:18 vs. **да^анье** in all other MSS is not known.

Readings peculiar to MS2, GB.⁴⁴

If the antigraph of Rum.204 and Sof. served as an exemplar for MS2 and GB, the evidence for the idiosyncratic editorial work carried in MS2 and GB can be gleaned from a few examples provided below.

3:5 καιρὸς τοῦ βαλεῖν λίθους καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ συναγαγεῖν λίθους
время раскласти каменіе. и время рассыпати* каменое (Rum. 204, Sof.)**

* -** - **сѣбрати камене** (gr. 1, 3)

** - **каменое** от. MS2, GB

⁴³ 1:4, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 2:13, 2:19, 2:24, 3:3, 3:10, 4:4, 4:8, 4:16, 5:5, 5:18, 7:7x2, 7:8, 7:11, 7:12x2, 7:21, 7:26, 9:16, 10:1, 10:10, 10:11x2, 12:5. 2:6, 2:8, 3:15, 3:19, 4:8, 7:21, 7:26, 8:4, 8:9, 8:10, 10:10, 11:7 и vs. ∅. 2:12, 3:14, 4:4, 5:15, 6:2, 6:3, 7:15 ∅ vs. и

⁴⁴ 1:14, 3:5, 3:10, 4:11, 4:16, 6:4, 7:5, 9:5, 11:1, 11:6, 12:6. Minor variation: 5:15, 6:1, 7:11, 10:3.

In MS2, GB the phrase may have been edited and *καμενοε* dropped.

- 6:4 ὅτι ἐν ματαιότητι ἦλθεν καὶ ἐν σκότει πορεύεται καὶ ἐν σκότει ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
καλυφθήσεται
ΓΑΚΟ Β ΣΕΤΕ ΠΡΙΔΕ И ΒΟ ΤΜΕ ΠΟΚΡΥΕΤ СΛ ΕΓΟ* (Rum.204, Sof.)
* - εἶς οἱ. MS2, GB
* - ИМΛ gr. 1, 3

In MS2 and GB the pronoun *εἶς* could have been intentionally omitted as making no sense.

- 11:1 ἀπόστειλον τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ ὕδατος ὅτι ἐν πλήθει τῶν ἡμερῶν
εὐρήσεις αὐτόν
ПОСЛИ ХЛѢБЪ ТВОИ НА ЛИЦЕ ВОДѢ. ΓΑΚΟ ΒЪ ΜΗΝ*СТВѢ ИИ* УБРАЦЕШИ (Rum.204, Sof.)
* - И οἱ. MS2, GB
* - ДННН gr. 1, 3

In Rum.204 and Sof. we find two *И*; they may result from a truncation of *ДННН*? In MS2, GB the word *ДННН* is omitted, however the passage makes sense without it. Scribes or editors of MS2 and GB in an attempt to fix a text that was garbled could have dropped *ИИ* as nonsensical and retained instead a single *И*. These readings seem to imply that Rum.204 and Sof. represent an earlier stage in corruption than GB and MS2.

The variant reading of MS2 and GB in 1:14 *ПОД НБСЕМ* vs. *ПОД СЛНЦЕМ* perhaps happened as assimilation by reminiscence with the previous verse 1:13 where we find the expression *ПОД НБСЕМ*. The erroneous reading of MS2 and GB in 3:10 *ПОЦИ СΛ* vs. *ΠΕЦИ СΛ* is caused by graphic confusion of letters *ο* and *ε*. The erroneous reading *ЧАСТЬ* found in MS2 and GB in 10:1 vs. *ЧЕСТЬ* in Rum.204, Sof., *ЧТЬ* – ‘honour’ (τίμιον) in group 3, was probably a scribal mistake or a misinterpretation of the abbreviated word.

In 7: 5 the reading *ПѢСНЬ* in MS2 and GB is shared with MSS Pg.81, I-Vol.605 vs. *ПѢ* in all other manuscripts. It is not exactly known whether this is a case of a horizontal transmission or an independent reference to Greek. However, the possibility of a horizontal transmission is more likely given that filling of the lacuna implies use of a manuscript from group 3 tradition. There is another possibility, however slight, that the

correction of *пѣснь* in *κ* was done against the same verse 7:5 in the insertion where a correct reading *пѣсни* is found.

Conclusions about group 2.

Rum.204 and Sof. seem to represent the more corrupt branch of the tradition, while GB suggests that an attempt was made to improve the text of the antigraph of Sof. and Rum.204. Although manuscripts in the γ branch of the *stemma* share the lacuna, it is not found in MS2 and GB. Therefore it was probably filled from the MSS of group 3, but if these manuscripts were not consulted at the time where else could the correctors have looked? Theoretically they could have used the Greek text, since it was a recognised practice in the 14-15th centuries to do so.⁴⁵ However, in the case of *Ecclesiastes* there are not strong enough examples of variant readings to support this assumption. Besides, we have no evidence for the presence of Greek Biblical codices at Novgorod.⁴⁶ Thus the probability of translating afresh the section of text equivalent to the lacuna from a Greek copy is rejected as groundless and unjustifiable.

However, the reinstated lacuna could have been compiled from the Church Slavonic texts which were available to the scribes at the time, and these might have been MSS from group 3. In order to decide whether manuscripts from group 3 served to fill the lacuna in GB and MS2, the comparison of the segment of text 8:16-9:14 with the available manuscripts from group 3 needs to be carried out.

⁴⁵ Evidence for revision of biblical translations by South Slav scribes in the 14th century can be found in Thomson, 1998: 605-920 who gives further references. For the East Slavonic practices see, for example, Alekseev, 1999:191-5 on the revision of the Čudov New Testament and Lunt and Taube, 1998 on the translation of *Esther*. Professor Thomson, however, has a very pessimistic view of the knowledge of Greek among the East Slavs, therefore he regards any reference to a Greek text as impossible.

⁴⁶ Thomson, 2002:34.

The filling of the lacuna.

Unlike other manuscripts in group 3 the provenance of MSS Pg.78 and Pg.81 is not known. This means it is impossible to speculate whether these two manuscripts were available to the editors of GB. In Arx. there is a lacuna at 8:8-8:17 due to a missing folio. It is theoretically possible that this lacuna in Arx. might have happened at a later stage after the editors of GB consulted this copy.

There is one place 9:12 where MS2 and GB diverge from the manuscripts of group 3.

9:12 си ~~з~~лавлѣмы * тако. ~~п~~ако ти^и сѣть снѡве (MS2, GB)

* сѣть – ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 (is crossed out), Pg.78, Arx., Supr.,
Und.1121, Čud.200

In examples 9:1, 9:3, 9:7, 9:9 and 9:10x2 MSS Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 share variant readings with MS2 and GB. It may be a simple coincidence, but on the other hand, these could be cases of horizontal transmission.

9:1 ~~п~~ако все дахъ въ сердце * и сердце мое все видѣ (MS2, GB = Pg.78, Arx., Supr.,
Und.1121, Čud.200)

* мое – ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605

9:3 ~~п~~ако случаи * всѣх (MS2, GB = Arx., Und.1121, Čud.200)

* случая и – Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., ~~л~~очага и всѣх – Pg.81

9:7 и пи въ * блзѣ вино свое (MS2, GB = Pg.78, Supr., Arx., Und.1121, Čud.200)

* срдцѣ – ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605

9:10 рѹка твоѡ створити * твори ~~п~~ако нѣ^ѣ створеніа (GB, MS2 = Und.1121, Čud.200)

* елика ти сила творити ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg. 78, Arx., Supr.

9:10 амо же * ты идеши (MS2, GB = Pg.78, Supr., Arx., Und.1121, Čud.200)

* и – ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605

The readings in 9:1, 9:7 and 9:10 (2) coincide with the subgroup θ represented by MSS Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200, while example in 9:12 demonstrates some minor variation. The first example in 9:10 presents a particular problem because GB and MS2 diverge from Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr. in omitting 'елика ти сила творити'. This may be a result of omission due to homoeoteleuton or some minor correction as the verb творити in Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg. 78, Arx., Supr. has no equivalent in Greek. Interestingly, Und.1121 and Čud.200 share the same omission, cf. also 9:3. This suggests that their antigraph might have been the source for the editors of GB. This evidence, however, is not conclusive by itself because scribes could have made such an omission independently of each other. Overall it is quite probable that the antigraph of Und.1121 and Čud.200 was consulted. It is, perhaps, not surprising because prior to taking up his see in Novgorod Gennadij was archimandrite in the Čudov monastery in Moscow and might have requested the available manuscripts to be sent to him

Conclusions drawn from the collation of MSS.

It is clear that all MSS under scrutiny go back to the same archetype. The text displays mostly low level variation among the manuscripts, and there is no trace of any systematic revision. There are no clear signs of reference to the Greek text, though there is some evidence that some scribes consulted more than one Church Slavonic manuscript. It seems likely that the archetype was defective: there are a number of omissions that could conceivably have occurred in either the Greek or the Church Slavonic exemplar, and others which resulted from transmission in the Slavonic MSS.

The corrections made by scribes present a problem in deciphering the textual relationships: it seems that the text has undergone certain improvements as a result of correction, while becoming corrupted in other places. The stemma I have drawn shows that the hyparchetype δ , to which manuscripts of group 3 belong, descends directly from β , but I also had to consider the possibility that group 3 could be chronologically the latest development in the textual tradition. The manuscripts in group 3, despite the fact that they contain a plain text, show a number of corruptions which are not in groups 1 and 2. It is possible that the textual development resulted here from moving from interpolated to plain text by gradual removal of the insertion. Thus the manuscripts with the plain text in group 3 may not represent the earlier stage of the tradition.

As can be observed in the case of Rum.204, Sof and Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. and TSL 730 the structural grouping conflicts with the grouping of manuscripts based on common errors and omissions. However, the *recensio* allowed us to establish hyparchetypes of these manuscripts. Furthermore, MS Sol. demonstrates sporadic scribal changes like другаго in 4:10 and отпусти in 11:10. The present situation may of course change when more MSS are examined and more readings may come to light.

The enigmatic position of Pg.81 introduces an element of complexity into group 3. Pg.81 furnishes reading supported by different groups of Church Slavonic MSS, and therefore suggestive of a common ancestry. At the same time Pg.81 has a number of individual readings which are closer to the standard Greek text. At present it is not known whether Pg. 81 displays later editorial changes or conservatism. Until more manuscripts are examined this question cannot be solved. The minority reading пѣснь of Pg.81 in 7:5

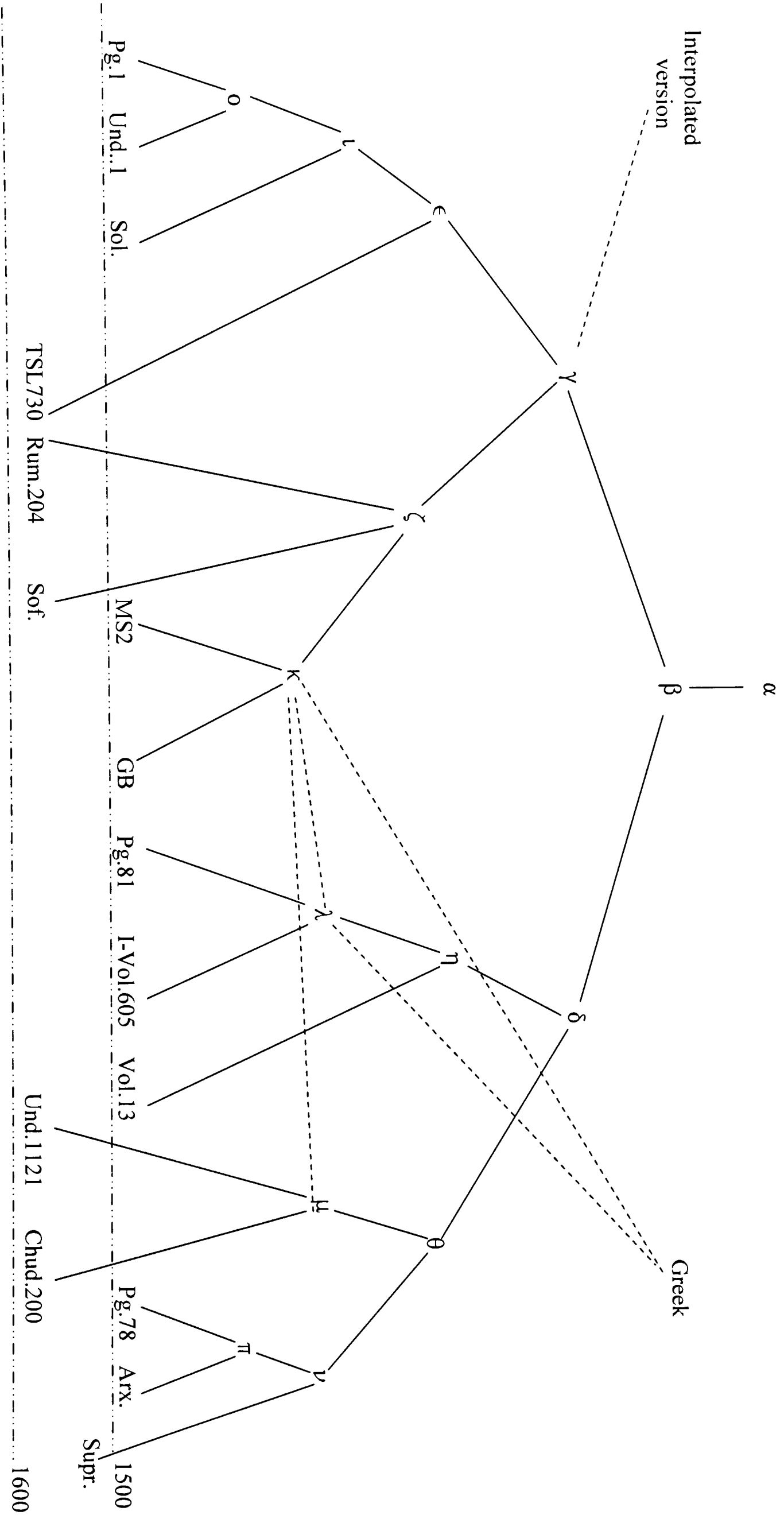
can be explained by consultation of Greek or a happy surmise of a scribe in a subsidiary part of the tradition of group 3.

An antigraph of Rum.204 and Sof. with the lacuna may have served as an exemplar for GB and MS2. The lacuna may have been filled with the text from a manuscript similar to Čud.200 or Und.1121. It is not certain whether GB was checked against the Greek; the variants in GB could have resulted from collation with another Church Slavonic copy and not necessarily with a Greek manuscript. There is no evidence for any of the variants found in individual manuscripts going back to Greek variants, i.e. there is no secondary correction against Greek.

Alekseev's (1988, 158) remark that MS2 could have been copied from GB as a second volume of the Bible since it contains books translated from Latin needs further clarification. With regard to *Ecclesiastes* the textual variants in MS2 demonstrate that it may represent an earlier stage in the relationship between GB and MS2 because it retains the commentary in 7:20 in the interpolation. In GB 9:9 the scribe has placed the reading **в животѣ твоѣмъ** in the main text and the reading **в спѣскѣ твоѣмъ** in the margin. In MS2 and group 3 the latter is placed in the main text. This shows that MS2 was not a direct copy of GB but that MS2 and GB in turn draw on group 3. I must admit, however, that this is not a strong argument given that we think manuscripts from two traditions were used in the preparation of MS2 and GB.

The relationships between the manuscripts and their filiations are shown in a stemma codicum.

Stemma codicum



Comments on the *stemma codicum*:

α – translation into Church Slavonic perhaps with omissions

β – a copy with misreadings of the Cyrillic

γ – a hyparchetype with the insertion and lacuna 8:16 - 9:14 and variants common to groups 1 and 2

δ – a hyparchetype with variants common to group 3

ε – a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.1, Und.1, Sol, TSL 730

ζ – a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Rum.204, Sof., MS2 and GB

η – a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.81, Vol.13 and I-Vol.605

θ – a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200

ι - a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.1, Und.1 and Sol.

κ - a junior hyparchetype of GB and MS2 with lacuna filled and insertion reduced

λ – a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.81 and I-Vol.605

μ - a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Und.1121 and Čud.200

ν - a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.78, Arx. and Supr.

ο - a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.1, and Und.1

π - a junior hyparchetype with variants common to Pg.78 and Arx.

x – commentated version

In drawing this stemma I have encountered difficulty with two readings **нѣснѣ/нѣсть** in 7:5 and **ѣсть/нѣсть** in 3:13. They seem to contradict the whole stemma, but in my opinion, they may be disregarded because neither of them is irreversible, being the type of mistakes that easily occurs. And they cannot affect the stemma in any serious way. However, I have to take into account certain assumptions regarding the readings in 7:5 and 3:13, in particular:

1. Distribution of **нѣснѣ** (in MSS deriving from γ and δ) might seem to be evidence for presence of **нѣснѣ** in β; but this hypothesis implies that **нѣ̂** → **нѣ̂** independently in other MSS descended both from γ and δ. Alternatively, **нѣ̂** is a secondary innovation – a lucky scribal guess or a restoration based on the reading of the insertion or the Greek.

This might have happened independently in the antigraphs of Pg.81 and I-Vol.605 and of GB and MS2, but perhaps more likely to have happened in the first of these and have been adopted in the second, which we know was a compilation on the basis of other evidence.

2. Similarly, if we assume that ѣсть in Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. And TSL 730 is inherited from β , we have to suppose that нѣ in the other MSS is the result of multiple independent misreadings (at least twice). Given that the Church Slavonic text in any case is at variance with the standard Greek order of verbs, it is simpler to posit early corruption in α and β , and a felicitous scribal emendation in the hyparchetype of Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. and TSL 730, with conservatism elsewhere.

In resolving the conflicts over these two sets of variants, I apply the principle of preferring the 'more difficult' reading: нѣ and ѣсть are 'easier' because they are supported by Greek and could have been restored by an alert scribe even without the help of the Greek.

Linguistic Evidence.

Below I examine morphological and lexical characteristics, clues that scholars usually use to identify early texts and translations, in order to see if there is any linguistic evidence which will allow us to date the text of *Ecclesiastes* with any degree of precision.

It must be said, though, that due to its brevity, a linguistic analysis of the text - as has been possible in longer texts, such as the *Gospels* and *Psalter* - is itself problematic since it offers limited scope for such an analysis. What appears to be even more important is the fact that early witnesses to the *Gospels* and *Psalter* allow scholars to trace the historical progression of their language. However, in my research I do not have such early witness serving as a reference point due, perhaps, to the non-liturgical status of *Ecclesiastes*.

The following criteria are employed to attempt to date the text linguistically: the use of the dual, old forms of the nouns with - s -, old accusative forms, including the use of the accusative case of the pronoun **и**, short adjectives, supine, asigmatic aorist, vocabulary. The orthographical characteristics are not taken into account as they present no valid clues to the date of the translation, since all the manuscripts are of East Slavonic provenance circa 15-16 centuries, and were exposed to the Second South Slavonic influence.

The examples of morphological forms found in the text of *Ecclesiastes* are set out below.

Dual forms.

4:9-10 **въ трудѣ ею**, 4:2 **паче обою сею**, 4:6 **двою горестію**, 5:10 **очима его**, 11:7 **очима***, 11:9 **очію свою**. As the examples below show, in the text of *Ecclesiastes* we find 3rd person dual forms with the endings of the 2nd person dual forms: 2:10 **въпросиста мои очи**, 2:11 **мои роуцѣ створиста**, 4:11-12 **оуспѣста два, два станѣта**.

In the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, such as Savvina kniga or Codex Suprasliensis, replacements of 3rd dual **-те** by **-та** had already taken place; in the latter there are no forms with **-те**. Thus, in canonical OCS the forms of 3rd person dual were becoming obsolescent already. However, the dual forms cannot be a sufficient measure for early

dating, for the dual was a category which was lost slowly, and in some regions later than in others.⁴⁷ What is more, scribes prized it as a symbol of literary style and therefore used it actively for centuries after it disappeared from the vernacular. This literary factor makes it extremely difficult to estimate just when the dual ceased to be an obligatory grammatical category. Thus, we cannot make use of the dual forms as the indication of the text's antiquity as it may be merely a sign of a conservative tradition.

Old noun forms with -s-

СЛОВЕСА (14)⁴⁸, 10:13 СЛОВѢСЪ, 8:2 ѡ СЛОВЕСИ, 8:3 В СЛОВЕСѢ. 5:1 НБСИ, НБСЕМЬ (2). 2:6 ДРЕВЕСЪ, 12:5 ДРЕВЕСА. 12:6 КОЛО - КОЛЕСО гр. 3.

All the words appear to be traditional, therefore they cannot serve as clues to the date of translation.

Animate accusative = genitive and old accusative (m., f. s. and pl.)

There is a single example of the old accusative for a noun denoting a human in 5:13 **РОДИ СНѢ** acc. m. s. The example in 9:15 **ОБРАЩЕ^Т ѿ В НЕМЪ МЪЖЪ НИЦЪ И МЪДРЪ**⁴⁹ is unclear; it is possible to reconstruct the old accusative for a noun denoting a human on the basis of Greek, where the word *ἄνδρα* is used in acc. sing. However, the particle **ѿ** found in GB and MS2 may imply that the collocation **МЪЖЪ НИЦЪ И МЪДРЪ** could have been understood by a scribe as nominative rather than accusative case. It has been suggested⁵⁰ that at the time of the early translations the distribution of the gen.-acc. of masculine singular nouns denoting rational beings was governed by a semantic hierarchy. The hierarchy was such that the higher the position of the noun in it, the more likely was the accusative to be homonymous with the genitive, whereas the lower the position, the more likely was the accusative to be homonymous with the nominative. If this is the case, then the noun **БОГЪ** occupied the position right at the top, cf. 2:13.

⁴⁷ Lunt, 1985: 287.

⁴⁸ The figure in brackets indicates the total number of occurrences in the translation.

⁴⁹ **ѿ** om. гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., гр. 3.

In 10:8 the pronoun и (ю) is used: оугрызне^т и (и om. Sol., Rum.204, Sof., in TSL 730 written above the line; ю Čud.). The example in 11:1 како въ мнѡ^тствѣ и вбращеши is ambiguous because here и could be a truncation of дѣни and not necessarily an accusative case of the pronoun. There are some newer features, such as plural animate genitive-accusative in 9:14. Generally, in later Church Slavonic texts gen.-acc. case of plural becomes usual for those pronouns and adjectives which are not accompanied by nouns,⁵¹ (though not necessarily so for 7:22 and 7:24, 8:10).

Singular

acc.=gen. m. s.

7:28 его^т вѣиска

2:13 бѣа бои сѧ

3:15 взице^т гонимаго

4:10 въздвигне^т причастника своего.

7:7 клевета льсти^т мѣдраго.

12:1 помани створшаго тѧ (acc.)

Plural

9:14 шкрати и^х gen. pl.

10:7 видѣ^х равы на конѣ^х acc. m. pl.

4:2 похвали^х всѧ оумръшаѧ acc. pl

8:1 вѣсть мѣдрѧ acc. pl.

4:15 видѣ^х всѧ живѣщаѧ и ходѣщаѧ acc. pl.

7:22 клалѣ еси дрѣвѧ acc. m. pl.

2:8 створи поющаѧ acc. m. or f. pl.

7:24 вбращеть ѧ acc. f. or m. pl. ? (Greek

acc. n. s., in MS S* acc. f. s.)

2:7 притѣжа^х равынѧ acc. f. pl.

8:10 видѣ^х нечѣтивѧ acc. m. pl.

It must be said that though the evidence is not conclusive, it is not incompatible with early translations.

Short form of adjective/participle.

8:10 видѣ^х нечѣтивѧ в гробы несомѧ (несены gr.3) The corresponding forms of Greek adjective and participle are indefinite (without an article). For the Greek indefinite forms of adjectives the Church Slavonic short forms are used. For example, 4:13 бѣгѣ рабѣ ницѣ и мѣдрѣ паче црѣ стара и безѣмна. 7:5 моужа слышаща EccP vs. слышащаго Und.13

It is worth pointing out that in EccP we have a short form of participle which could be older than the forms in the other versions. In general, short form were replaced by longer

⁵⁰ Huntley, 1984, 8 (4):112-5.

⁵¹ Vaillant, 1952:208.

ones in Church Slavonic. However I would not regard it as a solid evidence. In Greek we have an indefinite form (there is no article before the noun ἄνδρα).

Asigmatic/sigmatic aorists.

There are no asigmatic aorists in the text, but the forms of the first sigmatic, рѣхъ - εἶπα (6) and the second sigmatic рѣкохъ - εἶπον (2) are both used, though we can see that рѣхъ is used more frequently than рѣкохъ. Though both forms are characteristic of early texts, they were used continuously during the later period. According to Gippius, “v var’irovanii staryx i novyx form [v drevnerusskoj pis’mennosti] obojoj logiki ne prosmatrivaetsja”.⁵² It must be also pointed out that the text offers scope for early forms, but does not give examples of these, such as the verb идѡша in 8:10, where we have only the secondary form and not the asigmatic идѡ.

Perfects.

In Church Slavonic texts the use of perfect 2nd person sing. is quite frequent. This is due to the fact that the form of aorist 2nd person sing. is ambiguous, as it is homonymous with the form of 3rd person sing., and for the verbs in – ити with the 2nd and 3rd person of imperative. Hence the form of perfect 2nd person sing. grammatically is more transparent, and so the Greek aorists in the Church Slavonic translations are rendered frequently by perfects.⁵³ It should be noted that the use of perfect for 2nd sing. aorist starts early; examples of parallel use of perfect and aorist 2nd and 3rd person sing. are found in the recurrent readings in *Lectiary*: дастъ – далъ ксть; ма остави – ма кси оставилъ; не приде – нѣсть пришълъ; въпроси. аще оуже оумьре ть – въпроси ко аще оуже оумьрлъ ксть.⁵⁴

⁵² Gippius, 2001:147.

⁵³ On use of perfect tense, well known in Old Church Slavonic not to correlate with Greek aorist see the publications of Grünenthal (1911, 32:1-48), Večerka (1993, vol.2:166-8) and the recent article by Gasparov (2003, 1 (5):215-42).

⁵⁴ Žukovskaja, 1976:170.

It has been noted by Grünenthal (1911, 32:18) and Večerka (1993, vol. 2:164), who cite the relevant passages from the *Gospels*, that the Church Slavonic aorist translates not only the Greek aorist but also perfect or praesens historicum.

In the translation of *Ecclesiastes* the following examples are observed:

1. Church Slavonic aorist – Greek aorist: **вѣдѣхъ** – εἶδον (19) **вѣдахъ** – ἔδωκα (4), **сѣтворихъ** – ἐποίησα (3), **вѣдѣ** – εἶδεν (4), **сѣтвори** – ἐποίησεν (7), 2:3 **настави** – ὠδήγησεν, 2:9 **сстави** – ἐστάθη, 2:10 **вѣзвесели сѣ** – εὐφράνθη, 5:13 **роди** – ἐγέννησεν, 5:14 **изиде** – ἐξῆλθεν, 6:4 **приде** – ἦλθεν, 6:5 **не разумѣ** – οὐκ ἔγνω.

2. Church Slavonic aorist – Greek praesens historicum: 5:14 **приде** – ἦκει (present act. ind. 3rd p. sing.).

3. Church Slavonic aorist – Greek perfect 6:10 **нарече** – κέκληται (perf. pass. ind. 3rd p. sing.).

The Greek perfect act. ind. 3rd p. sing. οἶδεν is translated by the form of present tense 3rd p. sing. **вѣсть** (5). The Greek medio-passive perfect 3rd p. sing. πεποίηται is translated by a complex verb form of passive past participle and auxiliary verb **створено вѣсть** in 8:9 and **створена есть** in 8:14.

Church Slavonic perfect 2nd p. sing. translating Greek aorist: 7:10 **просилъ еси** – ἐπηρώτησας, 7:22 **κλαλѣ еси** – κατηράσω, 9:9 **еси вѣзлюбилъ** – ἠγάπησας.

Church Slavonic perfect 3rd p. sing. translating Greek aorist: there are 7 equivalents **далъ есть** of the Greek ἔδωκεν where the aorist is rendered by perfect (with the variant readings **дасть** in 2:26). 8:9 **овладалъ есть** – ἐξουσιάσατο aor. md. 3rd p. sing. Use of perfect in place of 3rd aorist is a late development in Church Slavonic, of the circa 16th century.⁵⁵ However, there are not enough examples in the text for convincing argument.

⁵⁵ 3rd sing. perfect for Greek aorist starts to appear in the *Psalter* revised by Maxim Grek. It is possible that such usage may be an East Slavonic phenomenon. See, for example, Kovtun et al., 1973:109; Kravec, 1991:267; Živov and Uspenskij, 1986:260.

Supine.

The supine occurs in 4:14 *изидѣт ѿѣтвовать* (*ѿѣтвовать* Rum.204) (in gr. 1 and in Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx. , Supr., Und.1121 there is an infinitive - *ѿѣтвovati*; and in Chud. 200 - *ѿѣтвова*). However, as Sobolevskij (1907:257) has stated, the forms of supine in the Church Slavonic and Old Russian texts are used frequently till the end of the 14th century. Thus, the use of a single supine form cannot serve as a indication of an early date of the translation.

Examination of morphological forms does not provide us with clear cut clues as to the date of the translation. Besides, morphological forms are not always very reliable, since scribes tend(ed) to change or update them. The following examples taken from the recurrent readings in *Lectionary* demonstrate this point: *ѿрѣтвию* - *ѿрѣтво*; *възъмъ* – *възметъ*; *югда* - *югда же*.⁵⁶ Scribal changes could have been made with or without reference to Greek.

The revision of the texts used in the liturgy, particularly of the *Psalter*, must be seen as an ongoing process rather than a single act (between ninth-fourteenth centuries there were at least 5 revisions of the *Psalter* text).⁵⁷ Often these revisions were done on the basis of comparison with Greek texts. Since *Psalter* manuscripts contain variants corresponding to Greek, they were obviously compared with Greek texts available to Slav scribes. It would suffice here to give one example of the distinctive variant readings found in the ‘Russian’ redaction which appear to derive from Greek, but which are alien to the Archaic and Athonite redactions. Ps. 21:9 *εἰ θέλει αὐτόν αἰε χομετῆ* vs. *ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν ἰακο χομετῆ* (*ἰαкоже χομεтῆ*).⁵⁸ This particular example is not dissimilar to the one in *Ecclesiastes* 2:21 where the variants *иже* and *іако* in Und.13 and EccP may go back to the Greek variants *οὗ* and *ὅτι* respectively. However, we should not exclude the possibility that the variation in these two examples could have occurred also within Church Slavonic.

⁵⁶ Žukovskaja, 1976:323.

⁵⁷ Thomson, 1998: 797-825.

⁵⁸ See MacRobert, 1990, 14 (2):13.

The examples of morphological forms are very limited, besides, they could have been used continuously during the period of the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, thus they do not allow us to draw a borderline within this period.

In addition to morphological forms vocabulary is also important when examining evidence of an early date of the translation. My next step therefore is to scrutinize vocabulary for traces of the text's existence prior to the 15th century. In the absence of earlier manuscripts I have to apply tests based on general principles. Loanwords are typical of the earliest translations and tend to be replaced later by native equivalents. There are systematic differences in vocabulary, conventionally associated with Ochrid and Preslav, which are thought to distinguish earliest from early translations. First, I shall treat the issues of loanwords and then discuss distinctive ranges of native vocabulary.

Untranslated Graecisms.

Unlike a number of untranslated Graecisms in the Song of Songs which can point to its early origin: 4:4 **ТАЛФИУТЪ**, 4:14 **АЛОТЪ**, 5:14 **ТАРСИСЪ** (the use of **т** for Greek **θ** could also serve as a sign of antiquity), the translation of *Ecclesiastes* contains a single example of Graecism **κάππαρις** - caper, which was rendered by **капкарь** (**капапоръ** in group 3).⁵⁹ Miklosich under the dictionary entry **капаръ** – **κάππαρις** 'bylie' cites the works of John Climacus in Moscow edition of 1647. This word is not listed in LLP and Sreznevskij.

In addition to this particular loan word we can refer to a gloss **мигдалъ** in the same verse which accompanies the word **кляпышь** in several manuscripts, including GB. The loanword **мигдалъ** is borrowed from the Greek **ἀμύγδαλον** – almond tree. Miklosich cites the word **мигдалъ** as occurring in *Vita Alexandri Magni* of the 16th century . Sreznevskij gives the form **мигдальскыи** with the collocation **доубъ мигдальскъ** from the Menaion of the 16th century.

The two loanwords are attested in late manuscripts of the 16th century, and the word **кляпышь** which is not a loan is attested in the manuscripts of the 13th century. For the

word *кляпышь* Miklosich gives entries from the work of John the Exarch in the manuscript written in 1263 and the text of *Ecclesiastes* in the Gennadian Bible, referring to the description of Gorskij and Nevostruev. In *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vekov* the word *кляпышь* is illustrated by the same quotation from *Šestodnev* of John the Exarch in the MS written in 1263. It is also illustrated in Sreznevskij's dictionary by the quotation from *Oglašenje* of Cyril of Jerusalem in the 13th century MS.

Like many other texts which might have originated in Bulgaria, *Ecclesiastes* has been preserved exclusively in East Slavonic manuscripts. Yet in view of the absence of manuscripts prior to the 15th century, it is difficult to date the translation with any degree of precision. In addition, a linguistic analysis, when it is carried out on this particular text, is apt to be limited by the largely standardized character of Church Slavonic.⁶⁰ The lexicon appears to be neutral with the result that it cannot be pinned down to any particular period, as the same vocabulary was used throughout the 10th – 15th centuries.

Lists of words constituting 'Preslav' and 'Ochrid' terminology have been compiled by scholars.⁶¹ However, *Ecclesiastes* does not use enough of this set vocabulary, even though several 'Preslav' lexemes such as *источникъ*, *великъ*, *масло*, *лжкавъи*, *надежа* are found in the text. But by 15th century Preslav and Ochrid readings would become pretty standard, and therefore we should not automatically assume that these are either helpful or reliable in our case. The reason for this is that if the tradition is conservative, words which are characteristic of the early translations can be found also in later manuscripts.

For example, the word *ešut'* in the translation of *Ecclesiastes* in the Croatian Glagolitic tradition points to a conservative tradition, but the translation itself may not be early, as this word continued to be used at a later period. The same applies to the word *řsnota*, when occurring in the Croatian Glagolitic tradition. If it were to be found in the Cyrillic texts, we might consider the possibility of its early origin. However, in the Croat

⁵⁹ Cf. Thomson's (1998: 844-5) remark on the Church Slavonic equivalents of the Greek word *κάππαρις*.

⁶⁰ For words *скважнѧ* in 12:3 and *цстни* in 12:11, considered rare by Evseev, see the remark of Thomson, 1998:845 who proved them not to be in the least rare by referring to LLP, vol.4, p.85 and vol. 2, p. 574 and Sreznevskij, vol. 3, p. 368 and vol. 2, p. 749.

⁶¹ See Karačorova, 1989, 6: 130-245, Slavova, 1989, 6:15-129.

tradition it was used at a later period. Hence, this shows that lexical variants are not necessarily indicative of the date of the translation.⁶²

In his recent article Francis Thomson writes that “Other books with typical ‘Preslav’ terminology which were clearly translated in Bulgaria at this time [i.e. late ninth and tenth centuries- L.O.] include *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*”.⁶³ Yet, it seems to me that his claim is in contradiction with his earlier paragraph on page 35 in which he states that “...not only do many translations, including Biblical ones, contain elements of both terminologies, which may to some extent be the result of late revision and other scribal alterations, but in addition there are no reliable criteria concerning their dialectal appurtenance or for any precise dating of the use of the synonyms. Nevertheless the terms are useful as the “Ochridisms” are indeed typical of early translations, although since they continued to be used in some translations after “Preslavisms” had begun to be used, they cannot be interpreted in a purely geographical and chronological way for situating and dating all translations made in Bulgaria in late ninth and tenth centuries”.

In my opinion, grouping *Ecclesiastes* with *Job* is not very appropriate on this occasion because while *Job* is a liturgical text and is found in early South Slavonic copies of prophetologium, we do not know at what date, where and why a need was felt for a Church Slavonic translation of *Ecclesiastes*. I cannot see how Thomson arrives at the conclusion that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was translated in the late 9th -10th century Bulgaria since he does not adduce any [linguistic?] proof. But I entirely agree with his

⁶² Gorskij and Nevostruev (1855-59:73) did not attempt to date the translation of *Ecclesiastes*. Instead they simply remarked: “Перевод книги Екклесиаста по языку представляется новее перевода Притчей. Впрочем и в нем встречаются слова и обороты речи, впоследствии вышедшие из употребления.” They give a few examples of words later out of use, in particular 12:6 *искъса златнаѡ* - ἀνθέμιον τοῦ χρυσοῦ. It must be noted that the reading *златнаѡ* is found in manuscripts of group 3, groups 1 and 2 give the reading *златнаѡѡ*. However, the reading in 12:6 may be a special case as its Greek equivalent ἀνθέμιον is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX. Therefore it is impossible to compare this particular translation with other similar occurrences in the biblical texts, which makes it altogether problematic. The Greek [ἀνθέμιον τοῦ χρυσοῦ] in turn is the translation of the Hebrew construct *גִּלְתָּהּ הַזָּהָב*, meaning ‘the golden bowl’. The noun *גִּלְתָּהּ*, according to BDB dictionary, can refer to a basin or bowl (of a lamp or portion of capitals of the two pillars in temple). The Greek translation therefore might have reflected the meaning of this type of decoration on the column. The Croatian Church Slavonic following the Vulgate, however, has a different translation: *kokulica zlata* - *vitta aurea*. It is not clear to me how Jerome came to translate the Hebrew word with the lexeme ‘headband’. Perhaps, he read it as a derivative *גִּלְתָּהּ* from *כִּלְתָּהּ* - crown. (cf. Field, 1875: vol. 2, p. 400) It seems to me that we should not take into account this Church Slavonic collocation *искъса златнаѡѡ* since, in my view, it appears to be a puzzling translation.

⁶³ Thomson, 2006:35-37.

statement on the lack of reliable criteria for dating Church Slavonic translations on the basis of 'typical' terminology.

Thus, as I have demonstrated, it would be both difficult and imprudent to use linguistic evidence to date *Ecclesiastes* text, as it offers few cogent leads. I would reiterate that these points must be understood in light of the absence of starting point for comparison. In other early translations such as the *Song of Songs*, linguistic clues undoubtedly have helped to date those texts.⁶⁴ However, we do not find similar evidence in the text of *Ecclesiastes*.

⁶⁴ See Alekseev, 1983:229-55, Lunt, 1985:279-318.

Rationale for the present edition.

Given the debates on the origins and manuscript tradition of the Church Slavonic *Ecclesiastes*, the question of the present edition deserves special attention. It is essential for the purpose of this study to determine what type of edition should be produced. The choice of edition depends on the type of manuscript tradition, therefore both need to be explored. Slavists dealing with medieval texts identify them in terms of *open* and *closed*, *controlled* and *uncontrolled* textual traditions.⁶⁵

Original medieval Slavonic texts such as chronicles, lives of local saints, tales about finding miracle-working icons serve as an example of the textual tradition that is open to modification. Despite the fact that the categories *open* and *closed* are somewhat conventional, they have a certain pragmatic value. The term *open* is more useful when talking about original literature. The term *closed* tradition is more helpful when dealing with translated texts, which tend to be placed towards the closed end. Some[times] texts cannot be classified in such a strict way but should be viewed as a matter of degree on some scale from very open to very closed.

Biblical books occupy a peculiar position: in content they are closed (that is to say no portions of text could be subtracted or added when scribes attempted to reproduce the text exactly), but in wording they are *open* (i. e. corrected according to the notions of linguistic norm of scribes). When copying such texts the demand for accuracy is sustained with the utmost rigour (at least in theory). At the same time biblical translations could be controlled against Greek or Slavonic versions, as the scribes' usual practice was to consult or conflate different copies or check the Slavonic text against the Greek. The question remains as to whether they were doing this continually or sporadically with every individual biblical book.⁶⁶ Consequently I find the term *controlled* to be a more useful category than the terms *open* and *closed* when dealing with biblical texts.

⁶⁵ The terms 'open' and 'closed' tradition were suggested by Pasquali (1962) to characterise the transmission of classical texts.

⁶⁶ Bakker (1996: 165) calls the Slavonic tradition 'open' with regard to the Greek MSS, meaning that in cases of corruptions Slav scribes have resorted to Greek manuscripts rather than Slavonic. However, he was, perhaps, carried away by his textological zeal in calling the Old Slavonic version a *targum* of the Greek tradition. Cf. also Alekseev, 1986: 8-19, and Alekseev, 1999: 54 .

As biblical texts were understandably ignored by Soviet scholarship, Russian scholars have mostly concentrated on editing and developing the editorial principles of the books of other genres. These scholars have mostly dealt with the texts belonging to the *open* tradition and followed Bédier's practice in editing as a text a 'best' manuscript with correction of its mechanical errors and variants from other manuscripts worthy of attention. D. S. Lixačev and his school advocated this method, and I shall call it *editio variorum*.⁶⁷ A good feature of the *variorum* edition is that the main manuscript chosen as a *codex optimus* is published in full. The drawback of the *variorum* edition is that the *codex optimus* is often viewed as a *text*. One needs to distinguish between the manuscripts and the text.⁶⁸ Manuscripts are unique but the texts they transmit have a tradition that descends from their ancestor (archetype), via intermediate generations (hyparchetype) to the extant manuscripts.

Classical scholars in the West followed Lachmann's practice of reconstructed editions comparing all the available manuscripts and making conjectures where necessary. Their decision to do so was based on the assumption that they could reconstruct the text as it might have appeared in a single manuscript, which originated in late antiquity. However, scholars have shown the limitations of this method even with regard to classical texts. It has been argued that the tradition cannot possibly be traced to one manuscript, but often to more manuscripts reproducing different branches, which have ceased to exist.⁶⁹ The advantage of the reconstructed edition is that in the reconstructed text we may get closer to the text as it originally was.

Slavists, on the other hand, have been reluctant to produce reconstructed texts because the medieval Slavonic tradition does not lend itself easily to reconstruction. The

⁶⁷ See Lixačev, 1983: 479-98, Pop, 1996: 242-5, Alekseev, 2003: 50-7. The footnote to Pop, 1996:245 states that "v otečestvennoj tradicii vyraženuju *editio cum notis variorum* sootvetstvuet termin 'kritičeskoe izdanie', togda kak *collated editions* obyčno nazývajútkonstrukcijami ili 'svodnymi izdanijami' ", my use of the terms stems from this usage. However, the meaning 'critical edition' can be sometimes vague in English language too: according to the title of his thesis Ralph Cleminson's goal was to produce a full critical edition of the text of 'Stefanit i Ixnilat', yet it seems to me that his edition is merely diplomatic with an apparatus of variant readings (see the appended bibliography).

⁶⁸ This distinction was somewhat blurred in the works of Russian and Soviet scholars for two reasons: the first is the influence on Paleoslavistics exerted by 19th-century German philology that labelled both MSS and texts *Denkmal*, which is reflected in the Russian term *pamjatnik*; the second is the more modern use of Aesopian language: 'pamjatniki tradicionnogo soderžanija' practised by Soviet scholars in order to carry out their studies of scriptural texts.

⁶⁹ Reynolds and Wilson, 1991: 214.

reason why reconstructed editions of the chronicles are not common is precisely because the chronicles are an example of an *open* textual tradition, and so it is not self-evident what stage in the tradition one should reconstruct, and on what basis. Besides, the existence of the different types of tradition (open, closed, controlled, uncontrolled) in the medieval Slavonic literary heritage also accounts for why individual manuscripts are published in preference to reconstructions.⁷⁰

Classicists frequently are interested in texts of such early date (4th–5th centuries) that their orthography cannot be reconstructed with confidence. That is why they use the standard orthography. Slavists, unlike classicists, have no convention of producing normalized orthography for texts, similar to the one used in published dictionaries of Old Church Slavonic. Slavists instead often publish the text of a particular manuscript. In doing so they kill two birds with one stone: making available the text and making available for the linguists the language of this manuscript. Often texts as they appear in a particular manuscript are more of interest to linguists than reconstructed texts. This is one of the reasons why Slavists do not have standard orthography. Therefore if I were to make a reconstruction, it would be a problem to use standardized orthography. However, it seems to me that the point about orthography is less important because the dating of the text cannot be determined.

Recently, however, some Slavists have turned to reconstructed editions and commended Vajs' attempts to move away from manuscripts to text in his reconstruction of the *Gospels*.⁷¹ He was one of the first scholars among Paleoslavists to use standardized orthography and to choose between variants. However, Vajs has been criticised for selecting readings which correspond to the Greek in preference to the readings which render Greek in more idiomatic and hence fairly free way [which is] characteristic of the original translation.⁷²

⁷⁰ There are several reasons why Slavists do not attempt to produce reconstructions of biblical texts in Church Slavonic. One reason is the linguistic interest of the extant manuscripts; another reason is the focus of scholarly interest on the earliest versions of these texts, which is the most difficult to reconstruct. Control of the tradition has led to recurrent textual interventions (such as revisions, secondary translations, blends of one and several redactions) and made reconstructions of the original translation in some cases a matter of unresolvable speculation. Therefore the prospect of a full reconstruction of the Cyrillo-Methodian translations of the New Testament and Psalter remains a matter of controversy. However, it is possible to reconstruct some of the later redactions or secondary translations with a fair degree of confidence.

⁷¹ Bakker, 1996: 10.

⁷² Thomson, 2006:19.

As regards Church Slavonic biblical texts, these belong to closed and controlled traditions. Consequently there could be blends of one and several redactions, secondary revision, etc. Therefore the text is likely to appear in contaminated forms in most or all manuscripts, making it almost impossible for an editor confidently to produce a reconstructed text that is free of contamination. The reconstruction of orthography is also problematic, as better readings may be chosen from different manuscripts with different orthographical norms. Reconstructions are rarely used for the medieval Slavonic texts, while conversely variorum and diplomatic editions are not so common in the editorial practice of classical scholars.

Ecclesiastes is a text with a relatively *closed* tradition because it is part of Scripture and therefore scribes could not of their own volition add to or subtract from the text. It may be controlled against the other Slavonic copies as medieval scribes could have worked with more than one exemplar. The usual practice among Slav bookmen for main Church Slavonic liturgical texts was to check them against the Greek. However, it is less likely, though not impossible, that this was the case with *Ecclesiastes*, which is a non-liturgical book.

Although at the beginning of my research I intended to produce a reconstructed edition of the text, I decided against it for the following reason. As the textual analysis (see chapter 1) has demonstrated, the earliest attainable text was already substantially defective: the archetype from which the manuscripts of the 15th-16th centuries derived was faulty. The Church Slavonic version of *Ecclesiastes* in all available manuscripts has omissions and several manuscripts have a considerable lacuna.⁷³ Thus, it would not serve a useful purpose to reconstruct such a faulty archetype.

Rather than producing a reconstructed edition, I believe it is more useful to present a variorum edition of the text with an apparatus of variant readings.⁷⁴ The textual tradition of the continuous *Ecclesiastes* is represented by 3 groups of manuscripts. Consequently

⁷³ In case of reconstruction how am I to fill the existing omissions and lacunae? It is not the task of an editor to retranslate the missing fragments of text from Greek.

⁷⁴ I feel that there is no such urgent need for a *diplomatic* edition of *Ecclesiastes* since there is the edition of GB produced by Moscow Patriarchate in 1992 which would serve the purpose. Though the production of this multi-volume edition has stopped (only the volumes containing the Gospels and the Psalter have been published so far), it may still be resumed in the future with a different editor.

for the basis of my edition I had to choose between these groups of manuscripts. The manuscripts of group 3 could not be used because the corruptions and omissions in this group show that this is on the whole not the best preserved branch. Pg.81 has the most complete text among the manuscripts. However, it deviates from the main textual tradition and it may have been subjected to later editorial corrections. The lacuna precludes the selection of manuscripts from group 1 because in this case an editor is presented with the difficult task of filling this lacuna. As a result my decision against groups 1 and 3 was dictated by the fact that group 1 is defective and group 3 is more corrupt.

In selecting a representative manuscript of group 2 as the basis for my edition I acknowledge the importance of control in the tradition of biblical texts, since group 2 seems to be a conflation of the texts of the other two groups. This leaves me with a choice of two manuscripts in group 2 (without the lacuna): MS2 and GB. Since all the manuscripts are late in date, certainly none of them comes before the 15th century, the pre-eminence given to GB requires some justification and hence explanation of its relations with MS2. MS2 appears to have some primary readings and corrections if compared with GB (see examples below), though they were almost certainly copied from the same exemplar.

We can presume that the scribe of MS2 was more attentive in copying the text, since this MS contains fewer scribal errors. (GB scribal errors are on the left and the readings from MS2 are on the right). 2:6 **сѣтворихъ [в]** кѣпели - в от.; 2:12 **паче всѣхъ - свѣтъ**; 3:9 **изоліе - изобилье**; 3:21 **домъ - долъ**; 7:14 **злвоюю - за собою**. In addition certain corrections have been carried out in MS2. These are the erasure of **за** in the participle **забывающа** in 4:1; the change of the infinitive **зрѣти** - τοῦ ὁρᾶν (the reading in all manuscripts) into the noun **зрѣния** in 1:8 (not supported by Greek). I have already mentioned the case of 9:9 on page 73, where it was said that the scribe of GB placed the reading **в животѣ твоѣмъ** in the main text and the reading **в спѣсѣ твоѣмъ** in the margin; while in MS2 and group 3 the latter is placed in the main text. My conclusion was that MS2 was not a direct copy of GB, but that both manuscripts draw on group 3.

However, it is not possible to say whether these corrections were introduced piecemeal by a scribe, or a redactor at the time of copying the manuscript or at some later

date. For MS2 has been corrected: while all the manuscripts display in 3:18 the corrupt reading **такъ рѣа въ**, in MS2 it is crossed out. The question then follows whether the scribe of MS2 crossed out this reading of his own volition or referred to some manuscripts where it was already crossed out. The same applies to 3:19 where the second **такъ** is crossed out in MS2 and 4:11 where **в того** is crossed out in MS2. In 7:2 **неже** written in small letters is added to **ли** in MS2 to form **нежели** versus **ли** or **или** in other manuscripts.

The case of 12:6 **искрѣшитъ сѧ** with the inserted **р** vs. **искѣшитъ сѧ** in all the other manuscripts makes it even more problematic. If the scribe of MS2 had not checked this particular reading against some other Cyrillic manuscript (I have examined all the manuscripts and the reading **искрѣшитъ сѧ** does not occur in them), where would he have found the correct reading without referring to the Greek? Thus the readings in MS2 might represent a later revision of the text by an editor intent on correcting that text. This certainly cannot be ruled out, especially since editorial improvements were often made by scribes and there are clear examples of such editorial work in our manuscripts. I would argue that some readings in MS2 might be a result of correction by some later hand, and thus will not prevent me from choosing GB as the basis for the edition.⁷⁵

The choice of GB is based on the pragmatic grounds that it offers as complete a text as is available to us. The textual evidence in chapter 1 shows that there is no such thing as *codex optimus* in the circumstances; instead GB presents us with a tradition which is a compilation of the two branches. I am publishing GB not as a *codex optimus*, but rather to restore its cultural and historical importance, for without doubt, GB is most interesting precisely because of its cultural importance.

Although the majority of the manuscripts are contemporaneous with GB, dating from the second half of the 15th century, GB alone can be placed more securely within a historical and cultural context. The provenance of some of the manuscripts containing *Ecclesiastes* is not known, so that not much can be said about their background. The provenance of GB furnishes greater information on the history of the manuscript than the provenances of other manuscripts. GB is in a way a ‘definitive’ text, significant for the

⁷⁵ Minimal reconstruction at a lower level of stage κ (the putative antigraph) of GB and MS2 is possible, its purpose would be to remove some trivial mistakes (in GB) which are of little or no interest to the reader. However, my argument against this is that some of the ‘better’ readings in MS2 may in fact be secondary corrections.

history of the Church Slavonic Bible, because it formed the basis for all subsequent revisions. The manuscript MS2 was a more careful copy of the text but it has not been copied as often as GB. In view of its importance GB unquestionably merits a separate edition.

My edition is not *diplomatic* in a strict sense as represented by a recent edition of Josephus' 'The History of the Jewish war' produced by Pičxadze et al., 2004. In this edition the text is reproduced following the layout of the manuscript: line for line, ligatures expanded, letter for letter, plus diacritical marks (titlo, paerok, oksija and varija). In my edition, on the other side, there is no attempt made to represent exactly the layout of the text preserving the number of lines and the amount of words on each line. The reason for this is that the manuscript Synodal'nyj 915 is tightly bound and the xerox copy of GB available to me is therefore imperfect: the last two letters on each line are not clearly legible. While every precaution has been made to reproduce the text exactly, I feel that I am in no position to produce the diplomatic transcript of the text unless I examine the actual manuscript in its unbound state. Besides I omit the diacritical marks.

It is not my aim to insert superior readings from other manuscripts into the main text where it has corruptions. Instead only corrections of the errors which are directly traceable to the scribe of manuscript Synodalnyj 915 and not to previous copyists of its underlying text are introduced in the edition (see the introductory note to the edition on pages 211-212).

The projected edition presents GB as a characteristic text for its time. The critical apparatus which I provide is the result of an analysis of the textual tradition and is organised in such a way as to show how its text relates to various groups of manuscripts which represent different branches of the tradition. In the critical apparatus a reader is given the material on the basis of which he can make his own reconstruction if he wishes to do so. By using GB for my edition, the textual transmission of the Church Slavonic *Ecclesiastes* can be described in terms of what can happen to a 'controlled' text. By making GB central to my discussion, I show where GB fits in the tradition and what the relationships reveal about the type of 'control' which the editors of the Gennadian Bible exercised.

The text of *Ecclesiastes* allows us to demonstrate the editorial process and technique of the time. Previously scholarly attention has been focused mainly on those books in GB which were translated from Latin.⁷⁶ Therefore the publication of *Ecclesiastes* would broaden our understanding of the editorial practice adopted by the compilers of GB when working with texts translated from Greek.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Foster, 1996; Freidhof, 1972; Platonova, 1997; Romodanovskaja, 2001 and the recently published collection of papers under the title: *Biblija ... Moscow*, 2001.

Historical and cultural context in which GB was produced.

Parallels among the Slavs to the cultural trends in Western Europe.

In the 15th century printing of the Gutenberg Bible established a new era of book culture. Though the Latin Bible was the most frequently published book,⁷⁷ bibles in vernacular languages also began to appear in print in Western Europe. A similar though not identical picture can be found in the Slavonic world. There, an interest in continuous and exegetical types of biblical texts became more apparent. Book printing in Slavonic languages appeared as early as the 1480s.⁷⁸ Among the East Slavs the awakening interest in theological enlightenment can be traced in the compilations of biblical books, such as the collection of biblical books produced by Ivan Černyj, the Moscow scribe of the 15th century (MS Undol'skij 1, RSL), and the collection of biblical books compiled in the Suprasl'skij monastery by Matfej Desjatyj (MS 24.4.28., BAN). This interest may have been connected with the high level of theological awareness among the learned Slav clergy, or the adoption of a new liturgical canon, which led to the gradual redundancy of lectionary and prophetologium.⁷⁹

The Gennadian Bible project.

The first complete Bible canon of the Slavonic world was compiled in 1499 by Archbishop Gennadij of Novgorod. The original manuscript is kept in the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Sinodal'nyj 915). Two more copies of the original manuscript are also kept in the same museum. These are Sinodal'nyj 21 and Sinodal'nyj 30. Both copies are dated from the 16th century. Whilst it is not known exactly when the work on the project started,⁸⁰ its completion date is mentioned in the colophon.⁸¹ The work on the

⁷⁷ See Jensen, 2003.

⁷⁸ The first Glagolitic book was printed in 1483, the Czech Bible in 1488.

⁷⁹ Though Alekseev (1999:199) does not specify which liturgical canon, it is likely that he has in mind the Jerusalem canon.

⁸⁰ The approximate date when the work on the project started is known from the colophon in MS 802/694 from the Solovki Monastery which contains the passages of Jeremiah and Ezekiel translated from the Vulgate. This indirect evidence points to 1492. See Thomson, 2002:32, footnote 15.

⁸¹ See the colophon in MS 915 from GIM in Gorskij and Nevostruev, 1855:1.

project was carried out in several stages. Firstly, the compilers had to collect all the available translations.⁸² Secondly, these were collated with various degrees of thoroughness, and several texts were extrapolated from their commentaries. Thirdly, for the books that could not be found, new translations were made from Latin. For this complete canon the following books were newly translated from Latin: 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1-2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, 1-2 Maccabees. In all probability, the compilers spent most of their time concentrating on these translations. They also translated the accompanying commentaries of Nicholas de Lyra in Koberger's edition of the Vulgate and prefaces from Kessler's Bible.⁸³ The overall order of books and division into chapters was that of the Vulgate.

Translations from Latin for the GB and its implications.

What were the reasons behind the undertaking of a Slavonic translation from a Latin Bible and not from the Greek, as had been the tradition since Cyril and Methodius? Several explanations have been put forward. One reason given is the lack of evidence for the presence of Greek manuscripts in Novgorod at the time and the presumptive low general level of knowledge of Greek among the East Slavs. We must remember that in the first quarter of the 16th century Maxim the Greek was invited from Athos to translate certain texts from Greek. If the case of Maxim the Greek strengthens the assumption that no 16th century Russian was capable of translating Greek texts, it also raises the question why Gennadij did not send to Athos for a translator.

It seems that this question should be addressed by viewing Gennadij above all as a practical man, who used whatever sources he needed to attain his goal. To invite somebody from Athos might have been the prerogative of the Grand Prince of Moscow, as was, indeed, the case with Maxim the Greek. In the light of the strained relations between Gennadij and the Metropolitan and Ivan III, it is hard to imagine that Gennadij was even able to contemplate inviting Greek translators from Athos. Therefore, Gennadij's use of Latin and German texts to complete his project must be seen in the

⁸² Thomson, 1998:657.

⁸³ The Western European sources for this project were established by Wimmer, 1975:444-58.

context of the contemporary situation, and not be presented as evidence of Gennadij's affinity to Latins.

Besides, there was no printed edition of the Greek Bible, while a printed version of the Vulgate was available to the compilers.⁸⁴ The Russian biblical scholar Evseev argued, however, that the fact that some books were newly translated from Latin for this enterprise by the Croatian monk Veniamin (who may have belonged to the Dominican order)⁸⁵ suggests that the GB was produced under strong Catholic influence.⁸⁶ Evseev believed that Veniamin brought with him some Croat Glagolitic breviaries to align the Church Slavonic translation with the Vulgate.

By comparing several quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in the Gennadian Bible with the ones found in Croat Glagolitic breviaries, Evseev tried to present the similarities in both texts as evidence for the influence of the Croat Glagolitic text on GB. Evseev's view of the close similarities between these two texts has to be rejected, however. Firstly, the citations are not as similar as Evseev claimed, and secondly, all the existing similarities are purely coincidental.⁸⁷ What is more important, the GB readings are known within the rest of the Cyrillic textual tradition of *Ecclesiastes*, and therefore need not have been in the least influenced by the Croat text.

On Evseev's hypothesis Veniamin arrived in Novgorod armed with a ready-made translation of the biblical books in breviaries; the only remaining thing for him to do was to transliterate these from Glagolitic into Cyrillic.⁸⁸ This suggestion, though, was proved to be wrong by Lur'e (1961:68-77) and later Romodanovskaja (2001:278-305), who have shown beyond any doubt that the translations from the Latin Bible were made on the spot, at the episcopal scriptorium in Novgorod and not earlier, as Evseev had suggested. Working copies containing the name of Veniamin and books translated from Latin as a preparation for the codex have been preserved, albeit in later manuscripts. In these copies after chapter 25 of the book of *Jeremiah* it is stated that from here on other chapters up to chapter 46 are written in another book. We must bear in mind that parts of Prophetic books were translated prior to the 15th century from Greek, like *Jeremiah*. Thus, the later

⁸⁴ See note 59.

⁸⁵ Lixačev, 1988:133-35.

⁸⁶ Evseev, 1914, *passim*. Cf. also Lur'e, 1961:68-77; Wiczynski, 1972:374-89.

⁸⁷ Evseev, 1914:22.

scribes in the 16th century simply copied these draft copies without analysing which books were translated from Greek and which from Latin. That Veniamin might arrive in Novgorod knowing beforehand which books were already translated seems highly unlikely. Veniamin could have brought translations with him, but in parts they would have been superfluous, and there is no strong evidence that he did so. Therefore new translations had to be done on the spot.

Reasons for compiling a Pandect.

The reasons why Gennadij undertook the compilation of a complete Bible could have been various. It has been suggested that Gennadij believed that a complete compilation of Scripture would not only increase the proficiency of his clergy, but would also facilitate debate with the contemporary heretics and lend the Russian church an air of scholarly competence in scriptural studies and the interpretation of Holy Writ.⁸⁹

As in 16th century Europe, where the Bible served as a weapon for the Reformation, the complete Biblical canon in Russia was compiled against the background of Gennadij's struggle with the heretical Judaizers. This observation, made in passing by Gorskij and Nevostruev,⁹⁰ has been seized upon by subsequent scholars as the primary motivation.⁹¹ In so doing, modern scholars have conflated various reasons for the production of GB into one. Thus, the suggestion that the complete biblical canon of 1499 owed its existence to the fact that the heretics had in their possession the Scriptures appears to be an underestimate of Gennadij's aims and accomplishments.

The Judaizers were a group of clergy and laity in Novgorod and Moscow whose ideas brought them into confrontation with the Orthodox Church. Judaizers were accused of denying Christian dogma, of anti-trinitarianism and iconoclasm. This conflict between the heretics and the authorities resulted in the punishment and execution of some of the

⁸⁸ Evseev, 1914:10-22.

⁸⁹ Fedotov, 1960:42.

⁹⁰ Gorskij and Nevostruev, 1855:VII, and 136-37.

⁹¹ The main proponent of such a view was the late Ja. S. Lur'e (1960:193).

heretics in 1490 and 1504. However, apart from these known facts there is no agreement on the nature of the heresy, its affinity to Judaism and its overall importance.⁹²

Evidence for anti-judaizer polemic.

During his time as the Archbishop of Novgorod Gennadij was faced with three serious troubles: the controversy surrounding the approaching end of the world in the year 7000 (1492), the rise of the Judaizers' heresy, and the secularization of church lands. In order to deal with these pressing matters Gennadij ordered the translation, production and copying of texts needed to support his dogmatic and theological position. Even so, it is almost impossible to find direct evidence for the production of the GB as a countermeasure to oppose the Judaizers' influences. The few pieces of information that have been handed down to us with regard to the Judaizers' involvement in criticism of the Biblical texts are hard to interpret, thus leaving the frequently quoted passages from Gennadij's letter to Joasaf, former bishop of Rostov, open to interpretation.

Ино нынешнее жидова еретическое предание дръжать, псалмы Давыдовы или пророчества испреврацали по томѹ, как им еретици предали - Якила и Симмах и Феодотион.⁹³ - 'The Jews of today maintain a heretical tradition; they have distorted the Psalms of David or the Prophets in accordance with the way that the heretics Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion have handed them down to them'.

I am of the opinion that Gennadij was referring to the heretics of ancient times and, perhaps, thinking also of the contemporary Jews. Although some Church Slavonic translations of Greek exegesis contain references to Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, from these references it does not necessarily follow that in 15th century Russia, where knowledge of Greek was at best meagre, there were people capable of such expertise in matters of biblical textual criticism. At any rate Gennadij's statement is not sufficient to

⁹² The question of Judaizers and the heresy is beyond the scope of the present study. The literature on Judaizers is substantial. To list but a few: Klibanov, 1960; Lur'e, 1960; Hösch, 1975; Howlett, 1976; Seebom, 1977; Taube, 1996. For recent publications on the subject see the bibliography in Peresvetoff-Morath (2002). For primary sources see Kazakova, Lur'e, 1955. For a concise account in English of the genesis and spread of the Judaizers heresy see Fennell, 1961:324-33. For the diffusion of the terms 'judaizing', and 'judaistically philosophising' in the Byzantine antiheretical literature see Pliguzov, 1992:270; Howlett, 1993:64. I am grateful to Professor Taube for sending me his article on 'The Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew and the Heresy of the Judaizers: Is there a Connection?'

⁹³ Kazakova, Lur'e, 1955:410.

establish a clear link between the Judaizers' heresy and Gennadij's desire to compile a Pandect.⁹⁴

A second quotation concerns the well-known list of books which 'у еретиков все есть'. In the same letter to Joasaf Gennadij mentioned several biblical books in possession of the heretics and asked whether they might have these in the monastery.

Да есть ли у вас в Кирилове, или в Фарофонтове, или на Каменном, книги: Селивестр папа Римскы, да Ифанасеи Александрейскы, да Слово Козмы прозвитера на новопавльшүюста ересь на богүмилю, да Послание Фотега патриарха ко князю Борисү Болгарьскомү, да Пророчества, да Бытия, да Царьства, да Притчи, да Менандр, да Исүс Сирахов, да Логика, да Деонисеи Препагит? Зане же те книги у еретиков все есть.⁹⁵

The books mentioned by Gennadij are not heretical, the list contains biblical books (the *Prophets*, *Genesis*, *Kings*, *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*) and some theological works (*Sylvester – Pope of Rome*, *Athanasios of Alexandria*, the *Discourse against the Recent Heresy*, *Bogomilism* by Presbyter Kozma, the *Epistle of Patriarch Photios to Boris, Prince of Bulgaria*, *Dionysios, the Areopagite* and sayings of a playwright *Menander* and the book *Logic*. It is not obvious whether Gennadij wanted to obtain copies for himself or to send them to Joasaf, and thus we cannot draw conclusions about his intentions on compiling the codex on the basis of these quotations alone.

Alternative explanations of GB.

Evseev was the first scholar who put forward an alternative explanation for the production of GB as the result of pressure from the Catholic Church, which has been mentioned above.⁹⁶ In recent years Romodanovskaja⁹⁷ has studied the dissemination of Cyrillic manuscripts containing the texts newly translated from Latin and concludes that the main goal of the Gennadian circle was the creation of a glossed biblical text. She

⁹⁴ Whilst interpreting Gennadij's words I tend to favour the opinion of Lur'e (1984:155) who thought that this particular quotation had nothing whatsoever to do with the Novgorod heresy of the late 15th century in preference to that of Thomson (2002:32) for whom 'it is clear that the project to compile a Pandect was undertaken as part of the efforts to counter Judaizer influence'.

⁹⁵ Kazakova, Lur'e, 1955:409.

⁹⁶ Evseev (1916:14) accused Gennadij not only of surrounding himself with an unhealthy Catholic atmosphere but also of allowing himself to be influenced by it.

⁹⁷ Romodanovskaja, 2001: 278-305.

rejects the possibilities that GB was the result of a desire to combat the heresy of Judaizers, or of pressure from a Catholic Church.

My work proceeds from a similar understanding of the history of GB. In my view, the main goal of Gennadij's circle was to produce a complete Biblical canon and to resolve the canon question. What did the redactors of GB know about the canon of the OT biblical books? Since this codex was, in fact, the first complete collection of biblical books among the Orthodox Slavs, the redactors were faced with the challenge of determining the canon of both the Old and New Testaments. This was an immensely complicated undertaking considering the quantity of manuscripts, claiming biblical status, that existed in Church Slavonic manuscript tradition by the end of the 15th century. For example, in the compilation of biblical books produced by Matfej Desjatyj, the sayings of Menander were included among other biblical texts. Gennadij's choice of a canon was followed by all Church Slavonic Bibles to be produced in Russia for the next five hundred years. The fact that the Ostrog Bible of 1581, Moscow Bible of 1663, Elizabeth Bible of 1751, all follow the canon of the Gennadian Bible testifies to the importance of the latter for the Russian culture.

The compilers of the first codex of Biblical books, headed by Gennadij, must have had a variety of sources at their disposal to determine the composition of the codex in general, and the Old Testament in particular. By the end of the 15th century there were in circulation nine indexes in Church Slavonic translation of the Old Testament books. The majority of these indexes were included in the *Kormčaja kniga* 'Collection of canon laws'.

As noted by Foster, the Old Testament of the 1499 Bible does not correspond to any single Graeco-Byzantine index of books from the nine lists known to exist in the Slavonic translation by the end of the 15th century. It has often been maintained that the compilers of GB based their index on the Latin Vulgate. This does not mean, however, that the canon of GB was 'Latin' or 'Roman Catholic'. Foster comments that the canon of the OT books of GB, like the Vulgate, preserves an older canon, based on the Alexandrian tradition. He concludes that this canon could have been derived, not from a

single index, known in Slavonic translation, but from a compilation of several of the indexes.⁹⁸

We should remember that the word *biblija* – ‘sacra scriptura’ is first encountered in Church Slavonic lettering in the colophon of the Bible. So only with GB the word *biblija* entered the Russian lexicon. The indexes contained the words ‘canon’ and ‘canonical’ which might or might not be equal to the Bible. While the Bible contained all of the texts useful to the Christian reader, the canon was limited to those texts on which dogma and church law can be based. Until the end of the 15th century the Bible played no important role in Russia. All prior discussion of the canon was theoretical in nature as the complete Church Slavonic Bible in one volume did not exist. In 1499 the Slavonic canon was moved from theory to practice, for Gennadij presented his canon not in the form of a list or index but in a form of the first complete Bible.

It cannot be ruled out, of course, that, under more propitious circumstances, GB might have appeared in print.⁹⁹ Gennadij was an ambitious and learned man who was not unaware of what was happening in the West; and Novgorod was not an isolated city completely closed to foreign ideas.¹⁰⁰ The production of a translation that could be printed was entirely consonant with the prevailing intellectual trends from the Iberian Peninsula to the German speaking lands of Central Europe.

Position of *Ecclesiastes*.

That the text of *Ecclesiastes* was of lesser importance in ecclesiastical debates is indicated by the absence of any marginal comments in manuscript Undol’skij 1¹⁰¹ by Ivan Černyj, who made some glosses and corrections in the manuscripts containing other

⁹⁸ Foster, 1996:81.

⁹⁹ It is known that the printer Bartolomeus Gotan from Lübeck was welcomed at the time at Gennadij’s palace. See Miller, 1978:395-412.

¹⁰⁰ ‘The Latin atmosphere’ in Novgorod can be explained through its long established tradition of links with Hanse and the presence of many foreigners. On the existence of foreign yards and the Catholic church in Novgorod at the time see Rybina (1986). Interesting observations on the Latin texts on birch bark in Novgorod dating to the 15th century can be found in Picchio (1979-80:650-1).

¹⁰¹ MS Und.1 was copied by several scribes. Unfortunately, I cannot say whether the text of *Ecclesiastes* was written by Ivan himself or somebody else.

OT books.¹⁰² At the same time several slips of the pen may show less diligence in handling this text. It may simply follow that at the time there existed no other copy of *Ecclesiastes* for Ivan Černyj to compare it with.¹⁰³

With the text of *Ecclesiastes* it looks as if there was a limited number of copies circulating in the same Moscow-Novgorodian milieu which came from the same source (with the lacuna and interpolation). Ivan Černyj most probably did not have access to the copies of the plain text as Matfej Desjatyj or the compilers of GB did.¹⁰⁴ The manuscript Undol'skij 1 was the most complete collection of the OT books at the time before GB as it contained all the biblical books with the exception of those translated from Latin. It is not known on whose orders manuscript Undol'skij 1 was copied, but we know from the colophon of another book, the so-called *Ellinskij letopisec*, that it was copied by Ivan Černyj in 1485 on the order of the Grand Prince Ivan. Based on this example, one might conjecture that that in all probability manuscript Undol'skij 1 was also intended for the same high Moscow circles.

Attention should be drawn to the position of *Ecclesiastes* in the Gennadian Bible. It was not translated from Latin or specifically for GB. It was copied instead from an existing manuscript. It seems most likely that the copy used by the compilers contained the interpolation and the lacuna. As a result of our investigation it has been established that in the compilers' exemplar the text of *Ecclesiastes* preserved the interpolation containing biblical verses with comments. Textual evidence suggests that the compilers were responsible for removing comments on *Ecclesiastes* in the interpolation whilst leaving intact the biblical verses.

¹⁰² His glosses are published in Kazakova, Lur'e, 1955: 280-285-99. See also Klibanov, 1960: 41-56 and 238-43 and Kloss, 1971:61-72.

¹⁰³ Apparently the scribe Ivan Černyj was a member of the Moscow circle of the judaizing heretics whose chief was Fedor Kuricyn. According to modern scholarship (Thomson, 1998:651-2) the Judaizers were the first Slavs who revealed an interest in textual criticism of the Church Slavonic translations of the Old Testament and who initiated the removal of the Biblical texts from their Christian commentaries. His opinion is, perhaps, too categorical. We know about a certain Gabriel of Hilandar (Thomson, 1998:763). He is, however, different from Ivan Černyj, who was supposedly only a scribe and not a translator. Gabriel is thought to have translated a catena on *Job*, and, perhaps also the one on *Samuel* and *Kings*, revising the biblical texts in the process of translation. Similar revisions for commentated versions were undertaken in 10th century Bulgaria.

¹⁰⁴ With regard to the other OT books, namely, the Song of Songs and the Prophets Thomson (1998:657) alludes to the discrepancies between the texts available to the Judaizers and the compilers of GB.

There may be different explanations for this fact. Firstly, the editorial job was not completed very thoroughly. Secondly, the compilers might have felt that the biblical verses were more important than the commentary, and left these on purpose. They clearly collated their text with another copy to fill the lacuna. At the same time no examples can be found to show that the editors used the text of the Vulgate for correction of errors in their copy. But there is a slight possibility that at least once in 7:5 they may have checked against the Greek. It must be said, though, that if we take into account the lack of evidence for the presence of Greek manuscripts at that time in Novgorod, such verification remains highly questionable.

Chapter 2.

The catena on *Ecclesiastes* in the Church Slavonic translation.

Fragments of Church Slavonic translations of a catena on *Ecclesiastes* have survived in various *florilegia*. The study of the catena is important because it is not known whether the plain text of *Ecclesiastes* originated independently or was generated from the commentated version. In the Church Slavonic tradition there were precedents for the generation of plain biblical texts from the commentated ones.¹ Examination of the extant fragments of *Ecclesiastes* included in various compilations may shed light on whether these fragments might once have been parts of a whole catena. The largest number of biblical verses with commentary, 56 in total, can be found in the MS Undol'skij 13. The description of this MS is given in the previous chapter. The selection of commentated passages is as follows: 1:6-7, 1:9-11, 2:14, 2:21, 2:24-26, 3:15-21, 4:4-6, 4:9-17, 5:2, 5:5, 5:9-10, 5:18-19, 6:7-9, 7:1-6, 7:8, 7:11, 7:14-22.

In addition to this fragmentary catena, several East Slavonic manuscripts with the continuous text contain an interpolation of 38 verses accompanied by commentary in the middle of 1:12. As was already discussed in the previous chapter, the Gennadian Bible retains this interpolation whilst omitting the commentary.

Three *florilegia* containing a selection of biblical passages from *Ecclesiastes* are known to me at present. These are:

1. Izbornik, beginning of the 13th century, parchment, No Q.p.1.18, RNL (2:14, 4:12, 7:4, 10:1-2)²
2. Sbornik, 16th century, paper, Kirillo-Belozerskij collection, No 43/1120, RNL (10:7, 3:5, 2:14 – the actual verse is missing, 4:6, 4:9, 5:5)
3. Meleckij sbornik, 16th century, paper, Mel.m./p.119, CBAN, Kiev (the selection starts from 10:1)³

¹ Cf. Alekseev, 1999: 37; Thomson, 1998: 794, footnote 914.

² The text was published by Wątrobska, 1987.

³ I have seen Sbornik from the Kirillo-Belozerskij collection; the Meleckij sbornik at present is unavailable to me but in the future I hope to familiarise myself with it.

In this chapter I summarise what is known about *catenae* in Greek and Church Slavonic. I compare the commentated version with the relevant passages from the continuous text and the interpolation. In so doing, I am looking for any possible textual dependency between the continuous, interpolated, and commentated texts. Such an analysis raises a number of significant questions, the answers to which may however prove unattainable due to a lack of sufficient evidence. Among these questions are the following: did the text of Undol'skij 13 ever exist in a more complete form or in its entirety? What is the relationship between the commentated text of Undol'skij 13 and the continuous text? What is the relationship between the continuous and the interpolated text? What is the relationship between Undol'skij 13 and the interpolated text? What is the relationship between any of these and the fragments in the florilegia? Did the continuous text emerge independently, or was it generated from the commentated version? Which version came first: continuous, commentated or interpolated?

It can be argued that EccP⁴ could have been generated from a fuller version of EccC (Und.13), since there are other examples where the biblical text has been extrapolated from the commentaries. The *Song of Songs* and the prophetic books seemingly underwent such transformations, apparently made by the Judaizers (Thomson 1998:651-2). Around the same period the texts of *Job*, *Isaiah*, the *Song of Songs*, *Daniel* were extrapolated by the editors of the GB who for some reason or other did not use the earlier extrapolations of the Judaizers (Thomson 1998:657).

If it is at least possible that EccC and EccP arose from the same Church Slavonic translation, then it is useful to explore the relationship between them by comparing the text in Und.13 with a manuscript from the group which contains the continuous text of *Ecclesiastes*. Should it be determined that EccC and EccP do share a common source, the reconstruction of part of this source might be feasible.

As yet it is not known whether the commentated and interpolated texts go back to the same Church Slavonic archetype or represent independent translations. The question of

⁴ For ease of reference in this study I shall call the continuous text of *Ecclesiastes* - EccP (*Ecclesiastes*, plain text), the commentated text of *Ecclesiastes* - EccC = Und.13 (*Ecclesiastes*, commentated or exegetical text), and the interpolated text of *Ecclesiastes* - Eccl (*Ecclesiastes*, interpolated or exegetical text).

differentiation between separate translations and separate redactions⁵ of a translated work continues to be contentious among scholars.⁶ Since the Greek prototype which lay behind them is also unknown, no conclusions can be reached at present. As the textual relations between different versions of the text of *Ecclesiastes* are not transparent, it is methodologically important firstly to separate the biblical passages from the commentaries and secondly to examine different types of variants in the texts.

My aim is to select and classify the existing textual material. I approach my subject in two ways:

- I identify parts of the commentary which correspond to the supposed Greek source, i.e. the commentary of Olympiodorus.
- I check the divergence of the Church Slavonic biblical verses from the standard Greek text of *Ecclesiastes* in the LXX, using the variant readings from the edition of *Vetus Testamentum* by Holmes and Parsons and Boli.

Thereafter, I outline several possibilities for the textual relationships between the three versions. At the end of the chapter these hypotheses are subjected to criticism on general historical grounds and in the light of the textual findings of the chapter. The condition and paucity of textual material determines the order in which the material is presented and examined.

Before discussing the Church Slavonic translation I briefly touch upon the formation in the Greek tradition of this type of exegetical text, a genre which was inherited by medieval Slavonic literature from Byzantium. Since the Church Slavonic catenary translations derived primarily from Greek patristic works, I shall highlight the differences and similarities between the Greek and the Church Slavonic versions of catenae.

⁵ Redactions were the product of revisions of the Church Slavonic translations based on the Greek text. Medieval Slavs starting from the 10th century periodically revised liturgical books by collating them with the Greek. A redactor can work simultaneously with the old text, transfer some wording from it and revise this old text by referring to Greek. Thus redactors changed Slavonic words and grammatical forms which did not correspond to the Greek manuscripts available to them.

The catena as a literary form of exegetical literature.

A *catena* is a collection of excerpts taken from scholia or commentaries by Church Fathers on texts from the Bible.⁷ Usually these excerpts are preceded by the names of their authors. This method of exegesis appears around the beginning of the 6th century when production of the original commentaries by the Church Fathers was in decline. In this transitional period new commentaries on the OT were no longer being written but the old existing commentaries were reworked and turned into *catenae*. Procopius of Gaza († 530) is assumed to be the first to have started such compilations (Wilson 1983:32-3). As different texts were blended together they became known under the name of their catenist with the result that they are attributed to their compilers.

The problem of attribution was equally difficult for the Byzantine and Slavonic scribes because the commentaries were drawn from various sources. Sometimes the names of the authors were put in the margins, which could lead to confusion and the eventual loss of the names during the process of subsequent copying. In this case they were indicated by ἄλλος, which is translated as ииъ.

Greek catena vs. Slavonic catena.

The first difference between Greek and Slavonic *catenae* lies in the fact that the biblical text in the Greek catena remained practically the same, and commentaries could only be added to it. In the Church Slavonic tradition, however, the commentaries were not copied, but translated instead. Therefore the translator was presented with several possibilities. Firstly, he could translate the commentaries and add these to the already existing biblical text, secondly, he could translate the biblical text afresh together with the commentaries, and thirdly, he could make some changes and corrections in the existing Church Slavonic translation of the biblical text.

⁶ Cf. Lunt, 1985: 279-318.

⁷ For general works on the *catenae* I consulted Devreesse (1928:1084-164), who in turn draws largely on work of Faulhaber (1909:383-95), and Dorival (1985:209-26); for a survey of the subject see also Marcos (2000:287-301).

The second difference lies in the arrangement of the page in the Greek and Slavonic Cyrillic manuscripts. In Byzantine manuscripts one may find various arrangements of catenae: the biblical text, ranging from a few words to several verses, could be written in the centre with the extracts from Church Fathers in the margins; or the biblical passages and corresponding commentaries could be written in two parallel columns.

It has been argued (Marcos 2000: 291-2), however, that the first catenae followed the example of biblical commentaries from the 3rd to 5th centuries, which were used as a model for the page layout. In other words, the original layout for the first Byzantine catenae consisted of writing the biblical verse, then the extracts from the Fathers relating to that verse, after this the subsequent passage, followed by its relevant commentary and so on. From the 11th century, the catenae turn to the alternating pattern of commentary again as a model for the page layout.

The page layout in the Cyrillic manuscripts did not have a marginal structure, but usually followed the arrangement of the so-called *catena alternata*.⁸ In this the biblical text was usually written in red ink, and the lemma *толкъ* and the name of the exegete, the author of the commentary, preceded the commentary. The order of comments on the relevant verses could vary from manuscript to manuscript. A possible reason for this is that in the Greek manuscripts commentaries were placed in the margins; in the copying process, the commentaries were transferred to the text itself and as a result mismatches could occur. In the Slavonic manuscript tradition discrepancy between the sequence of comments on relevant biblical passages is fairly common. There could also be some omissions in the biblical texts themselves, because verses that did not have commentary could be left out.

Sources for the Church Slavonic catena.

It is not possible at the moment to indicate the direct Greek source for our Church Slavonic catena. It has been suggested that the commentary of Olympiodorus of Alexandria on *Ecclesiastes* might have served as one of the sources for the Church Slavonic translation (Alekseev 1988:186). Very little is known about Olympiodorus

⁸ Term used by Labate (1979: 333).

himself. He was supposedly ordained by 505 –515, so he might have been born between 470-490. At the end of the Commentary to *Job* it is stated that Olympiodorus wrote a commentary on *Ecclesiastes* on the commission of John and Julian, respected men of the 6th century. He was considered an important author for hundreds of years: Anastasius of Sinai called him μέγας φιλόσοφος, probably mistaking him for another neoplatonist philosopher by the name of Olympiodorus (Každan and Talbot 1991, III:1524).⁹

The following Church Slavonic commentated passages are translated from the commentary of Olympiodorus on *Ecclesiastes* which was published by Migne in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 93. These are 2:14 PG 500D; 4:6 PG 528 CD; 4:9 PG 530C-D; 5:5 PG 541A; 7:2 PG 560D; 7:3 PG 560D; 7:4 PG 561B; 7:5 PG 561C; 7:6 PG 561C; 7:16-17 PG 568C-D; 7:18 PG 569A; 7:21-22 PG 569 D; 8:4 PG 576A; 8:8 PG 577C; 10:1 PG 596A; 10:2 596 B; 10:3 596B; 10:4 PG 596C; 10:5-6 PG 597 A-B; 12:5 PG 617 B-C. Migne's edition of the commentary is based on two manuscripts from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Gr. 174 and Gr. 175. Migne may have been unaware of the manuscripts 733 and 734 from the Marcianus library in Venice which contain the longer version of Olympiodorus' commentary. Comparison of the microfilms of these manuscripts kept in Göttingen in the Septuaginta-Unternehmen with the Church Slavonic translation revealed 5 more comments based on Olympiodorus. These are 7:2 (MS 734 f. 42r), 7:15 (MS 733, f. 93B), 7:22 (MS 733, f. 94B), 10:7 (MS 733, f. 102B), 10:17 (MS 733, f. 104B).¹⁰

In some later manuscripts one can see an increase in scholia written by Olympiodorus. His importance as an author at a later time can be inferred from the layout of his commentary on *Ecclesiastes* in the Marcianus Gr.22 manuscript from the library in Venice: Olympiodorus' text is in the middle while the catena compiled by Procopius is in the margins (Leanza 1977:551).

Apart from Olympiodorus' commentary several Greek catenae on *Ecclesiastes* are known to scholars at present: Catena Procopii, Catena Polychronii, Catena Barberiniana,

⁹ Two Church Slavonic translations of Olympiodorus' catena on *Job* are known in the Slavonic literary tradition, the earliest Cyrillic manuscript dating to 1394 (Thomson 1998:793). The second translation, known in three extant Bulgarian manuscripts, was made by the monk Gabriel on Mount Athos at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Alekseev 1999:36). The source for the latter translation was the catena of Niketas of Herakleia based in turn on the commentary of Olympiodorus.

Catena Trium Patrum, Catena Athonensis, Catena Hauniensis.¹¹ Until recently the only person who had studied the commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* was M. Faulhaber, who compared Olympiodorus' commentary with the Catena of Procopius and Polychronius (Faulhaber 1902). The recent publications by Labate (1979:333-39) and Leanza (1977:545-52) have returned to this subject.

Faulhaber thought that the three Greek catenae on *Ecclesiastes* of Olympiodorus, Prokopios and Polychronius were related to each other in some way. He says that all the catenae with the exception of Trium Patrum derive from the original and complete Catena of Procopius. Labate (1992, XXXVI-VIII) however, argues that Faulhaber's view is no longer acceptable. He points out that in the 6th century three catenae (the Commentary of Olympiodorus, Catena of Procopius and finally Catena Hauniensis) already existed. Labate agrees with Faulhaber that these three catenae are closely related to each other. He supposes that this is because they were written at the same time. In his opinion, all the other catenae, including Catena Barberiniana, are more recent. Faulhaber had already suggested that Catena Barberiniana depends on the Commentary of Olympiodorus with which it shares many similarities, especially starting from chapter 7 till the end.

Agreeing with him, Labate points out that the Commentary of Olympiodorus appears to be older because on f. 72^r of Catena Barberiniana the lemma Ολυμπιοδώρου can be read. So, Labate and Faulhaber believe that Catena Barberiniana depends on Olympiodorus. Leanza, however, does not agree with this idea. Leanza points out that in Catena Barberiniana the names of the authors are given, while in Olympiodorus they are not present. He suggests that the similarities between these two (Catena Barberiniana and Olympiodorus) either depend on Procopius, or that Olympiodorus depends on Catena Barberiniana (Leanza 1977: 550). Besides this, there is no agreement about the nature of Olympiodorus' commentary on *Ecclesiastes*; while some scholars consider it to be a commentary, others regard it as a catena.¹²

¹⁰ Theodora Boli under the supervision of Dieter Hagedorn of Heidelberg university prepared the new critical edition of the Olympiodorus Commentary on *Ecclesiastes*.

¹¹ CPG, vol. 4

¹² The reason for this disagreement lies in the fact that Olympiodorus used the works of early authors without naming them. There are frequent uses of the lemma ἄλλος in his commentary, and the difficulty here is that it is impossible to say that they are direct borrowings, because none of them have been pinned

In addition the short collection of scholia found in codex Hierosolymitani Τάφου 370 also depends on Catena Polychronius. There are differences between Polychronius and Olympiodorus in word order, and in the amount of exegesis. The Polychronius Catena is shorter (and Faulhaber calls it ‘mechanische Auszugscatene’) but at the same time it has some additional material which does not derive from the Olympiodoros Catena. Scholarship suggests that Olympiodorus served as one of the sources for the Catena Polychronius.

It is possible to see Catena Polychronii and Catena Barberiniana as probable sources for the Church Slavonic translation since they contain a number of *loci communes* with Olympiodorus.¹³ However, at present it is hard for me to come to any conclusions and draw parallels between the Church Slavonic translation and its untraced Greek source since we still do not have critical editions of all the catenae on *Ecclesiastes*.¹⁴

Greek and Slavonic florilegia.

Excerpts from a catena on *Ecclesiastes* are found in various Slavonic florilegia in the form of questions and answers. The genre of *aporiai* or *erotapokriseis* was rooted in the Hellenistic tradition of glossa and scholia, and played an important part in Byzantine exegesis (Marcos 2000:275). Treating a topic by means of a series of questions and

down as direct quotations. Hagedorn and Hagedorn do not think of the Olympiodorus commentary as a catena, however, postulating that a sequence of quotations and the use of someone’s arguments do not turn a commentary into a catena. They do not specify, however, the criteria that distinguish a catena from a commentary (Hagedorn and Hagedorn 1984: XXXIX-XL).

¹³ The Catena Barberiniana is a double palimpsest containing the commentaries on the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes*. An additional intriguing point is that it contains fragments of the Church Slavonic translation of the Oktoix in the Serbian recension. Slavists have known Catena Barberiniana for some time, see Lavrov (1914:173), Lunt (1958:196), Džurova (1985:179-82). The most recent publication is by Totomanova (1996: 26-40), who published the fragments of the Church Slavonic Oktoix-Paraklitik.

The Catena Barberiniana is of special interest to me since it contains a number of anonymous comments on passages that are also commented on in the Church Slavonic translation. The existence of these passages was revealed by Labate, who does not give a transcript but lists the folia on which they occur. I was prompted to look at the microfilm of the Catena Barberiniana in order to find out whether these passages bear any resemblance to the corresponding passages in the Church Slavonic translation. A brief preliminary examination of the microfilm of the Catena Barberiniana during my recent research trip to Göttingen did not reveal any parallels with the Church Slavonic catena, but further investigation will be needed.

¹⁴ The Italian scholars of the so-called Messina group are working at present on a critical edition, and so far Leanza has only published the fragments of the Procopius catena and Labate has published Catena Hauniensis. When more critical editions are printed, they may help to elucidate the possible source for the Church Slavonic translation.

answers, it was particularly suited to biblical exegesis as many passages in the OT posed problems of inconsistency and contradictions. Theodoret of Cyrrihus was famous as the author of such works, his *Questions on the Octateuch* being an example. This work was translated into Church Slavonic (Slavova 2000:8).

Put together around the 5th century, numerous Byzantine collections of excerpts or testimonies of ancient patristic writers, most often of an edifying nature, arose out of a need for teaching or for polemics associated with various schools of thought. Being subject to further reworking, these collections would be extended with new articles when new issues caught the attention of theologians. Some collections appear to have enjoyed a wide circulation, the custom of the prescribed monastic readings being one of the reasons underlying this. For historians these collections present a dual interest: firstly, they frequently preserve important fragments of lost works; secondly, these compilations allow us to establish the average level and scope of historic and dogmatic knowledge in a certain epoch. They tell us more about the readers than about the writers.

Medieval Slavs were familiar with this type of exegesis. Several works, such as the *Pandects of Antioch*, *Questions and Answers* of Anastasius of Sinai, etc. are known in the early Church Slavonic translations. The elementary unit composed of question and answer could be easily added to or taken out of florilegia. This factor has caused a certain instability and fluidity of the erotapokriseis texts included in florilegia. This is important for my investigation, since it is only by examination of the fragments of the catena on *Ecclesiastes* that we can shed some light on the question whether a complete translation of the catena ever existed.¹⁵

The first step is to look at the fragments of the catena on *Ecclesiastes* that are present in the oldest surviving manuscript. Based on the commentary of Olympiodorus, they are included in the *Izbornik* of the 13th century, an exegetic florilegium, compiled from Slavonic sources, almost all of Old Bulgarian provenance.¹⁶ Since Helena Wątrobska has transcribed this text, I shall use the text in her transcription, introducing where appropriate slight changes in word division.

¹⁵ At the moment not all the fragments of the catena are available to me, therefore I intend to return to this question in the future.

Comparison of fragments of the catena.

The same passages with commentaries that are preserved in the Izbornik are present also in Und.13 and EccI, therefore it is interesting to compare these. In the case of the Izbornik and Undol'skij 13, only one copy of the text has survived; consequently, it is hard and often impossible to judge what belongs to the text itself and what was on occasion introduced by a scribe either unconsciously or deliberately.

I quote the Church Slavonic text from the Izbornik, giving variant readings from Und.13 and EccI. For EccI here and elsewhere I use variant readings from Pg.1. If there are further divergences within the EccI version, I quote separate MSS.

Verses for which we have parallels in all three MSS. ¹⁷

2:14 моудромоу^I очи въ главѣ еста^{II} а^{III} безоумныи въ^{IV} тьмѣ ходитъ. (Izb.) ¹⁸

Т. Глава выше всего тѣла естъ. нозѣ же низько къ земли прикасаѣта сѧ. тѣмъже югда влѣка оумъ чѣтъ боудеть. вышнихъ сматраѣтъ. а не иже на земли. таковыи въ главѣ очи иматъ. югда же ли ш земныхъ помыслъ иматъ. въ ногоу иматъ очи къ земнымъ прилипаѧ.

Т. в. Глава цркви Хсѣ. к нейже моудрыи възираѧ ходитъ. такоже и онъ. а реку Хсѣ. въ главѣ очи иматъ. безоумныи же въ тьмѣ ходитъ. всгда земныхъ зрѧ. омрачена имъи влѣкоу. юже естъ оумъ.

(Und.13)

тол.

оумъ шчима нарицаеть и во главѣ его именуетъ сирѣчь выспрь а не низу иво очищенъ оумъ во главѣ пребываетъ сирѣчь выспрь зреть а егда ш земныхъ прилежитъ тогда бывае^T омраченіемъ низу.

(EccI)

Толкъ.

Оумъ головою именуетъ[^] егда оумъ шчиститъ[^] тогда выспрь зреть а егда ш земныхъ тогъда шчи низу.

¹⁶ Wątrobska, 1987:ii.

¹⁷ Verse 2:14 is on f.174 with the title а се еклисиастъ. The verses 7:4, 10:1-2 with comments are on ff.152-153 with the title отъ еклисиаста съ еписисеньмъ. Short quotations 4:12 and 11:2 are discussed in chapter 3.

¹⁸ Here and afterwards the variant readings are given in the footnotes. ^I мѣраго Und.13, EccI. ^{II} om. Und.13, EccI. ^{III} om. Und.13, EccI. ^{IV} же pr. Und.13, EccI.

With regard to the biblical passage we can see that differences in the use of cases unite EccI and Und.13 against the Izbornik: there is dative case in the Izbornik and genitive in Und.13 and EccI. The absence in the biblical passage of the dual form of the verb ‘to be’ in Und.13 and EccI could be a sign of more literal translation of the Greek text, where the auxiliary verb is not present.

The commentary in the Izbornik differs from the ones in Und.13 and EccI: the former corresponds to the Greek text of the commentary of Olympiodorus of Alexandria PG 500D, while the two other commentaries do not have exact parallels in Olympiodorus’ text. The commentary in EccI is shorter than in Und.13: these are different commentaries though they express similar ideas. There is a possibility that they may have been revised and shortened by Slavonic editors.¹⁹

7:4 срѣце мѹдрѹхъ в домоу плача. срѣце^I же^{II} безумныхъ^{III} в домоу пира^{IV}. (Izb.)²⁰
Т.

Мѹдрѹи^I же^{II} плачь помышлѹа ꙗко ѿ^{III} тѣла^{IV}. и ꙗко оѹдобъ ꙗже сѣѣ препадакъ и прилагакъ сѣ. бѹвакъ оѹбо мѹрдѣ такоѹа терпѣ. шимъ безумныхъ же тѣрдок^V бѹти^{VI} мѣна в мирѣ^{VI}. и недостоинѹа съвогѹ не^{VII} помышлѹа^{VIII}. ни на боѹдоушекъ вѣзираѹа на^{IX} пищю и на питък оѹпражнѹакъ сѣ^X. и сласти знаменаю^{XI} сѣѣ. Еклисиаста расоѹженю зане многаждѹ себе миролюбѣца^{XII}. лице подѣлагаѹа. и^{XIII} кже^{XIV} вѣсти и пити повелѣвакъ кже бл҃го.²¹

The Greek parallel is found in Olympiodorus PG 561B.

The reading *веселїа* in the biblical text itself in Und.13 and EccI corresponds to the standard Greek text, where we have *εὐφροσύνης*, while the reading in Izb. does not. In the commentaries there is slight variation in word order, as well as morphological variation. The expression *ѿ тѣла* - *ἐκ φθορᾶς* – ‘from decay’ was probably corrupted in a common Church Slavonic source for Und.13 and EccI into *ѿ желѣ* - ‘from grief’. All three versions share the confusion of *τρυφή* – ‘delight’ with *τροφή* – ‘food’ in *на пищю*.

¹⁹ Compare the opinion of Evseev (1897: 166) on the reduction of comments on the book of Isaiah. He thought that Byzantine compilers of the catena did the initial abridgement and a Slavonic translator could have taken part in some further modifications.

²⁰ ^I и pr. Und.13, EccI, ^{II} же om. Und.13, EccI, ^{III} вѣхъ Und.13, ^{IV} веселїа Und.13, EccI.

²¹ ^I мѹдрѹи EccI, ^{II} же om. Und.13, ^{III} ѿ om. Und.13, ^{IV} желѣ Und.13, EccI, ^V тѣрдъ Und.13,

^{VI-VI} в мире мѣна transp. Und.13, EccI, ^{VII} не om. Und.13, ^{VIII} помышленїа Und.13, EccI, ^{IX} но pr. Und.13,

^X оѹпражнѹа сѣ Und.13, EccI, ^{XI} знаменѣт Und.13, знаменають EccI, ^{XII} миролюбѣи Und.13,

^{XIII} и om. Und.13, EccI, ^{XIV} се же EccI.

If the variants shared by Und.13 and Eccl go back to a common Church Slavonic source, then this is important for the interpretation of their textual relationship.

Passages in Izbornik and Eccl which do not have a parallel in Und.13.

10:1 Чѣтно мало моудрости. паче славы великы безоумна. (Izb.)

Т. Прославиша сѧ мнози. въ безаконьн^I мнозѣ. гззыкѣ бес правдѣ^{II} попорнѣ. иже въ мирѣ бѣгатѣ и гърдѣ бѣвѣ. иже вънѣшнею моудростю. ѡ соуктѣныхъ троудивше сѧ. нѣ ни прикладнѣ лѣпле извѣстьк. кже^{III} начинага по бѣзѣ моудростю. въ тоу бо^{IV} въвѣдимѣ.^V и прикасати сѧ ки начинага . и^{VI} ѡ^{VII} безоумна славы не роди .²²

The Greek parallel is in Olympiodorus PG 596A.

The variant reading въ безуми in Eccl has a basis in Greek ἀφροσύνη, whereas the reading in Izb. apparently has not. The preposition ѡ vs. ѡ̄ can be easily explained on paleographical grounds: it is very easy to miss the upper letter τ in this ligature.

10:2 срѣце моудромоу^I въ десници кго. срѣце же^{II} безоумномоу в шюци кго. (Izb.)²³

Т.

срѣце оумъ разумѣти. телеснок^I бо срѣце всегда на шдиномъ мѣстѣ лежитъ въ оутровѣ. кже зовомок перепона^{II}. тѣм же мѣдраго^{III} оумъ. всегда лѣпага и хвалнага^{IV}. разумѣть же и дѣлаеть. безоумнаго же оумъ^V злага и^{VI} противнага имѣеть^{VII}.²⁴

The Greek parallel is in Olympiodorus PG 596B.

There is no equivalent in the Greek text of the PG for the third instance of the noun оумъ found in Izb., which in this case might have been inserted by an oversight under the influence of мѣдраго оумъ. The variation displayed in these texts is usual in the process of multiple copying. The translation is very literal, and follows the Greek word for word in the passages corresponding to those of Olympiodorus (with the exception of the verb дѣлаеть in 10:2).

²² ^I безуми Eccl, ^{II} правды Eccl, ^{III} иже Pg.1, Sol., Und.1, TSL 730; иже Rum.204, Sof., ^{IV} om. Eccl, ^V водимъ Pg.1, Sol., Und.1, ^{VI} но Eccl, ^{VII} ѡ Eccl.

²³ ^I моудраго Sol., ^{II} же om. Pg.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof.

²⁴ ^I и пр. Eccl, ^{II} перепоны Sol., ^{III} мѣдрому Eccl, ^{IV} похвалнага Eccl, ^V om. Eccl, ^{VI} om. Eccl, ^{VII} имѣца Pg.1, Sol., Und.1, TSL 730, имѣце Rum.204, Sof.

We recognize that the passages based on Olympiodorus were translated literally, however, we cannot say this with certainty about the other comments in 2:14 because their possible Greek prototypes are unknown. If the Slavonic compilers used a shortened Greek version, that would mean that their sources were different while if they abridged it themselves they could have used the same source. Although the amount of material is very limited and does not allow much textual comparison, still there is a small overlap of 15 commentated verses between Und.13 and EccI which are compared below.

Comparison of commentaries between the commentated and interpolated versions.

Verses with commentary that do coincide in one or both texts are listed below; however in a few instances there are biblical verses which have comments attached to them that are present in one text but not in the other. There is one place (2:14) where the comments in Und.13 and EccI diverge significantly. I indicate the divergencies with the ≠ sign.

	Und.13	EccI
1. 2:14	≠	≠
2. 4:6	+	-
	+	+
3. 4:9	-	+
4. 4:10	+	-
5. 5:5	+	+
6. 7:2	+	-
	+	+
	+	+
7. 7:3	+	-
	+	-
	-	+
8. 7:4	+	+
9. 7:5	+	+
10. 7:6	+	+
11. 7:15	+	+
12. 7:16-17	+	+
13. 7:18 ²⁵	+	+
14. 7:19-20	+	+
15. 7:21-22	+	+
	-	+

If one looks at the transcript of EccC and EccI one can observe the coincidence not only in content but also in wording. This is why it is unlikely that these versions of the

²⁵ There is an interpolation in 7:18 of Und. 13, a quotation from Skorina's translation (Thomson: 1998, 844, footnote 1127).

commentary result from two independent acts of translation from Greek. If one compares the commentary in EccC and Eccl, one finds a number of places (5:5, 7:2-3) where divergences in wording could be explained as errors or misunderstandings by copyists of the Eccl tradition and variants in 7:6 seem to be errors in the EccC tradition.

5:5 **вбостраеть на похоть** (Und.13) vs. **оубыстраеть на похоть** (EccI)

In this case we can find a corresponding passage in the Greek commentary of Olympiodorus (see PG 93, 541A), therefore **вбострати** corresponds to the Greek ἐρεθίζειν – ‘to provoke, to excite’, while **оубыстраети на похоть** means ‘to hasten for lust’. Such a change in the verb could easily happen during copying within the Church Slavonic tradition, especially when both verbs make sense in this collocation.

7:2 **гоняще сикеръ** (Und.13) vs. **ѿгоняци** (EccI)

This part of the comment is found in the longer version of Olympiodorus’ commentary. A scribe perhaps did not understand the expression **гоняще сикеръ** – ‘distilling fermented liquor’ with the Greek loanword σίκερα or σικερ going in turn back to a Semitic loanword, and **сикеръ** was consequently dropped and the collocation changed into **ѿгоняци**. The lexeme **сикеръ**, **сикера** was known in Church Slavonic translated texts of the Gospels Luke 1:15 **и вина и сикера не иматъ пити**.²⁶

7:6 **ненавидящимъ** (Und.13) vs. **невидящимъ** (EccI)

The Greek reading is μὴ ὀρώσιν PG 93, 561C (such *lapsus calami* as in Und. 13 could occur during copying).

7:6 **раззмѣемъ** (in the mg. **образуемъ**) (Und.13) vs. **образуетъ** (EccI) **χαρακτηρίζει**

²⁶ Our collocation may be an example of one of the earliest usages of the expression meaning ‘to distil an alcoholic drink’. cf. modern Russian ‘гнать водку’.

The verb χαρακτηρίζειν – ‘to designate’ is a comparatively late verb in the Greek language, used by the Church Fathers. The equivalent образуетъ in EcclI is an unusual, but nevertheless an acceptable translation, whereas the reading in Und.13 is hard to explain. Could it be a marginal remark which got into the text? There was obviously a correction by an editor of Und.13 against some manuscript of the EcclI type.

7:18 БОГАЩИМ СЯ (Und.13) vs. omission (EcclI).

Likewise one can find in EcclI some evidence of change which could be deliberate (the abridged comment in 2:14, sporadic East Slavonicisms, such as ГОЛОВОЮ in 2:14. There is no certainty, however, with regard to the lexical variation in EcclI such as ИМЕНУЕТЬ^с in 2:14, МИРОЛЮБЦА in 7:4 (as in Izbornik), НАЗЫВАЕТЬ in 7:22 simply because it is just as likely that Und.13 has changed reading here. These peculiarities in the tradition of EcclI suggest that EcclI may be a revised version derived from a fuller text of EccC than is known in Und.13. Moreover, the fluidity in a number of comments attached to biblical verses might have arisen through selection from a fuller source.

The limited number of biblical passages common to Und.13 and EcclI prevents extensive textual comparison. There is, however, a much larger overlap between the biblical material in Und.13 and EccP. In the next sections I offer a textual analysis of the text of *Ecclesiastes* in all three versions in order to explore the relationship between them and to see whether they share a common source.

Possible influence of commentated texts in EccC and EcclI on their biblical texts.

In the previous section we looked at the comments shared between commentated and interpolated versions. Our next step will be the comparison of biblical verses in commentated and continuous texts. But before proceeding with this comparison we need to analyse the similarity which exists between the biblical text in the commentated versions and the commentaries that accompany them. Such similarity suggests without a doubt that there has been some interaction between them. One possibility might be the

influence of commentary texts in EccI and EccC on the wording in the biblical verses. Another possibility is the opposite of the first one, that is the influence of biblical verses on commentary. Influence of the commentary on EccC (and also EccI) is best observed in the verses presented below. I quote the Church Slavonic text from the GB manuscript as a representative of the continuous tradition.

2:24 ὃ φάγεται καὶ ὃ πίεται καὶ ὃ δείξει
 ѣстѣ и пїетѣ иже покаже^т in EccP vs. ѣже ѣстѣ и пїетѣ. и показати in EccC = еже ѣстѣ и пїетѣ...и...показати Commentary.

The text is not continuous in the commentary: the passage is separated from a biblical verse by a number of lines. In Boli's edition MSS EIK_{com.} omit the relative pronoun before the verb δείξει.

2:26 τοῦ προσθεῖναι καὶ τοῦ συναγαγεῖν ... καί γε τοῦτο ματαιότης
 приложити и соврати ѣко^ѣ сѣта in EccP vs. поити и соврати ... и се ... сѣта in EccC = поити и соврати ... и сїе ... сѣта in the Commentary.

The verb поити in Und.13 may have been inserted mistakenly by a scribe into the biblical verse from the commentary, where the expression поити и соврати is written next to the expression приложити и соврати.

4:14 ὅτι καί γε ἐν βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐγεννήθη πένης
 ѣко и въ црѣтвѣ его родит сѣ нищѣ in EccP vs. нарoженныи въ црѣтво нищетою погивнетѣ in EccC = нарoженныи на цѣтство нищетою рече погивне^т in the Commentary.

The final verb погивнетѣ in the commentated version belongs to the commentary and not to the text itself and by some oversight may have been added from the commentary since the whole expression is repeated again later in the commentary. It seems as though most of the phrase from the commentary has been substituted for the biblical one.

7:14 ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ μηδέν
 за собою ничто^ѣ in EccP vs. за нею ничтоже in EccC = за нею ничтоже in the Commentary.

HP critical apparatus - αὐτῆς Ald.

The wording of EccP follows the standard Greek text of the LXX. Though the pronoun **νηο** could reflect the Greek variant gen. sing. αὐτῆς found in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons, the influence of the wording from the commentary seems to be a more likely possibility.

10:7 ὡς δούλους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

яко рабы по земли in EccP vs. **пѣши** in EccI = **пѣши** in the Commentary.

The wording of EccP is closer to Greek. The word **пѣши** in the EccI usually translates the Greek πέζος. Seemingly the verse in the EccI is not reproduced completely by an editor, since it misses the comparison.

There is a chance that these coincidences between biblical text and commentary appeared at a later stage in the copying of an original commentated version. For instance, a scribe's eye could easily skip from one place to another similar one in the process of copying a commentated text. Indeed, we have seen examples of this happening with the plain text of *Ecclesiastes*. The layout of the text arranged in columns in the Appendix 2 may look deceptive. Whereas the passages in the commentary are separated from a biblical verse by a lot of text, in reality the same readings in a manuscript could be positioned quite close, let us say, on two parallel lines with nothing in between. But even if there was some text between them, it could still result in a common scribal error, especially with such repetitive text as *Ecclesiastes*. At the end all depends on the skill of an individual scribe and his experience in copying texts. Simple scribal eye skipping may explain some of the coincidental changes. However, this explanation is less suitable for other instances, for which a different interpretation is required.

The example below stands out from the rest because in this case we have evidence from both EccC and EccI.

7:18 ἀντέχεσθαί σε

въздържати сѧ in EccP vs. примати сѧ in both EccC and EccI = примати сѧ in the Commentary

The Greek middle verb ἀντέχεσθαι has several meanings: ‘to hold on by’, ‘to cling to’; ‘to care for’, ‘to support’; ‘to resist’; ‘to adhere’. It seems that the meaning ‘to hold on by’ is relevant to 7:18. The meanings of the verb въздържати сѧ are: ‘to abstain from’, ‘to restrain oneself’, ‘to hold back’. Therefore it is more likely to translate the verb ἀντέχεσθαι – ‘to hold oneself up’, ‘to bear up’ rather than ἀντέχεσθαι in 7:18. According to LLP the active verb въздържати is an equivalent of ἀντέχεσθαι. LLP for the active verb примати - ‘to endure’ gives an equivalent ἀντέχεσθαι. It is possible that EccC, EccP and EccI all reflect here a (mis?)reading of ἀντέχεσθαι as ἀνέχεσθαι, but EccP may have adopted a different sense of ἀνέχεσθαι from EccC and EccI.

The word примати сѧ is used in a quotation within the commentary. The use of the common reading примати сѧ suggests that EccC and EccI go back to a common source here. The reading въздържати сѧ in the plain text differs from the reading примати сѧ in the two commentated versions, where the biblical verse could have been affected by the wording in the commentary. We need to consider which variant, примати сѧ or въздържати сѧ, is original.

I suggest two scenarios which, in my view, offer possible explanations of the relationship among the versions on the basis of this difference in wording. In the first scenario we may consider the plain text as being primary. At a later stage somebody decided to produce a commentated version of *Ecclesiastes*. He took the Greek commentated version, translated the commentaries from the Greek version and combined them with the already existing Church Slavonic text. Inherent to this scenario are certain possibilities which need to be examined. What evidence might be taken to support the claim that the plain text was primary? Given that the plain text was original, it would be easier to explain how примати сѧ in 7:18 got into the text of commentated versions. Not

satisfied for some reason with the reading **въздържати сѧ** a scribe could have translated **ἀντέχεσθαι** by the verb **примати сѧ**.

In the second scenario we suppose the commentated text to be primary. In this case we may assume the plain text was extrapolated from the commentated one. But then the question arises: if EccP goes back to the earliest version of the commentated text, how does it get the reading **въздържати сѧ**? We need to make a further assumption that extrapolation was done with some occasional reference to Greek and that the example of **въздържати сѧ** was just such a case of referring back to Greek and translating it differently. It must be said though that the example 7:18, in addition to the opposition of **въздържати сѧ** to **примати сѧ**, has several other peculiarities which cannot be easily explained; these peculiarities will be discussed later. Though both scenarios have possibilities, we need to examine whether the textual evidence supports them.

Besides the examples already examined there are other cases worthy of consideration. These demonstrate that there may be more influence from the commentary on the wording in the biblical text.

2:25 ὅτι τίς φάγεται καὶ τίς φείσεται

ѧко кто пїеть или кто ѳсть in EccP vs. **ѧко кто ѧсть и пїеть** in EccC = **еже ѧсть и пїеть** in the Commentary.

3:19 συνάντημα τοῦ κτήνους

слѧчи скотинѧ in EccP vs. **слѧчи ско^тскїи** in EccC = **слѧчи ско^тскїи** in the Commentary.

With regards to this example and to the one in 7:1 it is not possible for me to decide which version is more literalistic in translating the Greek construction of genitive of possession.²⁷

4:12 ἀπορραγήσεται

перевѧт сѧ in EccP vs. **расторгнѧ сѧ** in EccC = **расторгнет сѧ** in the Commentary.

²⁷ The presence of both constructions was observed by Karačorova (1989:179-80) in the 14th century Psalter redactions.

The two words appear to be synonyms, but in EccP the verb is used in the plural form. The only known attestation of the plural form in Greek is the verb διαρρήγνυται in the accompanying commentary according to Boli's edition of Olympiodorus.

5:9 ἐν πλήθει αὐτῶν γένημα
и въ мнѡ^ѡствѣ^ѣ ε^ϛ живѡ^ѡ in EccP vs. во мнѡ^ѡствѣ^ѣ ихъ плоды in EccC = ὦ ζεμνῆ^ς
плодъ in the Commentary.

Rahlfs's critical apparatus: αὐτοῦ AS^c, γενήματα S; Boli's reconstructed text - γενήματα

It seems that on this occasion the reading плоды in Und. 13 is a more regular translation of the Greek text (it reflects the plural Greek form γενήματα) than the reading живѡтѣ found in EccP. The Greek noun γένημα – ‘product, fruit’ is generally translated with the Church Slavonic житѡ, cf. the quotation in LLP from the text of Proverbs 15:29 in the oldest Slavonic Grigorovičev and Zaharjin parimejniki: негѣжели мнѡга житѡ съ неправдѡѡ - γενήματα. As a parallel I can refer to verse 6:10 in the Church Slavonic translation of the Song of Songs where the word житѡ is preserved only in the East Slavonic redaction while the South Slavonic MSS give живѡтѣ.

Alekseev (1983:240) considers the word житѡ to have been the original translation; according to him, живѡтѣ was not a recognized translation of γένημα,²⁸ nor was it semantically motivated, whereas житѡ is well attested in the texts of the Psalter, Apostol [Acts and Epistles], and Prophetologium, cf. LLP. Overall, I would not rule out the possibility that живѡтѣ could be simply a corruption of житѡ. Yet it is impossible to say exactly at what stage this corruption might have occurred.

However, if we suppose that the plain text was primary and gave rise to the commentated version, then the lexeme живѡтѣ could have been the original reading in the plain text. In this instance the translator of the commentated version might have considered живѡтѣ to be a wrong translation and corrected it from Greek by choosing instead the word плоды. In this case we might conjecture the same scenario as the one with the verb въздержати сѡ in 7:18 (with the plain text as original).

²⁸ Cf., however, the variant readings плодъ житенъ - пло^ѡ живѡтенъ quoted by Karačorova (1990:14 (4):55) from the Psalter in place of καρπὸν γενήματος in verse 106:37.

5:10 τί ἀνδρεία

которое мѣство in EccP vs. кое мѡжество in EccC = кое же рече мѣство in the Commentary.

7:1 ἔλαιον

масла in EccP vs. елеѡ EccC = елеѡ in the Commentary.

In EccP we find a Preslav word *масло* which may have been regarded as standard in the 15th century.

7:1 ἡμέρα τοῦ θανάτου

днь смѣртныи in EccP vs. днь смѣрти in EccC = днь же смѣрти in the Commentary.

7:16 περισσά

вѣм in EccP vs. излише in EccC and лише in EccI = излише in the commentaries (to 7:17).

The adverb *излише* is not listed in the LLP, only the form *излиха*. The variant *лише* is a more exact translation of the Greek *περισσά* than *вѣми*. I presume that the wording of the commentary *излише* could be behind the reading in both EccC and EccI. On the other hand, the scribe/editor of EccP could have written the adverb *вѣми* a second time in the same sentence by an oversight under the influence of the same adverb immediately preceding it: *не бѣди праведенъ вѣми*.

8:4 λαλεῖ

глетъ in EccP vs. молвить in EccI = мълвити in the Commentary.

8:8 καὶ οὐ διασώσει ἀσέβεια τὸν παρ' αὐτῆς и не спѣетъ вещьце сѣцаго в немъ in EccP vs. не спѣеть нечестья сѣцаго в не in EccI = по^а нечтѣемъ in the Commentary.

HP: MS 261 - ἀσέβειαν, MS 296 - ἀσεβής.

In EccI the noun *нечестья* in genitive sing. may be interpreted as a direct object of the verb *не спѣеть*, while the passage in EccP is a formally closer rendering of the standard Greek text.

10:2 εἰς ἀριστερὸν αὐτοῦ

ω ш8юю ego in EccP vs. в ш҃ици ego in EccI = на ш҃ици in the Commentary (to 10:3).

10:16 οἱ ἄρχοντές

κηλσι in EccP vs. боларе in EccI = болгары in the Commentary.

12:5 παχυθῆ

ωτλѡстѣтъ in EccP vs. оутыеть in EccI = оутыеть in the Commentary.

Out of the given examples three can be qualified as synonyms translating a single Greek word (4:12, 5:10, 7:1).²⁹ There is, however, a difference in the number of the verb in example 4:12 and in 5:9 there is a possibility of corrupted reading in EccP.

These coincidences between the wording in commentary and the biblical verses in both EccI and EccC create a difficulty for determining the relationships among the three versions, in particular, for assuming that EccC, and not EccP, was primary. Yet I may argue that at the time when the original commentated version (the precursor of both EccC and EccI) gave rise to EccP by way of removing the commentary from it, the wording in the biblical verses in the commentated and plain text could have been similar to one another. The differences in wording might have been introduced later when the commentated version was reduced to produce EccC and EccI.

In the following verses the readings in EccP are paralleled by the readings in the commentaries in EccC and EccI. However, it seems to me that these coincidences do not carry much weight, as they are mostly accidentals, which could easily happen either through scribal error, or in the process of copying.

1:11 οὐκ ἔστιν μνήμη

нѣ[^] памати in EccP = нѣсть рече памати in the Commentary vs. нѣсть паміать in the biblical verse of EccC.

²⁹ Cf. MacRobert (1993, 259 footnote 15).

6:8 οἶδεν

вѣсть in EccP = вѣсть in the Commentary vs. видѣ in the biblical verse of Eccl.

7:5 ἐπιτίμησιν

запрещеніе in EccP = запрещеніе in the Commentary vs. преценіе in the biblical verses of EccC and Eccl.

7:14 ἐν ἀγαθῷ

въ изли in EccP (или in Pg.81) = пакомже иилѣ in the Commentary vs. въ блзѣ in the biblical verse of EccC.

10:3 ὑστερήσει

лиши^т in EccP - недостатѣки лишага сѧ with лишаеть всѧ and лишаемѣ later in the Commentary vs. недостатѣ^б ствѣеть in the biblical verse of Eccl.

The desire for semantic accuracy may have been behind the verb лишити which is in this context and in 9:8 corresponds to the Greek verb ὑστέρειν. The verb недостатѣковати usually translates the Greek verb λείπεσθαι.

10:17 ἄρχοντες

кнѧси in EccP = кнѧси in the Commentary vs. воиары in the biblical verse of Eccl.

However, apart from the cited examples that are transparent enough, there are others which confuse the picture. In the readings presented below could there be a different Greek behind the wording in EccP?

1:10 τοῦτο καλινόν ἐστιν - все силно есть in EccP vs. сїе ново есть in EccC.

The adverb силно usually translates the Greek adverb δυνατῶς. The reason behind the wording in EccP is not obvious.

3:16 ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀσεβής* - тѧ блѧгочѣтвыиѣ in EccP vs. тѧ несправедливостѣ in EccC.

* εὐσεβής MSS = Boli, Olympiodorus

Rahlfs, reasoning that it might be a more difficult reading, placed the word ἀσεβής twice in this verse. In doing so he followed the text in Grabe and Compl. Ald. These editions

conform with the reading of Latin and Masoretic texts where a pessimistic view is expressed by stating that there is iniquity in both places.

There are two problems here. Both Church Slavonic readings diverge from the standard Greek text. Firstly, the case of the adjective $\beta\lambda\gamma\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in the continuous text cannot be explained by the variant reading $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ found in Greek manuscripts, cf. the critical apparatus to *Ecclesiastes* in the edition of the LXX. Secondly, the noun несправедливость found in EccC cannot be an exact equivalent of the Greek adjective $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$. However, it must be said that in the earliest Church Slavonic texts a faithful, basically word-for-word translation does not necessarily entail grammatical equivalence. Whether a scribe had referred at that point to the Latin text with its ‘ibi iniquitas’ is open to speculation.

5:2 παραγίνεται ἐνύπνιον - прїидеть снитїе in EccP vs. приходитъ сонїе in EccC
Rahlfs - ἐνύπνιον om. in S* †

The variant in EccP is a somewhat unusual translation of the Greek ἐνύπνιον, since the noun снитїе commonly translates the Greek $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

8:8 ἀποστολή - сѣдѣны in EccP vs. посла in EccI and послания Commentary.

The Church Slavonic equivalent in EccI is a closer rendering of the standard Greek text while the translation in EccP is freer. The reason behind the wording in EccP is not obvious, making it problematic.

The above examples show the influence of the wording in the commentary on the biblical text and the occasional curious wording in the plain text. But we cannot limit ourselves to only these examples and need to explore other features in the commentated and plain versions which could explain their relationship.

Comparison of the verses in commentated and continuous texts.

I start with omissions which distinguish the two texts, EccC and EccP, because they may be indicative of their textual relationship. However, the omissions do not carry the same weight here as evidence because the commentated texts are so fragmentary.

Omissions in Und.13 but not in EccP.

1:6 ἐπιστρέφει τὸ πνεῦμα
 ωβращает сѡ. (Und.13)
 ωбращает сѡ дѡхъ. (EccP)

1:7 αὐτοὶ ἐπιστρέφουσιν τοῦ πορευθῆναι
 ти сѡ возвращаютъ. (Und.13)
 ти сѡ возвращаютъ ити. (EccP)

2:26 καὶ γε τοῦτο ματαιότης καὶ προαίρεσις πνεύματος
 и се сѡуть сѡета (Und.13)
 се сѡета изволениѡ дѡа (EccP)

5:9 καὶ γε τοῦτο ματαιότης
 (Und.13)
 и се же сѡета (EccP)

6:8 ὅτι τίς περισσεία ...
 ꙗко изобиліѡ (Und.13)
 ꙗко котороѡ изобиліѡ (EccP)

Rahlfs's critical apparatus: τις om. BS* ; HP: τις MSS 106, 161, 248, 252, 261, 296, 298, Comp., Alex.

7:19 ἡ σοφία βοηθήσει τῷ σοφῷ
 премърость мѡдраго (Und.13)
 млѡтъ поможетъ мѡдромѡ (EccP)

In the margin of MS 252 according to HP's critical apparatus there is a variant reading ἐνισχύσει τὸν σοφόν.

Variation мѡдраго vs. мѡдромѡ.

Thomson (1998:794-5) demonstrates how the process of incomplete extrapolation of a biblical text from its catena can occur. Yet his description of the book of *Job* also illustrates the difficulties experienced by a medieval Slav scribe when faced with the task of selecting material from a catena for the compilation of a florilegium. The first 4 examples demonstrate the omission of the last word in the biblical verse. This word is followed by commentary. In such instances it would not be easy for a scribe to separate the biblical text from the commentary. And it is conceivable that omissions in Und. 13 could have come about through a process of extrapolation. In this case we have to assume that the text of Und. 13 is derived from a fuller version of the commentary. In the absence of any further evidence we cannot determine whether such omissions were a feature of the earliest Church Slavonic text.

If we assume that EccP could have derived in part from the commentated version (which would have been a more complete source than the extant Und.13), how we are to explain omissions that occur in Und.13 and not in EccP? We may presume that either the earlier version of Und. 13 was free from these omissions (in which case we need to allow the possibility that omissions in the antigraph of Und.13 happened at some later stage in the process of reducing the number of verses in the catena), or that the compiler of EccP could have filled the missing words by referring back to Greek.

Omissions in EccP but not in Und.13

3:21 εἰς ἄνω καὶ πνεῦμα τοῦ κτήνους εἰ καταβαίνει αὐτὸ κάτω
 горѣ. и дѣхъ скотьскїи еже сходити емѡ долѡ (Und.13)
 (EccP)³⁰

There is an omission of εἰς ἄνω - κτήνους in Boli's MS Γ_{com}. which could suggest flawed manuscript tradition.

4:15 μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου τοῦ δευτέρου
 съ юнымъ вторымъ (Und.13)
 (EccP)

³⁰ For omissions in EccP see the previous chapter.

7:14 αὐτοῦ add. S
 ⲉⲃⲟⲉⲛ (Und.13)
 (EccP)

Rahlfs's critical apparatus shows that in MS S the pronoun is added.

HP: + αὐτοῦ in MSS 147, 157, 159, 298, 299, Ald.

The following omissions in EccP could be accounted for as errors during the subsequent copying process (3:21 and possibly 4:15). In 7:14 it is possible that the plain Church Slavonic text was at that point close to the tradition of the Greek manuscripts 23, 68, 106, etc. where the pronoun αὐτοῦ is omitted. The only omission shared by Und.13 and EccP is in 4:4 where the Greek word ζῆλος –‘zeal’ is missing. Whether this loss had already taken place in Greek or only in Church Slavonic is not known.

The plain text of *Ecclesiastes* has a number of omissions, which however do not occur in Und.13. The reason for these omissions is not known. One possible explanation is that there was an earlier and ‘better’ version of EccP which was free of omissions than the one that has survived. The other interpretation is that these omissions in EccP would have been filled in Und.13 with the caveat that the missing words were added in the process of compiling the commentated version by consulting the Greek. This in turn presupposes the plain text being primary. There exists also the possibility that EccP was extrapolated from EccC and material was lost in the process (that is the same type of error as we assume between EccC and its hypothetical source).

Though omissions are important, neither of these can clinch the argument, and we should examine other textual features to find out which hypothesis they support: that of the plain or the commentated text being primary.

Lexical variants.

The variants in this section could belong to two different types. One is lexical substitution viewed here as a feature of deliberate redaction. The other is the gradual evolution and corruption of the text.

2:21 οὐ* μόχθος
 иже трѣдѣ (Und.13)
 ꙗко трѣдѣ (EccP)
 * ὅτι MSS, οὐ Alex.

There is a problem with the variant ꙗко found in the continuous text which cannot be immediately resolved. The replacement of иже with ꙗко seems to be an unlikely one unless it is considered a scribal mistake. One explanation for this variant reading is that it may go back to the reading ὅτι of Greek manuscripts in Grabe's edition as indicated in the critical apparatus of the LXX. These variant readings point to independent use of Greek for EccC and EccP.

The next example can be regarded as scribal error (through oversight) within the Church Slavonic tradition.

2:24 ἐν μόχθῳ αὐτοῦ
 въ трѣдѣ своемъ (Und.13)
 въ животѣ своемъ (EccP)

The reading въ животѣ could have appeared as reminiscence, unconsciously inserted by a scribe, of similar readings in the Church Slavonic text in 3:12, 6:12, 9:3, 9:9.

The evidence for the lexical variants is sparse and does not allow us to form conclusions. The example in 2:21 suggests that the text of EccP or EccC might have been revised against the Greek. (Such revision was a common practice at the time for books normally used in liturgy. However, non-liturgical texts probably were not routinely revised against Greek). Part of this revision might have been to introduce a range of words considered to be more standard at the time.

Variation in translation technique (literalism).

Note the difference in usage of the genitive and nominative cases with negation: Und.13 follows the Greek more closely.

2:24 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν
 и нѣсть блго (Und.13)
 и нѣ блга (EccP)

4:13 σοφός

прем^аръ (Und.13)

мѣдръ (EccP)

7:12 περισσεία γνώσεως τῆς σοφίας

изобиліе разѣмѣ прем^аростъ¹ (Und.13)

изобиліе разѣма мдр^ати (EccP)

1 - прем^аростъ written twice in Und.13

The variation in Und.13 may go back to Greek, cf. Rahlfs's critical apparatus to 7:12 where S has the reading τῆ σοφία in dative rather than genitive case and ἡ σοφία is preposed to the verb ζωοποιήσει in S (it is also preposed in MSS 147, 157, 159, 259, Ald. in the critical apparatus of HP).

A limited number of examples, taken on their own, do not allow me to establish a pattern and decide whether they characterise two different redactions or are simply modifications introduced in the course of subsequent copying.

Transposition.

2:25 φάγεται καὶ τίς πίεται

ѣсть и пїетъ (Und.13)

пїе^т или ѣсть (EccP)

3:18 αὐτοὶ κτήνη εἰσὶν

сїи сѣть скоти (Und.13)

и скоти сѣть (EccP)

3:19 ἐπερίσσευσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος

излише члкъ иматъ (Und.13)

излише иматъ члкъ̃ (EccP)

4:10 ὅτι ἐὰν

ѣко аще (Und.13)

аще ѣко (EccP)

4:12 οὐ ταχέως
 не скоро (Und.13)
 скоро не (EccP)

4:13 βασιλέα πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἄφρονα
 стара црѣ бєзγμνα (Und.13)
 црѣ стара и бєзγμνα (EccP)

7:14 καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακίας ἰδέ
 и виждѣ днь словы (Und.13)
 въ днь словы виждѣ (EccP)

Cf. Rahlfs's critical apparatus to *Ecclesiastes* 7:14 in the edition of the LXX where we find the transposed word order in S^cV ἰδέ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακίας. The same word order is found in the commentated text of Olympiodorus in Boli's edition.

7:22 καθόδους πολλὰς κακώσει
 вєχожѣнїємъ вєсловитѣ многимъ (Und.13)
 вєχожѣнїє^m ногы вєлови^t (EccP)

It is not easy to decide whether transposition in these examples has occurred in Church Slavonic or in Greek as transposition is very common in Greek MSS. Consequently transposition is less helpful in determining the textual relationship between Und.13 and EccP.

As we can see, variation in translation technique, transposition and lexical variants are not entirely helpful in determining the textual relationship between Und.13 and EccP. Thus the case rests mostly on the evidence of corruptions and omissions in EccP. However, we cannot totally rely on omissions for these could have been filled in the process of producing either plain or commentated versions. At the same time the exact stage at which the corruptions (2:24 and 7:22) had occurred in EccP is not known, but I could speculate that they happened after the plain text was extracted from commentated, or alternatively, the better and fuller readings in Und.13 may reflect an earlier and less corrupt version of EccP. As a result the evidence presented above is not quite sufficient to determine the textual relationship between Und.13 and EccP.

Comparison of verses in interpolated and continuous texts.

The following sentence, quoted in full, shows the differences in lexis and grammar that point to different versions.

10:8 ὁ ὀρύσσων βόθρον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμπεσεῖται καὶ καθαίρουντα φραγμὸν δήξεται αὐτὸν
 ὄφις
 КОПАА ПАМЪ В НЮ ВПАДЕТЬ И ПОТРЕБЛЮЩАГО ОГРАДЪ УГРЫЗНЕТЬ И СМІА (EccP)
 РЪПАИ РОВЪ. ВПАДЕСА ВО НЪ. И ШЕМЛАН ПЛО^А. ОУЗРИТЬ ЗЪМИЮ (EccI)

I cannot ascertain whether these passages are different reworkings of an original translation, i. e. redactions, or different translations. I prefer to use instead the word version which because of its looser meaning can be applied in equal measure to both redaction and translation.

Prima facie it looks as if the passage in EccP might reflect an earlier tradition than EccI; which in turn would mean a corruption in Church Slavonic followed by scribal attempts to improve the text in EccI. It is possible that there was a confusion of *jusy* in a hypothetical middle-Bulgarian exemplar (if such one existed), i. e. СМІА changed into СМІЖ which led to the form ЗЪМИЮ. The word ОУЗРИТЬ in EccI may be a corruption of the verb УГРЫЗНЕТЬ.

Another, though somewhat weaker suggestion is that ОУЗРИТЬ may go back to the Greek verb δέρξεται (3rd. p. sg. fut.) from δέρκομαι- ‘to see clearly’. The verb δήξεται- ‘(s)he will bite’ had already become corrupted in the Greek textual tradition into forms δείξεται from δεικνύναι – ‘to show’ and δέξεται from δέχεσθαι – ‘to receive’ which are attested in Greek MSS.³¹ The fact that such corruptions occur in the Greek tradition makes it easier to suggest a possible misreading of the Greek word by a Slavonic translator. In the first part of the verse a scribe of EccI may have alluded to the comparable wording of Proverbs 26:37 and the Psalter 7:16. Lexical variants displayed in these versions are noted in the relevant section on pages 136-7.

³¹ These variants readings are noted in the collation book on *Ecclesiastes* at the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen.

Omissions.

7:28 οὐχ εὖρον ἄνθρωπον
 и не вбрѣтохъ члѣка (EccP)
 мъжа вбрѣт (EccI)

8:3 εἰν θελήσει ποιήσει
 аще створит (EccP)
 аще восхитити и сътворитъ (EccI)

The verb *восхитити* – ‘to seize’ in EccI may be a corruption of the verb *въсχοῦντι* – ‘to wish’.

9:4 αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸς ὑπὲρ τὸν λέοντα τὸν νεκρόν.
 то блго па^т лва мртва (EccP)
 то в блго печл лва^т (sic) (EccI)

It looks as if the biblical verse in EccI containing the erroneous reading (which will be discussed later on page 140) was not reproduced in full.

Omissions in the interpolated version may have arisen because the passages would not necessarily be reproduced in full.

Lexical variants.

As in the earlier section on lexical variants lexical substitution here is regarded as a feature of deliberate redaction. The variants in the examples below are synonyms which render the same word in Greek.

7:28 ἄνθρωπον
 члѣка (EccP)
 мъжа (EccI)

Both expressions would appear to correspond to the same word in Greek because *мъжа* can be used to translate *ἄνθρωπος*, e.g. Pr. 3:13 in the Zaharjin parimejnik: *владженъ мъжъ иже обрѣте мудрость*, while in the Grigorovičev parimejnik we have in the

corresponding passage the variant **чловѣкъ**. However, in the critical apparatus of HP the variant **ἄνδρα** is found in MSS 106 and 261.

8:2 μὴ σπουδάσης

НЕ ТЩИ СѦ (EccP)

НЕ ТОСНИ СѦ (EccI)

9:4 ἐλπίς

НАДЕЖА (EccP)

ΟΥΠΟΘΑΝΙΕ (EccI)

The example below may be motivated by divergent nuances of meaning or usage.

10:4 ἀναβῆ

ВЗИДЕ^Т (EccP)

НАИДЕ (EccI)

10:6 ἐν ὑψεσι μεγάλοις

НА ВЫСОТА^Х ВЕЛИКЫ^Х (EccP)

ВОЗВЪШЕНЬЮ ВЕЛИКѸ (EccI)

The reading in EccI could be based on different Greek: according to HP the MS 106 contains the reading **ἐν ὑψει**, MS 248 **ἐν ὑψώμασι**. In MS 545 there is a correction **μεγάλου**.³² Boli - **ἐν ὑψεσι μεγάλοις** DEIK_{com}.

10:8 ὁ ὀρύσσων βόθρον

КОПАѦ ГѦМѦ (EccP)

РЫПАИ РОВѢ (EccI)

10:16 ἐν πρωίᾳ

ЗАΟΥТРА (EccP)

РАНО (EccI)

Both Church Slavonic variants could be the equivalents of the Greek wording.³³

11:3 πληρωθῶσιν

ИСПЛѦНАТ СѦ (EccP)

НАПОЛНАТЬ^Ѣ (EccI)

³² Cf. Field, vol. 2, p.400

³³ Cf. LLP, vol. 1, p. 661-2 and vol. 3, p.603.

Variation in Greek could be behind the Church Slavonic variants here: MS B has the reading πληθῶσι. EccP is fairly consistent in translating the Greek verb πληροῦν with the same Church Slavonic equivalent, cf. 1:8 and 6:7.

It is not easy to distinguish between the modifications introduced by individual scribes and purposeful revisions giving rise to separate redactions. We may assume that variants which reflect variation in the Greek manuscripts are a sign of revision on the basis of the Greek text, however sporadic it may be. The other explanation which may be put forward is that synonyms could have been introduced piecemeal by scribes without referring to Greek. But the problem remains: how much can we distinguish between these two possibilities? For example, lexical revision could be introduced either with reference to Greek or independently of it. There are various possibilities which are open. Firstly, the Church Slavonic variant goes directly to a Greek variant. Secondly, a scribe might have looked at Greek and improved the translation. Thirdly, a scribe might have replaced the Church Slavonic reading with a synonym without looking at Greek. Thus we may be faced with instances of various types of revision without the ability to distinguish between them.

Variation in translation technique (literalism).

8:2 στόμα βασιλέως φύλαξον
 оҫта црѣ схрани (EccP)
 оҫтавь храни (EccI)

The differences in these two passages may be an indication of different redactions or versions. The wording of EccP is closer to Greek. This in turn would create a problem if EccP derived from a commentated version. The translator of the EccI may have been familiar with the expression στόμα βασιλέως, going back to the Hebrew phraseologism, as he rendered it as оҫтавь - 'commandment'. According to LLP оҫтавь - 'rule', 'principle', 'regulation' is a translation of Greek πρεσβείον στόμα with an example given

from the Euchologion 69a8 **такъ во оуставъ есть отъ бѣга преданъ еи**. The translation of the expression **ουστα** **ϰϱα** in the EccP is more literal than the one in the interpolation.

8:3 **ὅτι πάν ὁ ἐάν**

такъ вса еже аще (EccP)

елико аще (EccI)

HP: MS 68, Compl. Ald. om. **πάν**.

The change in subordinating expressions is a sign of a different version. The wording in EccP follows the standard Greek text word for word. This in turn would mean that EccP cannot simply be derived from EccI.

10:2 **καρδία σοφοῦ ... καρδία ἄφρονος**

ср^це мудраго ... ср^це безумна (EccP)

ср^це мудромъ ... ср^це безумномъ (EccI)

10:2 **εἰς δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ**

о деснѣю его (EccP)

в десници его (EccI)

10:5 **ὡς ἀκούσιον**

еже новолно (EccP) **неволно** - TSL 730, gr. 3

такъ неволѣю (EccI)

11:2 **μερίδα τοῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὀκτῶ**

часть се^ми и вои са (EccP)

часть седми таче осмомъ (EccI)

The text in EccP became corrupted at a late stage, since we find the correct reading **часть седми** **во осми** in Pg.1 and other MSS in groups 1 and 3. The wording in EccI is different from EccP even in group 1 and is comparable to the quotation used by Metropolitan Kliment Smoljatič (1147-1155, † after 1164) in his letter to the priest Thomas of Smolensk: **даже часть седми таче и осмомъ**.³⁴ This parallel could suggest that a [EccI?] translation of *Ecclesiastes* already existed in Kliment's time. The question of quotations

³⁴ Published by Ponyrko (1992:133)

from *Ecclesiastes* in translated and original medieval Slavonic literature is addressed in the next chapter.

11:3 καὶ ἐὰν πέση ξύλον ἐν τῷ νότῳ
 и аще падеѣ древо ѡгнѣм (EccP)
 аще падеѣтъ древо на гѣ (EccI)

The Greek prepositional construction ἐν + dative case, which is itself a Hebraism in the LXX, may be rendered in Church Slavonic with the instrumental case without a preposition. Alternatively it may be translated with вѣ + locative case in closer correspondence with the Greek. This depends on the date and translation technique: вѣ + locative becomes more common in later translations.

In many respects EccP seems to be a literal translation of the standard Greek text, whereas this cannot be said about EccI because its Greek source is not known. How different Byzantine catenary texts were from the plain ones is not known. In the absence of a critical edition of the Greek *Ecclesiastes* the question must remain open.

Misreadings in the Church Slavonic text.

9:4 αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸς ὑπὲρ τὸν λέοντα τὸν νεκρόν.
 то б̄лаго паѣ лва м̄ртва (EccP)
 то в б̄лаго печѣ лва (sic) (EccI)

In the EccI we have a slip of a pen in the word паѣ producing печѣ in place of паѣ. Later copyists may have a different word-division interpreting it as печаль вам – ‘sorrow to you’, especially if the biblical verse was not reproduced in full and was finished at this point.

10:8 φραγμόν
 оградаѣ (EccP)
 плоѣ (EccI)

In EccI there is a confusion of плодѣ - ‘fruit’ and плотѣ - ‘fence’ which is a synonym of the word ограда. This confusion could easily happen especially with the superscript letters in a not so common word occurring in a not very familiar text. Cf. the confusion between

плотъ and плодъ that occurs in Psalterium Bononiense, Psalm 61:4: ꙗко на стѣнѣхъ прѣклоненѣхъ и плотъ въздриновенъ (Ps. Pog.), whereas the Bologna copy of the Psalter gives the variant плодъ.³⁵

Misreadings are not numerous (2 in total) and in 9:4 may have been caused by a slip of the pen and consequent misinterpretation of the text. The example 10:8 may signal two different lexical traditions.

Transposition.

7:28 οὐχ εὖρον ἄνθρωπον
и не верѣтохъ члѣка (EccP)
мужа верѣт (EccI)

HP MSS 106, 261 have the lexeme ἄνδρα which could be the equivalent of *мужа* found in EccI.

10:1 ὑπὲρ δόξαν ἀφροσύνης μεγάλης = Boli
паче славы безоумїа великаго (EccP)
пачѣ славы велики безумна (EccI)

10:8 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμπεσεῖται = Boli
в ню впадетъ (EccP)
впаде сѧ во нь (EccI)

HP: MS 106 ἐμπεσεῖται ἐν αὐτὸν, MS 253 ἐμπεσεῖται ἐν αὐτῷ.

The passages in the EccP follow the word order of the standard Greek text. The transposed word order may be a sign of different versions. It looks as if EccP is nearer to standard Greek, while EccI is closer to the reading in the Greek manuscripts 106, 253.

All the above examples taken together indicate that EccP and EccI are two separate versions and that it is easier to derive EccI from EccP than vice versa.

³⁵ See editions of the Bologna Psalter by Jagić (1907:293) and Dujčev (1968:197).

Comparison of verses in commentated, continuous, and interpolated texts.

EccP diverging from Und.13 and Eccl.

7:5 ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀκοῦσαι ἐπιτίμησιν σοφοῦ
 б̄лго слышати прещеніе мѹдраго (Und.13)
 б̄лго є̄ слышати, запрѣщеніе мѹжа (EccP)
 и б̄лго слышати. прещение мѹдраго (EccI)

The variant мѹжа in EccP could have appeared as the result of scribal blunder under the influence of the word мѹдраго present in the second part of this verse. A scribe copying from the antigraph confused two words starting with the same syllable ‘мѹ’ – мѹжа and мѹдраго. The chance for the variant мѹжа giving rise to the reading мѹдраго appears to be less likely than the opposite process, i. e. the reading мѹдраго transformed into мѹжа. Therefore I would regard this case as evidence in favour of EccC giving rise to EccP. Perhaps the editor of EccP attempted to achieve formal morphological equivalence with the Greek noun ἐπιτίμησις, translating the morpheme ἐπι as за-. Additionally there may be some semantic difference in the meaning of the Slavonic word: запрѣщение as a rule translates the Greek ἐπιτίμησις – ‘rebuke’ or ἐπιτίμιον – ‘punishment’, while the word прѣщение generally is an equivalent of the Greek noun ἀπειλή – ‘threat’. For the coincidence of the word запрѣщение in EccP and the commentaries to EccC and EcclI see page 127.

The opposition of verbs примати сѡ vs. възѣржати сѡ in 7:18 has already been discussed earlier in the section devoted to the problem of commentated texts in EccC and EcclI affecting their biblical texts. However, as was previously mentioned, there are other differences between the three versions and these will be dealt with here.

7:18 ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀντέχεσθαι σε ἐν τούτῳ καὶ γε ἀπὸ τούτου μὴ ἀνῆς* τὴν χεῖρά σου ὅτι φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἐξελεύσεται τὰ πάντα
 б̄лго ти єсть примати сѡ о семь. и Ѡ сего оубо не wskверни рѡки своеѡ тако
 боѡшим сѡ б̄га изыдѣтъ всѡ (Und.13)
 б̄лго ти єсть възѣржати сѡ о всемѣ Ѡ всего не wskверниши рѡкы своеѡ тако
 боѡи сѡ б̄а. изидеть все (EccP)
 б̄лго примати сѡ о семь. иво Ѡ сего не wskкверньши рѡки твоєѡ. тако
 боѡи сѡ б̄а. примирить всѡ (EccI)

* - μή μιάνης BSA

The Church Slavonic translation follows the reading μή μιάνης of the Greek manuscripts BSA.

It seems that with the variants о всемъ - ѿ всего in EccP stand further away from the Greek. (Cf. page 49 in chapter 1). The variant readings примирить - изыдѣтъ/изидеть between the text in EccI and the texts of EccC and EccP cannot be immediately solved. The verb примирить- ‘to reconcile’ ordinarily translates the Greek καταλλάσσειν and not ἐξέρχεσθαι according to LLP. I would not exclude the possibility that a translator was faced with a slightly different Greek text or that he might have confused the forms of two verbs. However, this is purely my conjecture as I do not have any proof of the confusion.

There is an inconsistency in the relationships among these three texts. On one hand, EccC agrees with EccP against EccI: both have the same verb изыдѣтъ or изидет (as in the commentaries) as opposed to примирит in EccI. But on the other hand, EccC agrees with EccI against EccP: the former two share the verb приимати сѧ as opposed to въздержати сѧ in EccP. At the same time EccP agrees with EccI against EccC: both have the singular masculine nominative participle боѧи сѧ vs. plural masculine dative боѧцим сѧ in EccC. There is variation in Greek text between the forms φοβούμενος found in A and φοβούμενοις in B. The lexical differences between the three Church Slavonic texts are not easy to explain; but it seems likely, though not necessarily so, that these redactions were made on separate examinations of the Greek.

7:21 μή θῆς καρδίαν σου ὅπως μή
 НЕ ПРИКЛОНИ СР^ЦА ТВОЕГО ѧ ДА НЕ (Und.13)
 НЕ ВЛОЖИ СР^ЦА СВОЕГО, ДА НЕ (EccP)
 НЕ ПРИКЛОНИ СР^ЦА ТВОЕГО ѧКО ДА НЕ (EccI)

μή δῶς S – Rahlfs; MSS 23, 147, 157,159, 252, 299 - HP.

The most readily available explanation for these Slavonic variants is that they may represent different redactions. Here the editor of EccP strives for a close rendering of the Greek text. НЕ ВЛОЖИ is a literal translation of μή θῆς. The imperative ПРИКЛОНИ of the commentated versions could hardly be the literal translation of the variant δῶς found in

some of the Greek manuscripts. The lexeme *даждь* is a more common rendering of the Greek verb *δῶς*. Cf. the translation in verse 5:5 of *Ecclesiastes* *не даждь* - *μὴ δῶς*. The verses 7:21-22 share the same commentary, but there is no direct comment on verse 7:21, therefore there is no way to discover what was behind the wording of the commentated versions. *Приклонити* –‘to incline’, ‘to bow’ usually translates the Greek *κλίνειν*. Whether in this instance a scribe may have been influenced by an expression from Psalm 118:36 *приклони сердце мое* - *κλῖνον τὴν καρδίαν μου* and worded it accordingly would be open to speculation.

The cases where EccP diverges from Und.13 and EccI involve lexical variation considered to be a feature of deliberate redaction. However, on the basis of such fragmentary evidence it is not always possible to distinguish between changes which allow us to talk about a separate version arising from deliberate revision, and changes which have come about simply through the process of transmission.

EccI diverging from Und.13 and EccP.

Omissions in EccI.

4:9 οἷς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μισθὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐν μόχθῳ αὐτῶν

<i>имаже</i>	<i>есть мзда блга въ трѣдѣ ихъ</i>	(Und.13)
<i>има^к</i>	<i>есть мз^а блга въ трѣдѣ ею</i>	(EccP)
		(EccI)

5:5 μὴ δῶς τὸ στόμα σου τοῦ ἑξαμαρτήσαι τὴν σάρκα σου

<i>не дан</i>	<i>оустъ своихъ согрѣшити</i>	<i>плоти своеи</i>	(Und.13)
<i>не даждь</i>	<i>оустенъ своихъ согрѣшати</i>	<i>плоти своеи</i>	(EccP)
<i>не дан же</i>	<i>оустомъ</i>	<i>с^{плот}ию</i>	(EccI)

7:6 καὶ γε τοῦτο ματαιότης

<i>и се же света</i>	(Und.13)
<i>и се</i>	<i>света</i>
	(EccP)
	(EccI)

7:21 τοῦ δούλου σου καταρωμένου σε
 РАБА ТВОЕГО КЛЕНҪИА ТЕБЕ (Und.13)
 РАБА СВОЕГО КЛЕНҪИА ТЕБЕ (EccP)
 РАБА ТВОЕГО КЛЕНҪИА (EccI)

The omissions in EccI may occur because the verses are not reproduced fully in the commented text, so these examples are not conclusive.

Lexical variation.

4:6 δρακῶν μόχθου
 горстїю трѣда (Und.13)
 горестїю трѣда (EccP)
 горьстѣю тѣаниа (EccI)

Usually the noun тѣание in Church Slavonic texts renders the Greek lexemes σπουδή and προθυμία. In the interpolation the Greek noun μόχθος is translated as тѣание meaning here ‘diligence’. Under the entry тѣание Sreznevskij in his dictionary gives a quotation from *Ecclesiastes* 2:11 in the *Pandects of Antioch*, 11th century. Thus, this verse in the insertion is identical with the early reading. We can see that this was possibly not so literal a translation as the noun трѣдѣ. However, this evidence is not enough to be taken as conclusive proof for an early date of *Ecclesiastes* because it is a single verse in the *Pandects* and it does not necessarily represent an early version of the book of *Ecclesiastes*, but part of the translation of the whole *Pandects*.

7:2 ἀγαθὸν πορευθῆναι εἰς οἶκον πένθους ἢ ὅτι πορευθῆναι εἰς οἶκον πότου καθότι τοῦτο τέλος
 БЛГО ХОДИТИ В ДОМЪ ПЛАЧА. НЕЖЕЛИ ХОДИТИ В ДО^м ПИРА. ПОНЕЖЕ СІЕ КОНЕЦЪ (Und.13)
 БЛГО ХОДИТЬ В ДОМОУ ПЛАЧА ЛИ ХОДИТЬ В ДОМОУ ПИРА ПОНЕ^м КОНЕЦЪ (EccP)
 БЛГО ХОДИ ВЪ ДОМЪ ПЛАЧА НЕЖЕЛИ ИТИ В ДОМЪ МИ ПИРОВНЪИИ . ТАКОЖЕ КОНЕЦЪ (EccI)

According to LLP the conjunctions такоже (comparative) and понеже (causative) can both translate the Greek καθότι. Note the difference in translation of the Greek genitive of possession οἶκον πότου and also ходити/ ходить/ ходи/ити. EccI also differs from the other two in the verb ити, the use of which could be deliberate.

7:16 καὶ μὴ σοφίζου

ни мѣдри сѧ (Und.13)

ни мѣдри сѧ (EccP)

н ни мѣдрѣ (EccI)

Both Und.13 and EccP follow the standard Greek text more closely, having the form of the imperative.

7:16 μήποτε

ѣда когда (Und.13)

ѣгда ког^а (EccP)

да не како (EccI)

The use of conjunctions ѣда когда and да не како characterizes different redactions. There may be an interaction of different traditions: ѣда когда being an earlier one and да не како a later one. The use of ѣда (ѣгда) когда is characteristic of the archaic group of *Psalter* MSS according to Karačorova (1989:176).

7:17 μὴ ἀσεβήσης πολὺ

ни безчествѣи много (Und.13)

и не вещьствѣи мнѡго (EccP)

ни вещьсѣтвѣи велми (EccI)

7:19 ἐξουσιάζοντας τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τῇ πόλει

десѧти владѧющиѧ во градѣ (Und.13)

десѧти владѧющи^х въ граде (EccP)

дѧти владѣющи^х въ градѣ (EccI)

The lexeme владѣющи^х found in the EccI is a sign of a different redaction.

7:21 καὶ γε εἰς πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς λαλήσουσιν

и всѧ оубо словеса иже возглаголютъ (Und.13)

и всѧ ꙗ^ѡ словеса ꙗже възглаголютъ (EccP)

ибо всѧ слова. ꙗже възмолвѧтъ (EccI)

The use of the prefixed verb възмолвити with the meaning ‘to speak’ could be a sign of an East Slavonic editor/scribe since in the Church Slavonic and modern South Slavonic

languages the main meaning of the word *μλῶννιτι* is 'to make noise'. Cf. also 8:4 on page 114.

7:22 ὅτι πλειστάκις πονηρεύσεται σε καὶ καθόδους πολλὰς κακώσει καρδίαν σου
 ὅπως καὶ γε σὺ κατηράσω ἑτέρους
 ꙗко многѧжды слѣкѧють тобою. ѡбхожѧеніемъ ѡзловитъ многимъ срѣце твоє.
 ꙗко да и ты клалъ еси дрѡгѧа многѧа. (Und.13)
 ꙗко многѧжѧи слѣкожѧюꝑ тобою обхожѧеніе^м ногы ѡзловиꝑ срѣце твоє
 ꙗко* и ты клалъ еси дрѡгѧа. (EccP)
 ꙗко многѧжды лѣкавьствѣеть ти и многѧжды ѡзловитъ срѣце твоє.
 ꙗкоже ты клатъ инѣхъ. (EccI)

HP critical apparatus + πολλούς in MSS 157, 159, 298, 299, Ald.

The reading *многѧа* in Und.13 corresponds to the variant *πολλούς* found in several manuscripts in the critical apparatus of Holmes and Parsons. While the text in EccP follows the Greek word order more closely, albeit with a mistake due to wrong word division, there is transposition in Und.13.

EccP and Und.13 agree repeatedly against EccI. This again could reflect their mutual relationship. These two versions are closer to each other in their choice of words and on some occasions they appear to follow the standard Greek text more accurately.

Grammatical variations.

7:3 ἀγαθὸν θυμὸς
 блѧа ꙗрость (Und.13)
 блѧа ꙗрость (EccP)
 блѧо ꙗрость (EccI)

At some earlier stage in the common tradition of EccC and EccP a scribe understood *блѧо* as an adjective which should agree with the feminine noun *ꙗрость* and consequently changed the ending.

7:5 ἄνδρα ἀκούοντα ἄσμα ἀφρόνων
 мѡжа слышаѧаго пѣснь безѡмныхъ (Und.13)
 мѡжа слышаѧа пѣснь безѡмныхъ (EccP)
 мѡжа слышаѧаго пѣ^{ни} безѡмнаго (EccI)

HP MSS 106, 147, 157, 159, 261, 298, 299, Ald. ἄσματα ἀφρόνων; Boli ἄσματα A_{com}.

7:15 ἔστιν δίκαιος ἀπολλύμενος ἐν δικαίῳ αὐτοῦ ... μένων ἐν κακίᾳ αὐτοῦ
 есть прѣвѣныи погыбаѣи въ своѣи правдѣ. ... прѣвываѣи въ своѣи словѣ (Und.13)
 есть праведныи погыбаѣи въ своѣи правдѣ ... прѣвываѣи и въ словѣ своѣи (EccP)
 ε̂^ς праведни^κ, погыбаѣи в правдѣ его ... прѣвыѣи (sic) въ словѣ ε^ς (Eccl)

Grammatical variants, if taken separately, are not very decisive in determining the textual relationship between the three versions because such variation could happen in the process of multiple copying. They can be, however, supportive in conjunction with other similar evidence, i. e. lexical which is by far more significant.

Und.13 diverging from EccP and Eccl.

7:3 ἀγαθυνθήσεται καρδία
 бѣжит сѣ ср^це (Und.13)
 оублажит сѣ ср^це (EccP)
 оублажить ε̂^ς ср^це (Eccl)

The prefixed verb оублажит сѣ could be a formally closer rendering of the Greek future passive indicative 3rd p. sing.verb ἀγαθυνθήσεται. A scribe might have been familiar with the expression from Psalm 124:4 и оублажи се ср(вдѣ)це емоу - ἠγαθύνθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ.³⁶

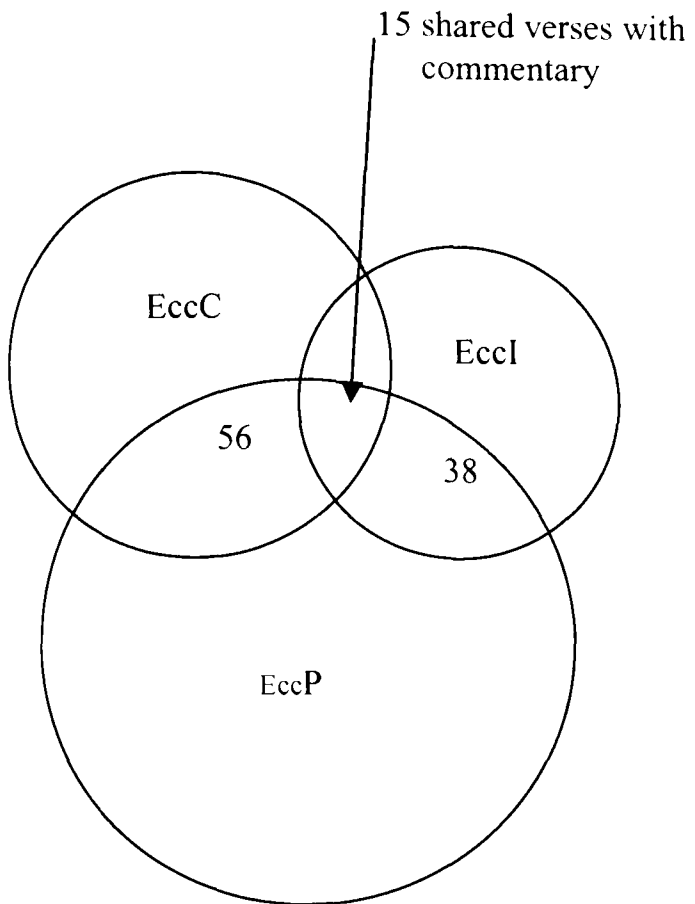
7:4 καὶ καρδία ἀφρόνων
 и ср^це вѣихъ (Und.13)
 и ср^це безоумны^х (EccP)
 и ср^це безумны^х (Eccl)

The adjective вѣи may have been perceived as slightly outdated and consequently replaced with безоумныи.

The divergences above could have resulted from lexical revision in the traditions of both EccP and Eccl or a change by the scribe of Und.13. It is not known whether Und.13 was innovative or conservative here.

³⁶ This quotation is taken from the LLP.

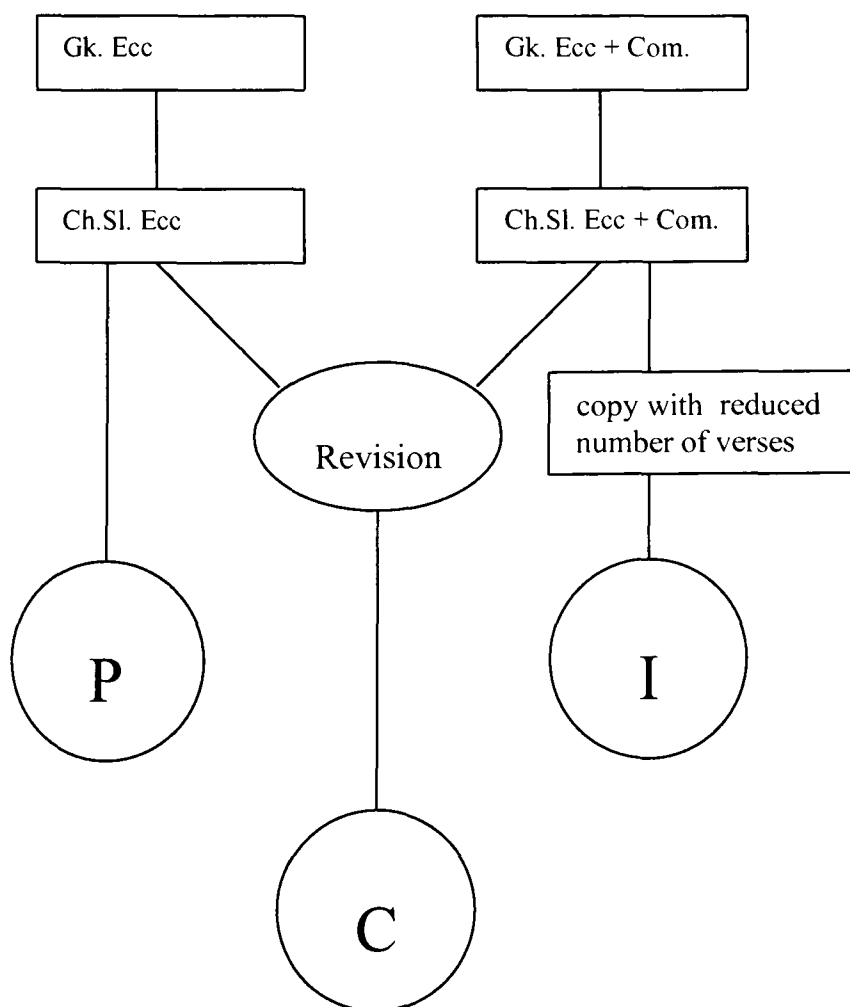
Diagram.



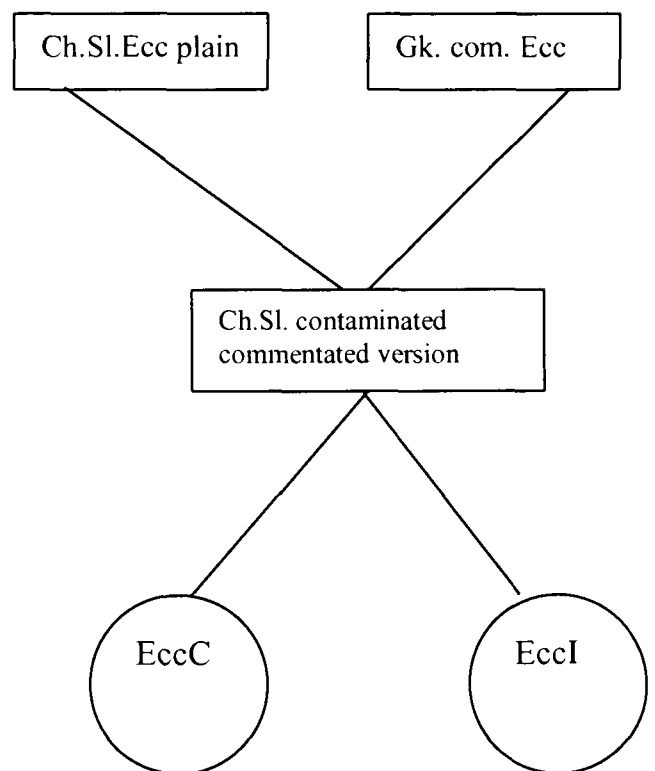
The commentary is the same in these 15 verses but the verses themselves are not.

The 56 shared verses between EccC and EccP are similar, whereas the 38 shared verses between EccI and EccP are not.

Proposed diagram for Thomson's claim.



Proposed diagram for assuming plain text as primary.



Conclusions.

There are a number of problems concerning the date and place of the translation of *Ecclesiastes* and the relationship between the different versions of the text(s) under scrutiny. There is no evidence currently available on the early South Slavonic translation from which *Ecclesiastes* could have been derived. The text of *Ecclesiastes* was not included in the so-called South Slavonic Bible of the 14th century among other *Sapiential* books.³⁷ The reason for this is unknown. It is theoretically possible that there was also a commentated translation which did not survive and was preserved only in fragments in the late East Slavonic manuscripts.

Ecclesiastes is a difficult text, the meaning of which is not always transparent, and in addition its gnomic nature makes it particularly susceptible to changes and variation in the manuscript tradition. The coincidences between the three versions (EccC, EccP and EccI) suggest that they are not entirely independent translations. At the same time there are divergences between these versions which are not the result of accident but could signal different redactions.³⁸

The relationship between the three versions, particularly between EccC and EccP, is not absolutely clear. Since the extant manuscripts are almost contemporaneous, it is hard to decide which redaction appeared earlier. Because EccI is embedded into the plain text it is at least as old as group 1, so no later than the 15th century. It is obvious that EccP and EccI stand further away from one another, and therefore have no direct relationship (but only via EccC). It was suggested by Thomson, although he did not elaborate on the subject, that the Slavonic catena contains a different translation of the biblical text.³⁹

³⁷ Alekseev 1999:133-40.

³⁸ The possibility of revision with reference to the language from which the translation was originally made is implied in my definition of 'redaction' throughout chapter 2, although redactions might be produced within Church Slavonic without reference to Greek. There is not complete uniformity in terminology pertaining to textual criticism in the field of Paleoslavistics. Lunt's attempts (1983, 1985) to introduce clarity to the field, where a degree of precision is not always possible, are commendable. However, the dividing line between 'revision' and 'secondary translation' (a thorough revision according to Lunt, 1985:290) is not a clear-cut one. And in the case of *Ecclesiastes* where only fragments of catena have survived, it is not possible to decide whether it is a thorough and systematic revision or not.

³⁹ In this he followed Gorskij and Nevostruev (1855:67-73) who in their publication demonstrated the difference between the verses in the interpolated and the plain texts. It seems that at the time Gorskij and Nevostruev were unaware of the existence of EccC. Thomson's (1998) broad survey does not detail the different types of the catenary version, and therefore his readers might infer from his work that there was only one version of the catena. In his more recent publication (2006:37) Thomson states that a catena on

However, my research on the textual history of *Ecclesiastes* does not entirely support this statement.

To follow Thomson's line of thought I postulate the following relationship diagram. This diagram shows a possible solution to the claim that a hypothetical catena may have contained a different translation of the biblical text. This diagram relies on the existence of two early independent translations: one plain, one commentated. EcclI may contain remnants of the earlier translation of the catena, though it may not simply continue the hypothetical text from which C also derived (the number of verses in EcclI might have been further reduced). However, this catena, though obviously fuller than the existing EcclI and EccC, could have always been fragmentary.

As has already been pointed out, on the one hand, EccC largely shares the biblical verses with EccP, whilst on the other hand EccC shares the commentary but not the biblical verses with EcclI. This suggests a connection between EccC and each of the plain and interpolated versions. In this case we must allow for the possibility that a commentated version might have been created by combining a translation of the plain text (EccP) with the commentary extracted from a fuller version of EcclI to produce, with some revision, a commentated (EccC) version. The question then arises was it really necessary to compile another commentated version of such a 'marginal' text as *Ecclesiastes* in this way? This idea does not fit comfortably with our knowledge of the production of biblical translations.

If we were to assume that EccC derived as a result of revision from both plain and interpolated texts, then we would need to suppose that EccP and EcclI preceded EccC chronologically. However, the textual evidence here is insufficient to support such an assumption. The weakness of this hypothesis is that it is not, as it stands, susceptible of proof or disproof by the textual evidence but only of being regarded as more or less plausible. Since not all the manuscripts containing the text of *Ecclesiastes* have been examined, the question of whether any further evidence can be found for or against this hypothesis remains for the future.

If we were to assume that EcclI was a separate translation altogether, then the

Ecclesiastes was also translated but only fragments have been preserved, although they are sufficient to reveal that the Biblical text had been retranslated.

similarities in the commentary which it shares with EccC make this hypothesis hard to prove or disprove. Given the literalistic approach to Church Slavonic translation, it seems likely that two independent translations could have the same wording in places. Thus, it is not possible to decide whether two versions, which sometimes coincide but sometimes diverge, represent two independent translations, or just one translation of the same version, which was revised by subsequent scribes, resulting in different redactions. As the number of verses shared by all three versions is small (15 verses), the question of differentiating between these two possibilities is hard to resolve because the evidence could be taken either way. This is the crux of the matter. Therefore I must admit that at this stage of the investigation the puzzle posed by the relations between the versions cannot be explained satisfactorily.

If we are to discount the possibility of independent translations, we need to find other solutions which are based, at least in part, on the textual evidence which has been uncovered. The textual evidence shows that all three versions are defective: there are fragments of catena, omissions in EccP but not in EccC, omissions in EccC but not in EccP. As chapter 1 demonstrates, EccP is characterised by inexplicable divergences in wording and mistakes, such as *свдбы*, *сиано*, etc. There could be various reasons for the deficiencies of the Church Slavonic plain version: defective Greek exemplar, cases of mistranslation of the Greek text (as seen in chapter 1: in verses 5:5 *мысли*, 12:5 *древеса*, etc.), at stage β carelessness of a Slavonic scribe, who ‘made a mess’ of the text. Consequently, the inference that the whole tradition of EccP is flawed is significant in determining the relationship between EccP and EccC.

Below I outline two possible interpretations of the data. These interpretations, however, encounter difficulties because of conflicting evidence. To facilitate the discussion I propose my own diagram on page 149 for one of the interpretations. As the diagram shows I proceed from the assumption that the continuous text was translated first. Someone wanted a Church Slavonic translation of the catena on *Ecclesiastes*, and decided to produce this by using the pre-existing Church Slavonic translation of the plain version of *Ecclesiastes* and adding a Church Slavonic translation of the commentary. Since no original commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* existed, it was necessary to translate

them from Greek. A translator after getting hold of the Greek commentated version would have to translate the comments and combine them with the already existing Church Slavonic text. In the process of translating and adding the commentary to the pre-existing Church Slavonic version of *Ecclesiastes*, the compiler noticed that some parts of the biblical text were missing or were translated in a way inconsistent with his Greek text and commentary, and so he made corrections, or alterations, thus producing (a fuller version) of EccC. Alternatively the fuller versions of the biblical verses in EccC may reflect an earlier and less corrupt version of EccP.

If we are to assume that the plain text was original, we face the problem of omissions in EccP. In this case we may presume that EccP was originally better or was improved while compiling (the commentated version resulting in) EccC and Eccl. The advantage of this development is that there is no need to assume secondary consultation of Greek, or the existence of complete commentated versions. Thus, if we take into account the rule of Occam's razor, this solution appears to be more 'parsimonious'.

Another problem is the divergences in biblical verses between EccC and Eccl. If both versions go back to the same contaminated commentated version why would they be different? In this case we might presume that EccC was further adjusted, perhaps, with renewed reference to the Greek catena, to produce Eccl. Yet there is a further problem with the origins and textual history of Eccl. Pondering over this problem, I have considered the question of the relationship of Eccl to EccC and the *Izbornik*. As Eccl is even more fragmentary than EccC, the possibility remains that it was never a full translation of the catena on *Ecclesiastes*, but only a collection of quotations of the kind found in *Izbornik*. There are verbal coincidences in verses from *Ecclesiastes* 7:4 and 10:1-2 between Eccl and the *Izbornik* which may hint at mutual relationship (they also have an affinity with the plain text). Yet the question remains whether certain deviations in the *Izbornik*, such as *пирѧ* in 7:4 and *въ беззаконьѧ* in the commentary to 10:1, might be explained as modifications to fit particular contexts. If we were to admit this, could then divergences in Eccl (such as the ones in 10:8) be also considered as modifications to fit particular contexts?

On the alternative hypothesis for the relationship between the versions I posit the commentated version as primary. The assumption that EccP was generated from the

commentated version (EccC) by removing the commentary is, however, hard to prove. The accepted method of work for determining whether the text has been extrapolated is to look for traces of extrapolation. But sometimes they are few and far between: if a scribe managed to extrapolate the plain text accurately, without leaving bits of commentary, we would not know that extrapolation had taken place at all.

In the manuscripts with the continuous text which I have examined there are no unambiguous traces of extrapolation. There are, however, some omissions at the end and beginning of several verses peculiar to the whole textual tradition of the plain text. These omissions might have resulted from the labours of industrious scribes who, whilst trying hard to free the text from the commentary, slightly overdid their job by removing more of the biblical text rather than by leaving bits of commentary. As I have said earlier, the tradition of EccP is flawed: besides omissions it has various mistakes. Extrapolation could be one of the easiest explanations for their occurrence. However, I lack decisive proof for extrapolation taking place and consequently for the omissions and mistakes resulting from extrapolation. Besides, the omissions in EccP and Und.13 cannot be relied upon as evidence of priority because they might have been filled in during the process of producing either plain or commentated versions, or alternatively, they might represent later stages of the traditions which had become more corrupt.

I have to admit that the similarities between the commentary texts in EccC and EccI and their biblical texts in contrast to the wording in EccP create complications for my hypothesis that EccC and not EccP was primary. In order to overcome this complication I might argue that these similarities could have arisen at a later stage in the process of copying. In discussing the lexical variation between the three versions in verse 7:18 I also raised the question: if EccP went back to the earliest version of the commentated text, how did it get the reading *въздържати сѧ*? In this case we need to make a further assumption that extrapolation was done with some reference to Greek. Given the general inferiority of EccP and absence in individual manuscripts of signs of consultation with the Greek, divergences in wording (such as *въздържати сѧ* in EccP versus *приимати сѧ* in EccC and EccI) are more easily explained as the result of influence from the commentary on EccC/EccI than as the outcome of sporadic retranslation from Greek.

I have only one example in 2:21 where the variant readings *иже* and *яко* may point to independent use of Greek for EccC and EccP. However, even on this occasion the possibility that the variation in these two examples could have occurred also within Church Slavonic should not be excluded. Still, the evidence is insufficient to allow me to decide between the two possibilities.

Supposing that EccC was not a full version but simply extracts which were used in compiling EccP, we are presented with the question where did the rest of EccP come from, and where and when was the compilation carried out? If EccP was produced from EccC by extrapolation how did the readings in EccP closer to Greek get into it? We need to allow that extrapolation was done with some secondary reference to Greek. If we assume that both EccC and EccI were incomplete, then the supplementary use of Greek to assist the production of EccP is more understandable, but then the question arises who and when and where could have had access to Greek sources? The other question is what were the origins of EccI and when and where did it come into existence? Given that EccI, though clearly a different redaction, is on the whole closer to EccC and EccP than the quotations discussed in chapter 3, could EccI also derive from a fuller version of EccC which has not survived?

It is not possible to find answers to all these questions. However, we need to consider the broader historical circumstances, such as the knowledge of Greek amongst the East Slavs, to arrive even at tentative answers. It is now generally accepted that in the 15th - century Medieval Russia there was not sufficient knowledge of Greek to carry out the translations. Even several decades later Maxim the Greek had to translate his works first into Latin, and afterwards his assistant translators translated the texts from Latin into Church Slavonic. All this makes it unlikely that EccP could have come into existence as a partial translation directly from Greek in the East Slav area. We also may ask ourselves whether there was a need to produce several versions of commentated *Ecclesiastes*? There may be not sufficient evidence to resolve these questions. The main interest lies in the possibility that the textual tradition can therefore be traced back, at least in part, to a time before the 15th century. This possibility is explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3.

Quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in Church Slavonic texts.

It has been assumed that there was an early translation of *Ecclesiastes*.¹ 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.² But only if the textual history of *Ecclesiastes* were known, would it be possible to compare the quotations with the continuous text to see if there was a textual link and to evaluate the evidence provided by quotations. Otherwise we would be falling into the trap of circular argument.

In this chapter 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 commentated texts of *Ecclesiastes*.³ Then I compare the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* which occur in original Old Russian texts. In this way I shall try to establish whether these quotations were simply extracted from the existing continuous or commentated 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. The quotations from *Ecclesiastes* found in the 13th century *Izbornik* were discussed in chapter 2.

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.⁴ His compilation is based on excerpts from Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers. The *Pandects* were translated in all probability in

¹ Alekseev, 1999: 155.

² See Naumow, 1983; Thomson, 1983; Alekseev, 1985:74-92.

³ 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 commentated from Und.13, the interpolated from Pg.1.

Bulgaria in the 10th century. They became known in medieval Russia 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. 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.

Comparison of quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in the *Pandects of Antioch* with continuous and the commentated texts.

It is not my intention here to attempt a detailed textological analysis of this material. 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 ВЪЗМЪШТАЕТЪ МЪДРАГО. И ПОГОУБЯЕТЪ СРЦЕ БЛАГОРОДИВААГО PA (39; 64,14:2-3)
 КЛЕВЕТА ЛЬСТИ^Т МЪДРАГО РАСЛАВЛЕ^Т СРЦЕ БЛГЫМЪ МОЩИ ЕГО GB

The translator of PA later probably misread εὐτονίας as εὐγενίας.

⁴The Greek text is published by Migne, 1865 (PG, v. 93, col. 1428-1849).

8:16 ἐν οἷς ἔδωκα τὴν καρδίαν μου τοῦ γινῶναι σοφίαν καὶ τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὸν περισπασμὸν τὸν πεποιημένον 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 СЪТВОРЕНОЕ НА ЗЕМЛИ.
 ТАКО И ВЪ ДЪНЕ И ВЪ НОШТИ. СЪНЪ ОЧИ ГО НѢСТЕ ВИДАШТИ. PA (14; 26, 3:5-8)
 В НИХЪ ДАХЪ СРЦЕ МОЕ РАЗДМѢТИ МОУ ДРО^Ѹ И ЕЖЕ ВИДѢТИ ПЕЧЕНІЕ СТВОРЕНОЕ НА ЗЕМЛИ.
 ТАКО В ДНѢ И В НОЩИ СНА ВЪ ОЧІЮ СВОЕЮ НѢСТЬ 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 очію. Popovski divides the text as follows: го нѣсте, while Amfiloxij reproduces it in one word.

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

ДА БЖДОУТЬ ВЪ ВСЕ ВРЕМѦ РИЗЫ ТВОѦ БѢЛЫ. И МАСЛО НА ГЛАВѢ ТВОКИ ДА НЕ ОСКЖДѢКТЬ. PA
 (91; 135, 66-7)
 ВЪ ВСАКО ВРЕМѦ ДА СЪТЬ РИЗЫ ТВОѦ БѢЛЫ И МАСЛА ДРЕВѦНАГО ДА НЕ ЛИШИТ СѦ ГЛАВА ТВОѦ GB

10:8 καὶ καθαιροῦντα φραγμὸν δήξεται αὐτὸν ὄφεις

И ОРАШТААГО ОПОТЪ ХОПИТЪ И ЗМИѦ PA (49; 77, 3:5)
 И ПОТРЕБЛѦЮЩАГО ОГРАДЪ ОУГРЫЗНЕ^Т И ЗМІѦ GB
 И ѰЕМЛѦИ ПЛО^А. ОУЗРИТЬ ЗЪМИЮ ЕССІ

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 PA (12; 24, 9: 4-9)
 недѹжьє PA (119; 176, 33-35)
 недѹгъ GB

5:15 ἢ μοχθεῖ εἰς ἄνεμον

и троѹдъ кѹго въ вѣтръ PA (12; JP, 24, 9)
 и оѹсилик еґо и подвиґъ въ вѣтръ PA (119; 176, 37)
 и* спѣши^т в миръ GB

6:8 διότι ὁ πένης

занє нищтии PA (9; 20, 7)
 занєже оѹбоґъи PA (119; 176, 42)
 понє* нищїи GB, Und. 13

8:5 ῥῆμα πονηρόν

всєґо зъла PA (79; 116, 60)
 г̄ла зъла PA (114; 170, 93-4)
 г̄ла лѹкава GB

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 ἀναίδης προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ μισηθήσεται

вєстоѹдънѹи жє лицємъ своимъ възнєнавидѣнъ боѹдктъ PA (16; 29, 2:2-3)
 и вєстоѹдънѹи лицємъ възнєнавидѣнъ боѹдктъ PA (32; 56, 8:2-4)
 и вєстѹднѹи лицємъ своимъ възнєнавидѣнъ вѹдєтъ GB

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 ροῦצֵבֿ מוֹי PA - мои роуцѣ GB; 4:10 תַּכּוֹ אִשְׁתֵּי PA - аще тако GB; 5:11 סַדֵּקֶתְךָ סֶנֶם רַבּוֹךָ PA - сонъ сладокъ рабѣ GB

10:14 מְרַבֵּבֵי PA - 8множить GB; 5:3 אֶבְרָחָם PA - обѣщаеши GB; 4:12 אֶמְצִיבֵךָ PA - оукрѣплаетъ PA - оукрѣпит сѧ GB; 5:14 יֵצֵא PA - изиде GB; 5:5 מְרַבֵּבֵךָ PA - прогнѣваетъ сѧ GB

4:12 כְּמוֹךָ PA - семоу GB; 11:10 שְׂוֵעֶךָ PA - твоего GB; 10:4 תַּלְּךָ PA - на GB; 5:12 תּוֹךָ PA - оно GB

5:16 וְכָל יְמֵיךָ PA - и вси иже дѣни GB

1:8 πάντες οἱ λόγοι ἔυκοποι
всако слово троудьно PA (91; 134, 24)
вса слова трѣдна. GB

1:13 τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ
посмотрити прѣмоудростиж PA (14; 25, 2-4)
съсѣтити мѣдрости GB

1:13 περισπασμόν πονηρόν
млъвение люто PA (14; 25, 2-4)
попеченіе лѣкаво GB

cf. also 2:26, 5:13

1:13 περισπᾶσθαι
млъвити PA (14; 25, 2-4)
пещи GB

2:11 ποιήμασιν
творения PA (14; 25-6, 6-9)
створенна GB

2:26 εὐφροσύνην
радостъ PA (14; 26, 2-8)
веселіе GB, Und.13

2:26 περισπασμόν

млѣвение PA (14; 26, 2-8)

печениѣ GB

попечениѣ Und.13

cf. also 1:13, 5:13

3:1 χρόνος

лѣто PA (91;134, 12)

годъ GB

3:7 λαλεῖν

вѣщати PA (91;134, 13-14)

γῆτι GB

3:20 ἐπιστρέφει

вѣсели сѧ PA (14; 26, 2:9)

вѣзвращают сѧ GB

4:1 τὰς συκοφαντίας

клеветы PA (39; 64, 13:1-4)

ωκлеветанїа GB

4:9 ἀγαθοί

оуныша PA (80; 118, 64-5)

бл҃га GB, Und.13, EccI

4:10 καὶ οὐαί

а лютѣ PA (80; 118, 65-70)

и горе GB, Und. 13

4:11 κοιμηθῶσιν

воудете PA (2; 10, 2:2-3)

оуспи҃та GB, Und. 13

5:2 περισπασμοῦ

напастии PA (84; 124 1: 21-4)

иск҃са GB

- 5:3-4 εὐχὴν τῷ θεῷ
 МОЛИТВѢ Г҃Ж PA (106; 156, 156-60)
 ОБѢТЪ КЪ Б҃Г GB
- 5:3-4 μὴ χρονίσης
 НЕ ОΥΚῆΣΝΗ PA (106; 156, 156-60)
 НЕ ДМЕДЛИ GB
- 5:4 ἀγαθόν
 ДОБРѢ PA (106; 156, 156-60)
 БЛ҃ГО GB
- 6:2 ἀνὴρ ξένος
 СТРАНЬНЪ PA (119; 176, 40-1)
 ЧЮ^к МДЖЪ GB
- 6:8 κατέναντι τῆς ζωῆς
 ПРѢМО ЖИЗНИ PA (119; 176, 42), PA (9; 20, 7)
 ПРОТИВЪ ЖИВОТЪ GB, Und. 13
- 7:4 ἀφρόνων
 БЕЗОУМЬНЬИХЪ PA (90; 133, 27-8)
 БЕЗУМНЫ^х GB, EccI.
 БДИХЪ Und.13
- 7:5 ἀγαθόν
 ДОБРѢК PA (82; 121, 51-2)
 БЛ҃ГО GB, Und.13, EccI
- 7:9 ἐν κόλπῳ
 НА ЛОНѢ PA (24; 42, 8:1-2)
 В НѢДРѢ^х GB
- 7:10 αἱ πρότεραι
 ПРѢЖДѢННИ PA (28; 51, 17:2-4)
 ДРЕВНІИ GB
- 7:16 πολὺ
 ЗѢЛО PA (44; 71, 3:3-4)
 ВЕЛМИ GB

7:16 περισσά

λιχο PA (44; 71, 3:3-4)

вєлми GB

излише Und.13

лише EccI

7:16 ἐκπλαγῆς

ογκλωνиши сѡ PA (44; 71, 3:3-4)

изδмѣши сѡ GB

7:17 ἐν οὐ καιρῷ

вѣ безгодик PA (38; 63, 15:2-4)

вѣ время GB

не во время Und.13, EccI

7:21 λαλήσουσιν

сѣвѣштажтѣ PA (31; 55, 5:1-2)

вѣꝝглють GB, Und.13

вѣзмолвѣтъ EccI

7:26 σαγήναι

неводѣ PA (18; 33, 13:2-6)

сѣти GB

7:26 ἐξαιρεθήσεται

изѣтъ боудетѣ PA (18; 33, 13:2-6)

извинит сѡ GB

7:26 συλλημφθήσεται

ογвазнетѣ PA (18; 33, 13:2-6)

не вбѣ^т вѣдетѣ GB

9:10 εὐρη

иматѣ PA (98; 143, 52-3)

обраще^т GB

9:18 σκεύη πολέμου
 съсѣда врани PA (101;147, 71-2)
 съсѣдѣ ратныѣ GB

10:18 ἡ δόκωσις
 надежда PA (36: JP, 61, 6:2-3)
 строптиво GB

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. The corrupted reading строптиво is discussed in chapter 1, page 31.

10:20 ἐν ταμείοις κοιτώνων
 въ съкровиштихѣ ложка своего PA (31; 55, 5:3-6:1)
 в клѣти ложници своен GB

10:20 ἀποίσει
 отънетъ PA (31; 55, 5:3-6:1)
 донесе^τ GB

11:9 γινῶθι
 оувѣждѣ PA (18; 33, 13:8-11)
 разꙋмени GB

11:9 ὁ θεός
 гѣ PA (18; 33, 13:8-11)
 бѣ GB
 cf.also 5:3-4, 12:13

11:10 παράγαγε
 мимоведи PA (24; 42, 3:3-4)
 приведи GB

11:10 πονηρίαν
 зѣловоу PA (24; 42, 5:3-4)
 лѣкавства GB

12:1 τοῦ κτίσαντός
 създавъшаго PA (23; 41, 4:2-5)
 створшаго GB

12:13 τὸν θεόν
 ꙗ̅ PA (127; 188, 31-2)
 б̅га GB
 cf. 5:3-4, 11:9

In the following examples underlining 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 μόχθῳ ᾧ ἐμόχθησα
 (оусилѣе) на тѣштаниѣ имѣ же тѣштахъ сѧ PA (14; 25-6, 6-9)
 въ тѣдѣ иже поспѣшихъ GB

3:10 περισπασμόν
 (тѣщаник) вѣтеник PA (91;135, 61-3)
 печеніе GB

9:12 ὅτι καὶ γε οὐκ ἔγινω
 ꙗко не (разоумѣеть) оувѣсть PA (91; 135, 58-9)
 ниже разоумѣ GB

Out of 56 quotations only the quotation in 5:9 люблѣи сребро. не насытитъ сѧ сребра. PA (9; 20, 3:5-6) corresponds with the text in the continuous and commentated versions, but this single similarity is purely coincidental. There is enough evidence of divergences between PA and later attestations of *Ecclesiastes* in Church Slavonic to conclude that (even) if the quotations in PA were taken from a continuous version, it was not the same translation as the circa 15th-century one. It is possible to argue that the number and type

of differences between PA and the various Ecc versions suggests that the latter are more likely to derive, throughout various processes of redaction, from a single translation than to be separate translations.

Comparison of quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in *Pčela* with commentated and continuous texts.

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*.⁵

4:6 δύο δρακῶν μόχθου	
ДВОИ ПРИГОРЪЦИ СЪ РОПТАНИКМЪ	М (398, 7-10)
ДВОЮ ГОРЕСТІЮ ТРЪДА	GB, Und.13, PA
ДВОЮ ГОРЬСТЬЮ ТЦАНИГА	EccI

⁵I use the identification of the quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in *Pčela* made by Makeeva and Pičxadze (2000:91).

5:2 περισπασμοῦ
 искушениа (πειρασμοῦ) ⁶ M (375, 3-4)
 искѹса GB, Und.13
 напастии PA

7:2 εἰς οἶκον πένθους
 въ домъ печальныи M (259, 21-3)
 в домоу плача GB
 въ домъ плача Und.13, EccI
 въ днѣ плача PA

7:6 φωνὴ τῶν ἀκανθῶν
 гла^ε тростьныи и терновныи M (372, 15-7)
 гла^ε трънїа GB, Und.13, EccI, 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 καταποντισιν αὐτόν
 погроузита и M (358, 5-8)
 потоплѣта его GB
 потопатъ и PA

10:13 καὶ ἐσχάτη στόματος αὐτοῦ περιφέρεια πονηρά
 и послѣдокъ оустъ его кроуѣтъ лоукавѣ M (358, 5-8)
 и послѣднѣа ѡстѣ ε^ε лѣстѣ лѣкава... GB

⁶ 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 περισπασμός – ‘distraction’, ‘worry’ and πειρασμός – ‘temptation’, ‘enticement’ is found in the textual tradition of the LXX. Cf. the translation of περισπασμός as (по)печенїе in 1:13, 2:23, 2:26, 3:10, 4:8, 5:13, 5:19, 8:16 in the EccP.

10:19 καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπακούσεται σὺν τὰ πάντα
 Среброу всачьскага послоушьствована бывають М (126, 28-9)
 и сребра послышаю^т всачьскаа GB

11:9 καὶ γινῶθι ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἄξει σε ὁ θεὸς ἐν κρίσει
 разсмѣи самъ сѧ, тако о всемъ семъ ведетъ тѧ бѣ въ соудѣ М (340, 26-9)
 разсмеи тако ѡ всѣхъ си^{хъ} ... приведе^т тѧ бѣ на сѣ^а GB
 и си оувѣждѣ въ всѣхъ пжтехъ. тако приведе^т тѧ гѣ на сждѣ PA

12:13 τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ φύλασσε
 бѧ бои сѧ, заповѣди кго храни себе М (223, 10-2)
 бѧа бои сѧ и заповѣди его храни GB
 възбои сѧ бѧ. и храни заповѣдь его PA

12:14 πᾶν τὸ ποίημα [...] ἐν παντὶ παρεωραμένῳ
 Всю тварь [...] во все^{мъ} призираемъ (призримъ) М (297-8, 27-3)
 все строеніе [...] всакомъ презрѣніе^{мъ} GB

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 Ecc versions. We thus have some evidence to assume that the translator of *Pčela* had not referred to an existing version of *Ecclesiastes*.

There is a quotation from *Ecclesiastes* in the story about the Dream of King Jehoash on f. 1^v – 2 of the *Izbornik* ⁷ which has not been identified but 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 ксть пакты великъ. нъ мнѣ малъ. мало же въ немъ и моужии. и приде цѣрь великъ. и обистоупи и твърдью. и бѣ въ градѣ томъ моужь ниць нъ моудръ. и тѣ моужь сѣсе градъ. Cf. the text from GB 9:14-15 гра^а малъ. и моужіи в немъ мало. и пріиде цѣрь великъ и шкרותи и^{хъ} ... 15. обраще^т ^{сѧ} в немъ мѣжъ ниць и мѣдръ и тѣ сѣсетъ гра^а мѣдростію своею.

⁷ Wątrobska, 1987:1-2.

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.

Quotations from *Ecclesiastes* in original Old Russian literature.⁸

Kliment of Smolensk († after 1164).

Epistle of Kliment of Smolensk to presbuteros Thomas.

Kliment of Smolensk was the second Metropolitan of Russian 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 са преторгнет. (Ponyrko, 1992:132)
 оуже трьперемѣнно не скоро сѧ претъргнетъ. Izb.⁹
 и врьвь трьпраменная не скоро отъръкть сѧ. PA
 и вервь треплетны скоро не перервѣт сѧ. GB
 и вервь треплена не скоро расторгне^т сѧ. Und.13

11:2 Да же часть седми, таче и осмому (Ponyrko, 1992:133)
 дажь часть седми. таче и осмомоу. Izb.
 даждь часть се^ами и бои сѧ * GB
 дажь часть седми таче шсмому EccI

(* for variant readings see the critical apparatus of the edition of *Ecclesiastes*)

There are a few passages corresponding to each other found in the texts of Kliment of Smolensk, the 13-th 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: 42-7) thought that Kliment of Smolensk had used

⁸ My choice of editions is dictated mainly by the factor that their editors identified and marked quotations from *Ecclesiastes*.

⁹ The quotation 4:12 appears on f. 161 and 11:2 on f. 176 of the *Izbornik*.

either the passages from the *Izbornik* or its early prototype as one of his sources.¹⁰ 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: 71-2) 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 first Russian saints, 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 Glebe.¹¹

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

ВЪСЕ СОУКТА И СОУКТИКЪ СОУКТИЮ БОУДИ. (р. 45, 10 а, 10)
 1:2 Г8ЕѢ СВЕѢСТВІА ВСАЧЬСКАА СЖЕТА GB
 12:8 СВЕТА СВЕѢСТІИ РЕЧЕ ЗВОРНИКЪ ВСАЧЬСКАА СВЕТА GB

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

НЕ ВЪЗМОЖЕѢ ЧЛВКЪ ГЛАТИ И НЕ НАСЫТИѢ СА ОКО ЗРѢТИ И НЕ НАПЪЛНИѢ СА ОУХО
 СЛЫШАНИА. РЕЧЕ ЕКЛИСИАѢ (р. 58, 18 б, 5)
 1:8 НЕ ВЪЗМОЖЕѢ МОУЖЪ ГЛАТИ. НЕ НАСЫТИѢ СА ОКО ЗРѢТИ. НИ ИСПЪНИѢ СА ОУХО СЛЫШАНИА
 GB

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ Quoted from *Uspenskij sbornik*, 1971.

Kievo-Pečerskij paterik.¹²The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery.

Slovo 21.

ҮНЕ ВО ЕСТЬ НЕ ОБЕЩАТИ СѦ, НЕЖЕЛИ ОБѢЩАВШҮ СѦ, НЕ ВЪЗДАТИ. (р. 120)
 5:4 бл̃го є* НЕ ОБѢЩАВАТИ СѦ ЛИ ЕЖЕ ОБѢЩАТИ СѦ ѠДАТИ. (GB)
 добрѣе НЕ ОБѢЩАТИ. НЕЖЕЛИ ОБѢЩАТИ И НЕ ВЪЗДАТИ. (РА)

Kirill of Turov († 1182).¹³

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

On the tale of a layman.

и речи Соломонскы О сѹетие, сѹетою бѹди! (TODRL, 12, p.352)
 1:2 С҃ѣт сѣтьствїа всѣчьскаѣ с҃ета (GB)

Poslanie nekoego starca k bogoblažennomu Vasiliju o skimě.¹⁴Epistle of a certain elder to the blessed archimandrite Basil.

И паче: Л҃чче НЕ ОБѢЩАТИ СѦ, НЕЖЕЛИ ОБѢЩАВШИ СѦ, НЕ ВОЗДАТИ. (Ponyrko, 1992:168)
 5:4 бл̃го є* НЕ ОБѢЩАВАТИ СѦ ЛИ ЕЖЕ ОБѢЩАТИ СѦ ѠДАТИ. (GB)

¹² Quoted from *Biblioteka...* vol. 4, 1997.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ Quoted from the publication of Ponyrko (1992:155-65), who attributes this letter to Kirill of Turov.

Poslanie Jakova černorizca ko knjazju Dmitriju Borisoviču.

Epistle of Jacob to prince Dimitry.

Ponyrko, who published this epistle, assumes that it was written after 1276, possibly between 1281-88.

7:26 Соломон бо, ... всемъ заповѣда и глагола: ... И неводъ бо сердце еѡ, и сѣти ѹды еѡ
(и ѹзы в рѹкѹ еѡ, и ловление бесѣды еѡ add. in some MSS) (Ponyrko, 1992:199).¹⁵
7:26 ... есть ловитва и сѣти срѣца еѡ и сѣзъ любви еѡ рѡкы еѡ GB

Slovo Daniila Zatočnika.¹⁶

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

Очи бо мѹдрѹхъ желаютъ благѹхъ, а безѹмнаго – домѹ пира. (р. 278)
cf. 7:2-4 ...ли ходитъ в домоѹ пира [...] и срѣце безѹмныѹхъ в домѹ веселїа¹⁷

Лѣпше слышати прѣние ѹмныѹхъ, нижели наказанїа безѹмныѹхъ. (р. 278)
cf. 7:5 бл҃го еѡ слышати запреценїе моѹжа. паче моѹжа слышати пѣснь безѹмныѹхъ (GB)
бл҃го слышати преценїе мѹдраго. паче мѹжа слышати пѣснь безѹмныѹхъ. (Und.13)

In the text of *Ecclesiastes* there is преценїе - 'reproof' and not прѣние - 'dispute'.

Povest' vremennyx let.¹⁸

Russian Primary Chronicle.

лютѣ бо граду томѹ, в немже князь ѹнѣ
cf. 10:16 горе тебѣ граде емоѹ црѣ твои ѡнѣ. GB

¹⁵ 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 Ecc 7:26.

¹⁶ Quoted from *Biblioteka...* 1997, vol. 4, p. 278.

¹⁷ The quotation 7:4 in the *Pandects* and Daniil the Exile may have an affinity with EccP and EccI as they have similar wording.

¹⁸ Quoted from *Biblioteka...* 1997, vol. 1, p.184.

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.

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

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 sbornik¹⁹

3:4 вѣмѣ плакати сѣ вѣмѣ смѣати сѣ (f. 356, 14)
 вѣмѣ плакати сѣ и вѣмѣ кланѣти сѣ (f. 364, 12)
 времѣ плакати сѣ и времѣ смѣати сѣ. (GB)

Euchologium Sinaiticum.

5:4 ꙗко слово рече. не помолити сѣ. ли помольшю ти сѣ не въздати. (f. 91a 23-25)
 бл҃го є* не вѣщавати сѣ ли еже вѣщати сѣ ѿдати (GB)

Domentijan, život sv. Simeona.²⁰

11:9 Весели се юноше въ юности своки (241)
 весели сѣ зното въ зности своен GB

¹⁹ The two quotations below are taken from the publication of Dunkov, 1995.

²⁰ All examples are quoted from Stanojević and Glumac, 1932.

Danilo, Danilov učenik i nastavljači

1:2 по глаголюштомоу: Вьса во земельныхъ сокута соукутѣ [к.в.: соукутьствѣ] и вьсе
 [к.в.: вьсачьскага] соукта (968)
 Сѣѣтѣ свѣтъствіа всачьскаа сжета GB

4:9-10 оуныша во два паче кдинаго единогоу во лютѣ (1034)
 блга два па^ч единого... горе томѣ единомѣ GB
 блга два паче единого ЕссІ
 оуныша во два паче кдинога [...] а лютѣ кдиномоу.РА

Konstantin Filozof, život despota Stevana Lazarevica.

1:16 Соломон кгда глаголетъ: Паче всѣхъ бывшихъ прѣжде мене въ Иерусалимѣ (1475)
 паче всѣхъ иже быша преже мене въ іер^симѣ GB

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.

Conclusions.

In the medieval period *Ecclesiastes* remained a book which was more frequently commented on rather than quoted from.²¹ 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.

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 Ecc 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.

²¹ This assertion can be inferred from reading Starowieyski (1993: 405-40).

Chapter 4.

Ecclesiastes in Croat Glagolitic Breviaries.

In addition to the version of *Ecclesiastes* found in Cyrillic manuscripts, this book also figures in the Croat Church Slavonic tradition which uses the Glagolitic alphabet. There is no consensus among scholars about either the origin or the time of the Croat translation of *Ecclesiastes*. Joseph Vajs believed that the Croatian version of *Ecclesiastes* was translated directly from the Vulgate.¹ 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 which supported his claim.² He also has suggested that several biblical books in Croat Glagolitic Breviaries were initially translated from Greek but, at a later date, were revised on the basis of the Vulgate.³ If one removes the later layers of revision, one may find underneath them the texts translated from Greek that go back to the earliest translations. Alekseev has built his hypothesis on analogies with some other biblical texts, applying to *Ecclesiastes* the same logic which was used for the examination of *Job*, the *Song of Songs* or *Daniel*.⁴ It is true that some books such as *Ruth*, *Job*, *Minor prophets* in the Croatian Glagolitic sources contain features which have since been lost in the Cyrillic

¹ Vajs, 1905:VI. Thomson (1998:844) repeated his assertion. Among scholars who studied biblical texts in the Croatian Church Slavonic tradition Joseph Vajs' contribution is very substantial. He launched a series called *Analecta Sacrae Scripturae* for which he edited several biblical books, including *Ecclesiastes*. He published the text of *Ecclesiastes* in Glagolitic script on the basis of the Vrbnik 1 Breviary (of the late 13th – early 14th centuries) chapter 1:1 – 11:5 with the ending based on the Breviaries Novianum (1459) and Vatican 5 (1379), providing variant readings from the five manuscripts: Vrbnik 2 (14th century), Vrbnik 3 (15th century), Novianum 1 (1459) and Novianum 2 (1495) and Vatican 5 (1379). Since Vajs's time more manuscripts of the breviaries containing *Ecclesiastes* have come to light, and at present the text is known in 17 manuscripts, though not all the breviaries have the full text. For a synoptic table of the 17 breviaries containing the text of *Ecclesiastes*, see Zaradija-Kiš, 1997: 629-35.

² Alekseev has included *Ecclesiastes* among the group of other biblical books supposedly translated by Methodius. He posits four criteria for ascribing biblical translations to Methodius; for *Ecclesiastes* the following criterion is applicable: “При выявлении переведенных Мефодием текстов можно 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 (1917:17-9) without directly referring to Vajs' edition of *Ecclesiastes*.

³ Alekseev, 1999:144.

⁴ Mathiesen (1979:6) has stated that the assumption made by certain scholars (Evseev and Nachtigal) that these books belonged to a lost Methodian bible may be true of the extant translations of the books of *Ruth* and *Daniel*, but that the published philological studies fall short of proving this hypothesis.

tradition and which may go back to earlier translations.⁵ This, however, may not be the case with *Ecclesiastes*, since the statement of Alekseev does not appear to be supported by detailed textual evidence.

Johannes Reinhart, who has studied biblical texts in the Croat Glagolitic manuscripts, found that passages from the so-called Sapiential collection in the missal which consisted of the books of *Proverbs*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Song of Songs* were revised against Latin. He has confirmed the established view that the greater part of the texts goes back to the Latin Vulgate and conjectured that the remaining passages corresponding to the Greek go back to the OCS translations. However, he was cautious about his findings and stated that this result was based on a limited number of biblical books and needed corroboration with many more books of the Bible.⁶ In contrast to the fragments from the books of the Sapiential collection that are present in the missal,⁷ the earliest known text of *Ecclesiastes* is to be found in the breviary. The earliest copy dates from the end of the 13th century, but there is no indication as to when the text was first translated. Before examining the Croatian Church Slavonic translation, a brief note concerning the origins of the Croatian Glagolitic tradition needs to be given.

⁵ For criticism of Alekseev's argument see Thomson, 1998:645.

⁶ Reinhart, 1986:77–84.

⁷ Nazor (1986: 71) mistakenly refers to the presence of pericopes from *Ecclesiastes* in the *Hrvoje Missal*.

The origins of the Glagolitic tradition in Croatia.

It is not known how the Slavonic liturgy and letters were introduced into Croatia.⁸ Croatia occupied a unique position in medieval Europe because, although it was Catholic, and therefore separated from the Orthodox Slavdom, it retained some links with the Slavic East through its adoption of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. It seems very likely that missionary activity had begun the process of christianisation in Croatia before the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was adopted; details of this process, however, remain obscure. The geographical position of Croatia, on the border between Byzantium and the West, made the process of christianisation complicated, for this was an area where many different groups of missionaries were active. The scarcity of sources prevents us from knowing precisely when or how Croats received Christianity.⁹

The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition must have played a part in the process of the christianisation of the Croats. The Glagolitic script was introduced to both Croatia and Dalmatia. This tradition probably came from Moravia via Pannonia, and by the middle of the 10th century it was already established in Croatia and Dalmatia. The Glagolitic tradition therefore might have reached Croatia during or shortly after Methodius' term as archbishop of Pannonia, in 869-885, by which time the Croats were apparently initiated into Christianity.

The history of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Croatia which included the Glagolitic script, however, cannot be explained thus simply. Croatia appears to have been influenced by a number of linguistic and liturgical traditions. It seems that alongside the Slavonic liturgy, which might have been introduced by Cyril and Methodius, the liturgy also existed in forms which could have been presented by other missionaries.¹⁰ Two Church Councils in Split, which took place in 925 and 928, attempted to restrict the use

⁸ There is a substantial bibliography on this subject; the books of Dvornik (1956), Vlasto (1970), Obolensky (1971), Fine (1983) remain the main publications in the English language. The recent book of Avenarius (2000) contains an up to date extensive bibliography. See also the recent article by Mihaljević and Reinhart (2005).

⁹ It seems plausible to assume that Christianisation happened as a result of Aquileian missionary activity since Croatia was under Frankish rule; more likely that it was an ongoing process rather than a single act (Vlasto, 1970:187-207).

¹⁰ Vavřínek, 1978:255-8. It has been suggested that Cyril and Methodius introduced the so-called Liturgy of St Peter.

of Church Slavonic as a liturgical language in Croatia.¹¹ Although this seems to suggest that Church Slavonic was used quite widely as a liturgical language, some scholars consider the issue of language secondary to the question of jurisdiction discussed at these Councils.¹²

The discouragement of the liturgy in Church Slavonic could not have been very successful, since it is apparent that in the mid-11th century it was still widely used in Croatian Dalmatia.¹³ In 1248 and 1251 Pope Innocent IV's attitude towards the Slavonic liturgy in Dalmatia in Senj and Krk became more tolerant, although this liturgy was not fully legitimised. This shift in view indicates that by this time Church Slavonic in liturgy was too deeply rooted to be eradicated through prohibition. This is not surprising: only the more learned members of society might be presumed to have been versed in Latin, while the population in general, and the local priests (the so-called *glagoljaši*) would have operated in Croatian Church Slavonic.¹⁴ Thus the liturgy in Latin excluded the majority of the populace from understanding it. Avenarius suggests that the liturgy in Slavonic which existed before 1248 was based on the Byzantine rite, but after this date its contents began to be gradually supplanted by the one originating in the Roman tradition. According to Avenarius (2000:149-50), it was this Rome-orientated Slavonic liturgy which was allowed by Innocent.

It is accepted that the material used by the Croatian *glagoljaši* came, at least in part, from the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The main OCS liturgical texts, such as the Gospels and the Psalter, probably reached the Croats relatively early, by the end of the 9th century. The following centuries, 11th - 15th, in the words of Banac (1984:200-01) were the Golden Age of Croatian Glagolitic. While in Bulgaria, Serbia and Rus' the Glagolitic alphabet was replaced by Cyrillic, in Croatia Glagolitic script remained in use, though

¹¹ It is a generally accepted view that these matters were on the agenda of these Councils: however, the possibility remains that these linguistic and ecclesiastical questions were not discussed at Church councils at this time but at a later date. (Fine, 1983: 273) with reference to Klaić describes the account of these Councils given by Thomas of Split as unreliable, which implies that it could be a later interpolation. For the text of the *Chronicle of Thomas of Split* the edition of Akimova (1997) is used.

¹² Fine, 1983: 270-73.

¹³ The gaps in documents do not allow us to determine with any degree of certainty either the parameters of the spread of Slavonic liturgy or the extent of the measures taken by the Church against it. See Fine, 1983: 280, Vlasto, 1970:199-203.

¹⁴ For the characteristics of the Croatian Church Slavonic see Hamm, 1963:43-67; Mareš, 1985:177-81; Corin, 1991-93:155-98; Mihaljević and Reinhart, 2005: 31-82.

mostly limited to the monasteries on the Istrian peninsula and the Dalmatian islands. A certain amount of evidence for this is provided by epigraphic material of the 11th century, but the earlier period remains obscure.¹⁵ Among other non-liturgical sources the first *Life of St Wenceslas* is worth mentioning. It apparently came to Croatia as part of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition from Moravia, where it became practically extinct, but has survived to this day in its oldest form, in the Croatian breviaries.¹⁶

Texts in Croatian Glagolitic sources preserve very archaic features which go back to the early Cyrillo-Methodian translations. They also contain specific elements which have come from Latin.¹⁷ Prior to the 12th century, Latin influence was sporadic and accidental. This was because the *glagoljaši* preferred their native language to Latin in which they were ill versed. After the 12th century the attempts to implement Roman tradition become more determined. This was done through introduction of Latin texts for the correction of extant Church Slavonic writings and for the translation of new texts.

According to Reinhart (1990:193-206), the earliest known revision of lectionary texts which introduced corrections from Latin was made in the 12th century. In Alekseev's opinion (1999:145) the revision of the main texts in the breviary in accordance with the Vulgate was not carried out thoroughly and consistently. It is, therefore, hard to imagine that the book of *Ecclesiastes*, which was neither used liturgically, nor included in the Prophetologium, or the Missal, was carefully revised.

The following is an attempt to examine the claims of Vajs and Alekseev through the textual analysis of the Croatian Church Slavonic *Ecclesiastes* and to ascertain whether it was based ultimately on Greek, revised against Latin or translated from Latin. For this purpose the Croatian Church Slavonic text of *Ecclesiastes* will be examined against its counterparts in the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint and the Cyrillic Church Slavonic text (of the Gennadian Bible of 1499). For the Latin text, the standard Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate is used.¹⁸ In accordance with recognized convention the Glagolitic Church Slavonic text is transliterated into the Latin alphabet. In determining the language of the

¹⁵ See, for example, inscriptions of the Baška tablet, the Valun tablet, and the Plomin tablet from the 11th century (Fučić, 1999).

¹⁶ Florja et al (2000, 7-8) with reference to Vajs (1929); cf. also Mareš, 1985:177-81; Vlasto, 1970:90-2.

¹⁷ Jagić, 1913:9-64. See also the recent publication by Dimitrova and Anđuševa, 2002:182-96.

¹⁸ Weber, 1975: 986-97.

original the following criteria will be considered: types of vocabulary, grammatical and lexical differences between the texts translated from Greek and Latin, certain morpho-syntactic features, and mistakes in the translation.

Lexical variation in the text.

In his edition of *Ecclesiastes* Vajs used for the base text a deficient manuscript, Vrbnik 1 Breviary. He supplemented the missing part from other manuscripts of various dates and origins. He provided a number of variants in his critical apparatus, but, seemingly, his choice was selective and arbitrary. Besides, even manuscripts from which these variants were chosen were not presented quite consistently. As a result in his critical apparatus he provides an insufficient number of variants either because he did not possess all the manuscripts available to scholars at present, or if he did have them, then for some reason of his own he preferred not to use them. In addition his critical apparatus is marred with printing errors. From his data it is not always possible to work out the origin of these variants and to determine whether the text was revised against Latin. Therefore the question of a possible revision cannot be addressed in depth at present because the relationship between the Croatian Church Slavonic manuscripts of *Ecclesiastes* is still not elucidated fully.¹⁹ What can be assumed from these variant readings is the usual scribal practice of modifying the text sporadically. The examples below demonstrate that the scribes replaced certain words with synonyms, but they may not necessarily have consulted the Latin source.

1:10 vsagda [prisno N 1] - recens

2:5 nasêh' [nasadih" N 1, 2] - consevi

2:26 daet' [darova Pr., N 1, 2]²⁰ - dedit

¹⁹ I intend sometime in the future to investigate the textual history of the Croatian Church Slavonic *Ecclesiastes* but this research is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

²⁰ The following abbreviations are used for the manuscripts in Vajs' edition of *Ecclesiastes*: N 1, 2 – Novianum 1, 2, Pr. – manuscript of Congregatio Propagandae Fidei (Illyricum 5 in the Vatican library).

- 3:17 gospod' [bog" Pr.] - Deus
 5:10 pol'znouet [pilzouet' Pr., (sic!) prospêet' N 2] - prodest
 10:8 kačka [kača Pr., N 4, gad' N 1] - coluber
 10:16 gospodin' mlad' [kral' otrok" Pr., N 1, 2] – rex [est] puer
 10:17 gospodin' [kral' Pr., N 2] - rex

Other examples of variation in the text can be ascribed to simple corruption from multiple copying or scribal emendation. The variants below resulted from the trivial corruption of one or two letters in the process of copying the Croatian Church Slavonic text.

- 1:6 v'zvêščaet se [vzvraščaet' se N 1, 2] - regreditur
 4:12 rastegnet' [rastrgnet' N 1] – rumpitur
 5:12 sladost' [slabost' Pr., N 2] – infirmitas
 10:7 sêdešče [hodešče po Pr., N 1] – ambulantes

 5:1 boudet' tebê sl(a)va tvoê [boudout' ... slovesa Codd.²¹] – pauci sermones
 5:14 ot imêni svoih' [ot ousiliê svoego Pr., N 1, 2] de labore suo cf. Job 1:21

The correct readings are found in the Propagandae (Illyricum 5) and Novianum manuscripts. However, from Vajs's edition it is not absolutely clear to me whether this was as a result of a more conservative tradition, or of correction against Latin. My next step will be to look closer at the lexis in the Croatian Glagolitic version.

²¹ From Vajs' edition it is not always clear to which MSS his references are given i.e. Pr., N 1, 2 or others.

Three groups of words in the Croatian Church Slavonic translation of *Ecclesiastes*.

The words examined fall into three categories: 1. Loan words directly borrowed from the Latin text. 2. Words with a Croatian linguistic background. 3. Words belonging to the older layer of the OCS lexicon. Criteria for each category were established as follows. The first category comprises Latin loan words found in the Croatian Church Slavonic text. These loan words occupy exactly the same position in the Croatian text as they do in the Latin text of *Ecclesiastes*.

Among the words that fall into the second category, the majority appears to be borrowed from vernacular Croatian.²² There are others which may have derived from the OCS tradition, although dictionaries indicate that they are present only in Glagolitic sources. The basic criterion used for the allocation of words to the second category is their presence in modern Serbo-Croat. I attempted to find these words in early Croatian texts before the 14th-15th centuries and, if possible, to locate them in the contemporary language and local dialects of the western South Slavs. One additional parameter chosen for this category was either the absence of these words from Sreznevskij's dictionary, or their occurrence only in the translated texts which are associated with the Gennadian Bible (as one of the translators supposedly was a certain Veniamin, Croat by birth).²³

It should be noted that these words may appear in other Slavonic languages, but in order to qualify for inclusion in the second category their meaning must be different from other Slavonic languages. Words from the third category must be attested in the texts belonging to the OCS period.

To designate the words as belonging to these categories several dictionaries (which are given in the bibliography) were consulted. The dictionary material, however incomplete, enables me to establish whether a particular word comes from Old Church Slavonic or is specific to the Croatian tradition and is still used in modern Serbo-Croat. However, it remains to be said that in a few cases it is hard to categorise a word as belonging solely to one class and, therefore, the division between these categories can sometimes be blurred.

²² On phonetic, grammatical and lexical *croatisation* in Croatian Church Slavonic see works of Vrana, 1975, Moszyński, 1986:11-21, Reinhart, 1990:193-241.

²³ Lur'e, 1988, 133-5.

Loan words directly borrowed from the Latin text into Croatian.

vr'č –urceus
 2:8 et urceos in ministerio ad vina fundenda
 i vr' če na služenie k nalêvaniju vina

Miklosich and Skok consider it to be a loan word borrowed directly from Latin.

račun'-ratio
 7:26 et quarerem sapientiam et rationem
 i vziskal bim' mudrost' i račun'

cf. also 8:7; 11:5

cf. modern Serbo-Croat *račun* 'reason, cause'. Reinhart (1990, 205) lists it as a Latinism occurring in the Croatian Church Slavonic redaction of the NT text in the 12th century.

kapar'- capparitis
 12:5 et dissipabitur capparitis
 i rasput' se kapari

Skok remarks that the word is from Latin *capparitis* .

moistr"- magister
 12:11 quae per magistorum consilium data sunt
 iže moistrov' svêtom' dani sut'

Miklosich gives the word "maistor" as a direct loan-word from Latin *magister*, cf. modern Serbo-Croat *majstor*. In the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* we find only the feminine noun *moistryni-nja* 'female teacher'.

Words with a Croatian linguistic background.

okrišlo-circulũs
 1:6 et in circulos suos regreditur
 v" okrišli svoem' vsvraščaet' se

Miklosich lists the word *okrišlo* - *tabernaculum* 'tent' as specific to the Glagolitic manuscript tradition; his datum is confirmed in the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*. In *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* we find the noun *okrišal* with a remark that its origin and meaning are obscure. It is attested from the 16th century onwards. This word is not part of the Russian Church Slavonic lexicon according to Sreznevskij's dictionary.

t'ščina-cassa
2:26 et cassa sollicitudo mentis
i t'ščina pečal'stva misli

cf. modern Serbo-Croat word *taština* 'vanity, conceit'.

hr'lo-velox
5:1 neque cor tuum sit velox ad proferendum sermonem
ni srdce tvoe budi hr'lo n' iv'zvêšćenie

cf. modern Serbo-Croat *hrliti-pohrliti*- 'to rush, hurry'.

bantovanie-calumnia
5:7 si vederis calumnias egenorum
ašče vidiši bantovanie niščih'

Miklosich notes that the word *bantovanie* –*offensio* occurs only in the Croatian Glagolitic sources. In Skok's dictionary the forms *bantovati* (inf.)- 'to annoy, bore, to irritate' and *banta* (noun) – 'trouble' are attested from the 15th century in Kajkavian legal documents. Damjanović (1984,174) likewise considers the word *bantovanie* to be a kajkavism. In the *Lexicon linguae Slavonicae redactionis croaticae* under the entry *bantovanie* we find only this particular quotation from *Ecclesiastes*.

mankati-deesse
6:2 et nihil deest anima eius ex omnibus
i ničtože m'nka [Pr. mankaet'] duši ego ot vsêh

Skok gives the verb *manjkati* ‘to be lacking’ for example from the 13th century *Zakon vinodolski*, cf. modern Serbo-Croat *manjkati* ‘to be missing, lacking’. It is probably borrowed through Italian from Latin *mancus*, *mancare*.

izmet'k' -abortivus
6:3 quod melior illo sit abortivus
êko boli ego est' izmet'k'

In the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* this word is attested as a later reading in the Glagolitic Novianum manuscript in Job 3:16, cf. modern Serbo-Croat *izmetak* ‘prematurely born fetus’. However, it has to be said that the verb *izmetati* is attested in Sreznevskij’s dictionary with the same meaning ‘to abort’ in the 15th century manuscript of the 12th century Old Russian text *Poučenie Ilii arxiepiskopa novgorodskago*. Though it may conflict with the earlier chosen criterion for the vernacular Croatian lexis, it is nevertheless included here because in Sreznevskij’s dictionary only the verbal form is given and in addition the noun *izmetak* is not known in modern Russian. The Gennadian Bible has a corrupted reading and the Ostrog Bible has a noun *izverg* in the parallel place.

lêki-velut
7:1 et tempore quo velut umbra
i vrême lêki sên' mimohodit'

cf. also 8:14; 10:5; 10:7;

As with the previous example in the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* this word is attested in the Croatian Glagolitic sources only. Jagić (1913, 418) regards the word *lêky* as a later Pannonian or Croatian interpolation. The expression *lêky* according to Jagić does not occur in the oldest texts of the Gospels and the Apostol [Acts and Epistles]: it only seems to have been introduced in later copies. The word is known among Čakavian islanders.²⁴

²⁴ Jagić, 1913: 204.

nor -stultus
 7:5 quam stultorum adulatione decipi
 neže norih' l'stiju prêl'stiti se

cf. also 7:6; 7:26

cf. modern Serbo-Croat *norija* 'foolish'.

praska diračie-sonitus spinarum
 7:7 quia sicut sonitus spinarum ardentium sub olla
 zane êko praska diračie gorušča pod' gr'ncem

Both Miklosich and Skok define the meaning of the noun *praska* as 'dry branch' and of the onomatopoeic verb *praskati*, *prasnuti* - *clamare* 'to crackle'. Vasmer gives Serbo-Croat *praska* 'crackling noise'. Skok gives *drač*, *diračje* 'thorn bush', cf. modern Serbo-Croat *drač* 'thorn'.

t'ščad'-vanitas
 7:16 vidi in diebus vanitatis mea
 vidêh v' dni t'ščadi moee
 cf. also 9:9; 11:10

This is a Croatian word with the same root 't'št' as the previous one. Skok defines the meaning as 'damage, harm, pity'.

zam'čnica-laqueus
 7:27 mulierem quae laqueus venatorum est
 ženu i zam'čnicu loveščih

The word *zamčica* is found in the *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* as a feminine derivative from the word *zamka* 'snare'.

mestr" -artifex
 9:11 nec artificum gratiam
 ni mestrov" milost'

Unlike the word *moistr* which was borrowed directly from the text (cf. 12:11), *mestr* was borrowed from Latin most likely through German.

kačka-coluber
 10:8 mordebit eum coluber
 uêst' i kačka

In *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* the word *kačka*, *kača* is attested in a 16th century text: *žala kačka jadovita*. The word *kačka* meaning 'snake' is only attested in the Serbo-Croat, in all other Slavonic languages this word has a different meaning, cf. Ukrainian-*kačka*, Czech *kačka*, Polish *kačka* 'duck'.

plemenit' – nobilis
 10:17 cuius rex nobilis est
 eeže (sic) gospodin' plemenit' est'

This adjective is a loan word from the Croat; it is found in the Gennadian Bible in the book of Maccabees 4:7.²⁵ The adjective *plemenit* is not a part of the OCS lexicon according to the evidence presented in the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*. It is listed in Sreznevskij's dictionary with reference to GB II Macc. 4:7, and Sreznevskij equates it with the Russian adjective *знатный* 'noble'. The word *plemenit* is still present in the modern Serbo-Croat lexicon.

truhl-praegnas
 11:5 et qua ratione conpingantur ossa in ventre praegnatis
 i ktorim računom' s'stavljajut se kosti v črêvê truh'lê

Skok gives an expression *truhla žena* 'pregnant woman' which is still used in modern Serbo-Croat.

otmaknuti-amovere
 11:10 et amove malitiam a carne tua
 i otmakni zlobu ot plti tvoee

The verb *maknuti*, *maci* 'to move from one place to another' is attested in mon. Croat.1451 in the *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, cf. modern Serbo-Croat *maknuti* 'to move'.

²⁵ See Foster, 1997:564.

omendula – amigdalum
 12:5 florebit amigdalum
 procvatet omendula

Skok describes the noun as a loan-word into Croat from Greek ἀμύγδαλη 'fruit' and ἀμύγδαλον 'tree'. However, I tend to agree with Vasmer that it is more likely to be a direct loan-word from late Latin *amendola* 'almond'.²⁶

kobilica- lucusta
 12:5 inpinguabitur lucusta
 i otlstêet' kobilica

According to the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* this word is attested only in Croatian Glagolitic sources: manuscripts Lab., Nov II, Vat. In the corpus of the OCS texts the nouns *akrida* and *prug* were used in its place. *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vekov* illustrates this word with a quotation from II Chron. 6:28 in the Gennadian Bible 1499.

večanstvie- aeternitas
 12:5 ibit homo in domum aeternitatis suae
 êko idetê človêk" v dom' vêčanstviê svoego

The word is attested in the Croatian Glagolitic sources. As with the early example in 6:3, it has to be said that the verb *večnovati* - *aeternum esse* is attested in Sreznevskij's dictionary with the similar meaning 'to be forever' in the 13th century May Menaion: *жнвота прѣсѣтго причацага сга вѣчновати с хр̄мь съподобн сга.*

motuzac-funis
 12:6 rumpatur funis argenteus
 skrušit se motuzac' srebrni

²⁶ See also the entry in Ernout and Millet (1939: 123).

Vasmer considers the word *motuz* ‘rope, lace’ to be a compound formed from the verb *motat* ‘to spin’ and *voz’ from ‘knot’, ‘to make a knot’, cf. modern Serbo-Croat *matuzica*.

kokulica- vitta
12:6 et recurrat vitta aurea
i pritečet' kokulica zlata

In the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* we find the word *kokul'* (m.) with a quotation from the Euchologium Sinaiticum 100a: *ženam kokulju s'njati*, cf. modern Croatian *kukuljica* (f.) ‘head cover with the opening for eyes’.

Words belonging to the older layer of the OCS lexicon.

ešut' -vanitas
1:2 vanitas vanitatum omnia
ešut' ešut' i vsa ešut'

cf. also 2:21; 2:26; 4:4; 5:6; 5:9; 7:7; 8:14; 12:8.

The OCS adverb *ašut'* means ‘in vain, without reason’, while the Old Czech noun *ješut* has a different meaning-‘vanity’. In the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* *ešut'* is attested in the Croat Glagolitic sources only, while *ašut'* occurs in the text of the quotations from the Psalter in several early manuscripts, not only Croatian but Russian and Bulgarian as well: Clozianus, Grigovičev parimejnik, Praxapostolus Slepčensis, Homiliae s. Gregorii Magni *nenavidjaščii mene ašut'* - οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν Psalterium Sinaiticum 34:19. In Sreznevskij's dictionary *asut'* is illustrated with the same quotation from the translated texts of the 11th century: Gregory of Nazianza and the *Pandects of Antioch*. Jagić thought that the occurrence of *ašut'* in the Psalter supports its Moravian origin.²⁷

The editors of the *Etimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov* agree with Jagić that *ašut'* is an ancient, though certainly Western Slavonic, almost definitely Czech dialect word

²⁷ However, he is less clear when speaking about the expressions: *ešut'*, *sueta*, *tščad'* and referring them to three different layers: Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Croatian. See Jagić, 1913:396.

and consequently it is justifiably characterised as a Moravianism. I assume that *ešut'* and *ašut'* differ only phonetically because *ešut'* is a Bohemism.

snaga-industria
2:18 detestatus sum omnem industriam meam
otv'rgoh i vsaku snagu moju

In the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* we find two quotations from the Cyrillic manuscripts of the Homilies of Gregory the Great (13th century) and the Vita of St. Wenceslas (16th century) where the noun *snaga* is defined as 'zeal, exertion, diligence'. Both Miklosich and Sreznevskij describe the meaning of this noun as 'success', 'activity' and they give examples from the text of the Palaeia of 1494. In *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* it is attested from the 16th century, though according to Skok its inherent abstract meaning 'attempt', 'effort' going back to its Proto-Slavonic origin is not preserved in modern South Slavonic languages but in Czech.

rêsnê-verum
9:2 ita ille qui verum deierat
[N 2 add. tako i on" iže rêsnê bê boži]

rêsnota-veritas
12:10 ac veritate plenos
i rêsnoti plna

The word *rêsnota* - ἀλήθεια, *veritas* is part of the OCS vocabulary according to the evidence presented in the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*. The adjectives *rêsn''* and *rêsnotiv'n''* are attested in a number of Croatian Glagolitic MSS. The adjective appears as early as the Kiev Folia. In Sreznevskij's dictionary the word *rêsnota* is listed with reference to the translated texts of the Psalter (12th century) and Ephraim of Syria (14th century). The noun *rêsnost* is listed in *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*.

After my investigation of the vocabulary we can see more about the three groups of words. Two groups are small; the large one specific to the vernacular points more clearly to the late date of the translation. The first group consists of 4 words directly borrowed from the Latin text into Croatian. These words do not occur in OCS or Russian Church Slavonic. The presence of loans borrowed immediately from our Latin text of *Ecclesiastes* provides further evidence that the source of the translation was Latin.

There is a second group of 21 word(s) in the text that are specific to the Croatian vernacular. The only exception is a word *mestr''* 'skilled', which is found in Russian Church Slavonic with a meaning different from the one in the Croatian version of *Ecclesiastes*. The presence of a comparatively large number of Croatian words in the text may not be, in itself, sufficient proof as to the date and source of the translation. Nevertheless, taken together with the errors in the text as described below and the presence of loanwords from Latin, this factor presents a stronger argument in favour of a later translation from Latin.

The third group consists of only 3 words from the older layer of OCS. However, the words such as *ešut'* 'vanity' and *rêsnota* 'truth' need not pose an obstacle to the argument of the translation being late because these words continued to be used even later in the conservative Croatian Church Slavonic tradition. Therefore they could not serve as a clear marker for the early date of the translation.

Differences in wording.

The apparent divergences between the Croatian Church Slavonic and the Gennadian Bible and Latin and Greek respectively go back to the ambiguity of words in the Hebrew Bible.

1:8 vseh že reči neudobnih
 cuncta res difficiles
 ВСА СЛОВЕСА ТРЪДНА
 πάντες οἱ λόγοι ἔγκοποι

1:8 vyprostrêti slovom
explicare sermone
 γλᾶτι
 τοῦ λαλεῖν

1:13 prêd'položih' v" umê moem'
 proposui in animo meo
 вѣд'хъ ср'це мое
 ἔδωκα τὴν καρδίαν μου

1:13 pod' sl'cem'
 sub sole
 подъ нѣсѣмь
 ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν

cf. also 2:1, 3:1

1:14 umučenie duha
adflictio spiritus
 изволеніємъ дѣха
 προαίρεσις πνεύματος

cf. also 2:11; 2:17; 2:22; 4:16

1:17 i misl' moê
 et mens mea
 и ср'це мое
 καρδίαν μου

cf. also 2:15; 2:23

2:3 i um' moi
 ut animum meum
 ср'це мое
 καρδία μου

2:8 čaše i vr'če
scyphos et urceos
 винники и винница
 οἰνοχόον καὶ οἰνοχόας

2:8 stvorih mnê pêsnî i pêsnivce [N1. 2 pêsnivce i pêsnivice]
 feci mihi cantores et cantrices
 створи поюшѣм. моу^{ска} полоу и женска
 ἐποίησά μοι ᾄδοντας καὶ ᾄδούσας

The textual variant *pêsnivce*-‘male singers’ and *pêsnivice* –‘female singers’ of the MSS Novianum 1 and 2 is closer to the standard Latin text than the one in Vrbnik MS where we find *pêsnî* ‘songs’ and *pêsnivce* ‘male singers’.

2:12 cêsara s'zdatla svoego
regem factorem suum
 в слѣдѣ всѣх¹
 ὀπίσω τῆς βουλῆς
 1 - свѣт gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3

2:26 pečal'stva misli
 cassa sollicitudo mentis
 изволеніе дѣла
 προαίρεσις πνεύματος

3:21 duh' čed' adamovih'
 spiritus filiorum Adam
 Δῆχъ снѡ^в члѣчскѣ
 πνεῦμα υἱῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

4:8 umučenje gor'še
adflictio pessima
 печеніе лѣкавно
 περισπασμὸς πονηρός

5:9 ne napl'naet se skrovišči
 non implebitur pecunia
 не насытит сѧ сребра
 οὐ πλησθήσεται ἀργυρίου

5:13 i umučeno i prêljuto²⁸
 in adflictione pessima
 в печеніи лѣкавнѣ
 ἐν περισπασμῶ πονηρῶ

²⁸ The change in grammar in the Croat text is not clear to me.

6:9 umučenie duha
praesumptio spiritus
 ИЗВОЛЕНІЕ ДѢХА
 ΠΡΟΑΪΡΕΣΙΣ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ

There is no variant reading for Latin *praesumptio*, so the Croatian reading is perhaps reminiscence from 1:14.

The lexical divergences spreading throughout the whole text clearly show that the Croatian Church Slavonic version was based on the Latin source and the GB text on the Greek.

Divergencies in grammatical categories.

It is generally assumed that the biblical translations are characterized by an extremely faithful literalistic approach.²⁹ In such translations we may find grammatical parallels with the original and even the same word order. This principle applies to Slavonic translators who, concerned with a close adherence to their sources, tend to be fairly consistent in translating the grammatical forms in the source language with equivalent forms in the target language. Therefore it would be worth examining and comparing the divergences in the text of *Ecclesiastes* in the early Croat Breviaries and in the Gennadian Bible with their respective sources.

Verb-noun

The difference in how the Latin and Greek versions rendered the Hebrew is reflected respectively by a verb in the Croatian Glagolitic text and a noun in Cyrillic.

1:3 če imat' človêk'
 quid habet amplius homo
 ЧТО ИЗЪОБИЛІЕ ЧЛѢКѸ
 τίς ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΪΑ Τῷ ἄνθρώπῳ

²⁹ See for example, Brock, 1979:69-87 and Barr, 1979.

There is no equivalent for *amplius* in the Croatian Glagolitic version. Cf. also 3:9: 6:8.

2:13 toliko prêvshodit' mudrost' bezumie
tantum praedeceret sapientia stultitiam
 тако^м есть и зовиліе мудрости паче безуміа
 ὅτι ἔστιν περισσεία τῆ σοφία ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀφροσύνην

3:19 êkože umiraet' človêk' tako i oni umirajut'
sicut moritur homo sic et illa moriuntur
 тако смрътъ сего тако. тако (sic) смрътъ сего
 ὡς ὁ θάνατος τούτου οὕτως ὁ θάνατος τούτου

3:19 t'kmeno dišut
simileter spirant
 и дхъ всѣх^х
 καὶ πνεῦμα ἔν τοῖς πᾶσιν

Infinitive-noun

2:11 i niktože prêbiti pod' sl'ncem'
et nihil permanere sub sole
 и нѣсть и зволениа подъ слнцѣ^м
 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν περισσεία ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον

6:9 luče est vidêti
melius est videre
 блго дѣаніа очью
 ἀγαθὸν ὄραμα ὀφθαλμῶν

Noun-infinitive

4:14 vzidet' na cêsarstvo
egrediatur ad regnum
 и зидѣт црѣтвоватъ
 ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ βασιλεύσαι

Noun-verb

In Latin we have gerunds, which are translated as abstract nouns in the Croatian version, while in Greek the infinitives are rendered as infinitives in the GB text.

- 1:8 ne nasišcaet se oko vidēniē
 non saturatur oculis visu
 НЕ НАСЫТИТ СѦ ОКО ЗРѢТИ
 οὐκ ἐμπλησθήσεται ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ ὄραν
- 3:2 vrême saeniē i vrême podr'tiē
 tempus plantandi et tempus evellendi
 ВРЕМѦ САДИТИ И ВРЕМѦ ВЪСТРЪЗАТИ САЖЕНОЕ
 καιρὸς τοῦ φυτεῦσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἐκτίλαι πεφυτευμένον
- 3:3 vrême ub'eniē i vrême iscēleniē. Vrême rasutiē ...
 tempus occidendi et tempus sanandi, tempus destruendi
 ВРЕМѦ ΟΥΒИТИ ВРЕМѦ ЦѢЛИТИ. ВРЕМѦ РАЗ'РЖИТИ
 καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἰάσασθαι καιρὸς τοῦ καθελεῖν
- 3:4 vrême pleskaniē i vrême igraniē. Vrême smēha i vrême plakaniē
 Vrême smēha i vrême plakaniē. Vrême plesaniē i vrême igraniē Pr.
 tempus flendi et tempus ridendi tempus plangendi et tempus saltandi
 И ВРЕМѦ ПЛАКАТИ СѦ И ВРЕМѦ СМѢЯТИ СѦ. ВРЕМѦ ПѢТИ И ВРЕМѦ РЫДАТИ
 καιρὸς τοῦ κλαῦσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ γελάσαι καιρὸς τοῦ κόψασθαι καὶ καιρὸς
 τοῦ ὀρχήσασθαι

The Latin verb *plangere* has two meanings 'to strike', and 'to weep'. I suppose that the translator rendered one of the meanings of the Latin verb *plangere* - 'to strike, beat' as *pleskati* - 'to clap'. In the variant reading in the Propagandae (Illyr.5) manuscript we have a reversed order of semiverses, perhaps, based on a different Latin copy and *plesanie* instead of *pleskanie*. However, it is hard for me to say what was the primary reading.

- 3:5 vrême rasipaniē kamene i vrême s'braniē. Vrême okročeniē i vrême
 daleče biti ot okročenih [N 1, 2 ot okročeniē]
 tempus spargendi lapides et tempus colligendi, tempus amplexandi et tempus
longefieri a complexibus
 ВРЕМѦ РАСКЛАСТИ КАМЕНИЕ. И ВРЕМѦ РАССЫПАТИ ВРЕМѦ Ѡ ОБЪЯТЪА.
 καιρὸς τοῦ βαλεῖν λίθους καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ συναγαγεῖν λίθους
 καιρὸς τοῦ μακρυνθῆναι ἀπὸ περιλήψεως

- 3:6 Vrême priobrêteniê i vrême pogubleniê. Vrême hraneniê i vrême otrnutiê .
 tempus adquirendi et tempus perdendi, tempus custodiendi et tempus abiciendi.
 и время взискати, и время погубити. время схранити. и время вынати
 καιρὸς τοῦ ζητῆσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀπολέσαι καιρὸς τοῦ φυλάξαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ
ἐκβαλεῖν
- 3:7 Vrême razdr'tiê i vrême šveniê. Vrême ml'čaniê i vrême glagolaniê.
 Tempus scidendi et tempus consuendi, tempus tacendi et tempus loquendi.
 время вздрати, и время сшити. время млѣчати и время глаголати
 καιρὸς τοῦ ρήξαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ράψαι καιρὸς τοῦ σιγᾶν καὶ
 καιρὸς τοῦ λαλεῖν
- 3:8 [Pr. N1 po. vrême ljubvi i vrême nenavisti]
 tempus dilectionis et tempus odii
 время възлюбити. и время възненавидѣти.
 καιρὸς τοῦ φιλῆσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ μισῆσαι

Participle-noun

- 5:11 sladk' est' s'n' dëlajuču
 dulcis est somnus operanti
 сонъ сладокъ рабѣ
 γλυκὺς ὕπνος τοῦ δούλου

Noun – participle

- 2:26 grešniku že da
peccatori autem dedit
 и съгрѣшajúщемѣ далъ есть
 καὶ τῷ ἀμαρτάνοντι ἔδωκεν

Infinitive-present

- 2:24 est' êsti i piti
 est comedere et bibere
 токмо ѣсть и пїетъ
 ὃ φάγεται καὶ ὃ πίεται

The grammatical divergences spreading throughout the whole text indicate how strikingly different the Greek and Latin versions are. The same can be said about the

translated Slavonic sources. Again, their divergences are preserved throughout the whole text in both Slavonic translations.

Notes on morpho-syntax (Peculiarities in translating the future form).

Just as one finds Latin influence on vocabulary (loanwords directly borrowed from the text of *Ecclesiastes*) one might expect to find some influence on morpho-syntactic usage. For instance, careful examination of Latin expressions for the future suggests that there may be some influence. In OCS there were three ways of expressing the future either aspectually or periphrastically:

1. The Future simple was formed using the present tense of the perfective and imperfective verbs. Depending on the context they could mean either present or future. However, the perfective verbs were used more often for expressing the future.
2. The Future I was a compound form consisting of the infinitives of the main verb and an auxiliary verb in the present tense. The verbs *načeti* 'to begin', *hotěti* 'to wish', *iměti* 'to have' were used as auxiliaries. The choice of auxiliaries depended on the lexical meaning of the above verbs.³⁰
3. The Future II (future perfect) was formed by the combination of the auxiliary verb *byti* in the future tense plus the I-participle. It was used for expressing an action which would take place before another one in the future.

In 1:9 as in 5 more examples (3:15, 7:1, 7:3, 10:14, 11:2) a standard Church Slavonic construction *biti hoščet* is used for translating the Latin future form of the verb 'to be'. These examples show that the translator quite consistently and without any difficulty rendered the Latin periphrastic future *futurum est* with the above expression.

³⁰ For a detailed account of the periphrastic future tense in OCS see Birnbaum, 1958.

1:9 quod futurum est
 čto est' eže biti hoščet'
 τί τὸ γεγονός αὐτὸ τὸ γενησόμενον
 ЧТО БЫВШЕЕ ТО БѢДѢЩОМЪ

The example below is of interest as here the translator deviates from the standard expressions of the future.

1:11 non est priorum memoria sed nec eorum quidem quae postea futura sunt erit recordatio apud eos qui futuri sunt in novissimo
 nêst' drêvnih pameti ni onêh' ubo eže po tom' grduščaê sut' budet' spomenuti
 [vspomenutie N 1] prêd imi iže budut' na poslêd'.
 οὐκ ἔστιν μνήμη τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ γε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις γενομένοις οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῖς
 μνήμη μετὰ τῶν γενησομένων εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην
 нѣсть памати прѣвнымъ и послѣднимъ бывши. нѣ им памати съ бѣдѣщими.
 на послѣнїи

In the translation of this verse we find different expressions for the Latin future forms. It seems that the translator was constrained in his choice of Slavonic equivalents of the Latin future forms by his Latin original. It maybe that he did not want to place the same word thrice and used the adjective *grduščij* and the present form of the verb 'to be' to render Latin *futura sunt* in order to avoid repetition; this adjective was often used in Croatian Glagolitic sources for translating Latin *futurus*.³¹ The adjective 'grduščaê' is used as a direct translation of Latin *futura*. He was forced to do this because the future simple form *erit* followed immediately the periphrastic collocation. The form *erit* must be translated unequivocally as 'budet', as is the second Latin future form *futuri sunt sut'*.

2:19 utrum sapiens an stultus futurus sit ...
 ašče mudr' ili bezumn' budušči est'
 καὶ τίς οἶδεν εἰ σοφὸς ἔσται ἢ ἄφρων
 како то есть мудръ ли бѣдет ли безоумень

Here the translator reproduces the Latin model precisely: *budušči est'*.

³¹ I am grateful to C.M. MacRobert for copying the relevant quotations in the Croat Glagolitic sources from the card index kept in the Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb. For constructions with the future forms in OCS modelled on Greek see Večerka (1961:70-92) and Ružička (1963:216-18).

4:16 qui fuerunt ante eum et qui postea futuri sunt
 iže bili sut' pred nimi iže po tom' hotešče biti sut'
 τοῖς πᾶσιν ὅσοι ἐγένοντο ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν
 всѣмъ иже пре^а ними

Here a translator used participle and infinitive *hotêšče biti* to translate Latin *futuri*. In the Slavonic sentence there is a hybrid form: the first two words are close to the normal construction *hoščet biti*, but instead of the present verb *hoščet* the translator uses the plural masculine form of the participle *hotêšče* as part of the compound predicate. One possible explanation is that this form could appear in this particular sentence because of its close proximity to the perfect form *bili sut'* and because it gives a deliberate parallelism to the literal translation of the Latin verb *sunt*.

The inchoative future.

6:3 si genuerit quispiam centum et vixerit multos annos et plures dies aetatis habuerit et anima illius non utatur bonis substantiae suae sepulturaque careat
 i ašče porodit kto 100 čelaki i žiti v"čnet' mnogo let v"čnet' i množaêe dni
 vrêmene imêti v"čnet' i duša ego ne uživati v"čnet' blag" suščestva svoego i
 groba ne imêti v"čnet'

This is the only example of the construction of *v"četi* plus infinitive in future function.³² In Latin we have perfect and present subjunctive. In the Slavonic version the verbs are translated as a type of perfective future: *ziti v"čnet*, *imêti v"čnet*, *ne uživati v"čnet*, *imêti v"čnet*.

The translator's choice of the auxiliary verb was probably deliberate, as the auxiliary verb *načeti* in OCS implies perfective meaning, i. e. a total event, a mark of change. Since the verb *hotêti* does not have the perfective meaning the translator might have rejected it.³³ The first predicate in the sentence is expressed with the perfective form *porodit*.

After discussing the following examples it can be said that the translator was quite competent in rendering the Latin periphrastic future with standard expressions. However,

³² According to Birnbaum (1958, 205) examples with the verb *v"četi* in OCS are not numerous (only 10).

³³ Horvat, 1997:69.

he chose three different equivalents for the *futurum esse*: *grdušćae sut.*, *budušći est'*, *hotêšće biti sut'*. It seems that the translator wanted to stick to Latin constructions and he did so in 1:11 and 2:19. But as there are so few examples in the text where he deviated from the standard expressions, there is little ground for generalisation.

Mistakes.

Comparison with the Vulgate has shown a certain number of errors in the Croatian Church Slavonic text which could only result from misunderstanding or misreading of Latin.

novum-noxam
1:10 nihil sub sole novum
ničtoze pod' slncem ново est' [N1 po. nêst'] vrêdno [noxam?]

The translator probably misread *novum* –‘new’ as *noxam* –‘harm’ and translated it as *vrêdno*.

devitarem –devocarem
2:3 ad sapientiam devitaremque
k mudrosti prizval bim' [devocarem?]

The translator misunderstood the verb *devitare* ‘to avoid’, he possibly misread it as *devocare* ‘to call upon’ and translated it as *prizval bim'*.

rursum –risum
2:18 rursum detestatus sum omnem industriam meam
smêh' [risum?] otvr'goh' i vsaku snagu moju

The translator misread *rursum*-‘again’ as *risum*-‘laughter’.

vanum-varium
2:19 et est quicquam tam vanum
i est' vsačskim takoe raz'lično [varium?]

The translator misread *vanum*-‘vain’ as *varium*-‘different’ and translated it as *raz'lično*.

2:23 per noctem-per innocentem/nocentem [nec innocentem?]
 nec per noctem mente requiescit
 na nevinno [N1, 2 nine vinnoju] [per innocentem?/ per
 nocentem?] misliju počivajut'

The Glagolitic text is corrupt, there could be scribal emendation as can be seen from the variant reading in the manuscripts Novianum 1, 2. The division into words was done by Vajs: *nine vinnoju*, rendering *per*- ‘through, of time’ as *nine* and *nocentem* – *nocens*-‘harmful’ as *vinnoju*. The other possibility would be to divide the words as *ni nevinnoju* < *nec innocentem*?

2:26 sed et/sedet
sed et hoc vanitas
 i sêdit [sedet?] sie ešut'

The translator probably misread *sed et*-‘but also’ as the verb *sedet* 3-rd.p.sg. of *sedere*-‘to sit’. Note also the similarity in sound of the Slavonic and Latin verbs.

3:18 similes-simplices
 et ostenderet similes esse bestiis
 i ukažet e čisti [simplices?] [Pr, N1, 2 slični-similes] sušče teplot'.

The Glagolitic text is corrupt, though the word *slični* in variant readings of the MSS Propagandae and Novianum 1, 2 correctly corresponds to *similes*. A translator could at some stage have mistaken *similes*-‘like’ for *simplices*- ‘simple’ and rendered it as *čisti*. I suppose that it may be possible that a scribe mistook *bestiis*-‘beast’ for *bustum*- ‘a place of burning (the dead)’ and translated it as *teplota*. This is conceivable but does cause difficulties because *bustum* is an uncommon word.

4:4 superfluus-superbus
 et cura superflua est
 i pečal' na zlih' [N2 zalih'] est'

The text is obviously corrupt. Either a scribe mistook *superfluus* for *superbus*- ‘arrogant’, ‘insolent’ and translated it as *zlih* or more likely it was a corruption of the Slavonic variant reading *zalih*’ found in the MS Novianum 2, cf. modern Serbo-Croat *zališan* – ‘excessive’, *zalih* – ‘idle’.

possessori-posteriori
5:10 et quid prodest possessori
i što pol'znuet poslednemu [posteriori?]

The translator misread *possessor* – ‘owner’ as *posterior*- ‘coming after’ and translated it as *poslednij*.

in ventum – inventus
5:15 quod laboravit in ventum
eže truždae se obrête [inventus?]

The translator mistook *in ventum* – ‘wind’ for *inventus*- ‘found out’ and translated it as *obrête*. Vajs indicated this error in his introduction to the edition.

unum – vanum
7:28 ecce hoc inveni dicit Ecclesiastes unum et alterum...
sie obrêtoh' reče Ekklesiast' suetu [vanum?] o druguju

The translator mistook *unum*- ‘one’ for *vanum* – ‘vanity’ and translated it as *sueta*.

infinitus – infidus
7:30 et ipse se infinitis miscuerit
i t' smêsi se s nečistivimi [infidus?]

The translator mistook the word *infinitus* – ‘countless’ for *infidus* – ‘impious, faithless,’ and translated it as *nečistivii*.

deierat- dei erat
9:2 sic et peccator ut periurus ita ille qui verum deierat
tak' est' i grêsnik' ne bê boži [N2 ad.: êz" že est' razvratnik" tako
i on" iže rêsnê bê boži] [dei erat?]

The translator mistook the verb *deierat* 3d. pers. sing. of *deierare*- to 'swear, take an oath' for two words: *dei* –*Deus* –'God' and *erat* 3-rd. ps. sg. imperfect of the verb *esse*- 'to be'.

contignatio-cogitatio
10:18 in pigritis humiliabitur contignatio
v lènosti smêrit se misl' [cogitatio?]

The translator mistook *contignatio* 'roof timbers' for *cogitatio* 'thought' and translated it as *misl'*. Vajs identified this mistake in his introduction.

Vajs in his introduction noted two errors of translation. But in fact an additional 12 have been discovered during my examination of the Croat Church Slavonic translation of *Ecclesiastes*. This makes the total number of translating errors 14. These errors clearly indicate that the original language for the Slavonic translation was Latin. Moreover, they are spread throughout the entire text, which proves that the whole text was translated from Latin, and not just certain parts.

We may observe that while some of the mistakes are reflected in all the sources, some are not. However, at present I am unable to discuss at length the significance of the presence or absence of variants in MSS N1, 2 and Pr. for the following reasons. In his introduction Vajs did not describe in detail the textual history of *Ecclesiastes*. He published the defective MS Vrbnik 1 supplementing the missing parts from the MSS N 1, 2 and Pr. justifying his choice of Vrbnik 1 MS as a base text by saying that it was the earliest copy.

From his edition it is not always clear whether the variants peculiar to MSS N1, 2 and Pr. were also present in Vrbnik1 MS, (their presence would suggest that they go back to the mutual archetype), or whether these variants were secondary corrections. Comparison of Vrbnik 1 with the recently published facsimile edition of MS N 2, together with some variant readings in MS Pr. recorded in the *Lexicon linguae Slovenicae redactionis croaticae*, revealed that Vajs was not very thorough in recording variant readings in his critical apparatus.

And so, from this publication of Vajs it is not possible to deduce which manuscripts preserved conservative readings and which were innovative (secondary): for example the presence of variants in N1, 2 may suggest that they were the result of a secondary revision against Latin rather than the initial reading. But even if they were, there is enough other evidence to support the claim that Latin was the original language for the text source.

Conclusions.

The textual analysis of the Croatian Church Slavonic book of *Ecclesiastes*, allowed me to examine the claims made by Vajs and Alekseev. As a result of this examination no Greek underlying the Croatian translation was uncovered. Thus one can reject the possibility that the text was translated from Greek. The second possibility was that the text, having been initially translated from Greek, might later have been revised against Latin. In this case we need to presume that the text was so thoroughly revised that no signs of underlying Greek remained. Again as no such signs have been discovered, one can equally reject this possibility. After ruling out the first two possibilities one is left with the remaining one - that of *Ecclesiastes* having been directly translated from Latin.

And thus after my examination of *Ecclesiastes* in the Croatian Church Slavonic tradition I conclude that the text in question was translated only from Latin. In this I take the side of Vajs who stated that the text was translated from Latin. My conclusion, which I arrived at independently from Vajs, is supported by a large number of translating mistakes found throughout the entire text. These errors of translation unambiguously point to Latin being the source of the text. In addition, divergences in wording and grammatical forms which arose from their respective originals can be encountered between the Croat Glagolitic and Cyrillic Church Slavonic texts. The presence of loan words directly borrowed from the Latin text further strengthens the hypothesis of a Latin source behind the translation. Syntactic constructions such as periphrastic expressions for the future also point to a Latin original. Finally, the comparatively large number of lexemes in the text specific to a Croatian linguistic background suggests the possibility of a later date for the translation. The presence of *Ecclesiastes* in Croat Glagolitic breviaries cannot therefore be a criterion for ascribing this translation to Methodius. Thereby I reject those claims made by Alekseev on the similarities between the two texts, which in turn imply the involvement of Methodius in translating the book of *Ecclesiastes* from Greek.

The possibility that the translation originated prior to the year 925 when the Split Synod restricted the use of the Slavonic liturgy in Croatia is excluded, since the earliest known revision of the texts according to the Vulgate happened in the 12th century. In

Alekseev's opinion (1999: 144), at the time of the formation of Slavonic liturgical books according to the Catholic rite, that is to say not earlier than 11th century, the Latin texts were not used. As I was unable to unearth any traces of a Greek original underlying the text I may place our translation of the book of *Ecclesiastes* no earlier than the 12th century. The earliest extant manuscript, containing *Ecclesiastes*, dates from the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th centuries. Thus the translation can be dated roughly between the 12th - 13th centuries.

Concluding remarks.

Taking to heart the advice of Ecclesiastes to be economical with words I offer brief conclusions. The textual analysis has allowed me to group manuscripts according to their filiation, which is direct, and to demonstrate firstly, that they come from a single translation, and secondly, that the manuscripts of EccP which I have examined go back to the same archetype. On this basis it would be possible to reconstruct the archetype from which the extant manuscripts circa 15th century derived. However, I have confined myself to producing an edition with the apparatus of variant readings in preference to a reconstructed one, because such a reconstructed archetype would be flawed, containing errors from an earlier stage of transmission, and any attempt to go back beyond this archetype would mean leaving the firm ground of textual evidence.

My main reason for choosing to edit the GB manuscript of *Ecclesiastes* is pragmatic for it offers as complete a text as is available to us. Another reason is the availability of information on the cultural and historical circumstances surrounding its production, in addition to its importance for the history of the East Slavonic biblical tradition. By publishing the text from MS Sinodal'nyj 915 (GB) with a critical apparatus supplying variants from other manuscripts, I have illustrated the editorial 'control' which the compilers of GB exercised while working with the text translated from Greek. They appear to have compared their exemplar with another Slavonic copy to fill a lacuna in the middle of the text, and they shortened the interpolation by removing the commentary. It seems that they deliberately left the biblical verses in the interpolation intact. The textual evidence does not support the supposition that the compilers of GB collated their text of *Ecclesiastes* with any Greek or Latin sources. We may also dismiss Evseev's hypothesis that the text of *Ecclesiastes* from GB was corrected or even collated with the one in the Croatian glagolitic breviaries as untenable.

The outcome of my investigation of the Croatian Church Slavonic translation permits me to say that this text was translated purely from Latin, and allows me to eliminate the possibility of Methodius' authorship. By dismissing this possibility we are left with a 'simple' question: when and where was the Cyrillic text translated? For medievalists, including Slavists, such simple questions often turn into the most difficult ones for which

there are no definite answers. The lack of textual evidence prevents me from giving exact dates and place for the translation. The beginning of the 15th century provides a *terminus ante quem*. It is less easy to establish a *terminus post quem*. If we are to assume that the continuous text derived from the commentated version, this commentated version, which survives only in fragments, could have been translated in Bulgaria in the 10th century or in the later medieval period, since we know that similar biblical translations were made at this time. The approximate dates still cover a wide time span (10th century - beginning of the 15th century). If we are to assume that the continuous text (an earlier and possibly better version of EccP) was original and provided the Biblical translation for the commentated versions (EccC and EccI), we need to take into account the verbal coincidences between the 13th century *Izbornik* and EccI, which suggest that EccI reflects a fairly old tradition. If we suppose that EccI postdated EccP, then this would put EccP back at least before the 13th century. However, linguistic evidence does not help us to date *Ecclesiastes* text, as it offers few cogent leads. It has not been possible to bridge the gap of several hundred years with the help of the quotations either, since the quotations cannot prove or disprove the existence of the text, as we know it, prior to the 15th century.

My conclusions must remain tentative for two reasons. Firstly, I have suggested a 'parsimonious' solution to the relationships between the three versions, commentated, interpolated and plain, but one needs always to bear in mind that the actual relationships may be much more complex. Secondly, there are 33 known manuscripts of the Cyrillic *Ecclesiastes*. Of these I have used 16 for my *stemma codicum* for reasons laid out in chapter 1. I am reasonably confident that the yet unstudied MSS will not drastically change the stemma. However, until all the extant MSS with the continuous text and various fragments of the catena are examined my conclusions cannot be definitive.

Appendix 1.

Principles of the current edition.

I reproduce the text, preserving superscript letters, abbreviations but not line breaks. Apart from *titla* other diacritics are not represented. Chapter divisions are given according to the Greek tradition. I have divided the text into words and have added the numbers of verses. In this I follow the Septuagint.

I follow the orthography of the Sinodalnyj 915 manuscript (the GB). In using capital letters and punctuation I reproduce those of the manuscript. Only corrections of the errors which are directly traceable to the scribe of Synodalnyj 915 manuscript and not to previous copyists of its underlying text are introduced in the edition. The following conventions are adopted in the critical apparatus: after the verse number the lemma is followed by variant readings with sigla of MSS. The order of manuscripts from which the variant readings are cited is as follows: group 1: Pg.1, Und.1, Sol, TSL 730; group 2: Rum.204, Sof., MS2; group 3: Pg81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200.

In my critical apparatus variants are cited in the orthography of the first relevant manuscript in the list. The second part of the critical apparatus contains readings that go back to certain Greek MSS. Greek variants (from Rahlfs's and Holmes and Parson's editions respectively) where appropriate are put below the Church Slavonic ones.

Variant readings similar to the ones given below are ignored as these are examples of variation in spelling and do not affect the text itself.

потоцѣ - потоци , развращенно- развращено, видѣти - вѣдити, забѣвна - забвена,
печеніи - печени, нѣдрѣхъ - надрѣхъ.

The following symbols and abbreviations are used in my critical apparatus:

() = used for letters or words written above the line.

+ = plus

om. = omits

pr. = preposes

po. = postposes

add.= adds

corr. = indicates corrections done by scribes

mg. = margin

s. l. = indicates letters or words written supra linear

◇ = margin only in GB unless mentioned in apparatus

| - used to divide different variants of the same lemma

|| - used to divide different lemmata

] - used to separate lemma from variant readings

[] - used to mark corrections of scribal lapses made by the copyist of the Sinodalnyj 915 manuscript. These corrections are introduced when they are supported by groups 1 and 3 and by other manuscripts in group 2, including MS2.

Книгы рекомыта еклисиас^с сборник црѣ соломона.

Глава . а .

1:1 Гли (слова) сборника, сѣа двѣа црѣ илѣва въ иерлѣимѣ 2. сѣе^т сзетъствїа. вслчьскаа
сжета 3. что изъовилїе члкъ, въ всемъ спѣшенїи своемъ. еже спѣшитъ по^аслнчнѣю; 4. ро^а
миндетъ и ро^а преходитъ. а земля вѣкы стоитъ. 5. и всїае^т слнце и въ мѣсто свое
влече^т. 6. то всїага тамо идеть къ 8г8. и свиходитъ к сѣверѣ обходитъ окръсть. иде^т дхъ и
окръсть его обрацае^т сѣ дхъ. 7. вси потоци идуть в море. и море нѣ^с насыща. но в мѣсто
таможе потоцѣ идуть. и тамо ти сѣ възвра^шаютъ ити. 8. вса слова трѣднѣ. не възможеть
моужь глѣти. не насытит сѣ око зрѣти. ни исплнитъ сѣ 8хо слышанїа. 9. что бывшее то
вздвцомѣ. и творимое то творимомѣ. и нѣсть все ново подѣслнчнѣю. 10. иже възглеть и
рече^т все силно е^с 8же бы^с в вѣцѣхъ бывши^х преже насъ. 11. нѣсть памяти прѣвымъ и
послѣднимъ бывши. нѣ^с памяти съ вздвцими. на послѣ^анїи. 12. азъ сборникъ бы^х црѣ
на^а илѣмъ. 2:14 Мдраго очи в головѣ его. бездмны же въ тмѣ ходитъ. 3:5 время обзгати
сѣ и время 8далати сѣ ѿ обзгтїа. 4:6 Блго исполненїе горестъ покоа. паче неплнненїа
двою горестїа тцанїа. 4:9 блга два паче одинаго. 5:5 Не даж^а оуств^м съгрѣшати плотїю

1:1 (слова)] in the mg. Rum.204, Vol.13 ||

1:2 вслчьскаа] и рг. Pg.78, Arx. ||

3: изъовилїе] изоовилде^т Pg.81, I-Vol.605 || спѣшенїи] смѣшении Pg.78, Arx., Supr. ||

4: а] и гр. 1, гр. 3 ||

5: и въ] и от. гр. 3 ||

6: обходитъ] и рг. гр. 3 || и окръсть] и от. гр. 3 ||

7: насыща] насыцаа^с Pg.81 || мѣсто] мѣста гр. 3 ||

8: зрѣти] зрѣниа MS2 (corr.?), Arx. | зрѣ то I-Vol.605 ||

9: то творимомѣ] то от. гр. 3 ||

11: бывши] бывшимъ Sol., гр. 3 || съ] и рг. гр. 3 ||

2:14 же въ тмѣ ходитъ] in the mg. Rum.204 ||

4:6 неплнненїа] исполненїа гр. 1 ||

5:5 плотїю] с рг. гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof. ||

7:2 Бл̄го ходи в домъ плача. нежели ити в домъ мировныи. такоже конецъ всякомѹ чл̄вкѹ и живыи дасть бл̄го въ ср̄ци его. 7:3 бл̄го гарость па^ч смѣха. тако въ зловѣ лица оубл̄жит сѧ ср̄це. гарити сѧ гл̄еть слово. по сл̄зжению вываемъ. бл̄го оучителю и вл̄кы. такими потребова словы. къ по^рѹчникѹ бл̄гы створають и^х 7:4 Ср̄це моудрыхъ в домѹ плача. и ср̄це безумныхъ в домѹ веселїа. 7:5 И бл̄го слышати прещение. мдраго. па^ч мѹжа сл̄зшающаго пѣ^ни безѹмнаго. Ово ѹмагчае^т мдраго же запрѣщение крепить и ѹставляе^т 7:6 тако гласъ тернїа по^а котлѹ^м. тако смѣхъ безѹмнаго. 7:15 Есть праведникъ погыбаа в правдѣ его. и есть нечъстивыи пребываа в зловѣ его. 7:16 Не вѹди праведенъ велми ни мѹдаръ лише. да не како изѹмѣши сѧ. 7:17 ни веществѹи велми. ни вѹди жестокъ да не ѹмреши въ время твоє. 7:18 Бл̄го прїимати сѧ в семѣ. иво ѿ сего не оскверниши рѹкы твоєа. тако божи сѧ б̄а. примирить всѧ. 7:19 Мѹдрость мдраго ѹкрѣпить. паче десяти владѣющихъ въ градѣхъ. 7:20 тако чл̄ка праведна нѣ^ч на земли иже створить бл̄го и не съгрѣшитъ. 7:21 Иво всѧ слова. таже възмл̄вватъ нечѣ^тивїи не приклони ср̄ца твоего тако да не ѹслышиши раба твоего кленѹщаа. 7:22 тако многажды лѹка^бствѹет ти и многажѹи озлобитъ ср̄це твое такоже ты клѧ^т инѣхъ. 7:28 Мѹжа шбрѣ^т единого ѿ тысѹща жены же всѣхъ сихъ не шбрѣ^то^х. 10:7 Видѣхъ равы на конѣхъ а князи идѹщи пѣши. 8:2 ѹставъ хранїи и в словѣ клятвы бжїа, не тѣси^т сѧ. 8:3 ѿ лица его поидеши не стани в словѣ лѹкавѣ.

7:2 ходи] ходи^т TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof., MS2 || мировныи] ми пировныи gr. 1, ми is crossed out in TSL730 | пировныи Rum.204, Sof. | мировныи is crossed out, пира is written in the mg. in MS2 || и живыи дасть] иже выидасть Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. || бл̄го] бл̄гое TSL 730 ||
 7:3 вываемъ] вывае^т Sol. || къ] в Sol. ||
 7:15 пребываа] превыа Pg.1 | и pr. Sol. ||
 7:17 въ время] (не во) Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730, (не) MS2 ||
 7:19 десяти] . ѿ . ти Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || градѣхъ] градѣ Pg.1, Und.1||
 10:7 идѹщи] идѹще Pg.1, TSL 730 | идѹща Sol. ||

елико аще възхытитъ и створи^т. 8:4 Тако се црь владѣа молви^т. и кто рече^т емѸ что створилъ еси 8:8 И нѣсть посла въ днь врани. И не спсеть нечестья свцаго в немъ. 9:4 Бсть ѡпование тако песъ живъ то въ блго печаль вамъ блговоннѸ свцѸ. и масло сладости. нечтїи вѣсове ѡзввивше грѣхы страстьми. тако па^ч ѡмирающе мѹхи такими съгнитїи. и ѡлѣтаю^т же и налѣтаю^т. 10:1 Чт^{но} мало мдрости. па^ч славы великы бездмна. 10:2 Ср^{це} мдромѸ в десници его. ср^{це} бездмноѸ в шдици его. 10:3 Ибо на пѣть егда бездмныи идеть и ср^{це} его не достато^чствде^т и гаже помышлае^т вса бездмна свтъ. 10:4 Яще дхъ владѹщаго наиде^т на та мѣста своего не остави тако ицѣлени ѡставити грѣхы великы. 10:5 Бсть лѡкавствїе е^ж видѣхъ по^а слнцемъ. тако неволею изиде ѡ лица владѹщаго 10:6 и да са бездмныи възвышенїю великѸ. и богатїи в смѣренїи садѣтъ. 10:7 Видѣхъ рабы на конех. а князи идѹще пѣши. 10:8 Рыли ровъ впаде са во нь и ѡемлаи пло^а ѡзритъ смїю 10:16 Горе тебѣ граде в немже цр^твѣли ѡныи и болари твои рано гадать. 10:17 Блжна ты земле еси иже цр^твѣли снѣ свободы. и богаре твои въ время гадѹще в силѸ не постыдаѣт са 11:2 Даж^а часть седми таче осмомѹ. 11:3 Яще наполнѣтъ^с облаци дож^а. на землю изливають. Яще падеть древо на ѡгъ аще ли на сѣверъ паде^т древо тамо вѣдетъ. 11:4 Блюдыи вѣтра не сѣе^т и смотри въ облакы не пожне^т. 12:5 Процвете клпышь. и оутыеть лврѣдїе.

8:8 И не] и от. gr. 1 ||

10:6 и богатїи] и от. TSL 730 ||

10:16 цр^твѣли ѡныи] цр^т твои оҹнъ Pg.1, Und.1 Sol. | црь оҹнъ TSL 730 | црь твои оҹныи Rum.204, Sof. ||

10:17 цр^твѣли] цр^т твои Pg.1, TSL 730 | цр^тво и Und.1, Sol., Sof. | и цр^тво и Rum.204 ||

12:5 Процвете] и pr. Pg. 1, Und.1, Sol. ||

Въ іерлѣимѣ 13. въдѣхъ срѣце мое. възискати. и съсѣтити мѣдрости. ѿ всѣхъ вывающихся
 подѣ нѣсемъ. тако попеченіе лѣкаво да^ѣ есть въ снѣмѣ члѣчскимъ печи^ѣ о немъ 14.
 видѣхъ. всѣ сътворенія сътворена подѣ нѣсемъ. и се всѣ сѣтъ свѣтсва изволеніемъ дѣха.
 15. развращенно не можетъ сѣ окрасити и дѣшеніе не можетъ сѣ чисти. 16. глахъ азъ въ
 срѣци моемъ еже глѣти се азъ възвеличихъ сѣ. приложихъ сѣ мѣдрость паче всѣхъ иже быша
 преже мене въ іерлѣимѣ. и срѣце мое видѣ многъ премоудрость и разоумъ. 17. притча и
 хитрости раздѣхъ тако и се есть изволеніе дѣха. 18. тако въ мно^жствѣ мѣдрости. мно^жство
 раздѣма, и приложивъ раздѣвъ приложити же волѣзнь.

12: Въ іерлѣимѣ] Ев^а исиастъ сворѣ^ѣ гр. гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof. | црѣ соломѣна ро. Und.1 ||

13: съсѣтити] съсѣдѣти гр. 3 || мѣдрости] в гр. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., гр. 3 | премоудрости Pg.78, Arx. ||
 попеченіе] печеніе Pg. 1, Und.1, Rum.204, Sof. ||

14: сътворенія] от. Und.1, TSL 730, Arx., Und.1121, Čud.200 | сътворенаа Vol.13, Supr. || нѣсемъ]
 слѣцемъ гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., гр. 3 || всѣ] все Pg.81, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||
 сѣтъ свѣтсва] сѣ^ѣтства гр. 1, гр. 3 ||

15: дѣшеніе] лишенье гр. 1, гр. 3 || чисти] wчистити Sol. | чьсти гр. 3 ||

16: моемъ] своемъ гр. 3 || приложихъ сѣ] сѣ от. гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., гр. 3 || мѣдрость] премѣртъ Pg.78,
 Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || и срѣце] и от. Pg.81, Čud.200 ||

17: и хитрости] и^ѣ трости Rum.204 | ихъ трости Sof. || и се] от. Pg.81 || есть] от. Pg.81, I-Vol.605, Pg.78,
 Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

18: раздѣвъ] въ раздѣ гр. 1, гр. 3 ||

17: раздѣхъ - ἔγνων ἐγὼ] от. ἐγὼ MSS HP ||

⟨ Гла^в . в . ⟩

2:1. Рекохъ азъ секарю ⟨ср^ацю⟩ моемѸ. прїиди да тѸ искѸшо въ веселїи. и вижъ въ влѸѣ и се светство. 2. смѸхѸ рекохъ по^авиженїе. и веселїе что все твориши. 3. и посѣтихъ. аще ср^аце мое настави мѸдрости. и еже дрѸзати в веселїи дондеже живѸ. которое влѸго. и сыншмъ члѸьскимъ. и є^{*} створѸ^т подѸ слнцемъ. в числѣ днїи живота и^х. 4. и възвеличи^х створенїе мое създа^х домъ насади^х винограды. 5. и сътвори^х ограды. и насадихъ в ни^х дресесъ. всакого плода. 6. сътворихъ [в] кѸпѣли водныѸ. и напати Ѹ ни^х прозѸвенїе дресесъ. 7. прѸтѸжа^х равина и домоча^аци быша ми. и стажанїе скота и стадъ мнѸ^Ѹ ми вы^Ѹ. па^Ѹ всѸ^х бивши^х преже мене въ іерлїимѣ. 8. и събрахъ же злато и сребро. имѣнїа црѸ^Ѹ странъ створи поющаѸ. моу^Ѹска полоу^Ѹ и женска. и пиша (sic) снѸвѸ члѸь. винники и винница. 9. и възвеличи^х паче всѸ^х бивши^х. преже мене въ іерлїимѣ. и моу^Ѹдрость моя Ѹстави м^Ѹ сѸ. 10. и всего егоже въпросиста очи мои и не Ѹга^Ѹ Ѹ неѸ и не възбрани^х ср^ацѸ моемѸ. Ѹ всакого веселїа. тако ср^аце мое възвесели сѸ въ всако^Ѹ смѸшенїи мое^Ѹ. и то высть часть моя Ѹ всего трѸда моего 11. и призрѸхъ азъ. на всѸ створенаѸ. моя^Ѹ створиста мои роуцѣ. и въ

2:1. секарю] ср^ацю gr. 1, gr. 3 | сераку Rum.204, Sof. || влѸѣ] ввлацѣ I-Vol.605 ||

2: все] соуе gr. 1 ||

3: настави] наставит ма gr. 3 || мѸдрости] премоу^Ѹдрости I-Vol.605 || и еже] и от. Pg.81 || и сыншмъ] и от. Pg.81, I-Vol.605 (и), Pg.78, Arx., Supr. || и є^{*}] и от. gr. 3 || створѸ^т] сътвори^т gr. 3 || в числѣ] и рг. gr. 1, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

4: домъ] дома gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

5: и сътвори^х] и от. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Ćud.200 | и сътвори^х ограды] in the mg. Und.1121 ||

6: в кѸпѣли] в от. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, gr. 3 || и напати] и от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || дресесъ] Ѹ рг. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

8: и събрахъ] и от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || црѸ^Ѹ] црѸьска gr. 3 || створи] створихъ gr. 1, gr. 3 || полоу^Ѹ] пола Pg.81, Sol. || пиша] пица TSL 730, gr. 3 ||

9: и възвеличи^х] сѸ ро. Und.1, (сѸ) TSL 730 | и от. gr. 3 || всѸ^х бивши^х] бившихъ всѸ^х Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, in the mg. всѸ^х Pg.78, Supr. || Ѹстави] встави gr. 3 ||

10: егоже] сего TSL 730 || въпросиста] воспросиста gr. 1, Pg.81, Vol. 13, I-Vol.605 || и не Ѹга^Ѹ] и от. Pg.81 || неѸ] нею gr. 3 | мене TSL 730 || смѸшенїи] спѸшенїи TSL 730, Pg.81, I-Vol.605, Supr. ||

трдъ иже поспѣши^х творити. и все света изволеніе дѣа. и нѣсть изволеніа подъ слнцѣмъ. 12. презрѣхъ азъ видѣти моудрость. и леть и бездміе. тако кто члкъ иже не поидеть в слѣдъ всѣхъ [свѣт] вса елико* сътвори емд. 13. и видѣхъ азъ како* есть изобиліе мдрости паче бездміа. тако изобиліе свѣта. паче тмы 14. мдраго и очи въ главѣ его бездмны. и въ тмѣ ходи^т и оувидѣхъ же азъ како слвчачи слоучит са всѣмъ имъ. 15. и рѣхъ азъ въ срѣци моемъ. тако лдчи безоумнаго моудрыи. мнѣ же слоучи ми са. въскдю моудри^х са. азъ тогда излише глахъ въ срѣци моемъ понеже безоумныи ѿ избытокъ глѣтъ тако се света. 16. тако нѣ^с памяти мдраго съ бездмнымъ. в вѣкы. и такоже се дже въ дни грдѣща са забвѣна бывша. и како дмреть моудрыи съ безоумнымъ. 17. и възненавидѣхъ с животнымъ. тако лоукаво на мнѣ створеніе. подъ слнцѣмъ. тако вса^ска са света изволеніе дѣа. 18. и възненавидѣхъ а^з все поспѣшеніе мое еже азъ спѣшю по^а слнцемъ. тако вставляю члкоу вѣдѣшомъ по мнѣ. 19. тако то есть мдръ ли вѣдет ли безоуменъ. и вбладае^т ли иматъ всѣмъ трдомъ моимъ. еже м^арѣвахъ подъ слнцемъ се же света. 20. и обратихъ са азъ. ѿрѣши са срѣцю моемъ о семъ трдѣ еже спѣшихъ подъ слнцемъ. 21. тако есть члкъ тако

11: створена са] створеніа Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. || моа*] моа па* Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730, gr. 3 | моа Sol. || мои роуцѣ] мои om. Arx. | в рѣцѣ мои Supr. || иже] еже gr. 3 || света] свѣтства gr. 3 ||

12: презрѣхъ] и pr. gr. 1, gr. 3 || азъ] om. Sol. || моудрость] премдрѣть gr. 3 || не] и pr. Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730 (и) | om. Sol., gr. 3 || всѣхъ] свѣт gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, gr. 3 || елико*] елика* gr. 3 ||

13: и видѣхъ] и crossed out in Pg.1 | и om. Und.1 || како*] же crossed out in Pg.1 | тако Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, gr. 3 | видѣхъ po. Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || есть] om. gr. 3

14: и очи] и om. gr. 3 || и въ тмѣ] и* въ тмѣ Pg.81 || имъ] на* TSL 730 ||

16: тако] и pr. TSL 730 || бывша] выша gr. 1, gr. 3 || дмреть] оумре gr. 3 ||

17: и възненавидѣхъ] и om. TSL 730, Supr. || животнымъ] животомъ gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

18: поспѣшеніе] спѣшеніе gr. 3 ||

19: ли безоуменъ] или безоуменъ gr. 1, gr. 3 || вбладае^т] владати gr. 1, gr. 3 || ли иматъ] ли om.

TSL 730 || еже] и pr. gr.1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.11231, Čud.200 || се же] и pr. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

11: изволеніа - προίρεσις] изовильа gr. 1, gr. 3 - περισσεία St ||

21: оу] ὅτι MSS - тако

трѣдъ его въ моудрость и в разоумѣ. и в мѣстѣ. и члкъ иже не трѣдит сам о немъ дасть
 емоу часть его и то света и лѣквство велико. 22. тако бывати члкъ въ всѣмъ трѣдѣ его. и въ
 изволеніи его еже трѣждает сам подъ снцемъ. 23. тако вси дни его волѣзни и гарости печеніи
 ево в нощи не спитъ срѣце его. и то* света есть 24. и нѣ бѣго члкъ но токмо ѣсть и
 пїеть иже покажетъ дши свои и бѣго въ животѣ своемъ и се же видѣхъ азъ тако ѿ рѣкы вжїа
 есть. 25. тако кто пїеть или кто ѣсть развѣе его. 26. тако члкъ бѣго пре^а лицемъ его. да
 есть моудрость развѣмъ и веселіе и съгрѣшающемъ далъ есть печеніе приложити и собрати
 дати бѣгое. пре^а лицемъ вжїимъ тако* света изволеніе дѣха.

21: трѣдъ его] его om. Und.1 || в мѣстѣ] в om. I-Vol.605 || и лѣквство] на лѣквство gr. 3 ||

22: бывати] выти Sol., TSL 730, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

23: печеніи] попеченіе gr. 1, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 | потеченіе Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 ||
 в нощи] и pr. Sol. || и то*] и om. Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

24: токмо] то кто Arx. || ѣсть] еже pr. gr. 1, gr. 3 | ѣсть TSL 730 || пїеть] пїеть TSL 730 || иже] и pr.
 TSL 730 || и бѣго] и om. TSL 730, Pg.81, I-Vol.605 || и се же] и om. Sol. || есть] се pr. TSL 730 ||

25: кто пїеть] (кто) Rum.204, om. Und.1121 || кто ѣсть] кто om. gr. 3 || развѣе] же pr. Pg.81 || его] и pr.
 Pg.1, Und.1, TSL 730 | сего Pg.81, Pg.78, Arx., Supr. ||

26: тако] om. Pg.81 || члкъ] om. Und.1 || да есть] дасть Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. | далъ есть Pg.81, Vol.13 | тако
 есть Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || развѣмъ] и pr. Pg.81 || и веселіе] и om. TSL 730 ||
 съгрѣшающемъ] съгрѣшающи TSL 730 || печеніе] попеченіе Sol., gr. 3 || изволеніе] и pr. gr. 1, Vol.13,
 I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

26: моудрость развѣмъ - σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν] разоумъ и моудрость Pg.1, Und.1, Sol.- γνῶσιν καὶ σοφίαν HP
 MS 298||

Глава . Г .

3:1 Всѣмъ годъ и время всякои вещи. 2. время садити и время въстрѣзати саженое
 3. время оубити время цѣлити. время разрѣшити. 4. и время плакати сѧ и время
 смѣяти сѧ. время пѣти и время рыдати. 5. время раскласти каменіе. и время рассыпати
 время Ѡ овдѣтѣа. 6. и время взискати, и время погубити. время схранити. и время
 вынати. 7. время вздрати, и время сшити. время млѣчати и врѣмѧ глти. 8. время
 възлюбити. и время възненавидѣти. время рати. и время мира. 9. что изоліе [изовилье]
 члкъ въ всѣхъ ѡ нихъ же спѣши^т. 10. видѣхъ печеніе все члкъ поци^ѣ о не^м 11. всѧ га^{*} створи
 вѣ. добра въ время свое. иво всакъ вѣкъ далъ е^ѣ въ ср^ци^х тако не обраще^т члкъ
 сътвореніа таже сътвори вѣ Ѡ начала до конца. 12. раздмѣхъ тако нѣ^ѣ блго в ни^х. но токмо
 е^{*} възвеселити сѧ и еже створи блго в животѣ своемъ. 13. иво всакъ члкъ и піе^т. нѣ^ѣ

3:2 и время] и от. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

3: оубити] и ро. TSL 730, Pg.81 || цѣлити] исцѣлити gr. 1, gr. 3 | врѣмѧ съз^ати и ро. Pg.81 ||

4: и время плакати сѧ] и от. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., gr. 3 || время пѣти] и пр. gr. 3 ||

5: время раскласти] и пр. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., gr. 3 || рассыпати] собрати каменіе gr. 1, gr. 3 | рассыпати
 каменое Rum.204 in the mg., Sof. || время Ѡ] и пр. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., gr. 3 | врѣмѧ мыслити пр. Pg.81 || Ѡ]
 от. TSL 730, Čud.200 || овдѣтѣа] ѡвоуѣати TSI 730 | ѡвоуѣати^ѣ Pg.78, Arg., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

6: и время взискати] и от. Pg.81 || время схранити] и пр. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arg.,
 Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || схранити] хранити Pg.81 ||

7: время вздрати] и пр. Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arg., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || вздрати] из^арати
 Pg.81 | въздрасти Pg.78, Arg., Supr. | раздрати TSL 730, Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

8: время възлюбити] от. Und.1 | и пр. gr. 3 || и время мира] и от. Und.1, Sol. ||

9: что] * ро. gr. 3 || изоліе] изовилье gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, gr. 3 || спѣши^т] тѣ пр. gr. 1, Rum.204 |
 то и пр. Sof. | поспѣши^т Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

10: печеніе] (по) MS2, TSL 730, попеченіе gr. 3 || печеніе все] все печеніе gr. 1 | все попеченіе gr. 3 ||
 поци^ѣ] пеци сѧ gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 ||

11: всѧ га^{*}] все га^{*} Pg.81, I-Vol.605 | всѧ же Pg.78, Arg., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || ср^ци^х] ср^ци и^х
 Rum.204, ср^ци ихъ Sof. | ср^цѣхъ gr. 1, gr. 3 || до] и пр. Und.1121, Čud.200 || in the mg. добра ... вѣ
 I-Vol.605 ||

12: створи] твори Pg.1, Und.1 | сътворити Sol. | творити gr. 3 ||

13: нѣ^ѣ] и ѣстѣ Pg.1, Und.1 | и ѣстѣ и TSL 730 corr. и into и ? | и пастѣ Sol. | и вино пр. Und.1 ||

5: раскласти - τοῦ βαλεῖν || рассыпати - τοῦ ρίψαι HP MS 161 in the mg. ||

ВИДИТЪ БЛГОЕ ВЪ ВСЕМЪ ЖИТЬИ СВОЕМЪ. СЕ ДААНІЕ ВЖІЕ ЕСТЬ 14. РАЗОУМѢХЪ. ТАКО ВСА ЕЛИКО
 СТВОРИ БѢ. ТАКО ВЪДЕТЬ В ВѢКЫ. К ТѢМЪ НѢ^ѣ ПРИЛОЖИТИ. И Ѡ ТѢХЪ НѢ^ѣ ѠТАИТИ. И БѢ
 СТВОРИ ДА ѠВО Е^ѣ. Ѡ ЛИЦА ЕГО 15. БЫШІИ. ЕЖЕ Е^ѣ. И ЕЛИКО^ѣ ЕСТЬ. ВЫТИ И ѠЖЕ ВЫША. И БѢ
 ВЗИЩЕ^ѣ ГОНИМАГО. 16. И ЕЩЕ ВИДѢХЪ ПО^ѣ СЛНЦЕМЪ МѢСТО. СЪДНОЕ ТѢ НЕЧЪСТИВЫИ. И МѢСТО
 ПРАВЕДНО ТѢ БЛГОЧѢТВЫМЪ. 17. И РѢХЪ АЗЪ В СР^ѣЦИ МОЕ^ѣ. С ПРАВЕДНЫМИ И С НЕЧЪСТИВЫМИ СЪДИТЪ
 БѢ. И ТАКО ВРЕМЯ ВСАКОИ ВЕЩИ. И НА ВСАКО^ѣ СТВОРЕНІИ ТѢ БѢ. 18. И РѢХЪ В СР^ѣЦИ МОЕМЪ О ГЛАНЪ
 СНѢ ЧЛѢЧЪ. ТАКО РАА БѢ. И ЕЖЕ ПОКАЗАТИ ИМЪ. ТАКО И СКѢТИ СЪТЬ. 19. ИБО И ТѢ^ѣ СЛЪЧАИ. ТАКО
 СЛЪЧАИ СНѢ ЧЛѢЧЪ. И ТАКО СЛЪЧАИ СКѢТИНЫ СЛЪЧАИ В НИ^ѣ. ТАКО СМРТЬ СЕГО ТАКО. ТАКО СМРТЬ СЕГО И
 ДХЪ ВСѢХЪ И ЧТО ИЗЛИШЕ ИМАТЬ ЧЛѢКЪ ПАЧЕ СКОТИНЫ. НИЧТО^ѣ ТАКО ВСА^ѣСКАА СВЕТА. 20. ВСИ ИДЪТЬ
 ВЪ ЕДИНО МѢСТО. ВСИ ВЫША Ѡ ПЕРСТИ И ВСИ В ПРѢСТЬ ВЪЗВРАЩАЮТ СА. 21. И КТО ВѢСТЬ ДХЪ
 СНѢ ЧЛѢЧЪ. АЩЕ ВЪСХОДИТИ ЕМЪ ДОМЪ [ДОЛУ] В ЗЕМЛЮ. 22. И ВИДѢХЪ БЛГО ПО ТОКМО ЕЖЕ
 ВЪЗВЕСЕЛИТ СА ЧЛѢКЪ ВЪ ТВОРЕНІИХЪ ЕГО. ТАКО ЧАСТЬ ЕГО ТАКО КТО ДОВЕДЕТЬ И ВИДИТЪ В НИ^ѣЖЕ
 АЩЕ ВЪДЕТЬ ЧТО С НИМЪ.

ВИДИТЪ] ВИДѢТИ gr. 3 || ЖИТЬИ] ЖИВОТЬИ Pg. 1 (во is crossed out), Und.1 | ЖИВОТѢ gr. 3 ||

14: ВСА] ВСАКЪ Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. || ЕЛИКО] ЕЛИКА gr. 3 || ВѢКЫ] ВѢКЪ Und.1121, Čud.200 || ѠТАИТИ] ѠТАТИ
 Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. || СТВОРИ] И РО. gr. 1, gr. 3 || ДА] ДАЛЪ Sol. ||

15: ЕЖЕ] * gr. 3 || И ѠЖЕ] И ОМ. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

16: НЕЧЪСТИВЫИ] НЕЧѢТИВЫ^ѣ Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Supr. || ТѢ БЛГОЧѢТВЫМЪ] ТО БЛГОЧѢТВЫМЪ Und.1121, Čud.200
 ||

17: И ТАКО] И ОМ. Pg.78, Arx., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

18: ГЛАНЪ] ГЛА^ѣНИИ gr. 1, gr. 3 || ТАКО РАА БѢ] is crossed out in MS2 | ТА^ѣ РАВЪ Supr. ||

19: И ТАКО] И ОМ. gr. 1, gr.3 || ТАКО ТАКО] second ТАКО is crossed out in MS2 ||

20: ВСИ ВЫША] И ПР. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. ||

21: ДОМЪ] ДОЛУ gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, gr. 3 ||

22: БЛГО] ТАКО НѢ^ѣ ПР. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 || ВЪЗВЕСЕЛИТ СА] ВЪЗВЕЛИЧИТЬ^ѣ Pg.78, Arx., Supr.,
 Und.1121, Čud.200 || НИ^ѣЖЕ] НЕМЖЕ gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 ||

16: БЛГОЧѢТВЫМЪ – εὐσεβής MSS

17: ТѢ БѢ – ἐκεῖ Α ὁ θεός + HP MSS 23, 253, 254, 106, 155, 159, 161 ||

Глава . Д .

4:1 И вбратиѣ сѧ азъ, и видѣхъ всѧ шклеветанїа бывающаѧ по^а слнцемъ. и се слезы шклеветаны^х. и нѣ^ѣ имъ стѣшающаго. 2. и похвали^х всѧ оумръшаѧ. паче живы^х елико же и^х живи сѣ^т доселе. 3. и блго паче обою сею, иже еше не вы е^ѣ створенїе лѣкаво створенаго по^а слнцемъ. 4. и видѣхъ азъ весь трѣдъ и велико моужество створенїа. тако створенїа моужеви ѿ подрѣга своего. се света изволенїе дѣа. 5. безѣмно шбіатъ роуцѣ свои. и снѣсть плоть свою. 6. блго исполненїе горести покоа па^ѣ исплненїа двою горестїю трѣда изволенїе дѣа. 7. и вбратиѣ сѧ азъ и видѣхъ светство по^а слнцемъ. 8. есть единъ и нѣ^ѣ втораго. ни сна же ни врата нѣ^ѣ емѣ. нѣ^ѣ конца всемѣ трѣдѣ его. ни око его не насыщает сѧ богатства. и комѣ азъ трѣжаю сѧ. и лишаю дшю мою ѿ блгостыни. и се * света и печенїе лѣкавно. еста 9. блга два. па^ѣ одинаго. има^ѣ есть мзда блга въ трѣдѣ ею. 10. аще тако падет сѧ. едїнъ ею въздвигнетъ причастника своего. и горе томѣ единомѣ егда сѧ падеть и не вѣдет в того въздвигнѣти его. 11. и аще оуснѣта два тепло има вѣдетъ [в того] а единъ како съгрѣет сѧ. 12. и аще шкрѣпит сѧ единъ. два станета противѣ семѣ. и вервь

4:1 всѧ] om. Pg.81 || бывающаѧ] забывающаѧ gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 (MS2, Und.1121 za is erased) ||

2: всѧ] pr. тако Čud.200 in the mg. ||

3: еше] аще gr. 3 || вы] вы^ѣ gr. 3 ||

4: азъ] om. Und.1121, Čud.200 || тако створенїа] om. gr. 3 || моужеви] моужю gr. 1, gr. 3 || ѿ] и pr. gr. 1, om. gr. 3 || подрѣга] и pr. gr. 3 || се] и pr. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

6: исполненїе] изволенїе gr. 3 || горести] горѣсть Pg.81, Vol.13 | горестїю Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || покоа] и pr. Pg.78, I-Vol.605, Und.1121, Čud.200 || исплненїа] изволенїа gr. 3 ||

8: и нѣ^ѣ] и om. gr. 1, gr. 3 || конца] om. Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || не] om. gr. 3 || мою] свою Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || печенїе] попеченїе gr. 3 || лѣкавно] лѣкаво gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

9: блга] блго Sof., Pg.81, I-Vol.605 || има] имъ gr. 1 || ею] е^ѣ Pg.81, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

10: в того] комѣ gr. 3 | другаго Sol. || въздвигнѣти] не pr. Pg.1, Und.1 ||

11: и аще] и om. gr. 3 || в того] om. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., (in MS2 is crossed out), gr. 3 || съгрѣет сѧ] согрѣшатъ^ѣ in Pg. 1 ша is crossed out, Und.1 ||

12: противѣ] om. Und.1121, Čud.200 || вервь] верви gr.1, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

треплѣтны скоро не перервѣт сѧ. 13. блѣтъ равѣ ницѣ и мѣдрѣ. паче црѣ стара и безумна
 иже не разумѣ внимати и еце. 14. тако из домѣ оужникѣ изиде^т црѣтвовать. тако и въ
 црѣтвѣ его родит сѧ ницѣ. 15. и видѣхъ всѧ живѣщаа и ходѣщаа по^а снѣце^м. иже въстане^т
 в него мѣсто. 16. и нѣсть печеніа всемѣ людемѣ всѣмѣ иже пре^а ними иво послѣднѣи
 възвеселит сѧ о немѣ. тако не сѣта ни изволеніе дѣха. 17. схрани ногѣ свою. егда аще идеши
 в домѣ бжїи близѣ слышати. па^ч данїи безоумныхъ жрѣтвѣ твою.

13: иже] и Arg. || разумѣ] вразоумѣ Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || и еце] и
 om. Pg.78, Arg., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

14: тако] иже Sol. || изиде^т] изыде gr. 3 || црѣтвовать] црѣтвовати gr.1, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78,
 Arg., Supr., Und.1121 | црѣтвоватѣ Rum.204 | црѣтвова Chud. 200 || тако и] и тако Sol. | и pr. I-Vol.605 ||

16: печеніа] попеченіа gr. 3 || възвеселит сѧ] не pr. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 || изволеніе] изволениемъ gr. 1,
 gr. 3 ||

17: близѣ] и pr. gr. 3 || данїи] данїа gr. 3 ||

Глава . ̃ .

5:1. Не потци сѡ ѡсты своими гарити сѡ и ср^аце твое да не ѡскори^т изнести слово. пре^алицемь [̄]бжїимь. тако [̄]бъ на н^бси а ты на земли. о сем да бѡдоу^т словеса твоя мала. 2. тако прїидеть снитїе въ мнѡ^тствѣ искѡса. и гласъ безѡмнаго въ мнѡ^тствѣ словѣсѣ. 3. аще обѣщаеши обѣтъ к [̄]бгѡ, не ѡмедли [̄]ѡдати. тако нѣсть хотенїе в безѡмїи ты ѡво елико обѣщав сѡ [̄]ѡдажь. 4. б^лго [̃] не обѣщавати сѡ ли еже обѣщати сѡ [̄]ѡдати. 5. не даж^а ѡстенъ своихъ сѡгрѣшати плоти своеи. да не речеши пре^алице^м [̄]бжїимь. тако да невиденїе [̃] еда прогнѣвает сѡ [̄]бъ о мысли твоеи. и растли^т твоеѡ б. такоже въ мнѡ^тствѣ снїи. и сѡетствїи. и слѡвесъ мнѡ^т. тако ты [̄]ба вои сѡ. 7. аще [̄]ѡидѡ ницаѡ расхыщенїе сѡцаѡ правды видиши правдѡ. не диви сѡ о вещи. тако вы^окыи на висоцѣмь сѡхранит сѡ. и высокыи на ни^х ѡ. низовилїе земля на^а всѡкою [̃] црѣ странаю сѡбною 9. любви сребро . не насытит сѡ сребра. и кто възлюбить и въ мнѡ^тствѣ его живо^т. и се же сѡета 10. въ мнѡ^тствѣ б^лгостынаѡ ѡмножиш^ѡ гадѡщїи. и которое мѡ^тство [̃] штѡѡ. тако на^{ло} видѣти очима его.

5:1 да не] не от. Rum.204, Sof.|| о сем] и рг. Pg.78, Arx.|| бѡдоу^т] бѡдетъ Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Pg.78, Supr. ||

3: хотенїе] хотенїа Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

4: обѣщавати сѡ] обѣщати сѡ Und.1, Sol., gr. 3 || ли] или Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 || ли еже обѣщати сѡ] от. Pg. 78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || [̄]ѡдати] и не рг. gr. 3 ||

5: да не] и рг. gr. 1, Pg.81, Vol.13 || тако да] да от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || еда] и да gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 || прогнѣвает сѡ] не рг. gr. 1, gr. 3 || [̄]бъ] от. Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

6: снїи] снитїи gr. 3 ||

7: [̄]ѡидѡ] [̄]ѡидоу^т Pg.78, Supr. || расхыщенїе] расхищенїа Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || вещи] бывше^м gr. 3 || сѡхранит сѡ] сѡхранѡт сѡ Rum.204, Sof. ||

8: низовилїе] и изовилїе gr.1, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 | изовилїе Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || [̃] црѣ странаю] [̃] странаю црѣ Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 | странаю [̃] црѣ Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || сѡбною] сѡбланою gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

9: се же] от. Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

10: [̃] штѡѡ] [̃] ѡ Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 | [̃] ѡ Arx. ||

11. сонъ сладокъ равѣ аще мало или много снѣсть. и насыщшимъ сѧ богатѣти нѣ^ѣ обавлааи его посыпати 12. е^ѣ недѣгъ иже видѣхъ по^а слнцемъ. бога^тство хранимо ѿ него. в зловѣ емоу 13. и погыбне^т бога^тство мно. в печеніи лѣквнѣ роди снѣ и нѣсть в рѣцѣ ничто^ѣ 14. такоже изиде ѿ чрева мѣри своеѧ и нагъ възвращаетъ сѧ ити. такоже и приде. и ничто^ѣ прїиметъ в поспѣсѣ своемъ. да поиде^т в рѣцѣ его 15. се^ѣ золь недѣгъ тако^ѣ во прїидеть тако ѿидеть и что изовиліе его. и^ѣ спѣшитъ в миръ 16. и вси иже дѣи его въ тмѣ и в плачи. и въ гарости мнѣшѣ и в гнѣвѣ и в недѣзѣ 17. се же видѣхъ азъ блгое еже добро. е^ѣ ѣсти и еже пити. и еже видѣти блгостыню въ всемъ спѣсѣ. иже спѣшитъ подъ слнцемъ число дѣи живота еѧ иже е^ѣ емѣ въ дальъ тако то часть его есть 18. иже всакъ члкъ еже даль емоу бѣ е^ѣ бога^тство и имѣніе и власть на не^ѣ и ѣсти ѿ него. и прїати часть его и еже възвеселити сѧ о трѣдѣ свое^ѣ се да^нье вѣіе есть 19. тако немогы поманѣти дѣи живота своего тако бѣ печетъ сѧ имъ въ веселіи ср^аца его.

12: ѿ него] dittography Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78 ||

13: мно] много gr. 3 || печеніи] попеченіи gr. 3 || в рѣцѣ] в от. Arx. ||

14: поспѣсѣ] поспѣ Rum.204, Sof. | поспѣшеніи gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

15: се^ѣ] и рг. gr. 1, gr. 3 || золь] зла Und. 1 || тако] и ро. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 ||

16: и вси ... гарости] in the mg. Pg.78 || иже] от. gr. 3 || его] от. Arx. || в плачи] в от. gr. 3 ||

17: блгое] блго gr. 3 || и еже пити] и от. gr. 3 || иже спѣшитъ] еже спѣшит gr. 3 || еѧ] е^ѣ gr. 3 || въ даль] даль въ Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

18: иже] иво gr. 1, gr. 3 || еже даль емоу бѣ] емоу*даль бѣ Sol. || бѣ е^ѣ] есть бѣ Arx. || и ѣсти] ѣсти Pg. 1, Und. 1 | нѣсти Rum.204, Sof. | части Sol., TSL 730, gr. 3 || и еже] и^ѣ gr. 3 || възвеселити сѧ] възвеселит сѧ TSL 730, Pg.78, Ćud.200 || се] от. Rum.204, Sof. || да^нье] спѣніе Rum.204, Sof. ||

Глава . 5 .

6:1. Бсть лѡкавствіе еже видѣхъ по^а снцемъ и мнѡ^ѣ члцѣ. 2. мѡ^ж еже да^ѣ емѡ вѣ
 бога^тство. и имѣніе и славѡ не лишии дша своеѡ ѡ всего его^ж въж^аелѣе^т. и не дасть емоу
 бѣ власти ѡ него гости. тако чю^ж мѡжъ вѣсти има^т ѡ него. се^ж света и недѡгъ золь е^ѣ.
 3. аще роди^т моу^ж .р. и лѣта мнѡга поживе^т. и мнози вѡдѡтъ днїе живота его. и дша его
 не насытит сѡ ѡ блгостына. и погребенїа не вы^ѣ емоу. и рѣхъ блгъ паче его взирае^т. 4.
 тако в светѣ приде и во тмѣ покрѣет сѡ. 5. и снца^ж не видѣ иже не разѡмѣ покоѡ. се паче
 сего 6. блгостына не видѣ. егда не въ едино мѣсто всѡ идоу^т. 7. всь трѡдѣ члкъ въ ѡста
 его и дша же его не исплнѣит сѡ 8. тако которое изобилїе члкъ мѡдромоу па^ѣ безѡмнаго.
 поне^ж ницїи вѣсть ходити противѡ животѡ. 9. блго дѣанїа очью паче хотѡщаго дши. и се^ж
 света изволенїе дха. 10. иже вы^ѣ ѡже. и нарече има^ж его и позна сѡ еже естѣ члкъ, и не
 възможе светити сѡ вскорѣ почетши^ж паче себе. 11. тако сѡтъ словеса мнѡга ѡмножаще
 светѡ. что излише члкъ 12. тако кто вѣсть что блго члкъ в животѣ его. число днїи живота
 светства его. и сѡтвори ѡ въ стѣни. тако кто възвѣсти^т члкъ. что вѡдет позади его подѣ
 снце^ж

6:1 члцѣ] естѣ рг. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 ||

2: и имѣніе] и от. Pg.1, Sol. || не] и рг. Pg.1, Sol., TSL730, gr. 3 || его^ж] еже gr. 3 || се^ж] и рг. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

3: .р.] сто gr. 3 || блгъ ... светѣ] от. Arx. || блгъ] блго gr. 3 || взирае^т] и рг. gr. 1, gr. 3 | возвратъ Pg.1,
 Und.1 | възрастѣ Sol., TSL730 | възвратъ Vol.13, I-Vol.605 | възврати Pg.81 | въ зврати^т Pg.78, Supr.,
 Und.1121 | възрати^т Čud.200 | па^ѣ ро. gr. 3 ||

4: приде] преиде Arx. || покрѣет сѡ] има^ж его ро. gr. 1, gr. 3 | его ро. Rum.204, Sof. ||

5: снца] снце gr. 3 ||

6: егда] еда gr. 3 ||

7: же его] же Pg.78, Supr. ||

8: изобилїе] изъобличїе Pg.81, I-Vol.605 || члкъ] мѡжю I-Vol.605 || мѡдромоу] моудроу Pg.78, Und.1121 ||

9: дѣанїа] дѣанїе gr. 3 || изволенїе] и рг. Arx. ||

10: възможе] можетѣ Arx. | мо^ж Supr. | може Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

12: блго] блгъ Pg.81, I-Vol.605, Und.1121 | бл^ѣ Vol.13 || число] и рг. gr. 3 || светства] сже^тство gr. 3 ||

7: дша же его - καί γε ἡ ψυχὴ + αὐτοῦ НР ||

Глава . 7 .

7:1 Блго има паче масла блгъ. и днь смртныи паче днь вытїа его. 2. блго ходитъ в домоу плача. ли ходитъ в домоу пира. понеже конецъ всакомоу члкъ иже выдасте блго в срце свое. 3. блга гарость паче смѣха. тако въ зловѣ лица оублжит сѧ срце. 4. срце моудрых в домоу плача. и срце безумных в домѣ веселїа 5. блго еше слышати запрещенїе моужа. паче моужа слышаща пѣснь безумныхъ 6. такоже бо глаголетъ трънїа по котлау тако смѣхъ безумнаго и се света 7. такоже клевета льститъ мдрого раславлетъ срце блгыа моци его 8. блга послѣднїа словесъ паче начала ихъ. блгъ трпѣливъ паче высокихъ дхомъ 9. не тщи сѧ в дсѣ своемъ гарити сѧ. тако гарость в нѣдрѣхъ безоумныхъ почиваетъ. 10. да не речеши что бо тако днье древнїи вѣша блази паче си. тако не в мдрости просилъ еси о се 11. блга моудроу с раздѣленїемъ по жребїю и изобилїемъ выдающимъ слнце 12. тако в стѣни еѧ мдрости тако стѣни сребра изобилїе разума мдрости. оживитъ иже ѧ мена 13. вижъ створенїа бжїа тако кто може оукрасити еже бѣ развратитъ 14. въ днь блгостына. жива и въ изли

7:1 и днь] днѣ Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || вытїа] житїа gr. 3 ||

2: ли] или Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., gr. 3 | ^{неже}ли MS2 || иже выдасте] иже " выдасте gr.1, Rum., Sof., Pg.81, Pg.78 (corr.?), Supr., Und.1121 || свое] свое^м gr. 3 ||

3: оублжит сѧ] оублжат сѧ Pg. 81 ||

5: пѣснь] нѣ^х gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., Vol.13, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

6: смѣхъ] смѣрихъ Pg.78 (ри is crossed out), Arx. ||

7: такоже] же om. gr. 1, gr. 3 || раславлетъ] и gr. gr. 3 ||

8: словесъ] словеса Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., gr. 3 || блгъ] блго gr. 3 ||

9: тщи сѧ] тшит сѧ gr. 3 || безоумныхъ] безоумнаго gr. 3 || почиваетъ] почитаетъ Vol.13, Pg.78 (та is crossed out), Arx., Und.1121, Čud.200 | почиетъ Supr. ||

10: во] вы gr. 1, gr. 3 || вѣша] выша Pg.78, Arx. || блази паче си] блази си паче Sol. | блзѣ их па^х сихъ Und.1 | om. gr. 3 ||

11: изобилїемъ] изобилїе gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

12: мдрости] мудрость gr.1, gr. 3 || разума мдрости] мдрѣть раз^м gr. 3 || мена] неѧ gr. 1, Pg.81, Vol.13, Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121 | ѧ Čud.200 ||

13: оукрасити] оукрати Vol.13, Pg.78, Und.1121, Čud.200 | оукрати^т Supr. | оукрасти Arx. ||

14: жива] живыи Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Und.1121, Čud.200 | живы Pg.78, Arx. || въ изли] или Pg.81 ||

2: выдасте блго - δώσει + ἀγαθόν MSS ||

въ днь зловы вижъ. иво се съгла^ѣ семоу еже створи бѣ о глѣ. да не обратит злобою [за собою] ничто* 15. вса^ѣскаа видѣхъ днь сѣтствіа моего. естъ праведнымъ погыбаа въ свои правдѣ. е^ѣ неч^ѣтивымъ превываа и въ зловѣ свои 16. не вѣди праведенъ велики ни мѣдри сѣ велики егда когда извѣеши сѣ 17. и не вещьствѣи много и не вѣди жестоко да не ѡмрешѣи въ время свое 18. бѣго ти естъ въздержати сѣ о всемъ ѿ всего не оскверниши рѣкы своеа тако воли сѣ бѣ изидеть все 19. мл^ѣть поможетъ мѣдромъ паче десяти вѣладающѣхъ въ градѣ 20. тако чѣлка нѣстъ праведна на земли. иже сътворитъ бѣгое и не съгрѣшитъ. 21. и вса га* словеса и* възглютъ неч^ѣтивѣи и не вложи срѣца своего. да не ѡслышиши раба своего кленѣцаа тебе. 22. тако многѣжѣи слѣкоу^ѣ тобою. обхожѣеніе^ѣ ноги озловитъ срѣце твое. такоже и ты клѣлъ еси дрѣгыа 23. вса си искѣсѣхъ въ мѣдрости и рѣхъ ѡмѣдри сѣ 24. и тако ѡдали сѣ ѿ мене далече паче еже из глѣвока глѣвина. кто вѣращеть ѣ 25. и вѣдохъ азъ и срѣце мое еже развѣти. и еже съсѣтити сѣ и еже възискати мѣдрости и развѣа. и еже развѣти неч^ѣтиваго възвѣи и стѣженіе и лѣсть 26. обрѣтаю азъ то горцѣ смѣрти с женою

иво] во гр. 3 | иже TSL 730 || бѣ о глѣ] ѡ глѣ бѣ TSL 730 || злобою] за собою гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, гр. 3 ||

15: погыбаа] погыбаеть Rum.204, Sof. | правдѣ] неправдѣ Pg.1 (не is crossed out), TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || е^ѣ] и гр. гр. 1, гр. 3 ||

16: ни] и гр. Und.1121, Čud.200 || егда] еда TSL 730, Pg.81, Pg.78, Und.1121 || когда] от. I-Vol.605, Čud.200 || извѣеши сѣ] и развѣеши сѣ Sof. ||

17: и не вѣди] и от. Pg.81 || да] и гр. гр.1, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Chud. 200 || въ время] не гр. TSL 730, Pg.81||

18: бѣго ти] бѣгости Pg.1, Und.1 || ти] от. гр. 3 || всего] сего Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. || оскверниши] оскверни Pg.1||

19: мѣдромъ] мѣрость Arx. || вѣладающѣхъ] вѣладеющѣхъ Und.1 ||

20: сътворитъ] сътвори Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || сътворитъ бѣгое] бѣго сътворитъ Sol. ||

21: и вса] и от. Pg.81|| га*] же гр. 1, Pg.81, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || и не] и от. гр. 1, гр. 3 || ѡслышиши] слышиши гр. 1, гр. 3 ||

22: слѣкоу^ѣ] слѣкѣю Arx. | слѣкоу^ѣт Supr. || тобою] с гр. Arx. || ноги] многы Sol., гр. 3 ||

23: ѡмѣдри сѣ] оумѣри сѣ гр. 3 ||

24: глѣвина] глѣвины Sol. || вѣращеть ѣ] вѣращеть сѣ Sol., Arx. ||

25: съсѣтити сѣ] съсѣсти^ѣ Pg.78 | съсѣсти Arx. | съсѣсти^ѣ Supr. ||

26: обрѣтаю] и гр. гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., гр. 3 || то] от. гр. 3 ||

ꙗкоже естъ ловитва и сѣти срѣца еѡ и съзъзъ любви еѡ рѡкы еѡ. вѣгыи преѣ лицеѡ вѣжѣимъ
 извинит сѡ ѡ неѡ и съгрѣшами не шѡѡт вѣдетъ ѡ неѡ. 27. се сѣхъ рѣче оврѣтохъ
 съборникъ единосѣ единосѣ еже оврѣсти помыслъ 28. егоѡ вѣиска дѣша моѡ и не шѡрѣтохъ
 чѣка единосѣ ѡ тыжѣци оврѣтохъ и женъ вѣ всѣхъ сѣхъ не оврѣтохъ 29. обаче се сѣе оврѣтохъ
 еже створи вѣ с чѣкомъ правомъ и ти вѣискаша помыслъ добръ мнѡѡ.

сѣти] сѣтъ Pg.81 || срѣца] срѣце Pg.81 ||

и съзъзъ] и от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || съзъзъ] съзъзъ gr. 3 || любви еѡ] от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || извинит сѡ] извинет сѡ gr. 3 ||
 не шѡѡт] не от. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

27: рѣче] от. Supr. ||

28: и не] не от. gr. 3 || оврѣтохъ и] оврѣтохъ от. gr. 3 || сѣхъ не оврѣтохъ] не от. Sol. | и ни единосѣ ро. Sol. ||

29: се сѣе] сѣе gr. 3 || правомъ] правѡ Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 |

первымъ Arx. || добръ] от. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

⟨Глава . и . ⟩

8:1 кто вѣсть мудрыя и кто вѣсть разрѣшеніе глѣ. Мудрости члѣкѣ просвѣщаетъ лице его. и вестѣдныи лицемъ своимъ възненавидѣнъ вѣдетъ. 2. оуста црѣа схрани. и ѡ словеси клятвы бѣжїа не тши сѣ. 3. Ѡ лица во его поидеши. не стани в словесѣ лѣквнѣ. тако всѣ еже аще створи^т. 4. такоже црѣ съвладыи глѣть и кто речеть емѣ и что створиши 5. храни заповѣди. не ѡвѣсть глѣ лѣкава. и время сѣда вѣсть. срѣце мудраго. 6. тако всѣкои вещи е^ѣ время и сѣдѣ. тако разѣмъ члѣка мнѡга на немъ. 7. тако нѣсть вѣдѣщаго и что вѣдѣщее такоже вѣдетъ. кто възвѣститъ емѣ 8. нѣ^ѣ члѣка владѣща въ дѣсѣ възвранитъ с дѣхомъ. и нѣсть владѣщаго в дѣнь смѣрти. и нѣсть сѣдвы въ дѣнь врани. и не спѣеть вѣщестїе сѣщаго в не^м. 9. и все видѣхъ и вѣдѣхъ. и срѣце мое въ все створенїе еже створено вы^ѣ. подѣ снѣцемъ елико обладалъ естъ члѣкѣ. въ члѣцѣ тако ѡзловитїе. 10. и тогда видѣхъ нечтивы в гробы несомы. и Ѡ стѣго иденїа идоша и похвалиша. и въ градѣ тако тако створиша все же сѣта. 11. тако нѣ^ѣ избавленїа вывающа. и Ѡ творащихъ лѣкавое вскорѣ сего ради ѡвери сѣ срѣце. снѣ члѣчь в нихже створи лѣкавое. 12. ⟨ и Ѡтолѣ ⟩ и Ѡ длѣготы ихъ. иво видѣхъ а^ѣ тако

Арх. - lacuna 8:8 - 9:1

гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof. - lacuna 8:16 - 9:14

8:1 мудрости] мдрѣтъ Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Арх., Supr. ||

3: во его] е^ѣ во Pg.81 || стани] станѣши гр.3 ||

4: съвладыи] сыи владыи гр. 1 || и что] и от. гр. 1, гр. 3 ||

5: и] от. Pg.81 ||

6: е^ѣ время] время е^ѣ гр. 3 ||

8: владѣщаго] владѣющаго Pg.1, Und.1 || с] сѣ гр. 3 || дѣнь] дѣни Pg.81, Pg.78, Supr. || спѣеть] сѣ ро. Pg.81, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

9: и срѣце] и от. гр. 1, гр. 3 || створенїе] творенїе Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Und.1121, Ćud.200 || вы^ѣ] е^ѣ Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || въ члѣцѣ] въ от. гр. 3 ||

10: гробы] гробѣ гр. 3 || несомы] несены гр. 3 || иденїа] от. гр. 3 || похвалиша] похвалени выша гр. 1, гр. 3 || и въ градѣ] и от. гр. 1, гр. 3 || все] и се гр. 3 ||

11: избавленїа] изволениа Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. | извѣщенїа гр. 3 || и Ѡ] и от. гр. 3 || створи] сътворити гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 ||

вѣдетъ бѣго. бѣгобожнимъ сѣ бѣ. да не воитъ сѣ ѿ лица его. 13. и не вѣдетъ бѣго
 нечѣстивоу. и не прѣложитъ дѣни в стѣни. и нѣ ѿ иже боитъ сѣ ѿ лица его. 14. есть
 свѣта и таже створена есть на земли. тако сѣтъ праведници и достигають ихъ. (тако
 створеніе нечѣтивыхъ. и сѣтъ нечѣтивіи га ѿ достигають ихъ) тако створеніе праведныхъ. и рѣхъ все
 же свѣта. 15. и похвалихъ азъ с веселиемъ тако нѣсть и* бѣго члѣкъ подѣ снѣце. но токмо еже
 ѣсти и еже пити. и еже веселити сѣ. и то привытокъ его спѣшенію дѣни живота его. тако
 даль есть емоу бѣ подѣ снѣцемъ. 16. в нихъ дахъ срѣце мое раздѣти моудро. и еже
 вѣдѣти печеніе створеное на земли. тако в дѣне и в ноци сна въ очію своею нѣсть видѣ 17. и
 видѣхъ всѣ створеніа бжїа. тако не възможеть члѣкъ изобрѣсти створеніемъ створенаго подѣ
 снѣцемъ. елико же аще рече мѣдрый раздѣти. и не възможеть раздѣти.

12: бѣго] om. Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, gr. 3 || воитъ сѣ] воитъ сѣ Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Chud. 200 ||

13: бѣго] бѣга Sol., gr. 3 || и не] на нь gr. 3 || прѣложитъ] продолжитъ TSL 730, gr. 3 || стѣни] стѣни gr. 3 ||
 боитъ сѣ] боитъ ѿ Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr. | воитъ сѣ Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

14: есть] и gr. 3 || и таже] и om. gr. 3 || все] се gr. 3 ||

15: и*] и Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Rum.204, Sof. | om. gr. 3 || еже пити] еже om. gr. 3 || еже веселити сѣ] еже
 om. gr. 3 || и то] и om. gr. 3 || спѣшенію] во спѣшенію gr. 1 | въ спѣшеніи gr. 3 || дѣни] сего gr. Pg.1,
 Und.1 | всего TSL 730 | его gr. 3 ||

16: печеніе] попеченіе gr. 3 || дѣне] дѣни Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. | дѣнь gr. 3 || нѣсть - lacuna starts in
 gr. 1 and Rum.204, and Sof. ||

⟨Гла^е Θ⟩

9:1. Тако все дахъ въ ср^аце, и ср^аце мое все видѣ тако праведнии мдрїи и дѣланїа ихъ в рѣкѣ
 бжїю. и любви * и ненависти нѣ^ѣ вѣдѣ. и чл^ккъ вса прѣ^а лицемъ его 2. света. въ всѣхъ
 слѣчай правѣ^аномоу и нечъстивомѣ блго и зло чистое и нечъстивое жрѣцемѣ и не жрѣцеому
 такоже блгый и тако съгрѣшами и такоже кленыи са и такоже боми са клатвы 3. се лѣкаво въ
 все створенѣмъ подѣ сл^нцемъ тако слѣчай всѣхъ. и сл^нце сн^ввъ чл^чч испл^нни са лѣкаствїа
 и грѣдо^ѣ и льсть в ср^ацѣхъ ихъ в животѣ и^х и позады^х къ мртвы^х 4. тако кто иже прич^ает
 са къ всемъ живымъ есть надежа тако песъ живѣ то блго паче лва мртва 5. тако живїи
 раздѣлю^т тако ѣмрѣтъ мртвии не сѣтъ вѣдѣще и ничто* к томѣ мзды тако забвена есть
 памать ихъ 6. и ненависть ихъ и рвенїе ихъ ѣже погыбе. и части нѣсть имъ в вѣкы к томѣ
 въ всемъ творенїи подѣ сл^нцемъ 7. прїиди и гаж^ь въ веселїи хлѣвъ свои и пїи въ бл^сѣ вино
 свое тако блговоли бѣ створенїа твоя 8. въ всако время да сѣтъ рїзы твоя вѣлы и масла
 древанаго да не лишит са глава твоя 9. и живи живо^т с женою. юже еси възлюбилъ вса дни
 сѣтства живота твоего. даны по^а сл^нцемъ, тако часть твоя в животе твоємъ ⟨в спѣсѣ
 твоємъ⟩ иже спѣшиши подѣ сл^нце^м 10. вса елика обраще^т рѣка твоя створити, твори тако нѣ^ѣ

gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof.- lacuna 8:16-9:14

9:1 мое] om. Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || и дѣланїа] и om. Pg.81 || вѣдѣ] вѣдыи gr. 3 || и чл^ккъ]
 и om. gr. 3 ||

2: нечъстивоѣ] нечистое Čud.200 ||

3: все створенѣмъ] всемъ творенѣмъ Čud.200 || слѣчай] лоучаа и Pg.81 | слѣчаа и Vol.13, I-Vol.605,
 Pg.78, Supr. || сл^нце] ср^аце corr. into сл^нце in MS2 || позады^х] позади и^х Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 ||
 мртвы^х] мртвы^м gr. 3 ||

5: есть] вы^ѣ gr. 3 ||

6: творенїи] сътворенїи Supr. ||

7: бл^сѣ] ср^ацѣ pr. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 ||

8: всако] все Supr. ||

9: даны] тебе ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605 || в животе твоємъ] в спѣсѣ твоємъ MS2, gr. 3 || иже] еже gr. 3 ||

10: твори] елика ти сила творити pr. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr. | сътвори Čud.200 ||
 ты] и pr. Pg.81 ||

створеніа ни помысла, ни разума ни мудрости въ адѣ амо же ты идеши 11. и швратиш сѧ и видѣхъ по^а снѣземь тако легкимъ теченіемъ и сильнымъ. брани^{хъ} моудрымъ хлѣвъ ниже разоумны^{мъ} вога^тство. ниже вѣдѣщимъ влг^ать тако время и слзчачи слзчит сѧ всѣмъ и^{мъ} 12. ниже разумѣ члѣкъ времени своего. тако рыбы злавлаемы въ мрежи злѣ. и тако птица злавлаемы в сѣти. и такоже си злавлаемы тако. тако ти^и сѣтъ снѣве члѣстїи. въ время лзкаво внегода нападе^т на нѧ везапѣ 13. и сїюже моудрость видѣхъ по^а снѣземь. и великъ е^ст мнѣ 14. гра^а малъ. и моужїи в немъ мало. и прїиде црѣ великъ и шкרותи и^{хъ} сдѣлае^т о немъ шстрогы великы 15. обраше^т ^а в немъ мѣжъ нищъ и мѣдръ и тѣ спсеть гра^а мѣдростїю своею. и члѣкъ не помановенъ с мѣжемъ нищимъ о немъ 16. и рѣхъ азъ блга мѣдрость паче силны^{хъ}. и мѣдрость ницаго зничижена и словеса нѣ сѣтъ послзшаема 17. и словеса моудры^{хъ} в покои слышат сѧ паче клича. обладаючи^{хъ} о безумны^{хъ} 18. блга мѣдрость паче съсѣдъ ратны^{хъ}. и съгрѣшаа и единъ погзвить блгостыню многѣ.

11: и слзчачи] и от. Pg.78, Arx. ||

12: тако рыбы] такоже рыбы gr. 3 || тако] сѣтъ pr. gr. 3 | is crossed out in I-Vol.605 || и тако] тако I-Vol.605 || въ мрежи ... сѣти] in the mg. I-Vol.605 || и такоже си злавлаемы] от. I-Vol.605 || въ мрежи... си злавлаемы] от. Arx. || тако ти^и] ти Arx. || въ время] время Arx. ||

14: сдѣлае^т] и pr. gr. 3 || шстрогы] штрогы Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Rum.204, Sof. | штроки TSL 730 ||

15: обраше^т ^а] и pr. gr. 3 | сѧ от. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 || помановенъ] вы^с ро. gr. 1, MS2, gr. 3 ||

16: и словеса] ни словеса gr. 1, gr. 3 || нѣ сѣтъ] нѣ от. gr. 3 ||

17: в] и Pg.81 || слышат сѧ] слышит сѧ Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

о] от. TSL 730 | ѿ Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

18: съсѣдъ] соу^а gr. 1 | сж^т gr. 3, in the mg. Pg.78 ||

⟨Гла^е І⟩

10:1 Моуѣхы ѡмрѣвляющаго сгноу^т строеніе древаное масло сладости часть мало мдрости паче славы безуміа велика^ѣ 2. ср^аце мдраго о десню его. ср^аце безумна^ѣ ѡ шюю его. 3. и на пѣть^м безумныи идетъ и ср^аце его лишитъ таже помышлаетъ вса безумна сѣть. 4. аще ахъ владѣщаго взидетъ на нѣ мѣста своего не ѡстави тако ицѣленіе ѡставити грѣхы великы 5. е^ѣ. лѣкавство е^ѣ видѣхъ по^а слнце^ѣ еже новолно изидетъ ѡ лица владѣщаго. 6. данъ безумныи на высота^х великы^х и богатіи в смѣрены^х сѣдѣт. 7. видѣхъ рабы на коне^х и князи идѣши тако рабы по земли. 8. копаѣ тамѡ в ню впадетъ. и потребляющаго оградѡ оугрызнетъ и сміа. 9. земля и камыкъ поболитъ в нѣ. сѣкыи дрова вѣдѡ пріемлетъ в нѣхъ. 10. аще спадетъ сѣчиво и тѣ самъ лице^ѣ спадетъ и сматетъ. и сила ѡнеможе^т изобиліе моужю моудрость. 11. аще сѣкнетъ сміа нѣ в шептѣ и нѣсть и^х обиліа обавающемѡ. 12. словеса ѡстѣ мдры^х блг^атъ. ѡстнѣ безоумнаго потоплаета его. 13. на^ѣло словесъ его безуміе. и последнаѡ ѡстѣ е^ѣ лестъ лѣкава. 14. и безуменъ ѡмножитъ словеса, не разумѣ члѣкъ, что бывшее и что вѣдѡщее

10:1 ѡмрѣвляющаго] ѡмрѣвляюща gr.1, Rum.204, gr. 3 | ѡмрѣвляюще Sof. || строеніе] строеніа Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof., Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arch., Supr., Und.112 || часть] чѣтъ gr. 1, gr. 3 | честь Rum.204, Sof. || мало] мала Pg.81 | масло Pg.78, Arch., Supr., Und.112, Čud.200 || велика^ѣ] велика gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

2: ср^аце безумна^ѣ] безумнаго ср^аце Sol. || ѡ шюю его] (ѡ шюю его) Pg.1 ||

3: лишитъ] лишити и Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. | лишитъ и TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 ||

4: нѣ] нѣ Pg.81 || ѡставити] и ро. Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. ||

5: лѣкавство] и рг. gr. 3 || новолно] неволно TSL 730, gr. 3 ||

6: данъ] да ѡнѣ Sol. | да не gr. 3 || сѣдѣт] вѣдоутъ gr. 3 ||

7: и] а gr. 3 || идѣши] идѣше Pg.1, Sol., TSL 730 | идѣша Und.1 | идѣша gr. 3 ||

8: в ню впадетъ] впадетъ в ню TSL 730 || оугрызнетъ] грызнетъ gr. 3 || и сміа] и от. Sol., Rum.204, Sof. | (и) TSL 730 | ю сміа Čud.200 ||

9: земля и] и рг. gr. 1 | вземлаи Pg.81 | и вземлаи Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arch., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

10: и тѣ] то и Arch. || самъ] само gr. 3 || лице^ѣ] лице gr. 1, gr. 3 || спадетъ и] от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || сматетъ] смѡутитъ gr. 3 ||

11: аще] и рг. Pg.81, Supr. || нѣ] от. gr. 3 || и^х] от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || обиліа] изобилія gr. 1 | изъобиліе gr. 3 ||

13: на^ѣло] начала Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. || словесъ] ѡстѣ ро. gr. 1, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Und.1121, Čud.200 || безуміе] безоуміа Pg.81 ||

14: ѡмножитъ] сѡ ро. Und.1121, Čud.200 || что бывшее] что от. Und.1121, Čud.200 ||

тако позади его кто възвѣсти^т емѡ 15. оуспѣхъ^х везѡмныхъ и трѡд ихъ. иже не разѡмѣ ити в
 гра^а 16. горе тебѣ граде емоу^х црѣ твои ѡнъ. и князи твои заоутра ѣда^т 17. блжѣна ты
 земле. еѡ црѣ твои и сны свободны^х и князи твои въ время гада^т и силѣ не постыда^т 18. в
 лѣности смирит сѡ строптиво, в праздниство рѡкѡ прокапле^т храмина 19. в смѣх^х твори^т
 хлѣвъ. и вино веселить живыѡ. и сребра послѡшаю^т вслѣскаѡ. 20. и ты^х въ свѣсти срѣца
 не клени. и в клѣти ложници своѣи. не клени богатаго тако птица нбѣна донесе^т гла^ч твои.
 имѣѡ крилѣ възлетить слово твое.

15: оуспѣхъ] спѣхъ gr. 1, gr. 3 || и трѡд] и от. Pg.81 | а трѡд^а Und.1121, Čud.200 || иже не разѡмѣ ити в гра^а] от. I-Vol.605 || разѡмѣ ити] разѡмѣти Und.1, Pg.78, Arx. || в гра^а] в от. Pg.81 || гра^а] градѣ Pg.78, Arx. ||

16: црѣ твои] црѣтво и Und.1 | твои от. gr. 3 || ѡнъ] есть ро. Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Arx., Supr. | есть ѡнъ Und.1121, Čud.200 || князи твои] твои от. Und.1 | его gr. 3 ||

17: еѡ] еѡже TSL 730, Pg.81, Vol.13, Pg.78, Arx., Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 || црѣ твои] црѣтво и gr. 1, gr. 3 || силѣ] рати ро. gr. 3 || не] и gr. TSL s.l., Rum.204, Sof., MS2 || постыда^т] постыда^{ть} gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 ||

18: строптиво] строптивыи TSL 730, gr. 3 || праздниство] праздниствѣ Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. | празднисти gr. 3 ||

19: смѣх^х] мѣсте^х Arx. | слѣхъ Und.1 || вино] въ gr. Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 | живо Sol. ||

и сребра] и от. Pg.81 || послѡшаю^т] не gr. Und.1121 ||

20: свѣсти] въ своѣи ро. Pg.1, Und.1 | своѣи ро. Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof., Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Čud.200 | своѣго ро. Arx. || клѣти] то ро. Pg.1 | лѣти Und.1 || твои] свои gr. 1, Rum.204 ||

Глава . Аї .

11:1] Посли хлѣвъ твои на лице водѣ. тако въ мнѡствѣ и вбращеши. 2. даждь часть се^мии бои сѡ тако не вѣси что вѣдетъ лѣкаво н^ земли. 3. аще исплѣнат сѡ шблаци дож^а, на землю изливаютьъ. и аще паде^т древо ѡгв^м. аще ли на вѣрне^м мѣстѣ. иде^ падеть древо. тоу вѣдетъ, 4. блудыи вѣтра не сѣе^т и смотри въ облакы не пожне^т. 5. в нихже нѣсть воды. и что вѣдетъ дѣа. тако кости ражающаа въ чревѣ. тако не раздѣветъ дѣла бѣжѣихъ. елико же сотворити всачьскаа. 6. и заѡтра сѣли сѣма свое. и ве^рѣ да не оставлае^т рѣкы твоаа тако не вѣси которое ѡлоучит сѡ се ли или шно. аще ли оное вкѡпѣ то бѣго 7. и сла^ко свѣтѣ и блгъ очима^ зрѣти и сѣнце^м. 8. тако аще и лѣта многа живе^т. чѣкъ въ всѣ^х ихъ възвеселит сѡ. и помане^т дѣи тмы. тако мнѡши вѣдѣтъ все градѡщее света 9. весели сѡ ѡното въ ѡности своаи. егда ѡвлажи^т та ср^це твоае въ дѣнь ѡности твоаа и ходи в пѣтехъ ср^ца твоаа. непороченъ. и в видѣнии очѣю своаю раздѣи тако ш

TSL 730 11:9 - 12:14 lacuna

11:1. и] дѣии gr. 1, gr. 3 | ии Rum., Sof. ||

2: даждь] даи же Pg.1, Und.1 | даиж^а Sol. | да^ Vol.13 | даже Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || се^мии] паче^ и шсмомѡ ро. Und.1121, Ćud.200 || бои сѡ] во шсми Pg.1, Und.1, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 | во шсмимъ Sol. | во и шсми TSL 730, Arx. | воу сѡ, in the mg. смы Rum., Sof. ||

3: и аще] и от. gr. 3 || паде^т] наидеть Arx. || ѡгв^м... древо от. Arx. || вѣрне^м] (сѣ) вѣрне Pg.1 | сѣвернѣ Und.1 | сѣверне^ Sol., TSL 730, Sof. | равнѣ gr. 3 ||

4: облакы] шблики Rum., Sof. ||

5: нихже] же от. Pg.78, Arx. ||

6: и заѡтра] изѡтра Supr. || сѣли] сѣи gr. 1 | от. gr. 3 || свое] твоае gr. 3 || се] си gr. 3 ||

7: и блгъ] но блгъ gr. 1 || блгъ] блго gr. 3 || очима^] очима иже Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. | очима еже gr. 3 ||

зрѣти и] и от. gr. 1, gr. 3 || сѣнце^м] солнце TSL 730, Arx., Ćud.200 ||

8: лѣта] лѣтъ gr. 1 || многа] мнѡ^ Pg. 1 | многъ Sol. | много Rum.204, Und.1, TSL 730 || ихъ] от. Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

9: егда] и да Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. | еда TSL 730, Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 || ходи] lacuna starts TSL 730 | ходи^ Supr. | ходихъ I-Vol.605 || и в видѣнии] и в от. Pg.78, Arx., Supr. || видѣнии] видѣнию Und.1, Sol., Sof., Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Supr., Und.1121, Ćud.200 | видѣние Pg.81 |

видѣнѣа Arx. || своаю] твоаю Und.1, gr. 3 ||

9: непороченъ - + ἄμωμος B† ||

всѣхъ си^х приведе^т та бѣ на сѣдѣ. 10. и встави гарость ср^аца тво^е и приведи. лѣкства ѿ
 плоти тво^я тако ѡнось и безѡмїе света.

10: света] и рг. гр. 1, Rum.204, Sof., гр. 3 ||

10: прїведи - παράγαγε/πάραγε В†] οτηύστι Sol. - ἄπαγε S* † ||

〈Глаѣ Вї〉

12:1 И помани створшаго та въ днь ѡности твоеа. дондеже не придѣтъ днїе злобы и приспѣюѣтъ лѣта речеши ми. нѣ^ѣ ми в нихъ хотѣнїа 2. донде* не мрѣкнеѣтъ снѣце и свѣтъ и лѣна и звѣзды. и обратятъ сѧ шблаци дозадѣ дождѣа 3. въ днь въ иже подвижатъ сѧ. стражїе домѡ. и развратятъ сѧ мѡжи силы. и ѡпразнишѣа мелѡцаа тако изнемогоша. и помрачатъ сѧ глѡдающаа в ѣкважна. 4. и затвораѣтъ двери на трѣжици в немоци мелѡцаа и встаноуѣтъ гласъ птица. и смѣраѣтъ сѧ всѧ дщера пѣнїа. 5. иво на высотѣ оузриѣтъ и древеса на пѣти. и процветеѣтъ клѡпыш. 〈михда^ѣ〉 и штлѣстѣеть обрѣда. 〈проуѣтъ〉 и разрѡшитъ сѧ всѧ капкарѣ. тако ведеѣтъ члѣка в домъ вѣка своего. и швидоша и на трѣжици плаѣщїи. 6. донде* превратитъ сѧ. ѡже сребра искѡшитъ сѧ. искѡса знаѣнаа искѡшитъ сѧ вода ѡ источника. и сломитъ сѧ тако коло в колѣ. 7. и възвратитъ сѧ персть на землю тако ѡ себѣ. и дхѣ възвратитъ сѧ к бгѡ. и есть далѣ. 8. света светѣстїи рече зборникъ всѣскаа света. 9. извила тако выѣ съборникъ мѡдрѣ. и сказа члѣкомъ и оухо слѣдитъ красоты приточѣ 10. мнѡгъ взиска. свборникъ еже обрѣсти словеса хотенїа. и написана правостїю словеса истинны 11. словеса моудрыхъ тако

12:1 речеши ми] ми om. gr. 1, gr. 3 ||

2: и лѣна] и om. gr. 1, Rum.204, Sof., MS2, gr. 3 ||

3: иже] нь* Rum.204, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Supr. || помрачатъ сѧ] помрачить^ѣ Rum.204, Sof. ||

4: смѣраѣтъ сѧ] сѧ om. gr. 3 ||

5: оузриѣтъ] оузраѣтъ gr. 1, gr. 3 || клѡпыш] еже есть мигдалѣ ро. Sol. || 〈михда^ѣ〉] in the mg. мигдалѣ Vol.13 || 〈проуѣтъ〉] in the mg. проуѣ^ѣ Vol.13 || разрѡшитъ сѧ] сѧ om. gr. 1, gr. 3 | разроу Rum.204, Sof. || капкарѣ]

капапорѣ gr. 3 || домъ] днѣ gr. 3 || швидоша и] и om. gr. 3 ||

6: ѡже сребра искѡшитъ сѧ] искрѡшитъ сѧ MS2 (corr.?) || знаѣнаа] златнаа gr. 3 || источника] истока Pg.1, Sol., Rum.204, Sof., gr. 3 | оустоитъ сѧ Und.1 || коло] колесо gr. 3 ||

7: и дхѣ] и ро. Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Pg.78 | мои ро. Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

8: зборникъ] во рг. Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

9: извила] изѣшвилїа gr. 3 || слѣдитъ] сладиѣ gr. 3 ||

10: словеса хотенїа] словѣ хотенїа Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

4: ἀναστήσονται S; HP MSS 147, 157, 159, 298.

встни. тако гвоздіє ражежени и ѿ сложені дани выша. и ѿ пастѣха единого низвиліє велико
 ѿ нихъ. 12. храни снѣ мои. створити книги многы. нѣсть бо конца ꙗченіи мноу трѣдъ
 плоти 13. конецъ же словоу. все послѣшай бѣга бои сѣ и заповѣди его храни тако томоу всѣкъ
 челоуѣкъ 14. тако все строеніє приведеѣ бѣ на сѣдѣ всѣкомъ презрѣніемъ аще благо аще ли
 лѣкаво.

11: сложені] сложеніа Sol., gr. 3 || пастѣха] пастырѣ gr. 3 || низвиліє] и извиліє Rum., Sof., MS2 | изовиліє
 Pg.1, Und.1, Sol., Pg.78, Arx., Supr. | и изъовиліє Pg.81, Vol.13, I-Vol.605, Und.1121, Ćud.200 ||

12: ꙗченіи] оученіа gr. 3 ||

13: храни] храна Pg.1, Und.1, Rum.204, Sof. ||

14: всѣкомъ] всѣкомоу Pg.1, Und.1, Sol. ||

Appendix 2.**Comparative table of continuous and catenary versions.****Principles of the edition.**

The three versions are presented in a tabular form to ease comparison. I reproduce the texts, preserving superscript letters, abbreviations but not line breaks. Apart from *titla* other diacritics are not represented. Chapter divisions are given according to the Greek tradition. I have divided the text into words and have added the numbers of verses. In this I follow the Septuagint. For the continuous text I follow the orthography of the MS Sinodal'nyj 915 (GB), for the commentated text MS Undol'skij 13 (Und. 13) and for the interpolated text the orthography of MS Pogodinskij 1 (Pg.1).

The variant readings given in the third column seem to be mostly minor variations, however, these are represented without exception. For the letters that are missing or not legible the following symbol \diamond is used. The symbols used in the critical apparatus are the same as the ones in appendix 1.

Continuous text (GB)

1:6 ... иде^т дх̃ и окръсть
его обрацае^т сѧ дх̃.

1:7 вси потоци идѡтъ в
море. и море нѣ^{тъ} насыща. но
в мѣсто таможе потоцѣ
идѡтъ. и тамо ти сѧ
възра^щаю^т ити.

1:9 что бывшее то
вдѡдѡмомѡ. и творимое то
творимомѡ. и нѣ^{тъ} все ново
подъслнчнѡю.

1:10 иже възглеть и рече^т
все силно е^{тъ} дже вы^{тъ} в
вѣцѣхъ вывши^х преже насъ.

Commentated text (Und.13)

1:6 Идетъ дх̃ и окръ^{тъ} его
вбрацает сѧ.

Толк.

Вѣтръ дх̃ глетъ зане
окръ^{тъ} ввходитъ свѣта
сего.

Екл.

1:7 Все потоцы идѡтъ в море
и море нѣ^{тъ} насыща сѧ.
но в мѣсто таможе потоцы
идѡтъ и тамо ти сѧ
возбрацаютъ.

толк.

такоже во нѣ^{бо} и звезды
окръгъ земли ввходятъ и
паки наврацают сѧ. Сице же
рѣки і источники вси в море
теченіе сотвораютъ. и паки
ѡ моря начало воспріимъ на
землю изливают сѧ и
крѡглообразно ввходѡ^{тъ}. и
паки тамо текѡтъ ѡнюдѡже
начало имѡтъ.

екл.

1:9 Что бывшее то
вдѡдѡшемѡ. и что
сотворенное то творимомѡ
и нѣ^{тъ} все ново по^аслнчною.

1:10 Иже во^зглеть и речеть сѧ
ново есть оуже вы^{тъ} в
вѣцѣхъ вывши^х преже
насъ.

толк.

Бывшее вѡдѡдѡшѡ глетъ и
сотворенное сотвореномѡ,
сирѣчь тако сѣменнаѧ и
питателнаѧ и растителнаѧ.
иже во что скончеваѧ сѧ
все^а паки мѣсто новое
возрастаѧ^т. и сего ради глетъ

Interpolated text (Pg.1)

яко нѣсть все ново по^а
слѣчною. сирѣчь не ново но
бывшее и древнее твореніе
бжїе и новое паки ѿ того
возрастаетъ

екл.

1:11 нѣсть памяти
пръвымъ и послѣднимъ
бывши. нѣ^{им} памяти съ
вѣдѣщими. на послѣ^{ни}.

1:11 Нѣсть память
первымъ и послѣдн^и
бывшимъ. нѣсть имъ памат^т
з вѣдѣщими на послѣдокъ.
тол.

Нѣсть рече памяти. зане
тлѣнно и мимоидетъ яко^{же}
речеть гь нбо и земля
мимоидетъ. слова же
моа точію не имѣть преити.

Глава 2.

Екл.

2:14 мудраго и очи въ главѣ
его безумны. и въ тмѣ
ходитъ и оувидѣхъ же азъ яко
слѣчай слоучитъ съ всѣмъ
имъ.

2:14 Мѣдраго шчи во глѣвѣ
его, безумныи же во тмѣ
ходитъ.

тол.

Оумъ шчима нарицаетъ. и
во глѣвѣ его именуется сирѣчь
выспрь а не низу. ибо
очищенъ оумъ во главѣ
превышаетъ. сирѣчь выспрь
зритъ а егда ш земныхъ
прилежитъ, тогда вывае^т
омраченіемъ низу.

2:14 Мѣдраго шчи в головѣ
его безумныи же во тмѣ
ходитъ.

Толкъ.

Оумъ головою именуется^т.
егда оумъ шчиститъ^т. тогда
выспрь зритъ. а егда ш
земныхъ тогда шчи низу.

екл.

2:21 яко есть члкъ яко
трѣдъ его въ моудрость и в
разоумѣ. и в мѣ^{ствѣ}. и
члкъ иже не трѣдитъ съ о
немъ дастъ емоу часть его и
то свѣта и лѣкавство велико.
есть

2:21 яко есть члкъ иже
трѣдъ его в мѣ^{рости} и в
разоумѣ и в мѣ^{жествѣ}. и
члкъ иже не трѣдитъ съ о
немъ дастъ емоу часть его. и
сїе свѣта и лѣкавство веліе.

тол.

Иже рече члкъ сотвори^т дѣло
мѣ^{ростию} и хѣдо^{ствомъ}
дивнымъ сѣло, и трѣдитъ съ
о хитрости сеи в силе своей.

и ѿдастъ не трудившему са
о семъ за нѣкую часть
малую. и сіе суетою
именуетъ яко хитрость
велиа ѿдает са за часть
малую.

екл.

2:24 И нѣсть блго члкъ но
токмо гаже гастъ и пїетъ. и
показати дши своен блго въ
трудѣ своемъ. и се же
видѣхъ азъ яко ѿ рѹки бжїа
есть.

2:24 и нѣ^с блго члкъ но
токмо гастъ и пїетъ иже
покаже^т дши своен и блго въ
животѣ своемъ и се же
видѣ^х азъ яко ѿ рѹки бжїа
есть.

2:25 яко кто пїетъ или кто
гастъ развѣ его.

2:25 яко кто гастъ и пїетъ
развѣ его.

тол.

яко все рече света и труды
велии члкомъ. но токмо блго
рече, еже гастъ и пїетъ в
трудѣ своемъ. сирѣчь в
рѹкодѣліи. виж^а же оубо
здѣ яко не оупивати са или
ввѣдати са повелевае^т но
питати са ѿ трудовъ свои^х
сирѣчь рѹкодѣліемъ или
земледѣліемъ. и сімъ
показати блго дши своен
сирѣчь тѣло питати пищею.
дши же блго показывати въ
трудѣ своемъ. и сіе рече
дажнїе бжїе есть. развѣ же
его ничесо же кто творити
можетъ.

екл.

2:26 яко члкъ блгъ пре^а
лицемъ его дастъ м^арость и
разумъ и веселїе. и
согрѣшающему далъ есть
попеченїе поити и соврати,
еже дати блгомъ пре^а лице^м
вжїи^м, и се сѹть света.

2:26 яко члкъ блго пре^а
лицемъ его. да есть
моудрость разв^м и веселїе и
сгрѣшающемъ далъ есть
печенїе приложити и соврати
дати блгое. пре^а лицемъ
вжїимъ яко^м света изволенїе
аха.

тол.

Члкъ рече блгу дастъ
м^арость и веселіе. и ѡ семь

подобно сему и двѣдъ глѣтъ
слава рече и богатство в
домѣ его. и правда его
преживаетъ во вѣки.
согрѣшающему же
повѣлѣлъ естъ вл^ака еже
поити и соврати. сирѣчь
труды плот^и своеѧ
приложити и соврати. но и
сіе грѣх^ъ его ради ѡемлет сѧ.
и дает сѧ блгомѣ пре^а
лицемъ вѣжїимъ и сіе рече
суета согрѣшающему в
трудѣ его. и печалованіе
дши.

3:5 время раскласти
каменіе. и время рассыпати
время ѡ обзгата.

3:15 вышїи. еже е^с. и
елико^м естъ. выти и ѡже
выша. и вѣ^с взыцетъ
гонимаго.

3:16 и еще видѣхъ по^а
слнцемъ мѣсто. сѣдноє тѣ
нечестивыи. и мѣсто

еклисиастъ

3:5 Время обзгати^с и время
оудалати^с ѡ обзгата.

т.

По закону малженцема
время оудалати^с обзгата.
в го^а егда молити^с бѣ. а
время обзгати малженцема.
да не искушаетъ вас сатона:

екл.

3:15 Бывшее оуже естъ. и
елико^м естъ выти оуже
выша. и вѣ^с взыцетъ
гонимаго.

Тол.

Сирѣчь много рече
испытѣши. тако всѧ оуже
выша и естъ. и вѣ^с сихъ всѣх^ъ
взыцетъ. сирѣчь
направляетъ прем^аростїю
веліею.

Екл.

3:16 И еще видѣхъ по^а
слнцемъ мѣсто сѣдноє, тѣ
нечестивыи, и мѣсто

ПРАВЕДНО ТЪ БЛГОЧТВЫМЪ.

ПРАВЕДНОЕ, ТЪ
НЕСПРАВЕДЛИВОСТЬ.

Тол.

Мѣсто ѡво праведное нарече.
зане мѣсто правды ради
оучинено есть. сирѣчь
избавити швидима ꙗко рѹки
обидѣщаго. и такоже мѣсто
праведно паче же сѹдїи
блгочтѣнствѹ и праведнѹ быти,
не толико во мѣсто елико
правда. и в мѣсто правды на
мѣсте праведне беззаконїе и
неправда посредѣ водворѣет
сѧ. и сего ради рече.

3:17 и рѣхъ азъ в срѣци моеѣ.
с праведными и с
нечестивыми сѹдиѣнъ. и
тако время всѧкои вещи. и на
всѧкомъ створенїи тѣбѣ.
3:18 и рѣхъ в срѣци моеѣ о
гланѣхъ снѣхъ члчѣхъ. тако раа бѣхъ.

екл.

3:17-18 И рѣхъ азъ въ срѣци
моеѣ с праведными и с
нечестивыми сѹдиѣнъ бѣхъ.
тако время всѧкои вещи и на
всѧкомъ сотворенїи. тѣбѣ
азъ въ срѣци моеѣ ѡ гланїи
снѣхъ члческихъ тако
разсѹдиѣнъ ихъ бѣхъ.

тол.

Сирѣчь аще и неправеденъ
соѹдѣ соѹдиѣт сѧ в насѣ. но
праведенъ бѣхъ разсѹдиѣнъ
всѣхъ. и сѹдѣ праведныи
тогда оѹзриѣнъ.

и еже показати имъ. тако и
скоти сѹтъ.
3:19 и бо и тѣмъ слѹчѧи. тако
слѹчѧи снѣхъ члчѣхъ. и тако
слѹчѧи скѹтины слѹчѧи в нихъ.
тако смѣрѣть сего тако. тако
смѣрѣть сего и дѹхъ всѣхъ

екл.

3:18-19 И еже показати тако
сїи сѹтъ скоти. и бо и тѣмъ
тако слѹчѧи снѣхъ члческихъ и
слѹчѧи скѹтскїи слѹчѧи в
нихъ. тако смѣрѣть сего, тако
и смѣрѣть сего. и дѹхъ во всѣхъ.

Тол.

Не по сѹществѹ оѹбо скоти
нами соломонъ члчѣ
нарицаеѣ. но грѣшныи по
слѹчаю. сирѣчь по беззаконїю

ихъ и по ско^тскомъ дѣланію
 подобны скотомъ мѣнить.
 глеть во тако случаи ско^тскіи
 случаи в нихъ. и тако смѣрть
 сего. тако и смѣрть сего. и
 дѣхъ сирѣчь дыханіе во
 всѣхъ. зане ино есть
 существо. ино же случаи.
 существо оубо
 непреставительное и
 непрело^но ко иному
 существу. и члѣское оубо
 дѣшевное существо словесно и
 оумно нарицаетъ сѧ. тако^н
 аггльское подобіе а не тако
 ско^тское. и всѧкое существо
 непреставительное именуетъ
 сѧ. сирѣчь словество и
 оумность непрелагаетъ сѧ
 существене в
 безсловесность, но по
 дѣиствѣ точію и по
 невреженію в неразсужденіе,
 еже по самовластію а не по
 существу бываетъ. тѣмъ же
 оубо по влгоизволенію члка
 аще и не аггль сѣще. но
 подобно агглю^н нарицаетъ.
 тако же глеть дѣдъ. что
 есть члкъ тако помниши и.
 ли снъ члчъ тако посѣщаеши
 и. оумалилъ еси малымъ
 нѣчимъ ѿ аггль. сирѣчь
 точію тлѣнною сею плотію.
 подобне же и гѣ глеть
 вѣдуть рече тако аггли. по
 вѣзаконному же и
 бгоненавистному дѣиству
 члвкъ скотомъ прилагаетъ
 сѧ. тако^н и дѣдъ
 свѣдѣльствуетъ, члкъ рече в
 чести сѣ не разумѣ приложи
 сѧ скотомъ несмысленымъ и
 оуподоби сѧ имъ. и
 вжественое слово, не мечите
 висеръ вашихъ пре^а свиніями.
 и прочаѧ. зри же оубо
 вжественаго писаніа силѣ,

ѡво прикладомъ ово же паки
 притчею чл̄ки скоты
 нарицаетъ. бжѣтвенны оубо
 дѣдъ не скоти нарицаетъ но
 приложи сѧ рече. сирѣчь
 прикладно тѣмъ глѣтъ.
 бжѣтвенное же слово аще и
 неприкладно но притчею
 тако имензетъ. иво ѿ сего
 подобно есть разꙋмѣти, тако
 и слово наше висеромъ
 нарече. слово во наше не тако
 камень вменаетъ, но чтїю
 почитаѧ тако нарицаетъ. и
 сего ради по^абно семѸ и
 солomonъ по слꙋчаю, сирѣчь
 по дѣиствꙋ вѣсловесномѸ
 тако скоты чл̄ки нарицаетъ.
 зане равно тѣ^м и горши сихъ
 дѣиствꙋемъ. и тако же
 погибаемъ в вѣзаконїи
 своемъ.

3:19 и что излише имать
 чл̄къ паче скотины. ничто^м
 тако всл̄ческаѧ света. 3:20 вси
 идѣтъ въ едино мѣсто. вси
 выша ѿ персти и вси в
 прѣсть възвращаю^т сѧ.

3:21 и кто вѣсть дх̄ъ снѡв^ъ
 чл̄чскъ. аще въсходити
 емѸ домѸ [долꙋ] в землю.

екл.

3:19-20 И что излише чл̄къ
 имать паче скота. ничто же.
 тако всл̄ческаѧ света идѣтъ
 во едино мѣсто. вси выша ѿ
 персти и вси в персть
 возвращаю^т сѧ.

3:21 И кто вѣсть дх̄ъ снѡв^ъ
 чл̄чески^х аще восходити емꙋ
 горѣ. и дх̄ъ скотьскїи еже
 сходити емѸ долꙋ в землю.

тол.

Ничто же рече излише има^т
 чл̄къ паче скота, и тако
 всл̄ческаѧ света. сирѣчь аще
 в свете препровожаемъ дни
 наша, и ѡ спсенїи нашемъ не
 радимъ скотьски живемъ^ъ и
 ничим же разньствїе имамы,
 зане идемъ во едино мѣсто
 сирѣчь в землю. и тако^м

скотъ оумираетъ, сице же и члкъ плотію разве дши. а еже рече, и кто вѣсть дхъ сновъ члчески аще восходитъ емъ горѣ. и дхъ скотскіи еже сходити емъ долъ в землю. и сіе рече невѣдети сего ради, зане не вѣмы что живемъ и что полѣчимъ, блго ли по дѣломъ нашимъ или зло. горѣ ли мѣсто или долъ вбраще^м, и да никто же возмнитъ разливаніе дши нашеи тако и скотскіи. но пребываетъ дша и по шествіи тѣла сама в себѣ. и в семъ оубо тои же соломонъ глетъ. въ прем^аростехъ своихъ, дша рече праведныхъ в рцѣхъ бжїи со^блюдаеми, и не прикоснетса и^м мѣка, и паки рече мнѣни выша во шчію бездмныхъ оумрети. вѣж^аъ тако не токмо соблюдаеми в рцѣхъ бжїи. но и бесмртныхъ повѣдает. подобне же і инаа многаа в вжественомъ писаніи вбращеши.

глава 4 екл.

4:4 и видѣхъ азъ весь трѣдъ и велико моу^жство створеніа. тако створеніа моужеви ѿ подруга своего. се света изволеніе дха.

4:4 Видѣхъ азъ весь трѣдъ и всако мужество сотвореннаго. тако сотвореніе моужеви ѿ подруга своего и се света.

Тол.

Весь трѣдъ сотвореннаго не его глетъ, но иже восхищеніемъ имендетъ свое дѣло быти восприявъ ѿ подруга своего, и се рече света.

Екл.

4:5 бездмно швіатъ роуцѣ

4:5 Бездмныи овѣгати роуцѣ

свои. и снѣсть плоть свою.

свои, и снѣ^с плоть свою.

Тол.

Ненави^с здѣ глетъ иже
злобою и лукавствомъ
снѣдае^т ближняго своего.

4:6 блго исполненіе горести
покоа па^с исполненія двою
горестію трѣда изволеніе
дха.

Екл.

4:6 Блго есть исполненіе
горести покоа па^с исполненія
двою горестію трѣда.

еклисиастъ

4:6 Блго исполнение горьсть
покоа па^с исполнения двою
горьстью тцаниа.

Тол.

лѣтче рече и в посре^ствїи
житїи пребывати с покоемъ
нежели в богатствѣ трѣдне и
в печас^н пребывати.

инъ.

Єдина горсть двѣства
цѣломудрїа а двѣ горсти
законныи бра^к малженцемъ.
не хѣлимъ брака но первое
похвалнѣе.

т.

Єдина горьсть двѣство
цѣломудриа. а двѣ горсти
законныи бра^к
малженцема. не хѣлимъ
брака но первое похвалнѣе.

первое] первѣе TSL 730 || похвалнѣе] похвалное TSL 730 | похваленіе Sof. ||

4:9 блга два. па^с єдинаго.
има^с есть мзда блга въ
трѣдѣ єю.

екл.

4:9 Блга два паче єдиногo
имаже есть мзда блга въ
трѣдѣ ихъ.

еклисиастъ.

4:9 Блга два паче єдиногo :

т.

Свѣ^с двою ѡ б^лгѣ вещи
дхѡвнѣ же дша с тѣломъ ѡ
добрѣ свѣщаюци имать
мьзду ѡ блга. аще тѣло
цѣломудрив^стъ.
тщеславить же дша всѣ се
цѣломудрие аще ли дша
смирѣеть. блудить же
тѣло. всѣ то смирение
части єдинои согрѣшаюци.
нѣжа и дрѣгои части
привлачити.

свѣщаюци] свѣщающе Rum.204, Sof. || сѣ...всѣе - in the mg. TSL 730 || сѣ] om. Sof. ||

4:10 аще тако падет сѧ.
единъ ею въздвигнетъ
причастника своего.
и горе томъ единомъ егда сѧ
падетъ и не вѣдетъ в того
въздвигнути его.

4:10 тако аще паде сѧ единъ
воздвигнетъ другіи
причастника своего i in the
margin: (и горе томъ
единомъ егда сѧ падетъ. и не
вѣдетъ втораго въздвигнути
его.

толк.

Блага рече два паче одинаго.
тако и гдѣ рече. идѣже
соврани есте два или три во
имѧ мое, тѣ есмь и азъ
посредѣ ихъ. а еже глетъ
аще падетсѧ едиъ въздвигнетъ
другіи причастника своего)
горе иже не имать втораго
воздвигнути его. сїе
прикладомъ о дружелюбїи
глетъ. сирѣчь аще скорвь на
ны прїидетъ должны есте
друзїи пособивы вывати.
подобне оубо и дша с
тѣломъ сопраженїе и
паденїе имѣтъ. и егда оубо
падетсѧ дша
высокооумїемъ или
гордостїю, подобаетъ
телеснымъ оскорвленїемъ
смирити ю. аще ли же тѣло
вѣдети имать, нѣжда есть
дши страхомъ бжїимъ
воздержати ю. и да имутъ
овѣ мздѣ ѿ бга.

екл.

4:11 и аще оуснетъ два
тепло има вѣдетъ [в того] а
единъ како согрѣет сѧ.

4:11 И аще оуснета два
тепло има вѣдетъ а единъ
како согрѣет сѧ.

4:12 и аще зкрѣпит сѧ
единъ. два станета противъ
семъ. и вервь треплетны
скоро не перервѣт сѧ.

4:12 И аще оукрѣпит сѧ
единъ, два станета противъ
емъ. и вервь треплена не
скоро расторгнет сѧ.

тол.

Сїе прикладомъ ко
оукрѣпленїю вышереченнымъ

глѣтъ. и тако блжитъ
сопращеніе и любовь члческу
и съпращеніе дши с тѣлом и
противленіе съ дѣволом. а
еже рече вервь треплена не
скоро расторгнет сѧ. сирѣч
иже дружелюбіе по бзѣ
имыи то тако вервь иже в
трое витіе имать паче едінои
витѣи в добродѣтелехъ
ывавать и крѣпостію
добродѣтели едва паде^т сѧ.

екл.

4:13 Блгъ рабъ нищъ и
прем^аръ паче стара црѧ
безумна. иже не разумѣ
внимати еце.

4:13 блгъ рабъ нищъ и
мдръ. паче црѧ стара и
безумна иже не разумѣ
внимати и еце.

4:14 тако из домѧ южни^к
изидетъ црѣтвовати, и
народенныи въ црѣтво
нищетою погивнетъ.

4:14 тако из домѧ оужникъ
изидетъ црѣтвовати. тако и въ
црѣтвѣ его родит сѧ нищъ.

тол.

Здѣ оубо м^ара раба, сирѣчъ
воцпаго сѧ бгѧ хвалитъ.
црѧ же иже мнѧцаго сѧ о
себѣ црѣтвовати. и без
воцзни строцпаго црѣтво
безумна наричетъ. зане не
разумѣетъ. тако многажды и
темничникъ по повеленію
бжю црѣтвуетъ. такоже
иосифъ и дѣдъ. и
народенныи на ца^рство
нищетою рече погивнетъ. зане
мнози висоцыи ници выша.
такоже и дѣдъ глѣтъ, сего
смираетъ. а сего возноситъ
и прочаѧ.

екл.

4:15-16 И видѣхъ всѧ
живущаѧ и ходѧщаѧ по^а
слнцемъ съ юнымъ
вторымъ. иже востанетъ в

4:15 и видѣхъ всѧ живущаѧ и
ходѧщаѧ по^а слнцѣмъ. иже
встанетъ в него мѣсто.

4:16 и нѣсть печеніа всемъ
людемъ всѣмъ иже пре^а
ними иво послѣдніи
възвеселит сѧ о немъ. тако
не сѣта ни изволеніе дѣа.

4:17 схрани ногѣ свою. егда
аще идеши в домъ бжїи
близъ ѡслышати. па^ѣ данїи
безоумныхъ жрѣтвѣ твою.

5:2 тако прїидеть снитїе въ
мно^жствѣ искѣса. и гласъ
безѣмнаго въ мно^жствѣ
словѣсѣ.

него мѣсто. и нѣсть
попеченіа всѣмъ людемъ и
всѣмъ иже пре^а нимъ выша.
иво послѣдніи не възвеселит
сѧ о немъ рече и се сѣта.
тол.

Видѣ^х рече^ч црѣска сана
рожь^аша сѧ ѿ оца в него
мѣсто. и людїе не
блговолиша его, ниже
возвеселѧт сѧ рече ѡ немъ.
и се рече соѣта.

екл.

4:17 И сохрани ногѣ твою,
егда аще идеши в домъ бжїи и
близъ оуслышати паче данїи
безоумныхъ жерѣтва твоѧ тако
не сѣтъ повѣдающїи творити
блгоѣ.

тол.

Егда рече идеши въ црковъ
бжїю. тогда потщисѧ бли^з
еже оуслышати. и паче рече
послушанїе жерѣтвѣ
безо^мныхъ. занеже не вѣдѧтъ
что творѧтъ. и что есть
паче пользуетъ. такоже и
дѣдъ глѣ^т жерѣтвы и
приношенїа не восхотѣ, но
пожри рече бгоу жерѣтву
хвалѣ.

Екл. Глава 5

5:2 тако приходитъ сонїе въ
мно^жствѣ искѣса. и гласъ
безѣмнаго въ мно^жствѣ
словесѣ.

тол.

Тako же и в печалѣ^х многыхъ
вываетъ сонмъ нашествїе.
сїце же и ѿ мно^жства
словесѣ безѣмнаго разумъ
познаветсѧ.

5:5 не дажъ ѱстенъ своихъ
сѣгрѣшати плоти своеи. да
не речеши пре^а лице^м
бѣжимъ. како да невиденіе
ѳ^ѳ еда прогнѣваетъ сѣ бѣ о
мысли твои. и растли^т
твоѣа

5:9 любви сребро . не
насытитъ сѣ сребра. и кто
възлюбитъ и въ мно^жствѣ
его живо^т. и се же сѣта

5:10 въ мно^жствѣ
благостыни ѱмножишѣа
падѣціи. и которое мѣ^жство
ѳ^ѳ штѣа. како на^чло видѣти
очима его.

5:18 иже всакъ члѣкъ еже
далъ емоу бѣ ѳ^ѳ бога^тство и

екл.

5:5 Не даи оустъ своихъ
согрѣшити плоти своеи.

Тол.

О срамословіи глеть
срамоглаголи^ѳ во языкъ все
тѣло wskвернѣтъ. и
мѣжемъ з женами
wboostрѣтъ на похоть.

Екл.

5:9 Любви сребро не насытитъ
сѣ сребра. и кто возлюбитъ
во мно^жствѣ ихъ плоды.

Тол.

ѳмѣже аще оумножитъ сѣ
бога^тство то w лихве
оупражняется паче, не^ѳли ѳ
земны^ѳ плодъ восприѣтѣа
требдетъ.

екл.

5:10 Во множествѣ
благостыни оумножатъ сѣ
падѣцію. и кое мѣ^жство ѳ
сѣа како начало видѣти
wчима его.

Тол.

Идѣже рече многое собраніе
богатыствѣ. тоу мно^жзи
вываютъ иже падѣт ѳ него.
и сего ради что собираемъ
мно^жго. но раздаваемъ
нищимъ и дадимъ взаемъ
бѣгѣ. кое же рече мѣ^жство и
разумъ еже вотще w семъ
прилежати и трѣдитисѣ. и
начало точію видети еже ты
трѣдишисѣ. и мно^жзи
попадаютъ како скоты и воны
и прочѣа.

Екл.

еклисиастъ.

5:5 Не даи же оустомъ
согрѣшати с плотию

т.

ѳже срамословье срамогла^ѳ въ
во языкъ все тѣло
wskвернить. и мѣжемъ с
женами оубѣстраетъ на
похоть.

имѣніе и власть на не^м и
ѣсти ѿ него. и пріати часть
его и еже възвеселити сѧ о
трдѣ свое^м се да^нье бжїе
есть

5:19 тако немогы поманѣти
днїи живота своего тако бѣ
печет сѧ имъ въ веселїи
ср^аца его.

5:18 Сїе дание бжїе есть.

5:19 тако немнѣгы поманѣти
днїи живота своего тако бгѣ
печаль его в веселїи ср^аца
его.

Тол.

Не вѣди скѣ^н рече. но
м^лтвѣ и б^лгоподатливѣ к
неимѣщимъ и требѣющимъ
оѹ тебе. и немноги днїи
живота своего но выноѹ
с^мрть имѣи пре^а вчима
своима. ниже вѣчно
богатство мени ни оупованїе
возлаган на нь тако на бга. но
бѣ есть а не богатство
печаль в веселїе тебѣ.

Екл. Глава 6.

6:7 весь трѣдѣ члѣкъ въ воста
его и дша же его не
исплѣнит сѧ

6:7 Весь трѣдѣ члѣкъ во воста
его и дша его не исполнит
сѧ.

тол.

Ище и по всѧ днїи
наслаждаемъ плоть свою. и
весь трѣдѣ нашъ снѣдаемъ.
но паки алчни вываемъ. и
сега ради оѹчитъ на^с да не
чревоувѣдливи бѣдем но
мѣрѹ и оѹставъ содержи^м. и
паки аще и сыти есмы. аще
и потребными доволни
ываемъ тако и много
приобрѣсти. дша же наша,
сирѣчь видѣнье не насыщает
сѧ. и не имать наполнити сѧ
желанїемъ.

екл.

6:8 тако которое изовилїе
члѣкъ мдромоѹ па^н

6:8 тако изовилїе члѣкоѹ
м^лромѹ паче безѹмнаго.

БЕЗУМНАГО. ПОНЕ* НИЦІИ
ВЪСТЬ ХОДИТИ ПРОТИВЪ
ЖИВОТЪ.

ПОНЕ* НИЦЬ ВИДѢ ХОДИТИ
ПРОТИВЪ ЖИВОТЪ.
ТОЛ.

ИЗЪОУБИЛИЕ М^АРОМЪ ПАЧЕ
БЕЗУМНАГО ЕСТЬ ПОНЕЖЕ АЩЕ И
НИЦЬ ЕСТЬ. НО ВЪСТЬ КАКО
ПОЛЪЧАТИ БЛГІИ.

6:9 БЛГО ДѢАНІА ОЧЬЮ ПАЧЕ
ХОТАЩАГО ДШИ. И СЕ* СВЕТА
ИЗЪОЛЕНІЕ ДХА.

Екл.

6:9 БЛГО ВИДѢНІЕ УЧІЮ ПА*
ХОТАЩАГО ДШЕЮ. НО И СЕ
ЕСТЬ СВЕТА.

ТОЛ.

СИРѢЧЬ ЛУТЧЕ Е^С ВИДѢТИ И
УВРѢСТИ ЖЕЛАЕМОЕ. НЕЖЕЛИ
ЖЕЛАТИ ДШЕЮ СИРѢЧЬ МЫСЛІЮ
ЕГОЖЕ НЕ ВОЗМОЖНО ЕСТЬ
УВРѢСТИ. ТАКОВОЕ РЕЧЕ
ВОТЩЕ НАДЕАНІЕ. И СЕ СВЕТОЮ
НАРИЦАЕТЬ.

глава 7

Екл.

7:1 БЛГО ИМА ПАЧЕ МАСЛА
БЛГЪ. И ДНЬ СМРТНЫИ ПАЧЕ
ДНЬ ВЪТІА ЕГО.

7:1 БЛГО ИМА ПАЧЕ ЕЛЕА БЛГА.
И ДНЬ СМРТИ ПАЧЕ ДНИ IN THE
margin:(роженіа его) ВЪТИА
ЕГО.

ТОЛ.

БЛГОЕ РЕЧЕ ИМА ПАЧЕ ЕЛЕА
ГЛЕТЬ. ЗАНЕ ДОБРЫИ
ОУСЛАЖДАЕТЬ БЛГИ^Х СЛОВОЮ. И
НАПОЛНЯЕТЬ ЯКО СЛАДОСТІЮ
СЛЫШАНІЕМЪ УШЕСА. НЕ
ТОКМО ВО БЛГОУМНІИ
ГОРТАНЬ ОУСЛАДИТИ. ЕЛИКО
БЛГОЕ СЛЫШИМОЕ ВИДѢТИ
ЖЕЛАЮТЬ ПОЛЪЗЫ РАДИ ДШИ
СВОЕИ. ДНЬ ЖЕ СМРТИ ПАЧЕ ДН
РОЖЕНІА ЕГО ГЛЕТЬ. ЗАНЕ
РОДИТ СЯ ЧЛКЪ С ПЛАЧЕМЪ В
МИРЬ. И КЪ СМРТИ СЪТЬ
ИЗЪШЕСТВІЕ ЕГО. ОУМЕРЫИ ЖЕ
УПРАВДИТ СЯ Ѡ НЕА. И Ѡ
СМЕРТИ СПОДОВИВШЕ СЯ,
ТАКО* И Ѡ ТЛѢННАГО ЖИТІА

смѣющимъ сѧ] смѣщающимъ сѧ] Sof. || ннѣ] и гр. TSL 730 || или]ли TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || те] от. Sol. || согрѣшение] согрѣшения Sol. | согрѣшаючи Und.1 | согрѣшеньи^х Rum.204, Sof. ||

екл.

7:3 блга гарость паче смѣха.
 тако въ зловѣ лица оублжит
 сѧ срѣце.

7:3 Бл̄га гарость паче смѣха.
 тако во словѣ лица блжит сѧ
 срѣце.

7:3 Бл̄го гарость паче смѣха.
 тако въ зловѣ лица
 оублжитъ^ѣ срѣце.

тол.

Гарити сѧ глетъ паче смѣха
 сирѣчь начальникомъ и
 оучителемъ. і инымъ
 таковы^м егда бо таковїи
 словни бывають. тогда и
 оублжает сѧ срѣце
 по^ардчныхъ. рекше богазнїю
 ѿ ни^х. виж^а же үбо аще и
 хва^мтъ таковы^м гарити сѧ. и
 слнцемъ а не злобою
 внүтреннею, тако во словѣ
 лица рече а не срѣца. сирѣчь
 внѣ образомъ тако словнү
 быти, внѣтръ же о милости
 смышлати и о ползе ихъ.
 тако же ап̄лъ глетъ не дѣти
 выванте оум^{ооо} но словою
 младеньствдїте. проклато
 же есть дѣло и сѣло
 оүничжено, еже лицемъ
 засмѣши^н быти, внѣтръ^х
 сла^м и лѣкава^м смышлати. и
 в лице мирно глати, а на
 гнѣвъ льсти помышлати. а
 еже ве^з разсүжденїа словою
 въѣтоү. сирѣчь внѣтръ и
 лицемъ свѣрьско дѣло е^ѣ и
 безсловесны^х въычаю
 послѣдветъ.

инъ.

Еже по естество гарити сѧ
 тако се на страсти. ли на
 вѣсы. и о томъ вещь блга
 гарость. а еже хотѣнїемъ и
 по хотѣнїю воздати
 въидившемъ похүленъ
 ѿметенъ. оүбо хвалне гарити
 сѧ. а не разслабѣти в смѣсе.
 иво чѣтно не славомъ лицемъ
 оублажити сѧ оүстражетъ и

Еже по е^ѣствү гарити сѧ. тако
 се на стрѣти ли на вѣсы. и ѿ
 томъ вѣща блга гарость а
 еже хотѣнїемъ и по
 хотѣнїю воздати.
 ѿвидѣвшемү похүленъ и
 ѿтметенъ оүбо. хвалнѣ
 гарити сѧ или ра^зслабѣти въ
 смѣсѣ. иво чѣтно и не
 славомъ лицемъ оублажити

радовати сѧ члѣкѣ дѣшею.

сѧ оустрааетъ. и радовати
сѧ члѣкѣ дѣшею :

еже] иже Sol. || увидѣвшемѣ] увидѣвшемѣ TSL 730 | овѣтѣвшемѣ Rum.204, Sof. || похуленъ и] похулены Und.1 | и от. TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || хвалнѣ] хвалѣ Sol. || или] ли TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || раѣславѣти] рамавити Rum.204 | рама быти Sof. || слабомѣ] славы Sol. ||

арити сѧ глѣть слово. по
служению бываемѣ. блго
оучителю и влѣкы. такими
потребова словы. къ
подрѣчникомѣ блгы
створають ихъ :

бываемѣ] бывае Sol. || къ] в Sol. ||

екл.

7:4 срѣце моудрыѣ в домоу
плача. и срѣце безумныѣ в
домѣ веселїа

7:4 Срѣце мудрыѣ в домоу
плача. и срѣце вѣихъ в домѣ
веселїа.

7:4 Срѣце мудрыхъ в домоу
плача. и срѣце безумныхъ в
домѣ веселья.

тол.

Мудрыи плачь помышляа како
желѧ и како оудовъ га* здѣ
припадаетъ и прилагает сѧ.
вывааетъ оубо млрдѣ
таковаа терпацимъ.
безумныи же твердѣ быти в
мире мнѧ недостойнаго
своего помышленїа, ни на
вѣдѣщее взираа, но на пицѣ
и питїе оупражняа сѧ и
сласти. знаменѣет здѣ
еклисиаста рассѣжденїю. зане
многажды себе миролюбви
лице подлагаа еже гисти и
пити повелеваетъ еже блго.

толкъ.

Мудрымъ же плачь
помышляа. како ѿ желѧ и
како оудовъ гаже здѣ
припадаетъ. и прилагаетъ ѣ.
ывааетъ оубо млрдѣ.
таковаа терпацимъ.
безумныи же твердое быти
в мирѣ мнѧ. недостойнаго
своего не помышленїа. ни
на вѣдѣщее взираа. на пицѣ
и питье оупражняа сѧ и
сласти знаменають. здѣ
еклисиаста рассѣжению зане
многажды себе миролюбца
лице полагаа. се же гисти и
пити повелѣваетъ еже блго :

ѿ желѧ и] здѣ тела TSL 730 | и от. TSL 730 | телѧ Rum.204, Sof. || припадаетъ] припаает Und.1
|| прилагаетъ ѣ] прилагает сѧ Und.1 || млрдѣ] моудръ TSL 730 || терпацимъ] терпацихъ Und.1 ||
вѣдѣщее] вѣдѣщаа Und.1 || безумныи] безумны Sol. | безумнѣ TSL 730 || не помышленїа] не от. TSL 730 ||
знаменають] знаменаает TSL 730 || рассѣжению] рассѣженїе Sol. | размышленью pr. Rum.204, Sof. ||

екл.

7:5 блго е* слышати
запрещенїе моужа. паче
моужа слышаца пѣснь
безумныхъ

7:5 Блго слышати преценїе
мудраго. паче мѣжа
слышацаго пѣснь
безумныхъ.

7:5 И блго слышати.
преценїе мудраго. паѣ мѣжа
слѣшающаго пѣни
безумнаго.

тол.

т.

Ѡвоу оумлагчаетъ мѡдраго же запрещеніемъ крѣпитъ и оуставляетъ.
Ѡво оумлачаетъ мѡдраго же запрѣщение крѣпитъ и уставляетъ :

Ѡво] въ TSL 730 || крѣпитъ] крепость Sol. ||

Екл.

7:6 ꙗко* во гла^ѿ трѣнїа по^а котлѡ^{мъ} тако смѣхъ безумнаго и се света

7:6 ꙗко гласъ тернїа по^а котломъ, тако смѣхъ безумнаго. и се же света.

7:6 ꙗко гла^ѿ тернїа по^а котломъ. тако смѣхъ безумнаго.

тол.

Кипѣніе вѣща искипѣніе смѣху безумнаго. подобенъ есть горящѡ тернїю под котломъ. первое оубо ꙗко оударенїе во нь, то Ѡ во^ггорѣнїа тернїа, ꙗвлено есть и ненавидѡщимъ. слыша^т еже тако же и безумнаго смѣхъ Ѡ грохотанїа вѣ разумѣ^{мъ}. in the margin: (образуемъ) таже дымъ Ѡ огна горѣнїа. тѡ ѡмраченїе дѡши Ѡ таковаго смѣха. тамо тернїе разжизаюци коновъ. здѣ грѣси вѣчнїи ꙗко ѡгнь возгараютъ безумномѡ. мѡдрыи едва с кро^тстїю оулыснетъ са.

толкъ.

Кипѣніе вѣща. и искипанїе. смѣху вѣзумна^ѿ подобенъ горящѡ тернїю по^а котломъ. первѣе оубо ꙗко оударенїе во что. Ѡ възгорѣнїа тернїю. ꙗвлено есть. и невидѡщимъ. слышатъ же тако и безумнаго смѣхъ, Ѡ грохотанїа ѡбразуетъ. таче дымъ Ѡ огна горѣнїа. тѡ ѡмраченїе дѡши Ѡ таковаго смѣха тамо тернїе разжизающї коновъ. здѣ грѣси вѣчнїи. ѡгнь возгараютъ. безумномѡ мѡдрыи и ѡдѡ с кротостїю оулыснетъ^ѿ :

Кипѣніе] кыи пѣнѣ Rum.204 | кыи пѣнїа Sof. || и искипанїе] и от. Rum.204, Sof. | искипанїа Rum.204, Sof. || подобенъ] подобно TSL 730 || тернїю] пирнїю Sof. || по^а котломъ] по^а клѡмъ Und.1 || первѣе] первїе Sol.|| невидѡщимъ] ненавидѡщимъ Rum.204, Sof. || и безумнаго] и безумнаго Rum.204 || огна] огнена TSL 730 || таковаго] таково TSL 730 || тернїе] мернїе Und.1 || возгараютъ] возгарае^т Sol.|| безумномѡ] ж ро. Sol.||

Екл.

7:8 блга послѣднѡа словесъ паче начала и^х

7:8 Блга послѣднѡа словесъ паче начала его.

тол.

Хвалитъ оубо послѣднѡа словесъ сего ра^а. аще кто начнетъ гла^{ти} что ꙗко мѡтвы, или правила бгѡ и не совершитъ таково оубо гла^{нїе} нѣсть достоино похвалы сподобити, зане не Ѡ внѡтрѣнїа силы и оусердїа

7:11 бл̄га моудро̄, с
раздѣленіємъ по жревію и
изовиліємъ видащимъ сл̄нце
7:12 тако в стѣни еѧ
мдрости тако стѣни сребра
изовиліе раздѣла мдрости.
оживи́ иже ѝ мена

такое моленіе бываетъ, но
ѿ лѣности и нерадѣніа. (sic)
такое начинаніе ни во что
же менитъ.

Екл.

7:11-12 Бл̄га м̄рость с
раздѣленіємъ по жревію, і
изовиліе видащимъ сл̄нце.
тако в стѣне еѧ м̄рость тако
стѣнь сребра, изовиліе
раздѣла прем̄рость.
прем̄рость (sic) оживляетъ
иже оу неѧ.

тол.

Добро гл̄етъ м̄рость с
раздѣленіємъ по жревію
счастію богатства. зане
м̄рыи аще вельми нищъ
вдѣтъ, то и мдрость его в
посмѣхъ вываетъ. естъ оубо
и самовольнаѧ нищета.
такоже іліи древле и елисею. і
инымъ прочимъ таковымъ.
но аще сїи оубози быша. но
д̄ховне шогатиша сѧ. и
видаще сл̄нце творца нашего
б̄га вотще же мдрость еже
ничесо* имѣшѣ. сирѣчь
бл̄гихъ д̄шевныхъ. ниже
потребныхъ потребныхъ.
плотныхъ а е* рече, тако в
стѣнѣ еѧ м̄рость. тако и
стѣнь сребра, сирѣчь м̄рость
и сребро стѣнію нарицаетъ.
тако да не хвали́т сѧ м̄ростію
и серебромъ. такоже м̄рость
подовне же и бога́ство
надѣваніємъ и помощію
менитъ. но оваче м̄рость
паче бога́ства гл̄етъ, зане
имѣніе м̄ростію шживляет
сѧ. сирѣчь шврѣтает сѧ и
оустрадет сѧ.

екл.

7:14 въ д̄нь бл̄гостына.
жива и въ ізли въ д̄нь зловы

7:14 Въ д̄нь бл̄гостына
своеѧ живи въ бл̄зѣ. и вижѣ
д̄нь зловы.

тол.

Не дни оубо и времена овы
 блги. овы же злы нарицаеть,
 тако же звѣздословцы
 глють. но днь блгостына
 нарече сирѣчь время блгое и
 беспечалное данное бгомь.
 такоже илю землю швилнѡ и
 время мирно. и в такое
 время оучить на соломѡ
 жити въ блзѣ, сирѣчь въ
 млти и во благодаренїи и въ
 прочи добродѣтелех. и
 сматраѣт дни словы. сирѣчь
 блюсти сѧ гнѣва бжїа и
 кочины смртныа зане
 непостоянно житїе наше
 есть. по звѣздозаконїю же
 дни добры слы лжесловно
 глють сѧ. зане аще бы днь
 добръ и золъ былъ. то равно
 бы всѣмъ слою приключаше
 сѧ. но зрит сѧ оубо в кїиждѡ
 днь овому добро. овомѡ же
 слоываеѣ. и ѡ сего разумно
 есть тако не ѡ звѣздѡ доброе
 и блгое нам случает сѧ. но ѡ
 содержащаѣ всѧ и строащаго
 премре промыслъываеѣ.
 и сего смираеѣ. а сего
 возноситъ.

екл.

виждь. иво се сыгла семоу
 еже створи бѣ о глѣ. да не
 обрацет зловою [за совою]
 ничто*

7:14 Виждь с симъ согласїе
 сихъ еже створи бгѡ о
 глехъ. да не шврацет члкъ
 за нею ничтоже.

тол.

Согласїе оубо добраго и слаго
 глетъ. зане рече бгѡ створи
 ихъ сирѣчь добро и сло ѡ бга
 подает сѧ а не ѡ звѣздѡ
 приключает сѧ, и сего ради
 виждь рече. зане добра днѡ
 согласи съ слыми. сирѣчь
 всѧкаа блгостына

непостоянна. и радости
кончина плачь бываетъ. и
сего ради разумѣ и рече. тако
всякое бытіе непостоянно
есть и паки прѣрокъ. стѣпайте
людіе мои рече в клѣтъ свою и
затворите дверь свою.
дондеже минетъ гнѣвъ гнѣ
здѣ же глетъ да не обратитъ
члкъ за нею ничтоже. сирѣчь
в мѣсто блгини противны
приключеніе.
екл.

7:15 вса^аскаа видѣхъ днь
свѣтствіа моего. есть
праведныи погыбаа въ свои
правдѣ. є^ч неч^тивыи
преываа и въ зловѣ свои

7:15 Есть праведныи
погыбаа въ свои правдѣ. и
есть нечестивыи преываа
въ свои зловѣ.

еклисиастъ.

7:15 Есть праведни^к,
погыбаа в правдѣ его и есть
нечтвѣи преываа въ зловѣ є^ч

Тол.

Се о таковыхъ апль оучитъ
глѣ, не разумѣюще правды
бжїа и свою ищѣще
поставити правдѣ бжїа не
стѣжаша. праведнаго оубо
здѣ вещь. неправедника, но
иже правдѣ гонѣща иже в
себѣ праведенъ тои
погыбаетъ, и изгонитъ сѣ ѿ
правды. нечестивъ не
погыбаетъ ѿ бесчестїа, ни
изгонитъ сѣ но преывае^т въ
зловѣ свои велии бѣда.

т.

И се в таковыхъхъ апль
оучитъ глѣ. не разумѣюще
правды бжїа. и свою ищѣще
поставити правдѣ, бжїа не
стѣжаша праведна^{го} оубо здѣ
вѣща неправедника. но же
правдѣ гонѣща. но иже в
себѣ праведенъ. то
погыбаетъ ни изгонитъ ѿ
правды. нечѣтивъ не
погыбаетъ ѿ бесчестїа. ни
изгонитъ сѣ. но преывае^т
въ зловѣ свои велии бѣда :

разумѣюще] разумѣючи Und.1|| поставити] вставить TSL 730 || ноже] неже Rum.204 (не s.l.), Sof.
|| изгонитъ сѣ] изго Und.1|| преывае^т] преываа Sol.,Sof. ||
бѣда] бѣдоу Und.1||

7:16 не бѣди праведенъ
велии ни мѣдри сѣ велии
егда когда измѣеши сѣ

7:17 и не вещьствѣи много и
не бѣди жестокъ да не
змреша въ время свое

Екл.

7:16 Не бѣди праведенъ
велии, ни мѣдри сѣ излише,
егда когда измѣеши сѣ.

7:17 Ни вещьствѣи много.
ни бѣди жестокъ. да не
оумреша не во время свое.

еклисиастъ.

7:16 Не бѣди праведенъ
велии ни мѣдрѣ лише да не
како измѣеши сѣ.

7:17 Ни вещьствѣи велии.
ни бѣди жестокъ да не
оумреша (не во s.l.) время
твое.

Тол.

Какоже^о добродѣтель в мѣрѣ
сѣщи приатна. попремногѣ^к

Толк.

Како же добродѣтель в мѣрѣ
сѣщи приатна. попремногѣ

СЛОВНА НАЛЕЖИТЬ. НЕ БЪДИ
 ВЪЩА ПРАВЕДЕНЪ ВЕЛМИ.
 НИЖЕ ИЗЛИХА КО СЛЫМЪ
 НЕНАВИСТЬНИ НЕМЛЪРДЪ БЪДИ К
 СОГРЪШАЩИМЪ И ЖЕСТОКЪ И
 НЕ ЧЛКЪ. НО НЕ МЪДРЪИ
 ИЗЛИШЕ ДА НЕ ИЗЪМЪЕШИ СЛ.
 ИЗЛИХА ЖЕ СЪТЬ, ИЖЕ КРОМЪ
 БЖЕСТВЕНАГО ОУЧЕНІА. И
 ВЕЛИКО ВЪЩАНІЕ НА ПОЛЗЪ
 НАМЪ БЖЕСТВЕННОЕ СКРЫ СЛОВО
 НЕИЩЕМО. ИБО ТЪХЪ ИСКАТИ
 ИЗЪМЪЕНІИ ИСТОВАНІЕ СМЫСЛА
 НО И ПО ПОВЕЛЪНІИ* НЕМНОГО
 БЕЗЧЕСТВЪИ. ПОТЩИ СЛ
 ИСТИНЪЕ ВЪРЪСТИ СЛ
 ПОКАНИЕМЪ ИЗБАВИТИ
 СОГРЪШЕНІА. И НЕ БЪДИ ВЪЩА
 ЖЕСТОКЪ. РЕШЕ НЕУМОЛИМЪ.
 И ПРОТИВОУ НАПАДАА ДХОМЪ
 ОУЧЕНІА. ТА* ПО ВЪЩЪ
 НАВОДИТЬ ДА НЕ ОУМРЕШИ НЕ
 ВО ВРЕМА. НЕ ВО ВРЕМА (СИЧ)
 ВО УМИРАЮТЬ СЪВЕРШЕНІИ ЛИ
 ДОБРОДЪТЕЛЪМИ. ОНИ. НО ПО
 СЛОВЪ ЖИВЫИ ОУМЕ^Р
 СКОНЧЕВАЕТ ЖЕ СЛ ТАКО
 ПШЕНИЦА ЗРЪЛА. В
 ДОБРОДЪТЕЛИ СОВЕРШЕНЫИ,
 НИКАКО* ПРЕЖЕ СМЪРТИ ТЪЛА
 ДШЕВНОЮ ОУМИРАЕТЪ СМЪРТИЮ.
 ВО СЛОВЪ ЖИВЫИ НИЖЕ В
 НАСТОАЩЕМЪ ЖИТІИ БЫСТЬ.
 ЕГДА ОУМРЕМЪ. НО ДА В
 ВЪЧНЫИ ПРЕСТАВИМ СЛ ЖИВО^Т.
 ОУМИРАЮ^Т ЖЕ ОУВО НЕ ВО
 ВРЕМА НЕЧЕСТИВІИ И
 ОБИДЛИВІИ И
 ЛИШЕМЪДРЪСТВУАИ.

ЖЕ ЗЛОБА НАЛЕЖИТЬ. НЕ БЪДИ
 ВЪЩА. ПРАВЕДЕНЪ ВЕЛМИ.
 НЕЖЕ ИЗЛИХА КЪ ЗЛЫМЪ
 НЕНАВИСТЬНИ НЕМИЛО^РДЪ
 БЪДИ КЪ СОГРЪШАЮЩИМЪ, И
 ЖЕСТОКЪ И НЕ ЧЛВКЪ. НО НИ
 МЪДРЪИ ИЗЛИШЕ. ДА НЕ
 ИЗЪМЪЕШИ^И ИЗЛИХА ЖЕ СЪТЬ
 ИЖЕ (S.I.) КРОМЪ БЖЪТВЕНАГО
 ОУЧНИА И ВЕЛИКО ВЪЩАНІЕ НА
 ПОЛЗУ НАМЪ БЖЪТВЕННОЕ СКРЫ
 СЛОВО НЕИЩЕМО. ИБО ТЪХЪ
 ИСКАТИ ИЗЪМЪЕНІИ ИСТОВАНІЕ
 СЛЫСЛА. (SIC) НО И ПО
 ПОВЕЛЪНИИ ИХЪ МНОГО
 БЕЗЧЕСТВОУИ. НО ТЩИ СЛ
 ИСТИНЕНЪ ВЪРЪСТИ СЛ
 ПОКАНИЕМЪ ИЗБАВИТИ
 СОГРЪШЕНІА. И НЕ БЪДИ ВЪЩА
 ЖЕСТОКЪ РЕКШЕ НЕУМОЛИМЪ.
 И ПРОТИВУ НАПАДАА ДХЪМЪ
 ОУЧНИА. ТАЧЕ ПО ВЪЩУ.
 НАВОДИТЬ ДА НЕ ОУМРЕШИ. НЕ
 ВО ВРЕМА ВО ОУМИРАЮ^Т.
 СЪВЕРШЕНИИ ДОБРОДЪТЕЛМИ. НО
 ВЪ ЗЛОВЪ ЖИВЪ. И ОУМЕРЪ
 СКОНЧЕВАЕТЪ ЖЕ СЛ. ТАКО
 ПШЕНИЦА ЗРЪЛА В
 ДОБРОДЪТЕЛИ СЪВЕРШЕНЫИ.
 НИКАКО ЖЕ ПРЕ^С ТЪЛА СМЪРТИ.
 ДШЕВНОЮ ОУМИРАЮТЬ
 СМЪРТЮ. ВЪ ЗЛОВЪ ЖИВЫИ
 ИИЪ ЖЕ В НАСЪТОАЩЕ ЖИТЬЕ
 ВЪ^И ЕГ^А ОУМРЕМЪ НО ДА В
 ВЪЧНЫИ ПРЕСТАВИМ СЛ
 ЖИВОТЪ. ОУМИРАЮТЬ ЖЕ ОУВО
 НЕ ВО ВРЕМА. ЖЕСТЬ^{КЪИ} И
 НЕЧЪТИВЫИ ВБИДЛИВЫИ^И И
 ЛИШЕМЪДРЪСТВУА :
 ЕКЛ.

сүщи] сүще Rum.204, Sof. || не бұди] не доу^А Sol. || ненавистьни] ненавистни^И Rum.204, Sof. || неже] ниже Sol. || немоло^Рдъ] но милосердъ TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || изум^Иеши^И] ^Иom.Und.1|| изум^Иении] и разоум^Иение Sol. | изум^Иъ TSL 730 || истование] стованье Rum.204, Sof. || слысла] смысла Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || в доброд^Ители] в доброд^Ителми TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || да не оумреши] да от. Rum.204, Sof. || во оумираю^Т] во оумираетъ Und.1 || пре^С] тре Rum.204, Sof. || жесть^{КЪИ}] жестьскыи Und.1 || живыи] живы Sol. || в в^Ичныи] в в^Ичны Und.1 || ег^А оумремъ] ег^А же оумремъ | еда оумрем Rum.204, Sof. || неч^Итивыи] неч^Итивыа Sol. || вбидливыи^И] и пр. Sol., Und.1, Rum.204, Sof. ||

екл.

7:18 Блго ти есть приимати

еклисиастъ.

7:18 Блго приимати^И ѿ семь.

7:18 блго ти есть
вздържати сѧ о всемъ Ѡ
всего не оскверниши рѣкы
своеѧ тако воли сѧ ба
изидеть все

сѧ о семь. и Ѡ сего оубо не
вскверни рѣкы своеѧ. тако
воацим сѧ бѣга изыдѣтъ
всѧ.

ибо Ѡ сего не всѣкверньши
рѣкы твоеѧ. тако воа^н сѧ ба.
примирить всѧ.

тол.

О добродѣтели оучивъ и о
слове наведе, тако блго
приматисѧ добрѣ. не
о^бквернити же рѣкы дѣланіа
миноуемы Ѡ слобы та^к
вчистимъ. но чисто
сотворимъ страхъ бѣжїи, вѣща
тако се гави сѧ воацим сѧ
бѣга изыдѣтъ всѧ все дѣланіе
по добродѣтели исхода.
провоспѣваніемъ
свершаемъ и всѣхъ лютыхъ
искѣсъ.

Скори^н.

Добро есть тебѣ помочи
справедливомоу, и Ѡ него не
Ѡторган роуки своеѧ.
понеже воациїи сѧ бѣга
ничего замешкаетъ.

т.

Ѡ добродѣтели оучивъ и Ѡ
зловѣ. наведе тако блго
приматисѧ добрѣ. не
всквернити же дѣланиа
рѣкы. минѣемъ Ѡ зловѣ.
таче вчистимъ. но чисто
створимъ страхъ бѣи.
вѣщага тако се гави^н ба
изидеть всѣхъ и все
дѣлание. по добродѣтели
исхода. провоспѣваніемъ
свершаемъ. и всѣхъ
лютыхъ искѣсъ.

добрѣ] добро Rum.204, Sof.|| минѣемъ] минѣемъ Rum.204, Sof. || провоспѣваніемъ] проспѣваніемъ
Und.1||

7:19 мл^чть поможетъ
мѣдромѣ паче десяти
владающихъ въ градѣ.

екл.

7:19 Прем^арость мѣдраго
паче десяти владающихъ во
градѣ.

еклисиастъ

7:19 Мѣдрость мѣдраго
оукрѣпить. па^ч дѣти
владающихъ въ градѣ.

7:20 тако члѣка нѣсть
праведна на земли. иже
сътворить блгое и не
согрѣшитъ.

7:20 тако члѣка праведна
нѣсть на земли, иже
сотворить блго и не
согрѣшитъ.

7:20 тако члѣка праведна нѣ^с
на земли иже створить блго
и не согрѣшитъ.

толкованіе

Десятъ нѣ^нныхъ чиновъ иже не
могоша погибающѣ родѣ
члѣчю помощи. ни ходатаи во
ни агглъ. но самъ гѣ прише^а
спсе ны. ничтоже тако вѣща
исхити^т Ѡ вѣдъ тако
м^арость. а еже паче десяти
владающихъ рекѣ паче вола

толкъ.

Деся^т нѣсн^нныхъ чиновъ иже
не могоша помощи
погибающую родѣ члѣчю. не
ходатаи во ни агглъ. но
самъ гѣ пришедъ сп^нны.
ничтоже тако вѣща.
исхититъ Ѡ в^аѣ. тако
мдр^чть. а еже па^ч десяти

члѣскіа силы. но самъ гѣ
нашъ исъ хсѣ ѿчашъ мѣрость в
онъ вѣрѣющаѣ и вѣрою мѣра
бывша поможетъ паче
десѣти заповѣдей свѣщихъ во
градѣ іудѣйскій. аще бо и
десѣть сохрани законныѣ
заповѣди. но нѣсть чѣлка не
поползнуть са. и законъ ни
единого шправда. и гѣ нашъ
исъ хсѣ самъ бысть мѣрость,
правда же і изъавленіе. а еже
нѣсть праведника на земли
иже сотворитъ бѣго и не
согрѣшитъ. не възглетъ тако
никтоже сотвори бѣга, прѣно
во свѣтъ бѣгодѣлающіи но
тако кто добродѣтельны
сыи и бѣго живыи не можетъ
презрѣти что тревѣтъ ѿ хѣ
изъавленіе.

владѣющіи рѣкѣ. паѣ волѣ
кога челѣвчѣскыѣ силы. ино
самъ мѣрѣтъ. гѣ нашъ исъ хсѣ.
во нь вѣрѣющаѣ и вѣрою
мѣдра быша. поможетъ паче
десѣтъ заповѣдий. свѣщихъ в
градѣ іудѣйскыѣ. аще бо и
десѣтъ сохрани законныѣ
заповѣди. но нѣсть чѣлка не
поползнуть и законъ ни
единого шправда. гѣ нашъ
исъ хсѣ самъ бытъ мѣрѣтъ правда
же и изъавленіе : И еже нѣсть
праведника на земли. иже
сотворитъ бѣго. и не
согрѣшитъ. не то глѣтъ. тако
никтоже створи бѣга прѣно
во свѣтъ. бѣгое дѣлающіи. но
тако кто добродѣльны сыи.
и бѣго живыи не можетъ
презрѣти что. и тревѣтъ ѿ
хѣ изъавленіе :

волѣ кога] всакога Sol. || быша] бывша Und.1, Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || и "изъавленіе] и от. Und.1 ||
никтоже] не ро. Und.1 || шправда] не рг. Sol. ||изъавленіе] изъавленьѣ Rum.204 ||

7:21 и всѣ га* слова и*
въглотъ нечѣтивіи и не
вложи срѣца своего. да не
дслышиши раба своего
кленѣща тебе.

7:22 тако многѣжды
слѣкѣютъ тобою. обхожѣніе*
ноги озловитъ срѣце твое. такоже
и ты клѣтъ еси дрѣгѣмъ

екл.

7:21 И всѣ оубо слова иже
возглотъ нечестивіи не
приклони срѣца твоего га* да
не оуслышиши раба твоего
кленѣща тебе.

7:22 тако многѣжды
слѣкѣютъ тобою.
обхожѣніемъ шловитъ
многимъ срѣце твое. тако да
и ты клѣтъ еси дрѣгѣмъ
многѣмъ.

тол.

Здѣ не поминающаго зла не
вводитъ. нечестивіи шще
шсудителе и грѣшники
зоветь ѿ множества
строащимъ нелѣпо вниматъ
клеветамъ. вѣща, тако* и
рабѣ твоемѣ проклѣти тебе
водвигнувшѣ са на мѣрость.
паче оубо и различне
можетъ на та мыслити. то

еликъсигастъ (sic.)

7:21 Ибо всѣ слова. таже
възмолвѣтъ нечѣтви. не
приклони срѣца твоего тако да
не оуслышиши раба твоего
кленѣща га.

7:22 тако многѣжды
лѣкавѣствѣтъ ти и мно
гѣжды шловитъ срѣце твое.
тако же ты клѣтъ инѣхъ:

толкъ.

Съде не поминающаго зла не
вводитъ. нечѣтви шще
судителѣ и грѣшники
называетъ ѿ множества.
строащимъ нелѣпо внимати
клеветамъ вѣща. тако же ни
рабѣ твоемѣ проклѣти тебе
подвигша са на мѣрость. паѣ
оубо и различнѣ можетъ. на
та мыслити. то бо есть по

во есть, по сходѣ многажды
озловитъ срѣце твое. тако
клевета многажды озловитъ
дѣшю. аще во на коегождо
оклеветающихъ гнѣваетъ сѧ.
многи потерпитъ сходы
влекоу въ страсти гарость
и словы исполняетъ дѣшю
свою.

инъ.

Въ та нечестивыхъ словеса.
нечестива же еллиньска
мѣдрость. и жидове и
еретицы, и вси иже неправѣ
вѣга молвца словеса.

сходѣ многажды wzловитъ
срѣце твое. тако клевета
многажды wzловитъ дѣшю.
аще во на коегождо
клеветающихъ гнѣваетъ сѧ.
многи потерпитъ сходы
влекоу в стрѣти гарость и
зловы исполняетъ дѣшю
свою:

инъ.

Въ та нечѣтвыхъ словеса
нечѣтва же еллиньска мѣдрѣть.
и жидове " еретицы. и вси же
неправѣ бѧ молвца слоб
ихже не нравы зоветь.
истинную минующе
мѣдрость. гдѣ во словомъ
не дан же своего мѣсли.
любо и клеветающа на тѧ.
твое гаростное
вспоминанье тако
многажды ты тѣхъ злѣ
реклѣ еси. любо и вѣседѣши
с ними. безъ зловы створи
весѣды. съ кротостью и
терпѣнїем:

°судителѣ] wсодители Sol. [[потерпитъ] потребитъ Und.1 [[дѣшю свою] свою дѣшю Rum.204, Sof. ||

7:28 его* взиска дѣша моѧ и
не вврѣтохъ члѣка единого ѿ
тысящи обврѣтохъ и женъ въ
всѣхъ сихъ не обврѣтохъ

7:28 Мужа вврѣт единого ѿ
тысяща жены же всѣхъ
снихъ не вврѣтохъ:

толкъ.

Женѣ же оуподоблеть. иже
не имѣть на влѣгое тверда
помысла женамъ единѣ".
всѣмъ wвыще. зане жена
часть немоушьнѣише есть.
По дѣху мѣдрость. жена
именовасѧ еюже вѣчнаго
живота насладихом сѧ.

женѣ] жены TSL 730 || всемъ] все TSL 730 ||

екли (in the mg.)

10:7 видѣхъ рабы на конехъ и
кнѧзи идѣщи тако рабы по
земли.

8:2 оуста црѧ схрани. и w
словеси клѣтвы бѣгїа не тщи

10:7 Видѣхъ рабы на
конѣхъ а кнѧзи идѣще
пѣши.

8:2 Оуста вѣ храни и w словѣ
клѣтвы бѣгїа не тосни сѧ.

сѧ.

8:3 Ѡ лица во его поидеши.
не стани в словесѣ лѣкавнѣ.
яко всѧ еже аще створиѣ.

8:3 Ѡ лица его поидеши не
стани в словѣ лѣкавѣ. елико
аще восхитить и сътворить:
толкъ.

Добро оубо земному црѣтвѣ
покарати сѧ всѣхъ же црю
бѣ оустѣ хранити писание
поручаетъ. се же естѣ имѣи
васни его таиньства и къ
достойнѣи^м износити.
соблюдати же его заповѣди.
добро же хранити еже не
клатисѧ по бѣзѣ. ниже
тщати^и кромѣ бѣга лица ити
но все дѣлаѧ. к бѣ видѣю.
по иному же писанию тако
почти и " словѣ клатвѣ не
тщи сѧ рекъ. не теци на
клатѣтвѣ (sic) идеши ли
иди. рѣкѣ же вѣгаи не взати
клати^и:

кѧ.

рек] реклѣ Und.1 || дѣлаѧ] дѣланіа Und.1 || клати^и] клат сѧ Sol. ||

8:4 якоже црѣ съвладыи
глетѣ и кто речетѣ емѣ и что
створиши

8:4 яко се црѣ владѣѧ
молвить. и кто рѣтѣ емѣ
что створилѣ еси:

толкъ.

Ни единого же разумѧ зла
имѣти ни противити сѧ. яко
да злѣ дѣ^{юшимъ} мѣлвити ли
славити. понеже во рѣнѣ^и.
заповедемъ поминаетъ.
такое разумѣваніе зане всѣхъ
црѣ и бѣ. тако всѣхъ владѣѧ
законъ положи. и нѣ^и емѣ
противѣ рещи ни стати слово
в законѣющи заповѣди. по
что же се а не се^и закони.
се во лѣкавно естѣ. во иже
сѧ па^и и вѣрою исполнѧи
преже вчиненаѧ:

злѣ дѣюшимъ] зла ди Rum.204, Sof. || заповедемъ] заповѣди Sol. || всѣхъ] всѣми Sol. || законѣющи]
законѣюще TSL 730 ||

8:8 нѣ^и члѣка владѣѧ въ
дѣсѣ възвранитѣ с дѣхомъ. и

кѧ

8:8 И нѣ^и посла въ дѣнь

нѣсть владѣщаго в днь
сѣрти. и нѣсть сѣдбы въ днь
врани.

и не спсѣтъ вѣщестіе сѣщаго
в не^м.

9:4 тако кто иже прича^{ша}ет
са къ всемъ живымъ есть
надежа тако пѣсь живъ то
блго паче лва мртва

10:1 Моухы смрцвляющаго

врани.

толкъ.

По реченикѣ (sic) во врани
пришедши. нѣ^с време^н
послати. и па^ч во шшествии
по разумѣ же в врани.
повелѣному оумрѣти ѿ ба.
нѣ^с паки иже послага сѣба
въ животъ:

инъ.

егда на сѣдѣ начнетъ кто
воремъ быти и ѿ своихъ
грѣховъ. не можетъ глти.
посли ма в жити егда да^с
покаю ниже хота кончати^с.
можетъ рѣши. ѿпусти ма
жити. да покаю са. не бо
есть владыи в дне сѣрти.

воремъ] боримъ TSL 730 ||

еклисиастъ.

8:8 (cont.) не спсѣтъ
нечестыа сѣщаго в немъ.

толкъ.

Такъ се въ реклѣ. по^а
нечтѣемъ мучимаго "
держимаго. вѣдуще тако нѣ^с
владѣга в днь сѣрти. тако нѣ^с
посланиа в днь врани
нечествѣемъ:

нечествѣемъ] нечествѣи^и TSL730, Rum.204, Sof. ||

еклисиастъ.

9:4 Есть оупование тако пѣсь
живъ то в блго печаль ва^м,
(sic)

блговоннѣ сѣщѣ. и масло
сладости. нечѣтии бѣсове
оугазвивше грѣхи стрѣтъм^н.
такъ па^ч оумирающе мѣхи
такыми согнити. и

ѿлѣтаютъ же и налѣтаютъ:

блговоннѣ сѣщѣ] въ блговониа^н соѣще Sol. ||

еклисиастъ.

сгноа^т строеніе древаное
масло сладости часть мало
мдрости паче славы бездма
велика^т

10:1 Чт^{но} мало мдр^{ти}. па^ч
славы велики безумна.

т.
Прославиша^т мнози в
безумьи мнзѣ. гз^{ык}ъ безъ
правды попрѣ. иже въ
мирѣ. ба(тъ s.l.) и гордъ
бывъ. иже внѣшнею
мудростью w суетныхъ
трѣдивша сѧ. но ни
прикладнѣ лѣпље извѣстие.
иже начинага по бзѣ
мудростью в тѣ водимъ. и
прикасати сѧ еи начинага. но
w безумья славы не роди.

трѣдивша сѧ] трѣдивше сѧ TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. ||

10:2 ср^{це} мдраго о десн^ю
его. ср^{це} бездма^т w
ш^юю его.

еклисиастъ.
10:2 Ср^{це} мудрому в
десници его. ср^{це}
безумному в ш^ици его.

т.
Ср^{це} оумъ разумѣти. и
телесное во ср^{це} всегда на
единомъ мѣстѣ лежитъ. во
оутровѣ еже зовемъе
перепона. тѣм же мудрому
оумъ. всегда лѣпага и
похвалнага разумѣеть же и
дѣлаеть. безумнаго же злага
противна имѣща :

зовемъе] зове^т Sol. || перепона] перепоны Sol. || разумѣеть же] же от. Sol. || имѣща] имѣще Rum.204,
Sof. ||

10:3 и на п^ть^т бездмныи
идеть и ср^{це} его лиши^т гаже
помы шл^{ет} всѧ бездма

еклисиастъ.
10:3 Ибо на пѣть егда
безумныи иде^т и ср^{це} его не
достать^т ствѣеть. и гаже
помышлаетъ всѧко безумна
сѣ^т.

т.
Житье се пѣть зовемо
безуменъ. и на ш^ици имъи
ср^{це}. всегда недостатъки
лишага сѧ несмотрѧ. текии
возданию въшнѧ^т възданига.
ниже напере^т простирагасѧ.

ни къ коньцю въсхода. не бо
 "нить" лишаетъ вса. и вса
 не свершена и бесловесна и
 дѣлаа и помышлѣа. аще ли
 же и пѹть въправдании.
 начнетъ б̄нихъ заповедеи.
 понеже ср̄це не в деснѣ.
 затворено лишаемъ и не
 разумѣа оуч̄нии. ниже
 твора по закону положенику
 хотѣнию.

недостатъки] и ро. Rum.204 || и вса] и от. TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. ||
 еклиясть

10:4 аще дх̄ъ владѹщаго
 взидет на на мѣста своего
 не остави тако ицѣленіе
 оставити грѣхы великы

10:4 аще дх̄ъ владѹщаго
 наиде на та. мѣста своего
 не остави. тако ицѣлени
 оставити. грѣхы великы.
 толкъ.

Дх̄ъ владѹщаго. вѣка се̄
 сновъ не покоривъхъ. иже
 не по нѹжи покориша̄.
 дѣволъ власть
 мѹчительствѹющее оубо
 вѣща вышнѣа (тї
 смъсльшѹ и вышнѣа s.l.)
 идѹщѹ. наскочи на та дх̄ъ
 владѹщаго покоити твое
 помышление. иже к
 вышнимъ ити хотѣцю
 възбрани затворенѹ
 вхоженіа. никътоже его
 вощприма вса своа почювѣи
 загражаа. ни шчима же ни
 оушима ни гзъкомъ вхо^а
 емѹ подани ни немъ
 чювствомъ. преже во
 стрѣти и ѡемьлемо
 непостонна начинаніа. аще и
 мысль что влагаетъ мѣста
 не оставли. затвораа оубо
 блѹдъ цѣломѹдриемъ.
 любовью же ненависть
 ѡгона. подобнѣ же
 коегождо мѣста.
 добродѣтели гѹбѣшемѹ. аще
 во вѣща оставиши. се же
 есть почити дха

покоривъхъ - нѹжи] от. Und.1|| нѹжи] нѹже Sol. || власть] власти Rum.204 || мѹчительствѹющее] мѹчительствѹюща Rum.204 || идѹщѹ] идѹща Und.1|| иже к] еже к Rum.204 || оушима] оуши Rum.204, Sof.|| еклѹи

10:5 еѹ. лѹкавство еѹ видѹхъ
по^ слнце^ еже новолно
изидеѹ ѿ лица владѹщаго.

10:6 данъ безѹмныи на
высота^ великы^ и богатїи в
смѹрены^ садѹт.

владѹщаго. многии велики
грѹхи свереть своеи дѹши :
аще изѹврачюеши свою дѹшю
добродѹтели прилежаниемъ.
и тако исцеленое покоить.
грѹхи великиа :

10:5 Есть лѹкавство еже
видѹхъ по^ слнцемъ. тако
неволею изиде ѿ лица владѹ-
щаго.

10:6 И да сѹ безѹмныи
возвышенью великѹ. и бѹтїи
въ смиренїи садѹтъ :

толкъ.

Къ рѹню оубо инѹ видить
видить (sic) в члвцѹхъ.
лѹкавства вещь. князѹ
многожды и неволею
гавляюще сѹ. стра^а ради
нѹкоего. болша силнѹхъ и
славѹщага безѹмныа.
бѹтѹм же имѹнїе. данью
емлюще повелѹнїа ради
неволею. многож^аы бо
црѹкыми повелѹнїи князи
неволею штѹнимають. по
разѹмѹ же волею члвци на
сласти давѹше сѹ неволею
что (s.l.не) покоренїю. рѹкѹ
дѹгаволѹ. вчинѹ бо. и чрево
питаемъ бесловеснымъ свое
к разѹмѹ хлѹбъ инѹ.
словеснымъ добродѹтели
шбо тако дѹшѹ питающїи.
тѹмъ блговолить бѹ. рѹкѹ
же влагаетѹ. и любить
таковаа дѹганиа :

Повелѹваетъ воплоць
слово. члвчѹкѹ родѹ. в
таинное причѹщение. еже
воистиннѹ на^ ради бѹтѹ.
нашего во ради :

Къ] пш Rum.204, Sof. || повелѹнїа]во ро. Und.1|| и чрево] и от.Rum.204 || к разѹмѹ] по разѹмоѹ
Rum.204, Sof. || дѹшѹ] дѹши Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. ||

10:7 видѣхъ рабы на конехъ и
кнѣзи идущи тако рабы по
земли.

10:8 копаа глѣб в ню
впадетъ. и потревлѣющаго
оградѣ оугрызнетъ и змѣя

10:16 горе тебѣ граде емоу*
црѣ твои знь. и кнѣзи твои
заоутра ѣдѣтъ

10:17 блжѣна ты земле. еѣ
црѣ твои и снѣ свободныи и
кнѣзи твои въ время падаѣтъ
и силѣ не постыдаѣтъ

еклисиастъ

10:7 Видѣхъ рабы на
конехъ. а кнѣзи идущѣ
пѣши.

т.

Преже рабы апѣли. тако на
конѣ всѣдше на еоуанглѣката
словеса славни гавишаѣ. ихже
паждение спѣнье быѣ. а кнѣзи
пѣши. иудѣи на земли
повержени. въ хѣа ѡвержени
вѣры ради :

инъ.

Пѣшимъ быти велить и
нѣмъ и гнѣшати сѣ всакого
грѣха :

еклѣ

10:8 Рыбаи ровъ. Впаде сѣ
во нь. и ѡемлаи плоѣ.
оузритъ зѣмлю :

толкъ.

Сѣплоѣ законъ законъ (sic)
заповѣди. а змѣя дѣяволъ.
разараѣа законъ. и
пресѣтѣпаѣа заповѣди. и
вбрацѣтъ дѣявола :

законъ законъ] законъ Und. I, TSL730, Sof. | законъ а законъ Sol. ||

еклисиастъ

10:16 Горе тебѣ граде в
немже црѣ твои оунъ. и
богарѣ твои рано падаѣтъ.

т.

По дѣху граѣ есть дѣша. а црѣ
наречѣтъ оумъ. а еже
оунъ. славь богары же
имѣѣаи своѣа помыслы злыи
работѣа.

и своѣа] и от. TSL 730 ||

еклисиастъ

10:17 Блжѣна ты земле еси.
иже црѣ твои снѣ свободы.
и богарѣ твои во время
падаѣще в силѣ не
постыдаѣтъ.

т.

Ище дѣша и оумъ
вжѣтвенными (заповѣѣми s.l.)

сѣобнѣми (sic) оучѣнии
воспитаеѣ. се естъ снѣ
свободы. твори потребнага
дѣши и тѣлѣ. И еше же гра^а
есть цркы. имѣши црѣ ѿса
хѣ. князи же апѣли.

сѣобнѣми] сѣобными Und.1 | сѣобно^аными Sol., TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || ѿса] om. TSL 730 ||

11:2 даждь часть се^амии бои
са тако не вѣси что вѣдетъ
лѣкаво н^а земли.

еклисиастъ

11:2 Дажь часть седми таче
всмому.

Дхвнѣ седмица жѣтье се
настоащее всмому вѣкѣ
бѣдѣшему ему же ввразъ.
не^ала вскрѣнига и створи бѣ
днѣ седмици. и почи ѿ всѣхъ
дѣлъ свои^х. и блгѣви и и наре^а
и сѣта. толкѣетъ покои.
собиран собѣ дѣлы блгѣыми.
в седмици житыа сего. в
седмѣю всмѣю часть.
подавающа с честью :

блгѣви и] блгѣвни Sol. || вскрѣнига] въскрѣнѣ TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || всмѣю] и pr. TSL 730 || сего] и ро.
Rum.204, Sof. || подавающа] подавающе TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof.

11:3 аще исплѣнат са
вблаци дож^аа, на землю
изливаютьъ.

11:3 Аще наполнатъ^а
вблаци дож^аа. на землю
изливаютьъ.

толкъ.

По дхѣ вб^аци стии мѣжи
нарекоша^а. ихже тако дождь
изливаютьъ оучѣнига. на вса
члѣкы земля члѣци
нарекѣтъ. такоже во вбл^аци
велѣнѣемъ биимъ. дождь
изливаемъ. на вса члѣкы
(s.l. симь) ввразомъ. лѣпо
млѣтѣни быти.

вб^аци] om. Und.1 || мѣжи] и pr. Und.1 | мѣжѣ Sol. || изливаемъ] изливаютьъ^а Sol. || симь] и pr. Sol. ||
млѣтѣни] и pr. TSL 730 (s. 1.), Rum.204, Sof. ||

и аще паде^т древо ѿг^ам. аще
ли на вѣрне^а мѣстѣ. иде^а
падетъ древо. тоу вѣдетъ

еклисиастъ

Аще падетъ древо на (s.l.8)
гѣ. аще ли на сѣверѣ. паде^т
дре^а тамо бѣдетъ.

толкъ.

Древо наричѣтъ^а члѣци
праведни и грѣшни. а оугы

11:4 влюдыи вѣтра не сѣе^т
и смотри во облакы не
пожне^т.

и не вѣеть] инъ вѣеть Rum.204, Sof. || мѹтити^ѣ] мѹчити сѡ Sol. | не рг. Rum.204, Sof. || и кто] и от.
TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || да ни пожнемъ] да от. TSL 730, Rum.204, Sof. || время мѡтни] время
мѡтныю Rum.204, Sof. ||

12:5 иво на высотѣ оузри^т и
древеса на пѹти. и процвете^т
кляпыш. <михда^ѣ> и
штлъстветь обрѣда.
<проугъ> и разрѣшит сѡ всѡ
капкаръ. како веде^т члѡка в
домъ вѣка своего. и
вбидоша и на трѣжици
пла^ѣцїи.

толкъ.

Древо наричють члѡци
праведни и грѣшни. а оугы
свѣтлаа мѣста праведныхъ.
а сѣверъ в темнаа мѣста
грѣшныхъ. по смѣрти гдѣ
хто достигнетъ тѹ и вѣдетъ.

в темнаа] в от.Sol., Rum.204, Sof. ||

11:4 влюдыи вѣтра. не
сѣеть и смотри во облакы
не пожнетъ.

толкъ.

Многажды во днь^ѣ. и не
вѣеть. а ино заутра. еже
мѹтити^ѣ помыслы.

инъ.

По дху сѣати велить
мѡтныю дати. а смотри
во облакы не пожне^т не
велить ны смотрити. дающе
мѡтныю кто праведникъ и
кто ли грѣшникъ. да не
погубимъ время мѡтни. да
ни всѣемъ да ни пожнемъ.
его же во члѡци мнѡтъ
неправедна. дхъ шправдаеть

еклисиастъ

12:5 И процвете кляпышь
и оутыетъ аврѣдѣе.

толкъ.

Преже во всѣхъ. древо
процвѣтаетъ мигдала.
трисугубъ има^т ѣство.
первое чешюга на скорлѹши а
внѹтри гадро. тако и члѡкъ
ѡ тѣла и дша и дха
сстоитъ^ѣ.

инъ.

По дхӯ процвететь а
 родить члвк̄къ. оутыеть
 пругъ се сѹт грѣси. а еже
 разрѹшить канъпарии. еже
 есть грѣшникомъ конецъ.
 Я еже вскр̄ нѹть. и
 вскр̄ нѹть в гла̄ птичѣ.
 Архаангла ситце подобаетъ
 быти.

мигдала] мигдалъ TSL 730 || има^т ѣство] естество иматъ TSL 730 || внѹтри] внѹтъ Sol., TSL 730,
 Rum.204, Sof. ||

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