

**National Research University Higher School of Economics**

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**THE SLAVIC-JEWISH LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN MEDIEVAL EASTERN  
EUROPE: LINGUISTIC AND TEXTUAL ASPECTS**

Dissertation Summary  
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The dissertation was prepared at the Institute for Oriental and Classical Studies of the HSE University.

## **Publications**

Nine publications were selected for the defense:

1. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Linguistic and Literary Contact between East Slavs and Jews in the Middle Ages: Results and Perspectives of the Study.” *Studi Slavistici* 15.1 (2018): 29–60, doi 10.13128/Studi\_Slavis-20511 (in Russian).
2. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Traces of Rabbinic Exegesis for ‘Jacob’s Blessing to His Sons’ (Gen 49) in the Apocryphal Versions of the Palaea Interpretata and Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch Edited according to the Masoretic Text.” *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* 85.3–4 (2016): 321–332 (in Russian).
3. Grishchenko, Alexander. “Turkic Loanwords in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuchs Edited According to the Masoretic Text.” *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61.2 (2016): 253–273, doi: 10.1556/060.2016.61.2.1
4. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The wild beasts of Sigismund von Herberstein and the List of Clean Ungulates in the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch.” *Slavistična revija* 65.4 (2017): 611–628 (in Russian).
5. Grishchenko, Alexander. “Once Again on the Origin of the Cyrillic Letter »Backwards E«: Cyrillic, Glagolitic, or Hebrew Script?” *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu* 69 (2019): 35–69, doi: 10.31745/s.69.2 (in Russian).
6. Grishchenko, Alexander. “What Were Sturlabi Stolen by Rachel from Laban? (On the Sources of Glosses of the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th Century).” *Drevnyaya Rus—Voprosy Medievistiki* 71 (2018): 105–115 (in Russian).
7. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Chronology of the ‘Genealogy of Adam Through Noah’ (Gen 5) in the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch of the 15th Century: On the Origins of Calendric Controversy with the ‘Judaizers’.” *St. Tikhon’s University*

*Review. Series III: Philology* 56 (2018): 9–47, doi: 10.15382/sturIII201856.9-47 (in Russian).

8. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Language of Zabelin’s Set, the Unknown Monument of the East Slavonic Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Area.” *Rocznik Teologiczny* 62.2 (2020): 547–589, doi: 10.36124/rt.2020.21 (in Russian).
9. Grishchenko, Alexander. “A Glossary for the Song of Songs in Zabelin’s Set: The Loanwords and Their Sources.” *St. Tikhon’s University Review. Series III: Philology* 67 (2021): 11–49, doi: 10.15382/sturIII202167.11-49 (in Russian).

The results of the present study have also been presented in the following papers:

10. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Names of the Hebrew Months in the Medieval Slavonic-Russian Literature: Translations from Greek and Direct Loanwords from Semitic Sources.” *Die Welt der Slaven. Internationale Halbjahresschrift für Slavistik* 63.2 (2018): 189–214 (in Russian).
11. Grishchenko, Alexander. “Archaeographic Aspects and Textual History of the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the Fifteenth Century: New Data.” *Slavyanovedenie* 4 (2020): 68–87, doi: 10.31857/S0869544X0010421-6 (in Russian).
12. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Church Slavonic Song of Songs Translated from a Jewish Source in the Ruthenian Codex from the 1550s (RSL Mus. 8222): A New Revised Diplomatic Edition.” *Scrinium. Journal of Patrology and Critical Hagiography* 15.1 (2019): 111–131, doi: 10.1163/18177565-00151P08
13. Grishchenko, Alexander & Dan Shapira. “The Trilingual Prayer Copied by Avraham Firkowicz: The First Hebrew, Judeo-Slavic, and Crimean Judeo-Turkic Trilingual Text.” *Journal of Jewish Languages* 9.1 (2021): 100–149, doi: 10.1163/22134638-bja10012
14. Grishchenko, Alexander & Vadim Ponaryadov. “The Newly Discovered Monuments of the Old Permian Language and Script.” *Ural-Altai Studies* (2021): forthcoming (in Russian).

15. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Ethnonymic Cognomens of Saints in the Orthodox Synaxarium: A Summary List with Linguistic and Cultural Scholia.” *St. Tikhon’s University Review. Series III: Philology* 37 (2014): 55–73, doi: 10.15382/sturIII201437.55-73 (in Russian).
16. Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Ethnonymic Cognomens of Saints in the Orthodox Synaxarium: An Attempt at a Statistical Study.” *St. Tikhon’s University Review. Series III: Philology* 34 (2013): 21–39 (in Russian).

### **Conference Presentations and Grants**

The main results and conclusions of the present study have been presented in 2010–2021 in 79 oral presentations at 70 international and national conferences in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Veliky Novgorod, Yekaterinburg, Solvychevodsk, Odessa, Polotsk, Pinsk, Grodno, Daugavpils, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sofia, Ljubljana, Olomouc, Warsaw, Wrocław, Rome, Greifswald, and Bochum, including:

- XVI International Congress of Slavists (2018);
- International workshop “Constructing Religious Otherness in Russia” (2019);
- The European Association of Biblical Studies Annual Conference (2019);
- International Symposium “From the Historical Bible to the World Chronicle of the Byzantine-Slavic Palaea / Paleja” (2017);
- Third International Conference on Christian Hebraism in Eastern and Central Europe “The Jews in Christian Eyes. Between Inspiration and Hostility” (2017);
- International Meeting of Young Linguists at Palacký University, Olomouc (2016);
- International Academic Conference «POLYSLAV» (2015–2017);
- Roman Cyril-Methodian Readings (2016);
- “Saints and Holy Places in the Balkans” (2012);
- “Biblical Manuscript Tradition between Lexicography, Textual Criticism and Literary History” (2017);

- “Rajko Nahtigal and 100 Years of Slavic Studies at the University of Ljubljana” (2018);
- “An Integrated Approach to the Old Rus’ Studies” (2015, 2017);
- International Annual Conference *Scientific Readings* at the Faculty of Humanities of Daugavpils University (2017–2020);
- International Conference *Slavic Readings* of Daugavpils University (2015, 2018);
- “Berkov Readings. Book Culture in the Context of International Contacts” (2019, 2021);
- International Academic Conference “Byzantine Hagiography: Themes, Texts, and Projects (2012);
- International Conference on Jewish Studies by Sefer Center (2011, 2012, 2016–2019);
- “Slavic and Jewish Culture” Conference Cycle by Sefer Center (2015–2018);
- International Philological Conference of St. Petersburg State University (2010, 2013, 2014–2016);
- “Old Rus’ and the Germanic World in a Historical and Philological Perspective” (2018, 2021);
- Palaeoslavonic Readings (2016);
- “Ethnolinguistics. Onomastics. Etymology” (2015);
- “The Slavonic Bible in the Early Printing Era” (2017);
- International Online Conference “The Ostrog Bible and Biblical Tradition Development at Slavs” (2021);
- Theological Conference of St. Tikhons’ Orthodox University (2020, 2021);
- “Marginalia: The Boundaries of Culture and Text” (2015).

Excluding the publications selected for the defense, the results of one part of the dissertation were published as a monograph, *The Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the Fifteenth Century* (Moscow 2018, in Russian). The book has received two reviews by colleagues from Belarus and Israel:

- Mikhail U. Tarelko, *Belaruskaja linhvistyka* [*Belarusian Linguistics*], 81 (2018): 154–155;
- Konstantin Bondar, *Judaic-Slavic Journal*, 1 (2019): 259–262, doi: 10.31168/2658-3364.2019.1.5.1

The book was presented at the XVI International Congress of Slavists in Belgrade (August 2018) and, during the Congress, the author was made a member of the Biblical Commission of the International Committee of Slavists (<https://www.cesecom.it/en/contents/biblical-commission/103>).

Three research projects of studies presented in this dissertation were supported by grants from the President of the Russian Federation for Young Scholars (2015–16, MK-4528.2015.6: *Language and Literary Contacts between Slavs and Jews in Medieval Slavia Orthodoxa*; 2017–18, MK-1338.2017.6: *Linguistic-textual Research of the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuchs Edited according to the Masoretic Text*) and by a grant from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (2021–23: *Medieval Russian-Jewish Contacts and Slavic Targum*).

In addition, the results of Alexander Grishchenko’s research activities in the field of medieval Judaeo-Slavica were in demand for the popularization of the humanities. He read a series of four online lectures titled “Language and Literary Contacts of Slavs and Jews in Medieval Russian Lands” for the webinar program of the Sefer Center (December 2017), three public lectures for the educational project *Eshkolot: A Taste of Ideas* (“Jews of the Golden Horde: Judaeo-Turco-Slavica,” April 2019; “*Silna iakozhe smrt' liubov'*: The Song of Songs in Rus’ and Its Jewish Original,” September 2019; the tour “Judeo-Slavica in the Pashkov House: Unique Manuscripts of the *Leninka*,” October 2019), and two online lectures on the educational portal *Church Slavonic Today* (“The Slavic-Jews Contacts and Translations in Medieval Rus’,” “What Were Sturlabi Stolen by Rachel from Laban?” October 2019).

## Introduction

The papers collected in this dissertation are dedicated to a very specific theme which is at the junction of the traditional field of philology, most importantly Slavic, Jewish, and Turkic studies, and also at the intersection of such philological disciplines as historical linguistics and textual criticism. Earlier, I proposed to call the synthesis of these three subject areas *Judaeo-Turco-Slavica*. However, the common definition of the dissertation **subject area** is Slavic-Jewish contacts in the medieval and early modern periods in the East Slavic lands.

In this dissertation, the Slavic-Jewish contacts of Medieval Rus' are studied in their linguistic and textological aspects. The synthesis of these two aspects creates the discipline of *linguo-textology*, or linguistic and textual criticism (as an equivalent for the hard-to-translate Russian term *lingvotekstologiya*), which has not yet been fully recognized methodologically even by Russian scholars.

It is the controversial status of this discipline that defines the relevance of the present dissertation, in addition to the discovery of new monuments of language and literary contacts between East Slavs and Jews in the period from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period. Diaspora studies, including those focused on historical and socio-linguistic areas, have also intensified, accompanied by increasing attention to frontier topics in medieval studies. These include areal, social, cultural, language, and confessional frontiers, all of which are taken into account in my research, since I refer to borderline texts created in the bookish languages of the East Slavic area, but which originate from absolutely different confessions and languages.

Medieval Slavic-Jewish studies began in 1865, when Abraham Harkavy (Garkavi) published his book *On the Language of Jews Who Lived in Rus' in the Old Times and on the Slavic Words Found in Works by Jewish Authors*, and currently this research field is on the rise, as a result of the discovery of new sources, including foreign-language originals that were previously known, but have not received a convincing interpretation of Bible translations (those are early translation of the Song of Songs from the Museum Codex and the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch); new

testimonies about the Slavs and Rus' have also become known in Jewish sources. Thus, only in the past decade, the series of articles by Prof. Boris Uspenskij, describing the Slavic-Jewish contacts in Old Russian works, has been published;<sup>1</sup> Prof. Sergejus Temčinas has found, published, and thoroughly researched the Cyrillic Manual of Hebrew;<sup>2</sup> and Czech scholars have published the full corpus of the so-called Canaanite glosses from Hebrew manuscripts originating from Czech lands.<sup>3</sup>

Among Israeli Slavists, Prof. Moshe Taube continues to publish and research monuments of the “Jewish-Christian collaboration” (this term was coined by him<sup>4</sup>). He began his medieval Slavic-Jewish studies from the Old Ruthenian translations from Hebrew included in the Vilna Biblical Codex (MS F 19—262, from the first quarter of

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<sup>1</sup> Uspenskij, Boris A. “The Name of God in the Slavic Bible (towards Slavic-Hebrew Contacts in Medieval Russia).” *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 6 (2012): 93–122 (in Russian); idem. “Letter Ɔ in Old Russian Hymns and Copies of Exodus.” *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 6 (2013): 79–114 (in Russian); idem. “From the History of Slavic Bible: Slavic Hebrew Language Contacts in Medieval Russia (Based on Nomina Sacra).” *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 5 (2014): 24–55 (in Russian); idem. “Philological Observations on the Apocalypse of Abraham.” *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 5 (2015): 49–86 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> Temčin, Sergej. “A Cyrillic 16-Century Manuscript Manual of Hebrew and Vilnius Old Testament Florilegium.” *Knygotyra* 57 (2011): 86–99 (in Russian); Temchin, Sergey. “The Cyrillic 16th Century Manuscript Manual of Hebrew: A General Presentation of the Source.” In *Naujausi kalbų ir kultūry tyrimai*. Vilnius 2012, 137–180 (in Russian); idem. “Did Eastern Slavs of the 15th–16th Centuries Sing the Psalms in Hebrew.” In *Język naszej modlitwy — dawniej i dziś*. Białystok 2012, 19–26 (in Russian); idem. “Cyrillic 16th-century Manuscript ‘Manual of Hebrew’ and Its Teaching Methods.” *Slavistica Vilnensis* 58 (2013): 7–33 (in Russian); idem. “Bible Fragments in the Cyrillic Manuscript Manual of Hebrew (16th Century Copy): Between the Old Church Slavonic and the Ruthenian Language.” In *Slavianskaia pis'mennost' Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo: Kharakternye cherty i spetsificheskie osobennosti*. Vilnius 2014, 227–238 (in Russian); idem. “Messianic Background of the Last Psalter’s Hymn in the Cyrillic Manuscript Manual of Hebrew (According to the Extant 16th Century Copy).” *Ibid.*, 239–248 (in Russian); idem. “The Holy Theotokos Related Topic in the Cyrillic Manuscript Manual of Hebrew: The Definition of the Hebrew ‘almāh.’” *Ibid.*, 249–274 (in Russian); idem. “The Cyrillic Handwritten Textbook of the Hebrew Language (a Copy of the 16th Century): The Language Competence of Compilers and the Ethnic Designations.” In *Belaruskaia kniha u kontekstse susvetnai knizhnai kul'tury*. Iss. 5. Minsk 2014, 140–154 (in Russian); idem. “Learning Hebrew in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: An Evidence from a 16th-Century Cyrillic Manuscript.” In *The Knaanites: Jews in the Medieval Slavic World*. Jerusalem, Moscow 2014, 318–327.

<sup>3</sup> Bláha, Ondřej, et al. *Kenaanské glosy ve středověkých hebrejských rukopisech s vazbou na české země*. Praha 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Taube, Moshe. “Jewish-Christian Collaboration in Slavic Translations from Hebrew.” In *Translation and Tradition in “Slavia Orthodoxa.”* München 2012, 26–45.



the 16th century, in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius); the edition of the Five Megillot from this manuscript (the Books of the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther) made by Prof. Moshe Altbauer<sup>5</sup> was accompanied with a concordance by Taube. His articles are devoted to the linguistic and textual features of other books from the Vilna Codex (e.g., of the Psalter,<sup>6</sup> Job,<sup>7</sup> and Proverbs<sup>8</sup>), to the connections of the Russian “Judaizers” to translations from Hebrew,<sup>9</sup> particularly about the identification of the Kievan Jew “Skharia,” who was considered to have inspired the “heresy,” along with bookman Zacharia,<sup>10</sup> and about the Laodicean Epistle by Fedor Kuricyn.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Taube made critical editions with extensive research for the *Logika of the Judaizers*<sup>12</sup> and the *Secret of Secrets*.<sup>13</sup>

Hebrew University of Jerusalem initiated the series *Jews and Slavs* (twenty-five volumes were published from 1993 to 2016) in which many articles by Taube were published, and the fourteenth volume, *The Knaanites: Jews in the Medieval Slavic*

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<sup>5</sup> Altbauer, Moshé. *The Five Biblical Scrolls in a Sixteen-Century Jewish Translation into Belorussian (Vilnius Codex 262)*. Jerusalem 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Taube, Moshe. “The Vilnius 262 Psalter: A Jewish Translation?” In *Jews and Slavs*. Vol. 14. Jerusalem 2004, 36–45.

<sup>7</sup> Idem. “The Book of Job in Vilnius 262.” In *Jews and Slavs*. Vol. 15. Jerusalem, Sofia 2005, 281–296.

<sup>8</sup> Idem. “The Book of Proverbs in Vilnius 262.” In *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*. Leiden, Boston 2016, 179–194.

<sup>9</sup> Idem. “Posleslovie k ‘Logicheskim terminam’ Maimonida i eres’ zhidovstvuiushchikh.” In *In memoriam. Sbornik pamiati Ia. S. Lur'e*. St. Petersburg 1997, 239–246; idem. “The Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew and the Heresy of the Judaizers: Is There a Connection?” In *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages*. Moscow 2005, 185–208.

<sup>10</sup> Idem. “The Kievan Jew Zacharia and the Astronomical Works of the Judaizers.” *Jews and Slavs*. Vol. 3. Jerusalem 1995, 168–198.

<sup>11</sup> Idem. “The ‘Poem of the Soul’ in the *Laodicean Epistle* and the Literature of the Judaizer,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 19 (1995): 671–685; idem. “The Spiritual Circle in the Secret of Secrets and the ‘Poem of the Soul’.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 18.3/4 (1998): 342–355.

<sup>12</sup> Idem. *The Logika of the Judaizers: A Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translation from Hebrew*. Jerusalem 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Ryan, William F. & Moshe Taube. *The Secret of Secrets: The East Slavic Version. Introduction, Text, Annotated Translation, and Slavic Index*. London 2019.

*World*, is entirely devoted to medieval Slavic-Jewish issues and contains not only new publications, but also reprints of old works, starting with the classic book by A. Harkavy. The book series *Studia Judaoslavica* issued by Brill Publishers (twelve volumes from 2009 to 2020), edited by Prof. Alexander Kulik, also includes medieval topics: see the volumes on the Slavonic Enoch,<sup>14</sup> the Apocalypse of Abraham,<sup>15</sup> and the Slavonic Bible.<sup>16</sup> Kulik also edited the first volume of the new *History of the Jews in Russia (From Antiquity to the Early Modern Period, 2010)*, where his separate chapter is devoted to the historical evidence of the Jews of Old Rus',<sup>17</sup> and there are also chapters on Slavonic translations of the Bible,<sup>18</sup> on topics of the Jewish literature in the Slavonic book culture,<sup>19</sup> and on East Slavonic translations from the epoch of the "Judaizers."<sup>20</sup> Finally, Kulik has researched the separate subject of medieval Slavic-Jewish bookish contacts.<sup>21</sup> In Israel, in addition to the work by M. Taube and A. Kulik,

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<sup>14</sup> Orlov, Andrei & Gabriele Boccaccin, eds. *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch. No Longer Slavonic Only*. Leiden, Boston, 2012; Macaskill M. *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*. Leiden, Boston 2013; Macaskill, Grant. *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*. Leiden, Boston 2013.

<sup>15</sup> Orlov, Andrei. *The Atoning Dyad: The Two Goats of Yom Kippur in the Apocalypse of Abraham*. Leiden, Boston 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Kulik, Alexander et al., eds. *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*. Leiden, Boston 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Kulik, Alexander. "2.1. Evrei Drevnei Rusi: istochniki i istoricheskaiia rekonstruktsiia." In *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii. Ot drevnosti do rannego Novogo vremeni [History of the Jews in Russia (From Antiquity to the Early Modern Period)]*. Moscow, Jerusalem 2010, 189–213.

<sup>18</sup> Alexeev, Anatoly A. "4.1. Perevody Biblii." *Ibid.*, 345–355.

<sup>19</sup> DiTommaso, Lorenzo "4.2. Drevneevreiskie istochniki v slavianskoi literaturnoi traditsii." *Ibid.*, 356–366.

<sup>20</sup> Taube, Moshe. "4.3. Eres' 'zhidovstvuiushchikh' i perevody s evreiskogo v srednevekovoii Rusi." *Ibid.*, 367–397.

<sup>21</sup> Kulik, Alexander. "Judeo-Greek Legacy in Medieval Rus'." *Viator* 39.1 (2008): 51–64; idem. "Jews from Rus' in Medieval England." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 102.3 (2012): 371–403; idem. "Jews and the Language of Eastern Slavs." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 104.1 (2014): 105–143; idem. "The господь–господинъ Dichotomy and the Cyrillo-Methodian Linguo-Theological Innovation." *Slověne* 8.1 (2019): 25–54 (in Russian); idem & Shalem Yahalom. "Jewish Scholarship in Early Eastern Europe." *Viator* 50.1 (2020): 31–75.

medieval Slavic-Jewish contacts have been studied by Konstantin Bondar,<sup>22</sup> and Prof. Dan Shapira has begun to write in the field of *Judaeo-Turco-Slavica*.<sup>23</sup>

Among Russian scholars, the leader of medieval Slavic-Jewish studies is Prof. Anatoly A. Alexeev, the Head of the Biblical Studies Department of St. Petersburg State University, author of the fundamental *Textology of the Slavonic Bible* (St. Petersburg, Köln, Weimar, Wien 1999; in Russian). His first review article on this topic was published in 1987, which was then followed, up to the time of the XVI International Congress of Slavists in Belgrade, by several additional contributions.<sup>24</sup>

This review of the research literature from the field of medieval Judaeo-Slavica over the past several decades demonstrates the abundance of works published. The subject area of this dissertation is based on the **material** actively researched since the second half of the 20th century, which can be called the *Corpus Judaico-Slavonicum*. In the present study, the monuments of this corpus are limited to the East Slavic ones, those without the regular involvement of language contacts between Jews and Western Slavs in the “West Canaanite” area (according to medieval Jewish geographical terminology)—the Slavic diaspora language as a whole, i.e., Judeo-Slavic, can be

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<sup>22</sup> Bondar, Konstantin. “From the Observations on the Texts of the Slavic-Hebrew writing.” In *Khazarskii al'manakh*. Vol. 14. Moscow 2016, 38–64 (in Russian); idem. “On the Typology of Eastern Slavonic translations from Hebrew.” *Wschód Europy* 3.1 (2017): 155–165 (in Russian); idem. “Texts and Their Translators: On the Typology of Translations from Hebrew in Rus’.” In *Contacts and Conflicts in Slavic and Jewish Cultural Tradition*. Moscow 2017, 68–79 (in Russian); idem. *Between Knaan and Ruthenia: Hebrew-Slavic Writings and Scribes*. Kiev 2019 (in Russian).

<sup>23</sup> Shapira, Dan. “An Unknown Jewish Community of the Golden Horde.” In *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours*. Studia uralo-altaica 53. Szeged: 2019, 281–294.

<sup>24</sup> Alexeev, Anatoly A. “Perevody s drevneevreiskikh originalov v drevnei Rusi.” *Russian Linguistics* 11 (1987): 1–20; idem. “Russko-evreiskie literaturnye svyazi do 15 veka.” *Jews and Slavs*. Vol. 1. Jerusalem, St. Petersburg 1993, 44–75; idem. “Russian-Jewish Literary Connections of the Kievan Epoch. Results and Perspectives of Research.” In *The Knaanites: Jews in the Medieval Slavic World*. Jews and Slavs 24. Jerusalem, Moscow 2014, 166–182 (in Russian); idem. “Evreiskie istochniki v literaturnoi traditsii drevnei Rusi.” In *Pis'mennost', literatura, fol'klor slavianskikh narodov. Istoriia slavistiki. XVI Mezhdunar. s"ezd slavistov. Doklady rossiiskoi delegatsii*. Moscow 2018, 5–17.

called “Canaanite.”<sup>25</sup> However, the “East Canaanite” language remains to be discovered, since there are still no known medieval monuments of any East Slavic idiom written in Hebrew script and/or originating with certainty from the Jewish communities of Medieval Rus’. The main bookish **languages** of the East Slavic part of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, analyzed in this dissertation, are Church Slavonic and Old Ruthenian (*prosta mova* or *ruska mova*); furthermore, the *Corpus Judaico-Slavonicum* used Hybrid Church Slavonic.<sup>26</sup> This corpus contains for the most part translated monuments of writing, the originals of which, primarily biblical texts, were used in the following languages: Classical Hebrew, Medieval Hebrew (in traditional Jewish exegesis), Old Greek (first of all, the language of the Greek-speaking Jewish diaspora, which became the main language for Christianity of the Eastern Roman Empire; from this language, all of the early Church Slavonic translations were made); as auxiliary languages, I also used Bible translations into Latin (Vulgate), Judeo-Arabic (a main language for Jewish communities of the Middle East), Judeo-Persian, and Judeo-Greek (Romaniote or Yevanic, which was later than the language of the Septuagint). The main languages of intermediate texts, translated in Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe, are Judeo-Turkic (as a plurality of dialects, basically Old West Qypchaq) and Old (Biblical) Yiddish, a language of the Ashkenazi people, originally High German. Thus, among the material I used, there are texts in the languages of three families: Indo-European, Semitic, and Turkic.

The **novelty** of this dissertation follows from the combination of textual material, written in so many languages, which was used for researching medieval Slavic-Jewish contacts. The author for the first time compares the Church Slavonic and Old Ruthenian texts not only with the Hebrew ones but also with the Bible translations into the diaspora languages, primarily Judeo-Turkic and Old Yiddish.

The main **aim** of the dissertation is to establish the principles of interlingual

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<sup>25</sup> Hill, Brad Sabin. “Judeo-Slavic.” In *Handbook of Jewish Languages*. Leiden, Boston 2017, 600–618.

<sup>26</sup> Zhivov, Viktor M. *Istoriia iazyka russkoi pis'mennosti*. Vol. 1. Moscow 2017, 236–249.

interaction between the East Slavic Christian and Jewish book traditions in the area of Eastern Europe. The tasks defined by the aim of the research are as follows:

- (1) to do inventory and typology of monuments included in the *Corpus Judaico-Slavonicum*;
- (2) to analyze the phonetic and orthographic features accompanying the adaptation of Hebrew loanwords in the East Slavonic book monuments;
- (3) to find sources for the glosses and emendations of the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch;
- (4) to evaluate the possibilities of using Hebrew script in the East Slavic book monuments;
- (5) to reveal intermediate texts written in the diaspora Jewish languages while transmitting the biblical books from the Jewish tradition into the Orthodox Slavonic-Russian one.

The **scholarly significance** of the dissertation is in its methods of ascertaining an original language and the language of a possible intermediary through a system of linguistic-textual markers. For intercultural communication studies, the discovery of Turkic mediation in Slavic-Jewish language and cultural contacts in the 15th century is important. This discovery also makes possible a better understanding of the linguistic situation in Eastern Europe in this period, when literary languages of a new type began to take shape and languages of small ethnic groups appeared on the historical arena. **The practical usefulness** of this dissertation lies in the possibility of using its results in teaching the history of East Slavic literary languages, the history of medieval literature, and historical socio-linguistics.

The main **methodological approach** used in this dissertation is a complex multidimensional analysis of book monuments, which includes the following **methods**:

- the “linguistic-textological” method, which leads to the establishment of the text history according to the language data;
- the historical-etymological method, which makes it possible to establish the

origin of rare words and hapaxes used in translations and which leads to the clarification of their immediate originals;

- the comparative cultural method, which allows one to draw conclusions about the possibility or impossibility of using a given text or portions of it in a given culture: in our case it could be Jewish, Orthodox, or Catholic cultures, as well as the culture of reformation movements in the Ruthenian area;

- the method of intertextual analysis, which reveals textual borrowings from one text to another, clarifying the history of the monument studied;

- the dating of manuscripts through watermarks, since it is impossible to correctly study the book monuments without accurate dating of their copies;

- the paleographic method, which specifies the dating of manuscripts and can contribute to the localization of their scribe or to linking them to certain scribal schools.

The **main conclusions** of the research are as follows:

1. The direct language contacts of East Slavic bookmen with the Semitic languages (in this case, Hebrew as the main bookish language for the Jewish tradition) are established by means of a system of orthographic markers: the markers have different degrees of reliability depending on the possibility of transmitting specific Hebrew phonemes (first of all *š*, to a lesser extent — *ə, h, ʃ*) with items in Greek, the main intermediary language of traditional Church Slavonic literature.

2. All of the East Slavic written monuments that have reliable orthographic markers of direct contacts to the traditional Jewish texts written in Hebrew are of two main groups: the early one, containing individual inclusions of Hebrew loanwords (these are *Addresses to a Jew on the Incarnation of the Son of God*, pseudepigrapha of the *Palaea Interpetata*, the *Epistle* of Athanasius the Jerusalem Monk), and the late one, connected with the activities of the Orthodox East Slavic “Hebraists” from the second half of the 15th century in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Outside of this classification, there are fragments of the *Sefer Josippon* translations and the older Church Slavonic translation of the Book of Esther, the origins of which—both place and time, as well as the language of their immediate originals— remain under

dispute.

3. The Hebrew loanwords and borrowings from the diaspora Jewish languages in the medieval East Slavic book monuments are to be divided into two types: those derived from language exchange provide witness only to contacts between different speakers, but those derived from texts might move from a text in one of the Jewish languages into a Slavic text regardless of the degree to which they were adopted by the recipient language.

4. In addition to Hebrew, the sources of lexical borrowings into the medieval East Slavic literature could be in the following diaspora Jewish languages: Judeo-Turkic (based on Old West Qypchaq dialects) and Judeo-German (based on Middle High German dialects).

5. The Turkic Targum, i.e., the Holy Scripture translation into any diaspora Jewish language, is one of the sources for glosses and emendations of the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th century that was a version of the early Church Slavonic translation of the first Bible books; this version was made in the East Slavic lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or the Polish Crown.

6. The existence of a Slavic Targum is assumed to be highly probable, but none of the currently known translations of Bible books from Jewish originals into Church Slavonic or Old Ruthenian, nor the Edited Pentateuch, could serve as a Slavic Targum.

7. In the second half of the 15th century in several book centers of Medieval Rus', there were both editorial activities with old biblical translations according to Jewish sources and the creation of new translations based on Jewish texts. The first center was presumably in Kiev; the second one, the most famous, was in the circle of the Novgorod Archbishop Gennady, who initiated what was, for all intents and purposes, the first complete set of the biblical books in Church Slavonic. However, the Gennady Bible (1499) contains only faint references to the Edited Pentateuch, which itself began to spread widely throughout the book centers of Muscovite Russia up to the third quarter of the 16th century.

8. Two known translations of the Song of Songs—in the Museum Codex from the mid-16th century, primarily Church Slavonic, and in the Vilna Biblical Codex from the first quarter of the 16th century, written in Old Ruthenian—are based on Rabbinical interpretation of the Ashkenazi tradition and contain traces of the Old Yiddish Targum usage. The interrelationship between these two translations has been demonstrated by the author of this dissertation through an examination of entries from the Glossary for the Song of Songs preserved in Zabelin’s Set, a cluster of biblical texts translated from Jewish sources into Old Ruthenian.

## 1. The Linguistic Indicators of Semitic Loanwords Borrowed into Slavonic Texts without Greek or Latin Mediation

The paper selected for the defense: Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Linguistic and Literary Contact between East Slavs and Jews in the Middle Ages: Results and Perspectives of the Study.” *Studi Slavistici* 15.1 (2018): 29–60, doi 10.13128/Studi\_Slavis-20511 (in Russian).

The traditional path of Semitic, particularly Hebrew, loanwords from a Jewish source to the East Slavic medieval literature as part of the language and literary world of *Slavia Orthodoxa* supposed, first of all, Greek mediation (in some cases, e.g., in translations from the Vulgate, also Latin mediation). Andrey Arkhipov applied the label “Lunt-Taube principle” to the methodological approach of looking for a Greek original of a Slavic translation.<sup>27</sup> This principle works if it encounters obstacles that are linguistic rather than textual, which reflects the impossibility of conveying Hebrew features using the tools of the Greek or Latin languages.

### 1.1. False Hebrew Loanwords

According to the “Lunt-Taube principle,” most of the Hebrew—and more widely, Semitic—loanwords of the medieval Slavonic-Russian literature emerged from Greek as their immediate source. There is a whole body, first of all, of proper names—personal, geographic, and ethnic ones—as well as some religious terms of Hebrew

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<sup>27</sup> Arkhipov, Andrey A. *Po tu storonu Sambationa: Etiudy o russko-evreiskikh kul'turnykh, iazykovykh i literaturnykh kontaktakh v X–XVI vekakh*. Oakland (CA) 1995, pp. 246–247.



origin (e.g., **ИЗДРАИЛѢ, АВРААМЪ, ИСААКЪ, ИАКОВЪ, СИНАИ, СИОНЪ, ПАСХА, МЕСИЯ**). The biblical terms of this type cannot be considered “false Hebrew loanwords,” since there was never any doubt of their status as Greek loanwords. The proper false Hebrew loanwords of Old-Russian literature are those which had a “Hebrew” reputation among both bookmen and the later scholars who trusted them. These words were gathered into special onomasticons; the earliest is contained in the famous *Izbornik (Florilegium)* from the 13th century (National Library of Russia, Q.p.I.18), which transmits the oldest and most complete copy of the *Addresses to a Jew* in which the earliest real Semitic loanword recorded in the entire Slavic-Russian literature appears. The word **КААФЪ**, from the title of the Slavonic-Russian *Book of Kaaf*, is among the false Hebraisms, attributed to a hazy Hebrew source.<sup>28</sup> In fact, the name of the second son of Levi, Kohath (*Qəhāt* in Hebrew, *Kaaf* in Church Slavonic), appeared absolutely accidentally in the title, which came from the Greek gloss Καὰθ ἐκκλησιαστής ‘Kohath means an assembler’ included in the explanatory onomasticons of biblical names. This gloss is, perhaps, connected with the corresponding passage in the *Testament of Levi* from the apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Moreover, the article cited here contains comparative data of the spelling of Kohath’s name in Church Slavonic translations of the Pentateuch and in the *Palaea Interpretata*, in the latter not only in the Testament of Levi, but also in its main text. The adventures of the word **КААФЪ / КААФЪ** in medieval Russian writing turn out to be entirely literary, not connected with any hypothetical verbal tradition, which might have been a tempting explanation for this word.

## 1.2. Early Old-Russian Hebrew Loanwords

Proper Hebrew loanwords, borrowed into the Slavonic-Russian literature without Greek or Latin mediation, should meet the following formal criteria, the reliability of which follows in descending order:

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<sup>28</sup> Grishchenko, Alexander I. “The Slavic Adventures of Greek Kohath: On the Origin of the Title of the Old Russian *Book of Kaaf*.” *Slověne* 1.2 (2012): 95–110.

(1) The transmission of the Semitic /š/ (Hebrew letter שׁ *šin*) via the Cyrillic letter Ш *ša*, which from the similar Glagolitic sign traces back to the Semitic *šin*, is the most famous of all markers for Hebrew loanwords in Slavic texts, since neither the Greek *sigma*, nor the Latin *s* conveys the hushing nature of the corresponding phoneme.

(2) The transmission of the Semitic *šawa* via Slavic reduced vowels (the letters *yer* and *yer* ') and the letter Ъ *yery* was first noticed by Andrey Arkhipov: the memory of the Slavic *yers* persisted for a long time even after their transformation, and they were amazingly suitable especially for the transmission of *šawa mobile*.

(3) The transmission of the Semitic פ /h/ and ק /g/ via the Cyrillic Г and ГК (КГ), pairings that were used inconsistently.

(4) Other correlations, which in principle could be expressed by means of Greek script of the Byzantine period, are as follows: ב /b/ → В (old Hebrew loanwords in Greek written via β were pronounced with the spirant /v/); צ /s/ → Ц /ts/ (which corresponds to the Ashkenazi and Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew); and פ /h/ → Х /kh/ (this is also both an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi feature).

The earliest of the known Old-Russian Hebrew loanwords contain just the first criterion listed above. This was a name of the Jewish Messiah—in two forms, **МАШИКА** and **МАШИЛАКЪ**—in the *Addresses to a Jew* of the *Izbornik* Q.p.I.18, from the Hebrew *māšīḥ*<sup>29</sup> or probably also from the Aramaic *māšīḥā*. The second appearance of the name of the Jewish Messiah (the Antichrist according to Christian belief) was in the *Palaea Interpretata*, in its three oldest copies, from the late 14th–early 15th centuries (the Alexander Nevsky, Barsov, and Kolomna copies). This form, **МАШЛАХЪ**,<sup>29</sup> used Х /kh/ and it occurred three times in the pseudepigraphon *Jacob's Blessing to His Sons* identified in my work.<sup>30</sup> In addition, the *Palaea* contains the forms **ШАМИРЪ** (from the Hebrew *šāmīr* 'diamond,' in the pseudepigraphon on Solomon and Centaur (Kitovras), based on a plot that goes back to the tractate *Gittin* of the Babylonian Talmud, where

<sup>29</sup> Grishchenko, Alexander I. "O gebraizme *mashliakh* 'Messias' v Palee Tolkovoi." *Vestnik Literaturnogo instituta im. A. M. Gor'kogo* 1 (2012): 15–22.

<sup>30</sup> Grishchenko, Alexander I. "The Slavonic-Russian Pseudepigraphon *Jacob's Blessing to His Sons*: Some Textological and Linguistic Observations." *Slověne* 4.1 (2015): 128–158 (in Russian).

the Aramaic form *šamīrā* was used); it also includes **МАЛКАТОШВА** (Hebrew *malkat šəḇā* ‘queen of Sheba,’ in one of the pseudepigrapha on Solomon and the Queen of Sheba), along with other markers of Hebrew loanwords—the name of Moses’ wife **ЦѢПОРА**, **ЦИФОРА**, **ЦИПИРА** or **ЦИФОРА** (Hebrew *šippōrā<sup>h</sup>*, cf. Greek Σεπφωρα), the river’s name \***ІАБОКЪ** (Hebrew *Yabbōq*; two latter ones are from the apocryphal *Life of Moses*).

The earliest Old-Russian text containing a Semitic loanword (in the contaminated form **ФЛИШТИМИ**, from the Hebrew *pālīštīm* and the Greek Φυλιστιείμ) is an Epistle of Athanasius the Jerusalem Monk to Panko *On the Tree of the Cross*; this is, to be sure, in a copy from the first quarter of the 16th century, although according to the hypothesis by Sergejus Temčinas, the work originated in the second half of the 12th century in the Holy Land.<sup>31</sup> The probable literary work of East Slavic monks in the Crusader state at this time can readily explain the appearance of the early Old-Russian Semitic loanwords, especially the name of Jewish Messiah, since it was during this period that messianic sentiments became extremely active in the Jewish communities of Palestine and the diaspora.

### 1.3. Oral Existence of the Biblical Hapaxes in the Slavonic-Russian Literature

Among the early Russian Hebrew loanwords, the most interesting is the transformation of spelling of two names discussed above: of the Jewish Messiah (**МАШИКА** / **МАШИЛАКЪ**, later **МАШЛАХЪ** in the *Palaea Interpretata*) and of the Queen of Sheba (**МАЛКАТОШВА**). Both of these forms apparently went through a stage of oral usage, which alone can explain a number of changes that have occurred in them. Further corruption of these Hebrew loanwords by scribes who no longer understood their Jewish origin, of course, led to the expected graphic changes, but these changes did not obscure the processes that accompanied the fall/clarification of reduced vowels in the East Slavic area.

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<sup>31</sup> Temchin, Sergey Yu. “Ierusalimskii mnikh Afanasii (XII v.) i proiskhozhdenie domongol’skikh perevodov s drevneevreiskogo.” In *Vostochnaia Evropa v Drevnosti i Srednevekov’e. Rannie etapy urbanizatsii. XXXI Chteniia pamiati V. T. Pashuto*. Moscow 2019, 240–244.

The entire chain of phonetic and orthographic transformations of the original Hebrew form *māšīʿh* ‘anointed’ can be reconstructed as follows: Hebrew *mašiax/mašiaħ* → Slavic *\*mašijaxь/\*mašijakъ* (the 12th century?) → *\*mašjjaxь/\*mašjjakъ* → *mašjjaxь/mašjjakъ* (the 13th century?) → *mašl’axъ (mašl’akъ)* (the second half of the 14th century). All the changes proposed in this reconstruction could occur exclusively in oral speech (in literary speech, there would be no fall of the reduced vowel *i*; the transition *j>l’* cannot be explained only graphically).

A similar behavior in reduced vowels is demonstrated by the name of the Queen of Sheba, which was adapted in the Old-Russian literature as *\*МАЛКАТЪ ШЕВА* (from Hebrew *malkat šəḇā*): at the end of the first component *malkat*, a regular *yer* appeared, and *šəwa* in the second component *šəḇā* was conveyed via Slavic *yer’*, considering the palatalized character of the Slavic consonant *š’*. The form resulting from the *jer*-shift should be considered *МАЛКАТОШВА*, which is indeed presented in some manuscripts, and already in the oldest one, *Barsov Palaea* (State Historical Museum in Moscow, Bars. 619, late 14th–early 15th century).

In another period, among the glosses and emendations of the Edited Pentateuch there is a problem of oral versus literary borrowing that touches upon the name of the skin of some animal with the root *ТАГАШ-* (in the adjectival forms *ТАГАШЕВЪ / -ЫИ, ТАГАШОВЪ / -ЫИ, ТАГАШИИ, ТАГАШИИЪ*). Despite the fact that these adjectives clearly show the Hebrew root *tāḥaš* or *tāḥaš*, for quite a long time lexicographers and etymologists have correlated this root with the Greek correspondence from the Octateuch *δακλίνθινος* ‘blue-colored,’ trying to find the etymon closest to it in meaning, including in the Turkic languages.<sup>32</sup> In the transmission of the Hebrew *taḥaš* via the Slavic *ТАГАШ-*, one can note the correspondence of the letter *ḥet* (ח) to the Cyrillic *Г*, a

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<sup>32</sup> Krivko, Roman. “*Tagaš* in der russischen historischen Lexikographie und Etymologie.” In *Schnittpunkt Slavistik. Ost und West im wissenschaftlichen Dialog. Festgabe für H. Keipert zum 70. Geburtstag*, 3. Bonn 2012, 59–68.

correspondence that can also be explained by pronunciation features which were important for the dialectal division of Ashkenazi Hebrew.<sup>33</sup>

## 2. Linguistic and Textual Features of the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th Century

The papers selected for the defense:

- Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Traces of Rabbinic Exegesis for ‘Jacob’s Blessing to His Sons’ (Gen 49) in the Apocryphal Versions of the Palaea Interpretata and Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch Edited according to the Masoretic Text.” *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* 85.3–4 (2016): 321–332 (in Russian).
- Grishchenko, Alexander. “Turkic Loanwords in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuchs Edited According to the Masoretic Text.” *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61.2 (2016): 253–273, doi: 10.1556/060.2016.61.2.1
- Grishchenko, Alexander. “The wild beasts of Sigismund von Herberstein and the List of Clean Ungulates in the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch.” *Slavistična revija* 65.4 (2017): 611–628 (in Russian).
- Grishchenko, Alexander. “Once Again on the Origin of the Cyrillic Letter »Backwards E«: Cyrillic, Glagolitic, or Hebrew Script?” *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu* 69 (2019): 35–69, doi: 10.31745/s.69.2 (in Russian).
- Grishchenko, Alexander. “What Were Sturlabi Stolen by Rachel from Laban? (On the Sources of Glosses of the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th Century).” *Drevnyaya Rus—Voprosy Mediievistiki* 71 (2018): 105–115 (in Russian).
- Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Chronology of the ‘Genealogy of Adam Through Noah’ (Gen 5) in the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch of the 15th Century: On the Origins of Calendric Controversy with the ‘Judaizers’.” *St. Tikhon’s University Review. Series III: Philology* 56 (2018): 9–47, doi: 10.15382/sturIII201856.9-47 (in Russian).

The Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch is a special version of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Octateuch, i.e., the first eight books of the Old Testament which were presented in a set of the first five books. It is called “Edited” because it contains a large number of glosses and emendations made, as believed until recently, according to the Hebrew Masoretic Text, and it is called “Slavonic-Russian” because this version appeared in the East Slavic area, and, as proved in this dissertation, not earlier than in the 15th century (most likely, in the second half of this century in the

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<sup>33</sup> Grishchenko, Alexander I. “S lista ili na slukh? (Zametki o dvukh bibleizmakh-gapaksakh v slaviano-russkoi knizhnosti).” *Palaeoslavica* 23.2 (2015): 303–313.

East Slavic lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or the Polish Crown, presumably in Kiev). At present, twenty-two copies of the Edited Pentateuch are known (two of them were identified and introduced into the scholarly literature by the author of this dissertation).<sup>34</sup> This special version of the Church Slavonic Octateuch is characterized by four main text-forming features, as follows:

(1) establishing the form of the Pentateuch but not the Octateuch (some copies are faulty and do not contain the entire Pentateuch, while four copies of the previous versions are also in the form of the Pentateuch);

(2) division into weekly Torah portions (which are also in six copies of the previous version, but those are not older than the copies of the Edited Pentateuch);

(3) a special Table of Contents which corresponds to the division into the weekly portions (it was lost in several copies of the Edited Pentateuch and was included in several copies of the previous version);

(4) hundreds of glosses in margins and emendations in the text (this is typical for all copies of the Edited Pentateuch; some glosses might accidentally be entered into the copies of the previous version).

The previous version is a text of the Octateuch containing corrections from the Late Version of the Prophetologion (in other words, the Late Russian Version of the Octateuch) discovered by Anna Pichkhadze primarily on the base of the Book of Exodus.<sup>35</sup> The history of the Full Redaction of the Church Slavonic Octateuch is presented in *Scheme 1*: for the South Slavonic Version, I use data from the article by Veselka Zhelyazkova;<sup>36</sup> the translation of Simeon's Age has not survived in authentic copies; the numbers of known manuscripts is indicated in parentheses; the gray arrow indicates the reverse influence of the Edited Pentateuch on the previous Russian

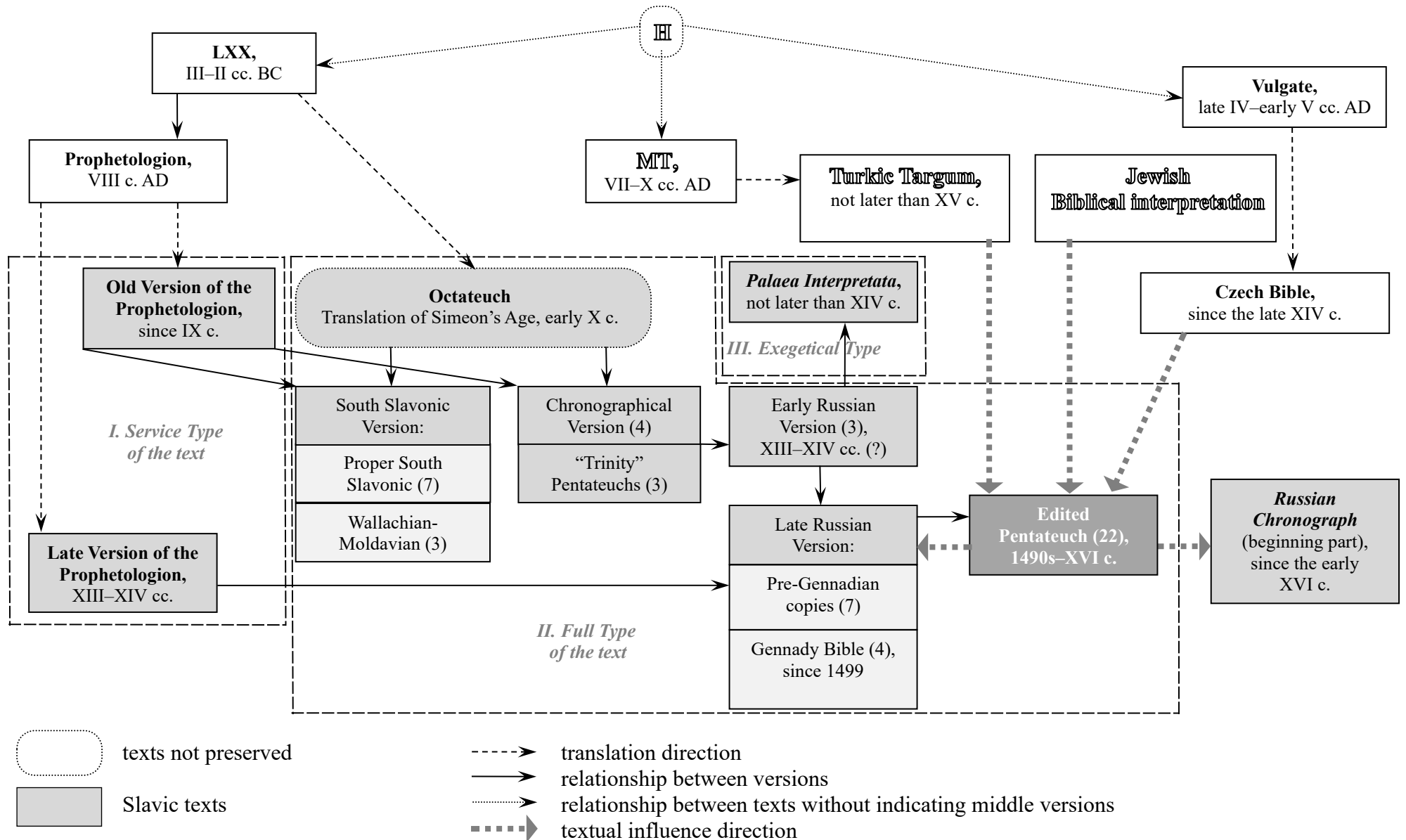
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<sup>34</sup> See the most detailed archaeological overview of them: Grishchenko, Alexander. "Archaeographic Aspects and Textual History of the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the Fifteenth Century: New Data." *Slavyanovedenie* 4 (2020): 68–87 (in Russian).

<sup>35</sup> Pichkhadze, Anna A. "On the History of Octateuch in Slavonic." In *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 49. St. Petersburg 1996, 10–21 (in Russian).

<sup>36</sup> Zhelyazkova, Veselka. "The Book of Exodus in South Slavonic Copies of the 15th-16th Century." *Studi Slavistici* 13 (2016): 243–256 (in Russian).

**Scheme 1. The Slavic Translation of the Octateuch and Pentateuch Versions  
(based on the MSS from the end of the 12th–16th centuries)**



Version of the Octateuch. III is a symbol for a hypothetical Hebrew text that served as a source for the first Greek translation (**LXX**), for the Latin translation (**Vulgate**), and for the stable version of the Hebrew Bible (**MT**) which is still in use. Since the problem of the relationship between LXX and other Greek translations and also between MT and the Vulgate is not considered here, the presented scheme is somewhat arbitrary.

## **2.1. Types of the Glosses and Emendations**

The glosses and emendations are of the greatest interest to researchers of the Edited Pentateuch, since they make it possible to judge the linguistic and textual connection of this most important monument of medieval Slavic-Jewish contacts. Glosses are the readings placed in margins and commenting on words or phrases of the main text, and there is a special system linking the marginal glosses and the words in the main text using signs indicating smooth breathing. Emendations are corrections in the text which are not always marked by marginal glosses. The location of an original reading and a gloss varies constantly not only from copy to copy, but also within a single copy: some of the marginal glosses correspond to the original reading, while a new reading can be put into the main text; it is therefore inappropriate to separate glosses and emendations.

Primarily, proper names are glossed. The glosses with proper names using Hebrew forms are the first things that catch one's eye. They were noted by Alexander Vostokov already in 1842.

Second, concepts and realities of Judaism are glossed. Many words from the biblical text, having lost all relevance for Christians, remained significant for the Jews and therefore received appropriate glossing. This is typical especially for calendric glosses, which updated for Russian bookmen Jewish chronology (relating to corrections of the age of the antediluvian patriarchs according to the MT, Gen 5), Jewish festivals, e.g., Passover, Sukkot—Feast of Shelters, and the Jubilee. In addition to the calendric glosses, others related to *kashrut*, i.e., Jewish food



prohibitions and prescriptions, are highlighted in the Edited Pentateuch. Glosses of this type are found not only in the lists of clean and unclean animals (Lev 11:1–31 and Deut 14:7–20), but also in other verses. With the glosses reflecting the textual practices of Judaism, one should also include the pious-euphemistic glosses, which are the replacement of the direct naming of God by mentioning the angel or judges, the names of priests by masters, etc., that is characteristic of the Jewish tradition of verbal piety.

Third, in the Edited Pentateuch there are glosses associated with the realities of outward things, in particular the world of commerce. I researched the names of “colonial goods” such as incense, sweets, and spices based on material from Gen 37:25 and 43:11.<sup>37</sup>

Fourth, the Edited Pentateuch contains editing according to other versions of the Church Slavonic Octateuch. This type of glosses and emendations, which I discovered, was unexpected for several reasons. First, it expands the range of sources of the Edited Pentateuch to those belonging to the properly Slavonic ones, but that represent earlier versions of the Octateuch. Second, this type of glosses and emendations makes it possible to specify the method of the editors’ work, specifically that they used many sources at the same time, and not only the MT or its closest interpretations. Finally, this approach to studying the Edited Pentateuch expands the source material from exclusively Jewish sources, as in traditional scholarship, to include other, Christian, translations of the Bible.

## **2.2. Turkic Mediation in the Adopting of the Jewish Tradition**

The discovery of the influence of Jewish exegesis did not add anything to the understanding of the direct sources of the glosses and emendations in the Edited Pentateuch, excluding the influence of the MT, which was already known. In fact, there is no linguistic evidence that the editors of the Edited Pentateuch worked with

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<sup>37</sup> Grishchenko, Alexander I. “Names of Fragrances, Spices, and Sweets in the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th Century.” *Slavic Almanac* 1–2 (2019): 282–304 (in Russian).

or borrowed specific forms from either Aramaic or Syrian texts or medieval Rabbinic commentaries. However, I discovered another—and unexpected—source for the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch: the Turkic Targum. The shift in the word **КОУМИРЪ** of the Old Church Slavonic translation (resp. Greek εἰδωλον) by means of a very strange hapax, **СТОУРЛАБЪ** (perhaps **СТОУРЛАБЪ**), in the Edited Pentateuch (Gen 31:19, 34, 35) clearly goes back to the Turkic Targum, since such a shift is found in many versions, starting with the manuscript ADub.III.73 written in 1720 in the Trakai dialect already in Galicia. It turned out that this gloss (emendation) came to the Slavonic-Russian text from the Turkic (Old West Qypchaq) translation of the Pentateuch that in this textual passage reflected an old tradition of both Rabbinic and Karaite exegesis, according to which Rachel stole from Laban not idols, but astrolabes (Arabic *'aṣṭurlāb* from Greek ἀστρολάβος or ἀστρολάβον (ὄργανον)). This word was the key to the discovery that the main source for the glosses of the Edited Pentateuch was the Turkic Targum of the MT. This Targum reliably existed in the 15th century, since the author of this dissertation has introduced into academic circulation the earliest copy of this source, dated in the 1470s–80s: this is a manuscript in the National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg) Evr.I.Bibl., No. 143, which contains a fragment of the Pentateuch (Ex 21:11–Num 28:15, with lacunae).

Unfortunately, the MS Evr.I.Bibl., No. 143 remains the unique copy of the Old Qypchaq Pentateuch Targum. The later surviving copies are more than two centuries younger than this one, and all of them belong exclusively to the Karaite tradition. The Karaite translations are presented in four additional versions as follows: 1) Trakai (the older copy of it, ADub.III.73, has just been published by Michał Németh<sup>38</sup>), 2) Crimean,<sup>39</sup> 3) Turkish, and 4) Halychian–Volhynian.

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<sup>38</sup> Németh, Michał. *The Western Karaim Torah. A Critical Edition of a Manuscript from 1720*. Vols. 1–2. Leiden, Boston 2021.

<sup>39</sup> Jankowski, Henryk et al. *The Crimean Karaim Bible*. Vols. 1–2. Wiesbaden 2019.

**Table 1. Turkic Loanwords in the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch (East Slavic copies from the 15th–16th centuries)**

	No.	Verse	Gloss/Emendation	Slavic word	Turkic Targum	Qypchaq dictionaries data
1. Proper names of Arabic origin	1	Gen 41:45, 50, 46:20	<b>СКАНДРЪНА, СКИНДЪРЕЦЪ, СКИНДИРИЦА</b>	<b>ГРАДЪ СЪАНЪУЪНЫИ</b>	MT forms in all of the versions of the Turkic Targum	[Skandar, Skändär, Skender (a.k.)]
	2	Gen 10:10	<b>БАГАДАДЪ, БАГАДАТЪ</b>	<b>БАВЛУОНЪ</b>		[Baydat, Baydad (a.k.)]
	3	Gen 14:15	<b>ШАМЪ</b>	<b>ДАМАСКЪ</b>		Šam (a.k.), [šamaladžā ‘Syrian silk’ (Kar.: Tr.Cr.)]
	4	Gen 41:41, 54	<b>ИСОУПЪ</b>	<b>ИОСИФЪ</b>		Isup (MRC), [Jvfv̆p (CC)]
	5	Gen 10:4	<b>КАНДЪЦА</b>	<b>КРИТЬСТИИ</b>		Kandija ‘Crete’ (a.k.)
	6	passim	<b>МИСИРЪ, etc.</b>	<b>ЕГУПЕТЪ</b>	Misir ( <i>III.7, Vil. 1889 micri</i> )	Misir (Kar.), Mīsīr, Misīr, Mīsūr (a.k.)
2. Etymological not Turkic	7	Gen 31:19, 34, 35	<b>СТОУРАЛЪБЪ</b>	<b>КОУМИРЪ</b>	istorlab, istorlap ( <i>III.73 sturlap, Vil. 1889 sturlab</i> )	(Kar.): istorlap, ystorlap (Cr.), sturlab (Tr.), sturlap (Cr.Hal.)
	8	Gen 40:1	<b>СОЛТАНЪ, САЛТАНЪ</b>	<b>ЦЪСАРЪ ЕГУПЕТЪСКЫИ</b>	χan ( <i>III.73, Vil. 1889 biy</i> )	soltan (CC, a.k.), [sultan (a.k.)]
	9	Ex 28:18	<b>ОЛЪМАСЪ</b>	<b>ПАЗИИ (ИАСЪ)</b>	elmaz ( <i>Firk. 143 almas, III.73 diyament</i> )	yalmas (CC), (Kar.): èl'maz (Cr.), almas (Tr.), almas (Tr.Hal.; a.k.)
	10	Gen 37:25, 43:11	<b>АМБАРЪ</b>	<b>ВОНАЛИЦА</b>	saqiz (saqyz (Kar.Cr.) ‘chewing resin’) ( <i>III.73 mastik, Vil. 1889 ladan</i> )	ambar ‘ladanum’ (CC)
	11	Gen 43:11	<b>ФИРЪЯКЪ, ФИРЪЯТИКЪ</b>	<b>ТЪРЕВИНОУЪ</b>	tiryak ( <i>Vil. 1889 diryaq</i> )	tirjak ‘stimulant substance’ (Kar.: Tr.Hal.), dirjak ‘medicament’ (Kar.: Tr.)

	12	Ex 9:32	<b>БРЪНЕЦЪ</b>	<b>ПЫРО</b>	qoş aşliq ‘emmer wheat’ ( <i>III. 73</i> qara buday ‘black wheat’)	brinç ‘risun (sic!)’ (CC), (Kar.:) birin’ç (Tr.), bryndz (Hal.) ‘rice’
	13	Gen 49:13	<b>ЛИМЕНЪ, ЛИМЕНЬ</b>	<b>ПРИСТАВЪ КОРАБЕЛЪНИИ</b>	liman ( <i>III. 73</i> boğoz) (bis)	límen ‘portus’ (CC), liman ‘bay’ (Kar.Tr.Hal.)
	14	Gen 45:23	<b>КАТЪРЪ</b>	<b>МЪСКЪ</b>	tişi eşağ ‘she-donkey’ (NB: resp. <i>MT</i> ’āṭōn ‘she-donkey’ vs. <i>LXX</i> ἡμίονος ‘mule’; <i>III. 73</i> ešek ‘donkey’)	(Kar.:) katyr (Tr.Hal.), qatyr (Cr.), xaṭîr (a.k.) ‘mule’
	15	Ex 1:14	<b>КИРПИУЪ</b>	<b>КЛАЪ</b>	kirpiç	(Kar.:) kirpiç (Tr.), kirpic (Hal.) ‘brick’; kerpiç, kerpîdž (a.k.) ‘adobe’
		Ex 5:7	<b>КИРПИУНЪНИ</b>	<b>ЛАИНЪНИ</b>	kerpiç ( <i>III. 73</i> kirpiç)	
	16	Deut 14:5	<b>САИГАКЪ, САИГАНЪ</b>	<b>ВЕЛЬБОУДЪ</b>	<i>III. 73</i> soğaç	(Kar.:) soğak ‘deer’ (Hal.), soğaç ‘fawn’ (Tr.)
	17	Content Table	<b>ТАВЛА</b>	[ <b>ДЪСКА</b> ‘board’ in the Biblical text]	<i>Firk. 143</i> tavla ‘Table (of the Law)’ (Ex 24:12)	(Ott.:) taula, tavla ‘chessboard’
3. Etymological Turkic	18	Gen 45:23	<b>ОШАКЪ</b>	<b>ОСЪЛЪ</b>	eşağ ( <i>III. 73</i> ešek)	esac, eşik, esek (CC), (Kar.:) ešäk (Tr.), ešék, ešek (Cr.), èsèk (Hal.), ešäk (a.k.) ‘donkey’
	19	Gen 42:23	<b>ТАЛМАУЪ</b>	<b>ТЪЛКЪ</b>	tylmaç ( <i>III. 73</i> talmaç)	tolmaç, telmaç (CC), (Kar.:) talmaç, tolmaç (Tr.), tolmac (Hal.), tîlmaç (a.k.) ‘interpreter’
	20	Ex 28:39, Lex 16:4	<b>УАЛМА</b>	<b>КЛОБОУКЪ</b>	<i>Firk. 144</i> çalma ( <i>Firk. 143</i> dolbant, <i>III. 73 MT form</i> )	çalma ‘fazolun (sic!)’ (CC), (Kar.:) çalma (Tr.Cr.), çalma (Hal.) ‘turban’
	21	Ex 10:4, Lev 11:22	<b>САРАНУА, САРАНЦА</b>	<b>ОУСЕНЬЦЪ</b>	<i>Firk. 143 cut gloss sari-</i> , Num 13:33: sarinçqa ( <i>III. 73</i> çegirtke)	şarinčka (CC), saranča, sarunča, şaranca, sarinçça, sarançça (a.k.) ‘locust’

The consolidated list with twenty-one Turkic loanwords in the glosses and emendations of the Edited Pentateuch is in Table 1, where light-gray shading shows the language correspondences of the Turkic loanwords to the data of some Old Qypchaq languages, and dark-gray shading shows the textual matches with the Turkic Targum, for which the Yevpatoria edition of 1841 was chosen as the reference text (the variant readings are given according to *Firk. 143*, the oldest copy of the Turkic Targum, from the 15th century; to *III.73*, a copy from 1720 published by M. Németh; to *Firk. 144*, the Crimean MS from the 18th century; and *Vil. 1889*—the printed edition of Genesis translated into the Trakai dialect). The column with the Qypchaq dictionaries data uses the following languages: a.k., Armenian Qypchaq; Kar., the “Karaim” language of three dialectal types (Hal., Halychian–Volhynian; Cr., Crimean; and Tr., of Trakai); Ott., Ottoman; CC, the language of the Codex Cumanicus; MRC, Middle Russian Corpus at the Russian National Corpus.

Turkic mediation in the assimilation of the Jewish tradition by East Slavic bookmen in the 15th century is not limited to the Edited Pentateuch, for there is other linguistic evidence attesting to this occurrence. Thus, most likely, the names of the Jewish months were borrowed from the Turkic forms without Greek or Latin mediation. These names are included in two monuments: the list “*A se imena mesiatssem zhidov'skym* (And this is the names of the Jewish months)” and the calendric-astronomical treatise “*Vedomo zhe vsiakomu khotiashchemu razumeti techen'e lunnoe* (It is known to everybody who wishes to understand the movement of the Moon)” from the miscellany of the Russian State Library, f. 304.I, No. 765 (late 15th century).

### **2.3. A Problem of the Graphical Adaptation of the Jewish Tradition in the Slavic Literature**

The use of Hebrew letters in a hypothetical Slavic Targum becomes an argument in favor of its existence in works by Boris Uspenskij, who supported Anatoly Alexeev’s hypothesis, and on the basis of only two glosses (эгеε эшеръ эгеε and эль шаддан),

which he treated in great detail; having described their variants in all the manuscripts, he concluded that the beginning  $\text{Э}$ -shaped (or  $\text{А}$ -shaped) symbol of these words reflects the form of the Hebrew letter *aleph* ( $\aleph$ ). This dissertation examines in detail the forms of the letter  $\aleph$  in different types of medieval Hebrew handwriting and concludes that the  $\text{А}$ -shaped grapheme does indeed overlap the semi-cursive *aleph* of the Eastern and Sephardic types (a similar form of *aleph* is used mainly in the oldest copy of the Turkic Targum, *Firk. 143*), but with an important loss of the upper right element (“hand of *aleph*”). The  $\text{Э}$ -shaped forms of this grapheme somehow go back to the  $\text{А}$ -shaped one, i.e., to the “handless *aleph*,” and such “loss of hand” could have occurred only on Slavic soil. The admission of such graphic corruption does not strengthen the hypothesis of Uspenskij and Alexeev about the direct influence of the Hebrew letter *aleph* on the graphical system of the Edited Pentateuch.

I have to disagree with two of Uspenskij’s conclusions. First, the “Great Russian” provenance of the letter  $\text{Э}$  is rather doubtful, since it appeared in wide use only in Ruthenia. Second, Uspenskij supposed that the letter  $\text{Э}$  was written only in *nomina sacra*. For two of the “sacral” examples offered by Uspenskij, which are presented in a large number of manuscripts, I have found two “profane” ones, although in just two copies. These are the multiple gloss  $\text{ЭФА} — \text{МЪРА} — \text{ВФИЛ}$  for Lev 5:11 (Greek  $\text{οιφι}$ , Hebrew  $\text{'ēpā}^h$ , indeed with *aleph* at the beginning) and the twice-repeated gloss  $\text{ЭТАМЪ} — \text{ВЪ ВЪФАНЪ}$  for Num 33:6–7 (Greek  $\text{Βουθαν}$ , Hebrew  $\text{'ēṭām}$ , also with initial *aleph*). Another copy of the Edited Pentateuch has a marginal gloss that also indicates ‘efa’ but in another place (Ex 16:36  $\text{ГОМОРЪ ЖЕ ДЕСЯТНАА ЧАСТЬ ТРЕИ МЪРЪ БЪАШЕ}$  where  $\text{ТРЕИ МЪРЪ}$  corresponds to Greek  $\text{τῶν τριῶν μέτρων}$  and Hebrew  $\text{hā'ēpā}^h$ ) there is the spelling  $\text{ЭФА}$ , which indicates a graphical change of  $\text{Э}$  for  $\text{З}$ .

### 3. Intermediate Texts and Intermediate Languages in Other East Slavic Bible Translations from the Late Middle Ages

The papers selected for the defense:

- Grishchenko, Alexander. “The Language of Zabelin’s Set, the Unknown Monument of the East Slavonic Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Area.” *Rocznik Teologiczny* 62.2 (2020): 547–589, doi: 10.36124/rt.2020.21 (in Russian).
- Grishchenko, Alexander. “A Glossary for the Song of Songs in Zabelin’s Set: The Loanwords and Their Sources.” *St. Tikhon’s University Review. Series III: Philology* 67 (2021): 11–49, doi: 10.15382/sturIII202167.11-49 (in Russian).

The example of the Edited Pentateuch demonstrates the importance of the search for possible intermediary languages for texts which, by all formal indicators, are the fruit of direct language and literary contacts between Slavs and Jews. Another such example turned out to be two Ruthenian translations of the Song of Songs made from a Jewish original. The first one, from the MS of the Russian State Library, f. 178, No. 8222 (*Mus.*), is considered earlier; the second one, from the Vilna Codex (*Vil.*), is considered later. Independent evidence of both of these translations was found by the author of this dissertation in Zabelin’s Set, a cluster of biblical texts translated from Jewish sources into Old Ruthenian (State Historical Museum, Moscow, Zabel. 436, 1630s–40s). Zabelin’s Set starts with a Glossary for the Song of Songs, and this Glossary is the key to understanding how *Mus.* and *Vil.* correlate with each other, as well as with their Jewish sources.

An underestimated linguistic link turns out to be the Old Yiddish translations of the Song of Songs, which provide rich comparative material with the readings of *Mus.* These translations, as well as data from commentaries, translations, and glossaries in other diaspora languages that are relevant for Eastern Europe in the 14th–15th centuries, are fundamentally important for the interpretation of the Glossary. Conclusions about the intermediary languages (and, accordingly, about the intermediary texts written in these languages) were obtained first on the data of the

Edited Pentateuch, and then on the material of *Mus.* and *Vil.*, verified in the Glossary of Zabelin's Set. This was accomplished with the help of a hierarchy of linguistic-textual markers, which are linguistic indicators for the connection of texts, relying on an interpretation of language signs as a dual entity, expressing the unity of the signified and the signifier.

The weakest linguistic-textual markers are Hebrew loanwords written with Cyrillic script, especially when these are proper names only. From a formal point of view, words of this kind are the most reliable indicators of direct contacts between Slavs and Jews, but for textual history, their significance is not very large. Such forms do not exclude the possibility that their source was not the MT itself, but translations of the latter made within the framework of the same Jewish tradition, i.e., the Targums. The most reliable linguistic-textual marker turns out to be the presence in the text of the translation in question (in our case, Slavic) of words that are not just foreign-language borrowings and not from the Hebrew language of the MT, but that also qualify as hapaxes that were not adopted by the language of the book tradition into which the corresponding translation was made. Between these two extreme types of markers there are intermediate steps, which in different ways reveal the presence of an intermediary language and an intermediary text, but as a whole, all the markers speak in favor of the existence of these intermediaries.

## **Conclusion**

This dissertation, presented for defense in the form of a collection of articles published in peer-reviewed journals, summarizes the author's research in the field of medieval *Judaeo-Slavica*. This dissertation

(1) contains the rationale and structure of the *Corpus Judaico-Slavonicum*, based on the works of researchers since the second half of the 20th century, as well as on the monuments of this corpus discovered by the author and their sources within the Jewish tradition;



(2) introduces the concept of false Hebrew loanwords, i.e., words or phrases known from the Slavonic-Russian literature and having Jewish origins, but mediated by the texts of other traditions, primarily the Greek-speaking Byzantine tradition;

(3) develops a system of formal indicators (orthographic markers) of the direct language contacts of Slavs and Jews, which were reflected in the medieval East Slavic literature; this system allows one to filter out false Hebrew loanwords and call into question similar linguistic items;

(4) postulates the stage of oral use of several early Hebrew loanwords in the Slavic-Russian literature, which were borrowed under circumstances that are still unclear;

(5) proves the presence of intermediary languages for at least several monuments from the 15th century: these were diaspora languages of the Jewish communities of medieval Eastern Europe;

(6) develops a system of linguistic-textual markers that allows one to identify intermediary languages in the transmission of texts from a multi-lingual tradition, which was the Jewish one;

(7) reveals Turkic mediation, first of all in the glosses and emendations of the Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch, and High German (Old Yiddish) mediation in the translations of the Song of Songs;

(8) analyzes the language of Zabelin's Set, which was discovered by the author of this dissertation: this cluster of biblical texts was translated from Jewish sources into Old Ruthenian already in what was, as compared to the Middle Ages, an essentially different era (presumably in the second half of the 15th century), when Orthodox East Slavic bookmen turned to Jewish texts not for any practical considerations, but for a desire to better understand the origins of Christianity based on the *Hebraica veritas* principle.

In the second half of the 15th century, the activities of East Slavic "Judaizers" (or of the philologist "Hebraists" and "Biblicists") led to the creation of a number of biblical projects, of which only the Gennady Bible in Novgorod was successfully

completed. Its compilers were familiar with the developments of their Ruthenian colleagues, in particular with the Edited Pentateuch, which was partially reflected in the Gennady Bible. It is noteworthy that Gennady's circle was multilingual, international, and perhaps, if one can assume the preservation of Catholicism among some of its members, interfaith. For the Gennady Bible and its metatexts, both the Vulgate and the latter's Low German translation with the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra were used. It also turned out that among the members of the circle, or at least among some scribes of the Novgorodian bishop's court, there were also speakers of Old Permian and representatives of the book culture of St. Stephen of Perm.<sup>40</sup> Speaking this "exotic" language (exotic at least for medieval standards), albeit in the distant north-eastern edge of Europe, and using the rare and specially developed graphics of this language apparently was a sign of belonging to a particular intellectual stratum of Russian bookmen. Previously, it had been thought that the main representatives of Old Permian cryptographic script were the so-called Judaizers, who were eventually accused of heresy and physically destroyed. All the marginal glosses written by them in *Anbur* (Old Permian script), but in the Slavonic language, were even specially published by Jakov Luria as samples of their "literature." However, it is absolutely impossible to find anything heretical in these glosses, and now it turns out that *Anbur* was used by the ideological opponents of the "Judaizers"—members of the circle of Archbishop Gennady, who was known for his writings against "heretics"; furthermore, the pamphlets with notes in *Anbur* were sent from Novgorod to Volok for another ardent adversary of the "Judaizers"—Joseph Volotsky.

Nothing at all heretical or anti-Christian has yet been found in the entire *Corpus Judaico-Slavonicum* actively researched, either in the Edited Pentateuch or in the texts connected to the Vilna Codex. Slavic-Jewish contacts of the 15th century can with certainty be categorized, according to Moshe Taube, as representing a Jewish-

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<sup>40</sup> Grishchenko, Alexander & Vadim Ponaryadov. "The Newly Discovered Monuments of the Old Permian Language and Script." *Ural-Altai Studies* (2021): forthcoming (in Russian).

Christian collaboration, so rare in the history of the interaction of these two confessional traditions. This collaboration continued to develop against the background of anti-Jewish polemics and to coexist with it in the same codices; and this convergence and divergence of “ours” and “others”—first of all in confessional terms, secondarily in linguistic terms—is part of the originality of medieval and post-medieval literature of the East Slavic component of *Slavia Orthodoxa*.