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Bible as Notepad

Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in
Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts

Edited by
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Dedicated to the voices in the margins

Preface and acknowledgements

The present volume aims to provide a comparative look at the contents and layout features of secondary annotations in biblical manuscripts across manuscript traditions. These annotations, and the practices that produced them, have not received the attention they deserve. It is our hope that this collection of essays will display some of the vast richness that accompanies the biblical texts in the margins of the manuscript pages.

Most of the collected articles were first presented at the conference “Bible as Notepad,” held at MF Norwegian School of Theology in Oslo, 10–12 December 2014.

We would like to thank the series editors Patrick Andrist and Martin Wallraff and the publisher, Walter de Gruyter—in particular Stefan Selbmann and Anett Rehner—for all of their work. We are grateful to Matthew P. Monger for co-organizing the conference from which many of the contributions were drawn, and to our editorial assistant, Per Kristian Sætre, for finalizing the bibliographies. Most of all, we are thankful to the contributors to the volume for the lively discussions in Oslo and all the efforts made to approach a still relatively unexplored and highly fascinating field from different, but converging perspectives.

Oslo and Rome, December 2017
Liv Ingeborg Lied and Marilena Maniaci

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Bible as notepad: Exploring annotations and annotation practices in biblical manuscripts

1 Introduction

The Bible is among the world's most studied books. However, the overwhelming majority of scholarly studies approach it exclusively for its traditionally transmitted textual contents: It is the biblical narratives, their literary forms and rhetorical constitutions, or alternatively, the dogmatic, ethical or spiritual contents of the biblical texts that have received by far the most attention. Furthermore, many editors and interpreters of biblical texts have tended to engage with them as "abstract texts," in the sense that the biblical writings have been studied detached from the physical artifacts in which they have survived. The text on a manuscript page has been approached as a witness—good or bad—to a presumed early text, and not as an integral part of the physical object in which it has come down to us. As a result, the qualities and particularities of individual, materially existing biblical manuscripts have often been overlooked. And importantly, other contents sharing the page with the biblical writings have typically been categorized as irrelevant to the project of editing and interpreting the early text—or even as clutter. Thus, these other verbal and non-verbal contents have tended to be systematically excluded from both published editions and interpretative studies of biblical writings.

The present volume, *Bible as Notepad*, aims to look at biblical manuscripts from a different perspective, putting the other contents sharing the page with the biblical texts center stage. Studying verbal annotations in particular, the contributing essays of this volume make the notes that surround, intersperse, and add to the primary layer of text in biblical manuscripts their main focus of attention. The essays look at biblical manuscripts, or the manuscript attestation of particular biblical writings and collections, through the lens of their annotations, addressing the various relationships between the primary layer of text and the secondary notes, and exploring the roles and functions of annotated manuscripts as cultural artifacts. The volume will study the practices that produced the annotations and discuss whether, and the ways in which such notes may shed new light on both the development and the transmission of text traditions. The volume will also explore the historical engagement with biblical manuscripts and the potential change of use and meaning of writings and artifacts that may result from the addition of the notes.

Bible as Notepad explores annotations and annotation practices in both Jewish and Christian biblical manuscripts, penned by both Jewish and Christian active readers. It provides case studies of annotated manuscripts from a broad variety of linguistic traditions, including manuscripts of Greek, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Hebrew and Georgian origin, the oldest ones dating to the second century B.C.E., the youngest to the fifteenth century C.E. Hence, the present volume provides snapshots of the richness and variability of secondary notes in biblical manuscripts across traditions, exploring the functions of the Bible "as a notepad."¹

Among the questions being posed by the contributors of this volume are: What types of annotations appear in biblical manuscripts, and to what annotation practices do they bear witness? What similarities and differences can be detected across different manuscript traditions and time periods, and are notes appearing in biblical manuscripts any different from notes in manuscript containing other literatures? What do additional notes tell us about the use and engagement with biblical manuscripts, and how and to what extent does the annotation and circulation of annotated manuscripts change the functions and use of biblical manuscripts?

Given its broad perspective and aim, the *Bible as Notepad* volume is a multidisciplinary endeavor. The study of the notepad function of the Bible requires close collaboration and interaction between academic discourses and fields that surprisingly often are kept apart. Thus, the volume is edited by a manuscript scholar and a historian of religion, and brings together experts on various ancient and medieval manuscript traditions and scholars whose primary training is the interpretation of particular groups of literary texts.

¹ The present volume consists of case studies. At the time of writing, the study of annotations and annotation practices in biblical manuscripts is still in an introductory phase. Since systematic studies remains a desideratum in most linguistic traditions, and since the existing contributions apply different analytic categories to explore them, aiming for an exhaustive overview of the materials would currently be premature and in principle impossible.

2 Bible as notepad: initial categorizations and definitions

The topic of the present volume is additional notes and annotation practices in biblical manuscripts.² Each aspect of this sentence, and hence the main building blocks of the volume, need some initial deliberation.

2.1 “Bibles” and “biblical manuscripts”

The title of the volume, *Bible as Notepad*, suggests that this is a book about the Bible and, to some degree, this is correct. It is correct in the sense that the volume at large addresses and challenges the cognitive placeholder we today commonly know as “the Bible.”³ It is correct, also, in the sense that some of the contributions, for instance those of Marilena Maniaci and Patrick Andrist,⁴ engage explicitly with manuscript artefacts that are normally referred to and conceptualized as “Bibles,” that is, books containing the totality of biblical writings gathered in one or more volumes.

However, a substantial part of the contributions to this volume explores manuscripts that do not necessarily fit the category “Bible” quite as neatly as the above mentioned ones. This tendency reflects the fact that manuscripts containing biblical writings come in many shapes. Manuscripts that include biblical writings are, for instance, not necessarily exclusively “biblical”—they may include writings that modern scholars would commonly categorize as non-biblical, such as homiletic writings, chronological books, or commentary literature.⁵ Nor will a single manuscript necessarily include “all” biblical books.

2 The present volume explores manuscripts, not printed Bibles. Manuscripts are textual artefacts belonging to cultures where texts are transmitted chirographically. In other words, manuscripts are, among other things, the physical carriers of texts copied by hand. Nevertheless, in a volume focusing on annotations, there is no need to exaggerate the distinction between a biblical manuscript copied by hand and a printed volume. Annotations certainly appear across this divide. And yet, some practices vary and have different consequences to the further engagement with the texts. For further reading, see e.g. Sharp/van Kampen 1998; Saenger/van Kampen 1999.

3 Cf. Malley 2004.

4 Marilena Maniaci, “Written evidence in the Italian Giant Bibles: Around and beyond the sacred text,” and Patrick Andrist, “Toward a definition of paratexts and paratextuality: The case of ancient Greek manuscripts.”

5 Cf. for instance, Paola Buzi’s discussion of the Bodmer Papyri (containing biblical, homiletic and classical texts) in the present volume (“Additional notes in Christian Egyptian manuscripts (fourth–eleventh centuries): Brief remarks”).

Pandects, “full Bible codices,” were relatively rare in many traditions, because they were complex and expensive to produce, and in the case of big volumes difficult to handle, and their spines vulnerable to breakage. Most manuscripts categorized as “biblical” would rather include a group of biblical books, such as the Pentateuch, the Prophets, or, the Gospels, and sometimes just one biblical book, such as the Gospel of John.⁶ The notion of “the Bible” should be complicated even further. The present volume includes two contributions on manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁷ These manuscripts, and fragments of manuscripts, include writings that are commonly addressed as “biblical,” but the manuscripts date to a period when the use of the term “Bible” is anachronistic. The collection known to us as “the Bible” was at least to some degree fluid at that time, and it is not evident that the conception of a Bible is the only or even the most fruitful analytical grasp on many of the manuscripts that survived in the caves close to the Dead Sea.

Furthermore, this collection of essays covers a lot of ground, focusing on manuscripts from a wide range of traditions, copied within a time span of 1700 years. There are significant variations in the shapes and conceptions of biblical manuscripts among manuscript traditions, and the current volume discusses manuscripts that in different ways have been or fruitfully can be categorized as “biblical.” The extent to which a given manuscript should be categorized as “a Bible” is an empirical question and will be addressed in the individual essays that make up this volume.

2.2 “Annotations”

The expression “annotation” is applied here to denote a discrete unit of handwritten text, which layout-wise is not part of the nuclear text in the writing area of the manuscript page. As such, and focusing on the location of the notes in the manuscript, an annotation can be defined as “a companion text sharing the page.”⁸ An annotation is typically a relatively short text found in the margins, in the intercolumns, or alternatively, around or in between the lines of the text in the columns. In a codex, such notes may also be found on empty folios, flyleaves and

6 Cf. Jeff W. Childers’ essay “Divining gospel: Classifying manuscripts of John used in sortilege” in the present volume.

7 Cf. the contributions of Kipp Davis (“Margins as media: The long insertion in 4QJer^a [4Q70]”) and Daniel K. Falk (“In the margins of the Dead Sea Scrolls”).

8 I am indebted to Childers’ use of the expression “companion text” in his contribution to the current volume.

pastedowns. In scrolls, annotations may appear on the otherwise blank verso side.

An annotation can furthermore be defined as “a secondary text,” in the sense that *chronologically*, it has been added after the primary layer of text.⁹ The annotations studied in this volume are most commonly the products of later hands, but occasionally, they may be penned by the one(s) who had copied the text in the writing area or by others who took part in the production of the manuscript. In other words, the notes may have entered the manuscript as part of the manufacture process, or they may be post-production additions, but on both occasions, they belong to one or more later layers of inscription of text, making the manuscript page a medium of asynchronous textual contents and, as such, a multiphase product.¹⁰

Two initial reservations must be made. First, the current volume will not address notes that were already planned to be part of the manuscript page at the stage of the preparation of the manuscript for copying, or notes that were systematically copied and recopied alongside the text in the columns, becoming an authorized part of the transmission of a given text tradition. This may concern, most typically, glosses and scholia which became standard repertoire of medieval Latin and Greek codices.¹¹ In other words, the interest is focused on annotations that occur occasionally, that are either special to a particular manuscript and bear contents that are unique, or although they may witness the existence of systematic practices of annotation, their notes are still not recopied as a set part of the transmission history of a particular text or literature.¹²

Second, although surviving manuscripts typically include both verbal and non-verbal additional contents, as well as contents that are simultaneously graphic and

textual, the current volume does not systematically address non-verbal contents such as doodles, drawings, and symbolic representations. However, non-verbal contents are discussed occasionally and as part of the discussions of verbal annotation throughout the volume, for instance in Maniaci’s and Andrist’s contribution.

Moving beyond these two initial reservations, the above general definition of the expression “annotation” could and should be further challenged by the broad variation actually found in surviving manuscript sources. First, the definition of an annotation here privileges relatively short texts. However, there are examples in extant manuscript material of complete compositions copied on the verso of scrolls (opistographs), longer tractates may be written in the margins or other empty spaces of codices, and sometimes these copies are the only surviving witnesses to a given text. Second, the above tentative definition tends to favor spontaneous, ad hoc, and less elaborate notes. However, some units of texts that may be categorized as “annotations” may, on the contrary, be carefully drafted, have a certain graphic quality, or resist the neat divide between the writing area and other spaces on the manuscript page. As is discussed in Adam Carter Bremer-McCollum’s contribution to the present volume, the exploration of colophons for instance, may bring further nuance to the categories and serve as a fruitful reminder of the porousness of our analytical divides.¹³

More attention should also be paid to the variation in the ways and the degrees to which annotations are related to the text in the columns. Sometimes annotations are closely linked to, for example, the narrative contents or general theme of the text, but other times they may apparently be completely unrelated to it.

Third, and as the contributions of this volume will show, the types of annotations we find in manuscripts, and the extent to which we find them, vary between individual manuscripts and between linguistic traditions; there may also be differences between textual genres, as well as between different historical contexts of copying. Some manuscripts are literally packed with notes. Others have sparse annotations, while in yet others, there may be no annotations at all—sometimes even if the manuscript offers generous margins, a medium which literally invites notes and doodles.

⁹ Compare Andrist’s use of the terms “primary” and “secondary” in this contribution to the current volume. This collection of essays covers a lot of ground, ranging from the ancient Near East to medieval Europe and from ancient scrolls to fifteenth century deluxe codices, and hence it has been a goal to apply a relatively neutral term in this introductory essay to grasp the main empirical phenomenon explored in the current volume. When other terms are applied, they are more closely defined and contextualized in the individual contributions of the volume.

¹⁰ Cf. Nichols 1991, 47–49.

¹¹ The literature on glosses, scholia and other marginalia, particularly in European codices, is vast. See for example, de Hamel 1984; Saenger/van Kampen 1999; Goulet-Cazé 2000; Slights 2001; Jackson 2001.

¹² However, as is the case in Childers’ study of the divinatory apparatus in codices containing the Gospel of John, ordered series of notes were sometimes copied and recopied in groups of manuscripts containing this writing without becoming part of the traditional copying of the Gospel.

¹³ Cf. Bremer-McCollum’s “Notes and colophons of scribes and readers in Georgian Biblical manuscripts from Saint Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai)” in the present volume.

Even the assumption of continuity and of the *same-ness* of the object of study created by a single definition of “annotations” and by collecting a series of studies of such annotations in one volume should be challenged. It is important to undertake more detailed studies of individual artefacts, corpora and traditions to get a better grasp of the phenomena and various contexts we are addressing, and hence, possibly to challenge the implicit notion of the long, sweeping lines we are suggesting here. However, it is our contention that a collection of studies of annotations across linguistic and cultural divides should provide room for both some generous sweeps and more detailed foci. The practice of annotating textual artefacts seems to display a certain historical continuity.¹⁴ There are annotations, although sparsely, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the oldest manuscripts discussed in this volume, and the practice continues throughout the period covered by the present volume. However, the analytical clustering of the notes and the practices that produced them as similar phenomena should not be taken as a given, but should rather be a focus of scrutiny.

2.3 “Annotation practices”

An important reason for studying additional notes is that they may provide information about historical practices of manuscript production, and about reading and writing. They may also hint at other ways in which people have been engaging with these cultural artefacts during the various stages of their circulation.

By isolating and categorizing various types of annotations, we are identifying and interpreting social and cultural practices that have left their marks on the manuscripts, and hence, to some degree, also shaped them. As pointed out above, the additional notes can be scribal notes of various sorts, such as prayer requests, or notes added by others who were part of the process of producing the manuscript, rubricating, correcting and preparing it for binding and use. Active readers also left their marks on the manuscript pages. Their traces may be critical and learned, commentaries, notes on textual variants, erasures, censoring remarks and rewritings, intertextual references and excerpts from other writings. They may also be categorized as *dignum memoria* notes designed to

¹⁴ We find annotations across handwritten and printed artefacts, and digital annotation is a continuing practice today. Cf. for instance, the annotation tool in the digital Bible app, YouVersion (<https://www.youversion.com/About-YouVersion.pdf> [accessed 16 November 2017]).

guide reading and interpretation, remnants of memorization practices, attempts to facilitate the use and retrieval of texts, or notes that served to personalize the item on which they are written. On occasions, we might come across the spontaneous reactions of a reader or have a glimpse into historical circumstances that mattered to someone who engaged with the manuscript at a certain point in time. We also find liturgical notes of various sorts entered by later hands, protective or divinatory notes, library *sigla* and inventory numbers. Sometimes, we also see traces of the joys and challenges of owning, inheriting, or donating manuscripts. These are practices that show explicitly the other social and cultural roles manuscripts have played, besides being text carriers and besides the functions that might have been imagined and planned by those who produced them in the first place.

Finally, when we pay attention to the annotations in given biblical manuscripts, and if we study the manuscripts *due to* their annotations, we may reflect further on how we categorize them, and in what ways and to what degree they were “biblical” to those who engaged with them, as well as to us today. Manuscripts are more than the text contained in the writing area. There are other voices, other textual contents, on the pages that sometimes may suggest that a given biblical manuscript may have been more than “a Bible”: It may also have been a ritual artefact, a divinatory tool, an item of contestation, a precious gift or heirloom, a token of the commitment to a new social group (for instance, a monastery), and sometimes even an archive.

3 A brief history of the research and the aims of the current volume: why study additional notes and why now?

The attention given to annotations in manuscripts, either biblical or other, is certainly not new. For instance, the annotations in key biblical manuscripts such as the Greek Codex Sinaiticus (London, BL, Add. 43725 and fragments in St. Peterburg and Sinai) have received attention since the mid-nineteenth century, primarily, but not exclusively, guided by text-critical interests noting variants and corrections by second hands.¹⁵

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. Tischendorf 1863; Lake 1911; Milne/Skeat 1938, which gave rise to a longstanding discussion about the annotations in the Codex Sinaiticus. Cf. further Harris 1901 for an early study of the annotations in Codex Bezae (Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41).

However, the interest in annotations has increased considerably during the last decades, starting in the 1970s and growing to maturity particularly during the 1990s. This interest was fueled, for instance, by the establishment of the field of book history, by key developments in manuscript studies, as well as in literary and medieval studies, by ongoing debates on philology and editorial theory, and by growing cross-disciplinary interest in reception history.¹⁶

The perspectives promoted by manuscript studies and book history, as well as studies of the reception history of various texts and literatures, have influenced the development of the research on annotations, both in manuscripts and in printed books.¹⁷ As a general point of departure, the dominant perspectives in these fields suggest that we study the material object, its use and circulation, and its various roles to the different people among whom it circulates. To manuscript scholars and book historians, the artefacts and the cultural processes that create and circulate them are interesting in their own right. They take interest in the ways in which texts and textual artefacts have been manifested and present for people at different times in history, and the remaining traces of readers' engagement is a particular focus.

A relevant insight growing out of these perspectives is that scholars have traditionally tended to take interest primarily in the production phase and early history of the use of a manuscript, and let that phase alone determine how the manuscript is categorized—what it “is.” In other words, the fact that manuscripts and their texts often continue to circulate and become something else and more to those who engage with them later on has often been overlooked. Notes by active readers in a manuscript or printed book may for instance affect the next reader. Notes, underlining, corrections and erasures may well change that reader's conception of the text, as well as the object itself. And importantly, later use of books and manuscripts does not always honor the intended function

of those who once produced them. Rather, the use may change—beyond the purpose imagined and facilitated by its manufacturers.

In this perspective, codicology (understood as “the archaeology of the manuscript book”) has in the last two decades produced a lively debate and significant contribution to the study of the “construction of the page.” This debate has been concentrating on the analysis of the geometric relationships between the written area and the margins, the spatial disposition of notes and commentaries in relation to the main content of the book, and the devices that bookmakers and scribes adopted to link a main text to its explanatory notes. The layout of annotations and commentaries has also been explored in an historical perspective, with interesting—although not conclusive—remarks on the “birth of the commented edition,” and speculations on the origin and development of the various types of layout, in connection with specific categories of texts (Bibles, law books, Greek classics). Although most of this work has been centered on manuscripts that were originally planned to contain annotated texts in the form of structured commentaries, it has significantly contributed to the emergence of a specific attention for the material features of later annotations, as a key element for the study of the dialogue between “primary” and “secondary” texts coexisting on the same page.¹⁸ The progress towards the development of a suitable and comprehensive terminology of the annotated manuscript, whose completion remains a *desideratum*, also deserves to be explicitly mentioned.¹⁹

The study of additional notes in manuscripts has also drawn insights from debates on philology and editorial theory taking place in the same period. For centuries, the main interest of editors and interpreters of various literary traditions and genres—not only biblical material—was the early text. A copy of a text in a manuscript was treasured first and foremost by its value as a witness to that early text, and not by its place and function in the physical manuscript in which it survives. Paired with this assessment scheme was the assumption that at a given point in time, a composition was “concluded” and started circulating as such: as a finished text and as an identifiable compositional entity. These assumptions have led editors, in

¹⁶ The literature growing out of these post-1970s debates is vast and cannot be covered in full. Furthermore, the development in these fields should ideally not be seen in isolation, since they are drawing on a broader repertoire of concurrent developments. Progress in the academic study of history during the 1970s and onwards, resulting in increased attention to, in particular, social history (microhistory, the history of everyday life), as well as the growing importance of the social sciences and their interest in marginal groups and other voices (e.g. post-colonialism) may also be said to have paved the way for the perspectives in focus here.

¹⁷ Cf. on annotations in particular: Wilson 1967; Stoddard 1985; Slight 1992; Tribble 1993; Milde 1995; Sherman 1999; Petrucci 1999; Jackson 2001; Fera 2002; Teeuwen/van Renswoude 2017.

¹⁸ Goulet-Cazé 2000; Fera 2002, both with rich bibliographies on the above-mentioned aspects; for an introductory bibliographical overview see also Maniaci 2002, Agati 2017, and Maniaci 2002a. Most of the work done to date concerns Greek and Latin manuscripts. For other book traditions the state of available knowledge is still quite unsatisfactory.

¹⁹ Sautel 1999.

particular, to focus their attention on the primary layer of text, applying it detached from the manuscript context to explore an earlier literary entity, and only to a lesser degree, if at all, taking the other texts and signs of engagement on the manuscript page into consideration. Changes introduced to the text due to the manuscript practices of later correctors and active readers, the possible importance of marginal notes to reader experiences and interpretations of the text, and the potential changes of functions of the text and the manuscript implied by the annotations were among the aspects that tended to be overlooked.

During the last decades of the twentieth century, then, other perspectives developed in reaction to assumptions such as those sketched above, both within established philological fields, for instance in New Testament textual criticism,²⁰ but also taking shape as alternative paradigms, such as the so-called new medievalism/new philology.²¹ Among the shifts promoted by these viewpoints was the increased focus on the manuscript as the primary context of the texts copied in it, an appreciation of the copy as a meaningful entity per se, and of the manuscript and its texts as a source to the period and the people that produced and later engaged with them. As a result, additional notes are no longer overlooked, but are potentially becoming meaningful foci of the study of, for instance, textual growth and change taking place during text transmission.²²

In the same period, scholars in literary and medieval studies, in particular, saw the value of studying the notes added to the manuscript pages and did so with new theoretical refinement. In these academic fields, manuscript pages were increasingly seen as discursive, in the sense that they included more voices, and the interest was moving away from the singular focus on the (implied) author and his/her text to the active reader and his/her engagement with the text and the artifact. Margins and intercolumns were explored as sites of interaction and disagreement—interchange between text and reader, as well as between different active readers. In other words, scholars in these fields pointed to the ways in which annotations may contribute to a decentering of the text in the columns, or possibly a “co-centering” of texts sharing the page: the question as to what was “marginal” and “central,” as well as the distinction between “reader” and “writer” was raised with new force,²³ opening up for a

reevaluation of both how textual artefacts are identified and categorized, and how the various text units and the relationships between them may be fruitfully interpreted.

The study of annotations in manuscripts is currently also fueled by a growing interest within the increasingly multi-disciplinary field of biblical studies in, for instance, so-called “scribalism,” materiality and media, as well as ancient and medieval literacy and reading communities.²⁴ The material manifestations of individual manuscripts, their extra-textual features and signs of readers’ historical engagement with manuscripts and their texts are now attracting more and more scholarly attention in this field, supplementing the more traditional focus on the contents of the biblical texts.²⁵

Thus, building on these highly relevant research perspectives developed since the 1970s, and adding to the ongoing debates among specialists working on biblical texts and manuscripts, the *Bible as Notepad* volume aims to provide up-to-date analyses of annotations and annotation practices in Jewish and Christian biblical manuscripts. The volume will, first, provide either case studies from or overviews of annotation practices in the various traditions that engaged with biblical texts. Although we will certainly never be able to fully grasp the variety of additional notes appearing in biblical manuscripts, much still remains to be discovered. No systematic or taxonomic overview of additional notes in biblical manuscripts exists. Additional notes have received a fair share of attention in some manuscript traditions, such as the Latin and vernacular traditions of the Christian West,²⁶ and additional notes in Greek biblical manuscripts are currently among the features explored in a major European research project, the *ParaTexBib* project.²⁷ However, additional notes in other traditions, such as the Syriac and Coptic, remain generally uncharted.²⁸ Thus, in many manuscript traditions that are regularly consulted by biblical scholars, church historians, and historians of religions, research on additional notes is currently far from exhaustive. The present volume is an attempt to address at least some of the challenges created by this overall situation.

²⁰ Cf. e.g. Epp 1966 and 2007; Parker 1997.

²¹ Zumthor 1972; Cerquiglini 1989; Nichols 1990.

²² Lied/Lundhaug (eds.) 2017.

²³ Cf. in particular, Derrida 1991 and Camille 1992. Some further relevant studies are Carruthers 1990; Barney 1991; Tribble 1993; Greetham 1997; Genette 1997; Grafton 1998; Jackson 2001 as well as Slight 2000.

²⁴ E.g. Gamble 1995; Haines-Eitzen 2000; Hurtado 2006; Bagnall 2012; Römer/Davis 2014.

²⁵ Cf. Davies 2015.

²⁶ Cf. Maniaci’s contribution in the present volume. Note also that much of the work that has been done on West-European materials focuses in particular on incunables and early printed books, and not on manuscripts.

²⁷ <http://www.paratexbib.eu/index.html> (accessed 16 November 2017). Cf. Andrist’s essay in the current volume.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. Paola Buzi’s essay in the current volume. Cf. also van Rooy 1998.

Second, the volume will contribute to and develop further the above presented theoretical and methodological discussions. With its particular focus on additional notes and annotation practices in biblical manuscripts, it may both add to our knowledge of an important category of manuscripts of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and challenge and supplement the way we explore and imagine the Bible and its use in these time periods. In particular, a better grasp of the notes, their place in the manuscripts and their various relationships with the primary text may have methodological implications for the ways in which we imagine and thus study texts, text production and transmission, as well as biblical manuscripts as significant historical artefacts.

Third and finally, a key rationale for devoting time to the notes is the radically new situation in manuscript studies, offering new possibilities but also new challenges, brought about by the so-called digital turn. Libraries and collections worldwide are now slowly, but steadily, in the process of digitizing their manuscript collections, making them available online.²⁹ These digitization projects are making manuscripts available as visual objects online, and as a consequence academics in relevant fields will be getting more and more used to seeing them. The implications are that manuscripts, which used to be consulted only by the few, are now at the fingertips of new groups of scholars who know the languages and the contents of the texts from published editions and who are trained in other theoretical perspectives than those who traditionally have been working on manuscripts.

The growing availability of digitized manuscripts may potentially usher in new and different approaches to manuscripts and their various texts. However, this development may also create a situation in which manuscripts are visually available to groups of scholars who are not necessarily trained in reading and describing them. It is well known that the visual impression of a manuscript page may differ markedly from a page of edited text, and also that a critical apparatus may often represent the multi-vocal pages of a manuscript rather poorly. With the digitization of manuscripts, the notes in the margins, in between the lines, and on flyleaves

and pastedowns will become texts that are there to be seen by everyone who looks them up. These categories of text may even come as a surprise to those who did not know of their existence, and online, they come with no guide as to how to interpret them. Thus, an important aim of the volume is to aid and facilitate a continuing interdisciplinary communication about the notes, which is being made increasingly possible as a result of the digital turn.

4 Outline of the volume

The first two studies presented in this volume are dedicated to some of the oldest biblical manuscript materials available to us. In the essay “In the margins of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” Daniel K. Falk addresses an aspect of the Dead Sea Scrolls hitherto uncharted, surveying writing, marks and scribbling left by later hands on the margins of scriptural scrolls and liturgical manuscripts, as well as in scrolls containing commentary and community rules. The essay pays particular attention to division markers and marks highlighting special paragraphs and contents of the texts, but also covers textual additions such as corrections, titles and end titles inserted by later hands, as well as supplementary prayers and psalms inscribed on the verso of the scrolls. Falk’s contribution attests to some of the ways in which these manuscripts have been engaged by active readers over time before they ended up in the caves close to the Dead Sea.

Kipp Davis’s essay “Margins as media: The long insertion in 4QJer^a (4Q70)” explores a lengthy additional note appearing in the intercolumn and the bottom margin of one of the oldest manuscripts found in the caves at Qumran, 4QJer^a. Tracing the history of this insertion and suggesting an alternative reconstruction and interpretation, Davis discusses whether this deliberate and carefully planned addition could fruitfully be understood precisely by its location in the margins, protecting and surrounding the text of the columns, as well as by reference to the performative context of the use of the manuscript.

Paola Buzi’s essay “Additional notes in Christian Egyptian manuscripts (fourth–eleventh centuries): Brief remarks” is the first article specifically focused on additional notes in Coptic and Graeco-Coptic biblical manuscripts. According to Buzi, such annotations are rare in Coptic literary culture. And yet, she shows how the extant notes filled a great variety of purposes, as well as bearing witness both to the bilingualism at the time and to a growing cultural and linguistic Coptic identity.

²⁹ At the time of writing (2017), libraries and collections with large manuscript holdings, such as the Vatican Library, the Bavarian State Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the National Library of Greece, the Yale University Library, as well as Saint Catherine’s Monastery (and many others), have either been in the process of digitizing their manuscript repositories for quite some time, or they have announced that they will digitize their holdings in the near future.

The contribution “Divining gospel: Classifying manuscripts of John used in sortilege,” by Jeff W. Childers, explores Syriac, Greek, Latin and Armenian *hermeneia*-manuscripts. These books contain the text of the Gospel of John and a divinatory apparatus in the form of additional notes, sharing the pages with the gospel text. Addressing these codices as “Divining gospels,” Childers sheds light on an interesting category of late antique use of biblical artefacts, showing how attention to additional notes in a manuscript, as well as the relationship between the notes and the gospel text may change the way we understand the material object and broaden our knowledge about the diversity of readers’ engagement with scriptural texts.

Marilena Maniaci’s essay “Written evidence in the Italian Giant Bibles: Around and beyond the sacred text” offers a systematic overview of the range of additional notes in select exemplars of the so-called Giant Bibles, imposing *pandects* written in Latin and produced from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century between Rome and Tuscany. Maniaci’s essay shows the wide variety of the notes added to these Bibles, displaying both that these biblical manuscripts were meant to be persistently employed in liturgy and that they, as a result, contain rich historical layers of information inscribed by users engaging with the artefacts and their contents over centuries of circulation.

The essay “Gianozzo Manetti’s handwritten notes in his Hebrew Bibles” explores the annotation practices and various usages of Hebrew manuscripts by non-Jewish owners. Nurit Pasternak studies the Latin and Hebrew notes inscribed by the fifteenth century Florentine humanist and Hebrew scholar, Gianozzo Manetti, in his Hebrew manuscripts, and displays how these notes attest to Manetti’s extensive Hebrew scholarship, as well as his express goal of searching for the *Hebraica veritas*.

In the essay “Notes and colophons of scribes and readers in Georgian biblical manuscripts from Saint Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai),” Adam Carter Bremer-McCollum surveys the corpus of Georgian biblical manuscripts in the famous collection of Saint Catherine’s Monastery, studying its rich reservoir of scribal and reader annotations. Bremer-McCollum shows that the notes may bear witness both to the circulation of the manuscripts and to events taking place in their immediate historical contexts. Furthermore, comparing the colophons and notes in these manuscripts with similar annotations in Syriac and Armenian manuscripts, Bremer-McCollum displays the extensive occurrence of shared topics and writing conventions across these traditions.

In the essay “EMML 8400 and notes on the reading of *Hēnok* in Ethiopia,” Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Ted M. Erho explore the occurrence of liturgical notes in the microfilmed manuscript EMML 8400. Stuckenbruck and

Erho show that in EMML 8400, as well as in EMML 8292, sections of the writing known to most scholars today as “1 Enoch” have been prepared for liturgical reading. The readings are ascribed to successive days throughout the week, probably to be read during the fifth month of the Ethiopian calendar in connection with the commemoration day of Enoch. Thus, these notes suggest that passages of 1 Enoch were intended by some Ethiopian Christians to be read in the context of public worship.

In the final essay of this volume “Toward a definition of paratexts and paratextuality: The case of ancient Greek biblical manuscripts,” Patrick Andrist poses a basic, but important question: What is a paratext in an ancient codex? The essay provides a personal and stimulating presentation and discussion of the theoretical perspectives and vocabulary that may be presently applied in manuscript studies to discourse annotations and other secondary contents. Taking the complexities of annotations and annotation practices in Greek New Testament codices as his empirical point of departure, Andrist illustrates both the potential and the limits to the application of the concept of “paratext,” a term coined and first defined by the French literary scholar Gerard Genette. Thus, the final essay of this volume aids the rethinking and further development of analytical tools, helping us to grasp key aspects of annotations and annotation practices in ancient codices.

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In the margins of the Dead Sea Scrolls

1 Introduction

The Dead Sea Scrolls include the oldest surviving manuscripts that became part of the Jewish Bible as well as Jewish liturgical manuscripts, and these are extremely important for understanding the early nature, development, and use of both authoritative texts and liturgical texts.¹ I should hasten to add that there was no closed canon of sacred writings at this time, so there is no “Bible” per se, but there is evidence of texts that are treated as bearing special divine authority, for example by citation and commentary.² I aim here to examine the intersection of these categories—scriptural scrolls, commentary, and liturgical manuscripts—for evidence of writing, marking, and scribbling on the margins. For comparison, I will examine the case of a composite sectarian rule book that is well preserved and displays significant marginal marking. The reason for focusing on these categories is that they imply some authoritative or normative function and tend to contain materials that might be accessed by individual sections on different occasions, and hence may attract special markings or notations by users. We are interested only in cases where a reader supplemented a manuscript, rather than the activities of a scribe or scribal corrector that pertain to the production of a text.³ The difficulty in distinguishing these is compounded by the fragmentary nature of the scrolls and the blurred distinction between scribe and user in a community that produced some of the scrolls it used.

The para-textual additions I will survey include marginal markings of various kinds, for example to mark sections or to highlight something in the text.⁴ Corrections—

including additions, deletions, and alterations of the text—are complicated. They are often accomplished afterward and sometimes by a different scribe or reader, but I regard them as related for the most part to the production and transmission of the text and will not include them in this study; they require a separate treatment.⁵ Nevertheless, I will make a few comments insofar as corrections are part of a system of interacting with the text, and in some cases overlap with commenting on text and adding to the text. Certain textual additions are relevant, including a few cases of titles on the outside of a scroll (e.g. 1QS verso; 4Q504 [4QDibHam^a] verso), and added psalm headings.⁶ I will also include cases where someone has re-used a manuscript to add a further text: I believe this definitely qualifies as using the manuscript as notepad, and is one of the most intriguing and important categories.⁷

In general, we may classify markings in manuscripts according to three characteristics: placement, form, and function. In terms of placement, additions within the text block are mostly related to textual correction, especially deletion marks of various kinds, which will not be included in this study. But there are some probable reader’s marks in a few texts that will be discussed below, including some individual letters in paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A script that may serve to draw attention to a specific word, concentrated in the Great Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a), the use of an X-shaped sign at the end of a line as a line-filler in the Habakkuk Peshier (1QpHab), and a puzzling use of paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A letters at the end of some lines in a copy of Canticles (4Q107 [4QCant^b]), where they could serve as line-fillers or to draw attention to something in the line.

Markings in the immediate right and left margins of columns include the following main types, among which are the majority of potential reader marks.

- (1) Horizontal strokes in the margin (usually right), often with a curve or angle at the right or left end, and occasionally a loop on top.⁸ In most cases they mark the end of a unit, placed beneath the beginning letters

1 For brief surveys see VanderKam 2012, and Falk 1999b.

2 See Lim 2010, 303–6.

3 For a comprehensive presentation of the data on scribal practice from Qumran, see Tov 2004. The data for the present study are drawn from Tov’s lists as well as independent examination of images from the *Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* (<http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il> [accessed 16 November 2017]; images will be cited according to their inventory number), the Shrine of the Book at The Israel Museum (<http://dss.collections.imj.org.il> [accessed 16 November 2017]), and the standard editions of texts in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Clarendon = DJD), as well as other sources mentioned in footnotes. For a comparative perspective on ancient manuscript production and scribal practice, see Bausi et al. (eds.) 2015, esp. 54–55, 69–89, 208–34, and Avrin 1991, esp. 101–37.

4 See Tov 2004, 178–218 and Figures on pp. 361–65; also Martin 1958, 1:150–53; Tov 1996, 41–77; and Tov 2002, 323–49.

5 See Tov 2004, 187–203, 222–30; Tov 1996, 327–36. Tov finds evidence in 69 out of about 930 scrolls (2004, 264).

6 See Tov 2004, 118–21; van Rooy 2002.

7 For classification of the transformations of a manuscript by addition, see Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 63–67.

8 Tov 2004, 361, Figure 1.1–1.7.

of the line to which they pertain, and protruding into the margin. Sometimes, however, they are placed above the beginning of a new unit. These marks often coincide with textual divisions by means of blank spaces, and in form and function, are analogous to the *paragraphos* common in Greek manuscripts. In a few instances, a mark is placed beside the first letter of a line to mark something of importance in the line. Despite the variations, I will use the term *paragraphos* in reference to all such marks, even if their purpose is not related to paragraph division.

- (2) X-signs in either margin, to mark an important passage. A large concentration of these is found in the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a), where it is sometimes difficult to determine the column to which the signs pertain. In form and function, they are analogous to the X-signs (*chi*) frequently encountered in Greek papyri.⁹
- (3) Individual letters in a different script, either paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A. Use of the paleo-Hebrew script in certain contexts in the late Second Temple period seems to be a deliberately archaizing strategy to emphasize connection with ancient Israel. Several scriptural scrolls found at Qumran were written in this script, and some sectarian scrolls use the paleo-Hebrew script for the divine name and some marginal markings.¹⁰ The Cryptic A script is an intentionally esoteric script unique to a small number of sectarian scrolls found at Qumran, as well as some marginal markings.¹¹ The use of markings in these scripts is indicative of sectarian practice.¹² Letters attested (in the materials we are reviewing) include Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew *zayin*, Cryptic A *kap* or paleo-Hebrew *ayin*, paleo-Hebrew *waw*, *shin*, and possibly *bet*, Cryptic A *het*, *šade*, *qop*, *reš*, and possibly *lamed*.¹³ In light of this use of paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters as markings, it is very possible that the fish-hook shaped *paragraphos* and the X-sign were regarded as paleo-Hebrew *ayin* and *taw* respectively.
- (4) Compound signs, which may combine Cryptic A or Paleo-Hebrew letters or other symbols.¹⁴ In form and function, a few of these (1QIsa^a 22:10; 1QS 7:bottom; 1QS 9:3) seem similar to the *coronis* that is found in Greek papyri.¹⁵

Outside of the writing area and the immediately adjacent margins, there are very few markings or annotations among the scrolls found at Qumran. In a few cases, there is a single Hebrew letter in the outer margin at the beginning of a sheet, apparently to number successive sheets.¹⁶ As these are related to the preparation of the manuscript, they are irrelevant here.¹⁷ There are a few instances of letters or markings in the outer margins where the purpose is uncertain, but the writing was most likely added after the main text. Examples include one or two words written in the top margin above the middle of a column in a copy of Canticles (4QCant^b frg. 1); and two or more letters in the top margin of Songs of the Sage (4Q511 [4QShir^b] 63 iii), again above the middle of the column.¹⁸ In both of these cases the marginal marks or letters seem to be a different hand than the main text and cannot belong to a heading or title; they are more likely reader's marks of some kind.

Emanuel Tov notes that

(s)ome markings were inserted by the original scribes, but probably a greater number were inserted by later scribes and generations of readers, and usually we are not able to distinguish between these three levels. Sometimes the color of the ink or the shape of the sign show that the sign was written after the text was completed.¹⁹

Only marks added later properly qualify as using the manuscript as “notepad.” In the absence of comprehensive ink analysis of the markings in comparison with text, I suggest the following criteria. (1) The shape of the mark may be inconsistent with the hand of the text, and (2) the size of the mark may be out of proportion with the text. For example, if the text is written in a fine, consistent and careful hand but marginal marks are large, inconsistent

¹⁶ Top right margin of sheets: 1QapGen 5, 10, 17; 4QS^b (4Q256) 4; 4QM^c (4Q493). Also possibly sheet numbers are in the wide right margin of 4QD^a (4Q266) 1a, opposite line 5 and 4QEschHym (4Q457b) 1, opposite line 10. See Tov 2004, 211–12.

¹⁷ The unusual mark in the top margin of an Exodus scroll 4QExod^k; see IAA B-472333), above the first word at the beginning of a sheet, may also be related to manuscript preparation. For general discussion, see Tov 2004, 211–12.

¹⁸ For photos of these cases, see IAA B-278409 and B-295783 respectively. In the case of 4Q511 (4QShir^b) 63 iii, one of the letters is probably a *bet*, but the others are indistinct. The column begins a new subsection (“And as for me, my tongue shall sing out your righteousness”), but not a new song, and so this is probably not a heading.

¹⁹ Tov 2004, 179. Similarly Turner 1987, 16: “The corrector’s work will be revealed by different handwriting, different ink (often not easy to detect in a photographic reproduction), and the ‘secondary’ placing of his work in relation to the principal handwriting.”

⁹ See Turner 1968, 116–18; Turner 1987, 14.

¹⁰ See Tov 2004, 238–46; 259–60.

¹¹ On the Cryptic A script, see Pfann/Kister 1997, 9–13 (1–30 and pl. 1–2); Pfann 2000, 525–32 (515–696 and pl. 35–48).

¹² Tov 2004, 203.

¹³ See Tov 2004, 361–65; Tov 2002, 336–39.

¹⁴ Tov 2002, 338; Tov, 2004, 363, Figure 11, 11.1, 11.2.












¹⁵ Cf. Tov 2004, 207.

and crude, this suggests that they were not made by the same scribe at the same time as the text. On the other hand, there can be no certainty that a scribe would take the same approach to marginal marks as to copying text. (3) If the line weight of marks differs from that of the text, this suggests that they may have been written subsequently with a different pen or by a different hand. It is possible, however, that a different line weight could simply be a function of using a different technique for scribal marks that are not treated with the same aesthetic as letters,²⁰ or variation in ink flow that was normal in ancient writing.²¹ (4) Consideration of the condition of the mark may also provide clues to whether it was written at the same time or subsequently to the text. If the scribal marks on a manuscript show more or less wear, or more or less bleeding than the text, this may indicate that the marks were made with a different ink or after the manuscript had undergone wear. (5) Erroneous placement is a likely indicator of subsequent marking, but more likely of a scribe than a reader. (6) The combination of division by space and markings—and especially the inconsistency in such employment—suggests that the markings were made by a reader.

The use of marginal markings of any kind (not counting corrections)—whether by scribes or readers—is concentrated primarily in a relatively small group of texts: out of well over 900 manuscripts, only two scriptural texts (1QIsa^a and 4QCant^b), two scriptural commentaries (1QpHab and 4QpIsa^c), a composite scroll of sectarian rule books (1QS–1QSa–1QSb), and seven collections of liturgical prayers (4Q414 [4QRitPurA], 4Q502 [4QpapRitMar], 4Q503 [4QpapPrQuot], 4Q504 [4QDibHam^a], 4Q509 [4QpapPrFêtes^c], 4Q511 [4QShir^b], 4Q512 [4QpapRitPur]) contain them.²² Minor evidence of markings (one or at most two marks) occurs in several other scrolls that contain collections of psalms (scriptural and/or non-scriptural): 4Q84 (4QPs^b), 4Q85 (4QPs^c), 4Q90 (4QPs^h), 11Q5 (11QPs^a), 4Q380 (4QnoncanPs^a), 1QH^a, 4Q428 (4QH^b), 4Q433a (4QpapH-likeB). Most striking is that manuscripts of liturgical prayers are by the far the most likely to attract markings, and especially those most likely to be readers' marks. When we add to this the cases of opisthograph liturgical scrolls, to be discussed below, it is clear that this is the most significant category of using manuscripts as notepad in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In the following analysis, we will consider separately the individual scrolls that contain the most likely evidence

Table 1: *Paragraphos* marks in 1QIsa^a (samples)¹

Column	Passage	Image
8:4	Is. 8,11	
16:4	Is. 20,1	
28:19	Is. 35,3	
7:10	Is. 7,21	
10:14	Is. 10,27	
16:30	Is. 21,13	
34:8	Is. 41,5	
34:22	Is. 41,17	
36:26	Is. 43,16	
50:8	Is. 61,10	
51:27	Is. 65,1	

Note:

1 Thumbnail images of 1QIsa^a are from <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/isaiah> (accessed 16 November 2017), courtesy The Shrine of the Book at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; photograph sources © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Ardon Bar-Hama. They are not to scale.

of supplementation by readers, starting with the best preserved of all of the scrolls found at Qumran, the Great Isaiah Scroll.

2 Scriptural scrolls

2.1 1QIsaiah^a

The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a), dating to the last quarter of the second century B.C.E., displays an extensive use of marginal markings.²³ Throughout the scroll are sixty examples of a simple horizontal line in the right margin that extends under the beginning of the line. In form and function these are similar to *paragraphos* marks found in Greek manuscripts.

²⁰ See Yardeni 2010, 157–60.

²¹ Johnson 2005, 74.

²² Cf. Tov 2004, 178.

²³ For edition, plates, and commentary, see Ulrich/Flint 2010; on dating see 2:61.

These take four main shapes in 1QIsa^a: (1) a simple horizontal line; (2) a horizontal line with a short downward stroke at the left end; (3) similar to (2) but shorter and thicker; (4) similar to (2) but with a downward hook at the right end as well. All of these differ in form from the distinctive fish-hook marginal mark found in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which has a large downward hook on the right end and none on the left.

In 1QIsa^a, these signs mark the end of passages that are also indicated with various paragraph breaks, whether “open” (blank space left at the end and/or beginning of a line, or a whole line left blank) or “closed” (small blank space in the middle of a line).²⁴ Some of these marks are probably by the original scribe.²⁵ However, the different shapes and sizes of the marks throughout the scroll point strongly to multiple hands.²⁶ At least some of the *paragraphoi* were probably added later by one or more readers. The most compelling evidence is found in a few sections with high concentrations of *paragraphoi*, where it is unlikely that they serve merely as division markers. In general, the *paragraphoi* throughout the scroll do not map consistently onto the paragraphing divisions by means of spacing: well over half of the paragraph breaks by spacing are unaccompanied by a marginal mark of any kind, and there is no discernible consistency to which breaks merit a marginal mark. With sixty *paragraphoi* over 54 columns, they average a bit more frequently than one mark per column. In column 8, however, there are six *paragraphoi* in close context, before Is. 8,9, 11, 16, 19; 9,2 and 7. It is difficult to determine whether these six marks separate passages, or rather represent three pairs of marks to bracket three passages of interest (Is. 8,9–10, 16–18; 9,2–6). In any case, the content of this section includes denunciation of “you peoples” contrasted with revelation to the speaker and his disciples, material easily read in a sectarian manner. Moreover, the passage most conducive to a sectarian reading in this context—Is. 8,16 (“Bind up the testimony ...”)—is additionally marked by a marginal sign in the Cryptic A script,

which is almost certainly a sectarian reader’s mark (see further below). In column 34 there are four *paragraphoi*, of the same short type as in column 8. These are placed before Is. 41,2, 5, 17, and 21, and possibly bracket two passages with direct speech from God summoning the nations to judgment and promising help to Israel respectively: Is. 41,2–4 and 41,17–20. In between, the passage about Israel as God’s servant in Is. 41,8–11 is bracketed by two X-marks in the margin (see further below). In columns 40–41 are six *paragraphoi* covering Is. 48,17–49,8, and again perhaps to be regarded as bracketing three passages of interest: Is. 48,17–19 concerning God’s discipline, and Is. 49,1–3 and 5–9 concerning the preparation of God’s Servant to teach and restore Israel. There is also a dot (or two) in the margin by Is. 49,1, the beginning of the Servant Song, but it is not clear whether this is intentional.

Additionally, there are six occurrences in 1QIsa^a of a composite *paragraphos* mark with a loop on top.

In comparison with the other *paragraphoi*, the larger size suggests that they are by a different hand (cf. 1QIsa^a 28,18, 27), and hence it is unlikely that they were made by the original scribe (e.g. copying signs found in a different exemplar). The fact that they occur only in the latter half of the scroll makes it unlikely that they served merely as section markers. Some of them do indeed mark the beginning of significant new sections: Is. 36,1 (Hezekiah narrative); Is. 40,1 (beginning of Second Isaiah); Is. 45,1 (Cyrus oracle); Is. 60,1 (exaltation of Zion), but it would be hard to explain Is. 42,13 (Yahweh as warrior) and 52,7 (Zion’s messenger) as marking major transitions. More likely, these are reader’s marks highlighting content of special interest.

Several other types of signs even more probably are examples of reader marks. First, there are thirteen X-shaped marks in the right and left margins that most likely draw attention to passages of interest to a reader. The marks show significant variation in size, form, and

²⁴ On paragraph divisions, see Tov 2004, 143–49, 182. In a single exception (1QIsa^a 4:7), there is no space left blank. There is also one instance of a *paragraphos* marker indented so as to be placed beneath the beginning of an indented line (1QIsa^a 26:31).

²⁵ The strongest argument for this is the mark at 1QIsa^a 28:19. The original scribe left one blank line to allow for the later insertion of text that was perhaps missing or damaged in his exemplar. Anticipating only a single line would be necessary, he already placed a *paragraphos* marker in the correct location for this line. In the end, a corrector had to cram two lines into the space, indenting slightly to avoid the now-interfering marginal mark. See also Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:87.

²⁶ Compare, e.g., the short and simple marks in columns 8 and 34, with the longer and sharply hooked marks in columns 5, 16, and 24.

Table 2: Composite *paragraphos* marks in 1QIsa^a




















Column	Passage	Image
28:28	Is. 36,1	
32:29	Is. 40,1	
35:23	Is. 42,13	
38:6	Is. 45,1	
43:21	Is. 52,7	
49:6	Is. 60,1	

Table 3: X-signs (paleo-Hebrew *taw*?) in 1QIsa^a

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
19:2	Is. 24,5b		Right margin: marking Is. 24,5b, “they have transgressed laws (<i>torot</i>) ...” ¹
26:9	Is. 32,1 (E)		Right margin: marking beginning of passage Is. 32,1–8, “See a king will reign in righteousness”
26:18	Is. 32,8 (E)		Right margin: probably marks end of Is. 32,1–8 (first mark opposite the first line of passage, and second mark opposite last line of passage)
34:10	Is. 41,8 (E)		Left margin: marking Is. 41,8–11, “You, Israel my servant ... all who are incensed against you”
34:15	Is. 41,11 (E, L)		Left margin: marking end of Is. 41,8–11
36:3	Is. 42,21 (w)		Right margin: marking Is. 42,21, “The Lord was pleased ... to magnify his Torah”
38:5 or 6	Is. 44,28 or 45,1 (w)		Right margin: marking Is. 44,28, “Who says of Cyrus, he is my shepherd” or 45,1, “Thus says the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus ...” (?)
41:5	Is. 49,7 (E)		Right margin: marking Is. 49,7, “Thus says the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel and his Holy One, to one deeply despised ...”
46:10	Is. 56,1 (e, p)		Right margin: marking Is. 56,1–3, “Thus says the Lord, maintain justice and do what is right, for soon my salvation will come ...”
46:13	Is. 56,3 (e)		Right margin: marking Is. 56,3, “Do not let the foreigner joined to the Lord say ...” (?)
46:23	Is. 56,10 (p)		Right margin: marking Is. 56,10, “Israel’s sentinels are blind, they are all without knowledge”
48:9	Is. 58,13 (E, p)		Right margin: marking Is. 58,13, “If you refrain from trampling the Sabbath”
53:17	Is. 66,5 (e, p)		Right margin, below beginning of line. Marking Is. 66,5, “You who tremble at his word.” The full mark is clearly visible in DJD 32, 1:pl. 53

Note:

1 Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:105 associate the mark with col. 18, but I think it more likely belongs with col. 19. The leather has shrunk so that the symbol has shifted lower and further right. The lower part of the vertical to the left of the sign indicates that it originally stood right before the word עברו (“they transgressed”). Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the Bible are adapted from the New Revised Standard Version.

line weight—especially notable are the plus-sign shaped mark in col. 19:2 and the very thin marks in col. 26—again probably represent more than one hand.²⁷

²⁷ Note: thumbnail images are not to scale. See <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/isaiah> (accessed 16 November 2017). Note: in these tables, the following convention will sometimes be used to refer to paragraph breaks: E and e refer to either a large or small open paragraph break at the end of a line; L = a whole line left blank; i = an

It is often difficult to discern to which column a mark belongs. Four marks clearly pertain to the column on their left (i.e. they are placed in the right margin), because they are positioned to the left of a sewn join between sheets (26:9, 18; 41:5; 53:17). Two marks almost certainly pertain to the

indented line; and W and w refer to large or small closed paragraph breaks. The letter p means that the break is also accompanied by a *paragraphos* in the margin.

column on their right, because they are positioned just at the left edge of the column, at the end of a line following a blank space (34:10, 15). The placement of the other marks between columns is ambiguous, but in most cases they align best with the text when considered as signs in the right margin.²⁸

Although most of these marks occur at sense breaks—often signaled by a blank space at the end or within the line—their purpose cannot be to serve as section markers since in six cases the section break is already marked with *paragraphos* markers (38:5; 41:5; 46:10, 23; 48:9; 53:17). Moreover, unlike the *paragraphos* markers, which appear throughout the scroll, the X-marks are mostly just in the second half of the scroll. In two instances, X-marks seem to work in pairs to bracket a passage (26:9, 18; 34:10, 15). There is nothing to suggest that the X-marks are related to textual problems or corrections. Most likely, these are readers' marks to draw attention to a passage of interest.²⁹ The significance of these particular passages is uncertain, but we can note some recurring motifs: observance of Torah (Is. 24,5; 42,21; 58,13; indirectly 56,1); persecution of God's pious (Is. 41,8–11; 49,7; 66,5); messiah (Is. 32,1–8; 44,28–45,1); condemnation of Israel's sins (Is. 24,5; 56,10; 58,13).

Second, there is the use of letters in paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A script as markers. These markings probably reflect sectarian practice. Five letters in these scripts occur as marks in the right margin (paleo-Hebrew *waw*, Cryptic A *reš*, *het*, *qop*, *šade*). These are very difficult to explain as section markers, and they were probably added by a reader to “refer to the sectarian reading of certain passages, or to matters of sectarian interest.”³⁰

Again, we can only speculate as to the topic of interest, but we may note that four of the passages mention judgment on enemy nations, and one mentions the restriction of Torah among disciples. Both motifs are common targets for sectarian interpretation in the scrolls, as especially evident in the pesher commentaries found at Qumran, where references to foreign nations in the prophets are interpreted as ciphers for contemporary adversaries, and their opponents are condemned for ignorance of “hidden things” of Torah.

Two other paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A letters (Cryptic A *kaf* or paleo-Hebrew *ʿayin*; Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew *zayin*) are used to mark interlinear corrections, and these are clearly scribal marks.

In three instances, however, an interlinear shape similar to a Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew *zayin* is more likely to be a reader's mark to highlight a word in the text. These are by a different hand than the scribal mark in 27:21

(different form) and from the main text (line weight), and are unrelated to corrections or known textual problems.

Two of the marks are above references to foreign enemies of Israel (Egypt, Babylon) in a context of divine judgment, and as suggested above for the other paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A marks, they may be drawing attention to passages with special sectarian significance. The significance of the mark above the term “double” in Is. 40,2 is unclear, although perhaps it is referencing interpretation of the striking notion that Israel's sins are doubly atoned.

There is one instance of a composite sign in the right margin at col. 22:9 that looks like it is based on the letter *zayin* in the Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew script. Although it does occur at a minor sense break in the text—just before Is. 28,9, which begins at the right margin, following a small blank left at the end of the preceding line—its purpose is not likely to function as a section marker. Why would the largest and most distinctive sign in the scroll mark such a minor division? Rather, it is probably a reader's mark highlighting content. Although once again it is impossible to be certain of the matter of interest in the passage, it is not difficult to imagine a sectarian reader finding in Is. 28,9 (“Whom will he teach knowledge [יורה דעה] and to whom will he explain the message?”) an allusion to esoteric instruction so central to the sectarian identity (e.g. 1QS 9:18; 11:6, 15; 1QH^a 6:36; 9:28; 19:31), or even to their founding teacher, who is designated using this same verb (CD 6:11 [יורה הצדק]; 20:14 [יורה היחיד]; cf. CD 1:11; 1QpHab 7:4). A very similar mark, probably in the same hand, appears in two other places among the Dead Sea Scrolls—both within a copy of the Community Rule (1QS 7:bottom; 9:3). Moreover, it appears that the scribe who copied 1QS also made minor corrections in 1QIsa^a.³¹ It is possible, then, that this scribe marked Is. 28,9 in the margin of 1QIsa^a, and if so, I would suggest that he did so as a reader and not as a scribe making professional intervention in a manuscript.

There are four other unidentified marks in the scroll. The first three are smudged marks in the right margin, and it is not clear that these were intentional signs. If so, they are opposite the beginning of lines and would probably have been reader's marks highlighting passages of interest. Two of the marks could possibly be damaged X-signs, and the third could be a paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A *zayin* (cf. 1QIsa^a 33:1), but this too is very uncertain. The fourth mark is in the bottom margin, near the bottom edge of the sheet, about 2 cm from the right margin of the column. It is clearly intentional ink, but






²⁸ Ulrich/Flint 2010 judge some cases differently.

²⁹ Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:87.

³⁰ Tov 2004, 204 (see 203–8).

³¹ Cross 1972, 1–5 (here, 3–4 and n. 8).




Table 4: Paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters in 1QIsa^a: right margin

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
6:22	Is. 7,8		Paleo-Hebrew <i>waw</i> ¹ “For the head of Aram is Damascus ...”
7:8	Is. 7,20		Cryptic A <i>reš</i> ² “On that day the Lord will shave ... with the king of Assyria ...”
8:9	Is. 8,16		Cryptic A <i>het</i> ³ “Bind up the testimony, seal the teaching (Torah) among my disciples”
11:4	Is. 11,15		Cryptic A <i>qop</i> ⁴ “And the Lord will utterly destroy the tongue of the sea of Egypt”
21:23	Is. 27,12		Cryptic A <i>šade</i> “On that day the LORD will thresh from the channel of the Euphrates to the Wadi of Egypt, and you will be gathered one by one, O people of Israel”

Notes:

- 1 Tov 2004, 361, Figure 5.4; cf. 4QPs^b 5:19 on Ps. 93,5, and 1QS 5:1.
- 2 Tov 2004, 362, Figure 10.1; Tov 2002, 336. According to Ulrich and Flint (2010, 2:101), it is similar to Paleo-Hebrew *waw*, and functions here as a paragraph-marker.
- 3 Tov 2004, 362, Figure 10.2; Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:102.
- 4 Tov 2004, 363, Figure 10.3; or Greek *beta*. Ulrich and Flint (2010, 2:103): “it does not appear to be ink ... or is at least much lighter ink than the text or *paragraphoi*.” It is clearly visible on <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/isaiah> (accessed 16 November 2017); it is ink, but it is definitely lighter.

Table 5: Paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters in 1QIsa^a: interlinear corrector marks

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
17:1	Is. 21,16		Cryptic A <i>kaf</i> or paleo-Hebrew <i>ayin</i> . Above word שלוש; perhaps marking a word missing in other mss, as 1QIsa ^a reads שלוש שנים, whereas MT (= LXX) reads שנה ¹
28:18	Is. 34,17		Cryptic A <i>kaf</i> or paleo-Hebrew <i>ayin</i> . Left margin, marking inserted interlinear correction (Is. 34,17b–35,2) ²
27:21	Is. 33,19		Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> . ³ Above the word תראו, corrected with a supralinear <i>yod</i> . It appears that the <i>yod</i> was written on top of the mark. If so, the mark was presumably added by a reader to mark the error, which was subsequently corrected with the supralinear letter. ⁴ The mark and the correction appear to be two different hands, both different from the main text

Notes:

- 1 Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:105; Tov 2002, 337.
- 2 Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:108 note that three different inks in this section indicate two different correction hands in addition to the original scribe. This mark belongs to one of the correctors, who added the word ירשור in the margin.
- 3 Ulrich/Flint, 2010, 2:108; Tov 2002, 337.
- 4 Ulrich/Flint 2010, 2:108 speculate that it might have been meant to mark the middle of the book, since MT marks Is. 33,20 as the middle passage of Isaiah. This seems unlikely, given the coincidence with an interlinear correction.

it is uncertain whether this was intended as a sign or merely a scribble (perhaps as a pen trial?). Its purpose is entirely unclear.




The majority of the marginal marks in 1QIsa^a are similar to marks commonly found in Greek manuscripts. The most abundant of these is the *paragraphos*, both a simple form and with a loop on top. Moreover, the complex mark in the margin at 22,9 resembles a rudimentary

coronis, often in Greek papyri an elongated compound mark that sometimes takes the form of a stylized bird.³²

Both the *paragraphos* and *coronis* in Greek manuscripts serve primarily as dividing marks, indicating the end of a section or work, and they often accompany

³² Stephen 1959, 3–14.


Table 6: Paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters in 1QIsa^a: interlinear reader marks?

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
15:18	Is. 19,14		Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> ? ¹ Interlinear, above the word “Egypt,” and directly below another mention of Egypt in an identical phrase. Either drawing attention to the mention of Egypt, or highlighting the coincidence of identical phrases?
33:1	Is. 40,2		Cryptic A or paleo-Heb <i>zayin</i> ? (DJD 32, 2:110) Above כפלים (“double”); unclear purpose. Different hand from main text
40:19	Is. 48,14		Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> ? Over the word “Babylon” Perhaps drawing attention to mention of Babylon?

Note:

1 Tov 2004, 363, Figure 10.6.





Table 7: Paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters in 1QIsa^a: right margin

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
22:9	Is. 28,9 (e)		Composite sign: Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> + ? ¹ Section division, or marking content of Is. 28,9, which begins at right margin: “Whom will he teach knowledge, and to whom will he explain the message?”

Note:

1 Tov 2004, 363, Figure 11.1: paleo-Hebrew *zayin*. Cf. similar signs in 1QS 7:bottom and 9:3 (Tov 2004, 363, Figure 11 and 11.2).

Table 8: Unidentified signs in 1QIsa^a

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
11:2–3	Is. 11,13b? Is. 11,14?		Two ink smudges in right margin, possibly erased or smudged marks from two X-signs? Clearly visible on http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/isaiah ¹
49:14	Is. 60,11		X-sign? Right margin, marking Is. 60,11, which begins in middle of line?
27:5	Is. 33,5b		Right margin. Faint, possibly erased. Possibly a paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A <i>zayin</i> (cf. 1QIsa ^a 33:1). Unclear purpose
32 bottom			Bottom margin. Unclear purpose

Note:

1 Accessed 16 November 2017.

punctuation by means of spacing within the line.³³ Although in 1QIsa^a these marks are also employed at junctures in the text indicated with spatial punctuation, some of these at least seem to mark content of special interest, and are likely marks added by readers. This is even more so the case with the X-marks, which resemble the *chi*-sign common in Greek papyri, where it typically serves as a


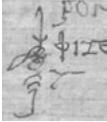
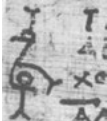
general-purpose critical sign to draw attention to something in the text.³⁴

The other marks in 1QIsa^a are letters of the Cryptic A and/or paleo-Hebrew script, and distinctive to these scrolls. Thus, the markings fall into two groups: widely-used signs and esoteric markings. It is possible, however,

³³ See Turner 1987, 8, 12–13; Johnson 1994, 65–68.

³⁴ See Turner 1968, 116–17; Turner 1987, 14; he notes that these signs do not always have the same meaning.


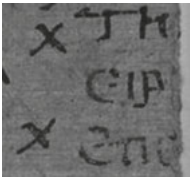
Table 9: Coronis?

Image	Notes
	1QIsa ^a 22:9 Composite sign: Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> +?
	Coronis with forked <i>paragraphos</i> Hypereides, <i>In Philippidem</i> ; second century B.C.E. P.Lond.Lit. 134, col. ix ¹
	Coronis with <i>paragraphos</i> Timotheus of Miletus, <i>Persae</i> ; late fourth or early third century B.C.E. P.Berol. 9875, col. v ² Earliest attested use

Notes:

- 1 Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:P.Lit.Lond._134_col._ix.jpg (accessed 16 November 2017); scan from Kenyon 1891.
- 2 Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:P.Berol._inv._9875_col._v_coronis.jpg (accessed 16 November 2017); scan from Schubart 1911.

Table 10: X-Signs

Image	Notes
	1QIsa ^a 46,23
	Menander Karchedonios; first half of first century C.E. P.Oxy. XXXIII 2654 ¹ Left margin

Note:

- 1 See Turner 1987, 10 n. 41. Image source: <http://163.1.169.40/gsdll/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH0124/7d49a99e.dir/POxy.v0033.n2654.a.01.hires.jpg> (accessed 16 November 2017).

that the common signs were imagined as Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew letters as well: the X-sign as a paleo-Hebrew *taw*, and the complex mark as based on a paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A *zayin*. Furthermore, the most common form of the *paragraphos* among the Dead Sea Scrolls (although not in 1QIsa^a) resembles Cryptic A *ayin* (see further below).

In summary, it is likely that most of the simple *paragraphos* signs serve as textual dividers, although they do not entirely correspond to the system of paragraph division by spacing. It may suggest that there are two independent systems for dividing the text into units. Moreover, they seem to be added by several different hands, suggesting multiple readers. The other marks were even more likely made by multiple readers, serving different purposes, and most

often seem to mark passages of interest. This is perhaps best illustrated by their uneven distribution: Cryptic A and paleo-Hebrew signs occur mostly in first half of the scroll, whereas the X-marks occur mostly in latter half of the scroll and the hooped *paragraphos* appears exclusively in the latter half of the scroll. Different Cryptic A or paleo-Hebrew letters probably had distinctive meanings.

2.2 Psalms scrolls

Psalms scrolls rank among the most abundantly attested at Qumran, with at least 39 extant scrolls.³⁵ Most of these are very fragmentary, but one—11QPs^a (11Q5)—is much more extensively preserved, with parts of thirty nine psalms surviving from the last two books of the Masoretic Psalter plus a further ten compositions, four of which were previously unknown.³⁶ Some represent small scrolls containing only a few psalms and others are large scrolls, containing an extensive Psalter. Some psalms are written in prose format and some in stichometric layout, but all scrolls divide between psalms with some form of spacing (part or all of a line left blank, and new psalms usually beginning at the right margin). There is no evidence among the surviving scrolls, however, for the regular use of marginal marks as dividers between psalms. None are attested, for example, in 11QPs^a, the best preserved of all the psalms scrolls. The only added markings in this scroll are related to scribal corrections. In fact, apart from scribal intervention in the form of deletion marks and corrections, secondary markings are rare throughout the psalms scrolls. Among all the psalms scrolls, there are only a few candidates to consider as potential reader marks.

In 1QPs^a (1Q10) there are two interlinear marks about a centimeter apart between lines 1 and 2 of fragment 7.³⁷

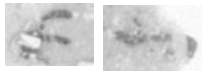
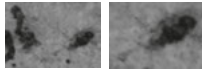

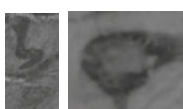
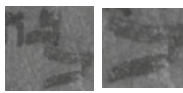
The shapes of the marks are unclear due to damage of the surface. The mark on the right is a horizontal line with a downward hook at the right and a upward curl at the left. The other mark has two horizontal lines with downward curves on the left, one above the other. The fragment preserves part of Ps. 119,33 and 34, on separate lines in stichometric layout. The two marks are positioned just before and after the last words in the first half of these verses above and below. Thus, they perfectly bracket the words “your statutes” and “your torah” in adjacent lines,

³⁵ Tov 2010, 120–21. The exact count of psalms scrolls varies somewhat among scholars.

³⁶ Flint 1997, 31–45, Appendix 4.

³⁷ 1Q10. These marks are not mentioned in the edition by Barthélemy 1955, 69–70, but are visible on pl. 13. See IAA B-278283.

Table 11: Psalms scrolls¹

Reference	Passage	Image	Notes
1QPs ^a 7 1–2	Ps. 119,33–34		Interlinear, mid-line. Before and after the mention of “your statutes” and “your torah” in adjacent lines (IAA B-278283)
4QPs ^a 14 ii + 16–19 i 32	Ps. 67,1		Short angled mark in right margin, beside the beginning of Psalm 67 (IAA B-295463)
4QPs ^b 5:16	Ps. 93,5		Paleo-Hebrew <i>waw</i> . After end of Ps. 93, at bottom of column (IAA B-361532)
4QPs ^c 15 ii + 16 30	Ps. 51,1		Circular mark (paleo-Hebrew ‘ <i>ayin</i> or Cryptic A <i>kaf</i> ?) at right margin beneath beginning of Ps. 51 (IAA B-370816, 370817)
4QPs ^b 1–2 16	Ps. 119,16		Marginal mark (Cryptic A ‘ <i>ayin</i> ?) beneath beginning of last line in stanza (IAA B-367922)

Note:

1 Images are from The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (<http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive> [accessed 16 November 2017]), © Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), and are cited according to IAA photograph number.

**Figure 1:** 1Q10 (1QPs^a) 7 1–2 (IAA B-278283)

which suggests that the marks are intentional rather than accidental ink. Because the line strokes are significantly thinner and lighter than the text, these marks were made subsequently and probably by a different hand. There is no evidence to suggest that these were scribal marks to indicate paragraphing, a mistake or textual variant. The marks were likely added by a reader to highlight these references to God’s laws, although the purpose is unclear.

4QPsalms^a (4Q83) is possibly the oldest psalms scroll (mid-second century B.C.E.), and preserves parts of nineteen psalms in prose layout.³⁸ There is a single marginal mark: a small angled stroke in the right margin just beside

the beginning of Psalm 67. Both its position and shape make it unlikely to be a section divider (which normally are placed beneath the last line of a unit), although the possibility cannot be ruled out since this is the only case in the scroll where the margin at the beginning of a psalm is preserved. More likely, if this was intentional ink, it was a reader mark to highlight Psalm 67 for some reason.




4QPsalms^c (4Q85) seems to have been a long scroll that may have contained the entire Psalter.³⁹ The layout is mostly stichometric, with divisions between psalms marked in various ways by blank spaces. The beginning of Psalm 51 is marked with a roughly circular sign at the right margin, just beneath the first letter (fig. 15 ii + 16 30): it could be a Cryptic A *kaf* (or paleo-Hebrew ‘*ayin*).⁴⁰ It is unlikely that the mark served as a section divider. The only other psalm beginning in this scroll (Ps. 53) has no marginal mark, and the shape and position of the mark are not similar to any other section dividers among the scrolls. Moreover, the mark is almost certainly made subsequently by a different hand, as indicated by its worn appearance in contrast to the crisp dark ink and formal hand of the text. It is probably a mark by a sectarian reader to highlight this particular psalm. The

³⁹ Skehan et al. 2000, 49–61 and pl. 7–9 (here, 49, citing Stegemann). On reconstruction, see Jain 2014, 83–89.

⁴⁰ See Tov 2004, Figure 10.4. This mark is not mentioned by the editors (Skehan et al. 2000, 57); nor to my knowledge has it been discussed by others.

³⁸ 4Q83; Skehan/Ulrich/Flint 2000, 7–167 (here, 7–22 and pl. 1–2). On reconstruction, see Jain 2014, 764–74.

Table 12: Marks in 4Q107 (4QCant^b)¹

Column	Passage	Image	Notes
4QCant ^b 1 4	Cant 2:12 (middle)		End of line Paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> IAA B-295452
4QCant ^b 1 9	Cant 2:14 (middle)		End of line Vertical paleo-Hebrew <i>shin</i> , or Cryptic A <i>dalet</i> ? IAA B-295452
4QCant ^b 1 11	Cant 2:16 (middle)		End of line Vertical paleo-Hebrew <i>shin</i> , or Cryptic A <i>dalet</i> IAA B-295452

Note:

1 IAA images: <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295452> (infrared); cf. B-295490 (full spectrum) (accessed 16 November 2017).

motifs in this psalm of penitence, washing from sin, wisdom instruction, and praise instead of sacrifice all have special resonance in the sectarian movement represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Only one fragment survives of 4QPsalms^h (4Q90), from the bottom of the first column of a small scroll containing the acrostic Psalm 119 in stichometric layout with one verse per line (8 lines per letter).⁴¹ It may have contained only this psalm.⁴² Just below the last line (Ps. 119,16) of the second stanza (the *bet* stanza), an unusual mark appears in the margin (fig. 1–2 16), something like an elongated *bet*. Without explaining the bottom line, the editors regard it as the type of *paragraphos* with a downward hook that appears in many of the scrolls, and suggest that each stanza would be so marked.⁴³ Since this is the only surviving transition between stanzas, there is no way to know, but the shape is otherwise unattested for such a use, and it is difficult to understand why an acrostic psalm would need markers to divide stanzas. The mark is in a different hand than the text: the ink is lighter, the strokes are simpler, and the proportions larger. The shape could be a Cryptic A ‘*ayin*, which can take the form of sideways “v.”⁴⁴ It is

⁴¹ 4Q90; Skehan et al. 2000, 113–15 and pl. 15.

⁴² Skehan et al. 2000, 113. Eva Jain argues that it is physically possible that the scroll contained Pss 119–134, as a liturgical collection; Jain 2014, 118.

⁴³ In the DJD edition, it is indicated as an elongated reverse “C” shape (p. 114), but in the comments (p. 113), the editors inexplicably describe it simply as a similar mark to the common fish-hook shaped *paragraphos*.

⁴⁴ See Pfann 2000, 530.

possible, then, that the mark was added by a reader to highlight this particular verse which mentions commitment to God’s laws: “In your statutes I will delight. I will not forget your word.”

In 4QPsalms^e (4Q87), someone secondarily added titles to Psalms 126 and 130 between lines (4Q87 26 i 6; 26 ii 2–3). Although the editors suggest that it was the same scribe responsible for the text, the very different formation of letters suggests that this was a different hand.⁴⁵

2.3 4QCanticles^b

4QCanticles^b (4Q107) displays a curious use of markings at the ends of some lines, near the left margin: the only clear marks are at the ends of lines 4, 9, 11 on fragment 1.⁴⁶

As Tov notes, these are probably letters in paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A script: the first (line 4) is likely a paleo-Hebrew *zayin* and the third (line 11) looks like a paleo-Hebrew *shin* written vertically, or possibly a Cryptic A *dalet*.⁴⁷ The second letter (line 9) may be the same as the third. Tov finds evidence of four other possible signs (1 7, 13; 2 i 4; 3 14), but these are questionable.⁴⁸ Because these lines are somewhat short and in some cases the symbols

⁴⁵ Skehan et al. 2000, 83–84 and pl. 12. Compare especially the *shin* and *mem* with letters on lines 26 i 6–7.

⁴⁶ Tov 2000, 205–18 and pl. 25.

⁴⁷ Tov 2000, 205–6, 210–11.

⁴⁸ For the first two of these he suggests a paleo-Hebrew ‘*ayin*, Cryptic A *kap*, or Greek *omicron* (line 7); paleo-Hebrew *bet* or Cryptic A *tet* (line 13). Cf. IAA image B-278404.

appear in the middle of sentences, Tov considers the possibility that they “served as line-fillers written in the spaces at the end of the lines lest the lines be mistaken as ‘open sections’ (similar to the use of the ‘X’ signs in 1QpHab).”⁴⁹ In the cases of fragment 1 lines 7 and 13, the purported marks come at the end of a gap left at the end of a section.

The position of the marks at the left edge of the text block favors Tov’s view that they are line-fillers rather than marginal marks (at a quick glance, they are not immediately noticeable). If so, however, they were not used consistently: no such mark appears at the end of the short line in 2 ii 7. On the other hand, the use of different symbols for each line, in contrast to the use of a single symbol in 1QpHab, and specifically the use of paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters, suggests that these could be reader marks to highlight content of interest. Furthermore, as Tov observes, “[s]ince the Cryptic A script was used for Qumran sectarian writings, the appearance of these letters in 4Q107 (4QCant^b) would point to either a sectarian scribal background or to the use of the manuscript by the Qumran community.”⁵⁰ If the latter were the case, this would be an example of markings added by a subsequent reader.

3 Sectarian scrolls

Although all of the scrolls discovered in the Qumran caves might have been read and used in a sectarian community, some scrolls are explicitly or implicitly directed to the particular needs and perspectives of a Jewish group that self-consciously defined itself over against other Jews at large.⁵¹ Of these, a few contain significant evidence of markings probably added by readers, especially a scroll of community rules, and two scrolls of scriptural commentary.

3.1 1QS–1QSa–1Qsb

There is a particularly high concentration of marginal markings in a composite scroll that contained three separate works concerning the order of sectarian community life: 1QS Rule of the Community, 1QSa^a Rule of the Congregation, and 1Qsb^b Rule of Blessings.⁵² The three

works were probably copied by the same scribe.⁵³ 1QS is itself a composite work covering eleven columns, apparently copied from a poor *Vorlage* so that the original scribe left numerous gaps; a corrector heavily edited columns 7–8.⁵⁴ The two additional works 1QSa^a (two columns) and 1Qsb^b (five columns survive fragmentarily) follow 1QS, each beginning at the top of a new column with a title rubric. According to the surviving evidence, none of the other scrolls of the Rule of the Community (ten from Cave 4, one from Cave 5) include the latter two works. On the verso of the guard sheet, a different hand wrote a title for the composite scroll (“Rule of the Community and from [...]”). This was likely added by an owner or user for the purposes of identifying the contents of the scroll.⁵⁵

In 1QS there are some twenty-one *paragraphos* marks with a downward hook at the right end (fish-hook shaped), and three more complex marginal signs. Two further fish-hook shaped *paragraphos* marks are attested in 1QSa^a and one is partly preserved in 1Qsb^b.⁵⁶ For the most part, these marks correspond to paragraph divisions throughout the scroll: all open paragraph divisions where the new section begins with an indented line, and most of the closed paragraph divisions (in both cases the mark is in the right margin below the last line of the preceding section). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that their primary purpose is to serve as paragraphing marks. The usage is not consistent: not all closed divisions are marked (e.g. 1QS 2:4; 4:6; 6:10), and marks also occur in some places where there is no sense division 1QS 3:18; 5:13) or division by spacing 1QS 8:4, 10; 9:5, 19; 11:15). The marks were added subsequently and must have other purposes, although these are difficult to determine.⁵⁷

Most of the uses fall into several clear categories: prayers and liturgical recitations; the end of a book; rubrics for rule collections; and rubrics about the foundation of an eschatological community. The remaining marks coincide with passages about the Maskil, the two spirits, and prohibitions.

⁴⁹ Tov 2000, 206.

⁵⁰ Tov 2000, 205.

⁵¹ On the ways that a text may be considered “sectarian,” see Newsom 1990, 167–87.

⁵² For editions, see Cross et al. 1972, 126–47; Milik 1955, 107–30 and pl. 22–29; Charlesworth (ed.) 1994, 1–51, 108–31; Qimron 2010, 209–42.

⁵³ Milik 1955, 107–8. Cf. Tigchelaar 2003, 439–40. Martin (1958, 1:55) suggested that two scribes collaborated: 1QS, hand A; 1QSa^a, hand B; 1Qsb^b, hands A+B.

⁵⁴ On the composite nature of 1QS, see Stegemann 1998, 108–16; Schofield 2009, 87 and n. 62.

⁵⁵ Tov 2004, 11, 120.

⁵⁶ The mark in 1Qsb^b is partly preserved on left edge of 1QSa^a col. 2, as noted by Tigchelaar 2003, 441 n. 19. It belongs in the right margin of approximately line 18 of 1Qsb^b col. 1.

⁵⁷ Cf. Tov 2004, 107–8.

Table 13: Marks in 1QS–1QS^a–1QS^{b1}

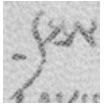







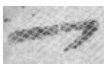
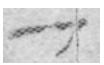
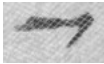

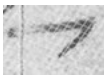







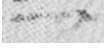
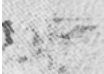
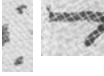


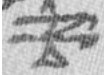
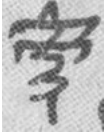



Passage	Space	Image	Notes
1QS 1:20			End of line
1QS 1:20	e + i		Amen Amen New unit 1:21
1QS 2:10	l		Amen Amen New unit 2:11
1QS 2:18	E + i		Amen Amen New unit 2:19
1QS 3:12	E + i		New unit 3:13
1QS 3:18			No sense division in line, no spacing left in line Possibly marking reference to 2 spirits
1QS 4:1	E + i		New sub-unit 4:2
1QS 4:8	E + i		New sub-unit 4:9
1QS 4:14	E + i		New sub-unit 4:15
1QS 5:13	W		Mid-line space, at end of expansion not in 4Q256 and 258 (4QS ^b . ⁴) No real sense break here; spacing may be related to the insertion
1QS 5:25	W		Minor sense division: transition from positive commands to negative injunctions
1QS 6:8	w		New unit from new source
1QS 6:23	E + i		New unit begins 6:24, “And these are the precepts”
1QS 8:4			New section mid-line, not marked by space “When these become in Israel”
1QS 8:10			Right margin, beside line ² New section mid-line, not marked by space “When these are established in the foundation of the Yahad”
1QS 8:12	w		Hook plus some mark above Right margin, below line New section mid-line, after small space “When these become the Yahad in Israel”
1QS 8:19	i		New section 8:20 “And these are the precepts ...”

Table 13: (Continued)

Passage	Space	Image	Notes
1QS 9:5			New section mid-line, not marked by space “At that time ...”
1QS 9:11	E + L + i		New unit begins 9:12, after larger than usual line space “These are the precepts ...”
1QS 9:19	w		New section mid-line, with only small space allowed by erasure of first letter, “That is the time ...”
1QS 10:5	i		Perhaps marking sense division: transition from third person description of Maskil's duties to first person Maskil poem, “With the offering of lips I will praise ...”
1QS 10:6			Right margin, beside line Looks like an erased letter at the beginning of the line
1QS 11:15			Colon-like sign in text to mark blessing formula <i>Paragraphos</i> in right margin
1QS 11:22			Right margin, beneath beginning of last line of the work
1QS 5:1	i		Marks beginning of new major section, “This is the rule for the men of the Yahad”
1QS 7:bot			Marks end of section?
1QS 9:3	i		Right margin, projects into text block Beginning of new section, “When these are in Israel ...”
1QS ^a 1:5	i		IAA B-278249
1QS ^a 2:22			Right margin, beneath beginning of last line of the work IAA B-278249
1QS ^b 1:18?			IAA B-284824

Notes:

1 Images of 1QS are from <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community> (accessed 16 November 2017), courtesy The Shrine of the Book at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; photograph sources © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Ardon Bar-Hama. Images of 1QS^a and 1QS^b are from <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/1Q28a-1> (accessed 16 November 2017).

2 Martin 1958, 1:151–52 suggested that the mark originally projected into line, and then part was erased to write line 10. Tigchelaar 2003, 441–42 regards this as evidence that the scribe made the marks. I don't see any evidence of erasure: the left end of the mark is rounded, not abrupt. I think it was positioned here and so short because it was written after the interlinear addition below: normally it would have been written just below the line, and could have extended under the first word.

- (1) Every instance of a prayer or liturgical recitation in 1QS is marked with a *paragraphos* sign in the margin. All three instances of the liturgical response “Amen, Amen” (1QS 1:20; 2:10; 2:18) are marked by a *paragraphos* in the margin beneath the line. Moreover, in the first case there is also another mark—a short dash—immediately after the “Amen, Amen.” A *paragraphos* also marks the transition to a first-person recitation by the Maskil (1QS 10:6), as well as the beginning of the prayer of the Maskil that concludes the work (1QS 11:15–22). The prayer begins in the middle of the line (the diction switches here to the second person for God), with no blank space to mark a division: instead, a colon-like symbol in the line has been added to mark the beginning of the prayer, with a *paragraphos* marker in the margin beneath the line.
- (2) The end of both 1QS and 1QS^a is marked by a *paragraphos* below the last line (1QS 11:22; 1QS^a 2:22). In both cases, the rest of the column is left blank and the next book starts at the top of the following column, so the mark would be unnecessary as a mere section divider. These serve as book-end markers.⁵⁸
- (3) Every instance throughout the scroll of the rubric “This is the rule ...” (1QS 5:1; 6:8; 1QS^a 1:6), or “These are the statutes ...” (1QS 6:24; 8:20; 9:12) is highlighted by a marginal sign (apart from 1QS^a 1:1, at the beginning of a book). With the exception of 1QS 5:1, all of these are marked by a *paragraphos* mark and the rubric is indented at the beginning of a line or, in the case of [1QS 6:8, preceded by a small blank space in the middle of the line. The rubric at 1QS 5:1, at the top of a column, is marked by a paleo-Hebrew *waw* in the margin. This is the start of a major new section in the scroll, based on what many scholars believe was the core of the Community Rule tradition.⁵⁹ It is possible that the use of a paleo-Hebrew letter highlights in some way the importance of this section.
- (4) In five cases, a *paragraphos* appears in the margin to highlight a line that contains a rubric about the foundation of an eschatological community (or Yahad): “When these become in Israel” (1QS 8:4); “When these have been established in the foundation of the Yahad” (1QS 8:10); “When these become

the Yahad in Israel” (1QS 8:12); “At that time the men of the Yahad” (9:5); “That is the time to prepare the way” (1QS 9:19). All of these occur in the middle of the line, and only 1QS 8:12 is also marked with a small blank space. That is, these are clearly not paragraph dividers and were added subsequently to draw attention to these passages. In 1QS 9:3, another such rubric (“When these become in Israel”) that is indented is marked with a complex symbol, possibly combining a paleo-Hebrew *zayin* and *samekh*.⁶⁰

Of the remaining marginal marks, one highlights the beginning of a passage about the obligations of the Maskil, or Sage (1QS 3:13; see also 1QS 9:12, introducing a list of rules for the Maskil and 1QS 10:6, the beginning of a hymn of the Maskil); four highlight passages about the two spirits (1QS 3:18; 4:2; 4:8; 4:15; the latter three are at sense breaks marked by indentation, but the first contains no sense break); and two correspond to prohibitions that are preceded by a small blank space (1QS 5:13; 5:25). There is also another complex sign based on a paleo-Hebrew *zayin* in the right margin at the bottom of column 7. The purpose of this sign is uncertain: does it mark the end of the penal code (1QS 6:24–7:25), or the section that began in 1QS 5:1, also marked with a paleo-Hebrew letter? Or does it bracket a section on the constitution of the council of the Yahad, together with the similar complex sign in 1QS 9:3?

In sum, despite the uncertainty about these marks and their specific function, it is most likely that they are reader marks and serve to highlight passages of important sectarian content. Moreover, it is likely that multiple readers are involved, as also in 1QIsa^a, a manuscript with some corrections by this scribe. Especially striking, the complex marks in 1QS 7:bottom and 9:3 were likely made by the same hand as made the similar mark in 1QIsa^a 22:9, but the *paragraphos* marks show a clearly different ductus. As further evidence that the marks in 1QS–1QS^a–1QS^b were not added by the scribe, we may compare with another manuscript copied by the same hand: 4Q175 Testimonia.⁶¹ This is a single column of text on a sheet of leather containing four testimonia, or quotations pertaining to an eschatological figure: Deut. 5,28–29 conflated with 18,18–19, Num. 14,15–17, Deut. 33,8–11, and a version of Ios. 6,26 found in 4Q379 Psalms of Joshua^b 22 ii 7–14. These passages are separated both by spacing—at the end of a passage, the rest





⁵⁸ Milik 1955, 107.

⁵⁹ This is suggested above all by a scroll found in Cave 4 (4Q258 [4QS^d]) that begins with a shorter version of 1QS 5:1ff. See Knibb 2000, 2:793–97; and with more nuance, Schofield 2009, 88–105.

⁶⁰ Tov 2004, 363, Figure 11.2.

⁶¹ Cross 2002, 308.

Table 14: 4Q175 marginal marks¹

Reference	Image	Notes
4Q175 8		Right margin, beneath end of Scriptural passage, with blank space to end of line. Following passage begins at right margin
4Q175 13		Right margin, beneath end of passage (Num. 24,15–17), with blank space to end of line. Following passage begins at right margin
4Q175 20		Right margin, beneath end of passage (Deut. 33,8–11), with blank space to end of line. Following passage indented
Cf 1QS 4:18		The closest marking in 1QS to the marks in 4Q175

Note:

1 For images, see IAA photographs IAA B-278407.

of the line left blank, and the next passage beginning at the right margin or indented—and a horizontal fish-hook shaped mark in the right margin. But the marginal marks in these two works cannot be by the same hand: although they are broadly similar in having a fish-hook shape, those in 1QS–1QS^a–1QS^b have a sharp angle and those in 4Q175 have a rounded hook that is much larger, and look even more like an *ayin* in the Cryptic A script.⁶²

The hooks in 4Q175 are consistently used as dividers and could have been added by the scribe. The hooks in 1QS–1QS^a–1QS^b are clearly by a different hand, and were probably added by a subsequent reader to mark important sections or content. That three manuscripts worked on by the same scribe—1QS and 4Q175 as the main hand, and 1QIsa^a as a corrector—all show prominent use of *paragraphos* marks points to use in a similar sociological context, but that the forms of the marks differ markedly between the manuscripts indicates different readers marking the scrolls.

3.2 Pesharim

The most distinctive form of scriptural commentary found at Qumran is referred to as *peshet* (plural, *pesharim*) after the Hebrew term *peshet* that introduces the comment, for example, “The interpretation (*peshet*) of the matter is ...” The so-called “continuous *pesharim*” give a running

commentary on a scriptural book in the form of citation (lemma) followed by comment (*peshet*).⁶³ From the better preserved examples (1QpHab, 4QpNah, 4QpPs^a), it is evident that in general scribes made effort when copying these to distinguish between scriptural citation (lemma) and comment (*peshet*) by means of blank spaces: at the end, middle, or beginning of line, or a whole line left blank.⁶⁴ Gregory Doudna notes that the scribes were systematic, following analogous but different patterns to make either the lemma or the *peshet* stand out, or break the commentary into larger units.⁶⁵

Only two of the continuous *pesharim*, however, show the use of marginal marks: the Habakkuk *peshet* from Qumran Cave 1 (1QpHab) and a *peshet* on Isaiah from Qumran Cave 4 (4QpIsa^c), and they differ greatly in how they employ marginal marks.⁶⁶ This discrepancy reinforces that these marginal marks were probably added by readers rather than the scribes who copied the text.

3.2.1 1QpHabakkuk

In the case of the Habakkuk *peshet*, there are a series of X-marks at the end of some lines, just at the left margin.⁶⁷

These are different in placement and function from those in 1QIsa^a discussed above, but as in that scroll, they are probably understood as a paleo-Hebrew *taw*. In 1QpHab they occur in places where the last word of a line ends several spaces before the left margin. As Emanuel Tov has noted, these X-marks serve as a special kind of line-filler, analogous to those attested in economic documents of the Bar Kokhba era found by the Dead Sea.⁶⁸ But whereas the latter prevent additions to a legal document, the marks in 1QpHab “point out that the space at the end

⁶³ Lim 2002, 13–15, 24–39.

⁶⁴ On 4QpNah (4Q169) and 4QpPs^a (4Q171), see Allegro 1968, 37–50, pl. 12–17.

⁶⁵ See Doudna 2001, 233–52. Doudna finds the following basic pattern: in 1QpHab there is a short vacat before every *peshet*; in 4QpPs^a, a long vacat before every second lemma; and in 4QpNah a sort of a combination of the two patterns—a short vacat before every *peshet* and a long vacat before every third lemma. Exceptions to these patterns he explains as accidental.



⁶⁶ The best preserved *pesharim* with no marginal marks are 4QpNah, 4QpPs^a, 4QpIsa^b.

⁶⁷ 1QpHab 3:12, 14; 4:11, 14; 6:4, 12; 8:1; 9:1, 13; 10:3; 12:2. The mark at the end of 1QpHab 2:5 is difficult to explain: it is drawn as an *aleph* instead of an X like the others. It is unclear whether this is a mistake (see Tov 2004, 209–10) or a different mark serving a different purpose (Snyder 2000, 40).

⁶⁸ E.g. 5/6Hev 44 and 45; see IAA B-300483 and B-300522.

⁶² See Pfann 2000, 530.

Table 15: Sample marks in 1QpHabakkuk¹

Reference	Image	Notes
1QpHab 12:2		X-mark at end of line, left margin
1QpHab 4:12		Right margin, beside beginning of line No sense break

Note:

1 Images of 1QpHab are from <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/habakkuk> (accessed 16 November 2017). Courtesy The Shrine of the Book at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photography sources © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Ardon Bar-Hama.

of the line was not to be taken as a section marker ('open section').⁶⁹ Gregory Snyder argues that these marks serve as cues for oral performance: they indicate to the reader that this is not the end of a sentence or section and hence that they should not pause or change intonation. He suggests that they point to "a public context where fluent performance was crucial, probably a formal liturgical setting of some kind."⁷⁰

Snyder's proposal that these marks are related to performance is more likely than a purely textual purpose. Simply at the reading level, there would be little potential for confusion without the X-marks, and because the marks are within the textual block, they can hardly serve a visual indexing function. But by cancelling potentially misleading spaces, they could help avoid hesitation on the part of a reader in a public performance. It is also likely that these X-marks in 1QpHab were made by a different hand than the one that copied the text.⁷¹ The marks appear carelessly made in comparison with the letters, and the stroke weight differs. Moreover, despite the common use of blank spaces for separating paragraphs—sometimes accompanied by marginal *paragraphos* marks—this use of an X-mark to cancel blank spaces at the end of a line is unique among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and so is unlikely to be made by the scribe. These marks were probably added by a reader as an aid for oral performance.

There is a single mark in the right margin in 1QpHab 4:12. It is a horizontal line with a small downwards hook at the left end, and a barb on top towards the left. This is a

unique mark among the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is most analogous to a rare form of the fish-hook *paragraphos* with a barb on top (4Q380 1 7; 4Q503 1 ii 6), but in mirror-image. The left-orientation of the hook mark finds a parallel in the *paragraphos* mark employed in 1QIsa^a; the few examples in 1QIsa^a with a hoop on top may be somewhat analogous. The position of the mark in 1QpHab differs from the usual position of the fish-hook *paragraphos* marks: the latter are placed beneath the beginning of the line whereas this is placed beside the first letter of the line. It also does not coincide with a sense break: in fact the small space at the end of the preceding line was canceled with an X-mark. Instead, this fish-hook mark must highlight something in the line, although the intent is not clear. Moreover, it is puzzling why only this single line out of the whole scroll was highlighted in this manner. All of these idiosyncracies point to this being a reader's mark added as a one-off in the scroll.

3.2.2 4QpIsaiah^c

A fragmentary pesher commentary on Isaiah from Qumran Cave 4, 4QpIsaiah^c (4Q163) evidences three different systems for dividing lemma and pesher.⁷² In the first place, the scribe used spacing as a divider: each lemma and pesher begins on a new line at the right margin, which means that there would generally be some blank space at the end of the preceding line. In a few places, a whole blank line was left between the end of a pesher and the beginning of the following lemma (frg. 6–7 10 and 21; 25 4). Second, in both cases with surviving evidence, a reader added a thin horizontal line beginning in the right margin and extending into the blank line (frg. 6–7 10 and 21), above the beginning of a lemma.⁷³ Analogously, a fish-hook shaped *paragraphos* was placed above the lemma beginning in frg. 23 ii 15, but the different shape suggests that this was a different reader.⁷⁴ Third, in one column (frg. 6–7 ii), every line containing a pesher (lines 5–9, 15–18) has a mark in the right margin beside the beginning of

⁷² In the following description, I use the line numbering of the edition in Horgan 2002, 47–81. The edition by Allegro 1968, 15–27 does not number the blank lines.

⁷³ This mark, faint but visible on the latest IAA photographs (B-498126 and B-498127), was not noted in the editions by Allegro 1968 or Horgan 2002, 54. Cf. line 21.

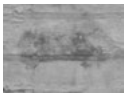
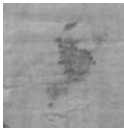

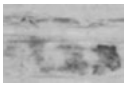


⁷⁴ This mark, clearly visible on the latest IAA photographs (B-506597 and B-506599), was not noted in the editions by Allegro 1968, 24, Horgan 2002, 72, or Tov 2002, 344; 2004, 181. There are no marginal marks for the lemma lines in 11 ii 1–5, or the unknown content in 23 iii 1–3.

⁶⁹ Tov 2004, 209–10; similarly Doudna 2001, 239–40.

⁷⁰ Snyder 2000, 43; cf. 28–33.

⁷¹ Snyder 2000, 42 n. 56 (referencing K. Elliger); Doudna 2001, 240 (except for 1QpHab 2:5).

Table 16: 4Q163 (4QpIsa⁶) sample marginal marks¹

Reference	Image	Notes
4Q163 6–7 ii 15		Thick dash sign in right margin next to beginning of line with pesher. Cf. lines 5–9, 15–18
4Q163 6–7 ii 9		Right margin next to beginning of line with pesher
4Q163 6–7 ii 12		Right margin above beginning of line, with quote
4Q163 6–7 ii 19		Right margin next to beginning of line introducing a citation. Possibly an added word in the margin
4Q163 6–7 ii 21		Thin horizontal line in otherwise blank line before lemma. Begins in right margin, extending into the text block. Cf. line 10
4Q163 23 ii 14		Right margin, beneath the last line of a pesher; following lemma begins right margin of next line

Note:

1 For images, see IAA photographs B-498126 and B-498127 for frgs. 6–7, and B-506597 and B-506599 for frg. 23.

the line. This has the form of a short, thick dash, similar in form to some of the marks in 1QIsa^a (cf. 1QIsa^a 34:22). The one exception is in line 9, where there is an indistinct round shape with a bit of ink extending to the top left and perhaps to the bottom left.

The dash appears only before lines of a pesher, and never before a lemma. Of the lines containing a lemma (lines 1–4, 11–14, 19–20, 22), lines 1–4 are missing the right margin, and so impossible to evaluate. None of the other lemma lines are preceded by a dash.⁷⁵ There is a

⁷⁵ Allegro indicated a vertical sign before line 11 (numbered line 10 in Allegro 1968, 19), but this is probably not ink. Nothing is visible on the full spectrum image (B-498126), and on the infrared image (B-498127) it is not clear that this darker spot is ink: it is along the join of papyrus sheets and looks like other dark patches along the join. Moreover, this “mark” is further to the right than the other marginal marks, and if it is ink would probably belong to the preceding column.

diagonal stroke that begins in the right margin below line 11 and curves down to the beginning of line 12, but its purpose is unclear: it may not pertain to line 12, but rather indicate a division from the line in the preceding column that runs into the intercolumnar space.⁷⁶ Line 19 has an indistinct marking in the margin, but this could be an inserted word in small letters rather than a marginal sign.⁷⁷ If so, however, it is uncertain whether this is a correction or comment. Alternatively, it is possible that lines 19–20 are treated as part of the pesher even though they contain part of a lemma: they are introduced with a proof-text rubric (“As it is written”) whereas lemmas in this scroll usually begin at the margin without an introductory rubric, and the blank line with horizontal mark in line 21 most likely intends to separate pesher from lemma as in line 10.

That is, at least two different uses of marginal marks—of different style—are evidenced in this scroll to distinguish between lemma and pesher, and these are in addition to the divisions by means of spacing. On the basis of the fragmentary evidence, it is reasonable to hypothesize that a reader marked each of the pesher lines in part of the scroll to make them stand out from the lemma. It is uncertain whether this was merely to differentiate pesher from lemma or more specifically to highlight something of importance in this particular pesher. The mark in 23 ii 14—of different form as well as different employment—is almost certainly by a different reader.⁷⁸

4 Prayer texts

4.1 4Q504 Words of the Luminaries^a

Words of the Luminaries^a (4Q504 [4QDibHam^a]) is a collection of prayers for days of the week, dated by its editor—on the basis of paleography—to the middle of the second century B.C.E.⁷⁹ It is an unruled leather manuscript, with


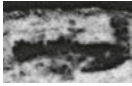

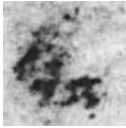
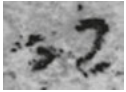
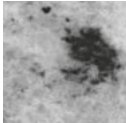
⁷⁶ Allegro 1968, 19 took it as marginal mark for line 12.

⁷⁷ See especially the infrared image (B-498127), where it is clear that a horizontal strand of papyrus has been lost, removing the tops of these letters.

⁷⁸ This is somewhat analogous to the practice in an anonymous commentary on Plato’s Theaetetus, which differentiates lemma and commentary by means of a short *paragraphos* beneath the last line of each section, and marking each line of the lemmata by a *diple* in the left margin. Snyder 2000, 30–33.

⁷⁹ Baillet 1982, 137 (137–68; pl. 49–53). For convenience consulting photographs in either DJD 7 or in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls

Table 17: 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a) marginal marks

Reference	Image		Notes
4Q504 17 ii 6		IAA B-358145	Right margin, above beginning of line Marks beginning of prayer for Tuesday
4Q504 1–2 v 2		IAA B-499049	End of line at bottom of line 2 (left margin) Fish-hook shaped <i>paragraphos</i> ?
4Q504 1–2 v 3		IAA B-499049	Cryptic A <i>mem</i> Right margin, beside beginning of line No text division by spacing; no major sense division
4Q504 1–2 vi 2		IAA B-499049	Paleo-Hebrew <i>zayin</i> ? Left margin, beside end of line Nature of mark unclear No evidence of sense division
4Q504 1–2 recto vii 4		IAA B-499049	Right margin, above beginning of line Nature of mark unclear: Cryptic A <i>mem</i> ? Marks beginning of Sabbath hymns
4Q504 1–2 recto vii 11		IAA B-499049	Right margin, above beginning of line Nature of mark unclear

uneven line spacing, letter height, and space between columns. Very unusually, despite cramping the script, the scribe ran out of room on the recto and completed the final two columns on the verso.⁸⁰ On the whole, the manuscript gives the impression of an unprofessionally prepared personal copy.

Judging from the surviving evidence, each prayer started at the right margin on a new line and was marked by a sign in the right margin, although only two such signs survive.⁸¹ Below the last line of the prayer for Monday (17 ii 5) is a fish-hook sign similar to those used throughout 4Q503 Daily Prayers, and other scrolls.⁸²

Digital Library (<http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/> [accessed 16 November 2017]), I will cite fragments according to the numbering of Baillet's edition in DJD 7 (1982). A proper reconstruction was achieved by Hartmut Stegemann and refined by Esther Chazon, which is reflected in the edition by Parry/Tov 2014, 2:490–507.

⁸⁰ Falk 2014, 15–68: 66.

⁸¹ The scroll is inconsistent whether a whole line is left blank between prayers (3 ii 3–5) or just the remainder of the line at the end of a prayer (4 15–16; 17 ii 6; ; 1–2 recto vii 2–4). In one case (1–2 recto ii 7–8), the preceding prayer ends at the left margin, and the following prayer begins at the margin at the very next line.

⁸² Baillet (1982, 165) incorrectly drew the sign as a Cryptic A *mem*, apparently based on similar signs in the scroll, but it cannot be this:

Here it marked the beginning of the prayer for Tuesday (17 ii 6), now lost. Each of the weekday prayers might have been similarly marked, but the beginnings of these prayers have been lost. For the Sabbath prayer (1–2 recto vii 4), however, there is a different sign that seems to be similar to the Cryptic A *mem* that is used elsewhere in the scroll.⁸³

There are several other marginal signs in the scroll that seem to have different purposes. In the prayer for Friday, a sign appears in the right margin by 1–2 v 3 that resembles a Cryptic A *mem*.⁸⁴ There is no discernible sense division at this point, so perhaps it is to draw attention to the mention of idolatry in this line (“and they served a strange god in their land”). At the end of the preceding line in this column (1–2 v 2) is a mark that looks like a fish-hook *paragraphos*, although it is difficult to determine the shape because of overlap with the last letter. There is also a faint diagonal line slanting downward from the

it has a straight horizontal and sharp downward hook at right. This is exactly like the common fish-hook *paragraphos*.

⁸³ See Tov 2004, 362, Figure 10.9.

⁸⁴ Tov 2002, 338. Baillet (1982, 143) regarded this as a correction mark pertaining to 1–2 iv 3, but the mark belongs to column v, as correctly noted by Tov 2004, 363.

left end of the mark, but this is probably not intentional. Baillet regards the sign as a correction marker, but it is not certain what it would be marking.⁸⁵ More likely, it highlights some content in the line: perhaps—together with the mark in the right margin it brackets line 3 that mentions idolatry.

Later in the prayer for Friday, there are traces of a sign at the end of 1–2 vi 2 that may be similar to a paleo-Hebrew *zayin*. Baillet regards this as a correction sign, but it is not clear what it would be marking (little is visible of the line).⁸⁶ It is possible that it marks the declaration of God’s forgiveness and justice:

- 2 [and] you [thre]w away fr[o]m us all ou[r] transgressions, and
you [p]urified us
3 from our sin for your sake. To you alone, O Lord, belongs
justice!

There is another smudged marginal sign in the song for Sabbath, at the beginning of a line (1–2 recto vii 11). This probably marks the beginning of a new call to worship, which began toward the end of the preceding line (because an insertion from the preceding column [col. vi] ran over into this column [col. vii], most of the line was left blank).⁸⁷

It is difficult to explain these symbols as correction markers. There is no obvious correction that some of these would be pointing to, and there are many corrections throughout the manuscript without marginal marks. Instead, I think it more likely that they have to do with content. It is notable that apart from the marks indicating the beginning of prayers (and one smudged sign in the Sabbath song, which may point to a new call to worship) all of the symbols are clustered in the prayer for Friday, the climactic prayer of the cycle, in which the community claims that it has completed atonement.

The marginal signs seem to be made by a different hand than the text of the prayers, but it is difficult to be certain. If these marginal signs are indeed in Cryptic A and Paleo-Hebrew script, they probably reflect use of the scroll by sectarian readers, even if the prayers may be pre-sectarian in composition.⁸⁸

A different sort of addition to a manuscript is the inscription of the title on the outside of the scroll, where

it would serve as an identifier for the reader or person in charge of storage. This practice is rare among the Dead Sea Scrolls, attested in only five cases among some fifty-one scrolls where the beginning of the scroll is preserved.⁸⁹ 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a) is the only prayer scroll with a surviving title written on the outside, along the edge (verso of fragment 8): “Words of the Luminaries” (דברי המאורות). The title is a different hand than the text and was probably added later. It is unknown whether titles were added to other prayer scrolls: the beginning of the scroll is lacking in almost every case. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^a is a rare exception where the beginning is relatively well preserved, and some of the first column of 4QHodayot^e (4Q431+4Q471b) also survives: nothing is reported to be written on the reverse of either of these.

Because the scroll as a whole—especially the extension onto the reverse—does not give the impression of a professionally prepared scroll, it is probable that the marginal marks and the title were added by a reader rather than a professional scribe.

4.2 4Q503 Daily Prayers and 4Q512 Ritual of Purification B

One papyrus scroll is inscribed—on opposite sides—with two different collections of prayers. On the recto of this opisthograph is the only known copy (4Q503 [(4Qpap-PrQuot)]) of a collection of prayers for each evening and morning of a month.⁹⁰ Presumably there were thirty of each for a total of sixty prayers. Although the scroll is very fragmentary, the prayers are highly formulaic and short, typically 4–6 lines each. Evening prayers begin with the rubric, “On x day of the month, in the evening, they shall bless ...” and morning prayers begin, “And when the sun goes forth to shine on the earth, they shall bless ...” In both cases, a consistent convention is followed: the remainder of the last line of the prayer is left blank, and the new prayer begins on the next line at the right margin. A fish-hook *paragraphos* sign in the right margin just above the first word marks the beginning of each prayer. The sign looks somewhat similar to an *ayin* in Cryptic A script (see table below).⁹¹ There are 16 extant fish-hook shaped signs among the fragments, and these are attested in every case where evidence survives—that

⁸⁵ Baillet 1982, 145. Baillet drew this mark as a slanting narrow arch, but the recent infrared photographs (IAA B-499049) reveal that it is a horizontal line with possibly a downward hook at the right.

⁸⁶ Baillet 1982, 147–8.

⁸⁷ On the sign as a section marker, see Baillet 1982, 150; Tov 2004, 361.











⁸⁸ On letters in Cryptic A or Paleo-Hebrew used as sectarian scribal marks, see Tov 2004, 203–8. On the composition of the prayers, see Chazon 1992, 3–17.

⁸⁹ Tov 2004, 118–21. The other cases are: 1QS; 4QGen^h 4Q8c; 4Qpap crypt A Midrash Sefer Moshe (4Q249); 4QpapS^c (4Q257).

⁹⁰ M. Baillet 1982, 105–36, pl. 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47.

⁹¹ On the Cryptic A script, see Pfann/Kister 1997, 9–13.

Table 18: 4Q503 (4QpapPrQuot) *paragraphos* marks (selected)¹

Reference	Image	Notes
4Q503 56 ii 3		IAA B-481446 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 1 1		IAA B-496261 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 1 6		IAA B-496261 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 4 1		IAA B-496261 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 4 7		IAA B-496261 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 4 12		IAA B-496261 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 40 ii 4		IAA B-495595 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 77 ii 1		IAA B-476732 Right margin, above beginning of new prayer
4Q503 24–25 2		IAA B-495579 Mid-line, probably between end of prayer and beginning of new prayer
Cf. 4Q298 3–4 ii 4, 10 Cryptic A <i>ayin</i>		IAA B-480551 IAA B-480539 Cryptic A letter (<i>ayin</i>) in text

Note:

1 For IAA images, see <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q503-1> (accessed 16 November 2017).

is, for about a quarter of the prayers.⁹² Evening prayers: 1 ii 6; 4 ii 7; 8 3; 29 2; 31 2; 33 6; 38 5;⁹³ and probably 140 2. Morning prayers: 1 ii 1; 4 ii 1; 4 ii 12; 33 ii 1; 40 ii 4; 56 ii 3; 132 ii 1; and probably 77 ii 1.⁹⁴

This convention is followed even when a prayer begins in the top line of a column (frg. 1 ii 1; 33 ii 1), which makes

it clear that the mark indicates the beginning rather than end of a unit.⁹⁵

There is one exception, where a horizontal mark appears in the middle of a line (frg. 24–25 2).⁹⁶ This is probably the same type of fish-hook sign that appears as a marginal mark throughout the scroll, although the right extremity of the mark is missing: all that survives is a horizontal stroke about 5 mm in length.⁹⁷ Despite its unusual position, its purpose is probably as a section divider, since the following line contains part of the beginning of the

⁹² See Baillet 1982, 339. Note: Baillet 1982 cites references according to his proposed reconstruction of columns. Most of these are plausible, but some are questionable. I will therefore give references to the specific fragment rather than reconstructed column. In several cases only a trace survives of the mark (8 3; 29 2; 38 5; 140 2). In a few cases, the beginning of a prayer survives, but not enough of the margin survives to determine whether there was a mark or not (e.g. 92 1).

⁹³ Not recognized by Baillet, but a trace of the mark is visible on IAA photograph B-495661. It should be noted that the rubric is slightly different on 38 5: “And on day [...]–six.”

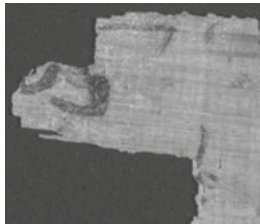


⁹⁴ With 140 2 and 77 ii 1, not enough of the context survives to be certain whether these are evening or morning prayers, but if the rubrics are entirely consistent, these are probably for the evening and morning respectively.

⁹⁵ For 33 1, the mark is barely visible on full-spectrum images, but shows up on infra-red photographs (IAA B-495652).

⁹⁶ Although there is no material join, Baillet’s reconstruction is certain: the lines of writing match on both sides of the opisthograph, even though they are unevenly spaced, and the papyrus strands match (1982, 111, 267, pl. 37, 38; see especially the full-spectrum images B-497927 and B-495615 at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il> [accessed 16 November 2017]). It is almost certain that the mark is the same as the hook marks that appear throughout the scroll, even though the head of the hook is lost.

⁹⁷ Baillet 1982, 111, 339.

Table 19: 4Q503 (4QpapPrQuot). Other marks

Reference	Image	Notes
4Q503 31 1–2		Fish-hook mark above beginning of prayer <i>Lamed</i> as marginal mark? IAA B-495641
4Q503 34 6		Mid-line, end of last prayer of column Larger proportion than text Cryptic A <i>taw</i> ? Marking end of series of prayers? IAA B-495663
		 Cf. Cryptic A <i>taw</i> 4Q298 3–4 ii 7 IAA B-480539

next prayer. The text is broken after the mark, but there does seem to be a mark of ink on the edge of the break. Most likely, the one prayer ends in the middle of the line, followed by a fish-hook mark and the beginning of the next prayer in the same line.⁹⁸ Since the scroll otherwise shows a consistent convention that new prayers start at the right margin with a marginal mark, this instance is probably a mistake. Small blank spaces mid-line do occur frequently throughout the scroll to mark minor paragraph breaks. In this case, the scribe accidentally started a new prayer immediately after the preceding one, leaving only a small space as though it was a minor break rather than a new prayer. A hook was subsequently added in the blank space to mark the beginning of the prayer. The various *paragraphoi* throughout the scroll were probably added later by another hand: the strokes appear larger in proportion and lighter in weight in comparison to the text (see especially 1 1, 6; 40 ii 4). Moreover, these marks are all related to making it easier to find the beginnings of prayers. Although it is impossible to be certain, it is probable that these marks were added by a reader for convenience in use, rather than by a scribal corrector.

There are also two letters that seem to be used as signs.

⁹⁸ Baillet 1982, 111 reconstructs with the new prayer beginning in the next line; this is possible, but then the mark would seem to be placed in the middle of a sentence. Baillet 1982, 116 also notes a horizontal line above the beginning of a blessing formula in frg. 36 3, but this is probably just the tail of the *tsade* from the line above (cf. the first word in frg. 1 1).

In fragment 31 2 there is a possible case of a *lamed* as a marginal sign below the beginning of a prayer, although too little is preserved of the fragment to be certain, and its purpose cannot be determined.⁹⁹ Alternatively, the letter could belong to a marginal correction. The *lamed* may be written in a different hand than the body of the text: it is a thinner line weight, and shaped differently than the typical *lamed* elsewhere in the scroll, but in the end nothing can be said with any confidence about this partial letter.¹⁰⁰

There is also a large, unusual sign at the end of a prayer. Just after the last word of the last prayer of a column, in the middle of the line (frg. 34 6), is a mark that looks somewhat like an enlarged *qof*.¹⁰¹ It is probably a *taw* (the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet) in Cryptic A script.¹⁰² Most likely it marks the end of the




⁹⁹ The *lamed* is about 5 mm to the right of the start of the preceding line, which is the beginning of a prayer, marked with a *paragraphos* marker. It is possible that the beginning of the prayer is indented, in which case *lamed* would be the first letter of the second line of the prayer rather than a marginal mark (cf. Baillet 1982, 113). This is unlikely, however: none of the other prayer beginnings are indented, and there is no other example of a hook mark being indented.

¹⁰⁰ This *lamed* has a straighter top and a deeper bottom hook than typical in 4Q503 (e.g. 30 8).

¹⁰¹ Baillet 1982, 115 and pl. 41. A large bottom margin is preserved (approximately 28 mm); cf. frg. 39, and the verso of both of these fragments.

¹⁰² Note that the vertical stroke transects the horizontal stroke, unlike a *qof* but similar to the Cryptic A *taw* in 4Q298 (see table above, and the letter chart in DJD 20, 13). Baillet 1982, 115 states without

Table 20: Size comparison of Cryptic A *taw*

	4Q503 34 6	4Q503 15 3	4Q512 34 3
			
Height:	7 mm	5 mm	8 mm

Note:

1 Letters enlarged, but roughly in proportionate size.

series of prayers, as it comes at the end of the last prayer in the column. But who added the mark? It is not impossible that it could have been added by the same hand at the conclusion of the collection of prayers, although the line weight looks a bit lighter. But it would be difficult to explain what purpose such a mark would have at the obvious end. One might compare the marginal marks that occur at the end of 1QS 11:22 and 1QS^a 2:22 in the composite scroll 1QS–1QS^a–1QS^b. In these cases, however, a plausible purpose is readily apparent: they serve to indicate the end of one work, and that the following is a separate work. This may be the purpose also in 4Q503: as discussed below, someone later added another collection of rituals on the reverse. At this point, the mark may have been added at the end of 4Q503 (if this hypothesis is correct) to indicate the end of that collection, and that the verso contains a different collection. In support of this hypothesis, the proportions of the mark are more similar to those of letters on the verso (4Q512) than of the recto (4Q503). For comparison, the Cryptic A *taw* is similar in size to the *qof* in 4Q512.

A more significant case of supplementation is the fact that this manuscript is an opisthograph. On the verso of this set of Daily Prayers, someone added a collection of purification rituals and prayers for various occasions: 4Q512 (4QpapRitPur).¹⁰³ It is not impossible

clarification that it is the numerical sign for 21, and concludes that this is the prayer for the twenty first day. This is highly unlikely, because none of the other prayers has a number at the end, and the day of the month is indicated in the rubric at the beginning of the prayer. A somewhat similar sign, though more squat, appears as a marginal mark in 4Q521 2 ii 4, beside the beginning of a new section (Puech 1998, 6; cf. Tov 2004, 362).

103 Baillet 1982, 262–86, pl. 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48. The verso was copied the same way up as the recto, so the beginning of 4Q512 is on the reverse of the end of 4Q503. Consequently, one would

that the same scribe copied both sides: the hands are very similar (both Hasmonean semi-cursive), and share certain idiosyncratic features, especially unusual forms of *ṭet* and *ṣade*.¹⁰⁴ More likely, however, it is a different hand that added 4Q512 on the reverse afterwards, as Baillet suggested.¹⁰⁵ The script of 4Q512 is larger and somewhat cruder than that of 4Q503 (3–3.5 mm vs. 2–2.5 mm average letter height) and the line spacing more irregular. Also, there are some differences in distinctive letter shapes, for example the final *mem*.¹⁰⁶

Unlike most cases of opisthographs in the ancient world, this is not the case of recycling an obsolete manuscript, but an intentional collection of prayers in a personal copy.¹⁰⁷ Although for different occasions, the prayer forms of 4Q512 are of similar formal type to those of 4Q503, and the system of marking is the same. To the degree that they can be identified, the style of rubrics and formal features of the prayers are so similar to those in 4Q503 as to suggest the same origin. Moreover, as far as can be determined, the beginning of each ritual seems to be signaled in the right margin with the same fish-hook mark as in 4Q503.¹⁰⁸ There are six extant fish-hook marks.

In three cases (2 7; 15 ii 4; 48–50 5), it marks a new ritual, which starts at the right margin with a rubric beginning וְאַחֵר (“and afterward”). In the remaining three occurrences, the following words are not preserved, so it cannot be determined if the fish-hook marked the beginning of a ritual (13 1; 65 4; 190 1), although this seems most likely.¹⁰⁹ In 13 1, a fish-hook appears at the beginning of the first line of a column, so it is clear that the *paragraphoi* in this scroll mark

have to scroll to the end to get to the beginning of the text on the opposite side.

104 The left arm of *ṭet* curves sharply to the left at the top (cf. 4Q503 [4QpapPrQuot] 176 1; 4Q512 1 2); *ṣade* has an unusually long horizontal stroke that meets the downstroke at the top, in both final and medial positions (cf. 4Q503 48–50 3, 4; 4Q512 15 i-16 3; 40 5).

105 Baillet 1982, 262.







106 In 4Q503, the left leg of the final *mem* tends to meet the right leg a bit below the “roof” (e.g. 4Q503 9 1) producing a distinctive form, whereas in 4Q512, the left leg tends to meet the roof (e.g. 4 7; but cf. 4 6 which is close to the style in 4Q503).

107 See Falk 2014, 52–53.

108 Although there is no evidence of a marginal mark before the beginning of ritual in 4Q512 42–44 5, it is possible that there was a mark that was lost due to the broken fragment (cf. 4Q512 48–50 5 where the mark is completely in the margin).

109 The context of the mark in 190 1 is not preserved; only the left part of the mark in 65 4 is extant.

Table 21: 4Q512 (4QpapRitPur) *paragraphos* marks


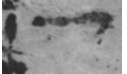





Reference	Image	Notes
4Q512 2 7		Right margin; before new ritual IAA B-499677
4Q512 15 ii 4		Right margin; before new ritual IAA B-495613
4Q512 48–50 5		Right margin; before new ritual IAA B-481506
4Q512 13 1		Right margin, first line at top of column; no text readable IAA B-495599
4Q512 65 4		Right margin; no text readable IAA B-481518
4Q512 190 1		Right margin; no text extant IAA B-495915

the beginnings rather than the ends of units, as also in 4Q503 on the recto.¹¹⁰

Once again, it is difficult to determine if the marginal signs were made at the time of copying or added later. In the case of 4Q512, however, their line weight is comparable and size is proportional to that of the letters (see especially 48 5), making it plausible that the marks were made at the same time with the same pen as the text, perhaps following the precedent on the recto. Moreover, there is a close correspondence in shape between the marks on both sides (4Q512 48–50 cp. 4Q503 4), suggesting that it could be the same hand that added the marks on the recto as added the prayers on the verso. Thus, although certainty is not possible, my judgment is that an owner/reader of the scroll added the marginal marks to the recto, to make it easier to locate prayers for daily recital. Either the same or a subsequent owner/reader added a collection of purification rituals on the verso, using the same marginal marks to distinguish prayers.

¹¹⁰ The scroll may not consistently mark rituals that begin at the top of a column, however. A date rubric (וביום השלישי) at the top of a column on fragment 3 (4Q512 3 1; Baillet 1982, pl. 36, col. 12) is unmarked, and it is similar to introductory rubrics that are regularly marked with *paragraphoi* in 4Q503 (cf. 4Q503 38 5) and in another collection of purification rituals (4Q414 12 3; 31 1; 32 ii 3; see below).

Table 22: 4Q414 (4QRitPurA) marginal marks¹

Reference	Image	Notes
4Q414 1 ii–2 i 5		IAA B-371474
4Q414 2 ii–4 4, 5		IAA B-496040
4Q414 7 1		IAA B-371484
4Q414 7 10		IAA B-371484
4Q414 12 3		IAA B-371488
4Q414 31 1		IAA B-4804825
4Q414 32 ii 3		IAA B-4804823

Note:

¹ For IAA images, see <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q414-1> (accessed 16 November 2017).

4.3 4Q414 Ritual of Purification A

4Q414 (4QRitPurA) is a second collection of purification rituals that is very similar to 4Q512, but it seems to be a different version rather than another copy.¹¹¹ It uses a similar system of marking prayers with fish-hook style signs in the margin as 4Q512, but seemingly with less accuracy. Eight occurrences of the sign survive.

In five cases, it appears in the same situations as in 4Q512, to mark the introductory rubric to a new ritual or stage of a ritual, beginning “And afterward” (2 ii–4 5) or “And on the day” (7 10; 12 3; 31 1?; 32 ii 3), although this copy may not be consistent in the convention (cf. 13 6). In three cases, however, a fish-hook sign occurs at the margin where there is no sense break at the beginning of the line (1 ii–2 i 5; 2 ii–4 4; 7 1 [at top of column]).

¹¹¹ Eshel 1999, 136 (135–54, and pl. 11–12).

Because this scroll is very fragmentary and most of the line is missing in each case, it is impossible to determine the purpose of these marks. As a possible clue that the signs may have been added later, however, the ink of the text has bled in places, but the signs are more crisp.

Most significantly, this collection of purification rituals is again copied on the back of another work, in this case, a copy of 4QInstruction^a (4Q415).¹¹² Moreover, it is definitely added later by a different hand. Whereas 4QInstruction^a is in a neat, early “formal Herodian” hand, 4Q414 is in a less careful Herodian script written on the “poorly prepared verso.”¹¹³ Although the editors assume that this is a case of recycling a rejected manuscript as typically happens with opisthographs, it seems more likely to me that this is a personal copy where the owner added the text on the verso and used both sides, as is the case with 4Q503 and 4Q512.¹¹⁴

4.4 4Q509+4Q505 Festival Prayers, 4Q496 War Scroll, 4Q506 Words of the Luminaries

Perhaps the most intriguing scroll for this study is a papyrus opisthograph with a collection of prayers for festivals on the recto (4Q509+4Q505 Festival Prayers), dated paleographically to the late Hasmonean period.¹¹⁵ On the verso, a different hand added a copy of the War Scroll (4Q496) somewhat later.¹¹⁶ In a much later Herodian hand, a third hand added a copy of the Words of the Luminaries (4Q506).¹¹⁷

As with the case of 4Q503/4Q512, this also seems to represent an intentional compilation of prayers for personal use, since the Festival Prayers on the recto and the Words of the Luminaries added perhaps a century later on the verso share the same distinctive form of petitionary prayer: an occasion rubric (“Prayer for the festival of *n*”; “Prayer for the *n* day”), opening prayer

¹¹² Strugnell/Harrington 1999, 41–71.

¹¹³ Strugnell/Harrington 1999, 41–42.



¹¹⁴ Falk 2014, 37; cf. Strugnell/Harrington 1999, 41. The third manuscript of purification rituals (4Q284 [4QPurLit]) is too fragmentary to provide any useful data to this study.

¹¹⁵ See Baillet 1982, 168–70, 184–215; pl. 9–24. The ten fragments labeled 4Q505, which Baillet regarded as a copy of Words of the Luminaries instead belong to the same copy of Festival Prayers as 4Q509; see Falk 1998, 59–61; but cf. Chazon 2012). Further on this manuscript, see Falk 2014, 47, 53.

¹¹⁶ Baillet 1982, 58 (56–68).

¹¹⁷ Baillet 1982, 170 (170–75).

Table 23: 4Q509 sample marginal marks¹

Reference	Image	Notes
4Q509 49 ii 3		IAA B-486896
4Q509 265 1		IAA B-500822

Note:

¹ For IAA images, see <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q509-1> (accessed 16 November 2017).

formula “Remember, O Lord ...,” and concluding benediction of the form “Blessed be the Lord who ...” In both cases, the added collection of prayers is of the same formal type as the prayers on the recto, but for a different occasion. The additions on the verso of the scroll show the progressive expansion of a personal collection of texts by different owners. Given that the first and last work are collections of liturgical prayers, it is possible that the last owner regarded the whole as a liturgical collection, and that marginal marks served the purpose of facilitating performance.

There are four marginal signs preserved in the copy of Festival Prayers on the recto (4Q509 10 ii + 11 8; 49 ii 3; 225 2; 265 1).¹¹⁸

These are similar fish-hook *paragraphos* signs as in 4Q503 Daily Prayers and some other scrolls, and judging from the poorly surviving evidence, they serve the same purpose: to mark each new prayer, which begins at the right margin.¹¹⁹ Prayers also are separated by blank space, at least until the end of the preceding line, and sometimes with a larger space left between the lines. The copy of the War Scroll on the verso seems to have used

¹¹⁸ There are three other copies of Festival Prayers: 1Q34+1Q34bis, 4Q507, and 4Q508. None of these preserves evidence of marginal markings of any kind, but this tells us very little, since extremely little survives of any marginal areas. In both 1Q34+1Q34bis and 4Q507 a blank line separates prayers (1Q34+1Q34bis 1+2 4–6; 4Q507 2 2–4), but only in the former case is there a small amount of the margin preserved at the transition between prayers: it seems that there was no marginal sign to mark the beginning of the prayer, unless it was completely in the margin. In 4Q508 it seems that the scribe did not leave a blank line between prayers (see fig. 2 1–2; cf. perhaps fig. 13), and there are no surviving margins to give evidence for use or non-use of marginal signs.

¹¹⁹ Only in the first two cases is there sufficient evidence to determine that this is the start of a new prayer, but the available evidence is consistent. With regard to 4Q509 10 ii + 11 8, the paragraph mark is not visible on the image in Baillet 1992, pl. 11, but the left part of the sign is clearly visible on the IAA image B-486357.

the same sign in the right margin to mark a new section, although only one instance has been preserved (4Q496 [4QpapM^f] 10 2, “R[ule of the banners of] the congregation”). In neither of these works is it clear whether the marks were added at the time of copying or later. It is not possible to tell whether marginal signs were used in the copy of Words of the Luminaries (4Q506 [4QDibHam^c]) added at the end, since it preserves almost no surface from the margins.

4.5 4Q392 Works of God—4Q393 Communal Confession

There are two other intriguing cases of supplementations to a prayer scroll. A single scroll of two sheets seems to contain two separate prayer texts. On the first sheet is a psalm contrasting God’s greatness with human frailty, similar in style to the Hodayot. The second sheet—still attached—contains a prose prayer based on the prayer of Moses.¹²⁰ This second work is written by a different hand, in a smaller script with narrower line spacing. Because the bottom margins also differ, it is likely that the second sheet was added later, and shows the development of a collection of prayers by supplementation. If so, it is not clear if an extra blank sheet was added to accommodate an additional work, or if this is a case of joining two already written sheets that had circulated independently.¹²¹ In either case, this should be considered a work of supplementation by an owner, creating a collection of prayers.

4.6 4Q448 Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer

4Q448 Apocryphal Psalms and Prayer is a peculiar manuscript with an unusual layout.¹²² All that survives is the right side of the first sheet of a large format scroll, with the fastening tab still attached. This is probably a guard sheet that has been detached from a scroll and reused for writing a short text for personal use. In the top half of the sheet is a short psalm of nine lines, leaving a large right margin. A title was added later by a different hand, beginning in the margin: “Hallelujah. A Psal[m], a song of [...]” In the bottom half is a prose prayer in two columns of nine lines each, with no attempt to align with

the psalm in the top half, and written in a slightly more cursive hand. The first column is very narrow (2.6 cm wide) and is written in the wide margin. The lines are not straight or evenly spaced, and the script is very uneven. It is likely, but not certain, that the prayer in the bottom half was added by a different hand.¹²³ In any case, it shows a lack of planning and was certainly added later in an inexpert manner that makes it look like an afterthought. The circumstances of writing the psalm are unclear: was it scribbled on the handling sheet by the owner while the scroll was still intact, or was this a case of re-using part of a defunct scroll? Either way, it can be regarded as writing in the margins of a scroll of some unknown sort. The addition of the prose prayer, however, is a clear case of using a scroll as a notepad. Notably, it is for adding a prayer to a scrap containing an unrelated psalm, creating a small private prayer collection.

5 Conclusions

This survey highlights ways in which readers used certain scrolls from Qumran as “notepads,” by means of various marginal markings or textual additions subsequent to the production of the text. Although the data are fragmentary and it is often difficult to distinguish supplementation by a reader from scribal activity, some patterns emerge.

First, marginal markings attested in the scrolls fall into two broad groups: signs similar in form and employment to common signs in Greek manuscripts (*paragraphos*, *coronis*, X-sign), and various letters of the paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A script. It is likely that the former were also often imagined as based on paleo-Hebrew and Cryptic A letters. That is, the markings show continuity with reading practices in broader Mediterranean culture, but also an intentional distinctiveness.

Second, a small repertoire of signs accounts for the vast majority of marginal markings attested throughout the scrolls, although the specific application can vary. The X-mark functions regularly as a line-filler in 1QpHab, but in 1QIsa^a it is used to draw attention to particular passages, similar to the use of the *chi*-sign in Greek manuscripts. *Paragraphos* marks—by far the most abundant sign in the scrolls—mostly coincide with textual divisions by means of blank spaces, but only in collections of liturgical prayers are they used consistently to separate discrete units. In other texts they tend to be

¹²⁰ Falk 1999a, 23–61, and pl. 2–3.

¹²¹ On this distinction, see Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 65–67.

¹²² Eshel et al. 1998, 403–25 and pl. 32; Eshel/Eshel 2000, 645–59.

¹²³ On the script, see Yardeni 2010, 48–49; Eshel 1998, 405.

employed inconsistently, and are often better understood as readers' marks to draw attention to a passage than as simple textual dividers. In the cases of 1QIsa^a and 1QS in particular, different forms and different usage throughout the scroll suggests multiple readers. It is likely that the letters in paleo-Hebrew or Cryptic A script and the composite signs had special meanings, although these are impossible to identify.

Third, the set of scrolls displaying added markings—apart from those related to textual correction—is relatively small. Marginal markings are especially prominent in 1QIsa^a, 1QpHab, and 1QS, but most scriptural scrolls, commentaries, and sectarian rule books do not show evidence of such markings. Moreover, in the cases of 1QIsa^a and 1QS, the markings are not attested across the multiple other copies of Isaiah and the Rule of the Community.¹²⁴ That is, only the set of scrolls with collections of liturgical prayers shows a disproportionately abundant and systematic usage of marginal markings. This is especially evident in the regular use of the fish-hook shaped *paragraphos* sign to mark individual prayers in a group of scrolls containing collections of prose, liturgical prayers (4Q502, 4Q503, 4Q509+4Q505, 4Q512, 4Q414, and with other signs as well, 4Q504). In other copies of these liturgical prayer collections (4Q506, 4Q507, 4Q508, 1Q34+1Q34bis) we simply lack evidence whether marginal marks were used or not. In fact, in the Dead Sea Scrolls in general, the use of this marginal mark is especially associated with liturgical texts.¹²⁵

In considering these features, it will be helpful to reflect on William Johnson's observations about papyrus bookrolls from Oxyrhynchus.¹²⁶ He finds a striking uniformity of practice in a set of "scholar's texts"—especially substantial evidence of readers' marks and marginal *sigla* by multiple readers to "signal passages of interest"—that suggests "a *group* that in use and function represents a *type*. That is, the use and function of the manuscripts seems to reflect some rather specific sociocultural context that prevailed in second-century Oxyrhynchus."¹²⁷ Noting that "the group centers on a couple of genres," he argues that the

¹²⁴ Of the 20 other copies of Isaiah (1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^{a-r}, 5QIsa), only 1QIsa^b preserves a substantial amount of margins for comparison (edition: Sukenik 1955, pl. 1–16; for the Cave 4 copies, see Ulrich et al. 1997). The ten copies of the Rule of the Community from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q255–264 [4QS^{a-i}]) are very fragmentary, but cf. 4Q255 (4QpapS^a) 2; 4Q256 [4QS^b] 5, 8 ii; 4Q258 [4QS^d] 1 ii, 4 i; 4Q259 [4QS^e] 1 iii.

¹²⁵ Tov 2004, 183.

¹²⁶ Johnson 2009, 256–81: 272–77.

¹²⁷ Johnson 2009, 273–74.

data point to scholarly circles that "made performative readings of the text whether by way of entertainment or as a springboard for discussion," and "the presence of textual variants in multiple hands seems likely to be, in some sense, the result of repeated group discussions and analysis of the text."¹²⁸

It could equally be argued that the uniformity and peculiarities of practice in marking up the scrolls found at Qumran point to a particular sociocultural context, although it is precarious to speculate a reconstruction. Nevertheless, in the case of the Qumran scrolls, there are explicit indications that ritualized prayer and reading and discussion of Scripture in group settings are central activities of the sectarian communities (e.g. 1QS 6:2–3, 6–8).¹²⁹ Moreover, accurate performance of reading Scripture and praying were strictly regulated: one who accidentally or deliberately profanes in the act of reading Scripture or praying is to be permanently expelled (1QS 7:1–2), and a priest with a speech impediment is to be disqualified from public reading of Torah (4Q266 5 ii 1–3//4Q267 5 iii 3–5).¹³⁰ It is likely that the supplementary markings in certain scrolls are related in some way to group study and ritual performance, even if it is not possible to determine.¹³¹

Besides corrections, which were not included in this survey, there are also several types of textual additions. At one level is the addition of headings to psalms (4QPs^e,

¹²⁸ Johnson 2009, 275–77.

¹²⁹ "They shall eat, pray and deliberate communally ... In any place where is gathered the ten-man quorum, someone must always be engaged in study of the Law, day and night, continually, each one taking his turn. The general membership will be diligent together for the first third of every night of the year, reading aloud from the Book, interpreting Scripture, and praying together" (1QS 6:2–3, 6–8).

¹³⁰ "[An]yone who speaks aloud the M[ost] Holy Name of God, [whether in ...] or in cursing or as a blurt in time of trial or for any other reason, or while he is reading a book or praying, is to be expelled, never again to return to the party of the Yahad" (1QS 6:27b–7:2); "... and anyone whose [speech] is too soft [or speaks] with a staccato [voice] not dividing his words so that [his voice may be heard, none of these] shall read from the bo[ok of the Law]" (4Q267 [4QD^b] 5 iii 3–5//4Q266 [4QD^a] 5 ii 1–3). Translations from the Parry/Tov 2014, with minor adaptations.

¹³¹ It may be worth pondering that there are three abundantly marked scrolls that were found well-preserved in a jar in Cave 1, and these are unique in this regard among their genres; and on the other hand the scrolls of liturgical prayers that are regularly marked are from Cave 4, poorly preserved, and mostly papyri. Perhaps there is some fundamentally different reasons for the markings among these two groupings. Is it possible that 1QIsa^a, 1QpHab, and 1QS had special status as belonging to a leader of the Yahad, as Tigchelaar 2003 has recently speculated for 1QS?

4QPs^q, 4Q448), or the addition of a title to a scroll (4Q504). The most significant cases among the Dead Sea Scrolls of using manuscripts as notepads, however, are additions of one or more independent works on the back of an existing scroll (opisthographs). These are very rare among the Dead Sea Scrolls, but they are especially associated with liturgical texts, and in cases that look like intentional creations of a composite scroll for personal use (4Q503/4Q512; 4Q509+4Q505/4Q496, 4Q506; 4Q415/4Q414).¹³² 4Q448 shows the use of an uninscribed surface of a scroll (the guard sheet) to write a psalm, as well as the subsequent addition of another prayer on the bottom of the sheet. A further type of addition may be represented by 4Q392+4Q393: the expansion of a scroll by adding another sheet with another prayer text, creating a composite prayer scroll. The most striking thing is that prayer scrolls—especially scrolls of liturgical prayers—dominate.

Although the particular phenomena of using a manuscript as notepad surveyed here are not unique to liturgical prayer scrolls, there is a distinctive pattern of use among liturgical scrolls that sets them apart, even from the psalms scrolls. The special character and concentration of these sorts of activities suggests both a need for private copies of liturgical scrolls and a high degree of interaction with liturgical scrolls by readers, even if we cannot determine how exactly such scrolls would have been used in relation to performance of prayer.¹³³

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Kipp Davis

Margins as media: The long insertion in 4QJer^a (4Q70)

1 Introduction

One of the oldest manuscripts to emerge from the Caves at Qumran was a copy of the scriptural book of Jeremiah, designated 4QJer^a (4Q70), and dated to the early second century B.C.E.¹ The fragments preserve portions of this biblical text from Ier. 7,15–22,16,² and the scroll has been singled out by its editor, Emanuel Tov, for its exceptionally high level of secondary scribal activity: “No other Qumran text has as many corrections relative to the length of the document.”³ Of special significance in this manuscript is a long section of text that was inserted by a second scribe in one of the intercolumns and the bottom margin. Tov reconstructed several portions of the manuscript from dozens of fragments of varying size and shape. His reconstructed col. III contains a series of poetical oracles from Ier. 7,29–9,2, but with the very intriguing absence of an entire selection of prose in Ier. 7,30–8,3. The text runs uninterrupted in this manuscript from Ier. 7,29–8,4 as follows:

^{7,29} Cut off your hair and throw it away; raise a lamentation on the bare heights, for YHWH has rejected and forsaken the generation that provoked his wrath. ^{8,4} Thus says YHWH: When people fall, do they not get up again? If they go astray, do they not turn back? Why then has this people turned away in perpetual backsliding?⁴

Missing from this citation is a pair of prosaic oracles that more specifically identify the “generation that provoked his [YHWH’s] wrath,” and utter threats about their future punishment for cultic infidelity: “For the people of Judah have done evil in my sight, says YHWH; they have set their abominations in the house that is called by my name, defiling it” (7,30). Tov has pondered the possibility that the

long insertion—consisting of probably 155 words in eight lines, beginning in a paragraph break, continuing at a right angle into the intercolumn, and ending upside-down in the bottom margin—might attest to an alternative reading of this text in Jeremiah.⁵ However, he ultimately concludes that it is probably a product of scribal error, subsequently corrected by the insertion of text in the margin. This seems somewhat suspect, given the seamlessness of the text minus the insertion, its placement, quality, and sheer size. On the other side of the argument, Eugene Ulrich has led a small charge to view the long insertion as evidence for real textual change within the composition of Jeremiah.⁶ From a purely material point of view, there is no reason to expect that the missing text of Ier. 7,30–8,3 is the result of an accidental omission by the original scribe. Regardless of whomever one sides with, the long insertion is indeed a peculiar scribal feature in Second Temple Jewish manuscript culture, and it raises questions beyond the pale of assigning 4QJer^a to this or that textual edition. Of particular interest to this point are questions regarding the purpose and meaning of margins and their influence upon the interpretation and development of texts. These sorts of scribal interventions are especially useful for whatever further information they might convey about scrolls as a medium for the preservation, transmission, transformation, and cultivation of Jewish scriptures in antiquity.

This paper will seek to address these matters by way of a material investigation of the long insertion in 4QJer^a in two basic parts. First, I shall consider the question of intent: what is the long insertion, and why was it included in this manuscript? Answering this question implies that the long insertion was not accidentally absent in the first

1 Tov 1997. The most comprehensive palaeographical study of 4QJer^a appears in Yardeni 1991; cf. also Cross 1955.

2 Tov 1997, 169 suggests that frg. 36 most likely corresponds to Ier. 26,10, but this fragment potentially aligns with a handful of other parts of Jeremiah, and more probably belongs to Ier. 11,10.

3 Tov 1997, 151.

4 The translation (based on NRSV) differs most noticeably in the omission of the introduction to Ier. 8,4, “You shall say to them.” This reflects my interpretation of the fragments from which the column is reconstructed, based on the strong probability that there is not enough room for the first clause, which is also absent from the alternative version of Jeremiah in the Greek translation Ⓞ.

5 This idea was pursued further by HaCohen 1994. Because only 54 words are either fully or partially preserved in the long insertion, there is some uncertainty as to the full extent of what was added to the section break and the margin. Our best, educated guesses are limited to what survives in combination with calculations and estimations about the available space and likely usage to fill out the lacunae between the fragment pieces.

6 Ulrich 2008; cf. also Ulrich 2015, 141–50. Joseph Riordon has recently come out in favour of Tov’s argument for the long insertion, and challenged Ulrich’s interpretation of the phenomena within a context of textual development reminiscent of William McKane’s “rolling corpus” theory for Jeremiah (Riordon 2014). Cf. McKane 1986, 1–lxxxviii.

place. Pursuing it will require careful reconstruction of its fragmentary remains, but also an exploration of how the quality of script, various features, and appearance might further influence our knowledge of the scroll more generally, and its purpose and function. Second, I shall consider the question of material: whence the margin, and what of scrolls as a medium in Second Temple Judaism? While the long insertion is practically a *novum* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, there are comparative examples of similar phenomena in some contemporary Greek manuscripts. I will consider how these in combination with rabbinic descriptions of ancient scrolls inform about their production and use in early Judaism, and from a media critical perspective. “Media criticism” concerns the content, history and effects of media primarily within a modern context,⁷ but in this instance my focus shall be on the implications that scroll material and structure have for the reception of literature. I shall conclude with a suggestion for how the manuscript space in this instance might have influenced the interpretation of the text the margins contained.

2 The question of intent: What is the long insertion and why was it included in 4QJer^a?

2.1 Reconstructing the insertion

The manuscript 4QJer^a was published in 1997 by Tov in vol. 15 of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series (DJD 15). It consists of 50 parchment fragments that Tov managed to reconstruct into fifteen virtually successive columns of a large scroll with columns containing 29–32 lines of text. Tov suggested that this manuscript was once a complete copy of Jeremiah that he estimated to comprise 54–58 columns, and measuring about 7.9–8.4 m.⁸ However, the fragments themselves preserve only portions of text from the first half of scriptural Jeremiah, and there is scant evidence to posit that the complete scroll contained anything much beyond Ier. 22.⁹

Since Tov’s preliminary publication of some of the fragments in 1994, there have been three articles devoted to the content and nature of the long insertion by Aviyah

HaCohen, Joseph Riordan, and Eugene Ulrich.¹⁰ HaCohen disagreed with Tov’s preliminary assessment of the insertion, and argued for the disqualification of 4QJer^a as a Masoretic exemplum on the basis of the missing text of Ier. 7,30–8,3 from its initial production. HaCohen suggested that 4QJer^a originally contained only poetical oracles that are commonly assigned to the earliest stage of scriptural Jeremiah, and that the large insertion of Deuteronomistic prose in frgs 4 i–7 attests to the development of Jeremiah prior to the extant versions now known from the Masoretic Text (M) and the Septuagint (S).¹¹ Like HaCohen, Ulrich has more recently suggested the long insertion attests to a Deuteronomistically inspired revision, although he is more cautious to note that there is no way to know whether this is to be attributed to the Deuteronomistic stratum of Jeremiah, or stemmed from a later scribe who was influenced by this earlier tradition.¹² Counter to HaCohen and Ulrich, and in support of Tov’s initial thoughts on the long insertion, Riordan has argued that there is a lack of any evidence from M and S for the textual development of scriptural Jeremiah where the pericope in Ier. 7,30–8,3 was a late addition. He asserts that the insertion is an haplographic correction which took place decades after the production of the manuscript.¹³

The long insertion appears in frgs 4 i–7, which Tov has identified as the third column (col. III) of the whole manuscript (see Figure 1).¹⁴ The fragmentary remains of this column from 4QJer^a attest to the presence of Ier. 7,30–8,3 written in the available un-inscribed space by a second scribe.¹⁵ Important palaeographical differences in the text of the insertion distinguish it fairly clearly from the text in the column, which indicate the work of separate scribes at distinctly different periods of this manuscript’s history (see further below). The insertion begins in the “open” section break that separates Ier. 7,29 from 8,4 which appears in the following line.¹⁶ Parts of three lines of text in miniature

¹⁰ HaCohen 1994; Riordan 2014; Ulrich 2015.

¹¹ HaCohen 1994, 5–6

¹² Cf. Ulrich 2015. This was cited by Joseph Riordan 2014, 102–3.

¹³ Riordan 2014, 109–10

¹⁴ I follow Tov’s column designations for the purpose of this paper.

¹⁵ Tov’s transcription and reconstruction of this column appears in Tov 1997, 156.

¹⁶ Tov has argued in his magnum opus persuasively for a general correlation between apparent systems for text blocking within a significant number of the Qumran scrolls and the basic paragraph divisions employed in M; cf. Tov 2004, 143–62. In very general terms, Tov distinguished between various forms of sense divisions in the scrolls, and aligned these to either closed paragraphs (␣ = *setumah*) or open paragraphs (␣ = *petuḥa*). “Closed” paragraphs are those that contain small in-line divisions where the new section begins on the same line where the previous section ends; “open” paragraphs are those where

⁷ Cf. for example Webster 1995.

⁸ Tov 1997, 147–48.

⁹ In a recent article I argue that this scroll quite plausibly only comprised the first half of scriptural Jeremiah ending with Ier. 24/25. Cf. Davis forthcoming.

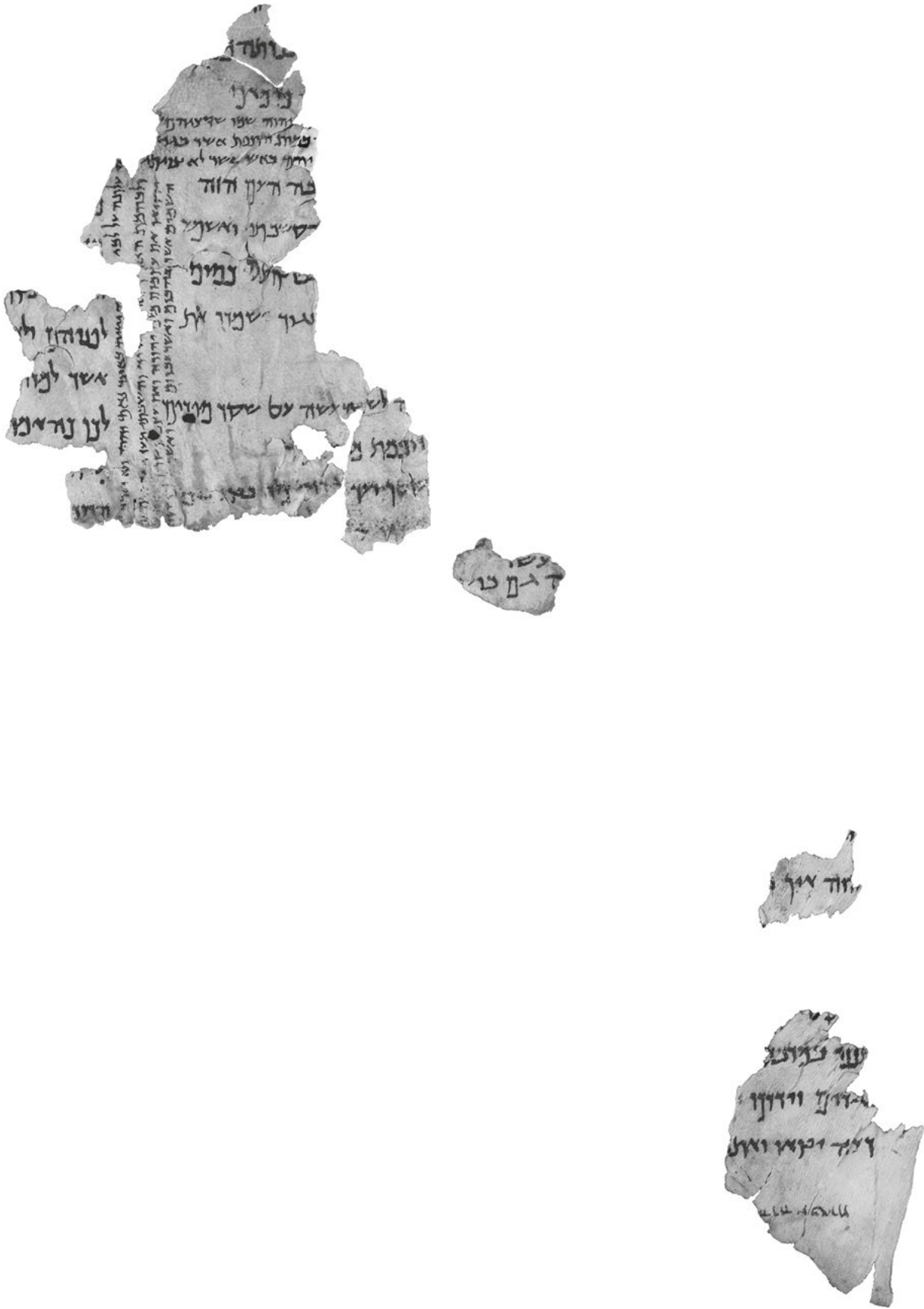


Figure 1: The placement of 4QJer^a frgs. 4–7

script are visible on frg. 4,¹⁷ filling the section break and comprising text from 7,30 and most of 7,31. The transition between the end of the horizontal text to the vertical continuation in four lines stretching down the intercolumn is partially preserved on the fragment, but only the first several words of each line have survived from what we must presume to have been a large section of text. The preserved portions in the vertical correspond to parts of Ier. 7,31–8,2. The script in the first two vertical lines is identical to that which appears in the three horizontal lines, and the line-spacing between them is relatively consistent, measuring around 3.5 mm. However, there is then an important shift that takes place in the final two vertical lines, where the script is notably smaller, and the line spacing more compressed, measuring only 2.5 mm. We can know with relative certainty that the insertion contained all of Ier. 8,1–3 because the end of 8,3 has survived in part of a single line written upside-down and in the bottom margin of the column that is preserved in a separate fragment, frg. 7. By happy coincidence, this fragment also preserves a small part of the inscribed right margin,¹⁸ and it is further interesting to note that the insertion ends *inside* the original column.

It is possible to reconstruct the missing parts of the insertion in their entirety by filling in the missing Hebrew text that appears in the medieval witness \aleph . The beginning of the horizontal lines are reconstructed on the supposition that these continue from the ends of the extant preceding lines. Likewise, the beginnings of all of the vertical lines have survived,¹⁹ which induces a high level of confidence in our ability to reconstruct what is missing between the damaged portion of each line and the beginning of that which follows. Finally, the same principle holds for the last,

the line is left blank after the text that concludes a section, and the new section begins on the following line.

17 This is based on my own designation of “miniature scripts” in the Qumran scrolls as those which are notably smaller on average than 2 mm in height. By my own measurements of the digital images, the script of the long insertion is 1.7 mm high on average. This is comparatively quite smaller than the main script of the document belonging to the first scribe, which measures 2.8 mm on average. However, it is important to note that the archaic first hand in 4QJer^a produces customarily variable letter sizes in an exquisite calligraphic style, and letters range between 1.8–4.4 mm.

18 This is possibly only one of two visible inscribed margins from all the fragments of the manuscript, however, there may be evidence of a third dry-line still present on frg. 21, cf. esp. PAM 43,073. The other clear margin and line appear on frg. 40, which Tov was not able to place in sequence in the manuscript.

19 The *wāw* and the *lāmed* of the first word of line 6d are missing where there is a small space of damage at the intersection between lines 6c and 6d. The damaged area and the missing text are both small enough that the reconstruction is effectively non-controversial.

upside-down line, the contents of which are theoretically controlled by the extant end of this line and its probable point of connection to the reconstructed vertical lines.

The results of this process for the first three horizontal lines are unsurprising, and they confirm the presence of a plumb right margin for the inserted text.²⁰ The reconstruction of the first of the vertical lines reveals an important clue that will also help us to more precisely locate the last, upside-down line of the insertion. Notably, the second scribe, upon the completion of writing $\text{לא צויתר (or) אשר לא צויתר (Ier. 7,31)}$ to the end of the line then proceeded on the vertical to continue his text with ולא עלתה in fairly close horizontal alignment to the last line in the paragraph break. With the assumption of consistent word-spacing,²¹ the full length of this line measures 19.4 cm if reconstructed to correspond to the text in \aleph , or 20.1 cm if the $\text{במות plus } \text{ט}$ from Ier. 7,32 is included. The second-through-fourth lines of the vertical insertion should all be slightly shorter, owing to their placement below instead of beside the third horizontal line, and assuming that the second scribe continued his practice established in the horizontal text of adhering to a relatively straight left margin. With this principle in view, we should derive line lengths fairly close within the range of 18.5–19 cm. This is indeed what we discover upon reconstructing the third vertical line, which measures 18.8 cm, but the length of the second line falls short of this by 8 mm. We could compensate slightly for this by including the $\text{כל plus } \text{ט}$ before הארץ , “all the land,” in v. 34. But the possible discrepancy is explained even if the shorter text is retained by noting that the first word יוציאו from Ier. 8,1 is long enough that it would probably have extended too far past the second scribe’s implied left-margin, thus prompting him to begin a new line with the longer word. The final vertical line measures only 18.1 cm, but we can account for this shortage by speculating that there were probably instances in which the scribe was forced to leave large spaces in his text where

20 This is commonplace among the Qumran scrolls. However, there remains a remote possibility that the lines in the section break do not align. A handful of small parchments that have been identified by editors predominantly as phylacteries are written with very small scripts, and do not follow a clear columnar arrangement. Cf. Milik/de Vaux (eds.) 1977, 34–47; Schiffman 2000. On the usage of miniature scripts in the Dead Sea Scrolls cf. Davis 2015.

21 A survey of word spaces that are clearly extant in the insertion reveals an acceptably consistent pattern which increases our confidence in arriving at fairly accurate measurements for the vertical lines. There is a slight variation between the four groups: word spaces in the horizontal lines 6a–c range between 0.4–1.2 mm, and 0.9 mm on average; in the vertical group, lines 6d–e, the range is 0.3–1.4 mm, and 0.85 mm on average; in the “compressed” vertical group lines 6f–g, the range is 0.5–1.1 mm, and 0.8 mm on average; the space between the two extant words in the bottom line 6h is 0.85 mm.

the last line intersected with the text in the column. He has done precisely this where his text ואשר עבדום ואשר הלכו (8,2) intersects with the final *mēm* of ספרים in frg. 4 i 10 (8,8).

Based on the cumulative measurements that we estimate from reconstructing the four vertical lines, it seems most probable that the ends of the first and third lines at the same point represented the vertical column edge, and that this is the place where the second scribe began the final line of his text, upside down, in the bottom

margin. Since he set his vertical text in alignment with the last line of the horizontal text, it logically follows that the last upside down line would likewise be aligned to the column edge of the vertical text. This observation effectively delimits the size of the column. I have reconstructed the long insertion as follows: lines 6a–6c are the horizontal lines in the open section of line 6, lines 6d–6g are the four vertical lines in the intercolumn, and line 6h is the last, upside down line in the bottom margin:

frg. 4 i 6a [כי עשו בני יהודה הרע בעיני נא] ם יהוה שמו שקוציהם [בבית] ת
 6b [אשר נקרא שמי עליו לטמאו ובג] ן במות התפת אשר בניא [בן]
 6c [הנס לשרף את בניהם ואת בנת] יהם באש אשר לא צוית[ים] [?]
 6d [ול] א עלתה על לבי [לכן הג] ה ימים באים נאם יהוה ולא יאמר ע׃ד התפת וגיא בן הנם כי אם
 גיא ההרגה וקברו בתפת מאין מקום והיתה נבלת העם הזה למאכל לעוף השמים]
 6e ולבהמת הארץ ואי [מ] הריד והשבתי מערי יהודה ומ[חצות ירושלם קול ששון וקול שמחה קול
 חתן וקול כלה כי לחרבה תהיה כל הארץ בעת ההיא נאם יהוה]
 6f יוציאו את עצמות מלכי יהודה ואת עצמ[ו] ת שריו וא׃ע [צמות הכהנים ואת עצמות הנביאים ואת
 עצמות יושבי ירושלם מקבריהם ושטחום לשמש ולירח ולכל צבא]
 6g השמים אשר אהבום ואשר עבדום ואשר הלכו אחר יהוה ואשר דרשום ואשר השתחוו להם לא
 יאספו ולא יקברו לדמן על פני האדמה יהיו ונבחר מות מחיים]
 frg. 7 6h [לכל השארית הנשארים מן המשפחה הרעה הזאת בכל המקומות הנשארים אשר הדחתים
 שם נאם י] הוה צבאות

6a [⁷³⁰ Indeed! The sons of Judah committed wickedness in my eyes, proclai]ms YHWH: They set their abominations [in the hou]se
 6b [which is called by my name, causing it to be defiled. ³¹ And]they[built] the high places of Tophet, which are in the Valley[of Ben-]
 6c [Hinnom to burn their sons and dau]ghters in the fire; which is something I did not command[(them),]
 6d [no]r did it come to mind. [³² Because of this, se] e, the days are coming, proclaims YHWH, when it is no long[er] called[“Tophet and the Valley of Ben-Hinnom,” but rather, “the Valley of Slaughter.” And they will bury in Tophet because there is no room. ³³ The corpse of this people will feed the birds of the sky]
 6e and the animals of the earth, but there will be no o[ne to sc]are them off. ³⁴ I will remove from the cities of Judah and from[the streets of Jerusalem the sound of joy, and the sound of rejoicing; the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, because the entire land will be desolate. ^{8,1} In that moment, proclaims YHWH,]
 6f They will bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, the bon[e]s of their chiefs, the b[ones of the priests, the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the residents

of Jerusalem from their tombs. ² And they will scatter them before the sun, the moon, and the entire host] of the sky whom they love and serve; after[whom] they have walked[, whom they have divined, and before whom they have prostrated themselves. They will not be recollected and buried. They will be faeces on the face of the ground. ³ So death will be preferred to life]
 6h [for all who remain; those who are left over from this wicked clan in all the places of their remnant to which I have banished them, proclaims Y]HWH Šabaot (my translation).

NOTES

Line 6c [צוית[ים] ?] / “I [did not] command [(them)]” ם (ἐνετείλαμην αὐτοῖς) || צויתי זלל || צויתי. There is a space between the end of line 6c and the point of transition to the vertical lines in 6d measuring 3.3 mm, and which potentially could accommodate the reading in ם. While א[ול], which begins the first vertical line could be an independent clause, in this case it is the appositional second half of the relative pair with לא צוית[ים]. Under these conditions, it would seem odd for the second scribe to leave a space this size empty unless he was beginning a new section.

Line 6e [תהיה כל הארץ] / “[the entire land]” ם (ἔσται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ) || זלל תהיה הארץ. The reconstruction of the end of the line to correspond to זלל produces a slight shortage of space, which can account better for the ם-plus in this instance.

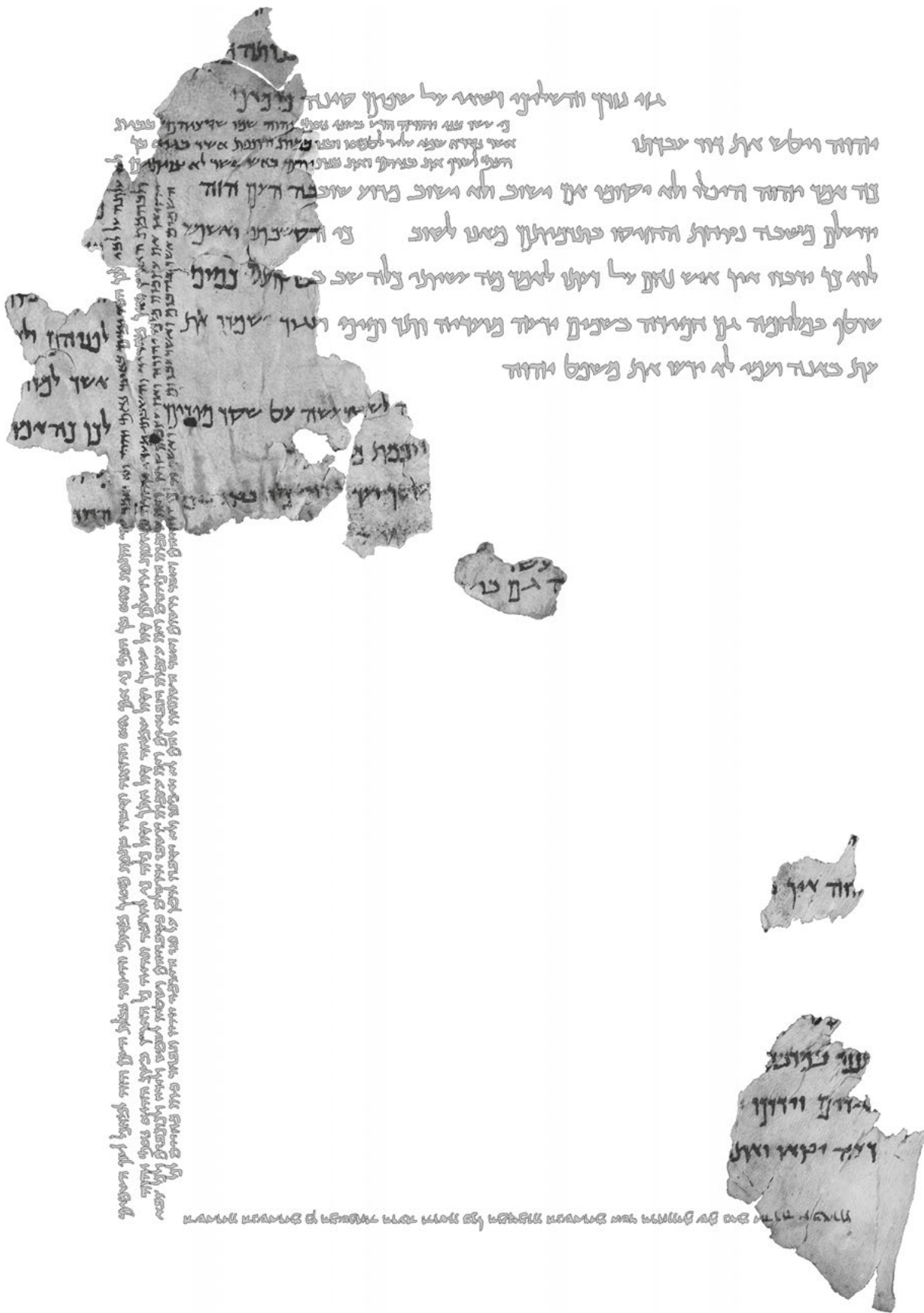


Figure 2: 4QJer^a frags. 4-7: the long insertion reconstructed in context

2.2 Implications of the reconstruction

Beyond the obvious intent to restore the contents of the missing portions of the long insertion, there are two implications to be drawn from the reconstruction. First, as I mentioned above, the consistency derived from reconstructing the line lengths in the intercolumn sets a delimitation on the column-height of the manuscript. The final, upside down line in the bottom margin appears between 1.0–1.1 cm below the baseline of the last line in the column, and at least 1.7 cm above the bottom edge of the scroll. The question raised is why did the second scribe set his final line of text precisely here? And the most logical response is that this is the point at which his vertical lines ended. In other words, he made the same transition from the vertical lines to his upside down final line as he did from the last horizontal line to the first vertical, by aligning his new line to the last line in the perpendicular. This alignment produces a distance between the last extant line in frg. 4 i 15 and the last line in frg. 7 at the bottom of the same column of 11.2 cm. The average line space for this column is 8.0 mm, which means that there is room for only 13 lines of text between these lines. This suggests that the last line should be the twenty-ninth line in the column.

Tov reconstructed this column to a height of 32 lines, and did so on the premise that he needed the space in order to accommodate the biblical text as we know it. In his description of the process, he states that:

the main part of col. III (frgs. 3–4 i on plate xxiv) holds 13 lines, followed by a number of partial lines preserved on three fragments (5–7). Frg. 7 contains the bottom margin. According to our reconstruction, the text after frgs 3–4 i was written in 16 lines, including three open sections, bringing the combined evidence of frgs 3–4 i, 5–7 to 29 lines ... Beneath the preserved bottom line of col. III and above the first preserved line of col. IV four lines are reconstructed (9,3–7), including an open section in line 3. It follows that also the text in col. III must have been preceded by three more lines, which brings the reconstructed length of that column to 32 lines (29 + 3).²²

Even if we introduce a margin of error to our own calculation of the length of the vertical lines in the intercolumn by allowing for the possibility of 30 lines in the column, one must still conclude that there is not nearly enough space to contain the complete text of \mathfrak{M} between the end of frg. 4 i and the beginning of frg. 7. In other words, the length of the long insertion strongly suggests that the text

in col. III beside it was considerably shorter than in the known versions.²³

Second, the important differences in script size and line height that appear in the final two lines of the vertical potentially provide a clue about the motivation behind the eventual inclusion of the long insertion. The consistent height of the letters and line spacing in the horizontal lines 6a–6c and the first two vertical lines 6d–6e indicates careful planning at work on the part of the second scribe. The lines are exceptionally straight, and the hand is confident, skilled and deliberate so as to suggest that this was never intended to be an annotation—not like those that we see in a number of Alexandrian Greek manuscripts where the intercolumnar insertions are better described as more fluid scribbles.²⁴ However well intended, the change that appears in lines 6d–6e suggests that the scribe also clearly underestimated the necessary space to include all of his text. This miscalculation required him to compress his final two vertical lines, and to write the last of these in precariously close proximity to the left column edge. The natural inclination in reading this text is to posit that this miscalculation also produced an unforeseen need to employ the space in the bottom margin to complete the task. This is the most common sense approach to the change that occurs in lines 6d–6e, although the thought that the placement of the bottom line was an accident remains uncertain. Could the upside-down line possibly also have been by design? The fact that the scribe ended his vertical column well below the baseline of the final line in the original text, but also a prodigious distance from the bottom edge of the scroll might suggest that care was taken to ensure that the final line of the text was clearly legible.

The insertion is substantial—containing 155 words, and it seems doubtful that with the care he employed in mapping out the first several lines he would not in the first place have recognised the shortage of space in just

²² Tov 1997, 147.

²³ The corresponding text in \mathfrak{G} is missing most of Ier. 8,10, and all of vv. 11–12, which are partially preserved in 4QJer^a 4 i 14 + 5 15–16. The remaining text in \mathfrak{G} Ier. 8,13–22 is only slightly shorter by about 10 words than in \mathfrak{M} , which suggests that the missing text in 4QJer^a was dramatically different than both the known editions.

²⁴ Examples of these can be found in Turner 1987, especially pl. 15, 16, 19, 18, 20, 61, and 47. These examples will receive more attention in the following section. My use of the word “scribbles” to describe what appear to be scholarly annotations in Greek manuscripts intentionally reflects Jonathan Norton’s description of “scribblers” as those capable of writing, who are “concerned with the wording of the text of biblical works and exegetical compositions as it appears on a particular copy” (Norton 2009, 143).

the intercolumn to include the whole text. Had he hoped to write only in the intercolumn, then would he not have taken measures to ensure that the text adequately filled the space before making the adjustment in line 6f to a smaller, more compressed script? Further, it follows that he also would have planned for a vertical column that either ended in line with the existing column, or closer to the edge of the scroll. The pains taken by the scribe to maximise the contents in lines 6f–g could have been prompted by his hope to control where the insertion ended: *in the centre* of the bottom margin, and *inside* the original column. Thus, the insertion may be interpreted to have been carefully plotted, and its features perhaps indicate that part of its construction was intentional, possibly in order to frame the column on three sides. Of course, this is a speculation drawn from a void of information about this manuscript and the Judaeen scribal culture of the period. But the questions raised deserve equal consideration to the well-worn notion that the long insertion was a happenstance correction made without much reflection on the part of the scribe concerning the spatial limitations to his task.

2.3 “Scribes” and “scribblers”: clues from the manuscript for ascertaining function

We are confronted by two questions about the long insertion at this point. First, why was it absent from the scroll when it was first written? And second, why was it finally added after a not insignificant passage of time? The prevailing answers to both of these questions hinge on strong suppositions that the missing text of Jer. 7,29–8,3 from the original penning of 4QJer^a was entirely accidental, and that the long insertion was a correction of an unfortunate oversight that occurred after nearly a century of use. These suppositions also take for granted certain views about the function of this specific manuscript, about scribalism in the Second Temple period, and about the perceived significance of writing more generally.

In his recent volume, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea: A Study of the Bar Kakhba Documents*, Michael Owen Wise draws from the documentary evidence from especially En Gedi, Mahoza, and Kephars-Baru to make a strong case for the existence of a parochial aristocracy that supported a vocational scribal guild in and around the turn of the first millennia B.C.E. and C.E. The presence of hundreds of letters, land and property titles, admixed with exquisite literary scrolls attests to a range of scribal skills either possessed or employed by the rural Jewish

elite, and provides for a nuanced perspective of scribalism in Palestinian Judaea.²⁵ Wise’s study shows that scribes were not always invested interpreters of the texts that a number of them were commissioned to copy. As it pertains to this discussion, his research demonstrates a range in scribal training and skills, and uses this range to affirm the social location of any number and type of manuscripts. His work provides some useful tools for locating a text like 4QJer^a more precisely within both its scribal and social milieu.

The manuscript 4QJer^a bears all the tell-tale features of having been a scroll that enjoyed some status and extensive use within a community—it was a large scroll, meticulously ruled, expertly written, and arranged into sections, presumably with the intent to facilitate performance.²⁶ This was a high-quality manuscript that was expensive to produce, and almost certainly not for private or individual use. It fits well with Wise’s description of many similar such documents: “One purpose of such luxurious books ... was to establish social distance between their owners and the everyman all around them. Owning books of this stamp was akin to driving a high-end Mercedes Benz today. It announced who one was, and lodged a public claim to elevated status”.²⁷ 4QJer^a was very old, even by the time of its abandonment with hundreds of other scrolls in Qumran Cave 4, some 250–300 years after it was first written. Eugene Ulrich has recently claimed that the long insertion was not included until after as much as a full

²⁵ Wise 2015, especially 307–12. Wise describes the development of a parochial aristocracy after the Hasmonaean period, which in turn supported the production of vast amounts of literature owned and used by wealthy landowners with no obvious direct connection to the temple or palace structures. Although the manuscript 4QJer^a would predate the period in Wise’s assessment, many of his observations come to bear on how to understand this scroll within its functional context, and in the light of similar socio-economic factors that inform his own work.

²⁶ The size and height of scrolls, quality of script, and especially the large size of top and bottom margins are the primary identifying features that Tov uses to distinguish what he calls “*de luxe* editions” in Tov 2004, 125–29. He includes textual correspondence among “biblical” scrolls to \aleph , and also a “limited amount of scribal intervention” (126) which would disqualify 4QJer^a as an example, despite its correspondence to most of the other criteria. Tov observes that most of the Judean Desert scrolls are structured by an arrangement into sense divisions, and suggests that these served an exegetical function, but also that these were possibly also connected to public performance (156–57). Especially in the light of Norton’s argument for the oral/aural setting for exegesis, it would follow that these divisions either reflected or aided the act of reading.

²⁷ Wise 2015, 304.

century of use after the production of 4QJer^a.²⁸ My own close examination of the inserted script reveals that it quite conservatively belongs to a 75-year period between 150–75 B.C.E.,²⁹ meaning that this manuscript was used for at least 50 years—and as many as 125 years—before the insertion was included. Moreover, it then continued to have a “useful life”³⁰ for another century or two. The quality of the inserted script itself also reveals something about its addition to this scroll. This text was added by a highly trained professional scribe, and as such should be viewed as an important contribution to a publicly functioning document. The substantial change made to the manuscript should then prompt us to think carefully about the writers, readers and supplementary handlers of this scroll and what they thought they were doing.

Jonathan Norton has alluded to such thoughts in his study on textual variation in the works of Paul and Josephus, and in the Qumran scrolls. Norton attempts to more carefully define the categories with which to evaluate the written products of a culture in which the act of writing was highly specialised. He calls attention to a flaw that he perceives in prominent treatments of the Dead Sea Scrolls whereby notions of “scribe” and “exegete” are “commonly placed on either side of a simple equation.”³¹ He argues against the common pattern within Qumran

studies to assume that most of the collectors and handlers of the scrolls were scribes, but further that all interpretative activity that we observe within the manuscripts was a product of scribalism. Norton sensibly draws a distinction between the process of interpretation and the act of writing, and argues persuasively that manuscripts in Second Temple Judaism were written in an oral/aural performative setting, and predominantly copied by dictation. Norton distinguishes between professional “scribes” who were employed in writing and copying manuscripts, and “scribblers”—readers and writers who were active participants in the interpretation of texts, but within a communal setting. Scribblers were not necessarily scribes, but they were skilled handlers of Scripture. Conversely, scribes were not always exegetes, or “*Schriftgelehrte*” who performed the act of interpretation in the physical process of writing.³²

There is a common tendency to take for granted from the discovery of such a large cache of manuscripts from Qumran that scrolls were written as repositories for texts—as containers of sacred traditions and literature for the general purpose of preservation and to prompt future preponderance and reflection.³³ However, as Norton, Martin Jaffee and others have helpfully pointed out, the actual practice of writing in antiquity likely carried with it a good deal of symbolic weight. Jaffee says that “inscribed objects in general, and books in particular, commonly functioned as ritual objects whose iconic significance transcended that of the information they preserved.”³⁴ Classicists and scholars of the ancient Near East have recognised this fact, and it bears further consideration for how it applies to the Palestinian Jewish materials.³⁵ For example, according to Mary Beard, when discussing the “Arval Acta” during the three centuries that they were recorded: “The principal function of the writing was symbolic.”³⁶ Scott B. Noegel explicitly connects the ancient ontological understanding of words and script directly to ritual power.³⁷ While

28 Ulrich 2015, 141–46. While Yardeni 1991 remains the most exhaustive comparative palaeographical study of 4QJer^a, she does not take into account the secondary hand of the long insertion in this article.

29 Ada Yardeni (1991) performed a comprehensive palaeographical appraisal of the first script (script 1) in 4QJer^a, but is silent about the script qualities in the long insertion (script 2). The precise dating of the second hand in the insertion is complicated by inconsistencies that are caused by its small size. Nevertheless, the fairly well pronounced uniformity of the size of letters, and the clear sense of a baseline in the script strongly suggests that script 2 is best situated in the Hasmonaean period. This uniformity is most prominent in *mēm*, which in script 2 consistently shows a stronger impression for the baseline than in script 1, and for which the join between the downstroke and the baseline is less pronounced. It is also quite clear in *dālet* and in *rēš*. While there are only a handful of exemplars for these letters in script 2, all the samples show a uniformity in height that is not reflected in script 1. This is importantly the same case for the partial example of medial *kāp* in line g, which is especially dissimilar from its counterparts in script 1. Script 2 most closely compares to the formal Hasmonaean hand in 4QDeut^c (4Q30) from the fourth quarter of the second century B.C.E.

30 Popovic 2012, especially 562–64. The term “useful life” was borrowed by Popovic and applied to the Judaean Desert scrolls from George Houston (Houston 2009, especially 248–51). Cf., Popovic 2012, 564 n. 42 suggests that the longevity of scrolls not only in the Judaean Desert, but also based on evidence from finds in Egypt and Italy challenges the assumption of “a linear perspective of scribal interventions in (‘biblical’) texts.”

31 Norton 2009, 139.

32 Norton 2009, 145–46.

33 Tov 2004 does not address this matter so directly. However, he hints at the technical preoccupation of scribes reflected in the Judaean Desert texts as “collaborators in the creation of books” (Tov 2004, 25), and more generally as participants in the process of transmission of literary compositions (8). Tov cites Schams 1998, 260, who concludes regarding the absence of any self-reflection in the Qumran scrolls on their own scribal practice that “the members of the community did not assign any special importance to the actual writing and copying of scrolls.”

34 Jaffee 2001, 16.

35 Cf. e.g. Williamson 1987; Culham 1991; perhaps most helpfully, Penny Small 1997.

36 Beard 1985, 116.

37 Noegel 2010.

the preservative function of manuscripts cannot be casually dismissed, their equally important mnemonic and numinous functions have with frequency escaped further comment.³⁸ In other words, the *act* of writing and then the *production* of written literature were themselves meaningful in the interpretation of texts.

So, what does all of this have to do with the long insertion in 4QJer^a? In contrast to the conventional idea that this addition is a correction, alternative explanations stem from sociological premises about the (ritual) power of writing in antiquity, the performative setting for manuscripts like 4QJer^a, and their function as mnemonic devices in public reading. The argument for correction presupposes the intended shape and purpose of this manuscript rather flatly, but from an alternative perspective we could imagine that the original absence of Ier. 7,29–8,3 was an important feature not necessarily of the invention of this tradition, but rather of *its non-commitment to writing in this copy*. Moreover, the eventual inclusion in this manuscript much later in time of these two oracles is significant for the fact that they were *finally written*. We are left to guess about the rationale behind the long insertion as it pertained to the meaning of this scroll,³⁹ but we can reasonably speculate that the decision made to finally write down the prosaic oracles here included a well-founded premonition about the power of writing which surpassed the utilitarian function of preservation.⁴⁰

The scribal features of the insertion itself could serve to indicate that it was deliberate and carefully planned in such a way to facilitate its use most likely within a performative setting. Its inclusion by a professional scribe—and not a scholarly scribbler—suggests that it was not added in the context of private study or reflection on the text, but rather was part of a broader, communal interpretative

milieu. The absence of the inserted text for many decades, or perhaps even as much as a century suggests first, that the scroll enjoyed a significantly long useful life in the absence of the text of Ier. 7,30–8,3, and second, that something changed in the life of this scroll with enough impact to prompt its eventual inclusion. Within the manuscript culture that I am positing, the text of Ier. 7,30–8,3 was likely part of the communal interpretative tradition belonging to the use of this scroll for a time before it was committed to writing. In line with Hindy Najman's insightful observations about the symbolic weight of writing in the Second Temple period,⁴¹ the long insertion was written down eventually in part as an expression or reflection of some sort of its efficacy or authority for the group who was reading this scroll.

Returning to the idea forwarded earlier that manuscripts in antiquity contained numinous and mnemonic elements, it must be admitted that the very small size of the text in the long insertion presents a challenge to reading despite the high quality of the penmanship behind it. The 90° transition in two places of the insertion requires turning the scroll three times in order to read it in place between the end of Ier. 7,29, and 8,4, and then to return to 8,4 in the main text. These features raise questions about the practicality served by the insertion, and in turn cast some doubt on its functionality within a performative setting. However, all of this also presumes that the sole function of manuscripts was preservative. The obstacles that beset the legibility of the insertion rather fit more naturally with the idea that this scroll also had a mnemonic function: “in a memorial culture, a ‘book’ is only one way among several to remember a ‘text,’ to provision and cue one’s memory with ‘dicta et facta memorabilia.’”⁴² In other words, the insertion was a *remembered* text that was already part of the performative tradition in the community, and its inclusion served to trigger one’s

³⁸ On the use of manuscripts in antiquity as mnemonic devices, cf. Carruthers 1990, especially 156–88. Jaffee 2001, 17 asserts that “those best able to use the scroll for what we might call ‘informational’ purposes would be people who in the basic sense already knew its contents through approximate memorisation. The text was as much a fact of their memory as it was a physical object.”

³⁹ I have commented on the socio-religious impetus behind the long insertion, and its relationship to other textual features in 4QJer^a in Davis forthcoming; also Davis 2014.

⁴⁰ Martin Goodman argues for the religious power of text objects in part from frequent references in Josephus to the fervent zeal among Jews for the sacred Torah scrolls; cf. *Ag. Ap.* 1,42–44; *J.W.* 2,229–31, 7,150; *A.J.* 20,115; *Life* 134, 418 (Goodman 1996, 100). There are several instances in the Hebrew Bible which attest to the cosmological power of writing: most notably, the role played by writing in the delivery of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 31,18; Deut. 5,22), and Moses’ codification of the Torah in Deuteronomy (27,1–8; 31,19–27). Cf. also Num. 5,23–24; 11,17–27; Ez. 2,7–3,4.

⁴¹ Cf. Najman 2004, 146: “Written texts become not merely records of testimony by other agents but the witnesses themselves. Taking over the role played by heaven and earth, written texts came to stand for permanence and inalterability of the covenant relationship, especially when that relationship was in jeopardy. Through their special efficacy, written texts were thought to set in motion the prophesied events of punishment or redemption, thus actualizing the covenant when its reality seemed questionable ... By the time the exile came, a way of thinking existed, according to which both exilic punishment and promised redemption could be seen as having been initiated by sacred writing. Meanwhile, God’s communications with prophets took the form, more and more, of written texts, and prophetic activity itself focused increasingly on the symbolic significance, the efficacy, and the authority of acts of writing.”

⁴² Carruthers 1990, 8.

memory in the public reading of the scroll.⁴³ The default position within scholarship tends to take an evaluative perspective of manuscripts as pristine, finished projects, which lends to the idea that all supplemental scribal activity is always corrective. This view is flat. A more rounded approach moves beyond discussions from the sole function of manuscripts as text containers, and must also consider the variety of factors such as power, performance and mnemonics that potentially inform the act of scribal supplementation.

3 The question of material: Whence the margin, and what of scrolls as a medium in Second Temple Judaism?

As mentioned above, this scroll carries with it nearly all the features of what Tov has now famously come to describe as “*de luxe* editions” of primarily Scripture scrolls from the Judaean Desert.⁴⁴ According to Tov:

Some manuscripts are of better quality than others with regard to their replication (precision in copying) and external shape (regularity of the structure) ... However, it appears that the use of large top, and bottom margins is the major criterion for establishing that a scroll was prepared as a *de luxe* edition (as in similar Alexandrian Greek scrolls [...]), together with a large writing block, fine calligraphy, the proto-rabbinic text form of Scripture, and only a limited amount of scribal intervention.⁴⁵

Tov’s final two criteria seem to be difficult to maintain from a perspective that is limited to an appraisal of the physical features that reflect back on the production of the manuscript object, and the latter in particular would disqualify 4QJer^a as an example. Nevertheless, this is a scroll that contains the most obviously characteristic features of high quality: comprising a large writing block, very fine calligraphy, and most importantly, large top and bottom margins. Where extant, the top margin measures

⁴³ The relationship between writing and “remembrance” is particularly prominent in Ex. 13,9, 16, Deut. 6,8; 11,18, where the *החקים* (and the *מצות* and *משפטים*) were to be written “as signs on your hand and reminders between your eyes” (והיה לך לאות עלייך ולזכרון בין עיניך). These passages were used to promote the custom of wearing *tefillin* and hanging *mezuzot*; items which were regarded as integral to Jewish memorial culture (cf. *b.Menah* 43b). The origin of this practice itself was likely prophylactic (Santino Fagen 1992, 370).

⁴⁴ Tov 2004, 125.

⁴⁵ Tov 2004, 126.

2.2 cm, and the bottom 2.6 cm.⁴⁶ In another publication Tov observes that the Qumran scrolls contain top margins measuring on average between 1.0–2.0 cm, and bottom margins between 1.5–2.0 cm.⁴⁷ He cites prescriptions recorded in rabbinic sources which mandated the construction of large bottom margins to facilitate the handling of scrolls.⁴⁸ This practical function perhaps informs the earlier products from Second Temple Judaism. However, this would seem to be somewhat more questionable in light of the fact that among even the most exquisite examples of high quality scrolls from before the second century C.E. such as 4QJer^a, the dimensions are notably smaller than what is prescribed by the rabbis. Did the situation before the rabbinic period follow the same rationale, or were there other practical matters that factored into the construction of scrolls with large margins? Moreover, can we extrapolate a further conceptual function for margins that affected the reading and interpretation of the text from the evidence?

3.1 *De luxe* editions, margins in manuscripts, and other roughly contemporary scrolls in the Graeco-Roman world

Yigael Yadin, citing *b. Menah* 30a in his edition of the *Temple Scroll*, efforted to explain the size of the very large bottom margin of 11QT^a (11Q19) in accordance with prescriptions for writing a Torah scroll:

The width of the margin below shall be one handbreadth, above three finger-breadths, and between one column and the other the space of two finger-breadths. In books of the Law the margin below shall be three fingerbreadths, above two fingerbreadths, and between one column and the other the space of a thumb-breadth.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Tov 1997, 146.

⁴⁷ Tov 2004, 99.

⁴⁸ Cf. *b. Menah* 30a, also *Massekhet Sefer Torah* 2,4.

⁴⁹ Translation cited from *The Complete Babylonian Talmud: Soncino English Translation* (London, online: <http://halakhah.com/indexrst.html> [accessed 16 November 2017]). Yadin 1983, 1:16 assigns the following values to the instructions from *b. Menah* 30a: bottom margin, one handbreadth = 7.62 cm; top margin, three fingerbreadths = 4.56 cm; intercolumn, two fingerbreadths = 3.04 cm. For Torah scrolls, the dimensions are mandated as follows: bottom margin, three fingerbreadths = 4.56 cm; top margin, two fingerbreadths = 3.04 cm; intercolumn, a thumbbreadth = 2.0 cm. The bottom margin of 11QT^a is 4 cm.

The practice of manuscript construction to produce large margins is especially evident for much later medieval codices.⁵⁰ Liv Ingeborg Lied has helpfully observed in her work on Syriac codices that there seem to be two types where large margins tend to appear. Certainly this was the case for *de luxe* editions, but also for many *masore*, which are philological, grammatical and orthographical collections of sample biblical text partly intended for educational purposes. She suggests that for the latter, the ample room that large margins produced on the manuscript surface might well have served for annotations, and quite often the margins are in fact heavily annotated.⁵¹ This would seem also to correspond with what appears in Eric G. Turner's survey of ancient Greek manuscripts, in which we see a number of instances where large intercolumns and bottom margins are filled with commentary and scholarly notes.⁵² We see as much in the following six examples that I have arranged diachronically:

- Ibycus. P.Oxy. XV 1790; Pack², 1237 (c. second century B.C.E.)
 Alcman, *Partheneia*. P.Oxy. XXIV 2387 frgs. 1 and 3; Pack², 79 (c. late first century B.C.E.–early first century C.E.)
 Alcman, *Partheneia*. P.Louvre E. 3320 (c. first century C.E.)
 Plato, *Phaedo*. P.Oxy. XV 1809 ; Pack², 1391 (late first–early second century. C.E.)
 Sappho, Μελωδία α. P.Oxy. XVII 2076; Pack², 1448 (c. second century C.E.)
 Hypnomena of Theon on Pindar, *Pythians*. P.Oxy. XXXI 2536 (second century C.E.)

There are some fundamental differences between what one observes in these manuscripts and the long insertion that appears in 4QJer^a. Most notably, I have already mentioned that the script in the Judaeian scroll does not seem to belong to the hand of a scholar engaged in reflective or interpretative mark up; this is not the same kind of “notepad.” Rather, I have argued to this point that the long insertion appears carefully planned, deliberate, with indications that it was intended for inclusion in the same public performances as befitting this scroll. The long insertion in 4QJer^a is otherwise more comparable to commentaries that appear extensively in codices such as Callimachus' *Hymns*, *Aitia*, *Miscellanea* (P.Oxy. XIX 2258; Pack², 186; sixth–seventh century C.E.), but not in the papyrus scrolls listed above. The Callimachus codex was described by Turner as a “sumptuous” papyrus codex that was deliberately constructed with wide and high

margins to allow for “extensive commentary.” The commentary was distinguished from the *lemmata* by a smaller bookhand appearing in the margins.⁵³ There is actually a discernible relationship between the origin of the codex and annotated editions that is illustrated by the absence of both from the above list.⁵⁴ And yet, 4QJer^a is in many respects reflective of these later developments, despite the fact it is neither a codex, nor an annotated edition by the same criteria. 4QJer^a is for practical purposes a *de luxe* edition, and is perhaps more naturally informed by what we see in later, comparably large and luxurious volumes like the Callimachus codex. While not by its original design, the margin in this Judaeian manuscript is similarly employed by the second scribe to include a supplement to the original text. Otherwise, we can reasonably posit along with Tov that the large margins in such scrolls were characteristically intended for “easy handling of the scroll”,⁵⁵ but in what sense?

Lied has observed further that the large margins in medieval codices protected the text from being marked or smudged by fingerprints. Indeed, there are examples of small codices where the text has been badly obscured and smeared on the edges, and is now illegible.⁵⁶ But this situation differs in two important respects from the context of scroll production and use that we find in Second Temple Judaism. First, unlike codices where the folios were consistently written on the *recto* and the *verso*, scrolls were commonly only inscribed on one side.⁵⁷

⁵³ Turner 1987, 67. This practice is similar to the medieval convention for laying out biblical manuscripts to include *glossa ordinaria* between lines and in the margins: “The layout of the *glossa ordinaria* was similar to that of other glosses, such as those on legal texts, with the commentary usually entered in a significantly smaller script than the biblical texts” (Clemens/Graham 2007, 183).

⁵⁴ On the developmental relationship between codices and commentary cf. e.g. Wilson 1984, Maehler 1994, and McNamee 1997, 1998.
⁵⁵ Tov 2004, 99.

⁵⁶ Personal email correspondence with Lied, 10 November, 2014. Cf. Rudy 2010, esp. 2–4. My thanks to Lied for bringing this article to my attention.

⁵⁷ There were a small number of opistographs discovered in the Qumran scrolls. For a discussion cf. Tov 2004, 68–73, and a complete list in “Appendix 3: Opistographs from the Judaeian Desert,” 295–97. The vast majority of opistographs were documentary and cryptic texts, along with a handful of letters, but there were a few literary texts: “4QEn^a ar (recto) + 4QGenealogical List? (verso) (4Q201 + 4Q338); 4QInstr^a (recto) + 4QRitPur A (verso) (4Q415 + 4Q414); 4QpapHodayot-like Text B (recto) + 4QpapS^a (verso) (4Q433a + 4Q255); 4QpapHymns/Prayers (recto) + 4QpapWar Scroll-like Text A (verso) (4Q499 + 4Q497); 4QpapPrQuot (recto) + 4QRitPur B (verso) (4Q503 + 4Q512); 4QpapDibHam^b (recto) + 4QpapM^f & 4QpapDibHam^c (verso) (4Q505 + 4Q496, 4Q506); 4QpapPrFêtes^c (recto) + 4QpapM^f & 4QpapDibHam^c (verso) (4Q509 + 4Q496, 4Q506).” Only the first two manuscripts are parchment.

⁵⁰ For good descriptions and discussion of the procedures for medieval Latin and Greek manuscript construction cf. Maniaci 2012, 2013. My thanks to Marilena Maniaci for directing my attention to her work.

⁵¹ Personal email correspondence with Liv Ingeborg Lied, 10 November 2014.

⁵² Turner 1987.

This was especially so for large *de luxe* scrolls such as 4QJer^a. Second, where in codices one needs to handle the pages in order to turn them, the scroll is naturally protected by the un-inscribed *verso* side. Scrolls were often constructed with “handle sheets” at either end,⁵⁸ and the contact by users to the actual surface needn’t have been made to the inscribed *recto* side—they could turn and navigate through the scroll by handling just the *verso*.⁵⁹ This inference would also find some confirmation in the relative rarity within the Judaean Desert scrolls with very small margins for any sort of smudging or obfuscation of the text that might have occurred from handling.⁶⁰ It would seem that if “handling” were of concern to the manufacturers of scrolls in Second Temple Judaism in their production within large margins, then it was not the same sort of handling that caused damages through frequent use to medieval codices. Rather, it appears to be more likely that large margins were intended to be preservative, and offered protection from environmental forces. If scrolls were stored upright in jars as they were discovered in Qumran Cave 1, and spent most of their time resting on their bottom edge, then the bottoms of the manuscripts were also especially prone to early deterioration.⁶¹ Whether this storage model was common or not, it seems reasonable to posit that margins on scrolls were intended for similar protective purposes, and by extension: the larger the margins, the higher the concern to ensure that the surrounded text is preserved.

⁵⁸ Tov 2004, 33.

⁵⁹ Turner 1967, 7, elucidates this point and extrapolates from it to discuss the inconvenience of scrolls which led to the innovation and wide acceptance of codices: “For Plato and Cicero a book (*bublos*, *bublion*, *volumen*) was a roll of papyrus. It was inconvenient, impermanent, and not very capacious. As we have seen, two hands were needed to hold it open, to wind it so that its narrower columns of writing should always be within the reader’s angle of vision, and after use to rewind it. Its title, if written on a stuck-on tag of papyrus, parchment, or skin (*sillybos*), was liable to tear away. The whole roll, even if protected by rollers (which have rarely survived), was vulnerable. Athenian vase-paintings show readers getting into difficulties with a twisted roll, and the aged Verginius Rufus broke his hip while trying to collect up one he had dropped (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 2, 1,5).”

⁶⁰ There are twenty-nine manuscripts where the bottom margin is preserved measuring <1.5 cm. From this group, there is possibly text damage resulting from handling in only 4QS^e (4Q259), 4QKgs (4Q54), 4QCant^b (4Q107), and 4QMMT^c (4Q396). However, even among these four scrolls there are no signs of smudging or fingerprints. The damage seems just as likely—if not more so—to have been environmental.

⁶¹ While there were clearly no standard dimensions for the production of scrolls from the Qumran caves, the bottom margin in a significant number of Judaean Desert scrolls is larger than the top in scrolls where both margins are preserved. Cf. *Table 19. Sizes of Top and Bottom Margins (cm)*, and *Table 20. Large Top and Bottom Margins*, in Tov 2004, 100–4.

In the case of 4QJer^a the protective function of the bottom margin was probably not lost on the second scribe who wrote the long insertion. As I have demonstrated above, this scribe observed a margin of his own making in the construction and planning of his own text, and this prevented him from encroaching too close to the bottom edge of the manuscript. The vertically written column ends very near the mid-point between the last line of the column and the bottom edge of the scroll, which furthermore could suggest an intention to use the bottom margin at the outset to contain his text. This would also indicate an awareness of the ongoing need to ensure that the text including his addition was safeguarded from potential damage.

3.2 Space and intent: Text in the margin as שומר מצוות (Deut 7,9)

If we are to accept as I have argued that the bottom margin of the scroll 4QJer^a served as a protective utility to ensure the preservation of the text, and if we concede that the text of the long insertion appears to have been intended to end in the bottom margin, then what are the attendant, abstract implications for this selection of text? In other words, how does the ancient functional concept of margins in scrolls affect the reading of the pericope that is in the margin?

m. ‘Abot 1,1 says:

Moses received *torah* at Sinai and handed it on to Joshua, Joshua to elders, and elders to prophets. And prophets handed it on to the men of the great assembly. They said three things: “‘Be prudent in judgment.’ ‘Raise up many disciples.’ ‘Make a fence for the Torah’ (ועשו סייג לתורה).”⁶²

Well before the rabbis began to develop the idea of a “fence for the Torah” there was already at least an implicit sense that the prescriptions and teachings given by God required deliberate safe-keeping. In Deut. 7,9, “you know that YHWH your God is the faithful God: the guardian of the covenant and his faithful love (שמר הברית והחסד) for a thousand generations of those who love him and who keep (or “watch over”) his commandments (ולשמרי מצותיו).”⁶³ In the present instance, and with some of this textual information forming a backdrop, what does it mean for a scribe to write, or a reader to read a passage in the margin that was intended to protect the text?

Ier. 8,8–9 appears in 4QJer^a as a literary unit distinguished by section breaks above and below in lines 12–13 in this column, and it reads:

⁶² Translation by Jacob Neusner (Neusner 2007).

⁶³ My translation based in part on NJB.

How can you say, “We are wise, and the *torah* of YHWH is with us”? When, in fact, the lying pen of the scribes has made it into a lie! The wise men shall be put to shame; they shall be dismayed and taken; behold, they have despised the word of YHWH, so what wisdom is in them?⁶⁴

The “lying pen of scribes”? This implies a recognition of the fragility of what is written. The margin protects precisely because the margin is empty—it is free of writing. But in this instance where it has been filled with text—with supplementary warnings that provide specification to the series of more general poetical oracles in this column, could the handler of the scroll have avoided seeing the symbolic significance of this? In a world in which manuscript spaces meant something, it seems natural to suggest that one’s encounter with such phenomena affected how he read and understood what he was reading. Media mattered in Jewish antiquity. We need only to see this from the well known ancient proverb: “Keep my instructions (שמר מצותי) and live, and my *torah* as the pupil of your eye. Bind them on your fingers; write them on the tablet of your heart” (כתובם על-לוח לבך; Prou. 7,2–3). This passage appears famously as the inspiration behind the title of David Carr’s influential book about ancient Jewish pedagogy, which he used to argue for the dynamic interface between text and memory in the formation of Jewish religion.⁶⁵ But the metaphor provides an equally powerful image of the primacy of media. Be it stone, or flesh, parchment or papyrus, scroll or tablet, column or margin: the reader was drawn to notice the substance of conveyance for the words it contained. In 4QJer^a at least, the medium potentially formed an integral part of the message: these oracles of warning from the prophet Jeremiah about the covenantal failings of its readers are “fenced” by a more cultically and geographically specific reminder.

4 Conclusion

In this paper I have sought to provide a nuanced perspective of the intersection between scribal practices and media in early Judaism by way of a close analysis of the long insertion of text from Ier. 7,29–8,4 in the oldest copy of Jeremiah from the Qumran scrolls, 4QJer^a. The purpose of this study is to challenge our preconceptions of the relationship between corrective and paratextual activity in early Judaism, and also to provide a fresh perspective on the usage and meaning of this manuscript for its collecting community. To achieve these objectives, I have demonstrated first, that this manuscript, 4QJer^a is a scroll that was produced as a sort of *de luxe*

edition, and that it was used for several generations without the text that appears in the addition. This was a manuscript that seems to have enjoyed an elevated status and likely served a communal function. Second, based on the typological distinction between scribes and scribblers I have shown from the shape and quality of the script that the long insertion was added by a trained scribe, and not as a scholarly annotation. The insertion was likely the product of community use of an already known text—perhaps memorised in worship contexts—that had achieved a performative level which prompted its inclusion in the manuscript. Moreover, the eventual inclusion of the text from Ier. 7,29–8,4 attests to the significance of the act of writing in this setting, whereby the penning of the insertion is understood as a contribution or commemoration of its efficacy. Third, I have attempted to argue that the placement and shape of the insertion was carefully planned, and that its visual presentation affected the reading and interpretation of the text. The appearance of Ier. 7,29–8,4 which ended in the preservative space of the bottom margin then plausibly alerted readers to the protective potency of the insertion’s contents.

My intention here has been to evaluate the long insertion for its contribution beyond the common question of whether the Deuteronomistic passage was a product of textual growth. While this is an important and interesting question I have hoped with this discussion to move away from a text critical distinction between “original” and “corrected” text of earlier research, and towards a focus on how these texts and scrolls functioned for their users and how such a perspective can fruitfully explain why the insertion looks like it does. While I am open to the possibility that 4QJer^a preserves an instance of textual growth, my focus here has rather been to offer a realistic, socially sensitive view for how a manuscript that contained an extensive amount of secondary scribal activity functioned for generations among the people who owned and used it.

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⁶⁴ Translation based on NRSV.

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Additional notes in Christian Egyptian biblical manuscripts (fourth–eleventh centuries): Brief remarks

The aim of this article is to provide a brief survey of the additional notes in Christian Egyptian biblical manuscripts covering the period from the fourth to the eleventh century, by taking into consideration both Coptic and bilingual—that is Graeco-Coptic—witnesses.¹

Although additional notes are, as we will see, a rare phenomenon in the Coptic manuscript culture,² and despite the fact that they represent a completely unexplored territory that certainly deserves further investigation, we hope that the remarks that follow may be of some help in future studies of both the evolution of the bilingual Christian Egyptian cultural identity and the formation of a literary manuscript tradition, in which the role of Coptic and its relationship with Greek changed over time.

Before analyzing different cases of additional notes, however, it will be useful to summarize how the Coptic Bible took shape and the role played by the different dialects in its development.

1 Coptic Bible, formation and transmission

Between the fourth and the eleventh centuries, Christian Egypt was characterized by a widespread bilingualism. The Greek language was never completely replaced by Coptic, but rather it existed alongside it, while Latin remained confined to very specific environments, mainly that of the Roman army, administration, and jurisprudence.

1 We do not deal here with Coptic (Bohairic)-Arabic biblical manuscripts.

2 We do not take into consideration corrections and additions to the text, which are usually written in the margins and marked by special symbols that are used before the text omitted and in its insertion point. See for instance Lundhaug/Jenott 2015, 226.

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Coptic literature, therefore, was only a part of the literary production of Christian Egypt, the translations of biblical works from Greek into Coptic representing the first phase of a new literature in the Egyptian language (third–fifth centuries).³ It is not surprising, therefore, that these early biblical translations were strongly affected by the marked differentiation of the dialects that characterized Christian Egypt in that period. These dialects, most of which were destined to disappear at the end of the sixth century, mainly differed in phonetics, but sometimes also in syntax and vocabulary.⁴

Later, when Sahidic became the main dialect—rather, language—of Coptic Egypt (end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century),⁵ without ever substituting Greek, as we have said, translations of biblical works underwent a standardization, a process destined to last until the eleventh century, when Coptic slowly but progressively gave way to Arabic.

Already from the end of the fourth century, however, what can be defined as “proto”-Bohairic had been used for the first translations of the Scriptures.⁶ From the eighth century, Bohairic started to replace Sahidic as the literary language of Coptic Egypt, and consequently a Bohairic Bible took shape and had a parallel development compared to that of the Sahidic one. Sahidic and Bohairic versions, therefore, must be considered as “independent translations from the Greek”,⁷ as also the tradition of

3 Orlandi 1984, 181–82; Orlandi 1990, 93–104; Orlandi 1997, 39–120; Boud'hors 2012, 229.

4 For a description of Coptic dialects, their phases, roles and areas of diffusion see Kasser 1980, 53–112, 237–98; Kasser 1981, 91–152; Satzinger 1990, 413–16; Kasser 1990b, 141–51; Kasser 1991a, 87–97; Kasser 1991b, 97–101; Funk 1994, 327–40; Kasser 2006, 389–492. For dialects in the Coptic Bible, see Husselman 1962; Kasser 1965, 287–310; Orlandi 1974; Kasser 1989, 557–60; Kasser 1990a, 187–94; Funk 1994, 327–40; Boud'hors 2006, 81–108; Bosson 2016, 56–59.

5 In the fifth century, however, Sahidic translations were “more than twice as numerous as those in all other dialects.” Metzger 1991, 1787–88.

6 This is the case, for instance, of P.Bodm. III, containing the Gospel of John (Sheridan forthcoming).

7 Takla 2014, 106. “There is evidence that some Old Testament texts were translated from Sahidic to Bohairic but only in the form of

titles, which developed independently in the two dialects, clearly testifies.⁸

We do not know exactly when and where the first translations were produced and in which dialect, and several aspects concerning the relationship between different versions are far from clear. Even the date by which the translation of the Old and the New Testaments was completed is under debate, although most scholars are inclined to locate it within the fourth century.⁹ The *Vita Antonii*, on the other hand, informs us that Antony (c. 251–356) converted around the year 270 after listening to a passage of the Gospel of Mark read in Coptic in southern Egypt.¹⁰

There are no Coptic manuscripts containing the entire Bible, not even in several volumes (or rather tomes), and, while the complete New Testament¹¹ is available in both Sahidic and Bohairic, the situation of the Old Testament¹² is more lacunose. According to Hany Takla, “Sahidic preserved nearly 70 percent of the Old Testament,” while Bohairic “only about 60 percent.”¹³

Compared to other late antique and mediaeval manuscript traditions, Coptic literary culture, at least until the eleventh century, offers only rare examples of additional notes in biblical—but also non-biblical—manuscripts. This probably depends mainly on the fact that most of the extant Greek, Coptic, and bilingual biblical manuscripts from Egypt originate from coenobitic monastic contexts, a fact that influenced both the aims of production—since the biblical manuscripts were meant to be read in public

during the liturgy and other communal settings in Coptic monasteries, and more rarely for personal use—and the modalities of transmission, which tended to be rather conservative, although examples of books of monastic origin circulating outside monastic spheres are known.

The codices found in the two best-known libraries of the early Middle Ages—that belonging to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyūm (ninth–tenth centuries) and that discovered in the White Monastery of Shenoute (eighth/ninth–eleventh centuries)—for the most part never changed their ownership, as is demonstrated by the scribal subscriptions, which often attest to the place where they were produced and, more importantly, to the monastery for which they were manufactured, which often coincides with the place where they were found. Although less well documented, this seems to be the case, however, also for other important libraries containing biblical manuscripts, such as that of Bala’izah.¹⁴

In the framework of such a conservative system of dissemination of knowledge, where mediaeval private library owners were virtually nonexistent,¹⁵ it is not surprising that additional notes—whether reading notes, *annotationes* for cross-references to other literary works, or “functional” notes, comprising the cases analyzed in these pages—are rarely documented in Egyptian biblical manuscripts. Moreover, it may be conjectured that in Christian Egypt respect for biblical works and the codices transmitting them probably prevented any form of manumission of the text, even only by the addition of a short note.

Despite this premise, however, a few cases deserve to be taken into consideration here. They represent very different types of additions, created for a variety of purposes, but, precisely because of their heterogeneity, they well illustrate the different phases of the complex manuscript culture of Christian Egypt and the formation of the Coptic Bible.

¹⁴ Kahle 1954. Some of the biblical manuscripts of Bala’izah, however, seem to be earlier than the foundation of the monastery (mid-seventh century). Consequently, we can only imagine that they were “bought by individuals who joined the monastery” or “donated by outside supporters” or, lastly, “acquired by the monks themselves” (Goehring 2015, 50).

¹⁵ Among the very few exceptions, it is necessary to mention the late antique well-known sixth century library of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, where autograph compositions were preserved along with Homeric poems and the works of Menander, testifying to the classical formation of this exponent of an Upper Egyptian well-to-do family. We list here only a selection of the most recent bibliographical references concerning Dioscorus’ library: Fournet 1999; Fournet 2001, 475–85; Cameron 2007, 21–46; Fournet 2008; Papaconstantinou 2008, 77–88; Fournet 2009, 418–51; Fournet 2012, 97–106; Fournet 2013, 2141–42.

lections, primarily from the Holy Week and Lent Lectionaries” (Takla 2014, 108). On this aspect, see also Takla 2007, 64–71.

⁸ Buzi 2017, 5–22.

⁹ For different theories on the periodization of the development of the Coptic Bible see Kasser 1965, 287–310; Orlandi 1986, 51–81 and Wisse 1995, 131–41.

¹⁰ Metzger 1991, 1787.

¹¹ Horner 1898–1905; Horner 1911–1924; Aland 1977.

¹² Nagel 1991, 1836–1840; Takla 2000–2001, 33–57; Takla 2007. The edition of the Old Testament is the aim of the project *Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament*, directed by Heike Behlmer and Frank Feder (<http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/> [accessed 16 November 2017]).

¹³ Takla 2014, 108. The author also adds: “Other dialects preserve a much lower percentage of the entire Bible and do not provide a witness of any verse not found in Bohairic or Sahidic.” For a census of the fragments transmitting the Coptic Bible and a list of the editions, see Hyvernat 1896, 427–33, 540–69; Hyvernat 1897, 48–74; Vaschalde 1919, 220–43, 513–31; Vaschalde 1920, 91–106, 241–58; Vaschalde 1921, 237–46; Vaschalde 1922, 81–88, 234–58; Vaschalde 1932, 117–56; Vaschalde 1933, 117–56. For an updating of these first lists see Till 1959–1960, 220–40; Nagel 1989, 41–100; Schmitz/Mink 1986–1991; Schüssler 1995–2009. For accurate reports on the advancement of Coptic biblical studies see Orlandi 1978, 147–51; Nagel 1992, 237–44; Orlandi 1993, 129–50; 131–37; Nagel 1999, 38–48; Bosson 2016, 49–98.

2 Additional notes in the Bodmer Papyri and in P.Chester Beatty Library VII as witnesses of a phase of linguistic and cultural contiguity between Greek and Coptic

The so-called Bodmer Papyri,¹⁶ with their combination of Greek, Coptic, and Latin languages and the co-presence of biblical, homiletic, and classical texts¹⁷—translated and original—are normally considered by scholars as an eccentric bibliological and textual phenomenon compared to the “normal” book production of late antique Christian Egypt.

If the Bodmer Papyri constituted a real library,¹⁸ however, albeit formed by the merging of several older originally independent libraries, it is plausible to speculate that, between the third and fifth centuries other Egyptian book collections, also monastic, might have had more or less the same combination of languages, works, and genres. One could object that the owners of the Bodmer Papyri are unknown, and in fact not all scholars agree that they belonged to a monastic community, but it now appears more and more evident that book owners—in monastic as well as urban contexts—had more or less the same cultural training, at least until the fifth century. The monastic identity of organized communities, as we know it from the majority of Coptic works and the archaeological data, is a later achievement. This is the case of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael and the White Monastery, mentioned above. Before that late phase, however, the influence of the schools located in the “towns”¹⁹ must still have been strong even on the education of a monk.²⁰ The traces that suggest this are tenuous but not to be ignored.

¹⁶ The expression “Bodmer Papyri” refers here to the group of manuscripts—not only made of papyrus and not exclusively preserved in the Fondation Bodmer, Cologne (Genève)—whose common origin from a unique library is more or less widely shared by scholars.

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that, despite the fact that numerous manuscripts of classical works have survived from Late Antiquity, they never appear in booklists. For a census of pagan books found in late antique Egypt see Maehler 1997, 125–28.

¹⁸ On the Bodmer Papyri and the library they belonged to, see Robinson 2013, and now above all Fournet 2015, 8–24 and Schubert 2015, 41–46.

¹⁹ With this term, we refer to the capitals of the ancient *nomoi*.

²⁰ Rapp 1991, 127–48.

In this perspective, the Bodmer Papyri represent an important magnifying glass for analyzing the cultural phenomena of early Christian Egypt, and the few codices carrying marginal notes and other forms of textual *additiones* may be extremely useful in understanding this very first phase of the Egyptian Christian book.²¹

P.Bodm. XLI, for instance, is a papyrus codex containing one of the major and earliest pseudepigraphal books of the New Testament, the *Acta Pauli*, in Lyco-Diospolitan dialect. We take it into consideration here because at the time of the formation of this ancient “library,” this text was perceived as being not distant from the pure biblical works.

It is worth mentioning that at the end of the final title (ΠΡΑΣΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ), the scribe—apparently the same who copied the text—filled the remaining space of the leaf, very likely at a later stage, with the names, written *in extenso*, of six additional letters borrowed from the late Egyptian language, used in Coptic to express sounds that Greek did not possess, using *de facto* the codex as a notepad.²²

The additional text is reproduced here as it appears in the *editio princeps*:²³

ϣⲏⲉ[ι ? litterae] ...	Šēi [?] ...
ϣⲏⲉ[ι ? litterae] ⲛ	Fēi [?] .
ϣⲟⲣⲉ[ι ? litterae] ⲣⲉ	Hōri [?] ..
ϣⲁⲛϣⲛ ⲛ	Čančn .
ϣⲉⲓⲛⲉ	Cime
†ⲉ[ι]	Tii

Whatever the reason for transcribing these Coptic letters in that specific place, they undoubtedly represent something that is extraneous to the main text. It is an interesting phenomenon, which contributes to the classification of this codex—and also others of the same fund—as books (also?) meant for personal use, belonging to a group—no

²¹ The following Coptic biblical codices of the Bodmer collection do not have any additional notes: P.Bodm. III, which preserves an unusual combination of texts, John and Genesis; P.Bodm. XL, which transmits the Song of Solomon; P.Bodm. XLII, which contains 2 Corinthians; Barcelona, P.Palau Rib. 181–183, containing Luke, John, and Mark.

²² The editors of the manuscripts illustrate well the importance of this note, since it represents the oldest attestation of the names of the supplementary letters, compared to the Greek alphabet, which are peculiar to the Coptic language. They also explain the following four lines of text in cursive script as “un autre passage omis par homéotéleute, dont l’absence dans le texte, cette fois-ci, aura frappé le copiste—nous ne croyons pas qu’il s’agisse d’une autre main—et il aura eu le scrupule d’ajouter à la fin de son travail, assez disgracieusement par ailleurs” (Kasser/Luisier 2004, 307–11).

²³ Kasser/Luisier 2004, 342–43.

matter whether monastic or not—characterized by an evolving cultural and linguistic identity, where Coptic began to appear progressively alongside Greek, after a period in which it had represented a (semi)artificial language to which scribes became progressively accustomed, and not without difficulties.

We may suppose that the act of transcribing these letters, which he had maybe learnt only recently, was for the scribe a way of familiarizing himself with them, especially if we accept the opinion of Rodolphe Kasser and Philippe Luisier, according to which the copyist did not completely understand the text that he was writing.²⁴ In this perspective, the additional note of P.Bodm. XLI would be a witness of a new, still *in fieri* cultural identity of Coptic Egypt.

Another example of the progressive appropriation of the new linguistic tool, possibly by a member of the wealthy class of bilingual native Egyptians, is represented by Dublin, P.Beatty VII, a single-quire papyrus codex dating from the third century, in which some Coptic glosses, in Fayyūmic dialect, refer to the Greek text of Isaiah.²⁵ These marginal notes, whose textual interpretation appeared already very difficult to Walter Ewing Crum, “although genuinely Coptic in linguistic terms, are entirely lacking in the supplementary letters derived from Demotic that characterize developed Coptic script.”²⁶ It is therefore a clear case in which a skilful, bilingual *glossator* was experimenting with the new language of Christian Egypt.

A different but equally interesting case is represented by what is conventionally defined as the “Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex,”²⁷ a multiple-text papyrus codex preserved in part in Cologne and in part in the Apostolic Vatican Library, whose codicological structure has always appeared very problematic.²⁸ The codex combines biblical, apocryphal and literary works, all in Greek. It contains the Nativity of

Mary (P.Bodm. V), the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians (P.Bodm. X), the Eleventh Ode of Solomon (P.Bodm. XI), the Epistle of Judas (P.Bodm. VII), a homily On Easter by Melito of Sardis (P.Bodm. XIII), a liturgical fragment (P.Bodm. XII), the Apology of Phileas (P.Bodm. XX), Psalms 33 and 34 (P.Bodm. IX), and the Epistles of Peter (P.Bodm. VIII).

The complexity of the codex—provided that we are dealing with one manuscript only—is increased by the fact that it was written by five different hands, in an intricate interweaving that can be summarized as follows:

Nativity of Mary	hand A
Apocryphal letter of Paul to the Corinthians	hand B
Odes of Solomon	hand B
Epistle of Judas	hand B
Melito, De Pascha	hand C
Liturgical text on Easter	hand C
Apology of Phileas	hands D and E ²⁹
Psalms 33–34	hands D and E
Epistles of Peter	hand B

All these elements would suggest that this multiple-text codex was produced within a single milieu, where numerous scribes—probably nonprofessional—collaborated. The result would be a “composite homogenetic codex,” to use the terminology elaborated by Peter Gumbert,³⁰ whose interest is enhanced by the presence of some rubricated marginal notes, mainly in Greek,³¹ added to I and II Petr.³² These seem to be reading notes added by a reader/user of the codex. Alberto Camplani has efficaciously

“Miscellaneous Codex”; 2) P.Bodm. VIII had a previous life before being inserted into this multiple-text codex.

²⁹ As has already been said, the belonging of the Apology of Phileas and Psalms 33–34 to the codex, however, is not at all sure. Cf. Nongbri 2015, 171–72.

³⁰ Gumbert 2004, 29. Another definition of the structure of this kind of codex is provided by Marilena Maniaci: “codice pluritextuale pluriblocco” (Maniaci 2004, 75–107: 88).

³¹ We follow here Alberto Camplani’s edition (Camplani 2015b, 98–135): ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΕΙΟΣΥΝΗ (I Petr. 1,15), ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΝΙΑ (I Petr. 1,22), ΠΕΡΙ ΪΕΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΑΓΙΟΝ (I Petr. 2,5), ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΕΓΛΕΚΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΝ ΪΕΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΛΑΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΗΣΙΝ (I Petr. 2,9), ΠΕΡΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΙ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΟΠΟΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΕΚΛΕΙΣΜΕΝΟΙΣ (I Petr. 3,18), ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΥ ΠΑΘΟΣ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΙ (I Petr. 4,1), ΠΕΡΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ (I Petr. 4,6), ΠΕΡΙ ΑΓΑΠΗ (I Petr. 4,8), ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥ ΚΤΕΙΣΤΗ (I Petr. 4,19), ΠΕΡΙ ΨΕΛΟΔΙΑΣΚΑΛΟΙ (II Petr. 1,15), ΚΑΤΕΠΡΗΣΕΝ (II Petr. 2,6), ΟΡΑΣΙΣ (II Petr. 2,8), ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΚΑΤΑΡΑ (II Petr. 2,14), . . . (II Petr. 2,22), ΠΕΡΙ ΕΜΠΕΚΤΑΙ (II Petr. 3,3), ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ (II Petr. 3,14).

³² Testuz 1959. A facsimile edition is published in Martini 2003.

²⁴ Kasser/Luisier 2004, 311, n. 102.

²⁵ P. Beatty VII + PSI XII 1273; LDAB 3108.

²⁶ Bagnall 2009, 66–67. See also Fournet 2009, 431. Bagnall’s hypothesis, according to which the *glossator* belongs to the “urban elite formed in the aftermath of the creation of the city councils of the metropoleis of the nomes after 200” is difficult to demonstrate (Bagnall 2009, 67).

²⁷ That is P.Bodm. V–X–XI–VII–XIII–XII–XX–IX–VIII.

²⁸ On the reconstruction of the codex, see Turner 1977, 79–80; see also Wasserman 2005, 137–54; on the Epistles see Grunewald/Junack 1986, 16–25. On the occasion of the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta, 21–24 November 2015), however, Brent Nongbri announced a reconsideration of the fifth quire of the codex (Nongbri 2015, 171–72 and Nongbri 2016, 394–410). The most important aspects of Nongbri’s hypothesis may be summarized as follows: 1) it is doubtful that P.Bodm. XX + IX were bound to the other texts of the

demonstrated that these *glossae* evidence the interests of the readers of the Bodmer Papyri:

Quelle a *1Pt* insistono sul tema della purezza, del popolo eletto ..., della morte di Cristo nella carne che dà vita, della sua passione, dell'amore, e di Dio creatore: lessico che non può non richiamare l'insistenza sulla realtà dell'incarnazione di Cristo e della resurrezione degli uomini tipica di *3Cor* e *Pascha*. Quelle relative a *2Pt* sottolineano due temi fondamentali della breve missiva: i falsi maestri e l'adozione a figli (cfr. *3Cor* e *Gd*).³³

In brief, important theological concepts and meaningful textual junctions of the work are summarized in these notes by the copyist in the guise of *pro memoria*, suggesting a practical use of the codex by the person who added them.

What is more important to stress, however, is the fact that one of these notes is in Coptic. In II Petr. 2,22, beside the sentence συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παρομιίας, the reader has annotated the term ΠΙΜΕΪ (“the truth”). This clearly testifies once more to the fact that the Bodmer Papyri belong to a cultural context of contiguity between the Greek and Coptic languages. The presence of several biblical manuscripts that are written in Coptic only shows that it was slowly but progressively gaining an important role as one of the literary languages of Christian Egypt³⁴ and as the language of the owners of the Bodmer Papyri in particular.

3 Additional notes in the codices of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, Hamūli (Fayyūm), and of the White Monastery, Sohāg

Found in 1911, in the southwestern part of the Fayyūm region, the codices of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, mostly datable to between the ninth and the tenth centuries, because of their good state of preservation represent an extraordinary opportunity to analyze the

³³ “Those [*glossae*] added to *1Pt* regard the theme of purity, of the chosen people ..., of the death of Christ in the flesh that gives life, of his passion, of the love, of God as creator: a lexicon that inevitably recalls the reality of Christ’s incarnation and of the resurrection of men, typical of *3Cor* and *Pascha*. Those added to *2Pt* stress two fundamental themes of the short epistle: the false teachers and the adoption of children (cfr. *3Cor* e *Gd*)” (Camplani 2015b, 98–135).

³⁴ For the role of Coptic in Christian Egypt and in the Coptic Church in particular see Camplani 2015a, 129–53.

characteristics—both textual and material—of the early mediaeval Egyptian Christian book.³⁵

Seven codices of this library contain works of the Old Testament (five in Sahidic, two in Fayyūmic),³⁶ thirty preserve works of the New Testament (twenty-two in Sahidic, two in Bohairic, six in Fayyūmic),³⁷ but only two out of these thirty-seven codices have different forms of additional notes, confirming therefore the rarity of this phenomenon in Coptic.

The most interesting of these cases appears in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 616,³⁸ which is a parchment codex, more or less half of which is missing, that preserves the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in Bohairic, with indication of the κεφάλαια³⁹ in Greek and Coptic. At two different points (f. 20v and f. 43v), where the two gospels deal with the visit of the pious women to the empty tomb of Christ, a note in Arabic is added: “month of Ba’ūna, first Sunday, morning of the Resurrection” (Matth. 17,65–66) and “month of Ba’ūna, second Sunday, morning of the Resurrection” (Marc. 16,1–2).⁴⁰ The hand that adds them is quick and does not seem to be concerned about the esthetical consistency of the codex. Clearly, at that time, the monks of Hamūli expressed themselves mainly in Arabic, and it is therefore in this language that they annotate their observations to facilitate the identification of a passage.⁴¹

³⁵ Most of the Hamūli codices are preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Some leaves or fragments, however, are kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (where there are also some bookbindings), in the Museum of Port Said (1 leaf only), in the Bibliothèque nationale de Strasbourg, in the Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Breisgau (2 fragments), in the Papyrussammlung of the Berlin State Museums, in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University, New York, and in the University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor. See Hyvernat 1922 and Depuydt 1993, xlv–cxvi.

³⁶ The provenance of two of them, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 665 (21) and M 706c, is probable but not confirmed.

³⁷ The provenance of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 601, M 601 f. 11, M 601 f. 3, M 605 (8), M 605 (9), M 608 f. 34, M 608 f. 1 35, M 665 (13), M 666, M 668 (12/1), M 668 (12/14), M 668 (12/2, 4, 6–8, 12, 13) is highly probable but not confirmed. To these codices one should add two fragmentary leaves in Fayyūmic preserving the Psalter, and some fragments in the same dialect preserving passages of Mark, 1 and 2 Peter, and the Pauline Epistles (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 582, M 585, M 590, M 595, M 597, M 605, M 660, M 661 and C 32). Cf. Depuydt 1993, 449–66.

³⁸ Depuydt 1993, 493–96.

³⁹ See footnote 52.

⁴⁰ The month of Ba’ūna, or Paone, corresponds to the period 8 June–7 July.

⁴¹ The other example of marginal notes in the Hamūli manuscripts is located in the tail margin of f. 76r of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 567, a quasi-complete parchment codex that preserves 1 and 2 Samuel in Sahidic. A later hand adds the word ΠΟΥΩΡΗ (“the answer” or “the objection”), in cursive script (Depuydt 1993, 12). The codex

The Pierpont Morgan collection, however, also preserves Sahidic fragments from other areas of Egypt, mainly from the White Monastery of Shenoute (Sohāg, Upper Egypt).⁴² As is well known, the manuscripts of this monastery were dismembered, and their leaves are today scattered among several institutions, libraries, and museum collections. Any study of them, therefore, involves a preliminary (virtual) reconstruction of the original codicological units. This has been—and continues to be—the main task of several scholars (René-George Coquin, Enzo Lucchesi, Alin Suciu, among others), and of the project called “Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari” (CMCL), founded and directed by Tito Orlandi, who created it exactly for this purpose.

It is important to remember that most of the White Monastery manuscripts are datable from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the eleventh centuries, therefore to a period in which Arabic was progressively and inexorably substituting for Coptic as the literary language. If the Bodmer Papyri represent the origin of a literature in Coptic, the White Monastery manuscripts represent its latest stage. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 664B (2),⁴³ for instance, consists of two fragments from two leaves of a parchment codex (f. 1 from the bottom half and f. 2 from the top half of a leaf) that preserve part of the Psalter.⁴⁴ On both sides of the two fragments, there are pen trials and writing exercises, in Coptic and in Arabic. In particular, the sentence ρⲣⲁ ρⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲁϥ⁴⁵ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ (“at that time...”), written in right-sloping script, is repeated several times and in different directions. The two leaves have been clearly re-used as a notepad by somebody who handled Coptic with difficulty, as both the graphical and orthographical aspects demonstrate.⁴⁶ We might be dealing here with the late exercise of an arabophone Coptic monk who is attempting to train himself in the Coptic language and script by writing sentences that might be markers of textual portions of psalms to be used in the liturgy. It remains to be explained why he made use of the leaves of a Psalter for that purpose. Could it be that the library had been—or was in the course of being—translated into Arabic and therefore the older manuscripts were not considered

corresponds to MICH.AB according to the classification of the CMCL and is edited by Drescher 1970.

⁴² Takla 2008, 155–67.

⁴³ Depuydt 1993, 15–16. “Probably found at the White Monastery of Sohāg (Akhmīm)” (Depuydt 1993, 15).

⁴⁴ F. 1: Ps. 39,14–16 (recto); 40, 6–7 (verso); f. 2: Ps. 99,1–100 (recto); 100,8–101 (verso).

⁴⁵ ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁⲁϥ stands for ⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁϥ.

⁴⁶ Depuydt 1993, 15. For the destiny of the White Monastery library, see Orlandi/Suciu 2016, 891–918.

useful any longer? This hypothesis would find confirmation in Alin Suciu’s observation that

the approximate estimation of the surviving folios of the codices hardly reaches 10% of the original number when the manuscripts were intact. This means that most of the library is lost, raising a legitimate question: to where has the rest of the library disappeared if the monks did not throw away the old books even when these ceased to be in use? Furthermore, it is remarkable that, as far as we are aware, no manuscript cover from the Monastery of Shenoute has survived. This seems to imply that, at the time when the remains of the library started to emerge outside the walls of the monastery, the codices must have already been in a deplorable state for a long time since none of them any longer had their covers.⁴⁷

Suciu also observes that

a multitude of fragments, which join perfectly and do not exhibit signs of natural decay, suggests that the codices were destroyed systematically and deliberately. ... numerous parchment fragments from the Monastery of Atripe actually bear signs of mutilation done by human hand.⁴⁸

A further confirmation of this hypothesis might be found in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 664A (4),⁴⁹ a fragmentary bifolio from a parchment codex, again very likely found in the White Monastery.⁵⁰ In the margin of f. 1r, beside the passage of Luc. 18,9—ⲁⲓϭⲱ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲓⲡⲁⲣⲐⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲣⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲕⲱ ⲡⲓⲧⲏⲩⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲟϥⲁⲁⲧⲟϥ ϭⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲗⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲁϥⲱ ⲉϥϭⲱⲱⲧⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲉϭⲉⲛⲉ (“And he told also this parable to some who were convinced within themselves that they were righteous, and looking down on everyone else”)—a late hand adds the word ⲟϥⲁⲁⲧⲟϥ (“themselves”), probably as a sort of *pro memoria*, useful for memorizing a term that was not familiar to this mediaeval reader.

P.Berol. 8781, a single parchment leaf (ⲏⲓⲱ) that transmits I Cor. 4,5–10, represents a different case. Between the two columns a later hand adds, exactly over the capital ⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲕⲁⲣ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲡⲏⲟϥⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲁⲏ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲉ ⲡⲏⲏⲉⲡⲓⲟⲁⲛⲁⲧⲏⲥ (“For, I think that God has displayed us, the apostles, last of all, like men sentenced to death”), the following text:

ⲁⲧⲁ ⲁⲟⲁⲛⲁ
 ⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣ
 ϭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟ
 ⲡⲓⲟⲥ

“Ara Athanasius the archbishop”

⁴⁷ Orlandi/Suciu 2016, 905.

⁴⁸ Orlandi/Suciu 2016, 906.

⁴⁹ Depuydt 1993, 36–37.

⁵⁰ Depuydt 1993, 37.

The text of the addition is compressed in the narrow remaining space between the two columns, which therefore determines its quasi-cuneiform shape.

Three reasonable explanations may be proposed for this surprising incursion of Athanasius of Alexandria, a sort of second founder of the Egyptian Church for the Copts, in I Cor. 4,5–10.⁵¹ The first is that the person who added the note was aware that Athanasius had quoted I Cor. 4,6 in the *Oratio III contra Arianos* 21, a work that however is not preserved in Coptic.⁵² This would imply the circulation of the original version of the *Oratio III* in the milieu of the White Monastery, and therefore a good knowledge, still in the tenth–eleventh centuries, of the patristic texts that had not been translated into Coptic.⁵³ The second is the possible existence of a commentary on I Corinthians written by Athanasius—or attributed to Athanasius—maybe circulating in the form of a florilegium, known by the copyist of P.Berol. 8781, a hypothesis corroborated by the existence of *Scholia in Pauli Epistulas*.⁵⁴ Lastly, the third intriguing hypothesis, suggested by Alberto Camplani, is that the content of the passage, which defines the apostles as “men sentenced to death,” may recall the persecutions and the exiles suffered by Athanasius.

Whatever the reason for this association of Athanasius with 1 Corinthians, it is an interesting case of Greek-Coptic cross-reference between a biblical work and its use in literature. But the White Monastery library also offers other interesting examples of notes. A few codices containing gospels present, in the upper margins, τίτλοι⁵⁵

⁵¹ At the beginning, I had supposed that, on the occasion of the commemoration of Athanasius, a passage of 1 Corinthians was recited, but this hypothesis is not confirmed by the available data. In the *Typika*, the feast of Athanasius is mentioned twice, in codices MONB. AW and MONB. NP, but unfortunately 1 Corinthians is not associated with it. I sincerely thank Diliana Atanassova for this valuable information.

⁵² Donker 2008, 1–25.

⁵³ It is important to stress that, unsurprisingly, in the *Contra Originistas* Shenoute appears conscious of the ‘problem’ of the Arians. This may explain and justify a possible circulation of the *Oratio III contra Arianos* in the White Monastery. On the problem of the full comprehension of the importance of Greek patristic works for Coptic culture see Lucchesi, 369–414 and Behlmer 2016, 310–11. For two examples of translation into Coptic of high-level theological and dogmatic Greek patristic works, namely the *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem* by Gregory of Nyssa and the *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti* by Cyril of Alexandria, see Lucchesi 2006, 11–13 and Lucchesi 2011, 376–78, 382–88.

⁵⁴ PG 2141 (12).

⁵⁵ A more precise quantification is not possible at the moment, but they are certainly a minority. It is important to stress, however, that although apparently more consistently present in the Ethiopic

of κεφάλαια,⁵⁶ a legacy of the Greek tradition, to which Hermann von Soden dedicated a careful study in 1911⁵⁷ and which Adolf Hebbelynck analyzed in 1928 in connection with the Bohairic tradition.⁵⁸

Although it may be objected that these markers of pericopes do not belong to what is normally considered an additional note, but rather to titles—albeit a special category of titles—we will deal with them here, because, as we will see, in the Coptic manuscript tradition they sometimes share some features with other kinds of additions, such as the discretionary use and placement of them by the scribe/user of the manuscript and their posteriority with respect to the main text. Because of the quality of the script and the respect for the proportions of the page, it seems that the τίτλοι were in some cases added in the upper margins more or less at the time when the Gospel was copied. In other manuscripts, however, they certainly represent a later addition. In both cases, the witness of the Sahidic manuscripts integrates the information on this praxis provided by the Bohairic codices, showing a certain independence of the two traditions, as it is possible to observe also by analyzing the final titles of the Epistles of Paul, and a certain degree of freedom in elaborating and locating them.

biblical manuscripts, these titles may sometimes be omitted. See Zuurmond 1989, I part, 19.

⁵⁶ Κεφάλαια are the well-known subdivisions of the gospels in textual units denominated “Ammonian Sections” or “Eusebian Canons”, on which see Nordenfalk 1938; Crawford 2015, 1–29. Although extremely common in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Ethiopic traditions, Coptic tradition does not represent the “Ammonian Sections” in the form of tables, neither in Sahidic nor in Bohairic manuscripts, or at least this is what we can deduce on the basis of the available literary sources. Cf. Nordenfalk 1982, 29–38; Zanetti 2015, 303–4.

⁵⁷ See von Soden 1911, 402–32. See also Goswell 2009, 140–41: “There is not a *titlos* for every column of Markan text, which has 51 columns but only 48 *titloi*. Some columns have more than one *titlos*. Some columns have even as many as three. ... This demonstrates that their placement is voluntary, deliberate and offers a way of reading Mark. The hermeneutical effect of the *kephalaia* (and *titloi*) is to elevate in the eyes of the reader certain passages over others.” The subdivisions of biblical manuscripts in “sense divisions” or “sense units” is a phenomenon that concerns also the biblical texts found in the Judean Desert, where however the separation between a textual section and another is assured by a space (Tov 2000, 312–50). “To a great extent the division into sense units by scribes was impressionistic” (Tov 2000, 313). For the Hebrew tradition see also den Hollander/Schmid/Smelik (eds.) 2003.

⁵⁸ Hebbelynck 1928, 81–120. No critical edition of the Sahidic τίτλοι has been produced so far. For the Ethiopic tradition see Zuurmond 1989, 14–19 and also Bausi 2014, 61 and Bausi 2015, 107–35, in particular for the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Or. fol. 1348, containing Matth. 2,15–5,13,⁵⁹ belongs to the first case. In the upper margin of f. 1r (ε̄), just over the first column, a note, written in reddish-brown ink and inserted between two dotted lines of the same colour, is still partially readable:

ε̄ · ε̄τβε̄ νω̄ηρε̄ ω̄ημ̄ ε̄τναῡζο̄τβο̄ῡ

“2. About the babies who were killed”

The script is not the same as that used for the text—characterized by a thick-and-thin stile that is totally missing in the additional note—but it is accurate and elegant.

A similar note, traced in the same ink and with the same script, is located over the second column of the page, but unfortunately it is illegible, except for a few letters. In the upper margin of f. 3r (ε̄) the following note, on the other hand, is clearly legible:

λ̄ · ε̄τβε̄ τ̄ε̄σ̄κω̄ μ̄πεν̄σ̄ω̄τη̄ρ

“4. About the teaching of our Saviour”

Lastly, in the upper margin of f. 3v (i) there is another note:

ε̄ · ε̄τβε̄ μ̄μ[α]κ̄αρῑσμο̄ς

“5. About the beatitudes.”

The first note (“2. About the babies who were killed”) corresponds to the textual passage of Matthew dealing with the narration of the massacre of the innocents by Herod the Great (Matth. 3,1–17), the second note (“4. About the teaching of our Saviour”) with the teaching of Jesus in Capernaum (Matth. 4,15–25), and the third (“5. About the

beatitudes”) with the Sermon on the Mount (Matth. 5,1–48).⁶⁰ Other notes of the same kind were present in the codex, but unfortunately in the related fragments so far identified they are barely visible.⁶¹

Although at the time in which these manuscripts were created lectionaries were already in use in the liturgy of the White Monastery,⁶² it is possible that these τίτλοι could still help in the quick identification of a passage that might be interesting for liturgical purposes or simply for personal reading.

It remains to be explained why in some cases the insertion of τίτλοι seems to have been planned from the beginning, as in the case we have just mentioned, and why, instead, at other times they were certainly added later. This is what happens, for instance, in Paris, BnF, Copt. 129, ⁷f. 81r (p. ε̄ο̄), a parchment fragment containing Luc. 11,17–19.⁶³ In the upper margin over the first column a hand, certainly later than that which copied the text, adds the following title, between two irregular lines of red ink:

⁶⁰ For the Greek version of this τίτλος see von Soden 1911, 405.

⁶¹ Traces of added τίτλοι are barely readable for instance in the fragment Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁴ f. 33, where only the term ε̄τβε̄ (“...About...”) is clearly recognizable, and in BnF, Copt. 129⁵ f. 154, where the beginning of the sentence is recognizable: ῑλ̄ · ε̄τβε̄ σ̄ε̄λ̄... (“14. About ...”). The same brown-reddish ink of the τίτλοι is used, probably by the same hand, also for the indication of the “Ammonian Sections,” located regularly in the space situated left of the columns. Another example of a Sahidic codex making use of “Ammonian Sections” is MONB.LQ: London, BL, Or. 3579B, f. 42; Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁴, f. 21; Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁶, f. 6; Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁶, ff. 8–13; Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁶, f. 21; Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁶, f. 30; Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁷, f. 63.

⁶² For the liturgy of the White Monastery, see above all Brakmann 2004, 588–94; Zanetti 2007, 201–10; Zanetti 2014, 167–224. Concerning the difficulty in reconstructing the liturgy of the White Monastery, Ugo Zanetti observes, “The reason is well known: the liturgical manuscripts, as well as all the other manuscripts of this library, have been dismembered, and a liturgical document is interesting only if complete since the structure of the service concerns us more than its contents, which are usually known from elsewhere. This holds true even more here, since we have no liturgical commentaries dating from the first millennium to help us to understand how services worked” (Zanetti 2007, 201). For almost complete examples of Sahidic lectionaries used in the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyūm, see New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 573 and M 615 (Depuydt 1993, 69–81, 84–99).

⁶³ The fragment belongs to codex MONB.KH, whose identified fragments are: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. copt. 109 cassetta 15, fasc. 54, ff. 1–6 (pp. 3–14); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 9150–9151 (pp. 39–42); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁷, ff. 80–85 (pp. 67–78); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁸, f. 93 (pp. 79–80); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁸, f. 95 (pp. 81–82); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Or. fol. 1605, f. 6 (pp. 87–88); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 9127 (pp. 95–96); Manchester, John Rylands Library, Crawford 1, ff. 1–5 (pp. 101–10).

⁵⁹ The leaf belongs to the (virtually) reconstructed codex MONB.LN, according to the classification of the CMCL. At the moment the related fragments identified are the following: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Or. fol. 1348, ff. 1–3 (pp. 5–10); London, BL, Or. 3579B, f. 2 (pp. 11–12); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 2682 (pp. 17–18); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁴, f. 23 (pp. 19–20); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁴, f. 28 (pp. 23–24); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁴, f. 33 (pp. 27–28); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁴, f. 24 (pp. 29–30); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁵, f. 154 (pp. 109–10); Paris, BnF, Copt. 133¹, f. 73a (pp. 159–60); Paris, BnF, Copt. 132⁴, f. 341 (pp. 163–164); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Copt. E 172 + Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 9103 (pp. 165–66); Paris, BnF, Copt. 133¹, f. 113 (pp. 169–70); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁶, f. 42 (173–74); Manchester, University Library, 5, ff. 1–7 (pp. 197–210); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁸, f. 88 (pp. 237–38); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁸, f. 100 (pp. 245–46); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129⁶, f. 15 + Paris, BnF, Copt. 133¹, f. 132 (pages not identified); London, British Library, Or. 3579B, f. 65 (pages not identified); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129¹⁰, f. 154 (pages not identified); Paris, BnF, Copt. 129¹⁰, f. 181 (pages not identified); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 9038 (pages not identified). The *siglum* CPC stands for Clavis Patrum Copticorum.

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΤΟΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ

“About the one who is demoniacal”

The title corresponds to the Bohairic $\bar{\imath}\bar{\epsilon}$ · ΕΤΒΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΔΕΜΟΝΗ ΝΕΜΑΦ of codex Paris, BnF, Copt. boh. 16,⁶⁴ but, apart from the different elaboration of the sentence, one notices that here the identifying number of the title is missing, a sign of the freedom with which a Coptic scribe could deal with these textual elements, and perhaps also of the haste and carelessness with which this note was added, a fact that, on the other hand, seems also to be demonstrated by the very untidy right-sloping script.

Another fragment of the same codex, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Or.fol. 1605 f. 6r (p. $\bar{\pi}\bar{z}$), containing Luc. 14,3–18, shows the same situation. In the upper margin of the recto, above the first column, is the following annotation, which apparently is present neither in the Bohairic nor in the Greek traditions:

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΣΩΤΠ ΝΑΥ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΜΑ $\bar{\eta}$ ΝΟΧΟΥ ...

“About those who choose out the chief seats ...”

Surprisingly, the subdivision of the books of the Coptic New Testament by means of notes and titles, inserted during the copy of the work or—what is more important—at a later date, is a phenomenon that has not received the attention it deserves, above all for the Sahidic manuscript tradition, for which such a study is completely lacking. For the moment, the situation recalls what Marjo Korpel has observed about the Hebrew tradition:

Anyone comparing a number of translations and commentaries on a given passage in the Hebrew Bible soon discovers that the delimitation of clauses, verses and larger sense units is a major source of disagreement between scholars. One would think that this situation would have sparked intensive research into the criteria applied to delimit textual units. But this is not the case.⁶⁵

4 Concluding remarks

The few examples of additional notes described in these pages are heterogeneous and certainly not exhaustive of the cases offered by the Coptic biblical manuscripts. Through our brief analysis of them, however, it has been possible to follow the development of the Coptic manuscript tradition from a phase in which both the identities of Christian book collections and of their owners were *in*

fieri (Bodmer Papyri) to a period of consolidated and institutionalized Coptic libraries (Monastery of the Archangel Michael and White Monastery). A more careful study, in particular of the fragments of the White Monastery, may reveal some surprises, but this would require a systematic analysis of them in this perspective. Even from this superficial survey, however, it is possible to deduce that additional notes in Christian Egyptian biblical manuscripts are not a common phenomenon, a circumstance to which specialists of Coptic studies have not paid much attention so far. What is needed to make groundbreaking progress in this unexplored territory is a project dedicated to Coptic manuscript material comparable to the ERC-2013-Advanced Grant “Paratexts of the Bible. Analysis and Edition of the Greek Textual Transmission,” directed by Martin G. Wallraff.⁶⁶

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⁶⁴ Hebbelynck 1928, 95. For the Greek version of this τίτλος, to which number λθ is assigned, see von Soden 1911, 409.

⁶⁵ Korpel 2000, 1.

⁶⁶ A complete census, edition, and translation of Coptic titles and colophons is one of the goals of the ERC project (2015) “PATHs: Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context: Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage” (project no. 687567), directed by the present author.

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Divining gospel: Classifying manuscripts of John used in sortilege

1 Introduction

In the year 624, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius was conducting a counter-offensive against the Persian army led by Khusro. After suffering years of devastating loss due to the relentless advance of the Shah's armies, Heraclius finally had Khusro on the run, plundering towns and burning down fire temples as he chased him deeper into Persian territory. Still Khusro eluded direct confrontation. As winter began to set in, Heraclius' advisors debated whether the army ought to continue the pursuit or turn and winter in Albania instead. In order to resolve the debate, Heraclius availed himself of a problem-solving strategy common in his day: divination. The chronicler Theophanes Confessor reports: "The emperor commanded that the army purify itself for three days. Then, upon opening the divine gospels, he found a passage instructing him to winter in Albania. So at once he turned and hurried to Albania."¹

Unfortunately, Theophanes provides us with no further details. What gospel text would have sent Heraclius to Albania? Did he merely open the codex randomly to a passage and somehow divine from it a clear course of action—or did he use more elaborate techniques and esoteric mechanisms by which to determine a course of action on the basis of the passage he read? Was it a plain gospel codex or a book especially designed for the purpose of divination? Who else was involved in the process—members of the clergy, for instance? Theophanes is very helpful on many details of Heraclius' campaign, but rather vague about the emperor's practice of divination, leaving us with many unanswered questions.

Probably the most common ancient way of practicing *sortes biblicae*, as it is typically known, involved turning to a passage of Scripture at random in order to find guidance in the words at which one happened to land,² a method that is at least compatible with Theophanes' bare description. Both Anthony of Egypt and Augustine of Hippo famously received clarity about their respective vocations in such a

way.³ However, other methods of using Scripture for divination were available. We know that specialized oracular devices accompanying the biblical text also existed, though the surviving evidence is scarce and fragmentary. Often referred to as *hermeneia* manuscripts, these books contained Scripture along with a divinatory apparatus for use in sortilege (i.e. the drawing of lots for the purpose of divination). Books having the Gospel of John were especially popular and came to be connected with an elaborate system of divination, vestiges of which still survive. These remnants of "divining gospels" illuminate a distinctive facet of the late antique and medieval reception of biblical texts and the artifacts bearing the texts.

In this paper we will examine manuscripts having the text of John's Gospel along with sortilege material, i.e. divining gospels, seeking to classify the various forms of extant evidence. I will describe several kinds of manuscripts, based on the layout of pages and whether the sortilege material is original to the execution of the manuscript or secondary. The *hermeneiai* are a kind of annotation that cohabited in different ways with the gospel text in different books. A comparison of witnesses will show the dissemination of the oracular system. After describing the characteristic forms and layout of this material in the witnesses, particularly in a little studied Syriac manuscript, I will discuss what these features tell us about how these unusual books were used. Although recent discussions of *hermeneia* manuscripts propose that the *hermeneia* are to be understood as primarily exegetical or even liturgical, the evidence considered here will confirm the long-standing view that their main function was divinatory, validating our use of the terms sortilege, oracles, and *sortes* when discussing these materials. Yet before we briefly examine the contents, in order to establish the basic character of these systematic annotations, we will allow the extraordinary Gospel of John to establish some context.

2 Codices of John as objects of power

In the world of Christian Late Antiquity, text-bearing objects were often revered as relics of mysterious power.

¹ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε τὸν λαὸν ἀγνίζεσθαι τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλια εὔρεν ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσαι. εὐθέως οὖν ἐπιστρέψας ὤρμησεν ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6114 [de Boor (ed.) 1883, 308.14–17]; also quoted in Greatrex/Lieu [eds.] 2002, 200).

² See Klingshirn 2002, 77–130; Klaniczay et al. 2001, 962–63.

³ See van der Horst 1998, 151–59; Rapp 2007, 194–95; Gamble 1997, 239.

Portions of Scripture commonly served as amulets and biblical codices were thought to manifest the divine presence in oath-swearing contexts and at ecumenical councils.⁴ Central to these uses is the materiality of the objects themselves, connected to but transcending the specific textual contents of the books.⁵

Although a variety of biblical texts and textual objects containing Scripture were put to bibliomantic uses, the Gospel of John has held a special status in this regard, perhaps due to the enigmatic qualities of its language. For instance, Augustine exhorts his hearers to cure their headaches by sleeping with a copy of the Gospel rather than using other amulets (*In Joh. tr.* 7,12).⁶ The smallest extant Latin biblical manuscript is the Chartres St. John, a tiny codex of John (71 × 51 mm) from the late fifth or early sixth century (Paris, BnF, lat. 10439). It probably served as an amulet before it was put into the reliquary of the Virgin's shirt at Chartres in the eleventh century.⁷ Similar is the oldest intact European book, the famous Stonyhurst Gospel (London, BL, Add. 89000). Also a diminutive volume (138 × 92 mm), this Latin codex of John was apparently buried with St. Cuthbert (†687) when he was reinterred at Lindisfarne in 698.⁸ These codices of John seem to have functioned as relics, material objects bearing special power.

The actual text of John itself was seen to be especially potent also.⁹ For instance, John's opening statements of power feature prominently in early Coptic amulets with scriptural incipits,¹⁰ they are used apotropaically in Arabic amulets and Syriac healing charms,¹¹ and a thirteenth-century Benedictine charm for the protection and healing of sheep begins with a recitation from the opening of Ioh. 1.¹² In the early seventeenth century, a certain sorcerer in Nottingham was known for selling copies of John's Gospel

for ten shillings apiece as protection against witchcraft.¹³ Perhaps more than any other biblical book,¹⁴ the Gospel of John has been used in ways that reveal an enduring belief in its mystical power—including its role in practices of divination. Ancient *hermeneia* books held a special status in this regard.

3 *Hermeneiai* as oracles

In many ways, the *hermeneia* books resist analysis; not many have survived and most of what remains is fragmentary or corrupt. The limited and rather broken nature of the evidence have made it difficult to speak with great confidence about the precise nature and use of these materials. Yet the age, distribution, and diverse expressions of the *hermeneiai* indicate that the surviving evidence represents the thin vestiges of a once widespread and common phenomenon. A comparison of diverse witnesses yields compelling clues as to the purpose of these tools. For instance, a small corpus of Greek and Greco-Coptic *hermeneia* manuscripts of John survive.¹⁵ These papyrus and parchment fragments date from the fifth-eighth centuries; they contain portions of John's Gospel and additional statements that are prefaced by the term ἐρμηνεία.¹⁶ To take one example, the fifth- or sixth-century papyrus fragment P.Berol. 11914 [GA 3⁶³] contains the text of Ioh. 3,14–18 and 4,9–10 in Greek (on r¹). Column 4 has Ioh. 4,10, Jesus' declaration to the Samaritan woman, "If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that is saying to you, 'Give me a drink,' you would have asked him, and he would have given you living water" (NRSV). Beneath that text is a space, then the following Greek and Coptic statements:¹⁷

ερμηνεία

hermeneia

εα[ν πι]στευσησ χα	if you believe, there
ρα[σοι γ]ινεται	will be joy for you
εκθωανπιστεγε ογν	if you have trust, there
[ογ ρα]θε ναθωπε νακ	will be joy for you

4 Rapp 2007, 196–200. Harry Y. Gamble summarizes early evidence for the bibliomantic use of Scripture (Gamble 1997, 237–41).

5 Sanzo 2014, 164–65.

6 Gamble 1997, 238. Since Augustine is commenting on John, it is not unlikely that he has this Gospel particularly in view, though that is not certain. Sanzo contends that such references in Augustine and Chrysostom are to objects that contain only select portions of the Gospels rather than entire codices (Sanzo 2014, 161–64).

7 See McGurk (ed.) 1994, 8.

8 See Brown 1969, 29–37.

9 See Blant 1894, 8–13.

10 See examples listed in Sanzo 2014. Portions of the other canonical gospels were also used in this manner.

11 For Syriac examples, see Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library, Syr. 156 (Goshen-Gottstein 1979, 103–5), and Gollancz 1912, xxvi, lix, lxi; for Arabic examples, see Bosworth 1976, 128.

12 Salter 1907–8, 1:18.

13 Thomas 1997, 187, 249 (see also 31, 36, 52, 275–76); see Skemer 2006, 50–51, 67–68; Gifford 1593, sig. B1v.

14 Extant evidence for *hermeneia* occur mainly in Gospel and Psalms manuscripts.

15 See Porter 2007, 573–80; Metzger 1988, 162–69.

16 See the discussion in Porter 2006, 322–25. David C. Parker analyzes the biblical text preserved in these witnesses (Parker 2006, 48–68).

17 Stegmüller 1953, 17; also Metzger 1988, 164.

Table 1: Parallel *sortes*: Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Armenian

London, BL, Add. 17119 (Syriac)	
loh. 4,10	<p>ܐܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ</p> <p>46 Interpretation: if you are convinced, there will be joy for you</p>
Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41 [GA 05; Dd] (Greek)2	
Marc. 7,6–16 ³ (46) ⁴	<p>· πρὸς ἐρμηνίαν + εἰς πίστεισιν χαρὰ σοῦ εἶσθω + <i>prosermeneia</i>: if you believe, there will be joy for you</p>
Paris, BnF, lat. 11553 [Beuron 7; g1] (Latin)5	
loh. 4,4	<p>xliii <i>si credideris gloria tibi</i></p> <p>43 if you believe, you (will have) glory</p>
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 2058/2 (Armenian)	
loh. 4,11–14	<p>48 թե հաւատաս խնդրութիւն լինի քեզ</p> <p>48 If you believe, you (will) have joy</p>

Notes:

- 1 The manuscript has ܗܘܝܐ (“if you begin”), possibly due to a misreading of ܗܘܝܐ .
- 2 Also referred to as Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis.
- 3 In Codex Bezae, the *sortes* are written in the bottom margin of Mark’s Gospel; see discussion below.
- 4 The oracle is 46th in sequence, though Bezae’s statements are not numbered.
- 5 Also referred to as Codex Sangermanensis 1.

Each page of the manuscript contains sequential passages of John in Greek, under which are similar bilingual *hermeneiai*.

Some of these manuscripts are entirely in Greek, whereas others are in Greek and Coptic, and at least one manuscript is entirely in Coptic. That the oracular material in these early fragments draws on a large and complex tradition becomes evident when we compare parallel occurrences in other witnesses, each of which belongs to different manuscript traditions.¹⁸ Having written about these relationships at length elsewhere,¹⁹ here I simply illustrate their interconnectedness across a range of sources that we will be treated in greater detail below. The following table provides texts and translations of parallel *sortes* from four different manuscripts, along with their approximate locations in the gospel text and their numbers or positions in their respective sets of *hermeneiai*: The correlations between the contents and locations of the *hermeneia* material in these Greco-Coptic, Syriac, Latin, and Armenian witnesses demonstrate the basic interrelatedness of this material. It is obvious that they

¹⁸ For dates and other details of the manuscripts in Table 1, see Table 3 and the discussion below.
¹⁹ Childers 2013, 327–32.

are drawing on a common tradition.²⁰ But what was the function of the material?

The use of the term *hermeneia*, i.e. “interpretation,” led some early scholars to presume the statements were somehow exegetical.²¹ However, most came to understand them as oracular in function. Stanley Porter has tentatively argued for something of a return to the former view, drawing attention to certain interactions between the *hermeneia* material and the contents of John’s Gospel.²² More recently, Wally Cirafesi advanced a new proposal, suggesting the statements are liturgical in nature, arising from a bilingual context in which “translations” of the liturgical notations (i.e. *hermeneiai*) were deemed necessary or at least useful.²³ I discuss this proposal elsewhere,²⁴ and although the bilingual aspects of some of the early witnesses beg further explanation, I do not find a liturgical reading of the material to be as helpful in illuminating their function as Cirafesi does.

Porter is certainly right to criticize the older view that sees no substantial connection between the *hermeneia* and the text of John, yet his characterization of the statements as “reflections on the biblical text” underplays their oracular function and exaggerates their ability to function as commentary or gloss on the biblical text.²⁵ Bruce Wilkinson’s conclusions seem to me to be stronger, in which he acknowledges that the language and placement of the *hermeneia* owe something to the content of John’s Gospel, yet their force is still primarily oracular. Wilkinson and I have independently come to similar conclusions. However, few of these studies take into account the Armenian evidence²⁶ and none of them refer to the aforementioned Syriac manuscript, that I am in the process of editing.²⁷ A consideration of this evidence reinforces our understanding that the material was designed for use in the practice of divination. The following

²⁰ J. Rendel Harris observed and studied the close connections between the material in Codex Bezae and Sangermanensis (Harris 1901, 45–74), whereas Stegmüller noted the parallels between that material and the *hermeneiai* in the Johannine papyrus and parchment fragments (Stegmüller 1953, 13–22). These affinities have also been addressed in Metzger 1988, 165–67, Outtier 1996, 74–78, and Wilkinson, forthcoming. I am grateful to Kevin Wilkinson for sharing his research with me in a prepublication form.

²¹ For a survey of the history of scholarship on *hermeneia* manuscripts, see Cirafesi 2014, 47–52; see also the discussion in Jones 2016, 34–37.

²² Porter 2007, 579.

²³ Cirafesi 2014, 63–67.

²⁴ See Childers 2017, 259–60.

²⁵ Cf. Porter 2013, 60–63, in which Porter takes the *hermeneia* materials as evidence that early Christian communities were reflective and theologically constructive.

²⁶ Wilkinson (forthcoming) attends to the Armenian witnesses.

²⁷ For a preliminary discussion of this manuscript, see Childers, forthcoming.

statements (*sortes*) taken from the sixth- or seventh-century Syriac manuscript, London, BL, Add. 17119 will illustrate:

Table 2: Sample *sortes* from Syriac London, BL, Add. 17119

Folio	Biblical Text	<i>Sors</i> (text and translation)	Number
10r	Ioh. 3,30	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ this matter is given by God	ܩ 40
14r	Ioh. 4,42	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: from a stranger (will) come a fine report	ܘ 55
26r	Ioh. 6,69	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: this matter (will) result in conflict, but in the end it (will) turn out well	ܩ 96
31v	Ioh. 8,16	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: the partnership/ participation is fitting	ܩ 119
32r	Ioh. 8,20	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: it is not time for you to begin	ܩ 122
43v	Ioh. 11,4	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: you will get some- thing you do not expect	ܩ 164
47v	Ioh. 11,46	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: a good deliverance	ܩ 177
59v	Ioh. 14,29	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: he/it (will) not judge you; do not fear	ܩ 224
76v	Ioh. 20,5	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: the matter that you seek you (will) find	ܩ 287
79v	Ioh. 21,3	ܟܘܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ Interpretation: in five days a good thing (will) happen to you ¹	ܩ 298

Notes:

1 Or, “a good thing will be yours.”

London, BL, Add. 17119 is a Syriac text of the Gospel of John. Integrated into the text are a series of these statements, originally 308 in number, numbered and rubricated, though a few of them are missing. This substantial corpus of statements helps us decipher their basic significance. In the Syriac manuscript, the statements (*sortes*) are called *ܩܘܫܩܐ* (*puššāqē*), i.e. “interpretations,” using an expression corresponding to the Greek term *hermeneiai*. Apart from the problem of occasional errors and confused readings, the sense of some of the *puššāqē/hermeneiai* is obscure.²⁸ Although labeled “interpretations,” they are

²⁸ I am indebted to Sebastian P. Brock for his suggestions regarding the translation of some *puššāqē*.

not interpretations in the usual sense. At times they resonate with terms or themes in nearby biblical texts, as in the context of Ioh. 7, where Jesus is falsely accused and *Puššāqē* 105 enjoins, “do not fear slander.” The oracle adjacent to Jesus’ request for a drink in Ioh. 4,7 speaks of “refreshment and gain” (*Puššāqē* 44). Oracles regarding court decisions and judgements seem especially frequent in the scenes of Jesus’ trials in Ioh. 18. Yet the main thrust of the statements seems to lie outside Scripture.²⁹ The statements make little sense as direct comments on the biblical text. Instead, they are couched as responses to a person’s inquiries about particular topics. In form and function, they are reminiscent of other surviving lot oracle collections with roots in pagan practice, such as *Sortes Astrampsychi* and *Sortes Sangallenses*.³⁰ Like the former, the *puššāqē* are brief; they also deal with some of the same topics, such as inheritance, travel, and business. The term *hermeneia*, rather than indicating “translation” or “interpretation” in the usual senses, parallels the usage we find in the Byzantine *Riktologion*. The *Riktologion* is a tool for divination having a numbered series of passages, based mostly on the Gospels, followed by the term *ἐρμηνεία* and an oracular pronouncement.³¹ The *Riktologion* is clearly a tool for sortilege, with divinatory *hermeneiai*. Perhaps unsurprisingly, its collection begins with Ioh. 1,1.

As I have tried to show elsewhere, the pattern of the *hermeneiai*’s placement shows that their potency relies not only on the authority of the sacred codex of John but even on very specific elements of the narrative itself, sometimes in sophisticated ways.³² In this sense, they are “interpretations,” justifying Porter’s cautions against seeing them as capricious attachments to the Gospel.³³ Yet the hermeneutic by which the user of these tools connected Scripture to the needs and concerns of inquirers exhibits a different mode of interpretation than is common in patristic and medieval commentaries or homilies. These “interpretations” are essentially oracular in nature and divinatory in purpose, drawing their potency from their

²⁹ Most give no moral instruction, nor do they carry obvious liturgical functions—indeed, very few of the statements have any explicit religious content at all, Christian or otherwise.

³⁰ Browne (ed.) 1983; Stewart 2001; Brodersen 2006. The Latin *Sortes Sangallenses* appear to derive from the same archetype as the *Sortes Astrampsychi* (Stewart 1995, 136–38; text edited by Winnefeld 1887).

³¹ See Drexel 1941, 311–18; Canart/Pintaudi 1984, 85–90; Outtier 1996, 77–78. An example: number 31 in the *Riktologion* paraphrases Ioh. 15,7 (“if you remain in me and I remain in you”), after which it presents the following word of hope: Καλὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα σου ἀποκαλύψεως ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχεις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (Drexel 1941, 317).

³² Childers 2017, 260–62 and Childers, forthcoming.

³³ See Porter 2007, 579.

location alongside Scripture in artifacts believed to bear sacred power. They are “divining gospels,” a distinct type of Gospel manuscript that contains the Gospel of John and divinatory apparatus. The following analysis indicates that these books were made specifically for divinatory purposes; hence the classification, “divining gospels.”

The divining gospels have not been extensively studied as such, their relative neglect being due probably to several factors. First, the surviving evidence is meagre. Where the biblical *hermeneia* manuscripts have attracted attention, it is primarily their qualities as New Testament witnesses that have interested scholars. Finally, the materials are puzzling in many ways and not easy to interpret. The remainder of this article seeks to expand our understanding of the divining gospels by classifying the witnesses according to their formal characteristics.

4 Manuscripts of John with sortilege material

In what follows, every known instance of the divining gospels will be classified according to their basic codicological features, dates, language/s, the manner by which the divinatory material is connected to the gospel text (for example original or secondary), and the formal structure of the materials, i.e. their arrangement on the page. One of the most noticeable aspects of this tradition is its fragmentary nature. The majority of witnesses survive as scraps, with barely a few lines of intact text. One Damascus fragment is lost and we now have only Hermann von Soden’s description to guide us. In two instances, the fragments are so damaged that we cannot be certain they came from

divining gospels, though their characteristics lend strong support to that speculation. By contrast, an early Syriac witness preserves the largest surviving number of *hermeneiai*. One unique source has *hermeneiai* without accompanying gospel text. Yet together they preserve elements so closely related that nearly all of them derive from a tradition of similar materials: an apparatus of divinatory *hermeneiai* connected with manuscripts of the Gospel of John, i.e. divining gospels.

4.1 Overview of manuscripts

Table 3 lists the manuscripts being analyzed. They may be classified according to three basic types. The first type are manuscripts with *hermeneiai* that are original to the copying of the manuscript but having a page layout that clearly segregates the *hermeneia* from the gospel text, by such means as spacing and changes of text alignment (for example centering). The second type has *hermeneiai* that are original to the book’s production but they appear in-line with the gospel text, i.e. they are integrated into the columns of the Gospel text. The third type consists of manuscripts in which the *hermeneiai* are secondary additions to the books, written into the margins at some point after the books’ original production.

Figures are provided for selected manuscripts. They depict reconstructions of basic layouts, showing the placements and relationships between biblical text, headings (for example “ερμηνια”), the *hermeneiai*, ancient translations of the *hermeneiai*, and numbers. Not all these items occur in every instance. The figures are not exact representations of the manuscripts but they illustrate the many shared characteristics of these artifacts, delineating certain peculiar features as well.

Table 3: Manuscripts of John with sortilege material

A) Manuscripts with original <i>hermeneiai</i> and segregated layout					
Manuscript	Date ¹	Material	Extent ²	Language	Other ³
1 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P.Berol. 11914	V–VI	Papyrus	(2 folios)	Greek (gospel) Greek-Coptic (<i>hermeneiai</i>)	GA Ƴ ⁶³ ; van Haelst 438; TM 61661; LDAB 2811
2 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, P.CtYBR 4641	V–VII	Parchment	(1 folio)	Coptic	Sa 972; TM/LDAB 369019
3 Montserrat, Abadia Roca, P.Monts. VI Roca 4.51		Papyrus	(1 folio)	Greek	GA Ƴ ⁸⁰ ; van Haelst 441; Barcelona; P.Monts. Roca 4.51 (formerly Fundació Sant Lluc Evangelista P.Barç. 83); TM 61645; LDAB 2795

Table 3: (continued)

4	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P.Vindob. G 36102	VI	Papyrus	(1 folio)	Greek	GA Ƴ ⁷⁶ ; van Haelst 442; TM 61669; LDAB 2820
5	Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrusammlung, P.Berol. 21315	VI	Parchment	(1 folio)	Greek (gospel) Greek-Coptic (<i>hermeneia</i>)	GA 0302; TM 64981; LDAB 6222
6	Paris, BnF, Copt. 156	VI	Papyrus	(12 fragments)	Coptic (gospel) Coptic-Greek (<i>hermeneia</i>)	van Haelst 1124; TM 63050; LDAB 4246
7	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P.Vindob. G 26214	VI–VII	Papyrus	(1 folio)	Greek	GA Ƴ ⁵⁵ ; van Haelst 433; TM 61671; LDAB 2822
8	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, H. Dunscombe Colt Collection, P.Colt 3	VI–VII	Papyrus	(14 folios)	Greek	GA Ƴ ⁵⁹ ; van Haelst 429; P.Ness. 2,3; TM 61676; LDAB 2827
9	Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrusammlung, P.Berol. 3607 + P.Berol. 3623	VII	Parchment	(2 folios)	Greek	GA 0210; van Haelst 443; TM 61674; LDAB 2825
10	von Soden 1902: XI (Damascus fragment) ⁴	VII	Parchment	(1 folio)	Greek	GA 0145; van Haelst 445; TM 61678; LDAB 2829
11	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 2058/2	VIII	Parchment	49 folios	Armenian	palimpsest
12	Yerevan, Matenadaran, 9650	XI	Parchment	60 folios	Armenian	

B) Manuscript with original *hermeneiai* and integrated layout

Manuscript	Date	Material	Extent	Language	Other
13 London, BL, Add. 17119	VI–VII	Parchment	83 folios	Syriac	

C) Manuscripts with secondary *hermeneiai*

Manuscript	Date	Material	Extent	Language	Other
14 Paris, BnF, lat. 11553	IX (gospel) IX (<i>hermeneia</i>)	Parchment	10 folios	Latin	Codex Sangermanensis 1; Beuron 7; g ¹
15 Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41 ⁵	V (gospel) VII–IX? (<i>hermeneia</i>)	Parchment	37 folios	Greek-(Latin) ⁶	Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis; GA 05; Dd

Notes:

1 Dates are assigned by learned paleographers.

2 Parentheses indicate fragmentary manuscripts.

3 In addition to Gregory-Aland numbers for New Testament witnesses (GA), where applicable, alternative references are given, along with numbers according to the following classifications: van Haelst 1976, the Trismegistos list of magical papyri (TM), and the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB). See the footnotes for references and database details.

4 The Damascus fragment von Soden published in 1903 has since been lost (see below).

5 The *hermeneiai* in Bezae occur with the Gospel of Mark, not John (see below).

6 Although its presentation of the Gospels and Acts is bilingual, Bezae's *hermeneiai* are strictly in Greek and significantly later than the main Greek and Latin texts.

4.2 Witnesses with original sortilege material and segregated layout

It is likely that the sortilege material originated separately on the basis of originally pagan models and that its *sortes* were applied as a body of annotations to John. Yet many

of the extant witnesses have *hermeneiai* (or *sortes*) that are original to the production of the book; they appear to prefer a page layout in which each page has a separate block of gospel text with its attached *hermeneia*, even if this results in large blank spaces.

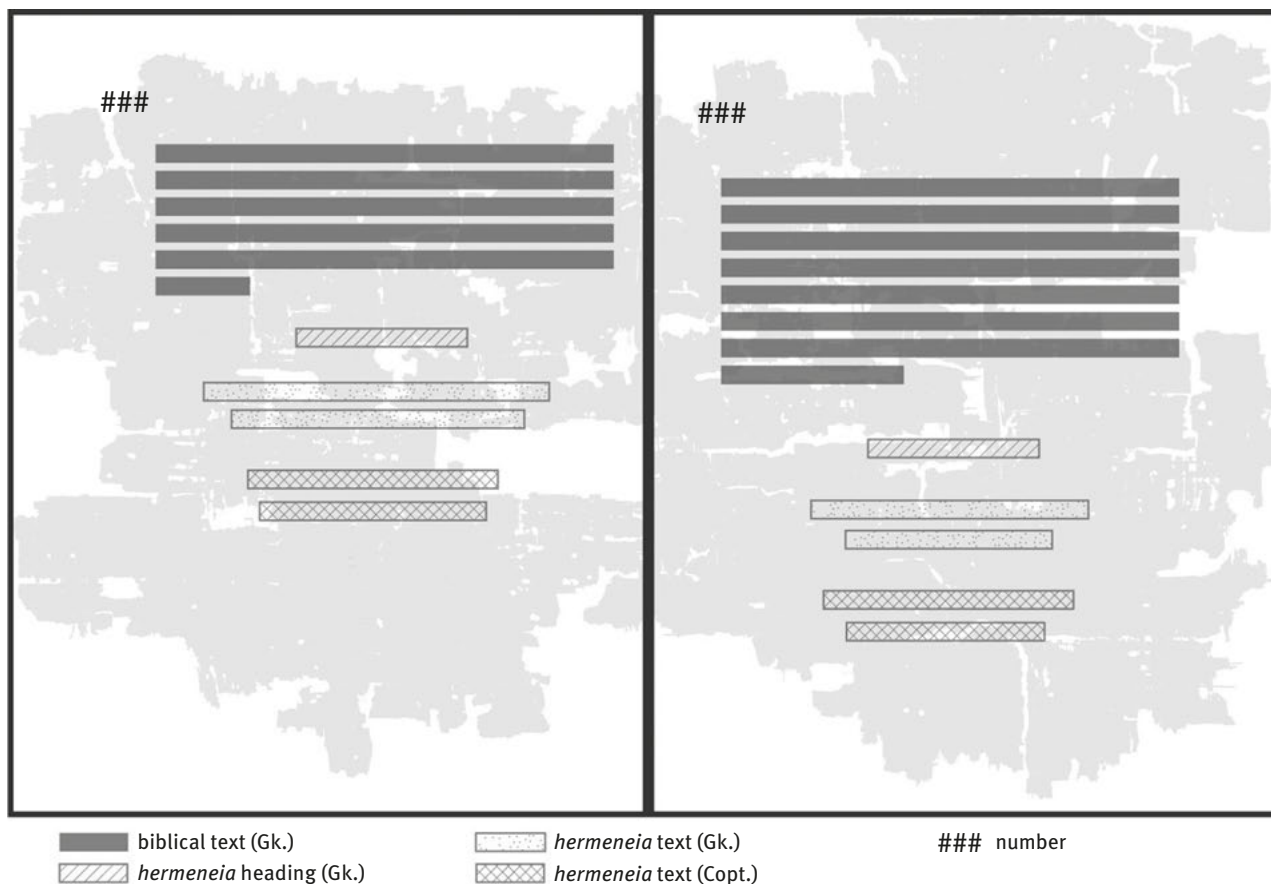


Figure 1: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.Berol. 11914

Manuscript 1. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P.Berol. 11914 [GA Ƴ⁶³] is a fifth- or sixth-century Greco-Coptic papyrus fragment with four pages.³⁴ It is part of a codex that opens to about 18.5 × 30 cm (Figure 1), containing portions of the Gospel of John in Greek. One page has Ioh. 4,10, followed by a space, under which the term *ερμηνια* appears, then a *sors* in Greek and Coptic centered below the gospel text. As discussed above, the content of the *hermeneia* is basically the same as in four other manuscripts (in Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Armenian). The other three pages are laid out the same way—one with Ioh. 3,14–15, followed by 3,16–18; then another with Ioh. 4,9. The rest of the codex is lost. At the top of each page, a later hand has added numbers.³⁵

³⁴ Edition in Stegmüller 1953, 15–17. Digital images: <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/03394> (accessed 16 November 2017).

³⁵ The numbers do not appear to correspond closely to those in other witnesses with numbers. For example, the *hermeneia* on Ioh. 3,14–15 has the number ΠΒ, i.e. 112, yet the matching Syriac *sors* in London, BL, Add. 17119 at Ioh. 3,15 is numbered 35 (ϠΔ) and the Latin in Par. lat. 11553 after 3,11 is numbered 34 (XXXIV). However, closer investigation may reveal more about connections between the numbers.

Figure 1 reconstructs the basic layout, thereby illustrating a structural format that occurs in many of the manuscripts of this type.³⁶

Manuscript 2. Brice Jones recently found and published New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, P.CtYBR 4641 [Sa 972], a Coptic fragment of the fifth–seventh centuries.³⁷ Originally part of a codex, it is now a single leaf, with Ioh. 3,17–18 on one side and 3,19–20 on the other (now 14.6 cm high × 9.1 cm wide).³⁸ The text is entirely

³⁶ The illustrative figures are the creations of the author, yet the image shapes and proportions are based on the remains of the actual ancient manuscripts (as known from catalogues, photographs, and digital imaging), as is the amount and positioning of text. Gray silhouettes approximate the manuscript leaves in their present state, with bold outlines indicating the likely or at least possible original outline of the pages. The fragmentary nature of most of the manuscripts necessitates a certain amount of speculation in reproducing the layouts; furthermore, each image depicts only a representative sampling of the layout of each manuscript.

³⁷ Jones 2014, 202–14.

³⁸ Jones 2014, 206 suggests it was originally somewhere between Turner's 9–11, i.e. between 10–15 cm square or rectangle.

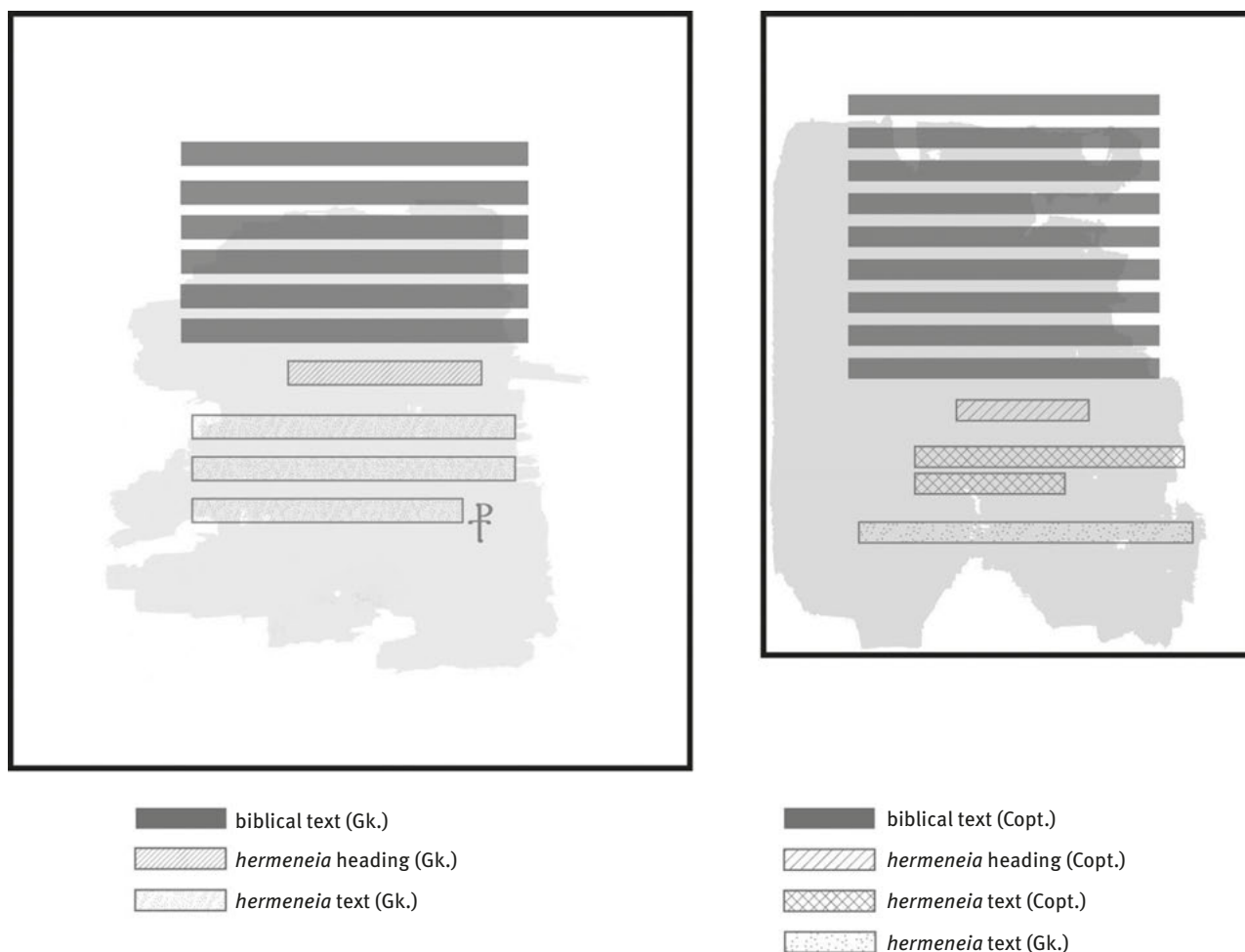


Figure 2: Montserrat, Abadia Roca, 83 (= P.Monts. Roca 4.51) (left) and Paris, BnF, Copt. 156 (right)

Coptic. Once again, blank space occurs below the gospel text and, roughly centered underneath, the term $\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\nu\iota\alpha$ (i.e. *hermeneia*) appears in Coptic script, followed by single oracles that are very difficult to make out. Based on Jones' speculations regarding the original page layout, the structure is basically the same as for Manuscript 1 above, except the text is solely Coptic. No numbers occur on the small fragment.

Manuscript 3. The sixth-century papyrus fragment Montserrat, Abadia Roca, 83 [GA \mathfrak{P}^{80} ; P.Monts. Roca 4.51] contains the Greek text of Ioh. 3,34 on one side, with very little surviving on the other. Once belonging to a codex, the editor believes it was part of a complete book of John.³⁹ Once again, surprising amounts of blank space are evident

on the page, especially on the recto. The term $\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\nu\iota\alpha$ is plainly evident under the gospel text, followed by fragmentary statements centered at the bottom of the page, and the staurographic sign \mathfrak{P} (see Figure 2). The fragment preserves no numbers. On the recto, the gospel text ends higher on the page and is lost, and only a small, indecipherable amount of the *sors* remains, along with the sign \mathfrak{P} . The remnant suggests a folio of about 20 × 18 cm (and taller than wide).

Manuscript 4. The sixth-century papyrus fragment Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, G. 36102 [GA \mathfrak{P}^{76}] has the text of Ioh. 4,9 on one side and 4,11–12 on the other.⁴⁰ The overall page layout (now 14 × 11 cm) is similar to that of the aforementioned examples. The Greek gospel text

³⁹ Roca-Puig 1966, 225–36. Though Roca-Puig gives the date as third–fourth centuries, I follow the revised dating in Orsini/Clarysse 2012, 459–60, 471.

⁴⁰ Hunger 1959, 8–11; Hunger 1970, 71–74; Quecke 1977, 179–81; Porter 2007, 576–77. Digital images: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002179> (accessed 16 November 2017).

has space beneath it, followed on both sides by the term *ερμηνεία*, centered, under which follow fragmentary statements.

Manuscript 5. The sixth-century Berlin parchment fragment, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P.Berol. 21315 [GA 0302] has verses from Ioh. 10,29–30.⁴¹ After the biblical text follows the typical space, under which is the centered term, *ερμην[εία]*, followed by the *sors* in Greek and Coptic. Though difficult to gauge precisely, Kurt Treu estimates the original page might have been about 16 × 10 cm (now 7.5 high × 3.7 cm wide), with surprisingly large margins and spaces.

Manuscript 6. The set of twelve papyrus fragments from Paris, BnF, Copt. 156 date from the sixth century and have portions of the Coptic text of John's Gospel, chapters 3, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, and 21.⁴² The pages (originally about 17 × 13 cm) have the Coptic gospel text at the top, followed by spaces of varying length, under which is the term *ερμηνεία*, followed by statements first in Coptic and then in Greek (see Figure 2). Once again, the connectivity of the material is best illustrated by comparison to the aforementioned Syriac manuscript. At Ioh. 21,17 Paris, BnF, Copt. 156 has the *sors*, “keep the mystery,” which matches *sors* 305 at Ioh. 21,17 in the Syriac: “keep this mystery” *ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܐ* (London, BL, Add. 17119, f. 81v).

Manuscript 7. The sixth- or seventh-century papyrus fragment Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, PVindob. G. 26214 [GA 𐤒⁵⁵] has the Greek text of Ioh. 1,31–33 on one side and 1,35–38 on the other.⁴³ The layout (now 6.5 wide × 12.5 cm high) basically matches that of others in this class. On one side, the characteristic space separates the gospel text from the term, *ερμην[εία]*, but none of the *sors* survives.

Manuscript 8. The sixth- or seventh-century papyrus manuscript New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, H. Dunscombe Colt Collection, pap. P.Colt. 3 [GA 𐤒⁵⁹; P.Ness 2, 3] now has 14 folios, with portions of Ioh. 1, 2, 11, 12, 17, 18, and 21 in Greek.⁴⁴ The original pages, (approximately 19.5 × 13 cm in

size) had varying amounts of text on them, with generous margins and spaces at the bottom (Figure 3). On several leaves, the term *ερμηνεία* is visible at the bottom, followed by *sortes* in Greek. As in the previous manuscripts, the segmentation of the text appears to be determined by the occurrence of *hermeneiai*. After Ioh. 11,49–52, the *hermeneia* reads *σωτηρη[α] καλη* (iv.d), which matches the Syriac *sors* numbered 177 at Ioh. 11,46, “a good salvation” (*ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܐ*; London, BL, Add. 17119, f. 47v), and the Latin form of the same, numbered 173 in the margin and located at Ioh. 11,10: *salus bona* (Paris, BnF, lat. 11553, f. 130r).

Manuscript 9. The seventh-century parchment fragment Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P.Berol. 3607 + P.Berol. 3623 [GA 0210] has portions of the Greek text of Ioh. 5, 6 and 7 on its two remaining leaves of what had originally been a codex.⁴⁵ Connections with the material in the Syriac, the Latin, and Codex Bezae are evident. For instance, a *sors* numbered 76 in this manuscript matches Syriac *sors* number 74 in London, BL, Add. 17119 (f. 19v), and the Latin number 70 in Par. lat. 11553 (f. 127r), all in the same basic context of Ioh. 5. The fragments now measure about 5 × 6 cm and 7.2 × 6 cm. The structure of the page is the same as occurs repeatedly in these manuscripts.

Manuscript 10. In 1903, von Soden described a fragment discovered in the Kubbet el Chazne in Damascus, now lost, von Soden 1902: XI [GA 0145].⁴⁶ The seventh-century parchment had the Greek text of Ioh. 6, along with Greek *hermeneiai* centered at the bottom of the page, under the centered and rubricated term *ερμηνεία* (Figure 10). The *hermeneia* with Ioh. 6,26 matches the Syriac *sors* numbered 83 at Ioh. 6,27, the Latin numbered 78 at Ioh. 6,25, and the Armenian palimpsest text occurring in the 89th position, at Ioh. 6,26–27.⁴⁷ The manuscript included illegible numerals at the top, contained within rectangles, perhaps similar to those in P.Berol. 11914, above. Von Soden was astonished at the “great waste of space” evident in the book's construction; his description of the fragment allows us to postulate a familiar, albeit

⁴¹ Treu 1991, 55–60. Digital images at: <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=0&Alle=21315> (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁴² Crum 1904, 174–78.

⁴³ Henner 1999, 9; Porter 2007, 575–76. Digital images at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002178> (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁴⁴ Casson/Hettich 1950, 79–93. Casson and Hettich suggests a seventh- or even eighth-century date, but Guglielmo Cavallo dates it to the sixth century (Cavallo 2005, 197).

⁴⁵ Edition in Stegmüller 1953, 17–19. Digital images at: <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=1&Alle=3607> (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁴⁶ von Soden 1903, 825–30; see also the description in von Soden 1902, xi.

⁴⁷ London, BL, Add. 17119, f. 22r; Paris, BnF, lat. 11553, f. 17v; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 2058/2, f. 20r.



Figure 3: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, H. Dunscombe Colt Collection, P.Colt 3

hypothetical, original page structure (24.5 × 19 cm) similar to the other manuscripts in this category.

Manuscript 11. The eighth-century Armenian palimpsest Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 2058/2 follows the same basic format as we have seen.⁴⁸ The upper text is that of a tenth-century Georgian liturgical Psalter from Sinai, but the lower writing is an eighth-century Armenian text of the Gospel of John (Figure 4).⁴⁹ As we have already seen and I have shown in greater detail elsewhere,⁵⁰ it includes many *sortes* matching those found in other witnesses (originally 318 *sortes*). The Armenian evidence of this manuscript is incomplete and often illegible, but it is possible to perceive

aspects of the original format. Numbers occur at the top of the page. Beneath a portion of biblical text, the *hermeneiai* are regularly set off by blank spaces and centered. The term *hermeneia* does not regularly occur, though the Armenian equivalent (թարգման[...]) prefaces its first oracle at Ioh. 1,1 (f. 66v).⁵¹ The reconstructed layout in Figure 4 presents a familiar appearance (original page 13.7/8 × 21.5 cm).⁵²

Manuscript 12. The eleventh-century Armenian manuscript Yerevan, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran), 9650 has the complete Gospel of John, with *hermeneiai*. As Bernard Outtier has shown,⁵³ its *sortes* match some of those in Codex Bezae and Par. lat. 11553; it is now apparent that correspondences also occur with the Syriac London, BL, Add. 17119. Like the other

⁴⁸ Renhart 2009, 215–32; Renhart 2015, 59–80. Digital images at: http://manuscripta.at/m1/hs_detail.php?ID=24789 (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁴⁹ I am indebted to Erich Renhart at the University Library in Graz, who kindly shared with me his research prior to publication.

⁵⁰ Childers 2017, 256–58.

⁵¹ See Outtier 1996, 76; Outtier 1993, 182.

⁵² Renhart 2009, 223.

⁵³ Outtier 1996, 76.

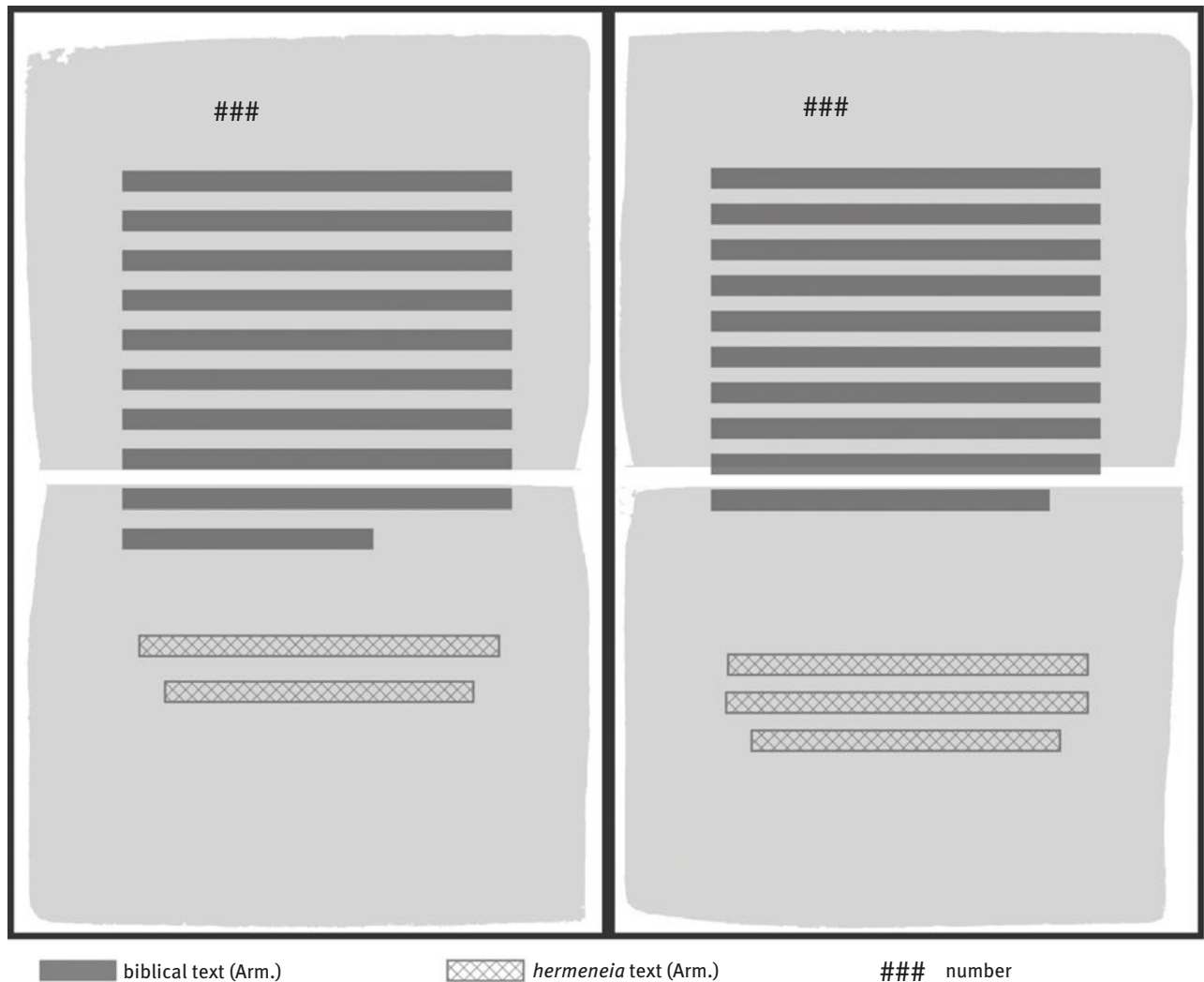


Figure 4: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 2058/2

witnesses with a segregated layout, it locates its *sortes* at the bottom of each page, connecting them with specific portions of John’s text, as Figure 5 illustrates.

Two manuscripts do not formally belong to this category due to the absence of definite *sortes* and the term *hermeneia*. However, certain features of these fragments have aroused suspicions that they derive from *hermeneia* manuscripts. The seventh- or eighth-century papyrus manuscript, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, H. Dunscombe Colt Collection, P.Colt 4 (GA \mathfrak{P}^{60} , van Haelst 460; TM 61677; LDAB 2828; P.Ness. 2, 4) consists of 20 fragmentary folios of the Greek text of Ioh. 16–19.⁵⁴ Since no *hermeneia* are visible, it may not belong in this set of witnesses. However,

its characteristics bear a strong comparison with the other *hermeneia* manuscripts, especially P.Colt 3.⁵⁵ As with the others in this category, a new sentence or thought begins at the top of each page. Each of the diminutive leaves, now about 9×8 cm, lacks the bottom portion—perhaps not surprising, since it emerged from the ground as a mud-caked mass. Only a few short lines of gospel text occur on each page, with occasional blank spaces beneath the text. If, as it appears, P.Colt 4 is a *hermeneia* manuscript that has lost the bottom portion and its oracular material, its original layout would have been similar to the others. The eighth-century parchment leaf Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P.Vindob. G 26084 (GA 0256; van

⁵⁴ Casson/Hettich 1950, 94–111.

⁵⁵ Joseph van Haelst classified them together, saying about this manuscript that “les pages comportaient des oracles bibliques” (van Haelst 1976, 167).



Figure 5: Yerevan, Matenadaran 9650

Haelst 446; TM 61686; LDAB 2837) is also similar.⁵⁶ It contains brief portions of Ioh. 6. Its layout and spacing have led to the conjecture that it may once have been part of a *hermeneia* codex (now 4 × 4 cm), though no *hermeneia* is visible.⁵⁷

The twelve manuscripts indisputably belonging to this category show that specialized codices with both the text of John and a complex system of oracular *hermeneiai* may not have been uncommon in times past. These divining gospels were of sufficient number and distribution to have left significant, albeit often fragmentary traces in different languages. They seem to have achieved a standard form no later than about the fifth century, presumably first in Greek, with earliest surviving attestation coming from Egypt. The codices were typically of John alone, without other gospels or books, and often had rather unusual page

layouts. Given the amount of space that scribes appear to waste for the sake of segregating specific portions of the Gospel and their attached *hermeneiai* together, either the book's meaning or its practical use must have dictated page layout, possibly both. As I have shown elsewhere,⁵⁸ those who constructed these books grouped certain *hermeneiai* with particular portions of John's Gospel text due to thematic or terminological resonances. However, it is likely that the practice of sortilege itself also helped determine the pattern that recurs throughout this body of witnesses, since this layout—including the assigned numbers, in some instances—would facilitate the selection of particular pages as part of the process of divination. The Armenian witnesses echo the “standard” early form evident in the most ancient Greek and Greco-Coptic evidence.

⁵⁶ Niederwimmer 1965, 10–11. Digital images at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002206> (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁵⁷ van Haelst 1976, 163.

⁵⁸ Childers 2017, 260–62; see also Wilkinson, forthcoming.

4.3 Manuscript with original *hermeneiai* and integrated layout

Manuscript 13. One extant witness is suggestive of a second major class of divining gospel, in which the *sortes* have been fully integrated into the Gospel text. This unique codex is in the process of being edited.⁵⁹ The Syriac London, BL, Add. 17119 contains the gospel of John on 83 parchment leaves, in a regular estrangela hand of the sixth or seventh century.⁶⁰ This compact volume (about 22 × 13 cm) has no Ammonian/Eusebian sections, no harmony at the bottom of the folios, and no *shāhē*, the ancient chapter divisions commonly found in Syriac Gospel manuscripts.⁶¹ No liturgical notes appear. The absence of these typical features is striking, and it further differentiates the manuscript as unusual in its production. Most distinctive of all, the manuscript includes 308 numbered and rubricated *hermeneiai*,⁶² called *puššāqē* in Syriac (ܩܘܨܩܐ), as we have seen. But they are actually integrated into the main Gospel text, in the same hand and script, though in red ink (Figure 6). A number of examples have already been presented, showing that many of its *sortes* match those occurring throughout the tradition, in content, placement, order, and number. Apart from the fact that this codex contains the most complete, legible, and generally oldest set of *hermeneiai* discovered so far, one of its most striking features is its unique layout.

What would account for this integrated structure? In comparison with the other codices surveyed above, this editor has reduced blank space and minimized wasted leaves by consolidating the text. The result is a page with multiple *hermeneiai*, but one whose form also contributes to the sense that the *hermeneiai* and the biblical text are tightly connected, basically inseparable. In the previous examples, single bodies of text and *hermeneiai* are separated into distinct pages in ways that must have facilitated their divinatory use. Perhaps the practitioner of the Syriac book could rely on the numbering system alone when seeking *sortes*, without the need for the same segregation that we see in

⁵⁹ For further discussion of the manuscript see Childers, forthcoming.

⁶⁰ See Wright 1870, 71–72.

⁶¹ The only other Syriac manuscript known to contain only the Gospel of John is Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library, Syr. 176 (dated 1091/92, 1491/92, or 1591/92), a manuscript having the Harklean text of John and the Harklean Masora. See Goshen-Gottstein 1979, 110–11; Juckel 2006, 107–21. I am indebted to Andreas Juckel for unpublished information on Peshitta and Harklean manuscripts that have been collated for the *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior*.

⁶² The first six are actually missing due to a defect at the beginning of the manuscript.

the examples above. Unfortunately, the mechanics of these books' usage remain vague, so that we are left to speculate. But the result of the Syriac layout is that this book associates its oracular material even more intimately with the gospel text. What may have started as a kind of annotation transforming the function of the Gospel quickly developed into a standard part of the structure of special books, as we saw in the previous category; and now, here, the material that was once external to the text and appended to the bottom of the page has actually been fused with the text.

4.4 Manuscripts with secondary *hermeneia* material

A final major category of divining gospel incorporates secondary divinatory material. Two surviving codices are known to fit this classification.

Manuscript 14. Par. lat. 11553 [Beuron 7; g1], also known as Sangermanensis 1, is a ninth-century Latin Bible (large, 40 × 32.5 cm) with 185 *hermeneiai*,⁶³ though they are not called such in the manuscript⁶⁴. The statements are in the margins alongside the text of John (ff. 125r–134v) and keyed to sections of that gospel. Their hand is somewhat later than that of the main gospel text, and so it appears likely that the *hermeneiai* are secondary to the original production of the book. The other parts of the Bible in Par. lat. 11553 have no *sortes*. The many connections between this set of Latin *hermeneiai* and those in some of the witnesses described above show that it is reliant upon the same system. The arrangement of the *sortes* places them in the margins, normally numbered, with signs in the text to help delineate the sections (Figure 7). Not every numbered section in John in this manuscript has *hermeneiai*. In the middle of the book, prior to the manuscript's presentation of the Eusebian Canons, a wheel occurs, divided into eight sections and filled with a broken series of numbers leading up to 316 (f. 89v). Although this would appear to be a device to help the diviner select the right response,⁶⁵ the mechanism of its operation is obscure. Some of the numbers in the wheel do not correspond to sections in John with *sortes*, though most do. Figure 7 illustrates the layout.

⁶³ See Harris 1888, 58–63; Harris 1901, 59–74. Digital images at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065958t.r=11553?rk=128756;0> (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁶⁴ Sangermanensis does not use the *hermeneia* formula or headings, with perhaps one exception: the statement numbered 247 (f. 132v) reads, *interpretati causa tibi immanet* in which *interpretati* appears to correspond to ἐρμηνεία. Harris misunderstood the term *interpretati* and corrected it to *insperata* (Harris 1901, 68).

⁶⁵ See Harris 1888, 60–61.

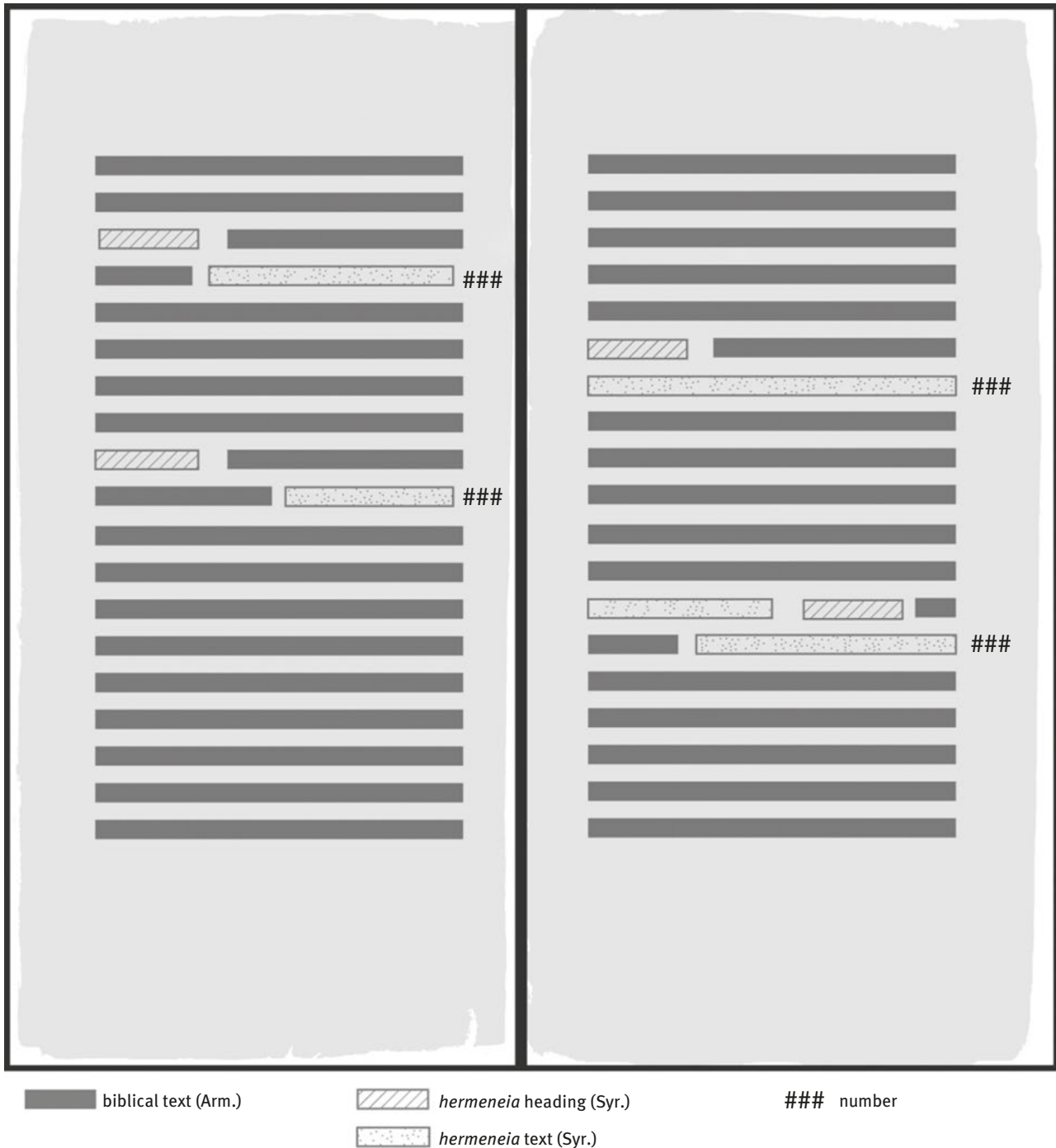


Figure 6: London, BL, Add. 17119

Manuscript 15. One of the most intriguing witnesses is the famed Codex Bezae, Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41 [GA 05; Dd].⁶⁶ As we have already seen, it contains *herme-*

⁶⁶ For an early study of Bezae's *hermeneiai*, see Scrivener 1864, xxvii, 451–2, who did not understand their purpose; J. Rendel Harris studied the manuscript more closely (Harris 1901, 45–74; see also Stegmüller 1953, 13–22; Metzger 1988, 165–7; and Outtier 1996, 74–78).

neiai whose contents and sequence relate closely to many of the others. This Greco-Latin bilingual manuscript of the Gospels and Acts (now 26 × 21.5 cm) was copied in the fifth century, though its set of strictly Greek *hermeneiai* is later. The biblical text is arranged so that the Greek text is on the

Digital images at: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/1> (accessed 16 November 2017).

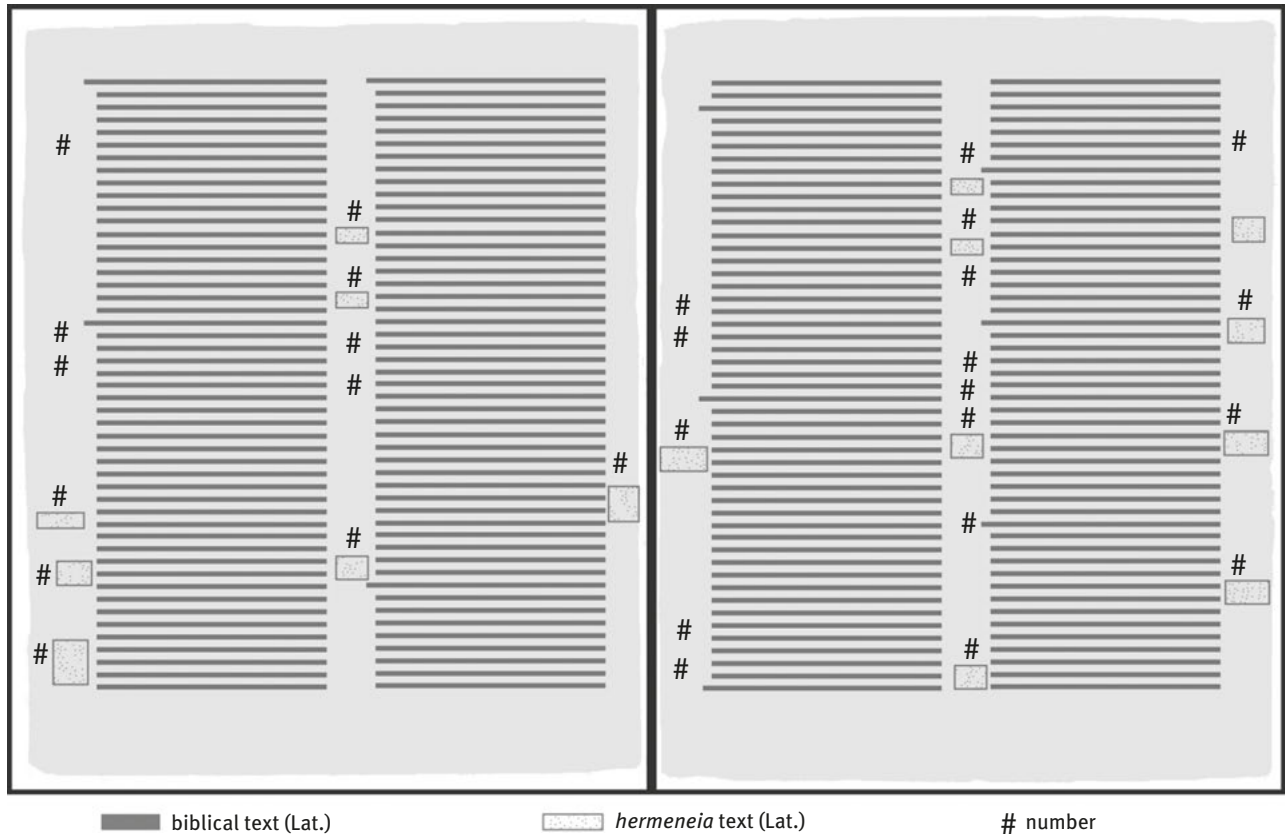


Figure 7: Paris, BnF, lat. 11553

left facing page of the codex and its parallel Latin text on the right. The *hermeneiai* occur on both Greek and Latin pages. Written in a rough hand in the bottom margins of the leaves, these statements have been dated to as early as 550–650 and as late as the ninth or tenth century.⁶⁷ They include the prefatory expression ἐπιῖνα and various distinguishing marks, comprising the staurogram Ϝ. The Greek expressions of the *sortes* are notoriously corrupt and idiosyncratic. They are not numbered, though in sequence they often match other sets, especially in the Syriac and Latin manuscripts. Most unusual, the *hermeneiai* occur in the margins of the Gospel of Mark, not in John. However, Bezae’s “Western” order of the Gospels puts Mark in the fourth position.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the layout is strikingly familiar to that of manuscripts with segregated *hermeneiai*. Like the *hermeneiai* in the Johannine papyri and parchment fragments, Bezae presents only one oracle per page, at the bottom of the page. Perhaps for the editor or copyist who transformed Bezae into a divinatory

tool by incorporating these annotations, the important thing was to recreate the familiar layout, replicating a set of *hermeneiai* at the bottom of the pages of the fourth gospel—despite the fact that this happened to be the Gospel of Mark in this unusual manuscript. Yet considering their rough, unnumbered, and disconnected presentation, it is not unlikely that the *hermeneiai* migrated to the margins of Mark’s Gospel from the margins of a copy of John, or perhaps from a set of the *hermeneiai* circulating independently, albeit in a particular order. In any case, it appears certain that the editor or copyist responsible for adding *hermeneia* to Codex Bezae did so on the basis of a familiar structural model drawn from a more “conventional” divining gospel.

5 Summary of analysis

What impressions may we draw from this corpus of evidence? We know that sortilege involving the biblical text enjoys a long and ancient tradition.⁶⁹ Yet these materials

⁶⁷ David C. Parker prefers the earlier date (Parker 1992, 43, 49), but Bruce C. Metzger dates it to the ninth or tenth century (Metzger 1988, 165–6).

⁶⁸ Outtier 1993, 181.

⁶⁹ See van der Horst 1998, 151–59; Klingshirn 2002, 77–130.

show that highly specialized divinatory books connected to the Gospel of John seem to have become fairly common by the fifth century.⁷⁰ This is evident by the broad dissemination of the witnesses discussed above, but also reinforced by the patristic warnings⁷¹ and repeated canonical proscriptions against the practice of sortition using the biblical text.⁷² For centuries, there must have been a sustained and lively fortune-telling industry using biblical texts in both the East and the West.⁷³ Although Psalters were also popular for this purpose,⁷⁴ codices of the Gospel of John were the vehicle of choice,⁷⁵ and a particular set of *hermeneiai* or *sortes* developed that was adapted to and routinely circulated with the text of John in the form of divining gospels. As I have shown elsewhere, many of the *hermeneiai* resonate strongly with the gospel texts to which they are attached.

In view of this evidence, it would appear that by the fourth century an elaborate system of *sortes* had been devised, almost certainly based on existing pagan models, but deliberately adapted for use in connection with codices of John created specifically for this purpose, i.e. divining gospels. They were probably Greek at first, though popular interest in these tools led to the production of bilingual and vernacular translations. They may have existed as separate volumes before they were added to the pages of Gospel books in order to facilitate this arcane method of interpretation. The fourth- or fifth-century Firenze, Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli,” PSI XIII 1364 (van Haelst 1177; PSI

inv. 2182; TM 64567; LDAB 5797) may support such a conclusion.⁷⁶ One side of this single small (7.5 × 10 cm) parchment folio reads, ερμηνια / μη παρακου / σης του λογου,⁷⁷ a statement that resonates with the Syriac oracle number 17 at Ioh. 1,44, “Interpretation: it will not happen and you will not hear the word” ܠܐܘܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܝܫܝܢ ܕܠܘܓܘܬܐ; London, BL, Add. 17119, f. 5r), and is nearly identical with the rather corrupt form appearing in the 17th position in Codex Bezae: ερμῖνῆα μί παρακουσίς του λογου (Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41, f. 294r). On the other side of the fragment we have ερμηνια / ακολουθη / σον και κα / λως σοι γιγ / νεται, which is nearly the same as Codex Bezae’s next statement, ερμῖνῖαν + ακολουθησον καὶ καλον συ γινετε (f. 294v), and oracle number 18 in the Syriac manuscript at Ioh. 1,46: “pursue [and] it will turn out well for you” (ܠܘܥܘܒܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܐܘܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܝܫܝܢ ܕܠܘܓܘܬܐ; f. 5r). Furthermore, at Ioh. 1,42, oracle number 18 in the Latin codex Sangermanensis reads, *et bene*, a vestige of the same statement (Par. lat. 11553, f. 125v). The interrelationships are clear, since we encounter effectively the same oracles, in the same order, in the same position within the set in at least two or three other witnesses. PSI XIII 1364 (= PSI inv. 2182) is fairly intact. But whether it was originally part of a volume of independent oracles or was cut from a larger leaf—for example one that contained a portion of the text of John—we cannot be sure. Yet it is certainly related to the same system of sortilege as we see throughout the divining gospels.

Whether the system originally circulated independently or not, probably the earliest layout for the divining gospels as such had the requisite passage of John and its paired *hermeneia* segregated onto a single page, as in the first type of evidence discussed above (manuscripts 1–12). Presumably this facilitated the book’s use in sortilege. In time, however, some book producers chose to compress the material, as in the Syriac manuscript, presumably relying solely on a system of numbering in order to use the book, rather than segregation of the *sortes* and page spacing. But others preserved the original segregated layout, as we see in the later Armenian manuscripts. In the celebrated Codex Bezae, these notes have made their way around again to become secondary additions to the

70 The practice and earliest tools may have originated in Egypt, as so many magical traditions did, from which the phenomenon became more widespread. The fact that the most ancient extant witnesses happen to come from Egypt does not mean the phenomenon itself originated there, however.

71 For example, see criticisms in Augustine and Chrysostom, helpfully discussed in Gamble 1997, 237–40; Sanzo 2014, 161–64.

72 See the Syriac *Admonitions for Monks* attributed to Rabbula of Edessa (411–35) and the rules attributed to Jacob of Edessa († 708), that explicitly prohibit using the Gospels, Psalms, and “the lots of the Apostles” in this way as well (texts in Vööbus 1960, 31, 95).

73 See Charlemagne’s 789 prohibition against divination and the use of the Gospels or Psalms for sortilege (*Duplex Legationis Edictum* 20, MGH, *Capit.* 2.1:64; the reference and helpful discussion are in Klingshirn 2002, 110).

74 On *hermeneia* in Armenian and Georgian Psalters, see Outtier 1993, 182.

75 The long association of the material with John’s Gospel is underscored by a unique occurrence in *Puṣṣāqā* 62 at Ioh. 5,3, which quotes a portion of Ioh. 5,14 as the oracle: ܠܘܥܘܒܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܝܫܝܢ ܕܠܘܓܘܬܐ (“behold you are well, do not sin,” f. 15v). Sangermanensis 1 (f. 126v) and Codex Bezae (f. 318r) have nearly identical statements, albeit in Latin and Greek, respectively. See also Harris 1901, 64, n. 1.

76 See van Haelst 1976, 355, number 1177. Digital images at: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;13;1364> (accessed 16 November 2017). Another possible witness is the lost Firenze, Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli,” PSI I, p. VI, a papyrus fragment from Oxyrynchus of unspecified date, identified by Girolamo Vitelli (see van Haelst 1976, 354, number 1172) and apparently containing a single Greek oracle statement with no gospel text. It was not edited and is presumably lost.

77 Text as given by van Haelst 1976, 355.

margin of an entirely different text, attesting to the endurance of the primitive form.

Just as the aforementioned proscriptions against sortilege are aimed at clergy, it is likely that the users of the *hermeneia* manuscripts were clerical. Yet we do not know how the users of these tools would be approached by inquirers or how the diviner would correlate the inquirer's concerns to particular responses. Clear instructions accompany the *Sortes Astrampsychi*⁷⁸ and practitioners of the *Sortes sanctorum* used a prescribed system of die-casting or knucklebones. None of the surviving *hermeneia* witnesses include these sorts of instructions and the surviving evidence is rife with puzzling corruptions and inconsistencies. Yet the patterns of ordering and thematically distributing the *sortes* indicate a more elaborate system than that of simply turning to passages at random (for example, *sortes biblicae*), as do the sporadic systems of numbers. The occasional intrusions of topical headings into the *sortes* reinforce the theory that inquirers addressed their queries to specific topics,⁷⁹ though topics of a more general sort than we see in *Astrampsychi*, the statements in which are more pointed. Whereas in the divining gospels the *sortes* former prefer to speak in terms of a “thing, matter, affair,” the *sortes* of *Astrampsychi* focus on particular situations. Specific questions were probably not a part of the divinatory apparatus from which the divining gospels drew; they may have been more like *Sortes sanctorum*, another ancient Christianized tool for sortition, whose statements are often longer and more florid, but also very general in focus.⁸⁰ When consulting someone with a divining gospel, an inquirer's questions may have been specific, but the sortilege apparatus welcomes a general approach to the process of divination. Still, we are at a loss to know for certain precisely how these tools were used. Indeed, we are only just beginning to study this material as a corpus. The process of preparing an edition of the material in the Syriac London, BL, Add. 17119 is underway, at which point more thorough comparative analyses will be possible.

⁷⁸ Stewart, 1995, 135–47; see also the discussion and translation by Randall Stewart and Kenneth Morell in Hansen (ed.) 1988, 285–324.

⁷⁹ Topical headings are evident here and there in the *hermeneiai* of the Syriac manuscript London, BL, Add. 17119, in Codex Bezae and in Sangermanensis 1. On the latter two, see Harris 1901, 70–71. None of these witnesses provides a full list of topics, but the apparently accidental intrusions of topical headings into the material show the close interrelationship of the material and its shared ancestry.

⁸⁰ On the *Sortes sanctorum* see Klingshirn 2002, 94–98; Naether 2010, 303; cf. Cartelle/Guardo 2004, 20–26.

6 Conclusion

Scripture has always enjoyed a central status and authority within the Christian tradition. However, the ecclesially sanctioned literary and dramatic contexts of its use—for example commentaries, homilies, and liturgies—provide only a partial glimpse into the diverse function of Scripture within historic communities of textual practice. The analysis of ancient bibles as material objects inhabiting a living tradition supplies another and often overlooked perspective. From vestigial traces in several different languages and in monuments of diverse provenances, we see that the synthesis of gospel and *hermeneiai* created distinctive artifacts. From a fairly early period, some communities produced and used divining gospels, i.e. copies of John's Gospel that included explicit and sophisticated divinatory content. This material, by which the book's user could gain guidance in response to their questions, draws much of its potency from its residence in the sacred material object. Furthermore, in these books, the gospel text and the specialized notes appended to it fused, facilitating a different sort of hermeneutic and synthesizing a somewhat subversive authority. Though unconventional by sanctioned ecclesial standards, the users of these divining gospels were “interpreters,” bringing Scripture to bear on the pressing questions and daily lives of common Christian folk, outside the official contexts of liturgical practice and theological deliberation.⁸¹

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⁸¹ For further discussion on this point, see Childers, forthcoming.

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Written evidence in the Italian Giant Bibles: Around and beyond the sacred text

1 “Accessory annotations” in manuscript volumes: Italian Giant Bibles as a case study

The practice of “occasionally writing in already written books”¹ (on guard leaves and in margins, or on portions of pages which were originally left partially or entirely blank) occurred widely and extensively in medieval book production, particularly in the Latin West.² Indeed, not infrequently, and often layered one on top of another, a broad and erratic range of “accessory contents” of various kinds and length was inserted in spaces which were not occupied by the “principal content.” Such writings were executed in a sporadic manner, and sometimes by individuals who appear to have been seized by a fit of *horror vacui*. The notes may be added in a highly organized and planned way, or alternatively seem rather messy or even downright anarchic in appearance. Attempts made to classify this multiform and complex galaxy with extreme opposite poles—ranging from systematic comments distributed around the text in a carefully planned way, to extemporaneous doodling executed by an unsteady hand in order to test out a pen—have focused on 1) the content of the notes and their connection (both direct and indirect) to the main text, or conversely their extraneousness to it; 2) the either carefully planned or rather casual positioning of them on a particular page or within a book; and 3) the chronological relationship of the notes to the main text, either contemporary with, or added at a later point in time subsequent to the moment in which the volume was originally prepared. Unfortunately, the effort made to consolidate these approaches into a unified organic vision cannot be said to have

succeeded,³ a state of affairs confirmed by the absence of a lexicon capable of precisely and unambiguously identifying the phenomenon’s various manifestations. Therefore, for the sake of clarity, from hereon in throughout this contribution the terms “writings” or “accessory annotations” will be consistently employed when referring to any writing, musical notation, symbols, drawings or doodles that do not form a part of a codex’s principal content, irrespective of their nature, aim, relationship to the text or chronological rank.

On account of the various forms it has taken and the different ways and contexts in which it has been employed, the Bible as a codex is without doubt the book in which the use and re-use of spaces not occupied by the sacred text—entirely transcribed as a single volume, or far more often in the form of individual books or series of books—occurs with the greatest frequency and in the widest variety. An analysis of manuscripts belonging to a specific category of Bible—the so-called “Giant Bibles” or “Atlantic Bibles”—therefore enables us to examine the full range of traces left on them by artisans, copyists, coeval or successive readers, owners, librarians and various other users of the book, not just as a support of a text, but also (or sometimes solely) as a custodial “receptacle” of entries or recorded memories to be conserved and transmitted to future generations.

Italian Giant Bibles are surely the most impressive chapter in Italian Romanesque book production. More than a hundred copies were manufactured between Rome and Tuscany over a relatively short period of time (spanning from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century). They represent instances of the few occasions when the text of the Latin Bible (the Old and New Testaments) was systematically condensed into an individual volume or a two-volume book.⁴

1 Petrucci 1999 (with the relevant discussion on pages 1006–10).

2 Here, we shall avoid calling to mind the vast bibliography that exists in relation to *marginalia*. In order to provide a pertinent overview that addresses a wide range of periods and contexts, it should suffice to refer the reader to Fera et al. 2002. References, albeit not exhaustive, to examples derived from other book traditions can be found in Bausi 2004, Driscoll 2004, and Nikolova-Houston 2009.

Note: I am very grateful to Mark Livesey for the translation of this contribution from Italian into English.

3 I refer in particular to a long essay by Tura 2005. This study, which dwells on issues of an essentially philological nature and is backed up by an extensive, highly varied and amply documented compendium of examples drawn from different contexts and eras, suffers from being somewhat woolly as regards the notion of *marginalia*. It is also affected by a rather schematic application of classification criteria of various kinds (i.e. content, general and specific ends, synchronism of transcriptions and their relationship to the main text, and the authorship of interventions).

4 An updated bibliography of Atlantic Bibles (to which implicit reference is made throughout this article when citing individual volumes)

Giant Bibles can be probably be placed among the supporting pillars of the communication strategy conceived by the so-called “Gregorian Reform”: a strategy motivated by the desire to restore papal control over ecclesiastical institutions weakened by the plagues of simony and concubinage. They are remarkably large volumes (ca. 60 × 40 cm) and were clearly conceived for public display and common reading. Their exceptional size and generously proportioned layout, with the text arranged as two columns elegantly framed by broad margins, and the frequent segmentation of the script into a sequence of physically distinct units, each containing one or more books of the Bible, left a large amount of space available for the insertion of a wide range of coeval and later annotations of various types, purposes and length. Here, I shall attempt to exemplify the variety and range of these accessory annotations by reviewing a number of well-known (and less well-known) cases selected by drawing on descriptions included in the catalogue prepared for a major exhibition of Atlantic Bibles held in the year 2000.⁵ A close examination of a group of manuscripts and microfilms assembled for the occasion of the same exhibition—and kept at the University of Cassino—will also be drawn on. I shall not, however, aim for exhaustiveness, a task made impossible not only by a lack of available space, but also a dearth of research material, and hence of systematic findings that specifically relate to the annotations present in individual witnesses of Atlantic Bibles.⁶

2 Annotations correlated to the history and contents of the book

By adopting as a guiding criterion the content of the accessory annotations (rather than their physical position within the codex), a distinction can be made between

can be found in a recent survey by Maniaci/Orofino 2013; see also Maniaci/Orofino 2016 and the whole Togni (ed.) 2016. The hypotheses concerning the identity of the makers and patrons of the Bibles, and their ways of manufacture will not be discussed in this context (see most recently the problematic reconstruction by Yawn 2015 and 2015a).

⁵ See Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000 (individual descriptions will hereinafter be cited with the names of the authors in brackets).

⁶ An exhaustive survey would represent a long and highly arduous, if not impossible, task, and would involve examining degraded microfilms, which not infrequently—given the large dimensions of the Atlantic codices—fail to include reproductions of some of the areas lying outside the manuscripts’ written area, including some parts of the manuscripts’ margins.

1) writings correlated in some way, both synchronically and diachronically, to the history of the manuscript and its content, and 2) occasional micro-texts (*microtesti avventizi*), that is to say—in the words of a well known definition formulated by Armando Petrucci—“writings extraneous to the text or to the texts around which they are placed.”⁷

To the first category belongs any information relating to the materials the Bibles were made from, the copy of the text, and specific or implicit references to the individuals involved in the manufacturing process (commissioners, artisans, scribes and correctors, illuminators and rubricators). Some of the most ancient Bibles (originating from Rome), which arrived quite early on at various transalpine religious seats, contain explicit references to foreign lay and ecclesiastical commissioners of high rank. Among these historical figures, the emperor Henry IV stands out, whose name, accompanied by the title *rex* (which confirms that the codex was manufactured prior to the imperial coronation in 1084), is registered some fifty-eight times by a slightly later hand than those which executed the copy of the text contained in the sole surviving volume of the so-called “Hirsau Bible” (München, BSB, Clm 13001), created for the new Benedictine abbey of Saint Aurelius at Hirsau (founded in 1059) (Figure 1).⁸

An explicit reference to an illustrious client—in this case an ecclesiastical figure—can be found in another well-known Atlantic testimonial “of early times,” namely the Atlantic Bible of Geneva (Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, lat. 1 [*olim* BPU, lat. 1]), which was bequeathed to the clergy of St Peter’s cathedral by Frederick, the local Reform bishop. Frederick served until about 1073, and was renowned as the donor of a group of twenty-five manuscripts (to which the Bible itself was added). The reference, dating from the eleventh century, is found on the last page of the codex (f. 417v) and takes the form of a note placed under the final column of the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁹ Rather more difficult to interpret is the identity

⁷ Petrucci 1999, 983.

⁸ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 114–20 (Larry Ayres); see also a more recent, brief presentation by Maniaci 2014. The Bible, for which an adequately detailed description does not currently exist, is certainly worthy of being made the subject of a specific contribution. An outstanding digital reproduction of the codex can be viewed at <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00059101/images/> [accessed 16 November 2017].

⁹ The note describes the contents of the collection proffered by the bishop—an exceptional group of volumes containing texts of a liturgical, philosophical-theological and judicatory nature, integrated by various Latin classics—and is followed by a brief poetic text composed in Leonine hexameters, and finally a list of the canons of

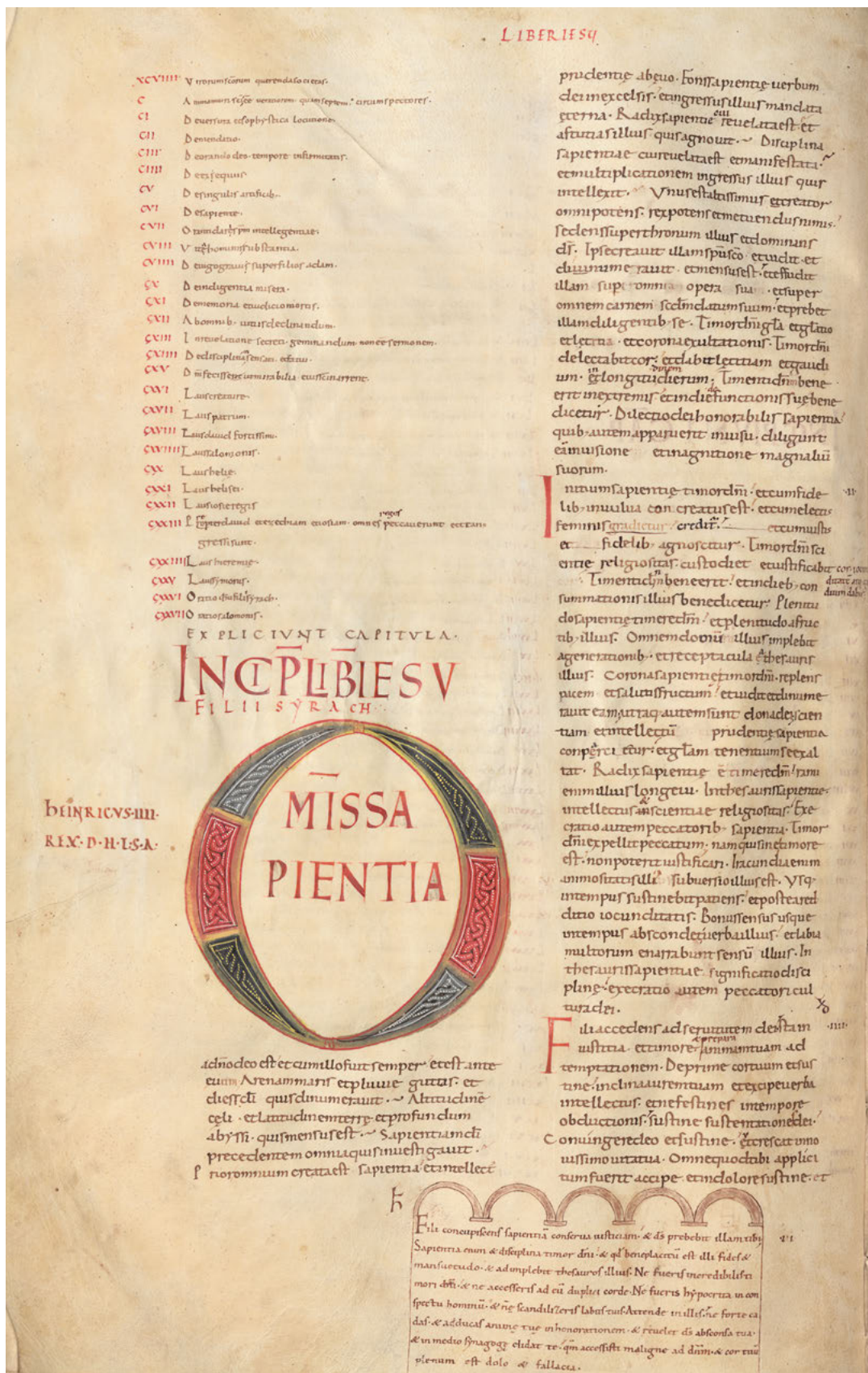


Figure 1: München, BSB, Clm 13001, f. 42v: reference to "Heinricus rex" in the margin – interlinear and marginal corrections (© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München)

of Odalricus—the abbot of St. Mangs at Füssen, or an abbot of the same name at Saint Gall, or perhaps more likely a prominent figure in the German court who was a patron of a local religious community?—who describes himself as *summis principibus notus* in the lengthy handwritten inscription found at the end of the Book of Daniel (f. 167v) in the first of the three volumes into which the “Palatine Bible” (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Pal. lat. 3–4–5) is currently divided.¹⁰ Conversely, no doubts exist as regards the commissioners and artisans responsible for the production of the so-called “Calci Bible” (Calci, Museo nazionale della Certosa monumentale, s.n., olim Pisa, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo).¹¹ The Bible’s manufacture began in 1168 (almost a century after the most ancient Atlantic Bibles were produced); it was made for the Pisan monastery of St. Vitus, thanks to a collective contribution raised by members of a local community. The fundraising was coordinated by *presbiter* Gerardus, the author of an inscription of exceptional length, structure and richness of detail (visible on f. 231r of the fourth volume) (Figure 2).

The inscription lists, almost all by name, the financial backers of the codex, their respective donations and individual motivations, the costs of the raw materials used, the names of the copyists and illuminators, and the fees paid for their services.¹² In addition, a record referring to an unknown donor named “Bençevenne,” in all likelihood a layperson, can be seen on f. 279v of the late Roma, BNC, Sessor. 2.¹³

St. Peter’s cathedral. The text has been transcribed and extensively discussed by Togni 2008, 85–107.

10 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 120–26 (Lucinia Speciale). The arguments developed by Speciale (p. 126) and taken up by Yawn 2010, 217 and n. 115, and Yawn 2011, 140 (and also in a more generalised form by Condello 2005, 370) to support the hypothesis that Odalricus was indeed the lay donor (perhaps associated with the coterie of the emperor Henry IV) are not entirely convincing.

11 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 303–10 (Antonia D’Aniello); see also Laura Violi’s Master’s thesis (Violi 2011) and more recently Russo (ed.) 2014 (and Violi 2014 in it).

12 The well-known note was published by Berg 1968, 226–27. It was revisited (and a commentary added) by Tristano 2005, 21–24, and again, more recently, by Violi 2012 and Feo 2014. Rather more fragmentary and considerably less insightful, but probably insertable within the same context, are references to the likely financial backers found in the margins of the Bible Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 722 (in relation to which see Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 312–15: 314 [Lucinia Speciale], and lastly Condello 2005, 371). Additionally, Lucinia Speciale in Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 315–18: 318 points out sporadic arithmetic notation, somewhat questionably interpreted as reckonings for payments to be made to various painters, in the margins of Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 723, owned by Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), the Tuscan humanist and man of letters (see ff. 4r and 6r).

13 See the recent work by Bischetti 2014: 152 and pl. 9 (<http://www.fupress.net/index.php/scrineum/article/view/15370> [accessed 16 November 2017]).

Apart from hints offered by palaeographical and codicological analyses, very little explicit information relating to the organisation of the work required to produce a massive single volume—an extraordinarily complex and demanding task—has come down to us. The information that has survived consists of isolated examples of guidelines and instructions for rubricators that were destined to be eliminated during the trimming phase: they are, however, still partially visible in the “Geneva Bible,”¹⁴ in the “San Crisogono Bible” (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 4220),¹⁵ or, in a more systematic way, in the “Lucca Bible” (Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, 1), the late product of—by the mid-twelfth century at this point—an outmoded local revival-type manufacture.¹⁶

Much more frequently seen—the obvious result of a widespread and shared practice—is evidence of the intense revision work often carried out by coeval hands (but sometimes, as we shall see, executed at a later date) on the text of the Giant Bibles. This situation is not altogether surprising, if one pauses to consider that the production of a substantial number of complete Bibles in the form of one or two volumes, especially when sustained (as is entirely plausible) by ideological demands, would inevitably have required a laborious selection and adaptation of the adopted textual models, most likely available to the scribes and correctors in the form of individual volumes containing books or sequences of the holy Scriptures, rather than as complete single volume Bibles. Without doubt, those concerned were confronted with a difficult task in terms of text preparation. Even if one cannot speak of a “true edition”¹⁷ in the strict sense, visible traces of a

[fupress.net/index.php/scrineum/article/view/15370](http://www.fupress.net/index.php/scrineum/article/view/15370) [accessed 16 November 2017]).

14 Larocca 2011, 66–69, with a detailed discussion of the meaning of the notes.

15 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 176–81 (Giuliana Ancidei); along the lower margin of f. 79r one can read “lib(er) Iudic(um): Post morte(m)”: the precept corresponds only approximately to the complete formula adopted in the codex (“Incip(it) liber Sophim idest iudicum. Post mortem”).

16 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 319–23 (Nicolangelo D’Acunto); according to the compiler of the description, the author of the instructions, in conjunction with the rubricator, positioned the headings, *incipit* and *explicit* in the upper margin, or alternatively—as I have deduced from the available microfilms, which are sadly of very poor quality—beside the decorated initials.

17 The presence of significant variations in the sequence and selection of volumes, in the choice of lessons, in the subdivision of chapters, and in the formulation of prologues certainly calls for a reconsideration (even in the absence of an in-depth study of the Atlantic Bibles’ text) of the noted opinion of Berger 1893, 141–42. Lobjrichon 2000, 15–23 proposes to identify, through an analysis of a small group of ancient Atlantic Bibles, three distinct phases of work on the text

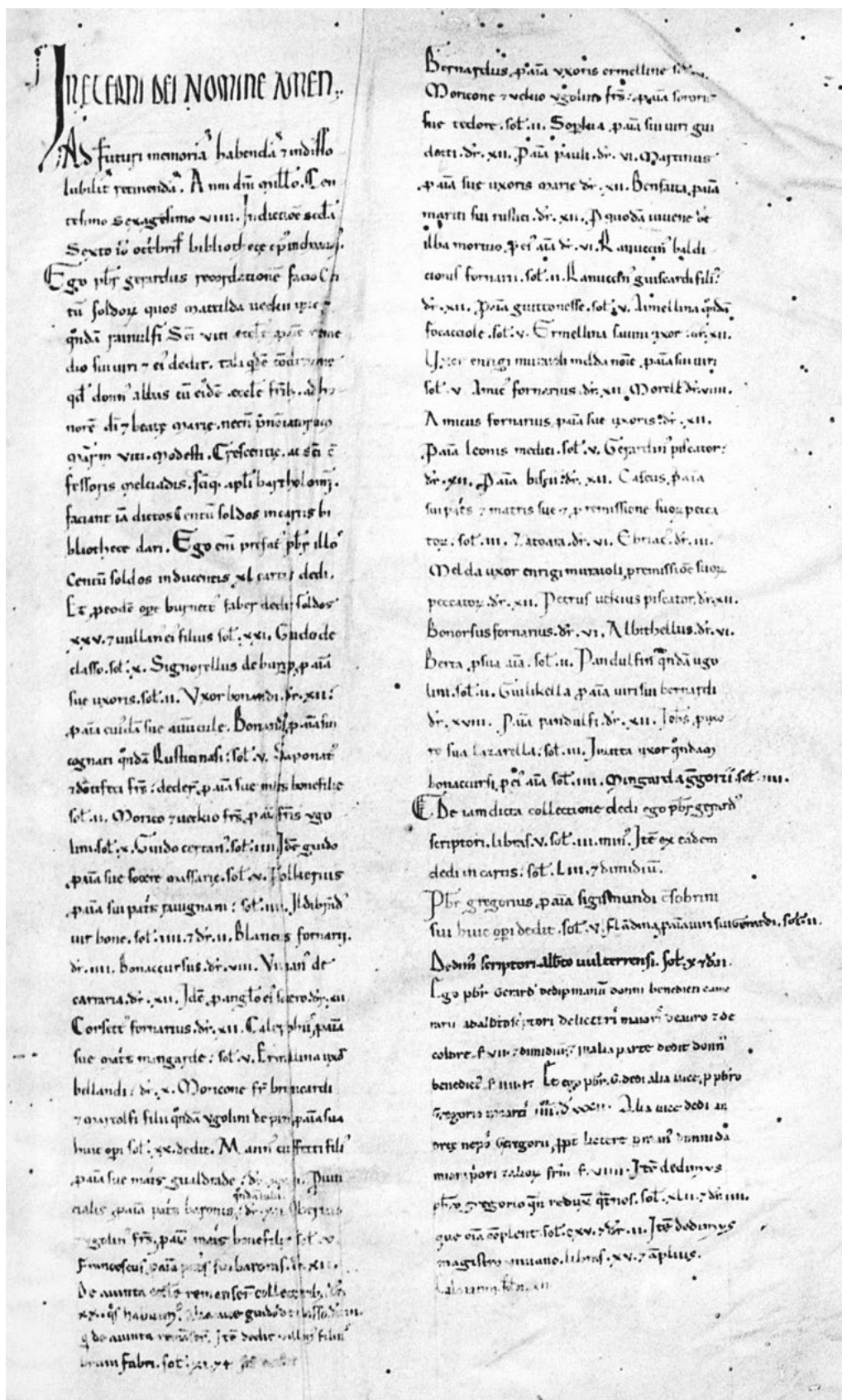


Figure 2: Calci, Museo nazionale della Certosa monumentale, Bibbia, vol. IV, f. 231r: inscription by *presbiter* Gerardus (© MiBAC – Soprintendenza Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le province di Pisa e Livorno)

“concrete editorial effort”¹⁸ were certainly left (above all in the most ancient witnesses, which bear “in progress” texts that are in a state of flux). Such texts show frequent signs of indecisiveness and rethinking, and are often replete with corrections and integrated fragments, together with substitutions of readings drawn from different sources, all of which occupy empty spaces or are appended to areas where deletions had been made. Among the most heavily amended prototypical Giant Bibles there is no lack of higher quality ones sponsored by high ranking patrons, or even by exalted figures, such as the young emperor Henry IV: the pages of the “Hirsau Bible”—which serves as an example of a widespread practice—provide ample proof of careful re-reading of a base-text that was riddled with errors and generally of poor quality, and therefore in need of in-depth correction (of both words and grammar) and the frequent insertion of missing passages, sometimes of considerable length, which were placed in margins and between text columns.¹⁹ Almost all ancient witnesses present with interventions on both form and substance, and some of them—a feature which attests to their prototypical nature—contain corrections inserted between lines and in margins that are systematic and large in number. Besides being materially apparent on the page, the work carried out by revisers on the text was occasionally documented by explicit declarations, such as one appended to the lower margin of a page (f. 190v) of one of the most ancient witness of all: again, the “Geneva Bible.”²⁰ The revision work is not limited to the sacred text, since at times it also extends to the addition of para-textual elements, as demonstrated by the insertion of prologues and *capitula* in the margins of the Bible conserved in Firenze, BML, Laur. Plut. 15.10 (which also belongs among the most ancient testimonies) by a hand contemporary with those responsible for the transcription of the text.²¹ The great effort expended by coeval revisers on the manufacture of Bibles, in which scholars of the sacred text identify (between the middle of the eleventh and the first two decades of the twelfth century) the alternation of multiple work phases characterised by a continual chipping

(generating, in turn, as many “editions”), based on the use of various combinations of copies originating from the Italian, Spanish and Carolingian traditions.

18 Condello 2005, 359.

19 In the absence of specific research, it is impossible to subdivide and assign responsibility for textual errors among the copyists and the models they worked from.

20 Togni 2008.

21 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 230–36 (Sabina Magrini). In relation to the integrative work carried out on the prologues, see, for example, ff. 197r (Daniel), 207r (Joel), 208r (Amos).

and changing of editorial choices,²² merits a systematic, in-depth study of all the ancient Atlantic Bibles that have come down to us. Such a study should be focused not only on a reconstruction of the ideological and philological strategies employed in the treatment of the biblical text, but also on the definition, which is still subject to debate, of the material and intellectual working environments of the scribes and correctors, of the methods adopted by them, and the characteristics of the models at their disposal. After the first two decades of the twelfth century, an exhaustion of the initial ideological impetus produced, not by chance, a clear reduction in interventions on the text, which thereafter were chiefly confined to the correction of material copying errors, still expressly documented at the height of the thirteenth century—thus well after the typology’s extinction—in the already mentioned Lucca Bible 1, by the annotation *inscultatus et emendatus* written in chancery script by a coeval reviser at the end of each quire.²³

To the wealth of both para- and extra-textual testimonies, which in various ways refer to the manufacture and writing of the Giant Bibles, can be added a range of notes that document the ways in which they were read and used—ways that often endured, in various forms, for protracted periods stretching over hundreds of years. Inasmuch as Atlantic Bibles were conceived for exhibition purposes and public proclamations of the sacred word on solemn occasions, they often show prefaces, summaries and lists of *capitula* (the comparative study of which could provide valuable insights into the origins of the typology). They were also furnished with copious notes of a liturgical nature, often put down in layers over the centuries.²⁴ Successive sequences of textual subdivisions, modified over time in accordance with the varying preferences of the reformers or changes in liturgical use, can be seen in numerous specimens:²⁵ for example, the

22 See Lobrichon 2000, in particular, p. 19 onwards.

23 See Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 322. The annotation is not visible on the microfilm, since the margins were not fully reproduced when the image was made.

24 On the variety of liturgical uses that the Bible was put to in medieval times, see the recent compendium by Boynton (eds.) 2011, 10–33.

25 The presence of liturgical annotations is repeatedly recorded in the descriptions contained in Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, e.g. for the following Bibles: Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, lat. 1 (111–14 [Larry Ayres]); San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Guarnieriana, I–II (139–44 [Cesare Scaloni]); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 10404 (173–76 [Giuliana Ancidei]); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 10405 (158–62 [Lucinia Speciale]); Vat. lat. 4220–4221 (176–81 [Giuliana Ancidei]), with mention made, among other things, of a lesson for the Feast of St. Peter in Chains, on vol. II, f. 110v); Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 4217A (248–250 [Maddalena Signorini]); Firenze, BML,

Book of Genesis, which in the earliest Atlantic Bibles is divided into 46 chapters, increases to 60 chapters over time, whilst the chapters composing the Book of Revelation were halved from 47–48 to 23–25.²⁶ In more than one case the original textual arrangement was superseded by a modernised chapter sequence attributed to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, who was active at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Sometimes interpretations dating from various periods would be appended, as in the aforementioned Laur. 15.10 (ff. 337rb, 151r–152v, 175v–176r). An *Ordo lectionum officii* ascribable to the second half of the twelfth century occupies the blank leaf immediately following the end of the Book of Job in the already mentioned “Geneva Bible,”²⁷ whilst more discursive glosses elsewhere provide recommendations on passages to read, including introductions and *capitula*, such as the note appended to f. 3v of the “Parma Bible” (Figure 3):

*Lectio prima in septuagesima. Sed capitula non leguntur. Ita incipit optimus lector Incipit prologus sancti hieronimi presbyteri in libro genesi. Quo completo incipiat In principio creavit deus celum et terra [sic]. Vsque in signum secunde lectionis postea per ordinem,*²⁸

or alternatively proscribe the reading of specific passages in the refectory, as, for example, in the concise exhortation inscribed between columns on Paris, BnF, Par. lat. 104, f. 123v: *hic non debent legere in refectoria*. Public use of the Bibles as part of liturgical practice is also confirmed by the insertion of antiphons (for example, in Vat. Pal. lat. 4, f. 125r, *incipit* of the Book of Ester), or the recurrent addition of the complete musical notation to accompany the text of Jeremiah’s Lamentations, sung in the Triduum of Holy Week during the first nocturne of

Matins.²⁹ Occasionally, as in Laur. Plut. 15.19,³⁰ provision is made for liturgical reading aloud by the inclusion of tonal accents on words in passages which are particularly difficult to spell.

The wide range of indications left by anonymous readers in the margins of the Bibles (as in other types of manuscript) provides evidence of a different way—also of frequent occurrence and protracted duration, albeit in more desultory contexts and circumstances—in which the “giant” tomes were used. Such indications include *maniculae* of various kinds,³¹ *notabilia* and the adverb *hic* (written in full to highlight specific passages),³² reading notes,³³ and translations of certain terms from Latin into the vernacular (for example the Latin-Friulian gloss *pater est pay* inserted in the fifteenth century in the initial *O* of *Osculetur* on f. 12r of the second volume of the “San Daniele Bible”).³⁴ The practice of annotating and amending the text by furnishing it with *variae lectiones* endured over time, even after a volume’s initial production.

The scarcity of annotations that provide information on persons, places and circumstances associated with the production of the Giant Bibles (which are limited to a

Laur. Plut. 15.19 (285–288); Calci, Museo nazionale della Certosa monumentale, s.n. [*olim* Pisa, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo] (303–10 [Antonia D’Aniello]; see also Violi 2014, 55 and n. 14). The following volumes can also be mentioned: Sion/Sitten, Bibliothèque du chapitre, 15 (Togni 2008, 607–718); Dubrovnik, Dominikanski Samostan, 58 *sub vitro* (Togni 2007); Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 386 (Yawn 2010, 188 n. 49); München, BSB, Clm 13001 (Maniaci – Orofino 2000, 114–20 [Larry Ayres]). The list is only intended to serve as an example.

²⁶ Lobrichon 2000, 21; Lobrichon 2003.

²⁷ The text is edited and commented by Togni 2008, 169–79; on the liturgical use of Giant Bibles more generally, see Togni 2008, 147–255.

²⁸ “First lesson in Septuagesima Sunday, but do not read the *capitula*. Dear reader, this is how it starts: ‘Here begins priest Saint Jerome’s prologue to the book of Genesis’, and the incipit of the text is ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.’ And then (read) in order until the sign of the second lesson”; see Yawn 2010, 188 n. 49.

²⁹ Lobrichon 2000, 17 cites Admont, Stiftsbibliothek C, München, BSB, Clm 13001, Vat. Pal. lat. 3 (erroneously indicated as 4) and Vat. Barb. lat. 587, to which the descriptions in Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000 make it possible to add at least San Daniele del Friuli I–II, Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L 59 and Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, 1. The presence of diasystemic notes appended to Lamentations is brought to our attention by Magistrale 2008, 311. A stave bearing musical notation appears on f. 223v of Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 47 inf. (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 193–96 [Massimiliano Bassetti]: 196).

³⁰ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 285–88 (Sabina Magrini).

³¹ For example, in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 4220–4221 and 4218 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 176–81 [Giuliana Ancidei], and 186–90 [Maddalena Signorini]; Laur. Ashburnham 93 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 296–98 [Valentina Longo]); Firenze, BML, Laur. Edili 125–126 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 271–78 [Laura Alidori, who identifies some eighty-eight]); Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacciana, LXI.8.7 (1) (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 301–12 [Antonino Mastruzzo]: 311).

³² For example, in Vat. lat. 4218 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 186–90 [Maddalena Signorini, who attributes the interventions to a thirteenth-century *ex. hand*]).

³³ For example, in Par. lat. 104 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 155–58 [Émilie Cottureau]); Vat. lat. 10511 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 240–45 [Francesco Magistrale, which reveals the presence of a reader’s note dating from the thirteenth century in documentary script, and one from the fifteenth century in standard cursive script, on ff. 18v, 112v, 172v, 185v and 253v]); Laur. Ashburnham 93 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 296–98 [Valentina Longo]).

³⁴ San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Guarneriana, I–II (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 139–44 [Cesare Scaloni]).



Figure 3: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 386, f. 3v: liturgical annotation (© MIBAC – Parma, Biblioteca Palatina)

few colophons in testimonies of the most recent dating)³⁵ contrasts with the abundance of references to ownership and provenance that can be found in margins or on ancient guard leaves (when these have been preserved). Precious—even if fortuitous—indications concern the history of manuscripts which, despite their considerable weight and awkward size, often (and sometimes very early on) embarked on journeys towards locations that can be quite distant from their place of origin. Among the places mentioned where the codices were conserved are Roman churches (Santa Maria in Vincis³⁶ and Santa Maria del Pantheon,³⁷ the Basilica of San Crisogono in Trastevere),³⁸ and noted and less noted central Italian monasteries, or those of uncertain identity (the dating of the annotations is likewise uncertain). Here, we can mention as examples, from the south heading towards the north, the Calabrian monastery of Santo Stefano di Squillace (evidenced by a note on f. Br of Par. lat. 50, and by an erased *ex libris* on the verso of the same sheet);³⁹ the Camaldolese monasteries of San Veriano di Ajole in the diocese of Arezzo (Laur. Plut. 15.19)⁴⁰ and Santa Croce at Fonte Avellana (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 4216);⁴¹ Santa Marta di Monte Ugo in Florence (Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ricc. 221);⁴² Santa Maria e Gorgone on the eponymous island of Gorgona (“Calci Bible”);⁴³ Santa

Reparata di Castrocaro, close to Forlì (Sessor. 2);⁴⁴ San Benedetto di Polirone in the Mantuan territory (Mantova, Biblioteca comunale, 131 [A V 1]),⁴⁵ and the rectory of the Basilica of Sant’Ambrogio in Milan.⁴⁶ Rather exceptional is the story of a particular Atlantic Bible, which is now held in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 15.1. The so-called “Ávila Bible” travelled to Spain before it had been completed and then, a little later, at an unknown location, underwent further work on its text and illuminations (work which had been left in a state of suspension). Subsequently, in another phase, the text’s original sequence was modified. The Bible’s place of origin and the circumstances surrounding its hasty transfer remain obscure, although a note dating to the fourteenth century on f. 305v records it as belonging to Ávila’s Christ the Saviour cathedral from at least the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷ In some exemplars, which have come down to us through the centuries, there are layers of annotations dating from different eras that attest to a volume’s passing from one religious seat to another: this is true of the “San Daniele Bible,” which from early on can be placed (thanks to a lengthy annotation, about which more will be said later on) at the Basilica of San Ponziano at Spoleto in Umbria, and by the middle of the fifteenth century at the parish church of San Michele and San Daniele, as attested to by an annotation appended to one of the tome’s ancient guard leaves.⁴⁸ Another example is Firenze, BML, Laur. Fesul. 4, which on f. 2r bears the *ex libris* of the Priory of Santa Maria of Fregionaia in the diocese of Lucca, on which another hand a little later on records the volume’s passage to the San Bartolomeo monastery at Fiesole near Florence.⁴⁹ There is another case in which a fifteenth-century note records the transference of the two volumes of the Bible in Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, ex Vindob. lat. 8, from the Paduan congregation of Santa Giustina to the

35 Apart from the already cited “Calci Bible” (see above, n. 25), Vat. lat. 4216 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 281–83 [Knut Berg]), in which the colophon on f. 294 mentions (in reference to the volume’s commissioners) a monarch named Attone and a prior named Savino, and Firenze, BML, Laur. Conv. Soppr. 630 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 279–81 [Knut Berg]), with a lengthy colophon by the scribe Corbolino. A complex colophon in verse, including a questionable dating of 1193, and mention of a copyist named *Ugus* originating from San Ruffillo, appear on f. 352v of Sessor. 2 (Bischetti 2014, 146–52 and Figures. 11 and 11a–g).

36 Vat. lat. 10404 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 173–76 [Giuliana Ancidei]).

37 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 12958 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 262–71 [Lucinia Speciale]); *ex libris* on f. 367v.

38 Vat. lat. 4220–4221 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 176–81 [Giuliana Ancidei]).

39 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 152–55 (Émilie Cottureau): 154. The provenance is attested to by a note appended to f. Br and an (erased) *ex libris* on the verso of the same leaf.

40 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 285–88 (Sabina Magrini), annotations on f. 1r. According to the author of the description, traces of a more ancient note could attest its earlier presence in the Arezzo area.

41 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 281–83 (Knut Berg), *ex libris* on f. 1r.

42 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 260–62 (Giovanna Lazzi), *ex libris* dating from the fourteenth century on f. 1r.

43 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 303–10 (Antonia D’Aniello), *ex libris* on f. 185v of vol. I.

44 Bischetti 2014, annotations written under the colophon (in relation to which see n. 35), on f. 352v.

45 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 229–30 [Giuseppa Z. Zanichelli]), *ex libris* on ff. 1r and 183v. A declaration of ownership by the municipality of Genoa appears on f. 342r of the Bible held in the local public library, Genova, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Sezione di conservazione e raccolta locale m.r. Cf. 3.7 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 136–38 [Larry M. Ayres]).

46 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 193–96 (Massimiliano Bassetti). The *ex libris* is located on the second closing end leaf, with a reaffirmation on f. 224r, and is dated 1418.

47 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 254–57 [José Miguel López Villalba and Adelaida Allo Manero]); Maniaci/Orofino 2012b.

48 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 139–44 (Cesare Scaloni).

49 Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 236–37 (Knut Berg).

Neapolitan monastery of San Severino.⁵⁰ Places that are of doubtful or outright impossible location appear in other Bibles; for example, Civitella, mentioned in a note written in chancery script dating from the end of the thirteenth century on f. 1r of Vat. lat. 4217A, tentatively matched with a location in Romagna in the diocese of Forlimpopoli, the seat of two Benedictine monasteries, rather than the eponymous town close to Arsoli, in the diocese of Tivoli;⁵¹ the unknown parish (Avellano/Vellano in Valdinievole?) dubiously cited on f. 1r of Firenze, BML, Laur. Ashburnham 93;⁵² a church called Santa Maria Maggiore cited in the Bible held in Volterra's municipal library, which can perhaps be identified with a church that once stood on the site where the city's cathedral now stands;⁵³ a church called St Peter—perhaps the anonymous Perugian cathedral?—mentioned in a partially erased note of unclear meaning present on f. 251v of the “Perugia Bible”;⁵⁴ the municipality of Montalcino, the recipient in 1594 (in the name of the vice-chancellor Pietro Agiati) of a gift in the form of the eponymous Bible (Montalcino, Archivio comunale, Fondi diversi, I–II), via the provincial Franciscan Cesare Palmerucci;⁵⁵ the church (or abbey) of San Silano, which is referred to on a fourteenth-century *ex libris* (scarcely visible today) at the beginning of the so-called “second Angelica Bible” (Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Ang. lat. 1273), which has somewhat improbably been linked to the coats of arms of two knights shown in a rather sloppily executed drawing made at a later date in the empty margin on a leaf of the said Bible.⁵⁶

Attestations of ownership can also include references to noted and illustrious figures, such as the Greek theologian, cardinal and bibliophile Bessarione (1403–1472)—whose handwritten Latin and Greek *ex libris* can be seen on the verso of a guard leaf at the beginning of the first volume of the rather refined Bible held in Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. Z 1 (= 1949–1950), which was restored on the request of the same erudite prelate—⁵⁷and the surviving volume of the Atlantic Bible

in Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 723, which belonged to the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), whose attestation of ownership appears at the end of the Old Testament, followed by a record of the codex's acquisition by the heirs of the Florentine humanist (overseen by Antonio di Raniero).⁵⁸ Dating from some three centuries later on, but equally worthy of mention, is the *ex libris* of the bishop of the Apulian town of Troia, Giacomo Emilio Cavalieri (1694–1726). The *ex libris* is printed on paper and positioned on the inner surface of the upper board of the Bible in Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, XV AA 1–2, which represents the cornerstone of a collection of twenty-nine large-format codices all created by the same craftsmen. The codices were donated to the cathedral of the diocese of Troia by bishop Guglielmo (William) II at some point between 1108 and 1137 as a symbol and pledge of their full conviction and adherence to the Reform and of their loyalty to the papacy.⁵⁹ Donor attestations recorded on Atlantic Bibles continue up until the modern era: gift testimonies can be seen on the already mentioned “Santa Maria in Vincis Bible” (Vat. lat. 10404), donated in the fourteenth century by a certain Albertus Grolli (?) to the eponymous Roman church (demolished in 1929),⁶⁰ the “Pantheon Bible,” donated by Pope Innocent X in the Jubilee year of 1650 (as recorded on f. 367v),⁶¹ and the “Todi Bible” (Vat. lat. 10405), which was bequeathed to Pope Pio IX by some canonicals of Todi's cathedral in 1870, the donation being recorded on f. 1r of the volume.⁶²

Just as in other types of manuscript, old shelf marks or leaf numbers (added by librarians in both ancient and modern times) are commonly encountered in Atlantic Bibles, therefore in the present context there is no need to furnish specific examples of them.

On the contrary, it is worthwhile to mention the interventions which, in some exemplars, draw our attention to alterations made to a volume's structure and original composition. These are sometimes ascribable to chance (as in the case of the lacunous “Todi Bible,” in which a fourteenth-century note on f. 294v tells us that the codex

⁵⁰ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 289–92 (Massimiliano Bassetti), *ex libris* on f. 1r of both volumes.

⁵¹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 248–50 (Maddalena Signorini); the identification is based on an interpretation of some thirteenth–fourteenth century notes: the one most relevant to the purpose of locating the Bible is transcribed and discussed in Supino Martini 1987, 32 n. 20.

⁵² Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 296–97 (Valentina Longo): 298.

⁵³ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 310–12 (Antonino Mastruzzo): 311.

⁵⁴ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 162–73 (Massimiliano Bassetti and Lila Yawn): 166 (the hypothesis of Massimiliano Bassetti).

⁵⁵ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 299–303 (Alberto Bisaccioni): 302.

⁵⁶ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 257–60 (Lucinia Speciale): 260.

⁵⁷ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 196–200 (Susy Marcon).

⁵⁸ See Ullmann 1963, 179, and Manfredi 2008, 219–25: 224–25, who tentatively identifies Casanat. 723 with one of the two volumes of a giant Bible described by Zanobi Acciaiuoli in 1499–1500 in his inventory of the Florentine library of San Marco.

⁵⁹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 200–4 (Sabina Magrini); in relation to the manuscripts prepared on Bishop Guglielmo's initiative, see Braga et al. 1999, 438–70, and Braga 2000.

⁶⁰ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 173–76 (Giuliana Ancidei): 173; the gift is registered on f. 1r.

⁶¹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 262–71 (Lucinia Speciale).

⁶² Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 158–62 (Lucinia Speciale).

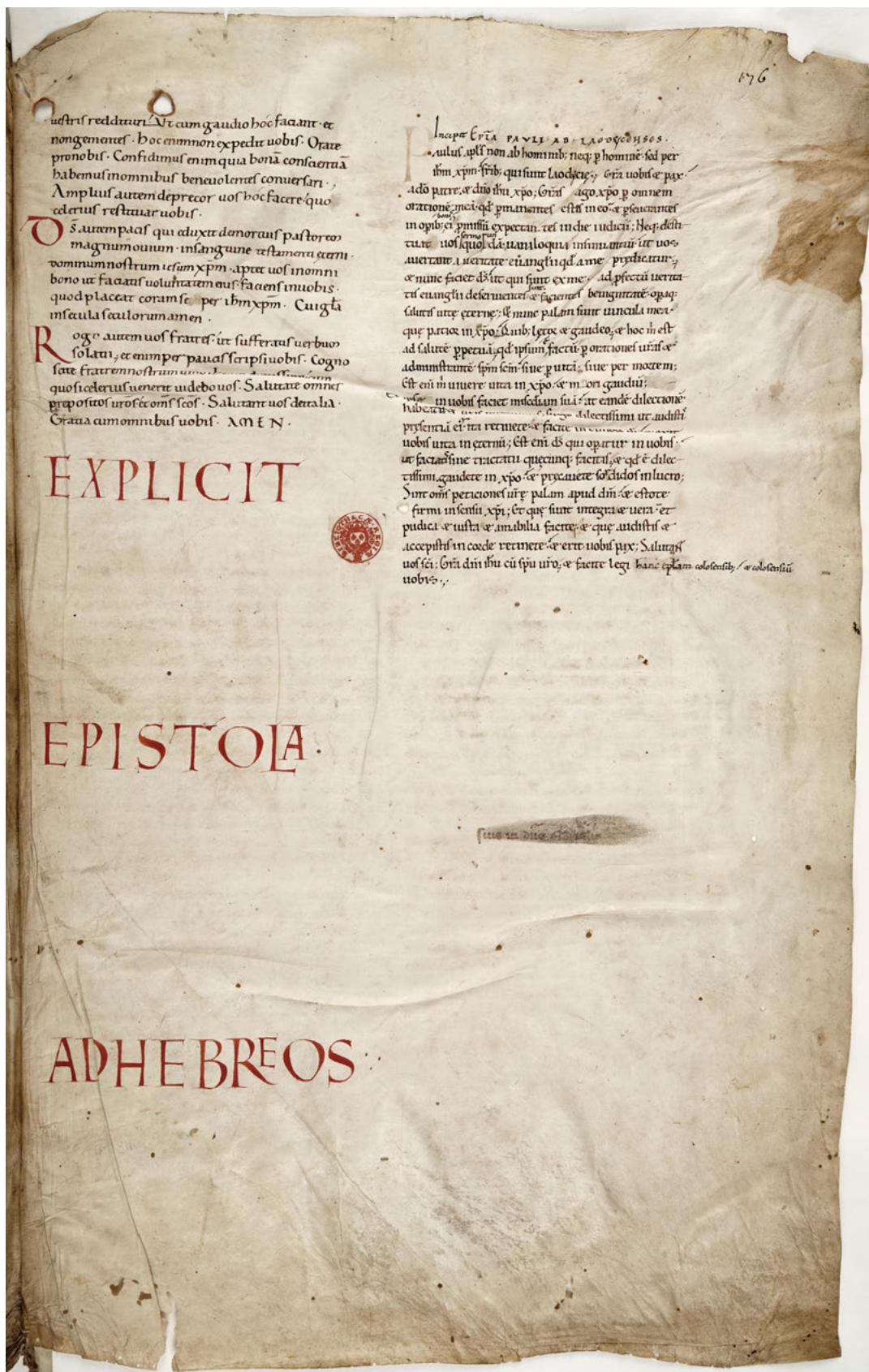


Figure 4: Paris, BnF, lat. 104, f. 176r: addition of the pseudo-Pauline Epistle to the Laodiceans on an empty column (© Bibliothèque nationale de France)

originally consisted of 365 leaves, rather than today's 304). More often, though, they are the result of an intentional modernisation of content through the introduction of texts which were previously absent, such as the pseudo-Pauline epistle to the Laodiceans, added at the end of the twelfth century (perhaps by a French hand) to an empty column at the end of the Bible Paris, BnF, Par. lat. 104 (f. 176r) (Figure 4),⁶³ or by modifying the order of the Holy Writ, the alteration of which in many Atlantic Bibles is today quite evident.⁶⁴

In the extreme case of the already mentioned “Ávila Bible,” a late rearrangement—taking place at some point between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries—was carried out with the aim of updating a codex which was clearly still in use. Apart from the structurally traumatic consequences that resulted from the dismemberment of some of the quires containing the texts to be transposed, the rearrangement is marked by the addition of new (and rather gaudy) numbering of paragraphs and leaves (in red digits), and an index based on the new text sequence.⁶⁵

3 Annotations with no relation to the main text

The range of written interventions ascribable to either the preparation or successive history of the Atlantic Bibles can be contrasted with the informal notes found in them—that is to say, in accordance with Petrucci's previously cited definition, notes lacking a direct relationship with the principal text, and also, in a large number of cases, any connection with the material nature and history of the volume which bears them. The recognition of four categories of annotation (namely, “purely graphic supplementation,” “registrations,” “memories” and “drafted notes”)⁶⁶ is based on the ends pursued by the writer, even if the added “registrations” and “memories” are in fact combined, with the aim of entrusting to a particularly precious volume the long-term “custodianship” of information of varying degrees of importance and historical relevance—information that for one reason or another was considered worthy of being preserved for posterity.

⁶³ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 155–58: 155 (Émilie Cottureau).

⁶⁴ For additional information on the quire structure of the Atlantic volumes and on the relationship between the original sequence of the books and that seen today, see Maniaci 2000.

⁶⁵ Maniaci/Orofino 2012b.

⁶⁶ Petrucci 1999, 983–84 (“aggiunte meramente grafiche”, “di registrazione”, “di memoria”, and “di minutazione”).

However one might choose to classify them, the informal notes present in the Atlantic Bibles provide documentary evidence which is both plentiful and diverse in nature. A series of documents transcribed on to a few leaves added to the main text block of the sumptuous Bible held in the Vatican Library, Vat. Barb. lat. 587—which has been attributed to the initiative of Desiderius, the abbot of Monte Cassino, subsequently elected pope with the name of Victor III—following its arrival at Rome's Santa Cecilia monastery (where it underwent numerous corrections in a Roman variant of the Caroline script)⁶⁷ provides valuable information on the history of the church (i.e. on its consecration and the acquisition of relics, and on the dedication of new altars and the names of local clergy).⁶⁸

The appended informal notes can therefore furnish helpful hints when it comes to accurately establishing a codex's chronological rank or the point in time it arrived at a given religious seat. For example, in the “San Daniele Bible” a definite *terminus ante quem* that narrows its dating down to the 1180s is provided in a long note (vol. II, f. 145r) that alludes, contextually, to the death of the abbess Gerlenda and the dedication of altars at Spoleto's San Ponziano Basilica.⁶⁹ In a marginal note found in the “Cividale Bible” (Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca capitolare, I–II), mention of the patriarch of Aquileia Gerardus (1122–1129) as an actor in a law suit carried out on behalf of Cividale's ecclesiastical chapter documents the presence of the manuscript in Friuli from at least this time, i.e. the 1120s (documentary evidence reiterated by additional historical notes of a later date which mention the patriarch Pellegrino I and various other clerics and laity of the mid-twelfth century).⁷⁰ The same is true of copies of the documents concerning the history of Geneva cathedral's chapter in the “Geneva Bible,”⁷¹ and of the transcribed text of a court ruling (issued in Florence and dating to 1320) appearing on one of the guard leaves of the “Riccardiana Bible.”⁷² The transcription declares that

⁶⁷ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 126–31 (Larry M. Ayres); about Desiderius' commitment in the production of this and another Giant Bible (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 515) see Maniaci/Orofino 2012, spec. 395–400. On the appended material, found on ff. 304–8, 361 and 371, see, in particular, Supino Martini 1987, 109–12, and Speciale 2007.

⁶⁸ The contents of the added leaves, their dating, and their relationship to the text of the Bible, deserve further analysis.

⁶⁹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 139–44 (Cesare Scalon): 140, with a transcription of the lengthy note.

⁷⁰ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 148–52 (Cesare Scalon): 152, with a transcription of the document, albeit only partially legible.

⁷¹ Cf. Togni 2008, 107–15 and 124–27.

⁷² Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 260–62 (Giovanna Lazzi): 262, without a transcription of the document.

the monumental codex was kept in Florence from the 1440s onwards at the latest. The presence, again in the “Geneva Bible,” of an inventory of the Abbey of Abbondanza’s treasury transcribed on to five lines of f. 148v of the tome seems less clear (the abbey was located in the diocese of Geneva).⁷³ And again, the two Bibles (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 10510 and 10511) originating from Rome, which arrived at the cathedral of Bovino (Foggia, Puglia) towards the end of the twelfth century, host in the empty spaces of the sacred text (left by the copyists) an eye-catching and very interesting bevy of notes ascribable to various hands dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The notes chaotically juxtapose records of various events (of greater and lesser importance and resonance) which include historical and annalistic episodes relating, predominantly, to the Kingdom of Sicily between the Svevian and Angioin eras, historical facts and local news regarding the city of Bovino, information of a fiscal nature, and accounts of natural disasters and storms.⁷⁴ In addition, historical memories of general or local interest are frequently entrusted, sometimes in incomplete or abbreviated form, to the pages of various other Atlantic Bibles. Examples of these include the conquest of the Holy Sepulcher by the crusaders in the “Cividale Bible” (vol. I, f. 3r, immediately below the title page’s decorative framing);⁷⁵ events concerning the Tuscia region at the beginning of the fourteenth century appended to the “Perugia Bible”;⁷⁶ minor and major historical episodes in southern Italy recorded in the already mentioned “first Bovino Bible” (Vat. lat. 10510), ranging from the inauguration of two bells to the death of Federico II;⁷⁷ a plausible account of the conflict between the Guelphs and Guibellines of Arezzo to gain control of Castiglione del Lago, recorded by a late thirteenth-century hand in Laur. Plut. 15.10 (f. 127v);⁷⁸ and the registration, in Par. lat. 50,⁷⁹ in southern Italian vernacular, of a famine that occurred in 1374 (“fu la fami per tutto lu mundu”) (Figure 5)⁸⁰.

⁷³ Togni 2008, 116–24.

⁷⁴ Vattasso 1900; Magistrale 2008, with edition, paleographic analysis, summary of the content and detailed commentary to the 21 notes (356–58).

⁷⁵ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 148–52 (Cesare Scaloni): 152, with a transcription of the note.

⁷⁶ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 162–70 (Massimiliano Bassetti) and 170–72 (Lila Yawn): 166 and 170.

⁷⁷ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 182–85 (Francesco Magistrale): 185; Vattasso 1900, 17–44; Magistrale 2008.

⁷⁸ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 230–36 (Sabina Magrini): 234.

⁷⁹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 152–55 (Émilie Cottureau): 154.

⁸⁰ “There was starvation far and wide.” Annotations of similar content and in a similar vein are also encountered in “Atlantic” manuscripts without biblical content but which share the same background and motivations associated with the preparation of the

Alongside documentation and notes of historical interest, episodic interventions (that vary in content and relevance) appear somewhat more frequently in the Bibles. These include decontextualized snippets of a personal nature (“Ego fratre Machus veni i(n) urbe a die XII de mese octubri(us)” in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Arch. S. Pietro A 1);⁸¹ individual names or lists of names of individuals who are sometimes positively identifiable (as in the case of Pellegrinus (Pilgrim) I of Povo-Beseno, patriarch of Aquileia between 1131 and 1161, mentioned on f. 204r of the “San Daniele Bible”).⁸² More often, though, figures are unidentifiable, as in the case of “Pahnutius humilis servus vestre sanctitatis,” whose mention appears, alongside that of an anonymous abbot of Santo Stefano del Bosco (*Sancti Stephani de Nemore*, in the diocese of Squillace) on f. Br of Par. lat. 50.⁸³ In another instance, the names (of readers?) are scattered throughout the margins of a few sheets of Laur. Ashburnham 93.⁸⁴ The list executed in a cursive hand and inserted upside down between the third and fourth lines of the title page in the “Zion Bible” also deserves mention.⁸⁵ Minimal interventions, or those of scant textual relevance, can also provide useful contributions to the reconstruction of the history of the codex that contains them, as in the case of the liturgical prescriptions in Beneventan script on f. 142rv of the “second Angelica Bible” (Ang. lat. 1273), which appears to attest to the early transference of the Bible to a southern Italian locale.⁸⁶ A singular annotation (dating to the sixteenth or seventeenth century?), written in Latin but in Greek characters, situated on the lower guard leaf of the “Volterra Bible” constitutes an altogether unique case: the curious note, referring to an otherwise unknown Niccolò di ser Tommaso of San Gimignano, who is described as the person responsible for making the codex, may result from the transliteration of an earlier colophon.⁸⁷

Giant Bibles; see, for example, Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Neapol. VI B 7 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 213–15 [Silvia Scipioni]: 213, discesa di Carlo VIII) and Neapol. VI E 41 (Maniaci/Orofino [eds.] 2000, 206–7 [Federica Gargano]: 207, reference to an earthquake.)

⁸¹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 251–54 (Giuliana Ancidei): 254.

⁸² Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 139–44 (Cesare Scaloni): 144.

⁸³ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 152–55 (Émilie Cottureau): 154.

⁸⁴ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 296–98 (Valentina Longo): 297.

⁸⁵ See the reproduction of the codex, with a description by Nadia Togni, in the “e-codices” database, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/list/one/acs/0015> [accessed 16 November 2017], and Togni 2008, 607–718.

⁸⁶ Rather than its original destination, as hypothesised by Lucinia Speciale in Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 257–60: 260.

⁸⁷ The hypothesis is tentatively put forward in Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 310–12 (Antonino Mastruzzo): 311.

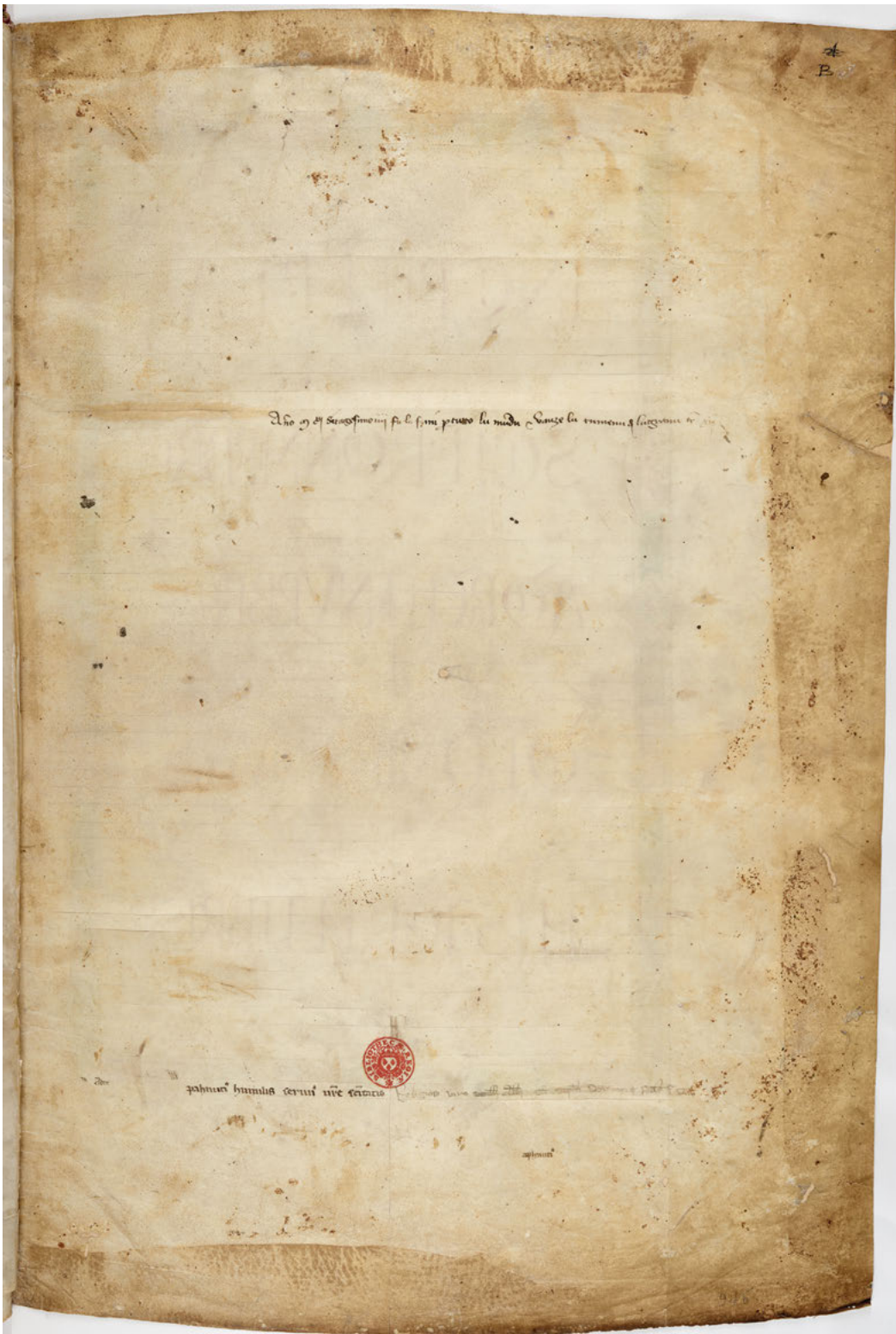


Figure 5: Paris, BnF, lat. 50, f. Br: vernacular annotation (© Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Individual letters, alphabets, proverbs, quotes, phrases or other writing exercises, doodles and drawings, often executed by an unsteady hand, frequently appear on guard leaves or in blank spaces on the leaves of Atlantic Bibles, as is also the case with codices bearing other texts. Here, it is sufficient to mention, as representative examples, the pen and ink drawings dating from various periods made in the empty spaces in Vat. Pal. lat. 3–4–5;⁸⁸ the rather crude intertwining motif that delineates the margins of leaves in Vat. Arch. S. Pietro A1 (the author of which could also have been responsible for the drawing of a small bearded face inserted on the recto of f. 174r, and the kneeling figure sketched in the lower portion of the margin of f. 334r),⁸⁹ and the sixteenth- to seventeenth-century pen testing traces and human and zoomorphic profile drawings that can be seen on ff. 90r and 177v of the late “Volterra Bible.”⁹⁰ These modest and informal traces represent echoes, albeit faint and scarcely significant ones, of individuals and their trifling gestures, fragments of history destined to remain in the shadows. It therefore seems rather bold to attempt to glean from them information useful for making firm attributions, such as that proposed for the (previously mentioned) sketches of knights’ coats of arms made by a twelfth-century hand on f. 120r of the “second Angelica Bible.”⁹¹

4 Conclusions

With a few rare exceptions, the Atlantic Bibles are quite reticent when it comes to revealing information about the people, places and circumstances associated with their creation. On the other hand, they have shown themselves to be particularly well disposed to receiving accessory annotations that are very diverse in terms of content, chronological rank, length, positioning and script. Such annotations are ascribable to a wide range of not infrequently elusive motivations. The annotations that appear in the margins, between lines and in the empty spaces left by copyists, demonstrate, above all, the extended length of time that the Bibles continued to be employed for liturgical purposes, even in eras and situations very

distant from those which determined and shaped their original conception and preparation. At the same time, the use of Atlantic Bibles to support content extraneous to the principal text bears witness to the spontaneous “vocation” of the sacred book *par excellence* to serve as a depository of public and private memories—sometimes precious, sometimes irrelevant—destined to be conserved through time. The same is true of extemporaneous graphic expressions which are essentially insignificant in content, mediocre in form, and more or less randomly placed. Such phenomena symbolise a direct and personal relationship (which endured up until and beyond the end of the medieval period), with the Bibles being seen as objects to be used and their pages considered as “violable,” rather than serving as intangible relics simply to be safeguarded and venerated.

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⁸⁸ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 120–26 (Lucinia Speciale): 126.

⁸⁹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 251–54 (Giuliana Ancidei): 254. Sporadic and essentially inconsequential drawings and sketches added over successive historical periods following manufacture also appear in other Atlantic Bibles, such as Vat. lat. 4220–4221, Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 176–81 (Giuliana Ancidei): 181 (Vol. I, ff. 18r, 83v, 113v).

⁹⁰ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 310–12 (Antonino Mastruzzo): 311.

⁹¹ Maniaci/Orofino (eds.) 2000, 257–60 (Lucinia Speciale): 260.

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Giannozzo Manetti's handwritten notes in his Hebrew Bibles

1 Introduction

Throughout the early decades of *Quattrocento* Florence, the *studia humanitatis* that humanist scholars fostered and cherished revolved around Latin texts. By the middle of the century they came to embrace Greek scholarship and the translation of Greek texts as well. In what concerned Hebrew studies, one can scarcely find a hint to them among early *Quattrocento* scholars.¹

Critical attitude and active participation seem to have been the focal values which prompted the Humanist to be involved in every sphere of public life. As to the “new” Humanist scholar—to him investigating texts, tracing literary and historical sources, recovering and deciphering old (and sometimes lost) manuscripts and documents were crucial: it was his task to question accepted dogmas, doubt anything until it had been proven, scrutinize existing materials and dig up their true origins. To this end, the emerging of philology served him as a perfect research tool.

At the same time it seems that in the period we are dealing with here the philosophical/theological quest for the *Hebraica veritas* (or for the sources of the “true interpretation” of the Bible), which had traditionally motivated the interest in Hebrew studies in previous centuries, remained the drive behind Hebrew scholarship; both behind that of Pico della Mirandola and his entourage and even more manifestly so behind the work of Giannozzo Manetti, who indeed proved to be the only Hebraist to have preceded Pico in fifteenth-century Florence.

2 The state of Hebrew manuscripts in Christian collections

In my general research on Hebrew manuscript production in Italy I have been relying on material evidence, mainly

¹ As Niccolò Niccoli urged Poggio Bracciolini to pursue the study of Hebrew, Poggio responded (in 1416) that “although I can see that it [the study of Hebrew] adds nothing to the stock of wisdom, it is still of some use to our *studia humanitatis*, particularly since I now understand Jerome's manner of translating [the Bible].” See Botley 2004, 104.

extra-textual notes and codicological data, found in Hebrew manuscripts which had been present in Renaissance Florence: these material testimonies—nowadays often referred to as paratext²—included written texts such as colophons, ownership marks, deeds of sale, family lists, inventories and any kind of personal interventions inscribed inside the manuscript. They moreover included all aspects related to the production of handwritten books in Florence in both Jewish and Christian environments: the making of manuscripts, their market, consumption, ownership, patronage and *clientèle*, as well as libraries and manuscript collections.

The assumption had been that material testimonies thus collected should be an indicator as to the scope of Hebrew manuscripts ownership by non-Jewish Florentine book-consumers—be they scholars or non-scholars, which were indeed two distinct client groups—as well as to the various uses they had for these volumes.

In the aim of tracking marks of Christian ownership a meticulous search was carried out throughout the various corpora of Hebrew manuscripts, based on available databases and resources.³ This search looked for indicators of Hebrew scholarship among Christian owners, including colophons which disclosed patrons' names, bills of sale, owners' ex-libris inscriptions, family emblems, and extra-textual annotations (mainly in the margins) written in what seemed to be a “Christian hand.”⁴ Assuming that such data would enable us to assess the scope and importance, as well as the significance, of the interest of Christian scholars in the Hebrew language and texts, and keeping in mind that

² Cf. Patrick Andrist's essay in the current volume.

³ In the first place *SfarData*, the codicological database of the Hebrew Palaeography Project, sponsored by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (<sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/home.aspx> [accessed 16 November 2017]) as well as library catalogues, as for instance the catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (Richler/Beit-Arié [ed.] 2001) and in the Vatican Library (Richler/Beit-Arié/Pasternak [ed.] 2008), as well as the online catalogue of the Institute of Hebrew Microfilmed Manuscripts at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem (<http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/library/news/Pages/dig-heb-manus-catalog.aspx> [accessed 16 November 2017]).

⁴ Hebrew “Christian” scripts can usually be discerned from the stereotypical Jewish handwriting.

the ownership of Hebrew books and the practice of Hebrew scholarship were not necessarily related, the Hebrew codices known to have been owned by Christians were searched for specific material evidence related to the actual study of Hebrew. In truth, results proved to be meagre.

Similarly, the investigation of Florentine book inventories, constituting a material testimony *per se*, revealed the virtual non-existence or rather the extraordinarily marginal presence of Hebrew texts in Christian collections.⁵ Surprisingly so, given the fact that Hebrew was considered one of the three languages fit for the transmission of literary texts.

In Florentine non-scholarly libraries, that is in princely collections such as the Medici's, which—in addition to the regular canon of books commended by Pope Nicolas V—prided themselves with many prized, sometimes extravagant volumes and held the odd rare piece, such as a decorated Hebrew Bible, the total count of Hebrew manuscripts amounted to two items only, both of them biblical manuscripts kept in the Medici private collection. A third Hebrew codex, a decorated Bible, was kept at the Badia Fiesolana.⁶

According to my findings, the two Hebrew manuscripts in the Medici collection would be the splendid Bible (*esrim ve-arba'a*), now shelfmarked Firenze, BML, Plut. I 31,⁷ and the small codex Jerusalem, The Israel Museum, 180/55, containing the books of Psalms, Proverbs and Job (*sifrei emet*),⁸ and noted for its impressive full-page decorations and the Medici three-feathered diamond ring on its frontispiece. In fact, neither the 1464 inventory of the library owned by Piero (Cosimo dè Medici's son and heir) nor the 1499 inventory of the Medicean “public library” contain any mention of Hebrew books. Yet two Hebrew manuscripts are documented in a listing compiled in 1495 of the Medici books that were kept in a case in S. Marco after

the reigning family had been driven out of Florence: one *bibbia magna in hebreo, in membranis, pulchra*, and one small parchment manuscript.⁹

As to the vast manuscript collections of Florentine humanists, no material testimonies or recounted evidences document a presence of Hebrew codices. It seems that not one of the humanists who had been active in fifteenth-century Florence kept a single Hebrew volume, excluding, of course, Pico and his fellow scholars who emerged in the last decades of the century. This said, we know of one outstanding exception: Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459), whose extant collection of Hebrew manuscripts, some of which contain his annotations in both Latin and Hebrew, attest to the extent and importance of his Hebrew scholarship.

Indeed, as remarked by Charles Trinkaus concerning Hebraism in fifteenth-century Florence: “The real beginning of Hebraism in that age of Hellenism came with Giannozzo Manetti's decision to take up the study of Hebrew.”¹⁰ Giannozzo may indeed have been the first Hebraist in Florence; yet, during the first half of the century he seems to have been the only one.¹¹

3 Giannozzo Manetti the Hebraist

As mentioned, during the early forties of that century, and possibly a couple of years earlier, Giannozzo and his son Agnolo had been studying the Hebrew language with a Jewish scribe whom Giannozzo, at some stage, converted to Christianity. Inside his newly acquired manuscript of the Hebrew Bible¹² Giannozzo recorded taking up the reading

5 See, among others, Ames-Lewis 1982 and 1984, de la Mare 1976 and 1992, as well as Bec 1969 and 1984. See also Müntz/Fabre 1887, 34–114, where no evidence was recorded of Hebrew codices in the library of the humanist Pope Nicolas V, who maintained close contacts with Florentine scholars and with circles of book-production there. On the “overwhelming Latinity” of the books in Christian collections see Kibre 1946, 274.

6 Presently Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 268. Interestingly, all three manuscripts had been copied by the same scribe, Isaac ben Ovadia ben David, a prolific scribe who had been active in Florence for some thirty years from approximately 1440 and on. On his identification as the Jewish scribe who had stayed with Giannozzo, serving as a Hebrew teacher to his son Agnolo (and most probably to Giannozzo himself), then converted to Christianity under the name of Giovanfrancesco Manetti see Pasternak 2001, 185–200 and Pasternak 2009, 187–265. See also Droegge 1992, 72–73.

7 Pasternak 2001, 7; for its codicological description see Pasternak 2009, 257–59 as well as Lelli 1994.

8 On the manuscript and its description, see Pasternak 2009, 160–61, 254.

9 On sources which enable to retrace the footsteps of the Medici Hebrew Bible see Pasternak 2001, 7–8.

10 Trinkhaus 1970, 2, 580. Some fifty years before Trinkhaus, the Jewish historian Umberto Cassuto, who narrated the history and circumstances of the Jewish community in fifteenth-century Florence, affirmed that the first scholar to have acquired sound knowledge of the Hebrew language and a fair acquaintance with its texts was the humanist scholar Giannozzo Manetti (Cassuto 1918, 274).

11 This said, one must not ignore the similar activities of Hebraists elsewhere, as for instance Pietro da Montagnana of Padua, contemporary of Giannozzo (ca. 1400–1478), who owned a small collection of Hebrew manuscripts. These volumes, which included a Hebrew Bible annotated by his hand, served him for the study of the Hebrew language as well as for reading the Hebrew Bible in the aim of translating it (see Tamani 1973, as well as Pasternak 2009, 185–86). On the interest of the Sienese scholar Pietro de Rossi in Hebrew texts for polemical purposes in mid-century, see Fioravanti 1987.

12 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 8. On this manuscript and its acquisition from the bankrupt Jewish money-lender Shelomo ben Yosef Kohen mi-Prato (Salamone da Prato), see Pasternak 2003, 169–70 and Figure 1 below. (The first paragraph describes Salomone's original

of the Hebrew Bible on Sunday, 11th November 1442 with a learned member of the Jewish Florentine community named Emanuel (probably Emanuel of S. Miniato).¹³ Later they would read the commentaries to the Bible together.¹⁴

The motive behind Giannozzo's Hebrew studies was obvious:¹⁵ to track down the *Hebraica veritas* in the Scriptures, expose it by means of correct translation thus proving Christianity was right, and confound or shame the Jews (and possibly bring them to the baptismal font) "by means of their own weapons."¹⁶ In other words, while tackling the Hebrew text by means of new philological tools, as became a humanist who had been contemporary with Lorenzo Valla,¹⁷ Giannozzo stuck to the polemical attitude of the *disputatio* in an attempt to convert the Jews. Interestingly, his two lengthy works, the *Adversus Judaeos et Gentes* and the *Apologeticus*, play precisely on these two chords—the theological and the philological: the first composition, dealing with moral philosophy, is most "Christian" in contents and judgment and includes an attack on the Jews' blindness and stubbornness;¹⁸ the second, more precisely Book 5 of the *Apologeticus*, expounds what Giannozzo sees as "right translation."¹⁹ In fact, his translation of the book of Psalms from Hebrew into Latin, defined as "the first humanistic translation [of the Bible] and the only one of its kind,"²⁰ had never been printed; yet parts of it have been partially published in the course of the last century by Salvatore Garofalo and Cristoph Droege.²¹

purchase of the Bible. The second paragraph, also in his hand, registers his consent to sell it to Giannozzo. The third paragraph inscribed in "Tuscan" by Giannozzo's notary or banker repeats Salomone's text and confirms Giannozzo's purchase from Salomone and details the sum, location and date of the deal.)

13 The note appears, in Giannozzo's hand, on f. 467r: "1442, die d[om]inica xia nove[m]bris cu[m] Emanuele heb[re]o incepti hebraice."

14 Cassuto 1918, 276.

15 His biographer and close acquaintance Vespasiano da Bisticci affirmed that Giannozzo decided to learn the Hebrew language in order to understand the foundations of divine law, and in view of his intention to write against the Jews, as indeed he later did (Vespasiano, 2,91 [ed. Frati 1893]).

16 Vespasiano, 2,126 (ed. Frati 1893).

17 As is well known, Valla was the "founding father" of the *philologia sacra*, who criticized the *Vulgate* version for inaccuracies, inconsistencies, insensitivity and faulty translation.

18 On the views and attitudes expounded in Giannozzo's *Adversus*, see De Petris 1976.

19 Trinkaus 1970, 2, 595 and 582. Giannozzo labeled his own translation as *pene ad verbum*: "nearly literal" (Trinkaus 1970, 2, 583). For a detailed discussion of the fifth chapter of Giannozzo's *Apologeticus* dealing with "right translation" and with the motives which prompted him to translate the Bible, see Trinkaus 1970, 2, 583–600, and Botley 2004, 99–114.

20 Ferretti Cuomo 1995, 210.

21 See Garofalo 1946, 373–75; Garofalo 1953, 232–41; Droege 1987, 146–66.

Five original copies of Giannozzo's translation are extant,²² two of them in the form of a triple Psalter, namely three columns of juxtaposed versions: Jerome's two translations, from the Greek and from the Hebrew, and his own.²³ The synoptic arrangement would have allowed the able reader to compare the three variants and their divergences.²⁴

4 Giannozzo's Hebrew manuscripts: acquisition and use

Giannozzo's Hebrew library—or what is left of it—now kept at the Vatican Apostolic Library, was documented in 1435 by Umberto Cassuto.²⁵ It consists of a dozen Hebrew manuscripts:

- A full Hebrew Bible (*esrim ve-arba*) with David Qimhi's dictionary of biblical Hebrew (*sefer ha-shorashim*) (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 8)
- *Hagiographa* (*ketuvim*) (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 26)
- *Book of Psalms* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 28)
- Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 38)
- Ibn Ezra on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 75), and
- Ibn Ezra on Psalms and Scrolls (*megillot*) (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 82) (in total—three volumes)
- Two copies of Rashi's *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 46 and 47)
- David Qimhi's *Commentary on Prophets* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 71)
- Gersonides' *Commentary on Job* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 95)
- Maimonides *Guide for the Perplexed* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 262)
- *Book of Yosippon* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 408)

22 See Droege 1987, 143–45.

23 These two are Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Pal. lat. 40 and 41.

24 This translation of the Psalter appears in the list of works of which Giannozzo was the author, compiled by Vespasiano (Vespasiano, 2,198 [ed. Frati, 1893]); under the heading "Opere sante tradutte da lui," he adds: "Di ebreo," followed by one title only: "Saltero. Della ebraica verita, Salmi CL."

25 Cassuto 1935, 44–48 and 79–80. For a codicological and palaeographical description of these manuscripts see the recent catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library (Richler/Beit-Arié/Pasternak [ed.] 2008). See also Pasternak 2009, 173–78.

In total twelve volumes, out of which ten are biblical manuscripts.²⁶ In themselves these constitute a living testimony to Giannozzo's assiduous studies, of which his Latin translation of Psalms was the outcome.

According to the information gathered from their colophons, at least two of Giannozzo's twelve manuscripts had been commissioned from Hebrew scribes, by himself or through his envoys. Neither were biblical manuscripts: One, the *Book of Yosippon*,²⁷ was copied in 1443 by Elia ben Moshe, who specified in his colophon: "... I copied it here in Fano for a Christian named Giannozzo Manetti who came here as emissary of the Florentine to His Highness Count Francesco, may he live a long life, and I received my payment from Antrea [sic] d'Antonio delli Lenzi." Although it had been specifically commissioned by Giannozzo, obviously for his own use, the manuscript bears neither markings in his hand nor any signs of his reading.²⁸ The second was Maimonides' philosophical essay, *Guide for the Perplexed*, produced in Naples in 1457, a short while before Manetti's death, by the Jewish scribe Tudros Marwan ha-Seniri.²⁹

A volume of the *Hagiographa* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. ebr. 26) in square Hebrew characters, produced—as can be gathered from its codicological features³⁰—in thirteenth-century Toledo, appears among Manetti's Hebrew books. From the annotations it holds one gathers it had been given as a gift to Ambrogio Traversari, head of the monastery of the Angeli, in 1432. A note in Hebrew (f. 1) dated 1437/8 attests it had been deposited as a pawn in the *Vacca* pawnshop in Florence by frate Michele of the same monastery, while Ambrogio was still in office.³¹ It seems reasonable to assume that, at some stage, Giannozzo had

it redeemed from the Jewish pawnshop. Nonetheless this manuscript bears no signs of Giannozzo's hand or reading, nor of Traversari's use of it.

Manetti's nine remaining codices had most probably been acquired second hand from their Jewish owners. First among the Manetti collection, according to its date of acquisition and considering its importance and material value, the impressive fourteenth-century Sefardic Bible with David Qimhi's biblical lexicon (Vat. ebr. 8). Manetti used this manuscript for his first reading of the Bible, having purchased it from the Florentine money lender, Shelomo ben Yosef Kohen mi-Prato, alias Salamone di Bonaventura. The whole transaction is recorded at the end of the manuscript in both Hebrew and Tuscan.³²

Giannozzo's own interventions in this codex include: his name, indicating his ownership: *Iannoçii de Manettis* (f. 468r), as well as the note concerning his Hebrew studies: *1442, die d[omi]nica xi nove[m]bris cum Emanuele heb[re]o incepti hebraice* (f. 467r); an index of the biblical books according to their order in the codex, in his own hand, as for instance *Berescith i(d est) Genesis(...)* *Ellescemoth i(d est) Exodus*, etc. (f. 466r); a short annotation badly spelt in awkward Hebrew square characters, no doubt in his own hand: ברשאת (!) ברא אלהים (f. 465v)³³; foliation on the top left of the Hebrew recto sides and chapter numbering in Arabic numerals, as well as sporadic numbering of chapters in a mixed formula of Latin and Hebrew inscribed by a Christian hand, probably Giannozzo's: כו כפיטולי (26 chapters) and כט כפיטולי (29 chapters).³⁴

One can also spot sequential chapter numbering in Hebrew in *Leviticus*, from chapter 3 (f. 43v) and up to chapter 20, by the hand of a Jewish scribe, that of his first teacher, who converted to Christianity;³⁵ later these were imitated by an awkward Christian hand, probably that of Giannozzo or his son.

Similarly, in the margin next to Deut. 18,15³⁶ we find an odd annotation in a skilled Hebrew Italian script, by

²⁶ This number includes Bible commentaries.

²⁷ The inclusion of this text among Manetti's Hebrew books was certainly intentional, since the *Book of Yosippon* contains the first medieval apology for the rabbinic attitude to the identification of Edom with Rome, see Cohen 1991. According to Cohen, *Yosippon's* author identifies Rome as the Fourth Empire.

²⁸ It seems that a member of the Manetti family had pawned this codex in Florence, hence the Hebrew inscription by a Jewish moneylender enumerating various items or pawns at the head of the manuscript. A curious inscription found on a stub at the end of the manuscript reads: "Adi 23 di Magio 1498 fù arso fra Girolimo [Savonarola] Fra Salvestro et fra domenico [da Pescia] in La Cipta di Firenze."

²⁹ The Naples colophon reads [my translation]: "I wrote this book to the most respected, learned and wise Messer Joanozzo Manete from the city of Florensa and completed it here in the city of Naples on the first day of the second month of *Adar*, in the year 1457." The manuscript shows foliation by the hand of Giannozzo.

³⁰ Mainly its quiring by ternions.

³¹ Hence it seems reasonable to assume that Giannozzo did not get it on loan from the monastery but rather had it redeemed from the Jewish pawnshop for his own collection of Hebrew manuscripts.

³² See Pasternak 2003, 170.

³³ The correct spelling being ברשאית ברא אלהים ("In the beginning God created ...").

³⁴ Ff. 55v and 84v.

³⁵ The chapter numbers (in Hebrew) and their tiny decoration marks are definitely by the hand of the Hebrew scribe Isaac ben Ovadia (see note 3 above). As against the common practice in Latin Bibles, the numbering of chapters in Hebrew Bibles was not practiced among Jewish scribes; it first appears in the early sixteenth-century Bomberg editions (Pasternak 2003, 170–71; Pasternak 2009, 227–29).

³⁶ "נביא מקרבך מאחיד כמוני יקים לך ה' אלהיך אליו תשמעון" ("The Lord your God will raise up for you a Prophet like me from your midst, from your brethren. Him you shall hear" [New King James' Version]).

לכתוב את כל המצוות אשר צוה ה' את ישראל
 ואת כל חוקי התורה אשר צוה ה' את ישראל
 ואת כל דברי התורה אשר צוה ה' את ישראל
 ואת כל חוקי התורה אשר צוה ה' את ישראל
 ואת כל דברי התורה אשר צוה ה' את ישראל

בשם ה' יהוה מורה אנו שלמה
 בן שלמה נספח ויצרנו כח שחמדי
 לוינו חנונו כסונוכל זה הספר
 נהנינו בשנים וארבעה עשר
 חנה לית דהיו בשנים ואחד פרומי
 רכנים וקלקי הבעוק מינו נעלי
 למתקן חל טעה נעדר וזה
 היה שבעה יהיה שנים אחת
 כלל חל שני ר קוני
 והוא חל היה עד על לא חסד
 רכנינו וקלקי שבע יצד חל

Janicola & Stolo & Conary & Nicolo
 Augustino gustog & aspostoruz
 domi palamon & bono-nur-nano
 Augusto leou-nur-arto & anou-noro
 & z-nando-munoty i. ofofu-fur fi un
 tano & no amofu vq. qy sonu yx-usto
 bbo. con-biba- querto gianozo
 astonyon- saliero palamon- vofsi
 vob. p-nemur- alerto palamon
 & fuc- mano- ludo- sopofuzom
 & foz- arto & vomo- unofu

Figure 1: Vat. ebr. 8, f. 464: Salomone ben Yosef Kohen mi-Prato documents the purchase of the codex (cf. the detailed description in footnote 12) (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

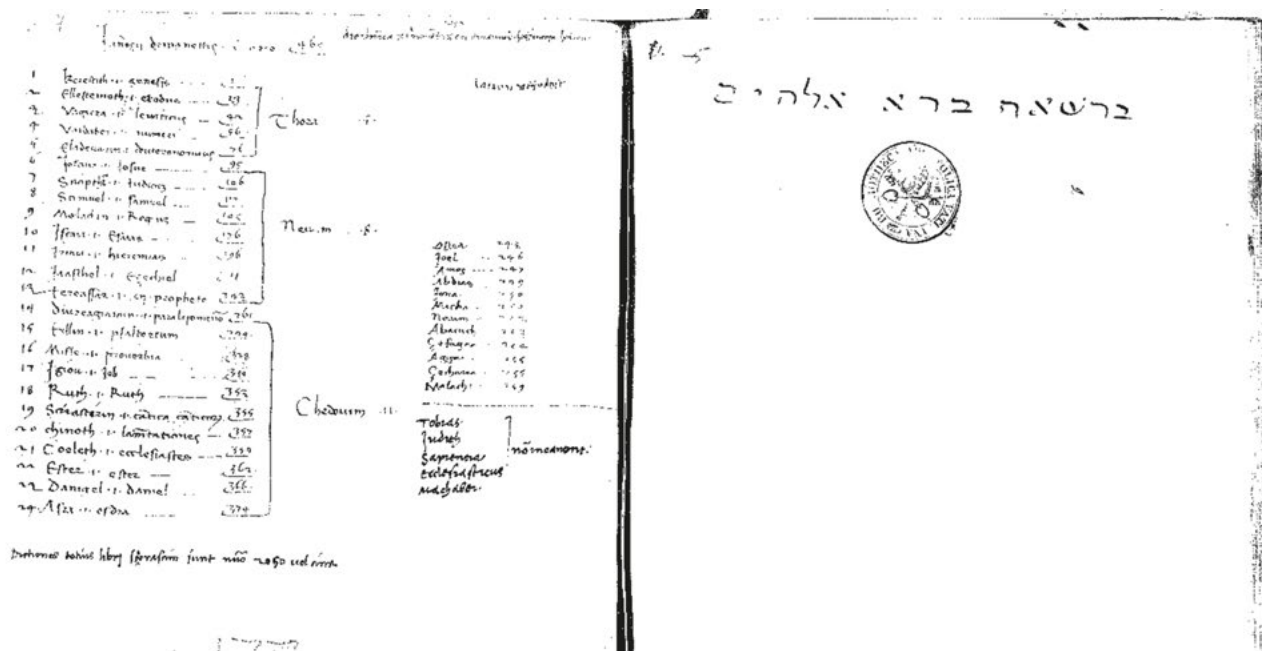


Figure 2: Vat. ebr. 8, ff. 465v–466r: index of biblical books and Gianozzo’s handwritten note (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

the hand of the same Jew (or convert): אותו האיש, namely, “that man,” referring to Jesus of Nazareth. This intervention no doubt points to the fact that the biblical text had been studied by a Christian (Giannozzo?) or a convert (his teacher Isaac/Giovanfrancesco?) looking for prophetic designations of Christ.³⁷

Among Giannozzo’s Hebrew manuscripts which contain indications to his ownership inscribed in his hand—as for instance his own name, the title, numbering of the folia or other numberings in Arabic digits—only five manuscripts bear margin annotations which he himself had added, in accordance with the practice of “active reading” employed by humanist scholars.³⁸ No doubt they were the volumes that served him most:

(1) His large Bible with Qimhi’s biblical lexicon (Vat. ebr. 8), as detailed above.

(2) His small volume of Psalms (Vat. ebr. 28), a parchment octavo-sized codex in Ashkenazic square script. At the head of the manuscript Giannozzo’s inscription: *Iannoçii Manetti Psalterium hebreum*.

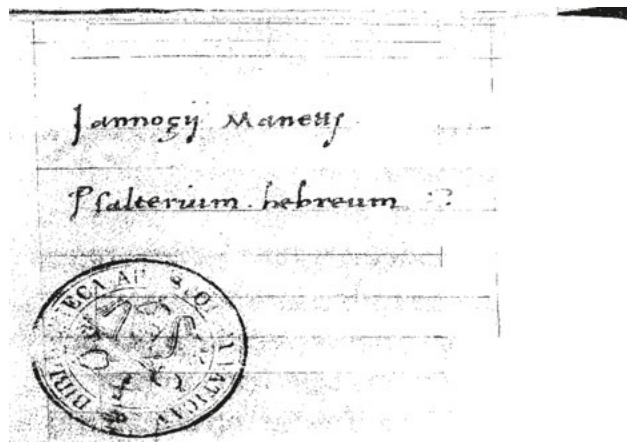


Figure 3: Vat. ebr. 28: *Iannoçii Manetti Psalterium hebreum* (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

It has ruled lines at the upper and lower margins meant for the *massora*; in many folios Giannozzo inscribed his Hebrew notes in the so-called “Christian” semi-square script on the ruled lines, which had been left blank, as well as in the margins.³⁹ If indeed these annotations prove to be in his own Hebrew script, this would be, no doubt, an unprecedented

³⁷ This inscription is nevertheless not in Giannozzo’s Hebrew hand, as compared to his script in various other Hebrew manuscripts he owned.

³⁸ For the practice of “active reading” among the humanists see Grafton 1999, 207–9.

³⁹ As for instance ff. 15r, 17r, 17v, 18r, 20r, 20v, 21r; and on both the upper and lower *massora* ruled lines in ff. 22r, 23r, 24r, 25r. For more details see Pasternak 2009, 176.



Figure 4: Vat. ebr. 28, ff. 17v–18r: notes and rubrication marks (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

evidence of a Hebraist Hebrew hand in Italy.⁴⁰ Likewise, he corrected in Arabic digits the erroneous chapter numbering found in the original, and marked the numbers of the first fifty psalms. Some notes in a humanistic Latin hand, no doubt Giannozzo's, can be found in several folios, as well as rubrication marks, executed no doubt by a Christian hand.

(3) and (4) Two volumes of Ibn Ezra's commentaries (Vat. ebr. 75—Isaiah and Minor Prophets; and Vat. ebr. 82—Psalms and Five Scrolls), both copied by a scribe named Shemuel in a Sefardic semi-cursive script.⁴¹ At the head of the first manuscript (f. 1v) Giannozzo inscribed his ex-libris: *Iannotii Manetti*, together with an index of the books included in this codex. Furthermore, for each biblical book he inscribed

⁴⁰ Recent publications have been attributing to Giannozzo's contemporary, the Venetian politician Marco Lippomano, a proficiency in the writing of Hebrew, shown, allegedly, in his correspondence with a Jewish scholar (see Busi/Campanini 2004, 169–204, as well as Stein Kokin 2014, 192–233 esp. 217–33). However, as we have no material specimen of his original letters that would substantiate this assertion, it remains to be proven that the letters had indeed been transcribed by his own hand, not by a Jew.

⁴¹ The said Shemuel singled out his name twice in Vat. ebr. 82 (ff. 34r and 45r).

a running title in its Latin form, on the upper margin of each folio. He added foliation as well and numbered the biblical chapters in the margins. In Vat. ebr. 82 he numbered both sides of the folio on the outer edge of the upper margins.

Along the lateral margins of the folios in both volumes, more conspicuously in Psalms (Vat. ebr. 82)⁴² and in Isaiah (Vat. ebr. 75), and to a lesser measure in Canticles and Lamentations, we find a good number of annotations in Giannozzo's hand: these comprise cross-references to other biblical books in the manner of the *glossa ordinaria*. Some paragraphs were marked by a wavy line running along them in the margin (see Figure 5 below). No interventions were found in the books of Esther and Ruth.⁴³ At the end of Vat. ebr. 75 appears, in Giannozzo's humanistic hand, the list of biblical books in the volume, in fact a kind of table of contents indicating the folios' numbers.⁴⁴

⁴² This volume obviously served Giannozzo for his preliminary studies, ultimately for his translation of the book of Psalms from the Hebrew into Latin in the 1450s.

⁴³ For obvious reasons, seeing the purpose and line of his research, Giannozzo's main interest lay in the Hebrew originals of Psalms and Isaiah.

⁴⁴ See the similar index of biblical books he compiled at the end of Vat. ebr. 8 (see Figure 2 above).

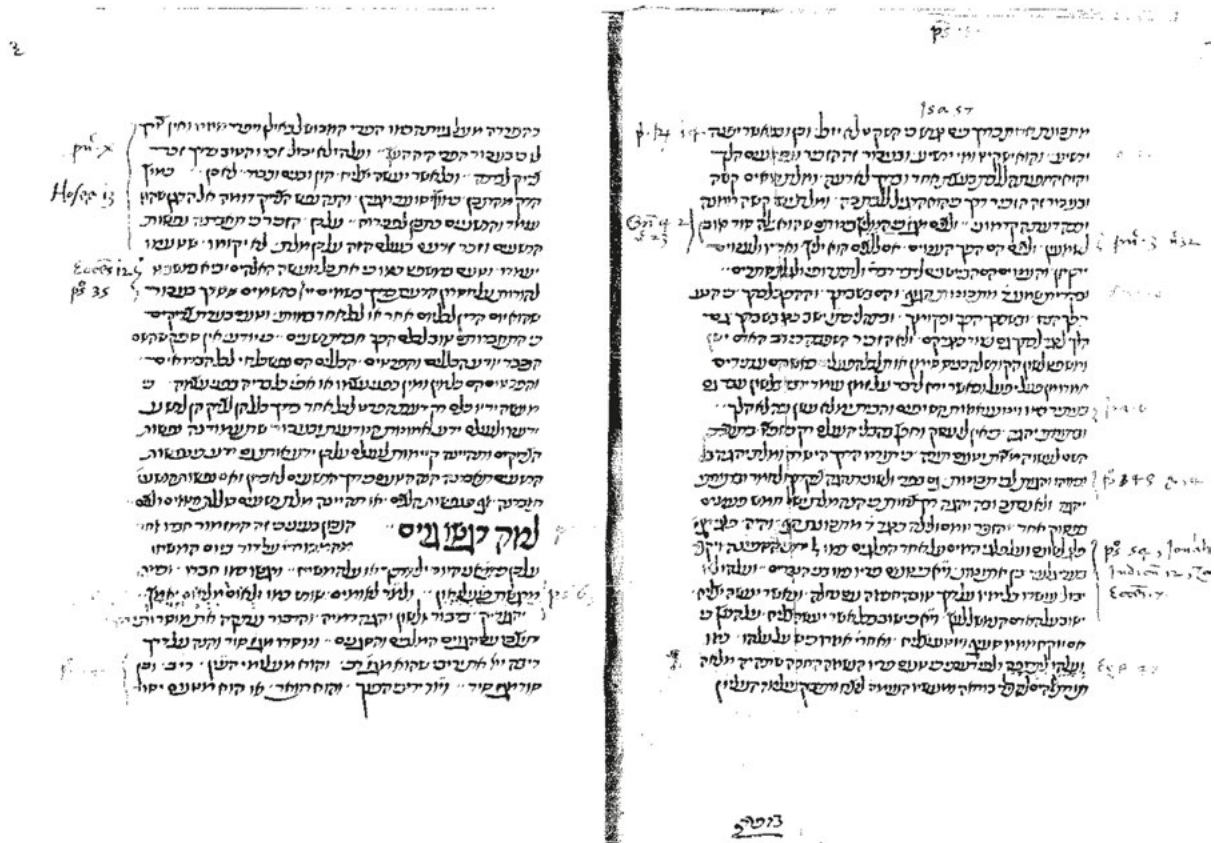


Figure 5: Vat. ebr. 82, ff. 2v–3r: cross references and interventions (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

No doubt this type of index was an indispensable aid for the scholar and researcher.

These “twin” codices reveal that Giannozzo was able to read the Sefardi semi-cursive script just as easily as he read the Italian semi-cursive and, of course, the square Hebrew scripts.

(5) In the third Ibn Ezra codex, containing his commentary on the Pentateuch (Vat. ebr. 38), one can spot the initials NB (possibly *Nota Bene*?) in the margins next to “christological allusions” (f. 14v).⁴⁵ Moreover, the entire passage concerning “the few who believed in the man who they claimed to be God,” identifying Rome with the Reign (or Kingdom) of Edom (מלכות אדום) was underlined. Foliation was carried out by Giannozzo.⁴⁶

45 Pericope *Toledot Yitzhaq*.

46 See also Cassuto 1935, 46. On the issue of identifying Rome with Edom see Pasternak 2011, 41.

5 Giannozzo’s Latin Vulgate

Yet another of Giannozzo’s manuscripts, his Latin Vulgate (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 18), probably acquired through the mediation of the well-famed Florentine book-seller Vespasiano da Bisticci in 1454–1455 while Giannozzo was working on his Bible translation in Naples,⁴⁷ is a unique testimony to his Hebrew studies. In several chapters of the Pentateuch—mainly Genesis—as well as in Psalms, a transcription of the original Hebrew had been inscribed in the margins opposite the Latin text in a semi-cursive Italian Hebrew script.⁴⁸ A close examination reveals that the script—which at first glance looks like a Jewish hand—is that of a non-Jew.

Something hardly perceptible in the shapes of letters leads to this conclusion, corroborated by a number of peculiar characteristics: the sporadic presence of word division at the end of lines (a practice rare among Jewish

47 Cagni 1969, 131–33, especially 132 n. 1.

48 See detail of f. 188 in Cagni 1960, 25.

scribes, and practically non-existent in the copying of biblical and liturgical texts);⁴⁹ placing initials outside the margin in the Latin fashion; the odd spelling mistake, and, more particularly, the use of an unknown short form for the Hebrew *Elohim* (אלהים) (GOD) in the shape of the abbreviation א"י (*alef-yod*).⁵⁰ It seems that this form has never been witnessed in any Hebrew text that we know.

What was the purpose of copying the Hebrew text adjacent to its Latin translation? Was it an exercise in Hebrew, by means of dictation or memorizing portions of the Bible?⁵¹ Yet if indeed this Latin Bible came into Giannozzo's possession only in the mid-fifties, when his knowledge of Hebrew was already as accomplished as could be, one should consider the possibility that this was not done for the purpose of studying the language but rather for researching the text itself. Could the juxtaposition of the two texts, Hebrew and Latin, have facilitated the translator's task, having the two texts simultaneously before him? Likewise the question—had Giannozzo himself been the copyist of the Hebrew text? Yet we have seen that his Hebrew margin annotations in other codices, such as Vat. ebr. 28 containing the book of Psalms, were inscribed in a very different half-square Christian-style script. Could this have been the Hebrew handwriting of his son Agnolo, who had been staying with his father in Rome and Naples and supposedly collaborating with him, especially in scribal work? It was the same Agnolo who had been made to study Hebrew at a very young age by his father and had won Vespasiano's immoderate praise for his perfect Hebrew handwriting.⁵² We have no way of knowing. Yet these testimonies can retrace Giannozzo's and/or Agnolo Manetti's efforts in practicing the Hebrew script and studying the Bible in its original version. No doubt that the copying of Hebrew verses, together with the marginal annotations and cross references Giannozzo inscribed in his Hebrew manuscripts⁵³ and with "technicalities" he performed in the Hebrew biblical codices

⁴⁹ See Beit-Arié/Pasternak 1997, 16–20, as well as Pasternak 2009, 226–27. Illustrating the practice of word division in the Hebrew text copied in Giannozzo's Vulgate (Ps. 1,1–2, f. 188r), is the following transcription:

אשרי האיש אשר
לא הלך בעצת רש
עים ובדרך חטאים
לא עמד ובמושב
לצים לא ישב כי אם
בתורת ה' חפצו ובתו
רתו יהגה יומם ול
ילה

⁵⁰ See lines 13 and 14 in Figure 6 above (Hebrew text).

⁵¹ Given the number of spelling mistakes connected to phonetical misinterpretations this could well be the case.

⁵² Vespasiano, 3,202 (ed. Frati 1893).

⁵³ As witnessed in Vat. ebr. 75 and 82.



Figure 6: Città del Vaticano, Vat. Pal. lat. 18: Manetti's Vulgate with Hebrew in the margin (Ps. 7,1–11) (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

he studied, such as inserting foliation and numbering chapters, were all tools in the textual and philological research he conducted in quest of "his" *Hebraica veritas*. No doubt they all are precious evidences to the practices and methods of a fifteenth-century OFlorentine humanist scholar striving to unveil—relying on no intermediary versions—the true and uncontaminated meaning of the biblical text.

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Notes and colophons of scribes and readers in Georgian biblical manuscripts from Saint Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai)

In common with other language-traditions of late antique and medieval Christianity in the near east and beyond (Arabic, Armenian, Syriac, etc.), Georgian manuscripts reveal, in the colophons and notes of scribes and subsequent readers (and owners), a number of common topoi, such as prayer-requests, self-deprecation, and curses on those who would misuse the books. In addition these notes paint a picture of the histories of individual codices from copying to manuscript migration, and they sometimes even relate historical details for the places and the communities in which the books were made and used. Based on a small, but rich, corpus of Georgian biblical manuscripts, this presentation offers a survey, supported by many examples, of how scribes thought about their copying work and how readers and owners related to their books.

1 Introduction

The purpose of the following survey is to show how manuscripts, in this case Georgian¹ copies of parts of the Bible from the tenth to the fourteenth or fifteenth century in the collection of Saint Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai, may be a repository of much more than copies of their intended text. The manuscript corpus from which I have taken the examples that follow is the old part of the Sinai collection, the biblical manuscripts in particular. Digitized microfilms of the manuscripts of this collection, many of which go back to the tenth century, are available through the Library of Congress;² access to the new finds is not—not

yet, at least—so freely available. We have an excellent catalog for the old collection by Gérard Garitte.³

A list of the manuscripts in my corpus with a few details follows:

Shelfmark	Date	Script ⁴	Biblical contents	Garitte, <i>Cat.</i>
15	978	<i>nusxuri</i>	Gospels	pp. 46–49
16	10 th	<i>nusxuri</i>	Gospels	pp. 49–53
19	1074	<i>nusxuri</i>	Gospels	pp. 53–58
22	10 th /11 th	<i>nusxuri</i>	Psalter	pp. 58–59
29	10 th	<i>asomtavruli</i>	Psalter	pp. 66–69
30+38	979	<i>asomtavruli</i>	Gospels	pp. 69–71, 144–52
39	974	<i>asomtavruli</i>	Acts, Epist.	pp. 152–56
42	10 th	<i>asomtavruli</i>	Psalter	pp. 156–58
58+31+60	977	<i>asomtavruli</i> ⁵	Acts, Epist.	pp. 189–97
81	12 th /13 th	<i>nusxuri</i>	Gospels	pp. 253–58
85	12 th	<i>nusxuri</i>	Revelation	pp. 258–62
86	14 th /15 th	<i>nusxuri</i>	Psalter	pp. 262–63

This group of twelve manuscripts offers a reasonable sampling of the kinds of things beyond the main copied text(s) that we may find in Georgian manuscripts, biblical and otherwise. Indeed, an analogous study of Georgian hagiographic

¹ 27s+monastery,+mount+sinai:+microfilm+5011:+georgian (accessed 16 November 2017).

² Garitte 1956. The body of the catalogue is in French, with some Georgian parts of the manuscripts, including colophons and notes, translated into Latin. On the old and the new collections of the Georgian Sinai manuscripts, see further below.

³ There are three distinct Georgian alphabets: *asomtavruli*, *nusxuri*, and *mxedruli*. The first, a bold majuscule, is used in inscriptions (from the fifth century) and the oldest manuscripts. Manuscripts of religious content (Bible, liturgy, hagiography, etc.) are written either in *asomtavruli* or *nusxuri*, a minuscule used at least up to the eighteenth century, while secular texts (e.g. poetry, history) especially were written in *mxedruli*, first known from the eleventh century. For an introduction to Georgian paleography and codicology, see Birdsall 1991, 85–128, Gippert 2015, 175–86, and Pataridze 2015, 292–96. (The entire volume is available at <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/handbook.html> [accessed 27 June 2018].)

⁴ End material in *nusxuri*.

¹ Georgian is classified with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan in the Kartvelian language family. Within Old Georgian, attested in inscriptions and manuscripts from roughly the fifth to eleventh centuries, there is some variation, and the language continues to change into Middle (twelfth–eighteenth centuries) and Modern (eighteenth century to the present) Georgian; cf. Fähnrich 2012, 500–10. For a brief overview of some *instrumenta studiorum*, etc., available for Old Georgian, see McCollum 2014, 344–73, here 346–49.

² [https://www.loc.gov/collections/manuscripts-in-st-catherines-monastery-mount-sinai/?fa=partof:manuscripts+in+st.+catherine%](https://www.loc.gov/collections/manuscripts-in-st-catherines-monastery-mount-sinai/?fa=partof:manuscripts+in+st.+catherine%27s+monastery,+mount+sinai:+microfilm+5011:+georgian)

manuscripts has revealed much the same types.⁶ In addition, this Georgian data fits squarely within other scribal and reading traditions of Eastern Christianity, especially Syriac and Armenian, as well as Greek.⁷ From these Georgian biblical manuscripts⁸ I demonstrate a typology of scribes' and readers' interactions with (biblical) manuscripts.⁹

Georgians at Saint Catherine's reached in the ninth and tenth centuries a period of high literary and scribal activity and the sixteenth century as the end of particularly notable Georgian presence there, although even after that time some Georgians continued to visit the monastery. Archbishop Porphyrios Uspensky (1804–1885) visited the monastery and noted that there were Georgian manuscripts there,¹⁰ but it was not until the work of Alek'sandre C'agareli, who visited the monastery in 1883 and later published a catalog of 93 manuscripts,¹¹ that the collection became more accurately known. Nikolai Marr and Ivane Javaxišvili both visited the monastery in 1902 but their catalogs were published posthumously only some decades later: Marr's appeared in Russian in 1940¹² and Javaxišvili's in Georgian in 1947.¹³ These catalogs each cover only 44 manuscripts, and they note that some of the manuscripts that C'agareli had seen were no longer present or available. The Library of Congress sent an expedition to the monastery in 1950, and Gérard Garitte worked on the Georgian manuscripts, which were microfilmed at the time. His excellent catalog of the literary—i.e. non-liturgical—manuscripts, thirty-eight in number, from the collection was published in 1956, and he also published some

of the texts available in these manuscripts. As mentioned above, the whole collection, as scanned bitonal microfilms, is freely accessible online through the Library of Congress.¹⁴

2 The ways that scribes and readers interact with manuscripts

Although the terms “colophon,” “note,” “scribe,” and “reader” will be well-known to those interested in manuscripts, since we will often use them below, brief definitions for the words as used here are in order for greater clarity and certainty.

- (1) A scribe is a person who writes down a text for the first time or, using a previously written down text, makes another copy of the same, with the intention that the copied text be available to the scribe or to other people for reading.
- (2) A reader is a person who uses¹⁵—in the broadest sense—a manuscript's text(s), such as by reading for oneself, reciting to a group of listeners, or even briefly perusing various pages of a manuscript. Manuscript owners, too, may fall into this category.
- (3) A colophon¹⁶ is a place, usually at some logical division in the text being copied, where scribes may record their names, give thanks to a deity, note when and/or where the text in question was completed, for whom

⁶ Some such examples will be found in McCollum 2013, available at https://www.academia.edu/8469094/_I_have_written_this_holy_book_with_my_grossly_sinful_hand_An_Orientation_to_Georgian_Manuscripts_through_Hagiographic_Literature (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁷ Cf. McCollum 2015, 67–93, and my presentation for the (May) 2014 Beth Mardutho conference, “A Typology of Syriac Colophons with Examples from Manuscripts in Mardin and Jerusalem” (McCollum 2014a), slides of which are available at https://www.academia.edu/8469050/A_Typology_of_Syriac_Colophons_with_Examples_from_Manuscripts_in_Mardin_and_Jerusalem (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁸ I do not discuss here the textual situation of the Bible in Georgian: the various translations, the Vorlagen, etc. Some places to begin for the study of these matters are Childers 2012a, 162–78, Childers 2012b, 293–327, and papers in Amphoux/Elliott (eds.) 2012.

⁹ Two other recent studies of Georgian colophons, both more general than this one, appeared after this paper was essentially completed: Asatiani 2016 and Shurgaia 2016. The latter includes many samples from Georgian colophons both in Georgian and with an Italian translation.

¹⁰ He brought some manuscripts from Sinai back to Georgia, such as the manuscript now known as H 2123, a ninth-century collection of hymns. Cf. Garitte 1956, 405.

¹¹ C'agareli 1888.

¹² Marr/Javaxišvili 1940.

¹³ Javaxišvili 1947.

¹⁴ A host of new manuscripts were found in 1975, but they were not studied in detail until the 1990s. On these see especially the introductions (in Georgian, Greek, and English) of Alek'size et al. 2005. These new finds amount to 99 parchment books or parts thereof, 33 paper manuscripts, and 10 scrolls (6 of them on parchment). As with the old collection, a number of the manuscripts are from the ninth and tenth centuries. While we call these finds “old” and “new,” they are really one collection, and there is a close connection between them, that is, missing parts in one group are often filled out by the other. The result is that one must study the two catalogs, Garitte's and the new one, side-by-side. Needless to say, there is ample room for Georgian scholars to continue working on the Sinai manuscripts, from both the old and new finds, with promise of good fruits for various avenues of research. (And indeed, beyond Georgian: Sin. Geo. N 13 and N 55 are palimpsests which continue to be studied as witnesses in the under-text to Caucasian Albanian.)

¹⁵ As will be seen below, I have borrowed the term from the Georgian lexicon: მსახურება.

¹⁶ The catalogs of Georgian manuscripts in some cases include colophons or parts thereof. A collection of Georgian colophons (with English translation) is available in Jobaze 1976. See the study of a single colophon in Peeters 1932, 358–71. Specifically for the colophons of Ep'rem Mc'ire, see T'valt'vaze 2009, the texts of which are available online through the TITUS Project at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/origlit/efrem/efrem.htm> (accessed 16 November 2017).

the text was copied, etc., as well as mention things less directly related to the act of copying itself. The colophon is, in short, the place (or places) in a manuscript where the scribe steps out from his copying work and speaks as an extra.

- (4) A note is either something written in a manuscript by someone other than the scribe (i.e. a reader), or something written by the scribe, but not in a place typical for colophons, that is, somewhere other than the end of a text or section of text, or something that is not usual colophon material, which is outlined in the previous definition. In the case of a scribal note, I have in mind here mainly just written remarks recorded here and there in margins, or perhaps something non-colophonic recorded on an endpaper, or similar.

This means, of course, that notes and parts of colophons may be very similar in type, regardless of who, scribe or reader, writes them.

A further word must be said on the distinction between colophons and scribes, on the one hand, and notes and readers on the other. In analysis the two sides might be opposed to each other and made to be different classes. At least in terms of the definitions given above and of the categories as presented below, though, there are close similarities between these two potentially distinct sides. That is, a Venn diagram of the two would have a broad overlapping area. A case can be made for not drawing a hard and fast line between note and colophon, or to state it differently, the more suitable distinction might be formulated as being between copied text, on the one hand, and everything else (embracing both what might be called colophon and notes), on the other. One advantage of such a linked treatment of the conventional categories of colophon and note is that it allows a researcher to study the book, at a particular point in time, as an artifact of book history with a clear grasp of the especially unique parts of the book as a copy of another text. These unique parts are those that are not as such in other copies (real or theoretical) of the text in question.

Notes or parts of colophons sometimes have seemingly little to do with the text they accompany, and we seem to be missing some context for better understanding them. In the Gospel manuscript of Kuraši, for example, we have these two notes:

f. *77v თუ გინდა, აწიანა. აბგდ

If you like, (write down)¹⁷ the alphabet: *a, b, g, d*.¹⁸

¹⁷ With დასწერე understood.

¹⁸ Gippert 2013, 83–160, here 94–95.

f. *111v ზ(აკარი)ა მ(ომ)ანიჰე ერი შენო

Zakaria, give me your army.¹⁹

More often, however, notes and parts of colophons fall into recognizable categories. In what follows we present examples in Georgian from the Sinai manuscripts, accompanied here and there by analogous examples from other languages, according to these categories: prayer-requests, self-deprecation, copying details, historical details, curses against thieves. Following these five categories, I share a few more notes that do not easily fit into this categorization. This is not, of course, the only way to classify these and similar notes, and there is also some overlap among them. For example, a scribe might request prayers of forgiveness for his shoddy success as a scribe, something both a prayer and self-deprecation, or a scribe might mention the commissioner for the copying of a manuscript, which is both a historical and a copying detail.

2.1 Prayer-requests

Scribes and readers often pen prayer-requests for themselves, their family members, their spiritual companions, and sometimes those who aided the scribe in producing the manuscript in question. From the old Sinai collection we have, as expected, many examples.²⁰ Scribes and readers especially record prayer-requests for themselves, for family members, and fellow monks. From no. 15, f. 138v:

დაესრულა წ(მიდა)ჲ ს(ა)ხ(არ)ებ(ა)ჲ თავი წ(მიდ)ისა მ(ა) რ(ო)ზ მ(ა)ხ(არ)ებ(ელ)ის(ა)ჲ მხ(რ)ე(კ)ალი ამისი ი(ო)ვა ნე ფ(რ)ად ცოდვილი და მშ(ო)ბელნი და მმანი ჩემნი ლოცვასა²¹ წ(მიდა)სა თქ(უ)ენსა გვედ(ი)ეთ და ყ(ოვე)ლი დაკლ(ებ)ულ(ებ)აჲ ჩემი შემინ(დ)დვ(ე)თ

The holy Gospel, the book of Mark the holy Evangelist, is finished. The writer of this [book], Iovane, very much a sinner, my parents, and brothers are entrusted to you in your holy prayers. Forgive me everything I lack!

¹⁹ Gippert 2013, 101.

²⁰ These main Georgian excerpts are given transliterated into *mxedruli*. The English translations are my own, although I have consulted Garitte's Latin renderings, too. The very frequent use of abbreviations, not only for *nomina sacra* but for many other word-types, is a main characteristic of Georgian scribal practice. For the excerpts from the old Sinai collection given here, these filled out abbreviations are indicated in parentheses.

²¹ In the manuscript the first three letters of the word were written, then the whole word written again.

The scribe of the manuscript now no. 38 calls for readers to pray for himself, his family, and other loved ones (f. 98v):

მზრ(ე)კ(ა)ლი ამისი ი(ო)ვანე ფ(რ)იად ც(ო)დ(ვი)ლი და მშ(ო)ბ(ე)ლნი და ძმ(ა)ნი ჩ(ე)მნი და ყ(ო)ველ(ნი) ცოცხ(ა)ლნი და გ(ა)რდ(ა)ც(ვალე)ბ(უ)ლნი ჩ(ე)მნი ს(უ)ლ(ი)ერნი და ჯ(ო)რც(ი)ელნი ლ(ო)ც(ვა)სა თქ(უ)ენსა გვედიეთ

Remember in your prayer the scribe of this [book], Iovane, very much a sinner, and my parents and brothers, and all my living and dead [relations], spiritual and physical.

And in this brief line, the prayer is for the monks of Sinai (no. 22, f. 223v):

ქ(რ)ისტე შ(ე)იწყალენ ყ(ო)ველნი ძმანი სინელნი ამენ

Christ, have mercy on all the Sinaite brothers! Amen.

In no. 29, the scribe explicitly calls on female readers alongside the more commonly mentioned male readers in his request that they commemorate him as they read (ff. 77v–78r):

გვედრები სატანრელნო (sic) ძმანო (f. 78r) და დანო სახელით თქ(უ)ენცა მომიკსენეთ მე იოვანე საწყალობელი მდღელი და მწარედ ცოდვილი ლ(ო)ც(ვა)სა წ(მი)დასა თქ(უ)ენცა ღ(მერთმა)ნ მოგიკსენენ მას საკვანესა ამენ იყავნ

I ask you (?)²² brothers and sisters, remember me by name, Iovane the miserable priest and grievous sinner, in your holy prayers; God will²³ remember you eternally. Amen, let it be!

Sometimes scribes specifically call on biblical figures as intercessors, as in no. 39, f. 87v:

წ(მი)დანო მ(ო)ც(ი)ქ(უ)ლნი მ(ე)ოხ გ(უ)ყვ(ე)ნით წ(ინა)შე ღ(მრ)თისა ლ(ო)ც(ვა)სა ყ(ავ)თ ქ(რ)ისტე შ(ე)იწყალე ი(ო)ვანე

Holy apostles, be intercessors for us before God! Pray! Christ, have mercy on Iovane!²⁴

And later at greater length in the same manuscript (f. 132r):

სახელითა მამისათა და ძისათა და ს(უ)ლისა წ(მი)დიათა მ(ე)ოხ(ე)ბითა წ(მი)დისა ღ(მრ)თის მშ(ო)ბ(ე)ლის(ა)თა მადლითა წ(მი)დისა ადგომისათა და ს(ი)ნა წ(მი)დის(ა)თა და ყ(ო)ველთა წ(მი)დათა ადგ(ი)ლთათა მ(ე)ოხ(ე)ბითა წ(მი)დისა ი(ო)ვ(ა)ნე ნათლისმცემლისათა და წ(მი)დისა [სტ(ე)]ფ(ა)ნესითა წ(მი)დათა მ(ო)ც(ი)ქ(უ)ლთა წ(ინა)სწ(არმე)ტყ(უ)ელთა მდღელთ მოძლ(უ)ართა წ(მი)დათა მ(ო)წ(ა)მეთათა წ(მი)დათა მამათათა მ(ე)ოხ(ე)ბითა წ(მი)დისა და დ(იდე)ბ(უ)ლისა მოსე დიდისა წ(ინა)სწ(არმე)ტყ(უ)ელისა და ყ(ო)ველთა წ(მი)დათა მადლითა

²² The word here, an adjective, is not known to me. Garitte also apparently found it unusual, but he renders it with “desiderati.”

²³ Or “May God ...”

²⁴ Not Iovane Zosime.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the holy Theotokos, by the grace of the holy resurrection, holy Sinai, and all holy places, through the intercession of John the Baptist, saint [Ste]phen, the holy apostles, prophets, priests, teachers, the holy martyrs, the holy Fathers, through the intercession of holy and glorious Moses, the great prophet, and by the grace of all the saints...

In addition to the scribe and family members and fellow monks, prayers may be requested for other participants in the making of the book. In no. 38, f. 143r:

ქ(რ)ისტე შ(ე)იწყალე (sic)²⁵ მწ(ე)რ(ა)ლნი და შემწენი და მომგებ(ე)ლნი მის წ(მი)დისა წიგნ(ი)ს(ა)ნი და მკითხვე(ე)ლნი და მსმ(ე)ნ(ე)ლნი

Christ, have mercy on the scribes, helpers, and purchasers of this holy book, and on the readers and hearers.

And in no. 39, f. 128v:

ქ(რ)ისტე შ(ე)იწყალე მ(ი)ქ(ა)ელ ამის წიგნისა მომგებელი და ი(ო)ვ(ა)ნე მწ(ე)რალი და ზერი ჩემი ზ(ა)ს(ი)ლი და ყ(ო)ველნი ძმანი და მოძლ(უ)არნი ჩემნი ი(ო)ვ(ა)ნე გ(ი)ორგი კ(ვრი)კე გ(ა)ბ(რი)ელ ლ(ო)ც(ვა)სა ყ(ავ)თ

Christ, have mercy on Michael, the purchaser of the book, on Iovane the scribe, on my elder Basil, and on all my brother and teachers: Iovane, Giorgi, Kwirike, Gabriel. Pray!

The setting of later notes is especially not always known, as in this generic prayer-request (no. 38, f. 144v):

მას ჟ(ა)მსა დავწერე ესე ოდეს ლპტ თორქთა გაუშუეს. გვედრები არა ღირსი ლ(ო)ცვა ყ(ავ)თ

In that time I wrote this when the Turks sent *lpt*²⁶ away. I, someone unworthy, beg you: pray!

Scribes were aware that their work would outlast them, and that the results of their scribal labors may someday rest in the hands of future readers, readers to whom some scribes addressed prayer-requests. In no. 39, f. 132r a note reads:

და აწ გვედრები თქ(უ)ენ ყ(ო)ველთა ღ(მრ)თის მ(ო)ყ(უ)არეთა მდღელთა და რ(ომელ)ნი იმსახ(უ)რ(ე)ბდ(ე)თ წ(მი)დათა ამათ წიგნთა მოგვკსენენით წ(მი)დასა ლ(ო)ც(ვა)სა თქ(უ)ენსა ს(უ)ლნი ჩ(უ)ენ ყ(ო)ველთანი ... და მე შემინდვეთ ყ(ო)ველი დაკლებ(უ)ლი და ლ(ო)ცვა აქციეთ და ღ(მერთმა)ნ თქ(უ)ენ ყ(ო)ველთა ლ(ო)ც(ვა)სა [სქმნელ ყ(ავ)ნ და შეიწირენ მაქს(ე)ნებ(ე)ლთა ჩ(უ)ენთ(ა)ნი ამენ

²⁵ That is, not შეიწყალენ, which is expected here.

²⁶ These letters apparently stand for the object, that which the Turks sent away. If the letters are read with their numerical value, we have 30–80–300, but this would be an unusual construction.

And now I beg you, all the friends of God, priests, and those who will use these holy books, remember the souls of us all in your holy prayers, ... and forgive all that is too little, and turn it to prayer, and may God make the prayer of all of you heard, and may he accept our commemorations.

Similar notes are found in manuscripts no. 58, 31 and 60. A note in no. 60, f. 12r says:

აწ ძმანო ს(ა)ყ(უ)არ(ე)ლნო რ(ომელ)ნი ღირს იქმნეთ შემდგომად ჩ(უ)ენსა მსახურებად და კითხვად წ(მიდა)სა ამას სახარებასა პავლეს მ(ო)ც(ი)ქ(უ)ლისა ქადაგებულსა და ოდეს აღმოკითხვიდეთ მოიკსენეთ ს(უ)ლნი ჩ(უ)ენნი და ს(უ)ლნი მშობელთა ჩ(უ)ენთანი წ(მიდა)თა ლოცვათა თქ(უ)ენთა ღ(მრ)თის შეწყნარებულთა რ(აძთ)ა ღ(ი)რს ვიქმნეთ მარჯუენით ქ(რისტ)ჴსა დღ(ე)სა მას ს(ა)შ(ე)ლის(ა)სა და თქ(უ)ენცა ო(კვალ)მან შეგიწყალენ

Now, beloved brothers, those of you who become worthy after us to use and read this holy Gospel preached by Paul the Apostle, when you read, remember our souls and the souls of our parents in your holy prayers accepted by God, that we might become worthy at the right hand of Christ on the day of judgement, and may the Lord also have mercy on you.

Finally, this same sense of a manuscript's survival beyond the life and labor of the scribe meant that scribes could see the manuscripts they copied as a lasting memorial, not only for themselves, but for anyone they might name, in the mouths and hearts of those same future readers just referred to. In no. 15, f. 292r, at the end, after the Gospel of John, following a lengthy list of intercessors, a scribe explains:

და შევწირეთ მუნცა მთასა წ(მიდა)სა სინასა საყ(ო)ფ(ე)ლსა წ(მი)დისა მოსწსა სალოცველად და მოსაქსენებელად ს(უ)ლისა ჩ(უ)ენისა თვს და მშ(ო)ბ(ე)ლთა და ძმათა და მოძღ(უ)ართა და ყ(ოვე)ლისა ერისა და ნათესავისა ჩ(უ)ენისა ცოცხალთა და გარდაცვ(ა)ლებ(უ)ლთა²⁷ თვს

And we offered it there on holy Mount Sinai, the refuge of holy Moses, for prayer and for a memorial for our soul[s], and those of our parents, brothers, teachers, and all our people and generation, living and dead.

And in no. 39, f. 132r, the scribe indicates that he undertook the work:

ბრძანებითა პატროსნისა მღდელისა მ(ი)ქ(ა)ელ დეკანოზისაძათა მოსაქსენ(ე)ბ(ე)ლ(ა)დ და სალოცველ(ა)სა და ს(უ)ლისა ჩ(უ)ენისა თვს და ს(უ)ლ(ი)სა მშ(ო)ბ(ე)ლთა და ძმათა და ყ(ოვე)ლთა გარდაცვალებულთა ჩ(უ)ენთა თვს და ბერისა ჩემისა ბ(ა)სილისა

... at the command of the worthy priest, Michael, the deacon, for the commemoration of, and prayer for, our soul and the

soul of our parents, brothers, and all our departed, and of my elder, Basil.

Outside the Sinai collection, in Paris, BnF, géo. 8 (twelfth century) we have these simple examples (both in *mxe druli*):

f. 60r ყოველნო წმიდანო ღირსნო, მაცხოვრე ცოდვილი ანუკა

All you worthy saints, save me, the sinner Anuka!

f. 96r ქრისტე. ადიდე, ღმერთო, ბატონი კათალიკოზი დიასამისძე იოვანე.

Christ! Glorify, O God, the lord katholikos Iovane Diasamisze.

Commemorations like this are not at all uncommon.²⁸ They are sometimes worked into colophons themselves by the scribe, as here from Paris, BnF, géo. 9 (eleventh century), f. 65r:

:ქრისტე მეოვფეო ყოველთა საოკუპნეთაო დაიცე სულიერად და ჯორციელად ლეონტი მთავარბისკოპოსი ამინ

Christ! O king of everything eternal, protect in spirit and in body Leonti the archbishop! Amen.

The same manuscript offers us a prayer-note from the hand of a later reader named Onop're (f. 121r):

უფალო შეიწყალე ტფილელ ყოფილი ონოფრე ერისთავის ძე

Lord, have mercy on Onop're, formerly of T'p'ili, son of the duke [*erist'avi*].

2.2 Scribal self-deprecation

Christian humility, whether real or feigned, led scribes to describe themselves in terms less than flattering. From the old Sinai collection, we begin by pointing out that one of the very common ways for a scribe to refer to manuscript copying is to use the root ჩხრეკ-.²⁹ The verb ჩხრეკა means “to scratch,³⁰ poke, smear,” and by extension, “to scrawl, write poorly.” (We also see the verb with a preverb: დაჩხრეკა.) For “(bad) scribe, scrawler” with this root we also have the *nomen agentis* მჩხრეკალი. The less marked root for “to write, copy” is წერ-, such as in the verbs გარდაწერა, დაწერა, and in the *nomen agentis* მწერალი.

²⁸ Another manuscript now in Paris (BnF, géo. 4, thirteenth/fourteenth century), a synaxarion, is replete with such notes.

²⁹ On which see Fähnrich 2007, 549–50.

³⁰ Cf. German *kratzen* and *kritzeln*.

²⁷ Garitte has გარდაცვ(ა)ლებ(ე)ლთა.

No. 19, f. 53v reads:

ოვცხად ჩხრეკისა თვს შემინდვეთ

Forgive me for the ignorant scrawling!³¹

Similarly, still referring to bad writing, yet with different language (no. 81, f. 255v):

დ(იდე)ბ(ა)დ ლ(მერთსა) დაესრ(ულ)ა წ(მიდა)დ ს(ა)ხ(არე)ბ(ა)დ
ოთხივე თავი სრულებით და სძიებელი სრ(ულ)ებით. ლ(ო)
ც[ვ] (ა) ყ<თ>ვთ ლ(მერთ)ისა ს(ი)ყ(უ)არულსა და ნუ მწყ(ე)
ვთ ჰავ(ა)დ წერის(ა) თ(ვ)ს მე გლ(ა)ხ(აკსა) მეტი არ ვიცოდე.
ვისსაცა კ(ე)ლსა დარჩეს შე(ემდგომა)დ ჩ(ე)მსა ფ(რია)დ ლ(ო)
ცვა ყ(ავ)თ

Glory to God! The holy Gospel – four parts in full and a collection in full – is finished. Pray in the love of God, and do not curse me on account of the writing, it being bad: poor me, I knew nothing more. To whosoever hand it will (eventually) remain after me, pray much!

References to scrawling may be combined with mention of poor health, including some degree of blindness. No. 38, f. 115r:

ვჩხ(რი)ვე წ(მიდა)დ ესე წ(ი)გნი ... და სხ(უ)ად ესე ყ(ოვე)
ლი განგებ(ა)დ კელითა ჩემითა ფ(რია)დ ც(ო)დ(ვი)ლ(ი)თა
დღეთა ოდენ ბოროტად მოხოვეტ(უ)ლ(ე)ბისა ჩემისათა
დაიად ხაშმმან და ბრმამან

I scrawled this holy book ... and all this other guidance³² by my own very sinful hand, right in the days for the evil of my old age while I was very sick and blind.³³

Sometimes scribes just affirm the poor state of their bodies. In no. 15, the famous Iovane Zosime writes on f. 292, after the Gospel of John,

...მომემაღლა მე ფ(რია)დ ცოდვ(ი)ლსა ი(ოვ)ანეს და
დავჩხრივე წ(მიდა)დ ესე სახ(არე)ბად ოთხთავი კელითა ჩემ
ცოდვილ(ი)ს(ა)მთა დაიად ხაშმმ(ან) და ბრმამან და დაიად
ულონომან სინა წ(მიდა)ს თანაშეწ(ე)ენითა მმათა ჩემთათა
გ(იორგ)ისითა და კ(ვრიკ)ესითა და მოძღურისა ჩ(უე)ნისა
გ(ა)ბ(რიე)ლისითა

³¹ Cf. also no. 85, f. 43r ლ(ო)ცვა ყავთ გლახაკისა მოსწს თვსცა ლ(მერთ)მან დაგაჯეროს და შემინდვეთ უცხად ჩხრეკისა თვს... Pray also for poor Mose—God will³¹ make you content!—and forgive me for the ignorant scrawl!

³² That is, the divine guidance in Scripture.

³³ Cf. also no. 60, f. 12r: და მე რ(ომელი) დამეკლოს შემინდვეთ რ(ადმეთუ) უგუნურად მჩხრეკალი ვიყავ და ლ(მერთ)მან იცის გუამითა დაიად ხაშმი და ო(ვვალ)ი ლ(მერთ)ი იყავნ თქ(უე)ნ თ(ა)ნა ყ(ოვე)ლსა ჟამსა ამენ.

and whatever may be lacking on my part, forgive, because I was a stupid scrawler, and, God knows, exceedingly sick in body, and may the Lord God be with you all the time. Amen.

It was granted to me, the sinner Iovane, and I scrawled this holy Gospel in four parts, with my greatly sinful hand, I being sick, blind, and very weak, on holy Sinai, with the holy help of my brothers Giorgi and Kwirike and our teacher Gabriele.

The most basic kind of self-deprecation is the repeated naming of oneself a sinner or sinful, and this is very frequent in Georgian notes and colophons.³⁴ From no. 39, f. 132r, we have a simple example:

მომემაღლა მე ფ(რია)დ ცოდვილსა ი(ო)ვ(ან)ეს დაწერად
წ(მიდა)დ ესე წიგნი ს(ა)ქმწ წ(მიდა)თა მ(ო)ც(ი)ქ(უ)ლოთა
კელითა ჩემითა ფ(რია)დ ცოდვილითა და დაიად უცბებით

It was granted to me, very much a sinner, Iovane,³⁵ to write this holy book, Acts(s) of the Holy Apostles, with my very sinful hand in great ignorance.

And in different language, but with the same sentiment, another example (no. 29, f. 77v):

ღირს მყო მე ო(ვვალ)მან ნარჩევი ესე მონად ლ(მერთ)სა
დაწერად წ(მიდა)დ ესე ღ(ავი)თი

The Lord made me, this worst servant of God, worthy to copy this holy Psalter.

This feature of scribal self-deprecation is not unique to Georgian, but a characteristic that spans the centuries of Christian scribal activity. For example, “one who is far from good things, and close to evil things,”³⁶ “in name a monk and elder, in deed more evil than the devil,”³⁷ and “the scribe Astuadzatur the presbyter, who am called a priest in name, but am not such in deed.”³⁸ Longer examples across the language-traditions are plentiful, but I give only one more example in Armenian: “I beg you to remember in the Lord, Ezekiel, a dead spirit, void of good and empty of grace, and to be indulgent of my rude penmanship and of my blunders, because of the great sorrow which has befallen the Armenian nation.”³⁹

2.3 Copying details

Copying details are perhaps the most immediately thought of parts of a colophon: when the book was finished, where it was copied, for whom it was copied, the scribe’s name,

³⁴ The notion is biblical, of course. See, for example I Tim. 1,15.

³⁵ A different Iovane than Iovane Zosime.

³⁶ Jerusalem, Monastery of St. Mark, 58, p. 378.

³⁷ Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 73, p. 541.

³⁸ Translated from the Armenian by Conybeare (1913, 294).

³⁹ Conybeare 1913, 196.

etc. These parts of colophons may include indications of very particular writing circumstances.

A hallmark of copying details is the giving of the completion date of a manuscript. Here are some examples from the old Sinai collection:⁴⁰ No. 15, f. 292r has:

ოდეს ესე დაიწერა სინა წ(მიდა)ს ჳ[ელითა] ი(ოვანე) ფ(რია) დ ც(ო)დ(ვი)ლისა ი(ოვანე) ზ(ოს)ი(მ)ი(ს)ითა დ[...] წელნი იყვნეს ხვჳბ და ქ(რონი)კ(ონი) იყო [...]

When this was written on holy Sinai by the hand of Iovane, very much a sinner, Iovane [...], the years were 6582 and the chronicon was [...].

No. 38, f. 139v:

ოდეს ესე დაიწერა ჳელითა ი(ოვანე) ფ(რია)დ ც(ო)დ(ვი)ლი საათა ქ(რონი)კ(ონი) იყო ქ(ართ)ლად რჳთ და ბე(რ)მ(უ)ლ(ა)დ ჳზ.

When this [book] was written by the hand of Iovane, very much a sinner, the chronicon was, according to Georgian reckoning, 199 [= 979 C.E.], and according to Greek reckoning, 87.

And later in the same manuscript, f. 143r:

ოდეს ესე წიგნი დაიწერა და შეიმოსა და განსრ(უ)ლდა ჳელითა ი(ოვანე) ფ(რია)დ ც(ო)დ(ვი)ლისა ზ(ოს)ი(მ)ი(ს)ითა სინა წ(მიდა)ს დასაბამით განნი წელნი იყვნეს ბერმ(უ)ლად ხვოა და ქ(რონი)კ(ონი) იყო ჳზ და ქ(ართ)ლ(ა)დ დასაბ(ამ)ით გ(ა)ნნი წელნი იყვნეს ხვჳბ და ქ(რონი)კ(ონი) იყო რჳთ.

When this book was copied, bound, and finished by the hand of the very sinful Iovane Zosime on holy Sinai, the years from the beginning were, according to Greek reckoning, 6471, and the chronicon was 87; and according to Georgian reckoning, the years from the beginning were 6583, and the chronicon was 199 [= 979 C.E.].

No. 60, f. 12r has:

დას(ა)ბ(ამ)ით განნი წელნი იყვნეს ხვჳა და კ(რონი)კ(ონი) იყო რჳზ და ლ(ო)ც(ვა) ყ(ავ)თ

The years [as counted] from the beginning [of the world] were 6581 and the chronicon was 197 [= 977 C.E.]. And pray!

Sometimes the scribe comments on the available writing materials, and even on the exemplar used. In no. 38, f. 141r, the scribe complains of a lack of parchment and the small writing of his exemplar:

და სხ(უ)ა დიად მრ(ა)ვ(ა)ლი განგებ(ა)დ ვერ დ(ა)ვწ(ე)რე მრ(ა)ვლისა მიზეზისა გ(ა)ნ და ეტრატისა არა ქონებითა.

⁴⁰ On date-reckoning in Georgian manuscripts, including the use of the chronicon, see Birdsall 1991, 102–3, and Müller 2007, 521–22.

და ესეცა⁴¹ რ(ომე)ლი დავწერე გორმართებით დავზხრივე სიბრძითა დედად წურილად წერილ იყო.

And I did not write much other guidance for several reasons, including my not having parchment. What I did write [?], I scrawled in blindness. The exemplar was written with small writing.

Oppositely, the following scribal note praising the available paper is written along the outer margin of no. 81, f. 231v:

კარგი ქალადი გაჳმარჯჳ ო(ვვალ)ო წერად უცთომელი⁴²

I have labored on good paper, Lord, [suitable as to receive] flawless writing.

As examples from another tradition, I give four Armenian notes from the fifteenth century in this category:⁴³ “... because of the severity of the winter, the darkness during the daytime, and from the lightning at night... do not blame me, for this is the best I could do, because this place was dark and it was wintertime”;⁴⁴ “Now, this [book] was written ... in bitter and evil times, at the end of my transient life”;⁴⁵ “... because I wrote this at night under a lamp; every night I copied eight folios, but during the day only two or three folios”;⁴⁶ and finally, “a mouse urinated on the margin.”⁴⁷

Finally, we may point out that, not scribes, but owners and readers may tell us something of the book’s later history. We know, for example, that Paris, BnF, géo. 28 was rebound two times. The first time was by an archbishop named Vlase (or Vlasi); we find the handwriting of this same Vlase also in Vind. geo. 4, which he rebound in the year 1570. His note begins (f. 305r):

დ(იდე)ბ(ა)დ ღ(მერთ)სა სროჯლმყოფელსა ყ(ოვლ)ისა კ(ე) თილის(ა)სა ღირს ვიქმენ მე ოჯრბნ(ე)ლ მთ(ა)ვ(არ)ებისკ(ო) ჳ(ოს)ი ვლასი შეკაზმად წ(იგნ)ისა ამის წიგნისა ს(ა)ნატრ(ე) ლისა რ(ომელი) ჟ(ა)მთა სიგრძის(ა)გ(ა)ნ გ(ა)ნრყოვნილ⁴⁸ და უქმარ ქმნილ იყო და ჩ(უენ) ახლ(ა)დ ბრმ(ან)ნ(ე)ბითა და ჳ(ე)რჩინ(ე)ბითა⁴⁹ მ(ა)მისა ჩ(უენ)ისა ტფილელ მთ(ა)ვ(ა)

⁴¹ Ms. ეესეცა.

⁴² Ms. უცთომელი.

⁴³ Armenian colophon excerpts cited in this format are from Xač’ikyan 1955 and 1958, with English translation from Sanjian 1969. For more on Armenian colophons, see the items listed in Thomson 1995, 105–6.

⁴⁴ No. 69a in Xač’ikyan 1955, 63–64/Sanjian 1969, 22.

⁴⁵ No. 199 in Xač’ikyan 1955, 186–87/Sanjian 1969, 127.

⁴⁶ No. 411 in Xač’ikyan 1955, 387/Sanjian 1969, 22.

⁴⁷ No. 454b in Xač’ikyan 1958, 358/Sanjian 1969, 24.

⁴⁸ Ms. გ(ა)ნრყოვნილ.

⁴⁹ The writer left the abbreviation mark off.

რებისკ(ო)პოსისა ბ(ა)რნ(ა)ბ(ა)ისითა კელ-ყვ(ა)ვ შევ(ა)ზმ(ვა) და სალ(ო)ცველ(ა)დ ც(ო)დვილისა ს(უ)ლისა ჩ(ემ)ისა...

Glory to God, completer of everything good! I, archbishop Vlasi, have been made worthy to prepare this book, a book worthy of desire, which, thanks to length of time, had become trashed and unusable. At the recent command and consideration as necessary of our father the archbishop of Tp'ilisi, Barnabas, I set to work preparing [the book], in prayer for my sinful soul ...

2.4 Historical details

Here in view may be references to more or less well-known historical figures, the recorded witnessing of some local event, notices of the history of the text being copied (e.g. its translation), or day-to-day activities within the community where a text was copied. These historical particulars, then, touch not only on events, great or small, but on literary and textual history, such as translation and where and when certain texts were available to readers.⁵⁰

From the old collection of the Georgian Sinai manuscripts, let us begin with references to the “new translation,” the text revised by Giorgi,⁵¹ also mentioned in the new collection (no. 19, f. 53v).

ახალ თარგმ(ა)ნილისა გ(ა)ნ დაგვწერია და დედად დიად მართალი არს

We have translated from the new translation, and it is quite proper [to serve] as an exemplar.

The same is again on f. 262r and followed by

ამ(ა)თ ძუელთა სახ(ა)რ(ე)ბათა ზოგზოგი სიტყ(უ)აჲ არა ეწამების

Some expressions are not found in the old Gospels.

Similar notes are in no. 81, ff. 68v, 169r, and from the new collection, in Sin. Geo. N 12 (254–256/383–384),⁵² we have another reference to the “new translation.”

⁵⁰ Not surprisingly, remarks about translation appear in the colophons and notes of other scribal traditions, too. Just from Gə'əz, for example: London, BL, Or. 692, f. 96r, “‘Abd al-Masih translated it from Arabic to Gə'əz,” and London, BL, Or. 686, f. 27r, “This book was translated from Coptic to Gə'əz.” For these manuscripts, see Wright 1877, 165–66.

⁵¹ On the revisions of Giorgi (d. 1065) and Ep'rem Mc'ire (d. ca. 1094), see Childers 2012b, 316–20.

⁵² References to the new collection of Georgian manuscripts at Sinai include page numbers for the Georgian and English parts of Alek'size et al. 2005, the latter being the source of the English translations given here.

წმიდანო მამანო, ვინ ღირს იკმნეთ შემდგომად ჩუენსა კმარებად წმიდასა ამას სახარებასა, ლოცვა ყავთ ღმრთისა სიყუარულისათჳს და რომელი დამეკლოს, შემინდევით. ახალ თარგმნილისაგან დაგვწერია და დედად დიად მართალ არს. ... ახალ თარგმნილისაგან დაგვწერია და დედად დიად მართალ არს. ხოლო ესე ჭემმარტებით იგოდეთ, რომელ მახარებელთა თქუმული ესთენ არს, რამეთუ კოსტანტიპოლეს შინა დამარხულ არს წმიდათა მახარებელთა კელითავე აღწერილი წმიდაჲ სახარებაჲ ძელისა ცხორებისასა თანა სამეფოსა საგანძურსა შინა და მისგან თარგმნილ არს. ამათ ძუელთა სახარებათა ზოგი რამეჲ სიტყუაჲ არა ეწამების.

Saintly fathers, who will be deemed worthy to use this holy Evangelion after us, pray, for the love of God, and forgive me the faults. I have copied this from the new translation and, being very true, it can be used for an original. And know that this is the truth: it represents the words spoken by the Evangelists, inasmuch as the holy Evangelion, written by the hand of the holy Evangelists themselves, is kept in Constantinople in the royal treasury, together with the Cross [lit. “tree of life”], and the new translation was made from it. Some sentences [or “words”] do not agree with those of the old Evangelions.⁵³

The famous Euthymius (Georgian: Ek'vt'ime or, as below, Ep't'wime) the Athonite (d. 1028) translated Revelation into Georgian,⁵⁴ as clearly stated in a memorial and prayer-request in no. 85, ff. 42v–43r:

რ(ომელ)ნიცა ამას საკვრველსა წიგნსა იკითხვიდეთ ლოცვა ყავთ ღ(მერთმა)ნ დაგაჯეროს გლახაკსა ეფთჳმშს თჳს ამის წიგნისა მთარგმნელისა და რ(ომელ)ნი გარ (f. 43r) დასწერდეთ დასასრულსა ნუ დაივიწყებთ ჩემსაცა სა[ხელ]სა დაწერად.

Those of you who might read this wonderful book [Revelation], pray—God will⁵⁵ make you content!—for poor Ep't'wime, translator of this book, and those of you who might copy it, do not forget to write my name at the end.

Further historical particulars appearing in these Georgian biblical manuscripts have to do with books and

⁵³ In the new collection, Sin. Geo. N 19 (265/392), gives us another scribal reference to translation:

მე, ფრიად ცოდვილსა იოვანეს და დავჭხრიკე წმიდაჲ ესე წიგნი იადგარი – მსგებსი ახალი, რომელი ახლად გამოვიდა ჩუენდა ენად კჳპრიით, ამას უნდოსა და შებღარჯულსა ეტრატსა ზედა სადედედ კელითა ფრიად ცოდვილისადათა დღეთა ოდენ ბოროტად მოხუცებულ[ობისა] ჩემისათა სინაწმიდას.

I, the great sinner *Iovane*, have been granted the grace to write this holy book, *Iadgari*, the new Oktoechos (*msgebsi*), which has recently been translated into our language on Cyprus (*kwipri*) and has come from there, on this inferior and badly sewn parchment, to serve as an original. I, the great sinner, have done this with my own hand in the days of my vile old age at holy Sinai.

⁵⁴ See Childers 2012b, 315–16.

⁵⁵ Or “May God ...”

(= 1651/2 CE), Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, 40, f. 206v, there is a brief mention of snowfall in 2156 AG (= 1844 CE).⁶⁵

Finally, to return to Georgian, for comparison with the evidence about local community activities in the old collection, here from the new collection, in Sin. Geo. N 2 (247/375), we read of a specific architectural endeavor, with the addition of an obviously stated social viewpoint:

და ნებითა ღმრთისადათა [მოვედ] წინაშე წმიდასა ამას მთასა სულთა ნავთსაყუდელსა. და მომადლებითა ღმრთისადათა აღვაშენე [მცირე] ეკლესია გარეგან კართა ზედა დიდისა ეკლესიისა და [კულავ აღვაშენე] სახლები სადგურად არ[ა] ბათაღს ლოცვად [სულისა ჩემი]სა. და პირველ სადგურად ღამე წმიდა ეკლესია იყო [და იყო შეურ(?)]აცხად [წმიდა] ი (?) ეკლესია სიმერალისა მათისაგან, ხოლო მე [აწ უკუე] გარეგან ვყავ ღამე საყოფელი და სა[დ]გური მათი. [ბრძან] ებითა და შეწევნითა ღმრთისადათა მოუგე წმიდასა მთასა [...] წიგნები ჩემითა გულსმოდგინებითა და ლუაწლითა [საყუარე]ლთა ღმრთისმოყუარეთა და პატიოსანთა მღვდელთა:

And by the will of God [I have come] to this holy mountain, the spiritual harbour. And by the grace of God I have built a [small] church outside the doors of the Great church. And [also] I have [bui]lt houses for the Arabs to stay there and to pray for my [soul]. [Earli]er (?) the holy church was the place to stay there and to sleep at night. And the ho[ly] church was [defi]led at night by their foul stench; therefore I [have now] made their abode and their staying-place outside. By the [com]mand of God and with his aid, as a result of my diligence and the toil of [belo]ved God-loving and worthy priests, I have acquired books for the Holy Mount.

2.5 Curses against thieves

Curses against would-be book thieves—penned by scribes or by subsequent owners—are especially rich across several language-traditions,⁶⁶ and the sentiment to warn people against messing with one’s copying work with divine retribution is, no surprise, older than manuscripts, as Akkadian colophons bear witness.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Image and English translation at <http://wp.me/p21AWp-zm> (accessed 16 November 2017).

⁶⁶ For a brief presentation of examples from western European manuscripts, see Drogin 1983.

⁶⁷ Hermann Hunger collected a large number of Akkadian colophons (and translated them into German) some years ago (Hunger 1968). There are actually a number of similar characteristics between these Akkadian colophons and later colophons in manuscripts, but for the present feature I point only to Hunger’s no. 240, where the scribe calls upon the wrath of Šamaš, Nabû, and other gods, and no. 291, ll. 5-7, which reads, after a list of named deities, “[may...] the gods of heaven, of earth, and all the gods of the land of Assyria together

From the old Sinai collection in Georgian, there are not many such warnings, but we do have a very memorable curse likening the accursed person to heretics and to Cain (no. 60, f. 11v)!

აწ ნუმცა ვის ჳელეწიფების ამის წ(მი)დისა წიგნისა გამოკუეზბად ამის წ(მი)დისა მთისა სინაჲსა გ(ა)ნ და უკუეთუ ვინმე იკადროს და ჳელეოს ამის წიგნისა წარღებ(ა) ი ამის წ(მი)დისა ადგილისა გ(ა)ნ წ(მიდა)მცა მოსე წინაწარმეტყუელი მოსაჯულ იქმნების წ(ინაშე) ო(ჯვლ)ისა ს(უ)ლსა მისსა დღესა მას საშუკელისასა და შემცაჩუენებულ არს იგი ვ(ითარც)ა არიოზ და ნისტორ და ვ(ითარც)ა ყ(ოველ) ნი მწვალებელნი და ვ(ითარც)ა კენ მძისმკლველი⁶⁸ და ვინ კუ(ა)ლ(ა)დ⁶⁹ შმვდობასა ჳყოფდეს მშ(ვ)დ(ო)ბ(ა)იგა პოოს წ(ინაშე) ქ(რისტ)ესა ო(კ)კ(უნისამდე) ა(მე)ნ.

Now no one has the right to remove this holy book from this holy Mount Sinai, and if someone should dare and begin to take this book away from this holy place, the holy Moses the prophet becomes his soul’s adversary before the Lord on the day of judgement, and that person is cursed like Arius and Nestorius, like all the heretics, and like Cain the brother-killer. And whoever should again make peace [with respect to the book]⁷⁰ will find peace before Christ forever. Amen.

And while not itself in Georgian, a waqf-note in Arabic by “John the Georgian” (*Yūḥannā al-ḡurḡānī*) in no. 81, f. 4r, concludes with,

يكون يقرأ فيه من شأ محروم من يخرجها عنها أو يسرقه أو يرهنه

Let whoever wishes read in it. Cursed be whoever removes it from here, steals it, or pawns it.

For comparison, we may turn very briefly to other languages and collections. First, Jerusalem, Monastery of St. Mark, 55 (dated 1170), f. 213r, offers a Syriac example that puts the book-thief into the same group as Judas⁷¹ and others:

curse [him] with a terrible, unappeasable curse, show him no mercy his whole life, remove his name and his seed from the land, [and] cast his flesh into the mouth of a dog” (5 *ilāni*^{MEŠ} ša šamē^E eṣet^{T1} ṭi ilāni^{MEŠ} māt Aš-šur^{K1} ka-le-šū-nu 6 ar-rat la nap-šū-ri ma-ru-uš-tu li-ra-ru-šū-ma a-di ūmē^{MEŠ} bal-ṭu a-a ir-šū-šu re-e-[ma] 7 šūm-šū zēr-šū ina māti li-še-lu-ū šrē^{MEŠ}-šū ina pi-i ša kal-bi liš-kun-[nu]).

⁶⁸ Garitte has ძმისმკლველი.

⁶⁹ ? Ms კულა.

⁷⁰ Probably meaning something like, “should bring it back in peace.”

⁷¹ Similar references to Judas are common. For example, there is another in Garšūnī dated 1531 in Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 98 on the reverse of p. 1; cf. also no. 261 of the same collection, in a waqf-note at the end in Garšūnī, and no. 104, f. 10r, in a waqf-note dated 1887. See also in Arabic inside the front cover of Dayr al-Za’-farān 162.

დავით ღმერთს უკურსდეს და მისი ნაწილი იყოს მათთან
 რომლებიც ჯუდას და ანასთან ერთად ღმერთს
 უკურსდეს და მისი ნაწილი იყოს მათთან

Let him be cursed by God, let his portion be with those who crucified Christ, and let him inherit the snare of Judas and the leprosy of Gehazi!⁷²

The aforementioned Syriac manuscript Jerusalem, Saint Mark, 109 has a long warning that links a book-thief not only to Judas, but to Caiaphas and Annas (see Ioh. 18,13). In other curses, the 318 fathers of the Council of Nicea are invoked to excommunicate anyone who might mess with a book, as in Mardin, Chaldean Chatedral, 74, f. 134r:

დავით ღმერთს უკურსდეს და მისი ნაწილი იყოს მათთან
 რომლებიც ჯუდას და ანასთან ერთად ღმერთს
 უკურსდეს და მისი ნაწილი იყოს მათთან
 და მისი ნაწილი იყოს მათთან

No one has the authority to seize, steal, or remove [this book], and whoever transgresses the[se] conditions and limits, let him be excommunicated, damned, and cursed, let him be under the agreement of the 318 fathers, and let the heavenly and the earthly say Amen.

In Armenian, there is a warning to those who might remove not the book itself, but the colophon: “Whoever dares to mutilate or efface this colophon, let his name be effaced from the Book of Life.”⁷³

2.6 Other notes

Finally, here are few notes of other kinds from the old Sinai collection of Georgian manuscripts.⁷⁴ I have divided these into three subtypes: devotional declarations, explanatory glosses, and what seem to be divinatory notes.

2.6.1 Devotional declarations

Readers’ devotional declarations are simple statements of praise to, or trust in, God, the cross, or the like. We find these adorning manuscripts, as in no. 42, f. 235v, at the end of the Psalter:

ღ(იდე)ბ(ა)მ შენდა ქ(რისტ)მ წათელო ჩემო
 Glory to you, Christ, my light!

⁷² For Gehazi’s leprosy, thanks to a curse from the prophet Elisha, see II Reg. 5,27.

⁷³ Conybeare 1913, 193–94.

⁷⁴ The notes that follow in the next three subsections are not all of the notes that are present among the manuscripts in our corpus. There are others, but they are not always easy to read in the microfilm scans, especially because they are generally written in a rather small script.

Specific focus on the cross appears in no. 16, f. 6v (similarly in other manuscripts, e.g. no. 19, f. 54r):

ჯ(უარ)ი წ(მიდა)მ სასომ მ(ო)რწმ(უ)ნ(ე)თ(ა)მ ქ(რისტ)ე
 მ(ეიწყალ)ე დ(ა)ნიელ

The holy cross is the hope of believers. Christ, have mercy on Daniel!

And again, in no. 81, f. 170v, on a page with a large cross:

მელი ჯ(უარისა)მ ქ(რისტ)ეს ღ(მრთის)ა ჩ(უე)ნისამ მდევნ(ე)
 ლი ეშმ(ა)კთამ

The tree of the cross of Christ our God, persecutor of demons.

2.6.2 Explanatory glosses

Some manuscripts may offer commentary-like glosses in the margins at specific verses. These are merely very brief explanations of particular words; they are nothing at all like even a minimal marginal commentary as seen in some biblical manuscripts. No. 16 has a few of these gloss-notes.

f. 60v (on Matth. 17,23) დიდრაქმა არს სასწორი სამისა
 დრაჰმისამ

A didrachma is a stater of three drachmae.

f. 63r (also no. 19, f. 20r) ტ(ა)ლ(ა)ნტი არს ას ოცდაათი ლიტრა

A talent is 130 pounds.

f. 97v (on Marc. 1,6) მკალი დანაკისკუდი არს ებრ(აე)ლითა
 ენითა

A locust is a date in Hebrew. [?]

2.6.3 Divinatory notes (?)

No. 86, rather later than the other manuscripts treated here, has some notes relating to specific psalms, notes that seem to have served for readers some kind of divinatory use. Textual divination—that is, a kind of cleromancy in which one uses texts to obtain guidance for a particular (usually personal) enquiry—is well known in prior centuries among Christians, Jews, and others.⁷⁵ As with divination more generally, the questioner, or seeker, apparently trusts that signs—in this case, the sounds or words of a revered text—are embedded in the sensibly perceptible

⁷⁵ See van der Horst 1998, 143–74. For earlier divination in Greek (and Mesopotamian) realms see Beerden, 2013.

and intellectually knowable world and that these signs have a knowing wisdom to impart that can and should be heeded. Whereas a question posed in prayer to a deity may, if answered at all, take some time to be answered, with textual divination the assumed answer is immediately available, as soon as the text with its accompanying interpretation is read (or heard). The most well-known such kind of textual divination is the so-called *sortes biblicae* (with accompanying varieties for the texts of Homer and Vergil), where the verses on which one's attention falls are thought to stand as especially pressing guidance.

In the case of the manuscript in question here, we have notes off to the side of specific verses in the Psalter. Without any further evidence for this manuscript, or for the possible practice of text divination in Georgian at this period (I do not know of any), we cannot definitively say what these notes mean, but it is possible, if not probable, that these verses with their accompanying marginal interpretations served as prognostications and counsel for enquiring readers or listeners. It is, for example, easy to imagine someone wondering about an impending journey and coming to this Psalter.⁷⁶ If the questioner's eyes fall upon Ps. 38 on f. 88v, s/he might cancel the trip, while if they fall upon Ps. 40 on f. 94r, s/he might proceed, and with confidence:

f. 9v (on Ps. 6): წამალნი ფს(ალმუ)ნის(ა) გ(ა)ნ ო(ვფალ)ო ნუ გ(უ)ლისწყ<რომითა>. ესე ფს(ალმუ)ნი ვისცა თ(უა)ლი სტკვი ოდეს სამჯერ წამალსა ზ(ე)და წ(ა)რიკითხოს სამსა დილასა თ(უა)ლთა უწთევ

Cures from the Psalm. “Lord, do not in anger ...” [Ps. 6,1]. He whose eye hurts him, when he reads this psalm three times at three in the morning over the cure, [his] eyes [?].⁷⁷

f. 26r (Ps. 15): მზეგრძელ იყ(ა)ვ და ნებად გ(უ)ლისა შ(ე)ნისა აღგისრ(უ)ლდესა

Be long-lived, and may the desire of your heart be fulfilled for you!

f. 67v (Ps. 32): ნუ იურვი კ(ე)თ(ი)ლ(ა)დ მოიქმნეს

Don't worry: it will be well prepared!

⁷⁶ The author of P.Oxy. VI 925 (fifth/sixth century) asked just this question in a written prayer: ὁ πατήρ τοῦ κυρίου (καὶ) σωτήρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστοῦ φανερώσόν μοι τὴν παρά σοι ἀλήθειαν εἰ βούλη με ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Χιούτ ἢ εὐρίσκω σε σὺν ἐμοὶ πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῆς

... Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, reveal to me thy truth, whether it be thy will that I go to Chiout, and whether I shall find thee aiding me and gracious. See Grenfell/Hunt 1908, 291.

⁷⁷ I do not understand the last word.

f. 88v (Ps. 38): ნუ იქმ საქმ(ე)სა მ(ა)ს რ(ამეთუ) არა კ(ე)თ(ი)ლ (ა)რს

Don't do this thing, because it is not good.

f. 90v (Ps. 39): გ(ი)ხ(აროდენ) რ(ამეთუ) ყ(ოველი)ვე კ(ე)თ(ი)ლ (ა)რს

They shall be glad in you,⁷⁸ because everything is good.

f. 94r (Ps. 40): ნუ იურვი რ(ამეთუ) იქმნეს ს(ა)ქმე ევე კ(ე)თ(ი)ლ(ა)დ

Don't worry, because that thing will be done well.

f. 96r (Ps. 41) ევ(ედრებოდ)ე ღ(მერთს)ა ძლ(იე)რსა და ცხ(ო)ვე(ლ)სა და მ(ა)ნ გიხსნეს შ(ე)ნ

Beg God, the strong and living, and he will save you.

f. 103v (Ps. 44) იქმოდე ს(ა)ქმესა მ(ა)გ(ა)ს კ(ე)თ(ი)ლ (ა)რს

Do that thing. It is good.

3 Concluding remarks

The scribes and readers of this small corpus of Georgian biblical manuscripts have left their marks in the books by putting in writing their prayers and wishes, their records of copying activity, the location and ownership—perhaps protected by a curse—of the book, and more, such as expressed devotion, piecemeal exegetical explanation, and (perhaps) divinatory guidance. As seen from the comparanda from other manuscripts, the notes and colophons in these Georgian biblical manuscripts do not really differ from those found in manuscripts of other genres and in other languages within the broader ambit of the Christian East.

In all these cases, colophons and notes—that is, the extra-copying and extra-reading written acts of scribes and readers—raise the level and value of a codex above that of a copy of this or that text that the scribe presumably intended especially to reproduce. These copies have a superadded value, not only in terms of the physical book itself with all its codicological and paleographical data, but in the form of additional records for the transmission

⁷⁸ This seems to be the right sense, over against Garitte's “laetare.” The verb seems to be present conjunctive, 3rd person plural, with second person object and the character vowel -ი-.

of texts; for the histories of monasteries, churches, and villages; for spiritual belief and practice; and for the self-representation of these scribes and readers. These colophons and notes show scribes and readers making something akin to soliloquies.⁷⁹ They have stepped out of their usual and expected role of copyist or reader and reciter to add something more, something not found in other copies of the same book, something unexpected, something that, had they not so departed from their essential role and engaged in an accidental role, we would be missing something. Thanks especially to these extras, these and similar manuscripts bear a kind of commemorative power, when they have a specific call from the note-writer that they be remembered, but even when there is no such explicit demand for remembrance. Like Jim Croce, with his “I Got a Name,” these scribes and readers, even when they are asking for prayer or highlighting their sinfulness and skilllessness, show themselves, and later readers or students who go through these manuscripts cannot but help remembering the people that included these additional notes of various kinds in the course of their copying or reading, and the circumstances in which they wrote them. These handwritten books, then, become something much more than just repeated writing: they are copies, indeed, but more than copies. As is clear especially from places where these note-makers have used words like “for prayer for, and for a memorial of (...)”⁸⁰ (სალოცველად და მოსახსენებლად), “for the mention of (...)” (სახსენებლად), and “to remember” (მოვსენება), and places where scribes address those who will in the future use (მსახურება) the manuscripts then before them, these books are vehicles for the remembrance of each book’s existence and use, from the copying itself to the last reader who made the effort to record something in the book’s blank spaces.

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⁷⁹ Cf. the remarks of Heintzelman 2012, 3.

⁸⁰ Similarly, the usual Armenian word for colophon is “memorial, monument.” See Sanjian 1969, 3.

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EMML 8400 and notes on the reading of *Hēnok* in Ethiopia

One of the earliest manuscripts of 1 Enoch (*Hēnok*) in Ge'ez is preserved in the library of Dāgā Estifānos, a monastery located on a small island in the middle of Lake Ṭānā, Ethiopia. In the late stages of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) project, this important codex was imaged and recorded as no. 8400. Copies of the microfilm unfortunately never reached the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library in Collegeville, Minnesota, the project repository best known to Western scholars, but were deposited at both the Patriarchal Library and National Archives and Library Agency of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa.¹ It has been possible to confirm that the physical manuscript remains among the holdings of the Dāgā Estifānos library.

EMML 8400 is a curious composite codex containing portions of two manuscripts written some three centuries apart and which according to traditional Ethiopian scribal norms do not belong together. The first unit, the later of the two, is a homiliary dedicated to the archangel Gabriel (*Dersāna Gabre'el*); palaeographical analysis suggests that its primary scribal hand dates to the latter part of the seventeenth century.² By contrast, the main hand for *Hēnok* is much anterior to that of its counterpart, and can be confidently dated to around or just prior to the year 1400 C.E. It is clear that the combination of the two manuscripts into one occurred sometime after the production of *Dersāna Gabre'el*, but precisely when remains somewhat uncertain. Thanks to information provided in another Dāgā Estifānos manuscript, however, the time frame can be reduced considerably. On its early leaves, Ṭānāee 126, a Gospel book microfilmed by Ernst Hammerschmidt in 1968, contains an extensive inventory of the monastery's bibliothecal holdings, one of the entries of which reads "1-*Hēnok* and *Dersāna Gabre'el*" (ጵኔኖክና : ድርሳነ : ገብርኤል).³ This is obviously the item under consideration, which even at that point in time consisted of the texts conjoined. Unfortunately, the inventory list is undated, which upon first glance renders it of problematic value since it does not

drastically reduce the period in question. Closer examination, however, reveals some scarce titles and combinations thereof, several of which match the contents of manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris which Antoine d'Abbadie acquired from Dāgā Estifānos during his travels in the Horn of Africa between 1837–1848.⁴ The binding of 1 Enoch together with *Dersāna Gabre'el* must therefore have occurred prior to ca. 1845, and perhaps even as early as the eighteenth century. The reasons why this was done remain ambiguous however, though from a purely practical standpoint it should be noted that the physical dimensions of the discrete original manuscripts are similar,⁵ something which may have played a role.

On the opening page of *Hēnok*, the rubricator of the main text has written the book's title "Of the prophet Enoch" or "Of Enoch the prophet" (ዘኔኖክ : ነቢይ :) two lines above the start of chapter one.⁶ Notes in two secondary

⁴ Most significant in this regard are the entries "1 – *Testamentum Domini* and Sargis" (ጵመጽሐፈ : ኪዳንና : ሰርጊስ), "1–Life of Abunāfer and Melchizedek" (ጵገድለ : አቡናፍርና : መልክ : ጼዴቅ), and "1 – Life of Pawli and History of Antony" (ጵገድለ : ጳውሊና : ዜና : እንጦንስ), rare, even unprecedented, collocations of texts which align more or less perfectly with the contents of Paris, BnF, Éth. d'Abbadie 51, 94, and 60 respectively. See especially their descriptions in the catalogue of Conti Rossini 1912, 5–72, at 37–38, and 1913, 5–64, at 43–45), where each is said to bear some marking related to Dāgā Estifānos. Other, less common, titles have correspondences as well, for example, "Life of Baṣalota Mikā'el" (ገድለ : አባ : በጸሎተ : ሚካኤል) in Paris, BnF, Éth. d'Abbadie 129 and the unusual "Collection of prophets" (ጉባኤ : ነቢያት) matching perfectly what is written on the opening leaf of Paris, BnF, Éth. d'Abbadie 55. These, too, appear to hail from Dāgā Estifānos (Conti Rossini 1912, 10–11, and 1913, 52–53). On d'Abbadie's manuscript collecting, see further Bosc-Tiessé/Wion 2010, 77–116.

⁵ Access to this manuscript is available only via surrogate copy, and given the impossibility of obtaining permission for autoptic examination of the original, the precise dimensional difference between the two units—as well as further codicological features—cannot be offered here.

⁶ Although this precise rendering is rare within the Ethiopic Enoch tradition, comparison with the titles for other Old Testament books in the most ancient, i.e. ca. 1350 C.E. and earlier, Ge'ez witnesses suggests that this may be the original Ethiopian intitulation for 1 Enoch. Only six such manuscripts in which the beginning of one or more of the prophetic books is extant are presently known, but their witness is more or less unanimous in favour of the formulation # ("of") + name of prophet + ነቢይ ("prophet"), e.g. Isaiah, ዘኢሳይያስ : ነቢይ (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. et. 263, f. 1r^a); Daniel, ዘዳንኤል : ነቢይ (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. et. 263, f. 105r^a; EMML 6977, f. 67r^a;

¹ On the history of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library project, especially its little-known concluding phase, see Stewart 2017.

² On *Dersāna Gabre'el*, see Samuel Yalew 2005, 137–38. If the indication there that the earliest known manuscript of the text dates to the eighteenth century is correct, then the first part of EMML 8400 may constitute its oldest exemplar.

³ Ṭānāsee 126 is catalogued in Six 1999, 113–18, with the entire text of the inventory list helpfully transcribed on 115–16.

hands are adjacent. One is located above, and fills an entire line in a crude hand, while another consists of two words to the immediate right of the title in lettering approximately half as large. The second note probably antedates its counterpart, and in any case was written by a trained scribe in a formal manner.

The crude note at the top, with grammar poor like the penmanship and written without word division markers except in one case, is not easy to decipher. Indeed, letters from the untrained hand could be interpreted more than one way and result in significantly different meanings. A note in the same script at the top of the verso of the leaf (f. 79v) offers some slight clarification, insofar as the anonymous writer seems to give thanks for the manuscript: “I cherish this book of Mikā’ēl” (በዝንቱ [:] መጻሕፍት ፈ. [sic] ዘሚካኤል [:] አፈቀርኩ [sic]). The inscription on the preceding page might then be translated: “Enoch the prophet, of the scribe Mikā’ēl; praise on Monday” (ሄኖክ [:] ነቢይ [:] ዘሚካኤል : ጸሐፊ [:] ውዳሴ [:] በሠኑይ).

Within the *Hēnok* part of the manuscript, further inscriptions in this same crude hand are of particular interest. The aforementioned notation “praise on Monday” (ውዳሴ [:] በሠኑይ) at the start of the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 1) is but the first of a series of notes inserted by this individual into the upper margins of pages above the text. On the same page (f. 93r) as the beginning of the Book of Parables (1 En. 37), the second is found:

Paris, BnF, Éth. 7, f. 70r^a); Micah, ዘሚካያስ : ነቢይ (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 625, f. 7r^a); Joel, ዘኢዮኤል : ነቢይ (f. 15v^a); Obadiah, ዘአብድዩ : ነቢይ (f. 22v^a); Jonah, ዘዮናስ : ነቢይ (f. 24r^b); Nahum, ዘናሎም : ነቢይ (f. 27v^b); Habakkuk, ዘእንባቆም : ነቢይ (f. 31v^a); Zephaniah, ዘሰፎንያስ : ነቢይ (f. 35v^b); Haggai, ዘሐገ : ነቢይ (f. 40v^b); Zechariah, ዘዘካርያስ : ነቢይ (f. 44v^b); and Malachi, ዘምልኪያስ : ነቢይ (f. 63v^a). Other prophetic/apocalyptic texts are similar, for instance the Ascension of Isaiah (“Ascension of the prophet” ዕርገተ : ኢሳይያስ : ነቢይ – Vat. et. 263, f. 85v^a), rendered without the opening ዘ, and 4 Ezra (“Of Ezra the priest, scribe of the Law” ዘዕዛራ : ካምን : ጸሐፊ : ኦሪት – Gunda Gundē 177, f. 54r). However, in other cases, such as Job in the above referenced EML 6977 (ዘኢዮብ on f. 7r), the name is simply preceded by the genitive ዘ and lacks ነቢይ (“prophet”) afterwards. The crucial question in determining the original Ethiopian title for 1 Enoch is thus whether or not Enoch was initially reckoned among the prophets or his book was considered an Old Testament writing of another type. In any case, the title assigned by Laurence 1838, Dillmann 1851, Flemming (ed.) 1902, and Charles 1906, መጽሐፈ : ሄኖክ (“The Book of Enoch”), seemingly with little critical reflection, should be eschewed as a late and fairly uncommon rendering. (No specific title is offered for the book in Michael Knibb’s 1978 edition.) Of course, the foregoing does not specifically address the problem of how the book was titled in Antiquity, and the Greek witness P.Cair. 10759, f. 22r, supplies no title whatsoever.

7 It is also possible that the name here and on the preceding page could be Zamikā’ēl.

“Praise on Tuesday” (ውዳሴ [:] በሠሉስ). A number of leaves later (f. 111r), above the rubricated beginning of the next section, that of the Astronomical Book (1 En. 72), is written “praise on Wednesday” (ውዳሴ [:] በርቡዕ [sic]). The penultimate inscription abrogates the preceding pattern somewhat insofar as “praise on Thursday” (ውዳሴ [:] በሐሙስ) is situated on f. 118r at 1 En. 82 rather than on the verso of the leaf above the rubrication for the opening of the Book of Dreams (1 En. 83). A final notation, “praise on Friday” (ውዳሴ [:] በዐርብ), at 1 En. 92 (f. 130v), normally regarded as the opening of the Epistle of Enoch,⁸ completes the series. Precise contexts for the reading of portions of *Hēnok* on successive days are not known, but this set of markings aligns perfectly with subtitles in the most famed of all Ethiopian mariological texts, the *Weddāsē Māryām*, or *Praise of Mary*. Conventionally copied as the fourth of the five compositions which comprise the Ethiopian Psalter, the *Praise of Mary*, which forms one of the key components of the liturgy, is divided into seven portions, one for each day of the week.⁹ A slightly less common text, the *Weddāsē Amlāk*, or *Praise of God*, is similarly partitioned according to the weekly calendar.¹⁰ Although the two Sabbaths, Saturday—the first (ቀዳሚት : ሰንበት) or that of the Jews (ሰንበተ : አይሁድ)—and Sunday—the Christian Sabbath (ሰንበተ : ክርስቲያን)—are not attested among the markings in EML 8400,¹¹ the use of such terminology strongly suggests that whoever added them to the manuscript desired that 1 Enoch similarly be read in a regular fashion throughout the week.¹²

Another note, one not in the *Hēnok* portion of the manuscript, helps to offer some indication of when these

8 On the question precisely where in 1 Enoch the Epistle of Enoch begins—the matter is habitually subject to confusion in even recent scholarly literature—see Stuckenbruck 2007, 154–56 and 188–92.

9 The text was edited and translated by Fries 1892. For a general introduction to it, see Weninger 2010, 1173–74.

10 On *Weddāsē Amlāk*, see Daniel Assefa 2010, 1172–73.

11 As this copy of *Hēnok* is mutilous, with the last extant leaf terminating at 1 En. 103,3, it is not impossible that notations for Saturday and Sunday were present in the lost concluding pages. In some manuscripts, for example Gunda Gundē 151, copied approximately a century after EML 8400, the beginnings of both the Book of Noah (1 En. 106–107) and chapter 108 are rubricated in addition to the standard five divisions. If this is correct, however, it would bespeak an undue importance on a septpartite structure aligning with the number of days in a week since the final two sections are drastically shorter than their earlier counterparts.

12 It is in theory possible that these notations in EML 8400 are to indicate to the user that one should read a portion of a different text found in a weekly format, such as *Weddāsē Māryām*, at that juncture. However, in light of both the absence of any more specific reference to such a text and the statement on f. 79v that the book is cherished, such seems a considerably more tenuous interpretation.

additiones were inserted. On the last page of *Dersāna Gabre'el* (f. 78v), notes and scribbles from as many as seven discrete additional scribal hands are attested. One, which matches the same untrained hand in which the previously discussed markings are written, imperfectly copies the beginning of 1 En. 1,1 until the first sense division: “the word of blessing according to which he blessed the elect ones (and) the righteous ones who will be...” (ቃለ [:] በርከት [:] ዘከ[መ :] ባርከ [:] ጎሩያነ [:] ጸድቃነ [:] እ[ለ :] ሀ[ለ]ዉ [:] ይኩኑ).¹³ However, given the placement of this text just before the portion of the manuscript in which 1 Enoch is found, it is obvious that this belongs to the period in its history after which the two halves had been joined. It may be suggested, therefore, that the insertion of the liturgical markings also occurred within the last two hundred or so years.

The second note on the opening leaf of 1 Enoch in EMML 8400 is found to the immediate right of the book's title and consists of only two words written in a small, formal hand: “of Ṭerr, a reading” (ዘጥር : ምንባብ). Of particular interest here is the mention of Ṭerr, the fifth month in the Ethiopian calendar year, which most often extends from 9 January to 7 February.¹⁴ Although no specific day is indicated by this hand for the reading, it is surely significant that it is this month within which the saint's day for Enoch lies in the *Synaxarium*, an influential compendium of brief hagiographic accounts arranged according to the calendrical year. In its younger revised version,¹⁵ the twenty-seventh day of Ṭerr, i.e. 4 February, is associated with Enoch. According to the *Synaxarium*, it is on this day that angels

carried away Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Kenan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, with the rushing of stars, and the lightning and of winds, and they took him above the heavens and seated him between two spiritual beings. And he is called the scribe of the commandments of God.¹⁶

¹³ A number of erasures are present, suggesting how much difficultly the untrained writer had in copying even these few letters.

¹⁴ Similar to the Gregorian and Julian calendars, an intercalated day is included every fourth year (named after the evangelist John) in the Ethiopian reckoning. Since the different calendars do not align fully in this area, in Ethiopian years divisible by four the month of Ṭerr is offset to the period running from 10 January to 8 February. For a complete list of daily conversions between the systems, see Hammer-schmidt 1977, 172–85.

¹⁵ Older copies of the *Synaxarium*, which are generally closer to the Arabic *Vorlage*, reference only Serapion, Timothy of Ephesus, and Phoibamon for this day. The revision of the *Synaxarium*, which seems to have taken place in the mid-sixteenth century, introduced a number of new saints, predominantly those with some specific Ethiopian connection. See further Colin/Bausi 2010, 621–23.

¹⁶ Translation based upon the critical Ethiopic text of Colin 1990, 204, 206: “...ጎሥእም : ለሄኖክ : ወልደ : ያሬድ : ወልደ : ሙላልኤል :

The *Synaxarium* goes on to describe Enoch in terms associated with him in the eponymous Second Temple work; for example, it mentions his having tread upon Mt. Sinai (cf. 1 En. 1,5); judging Dan (cf. 13,7); receiving visions of the heavenly throne through which the Watchers (the rebellious angels) are reproached (cf. chapters 14–16); his vision of seven mountains (cf. 18,6; 21,3; 24,1–3); his prophecy concerning Christ (cf. e.g. the “Son of Man” in 46,1–4; 48,2); his vision of the doors of the heavens (cf. 72,2–3); his vision of Adam, the eschatological Temple, the Church as the “new house,” and the sheep, believers who will be gathered together in the end (chapters 85–90). In other words, the month for which the reading of the book is assigned is the very same one with which the figure of Enoch, specifically through his ascent to heaven (cf. Gen. 5,24), is commemoratively associated in Ethiopian tradition.

Headings relating a particular text to a specific feast day found in the *Synaxarium* are not limited to this case, but are found rather broadly within the Ge'ez manuscript tradition. One example, Gunda Gundē 152, an imperfect Minor Prophets codex copied ca. 1500 c.e., shall suffice. Throughout this manuscript, the day of commemoration for each prophet is given before the start of their book,¹⁷ sometimes, as in EMML 8400, with the directive that it is to be read then:

- (1) f. 13r: አመ : ፭ለጳጉሜን : አሞጸ [sic!] “on 5 Pag^wmēn Amos”¹⁸
- (2) f. 33r: አመ : [፳ወ]፩ለጥቅምት : በዐሉ : ለኢዮኤል “on 21 Ṭeqemt the feast of Joel”¹⁹
- (3) f. 39r: እም፳ወ፫ለጎዳር : ምንባብ “from 23 Hedār, a reading” (for Obadiah)²⁰
- (4) f. 41r: እም፳ወ፭ : ለመስከረም : ምንባብ “from 25 Mas-karam, a reading” (for Jonah)²¹
- (5) f. 44v: አመ : ፭ለታጎሣሥ : በዐሉ : ለናኖም “on 5 Tāhṣās the feast of Nahum”²²
- (6) f. 53r: አመ : ፬ለሐምሌ : በዐሉ : ለሰፎንያስ “on 4 Ḥamlē the feast of Zephaniah”²³

ወልደ : ቃይናን : ወልደ : ሄኖስ : ወልደ : ሴት : ወልደ : አዳም : በሩጸተ : ከዋክብት : ወመባርቅት : ወነፋሳት : ወአንሥእም : ላዕለ : ወስተ : ሰማይ : ወአንበርዎ : ማእከለ : ክልኤ : ምንፈሳት : ወተሠምየ : ጸሓፊ : ትእዛዙ : ለእግዚአብሔር ።”.

¹⁷ An exception would seem to be Micah (f. 25r), but it is likely that the superscription was originally placed in the top part of the preceding page, which is now severely damaged.

¹⁸ Cf. Guidi/Grébaud 1913, 461–62.

¹⁹ Cf. Colin 1987, 122–25.

²⁰ Cf. Colin 1988, 350–53.

²¹ Cf. Colin 1986, 472–77.

²² Cf. Grébaud 1927, 589–90.

²³ Cf. Guidi 1911, 230–31.

- (7) f. 59r: አመ : ጽለነሐሴ : በዐሉ : ለምልኪያስ “on 20 Naḥasē the feast of Malachi”²⁴
- (8) f. 63v: አመ : ጽለታጎሣሥ : በዐሉ : ለጎጌ “on 20 Tāḥśāsā the feast of Haggai”²⁵
- (9) f. 67r: አመ : ገደጽለየካቲት : [በዐሉ : ለዘ]ካርያስ : ምንባ[ብ] “on 15 Yakkātīt, the feast of Zechariah, a reading”²⁶

Although the explicit instruction that the text is to be read on a specific day only occurs in a minority of instances, it should probably be assumed in the others as well.

Although “reading” (ምንባብ) is only occasionally encountered as a marginal notation in Ge‘ez manuscripts, it is found, with unusual saturation, in another early copy of Ethiopic Enoch. Several kilometres south of Dāgā Estifānos on the waters of Lake Ṭānā another island monastery library, that of Kebrān Gabre‘ēl, possesses a fifteenth-century manuscript containing the Book of Jubilees (*Kufālē*), *Hēnok*, Ezekiel, and Daniel (in this sequence). This is the famous Ṭānānee 9, later re-microfilmed as EMMML 8292, for several decades the oldest known witness to *Hēnok*, and still the most ancient exemplar of its complete text.²⁷ A series of headings indicating that a particular section of 1 Enoch is to be read appear as marginal notices throughout a significant portion of that book, but it alone, despite the tetrapartite composition of the manuscript. The fifteen observable instances of this (including plausible reconstructions, given sequence and the recurring pattern) are as follows:

- (1) Above 1 En. 13,5–14,6: እ[ምጽ]ምንባብ “fr[om (day) 8], a reading” (f. 74r)²⁸
- (2) Above 1 En. 22,10–24,3: እም፱ምንባብ “from (day) 9, a reading” (f. 78r)
- (3) Above 1 En. 36,4–38,5: ገምንባብ “(day) 10, a reading” (f. 80v)
- (4) Above 1 En. 54,9–56,5: ገደጽምንባብ “(day) 11, a reading” (f. 86r)
- (5) Above 1 En. 63,10–65,6: አመገደጽምንባብ “on (day) 12, a reading” (f. 91r)
- (6) Above 1 En. 80,1–81,4: እምገደጽምንባብ “from (day) 13, a reading” (f. 96r)

²⁴ Actually on the 30th of the month; cf. Guidi/Grébaut 1913, 423–24.

²⁵ Cf. Grébaut/Nollet 1945, 25–26.

²⁶ Cf. Colin 1992, 546–49.

²⁷ Catalogued in Hammerschmidt 1973, 107–8. On the history of this manuscript and its use in scholarship, see also Erho/Stuckenbruck 2013, 87–133, at 110–11.

²⁸ Foliation for this manuscript is given according to that written in EMMML 8292, which differs slightly from that recorded when it was microfilmed as Ṭānānee 9.

- (7) Above 1 En. 75,1–8: እምገደጽምንባብ “from (day) 14, a reading” (f. 101r)
- (8) Above 1 En. 81,2–82,2: አመገደጽምንባብ “on (day) 15, a reading” (f. 104r)
- (9) Above 1 En. 85,6–87,2: አመገደጽምንባብ “on (day) 16, a reading” (f. 107r)
- (10) Above 1 En. 89,58–68: አመገደጽምንባብ “on (day) 17, a reading” (f. 111r)
- (11) Above 1 En. 90,19–28: አመ : ገደጽምንባብ “on (day) 18, a reading” (f. 113r)
- (12) Above 1 En. 91,14–93,2: አመገደጽምንባብ “on (day) 19, a reading” (f. 115r)
- (13) Above 1 En. 96,2–97,6: አመጽምንባብ “on (day) 20, a reading” (f. 117r)
- (14) Above 1 En. 99,14–100,8: ጽፈምንባብ “(day) 21, a reading” (f. 119r)
- (15) Above 1 En. 103,9–104,4: ጽፎምንባብ “(day) 22, a reading” (f. 121r)

As the texts below these marginal notices indicate, there is no particular pattern that coordinates the “reading” with a new turn of content in the text. Unlike what we have seen in EMMML 8400 overall (with the one exception), only instances (3) and (12) in EMMML 8292 may, respectively, link to the beginnings of the Book of Parables (chapter 37) and the Epistle of Enoch (if thought to begin at chapter 92). The relatively arbitrary character of their placement vis-à-vis the text seems to be displayed towards the end in particular, with a new heading situated every two leaves on the recto of the sheet above the outermost column. Perhaps the interpolator desired to reach a particular number.²⁹ It is further interesting that, while the reading for day 22, the last notice within the *Hēnok* text, is presumably intended to cover the remainder of the book, there is nothing in the manuscript preceding the notice for day 8 (if the reconstruction is correct), such as a reading for day 7. Given the relative regularity of intervals between notices for days 8 to 22, the absence of any insertion covering text before 1 En. 13,5 is conspicuous. The notices in EMMML 8292 are therefore not noticeably linked to either new sections or particular content of *Hēnok*, but are consistent with days of a particular month. It is tempting to speculate, given the discussion of EMMML 8400 above and the commemoration of Enoch in the *Synaxarium*, that the month might be Ṭerr.

²⁹ It may also be possible that he failed to reach the desired numeral. If the numbers refer to days in the month of Ṭerr, for instance, the interpolator might have been trying to conclude with twenty-seven, the date upon which Enoch’s feast is celebrated. However, this does not so easily explain the perplexing reason why the set of notices seems to begin with the number eight.

At the same time, as the scribal hand in the upper margin is different from that of the copyist who wrote the main text below, these notices reflect a later addition which attempts to signal at least part of the text's *intended* use.

In conclusion, although 1 Enoch is a well recognized but little read text in Ethiopia today,³⁰ certain marginalia in one of its earliest exemplars speak to a desire, at least among certain individuals, for its use in a more prominent way. One note ties the book, at least loosely, to Enoch's day of commemoration (4 February), suggesting that it should be read around that time, akin to the way that documents associated with other saints are read for their festivals. A later series of markings possibly goes even further, specifying that sections of 1 Enoch be read throughout the week in the same manner as fundamental liturgical texts like *Weddāsē Māryām*. Both, however, testify to changes in the book's readership and its active use within the Ethiopian Orthodox milieu over a significant span of time. Perhaps a new resurgence looms on the horizon.

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³⁰ Cf. Baynes 2012, 799–818, at 802.

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Toward a definition of paratexts and paratextuality: The case of ancient Greek manuscripts

Since the beginning of my involvement in the ParaTexBib project—or “Paratexts of the Bible: Analysis and Edition of the Greek Textual Transmission”—launched by Martin Wallraff in 2012 and now funded by an ERC Advanced grant,¹ the notion of “paratexts” and “paratextuality” has occupied my thoughts, as the project raises many practical and theoretical challenges. It boils down to a simple question: what exactly, speaking theoretically and concretely, is a paratext in an ancient codex?

In the current specialised literature, there is a striking lack of shared terminology and methodology for dealing with paratexts, marginal notes and other types of secondary content in ancient codices in general and for the way they relate to one another and to the main contents in the same book.

This paper aims to make a contribution towards filling this gap. The first part surveys the history of the paratext as a concept within Gérard Genette’s theoretical framework and its use in the current scholarly literature in reference to ancient manuscripts. It also addresses a number of theoretical questions: it calls for a clarification of the various current and sometimes contradictory meanings of the words “text” when designating the “contents” in manuscript research; it discusses the paratextual function of some codicological features and argues that they should not be called paratexts; and it explores the use of the term “book production” as a corresponding concept to “publishing” for printed books.

The second part focuses on the various types of secondary contents in Greek New Testament manuscripts and suggests a way to organise them into two main classes

of “book producers’ paratexts” and “post-production paratexts.” Even though paratextuality is a phenomenon which occurs in all ancient manuscript traditions, biblical manuscripts (especially those belonging to the Greek cultural sphere) form a promising case study for two reasons in particular.² First, the primary content—the biblical books—is clearly identified and distinct from the secondary content. Second, the wealth of preserved manuscript witnesses allows one to make a clear distinction between various types of secondary content, helping us recognise which paratexts are traditional and which are unusual or even exceptional. The usefulness of these categories in describing and understanding paratextuality in other Greek and non-Greek manuscripts, both biblical and non-biblical, remains to be studied in broader and more collaborative contexts. It is my hope, however, that the concepts here proposed will form the basis of further discussions and perhaps also inspire further research.

1 Theoretical considerations

1.1 The limits of Gérard Genette’s concept of paratext when applied to manuscript studies

The concepts of “paratext” and “paratextuality” were developed by the French literary critic Gérard Genette in three books published in 1979, 1982 and 1987, all of which were translated into English.³ In Genette’s view, paratexts represent one relational category in a larger theoretical framework built around the concept of what he called “transtextuality,” which he himself roughly defined in 1982 as “all that sets the texts in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts.”⁴

When it first appeared in Genette’s system in 1979, the term “paratextuality” was used specifically to describe

¹ See Wallraff/Andrist 2015, Andrist/Wallraff 2016 and www.paratexbib.eu (accessed 16 November 2017).

Note: Many thanks to the organisers for their kind invitation and their excellent organisation of the conference; to Marilena Maniaci, Liv Ingeborg Lied, Martin Wallraff and Emanuele Castelli for stimulating discussions and input; to Michael Friedrich, Alessandro Bausi and Marie-Odile Boulnois for their invitation to present this topic in Hamburg and Paris, and for the fruitful exchanges held with them and the participants of these presentations; also to Drew Longacre and Ulrich Schmid for some very useful bibliographical references, and to Saskia Dirkse and Roderick Saxey for proofreading the text and contributing many questions and remarks.

² On the peculiarities of medieval Latin Bibles, see Maniaci/Muzerelle/Ornato 1999, 291–93.

³ Genette 1992; 1997a; 1997b.

⁴ Genette 1997a, 1; Genette 1982, 7: “grossièrement ... tout ce qui met un texte en relation, manifeste ou secrète, avec un autre texte.”

the kind of relation existing between two texts when an author imitates or transforms an already existing work in a humorous or serious manner, as in a parody or in a pastiche.⁵

In 1982, Genette made an important revision to the meaning of the term,⁶ which was employed to describe, since then, “the relation between a literary work and all the texts that surround, accompany or even extend it.” He compares these texts to “thresholds” or “vestibules.”⁷ In order to avoid confusion in terminology, it is important to note that the parodic/pastiche relation was at this time subsumed into the concept of “hypertextuality.”⁸

According to Genette, paratexts are either “epitexts” (outside the book), like flyers, letters, interviews, etc., or they are “peritexts” (inside the book), including titles, subtitles, footnotes, prefaces, etc. He condenses this dichotomy into the following formula: “paratext = peritext + epitext.”⁹ As Richard Macksey effectively summarises it in his foreword to the English edition, paratextuality

5 Genette 1979, 87 (speaking of transtextuality): “j’y mets encore d’autres sortes de relations—pour l’essentiel, je pense, d’imitation et de transformation, dont le pastiche et la parodie peuvent donner une idée, ou plutôt deux idées, fort différentes quoique trop souvent confondues, ou inexactement distinguées—que je baptiserai faute de mieux *paratextualité* (mais c’est aussi pour moi la transtextualité par excellence), et dont nous nous occuperons peut-être un jour, si le hasard fait que la Providence y consente”; in English, Genette 1992, 82: “under transtextuality I put still other kinds of relationships—chiefly, I think, relationships of imitation and transformation, which pastiche and parody can give us an idea of, or rather two ideas, for they’re very different, although too often confused with each other or incorrectly differentiated. For lack of a better term, I’ll christen them paratextuality (which to my mind is transtextuality par excellence), and perhaps someday, God willing, I’ll look into it.”

6 See Genette 1982, 7, 13; in English, Genette 1997a, 1, 5.

7 Genette 1982, 10: paratextuality is defined as the relation, “que le texte proprement dit entretient avec ce que l’on ne peut guère nommer que son paratexte: titre, sous-titre, intertitres; préfaces, post-faces, avertissement, avant-propos, etc.; notes marginales, infrapaginales, terminales; épigraphes; illustrations; prières d’insérer, bande, jaquette, et bien d’autres types de signaux accessoires, autographes ou allographes, qui procurent au texte un entourage (variable).” In English, Genette 1997a, 3: “the relationship that binds the text properly speaking ... to what can be called its paratext: a title, a subtitle, intertitles; prefaces, postfaces, notices, forewords, etc.; marginal, infrapaginal, terminal notes; epigraphs; illustrations: blurbs, book covers, dust jackets, and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic.”

8 “Hypertextuality” more largely defines the transtextual relation of imitation or transformation, including all kind of thematic or stylistic amplifications. See Genette 1997a, 5: “By hypertextuality I mean any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary.”

9 Genette 1997b, 5.

is a concept “comprising those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate the book to the reader.”¹⁰

Despite its clarity and attractiveness, Genette’s theory cannot be directly transposed onto the world of ancient manuscripts, because his primary focus was on literary works in print (mostly novels). His understanding of paratexts is strongly tied to texts published by their authors or under their authors’ control. As he said explicitly,

by definition, something is not a paratext unless the author or one of his associates accepts responsibility for it, although the degree of responsibility may vary. ... The official [type of paratexts] is any paratextual message openly accepted by the author or publishers or both—a message for which the author or publisher cannot evade responsibility. ... The unofficial (or semiofficial) is most of the [time] authorial epitext: interviews, conversations, and confidences, responsibility for which the author can always more or less disclaim with denials of the type “That’s not exactly what I said.”¹¹

Thus, for Genette the text is the literary work which an author has created and made public; *it is the core of his publication project*. Everything added or produced for the sake of its publication can be called a paratext. Paratexts (or at least peritexts) are also part of the editorial project but they do not belong to its core. As we also find in the passage cited above, Genette further divides paratexts into two categories. First, the author’s paratexts, including his preface, titles, subtitles, etc., and second, the publisher’s paratexts, including the cover, all the writing on the cover pages of the book, the title page, etc. Genette even mentions the format, the typesetting and the paper as types of publisher’s paratext.¹² Later on, he also adds the illustrations found in books.¹³

On a theoretical level, everything that is added to the book at a later point is not on Genette’s radar and cannot be considered a paratext; it is rather in the realm of “metatexts.” In Genette’s world the author and the publisher work together to produce the same book—a very rare occurrence in ancient and medieval manuscripts.¹⁴ As a result, in our understanding of Genette’s perspective, most of the supplementary materials in the biblical manuscripts (especially marginal readers’ notes) are not

10 Genette 1997b, xviii.

11 Genette 1997b, 9–10.

12 Genette 1997b, 17–36.

13 Genette 1997b, 406.

14 There are well-known cases where medieval authors, like Boccaccio, participated to the definition of the editorial typology of their works. One can also recall antique and medieval authors who gave instructions on how their works should be copied, like Evagrius Ponticus or Hrabanus Maurus.

paratexts, since they were added after the biblical authors and their first (if any) “publishers” relinquished control over their texts.

On a practical level, however, it should be recognised that Genette was aware of this problem. Although he was able to open some important doors, in the case of paratexts in medieval manuscripts, he never really explored beyond them. For example, in his sub-chapter on “allographic prefaces,” he discusses the prefaces in printed editions of classical authors like Ovid or Homer.¹⁵ He mentions that these prefaces are necessarily posthumous and, as such, completely beyond the author’s control. He nevertheless still considers them paratexts—even though, he adds, the “allographic preface clearly draws it toward the border that separates (or rather, toward the absence of a border that does not sharply separate) paratext from metatext.”¹⁶ Further, in his chapter on the “publisher’s peritext” he even goes so far as to declare,

this is not to say that the (much longer) pre-Gutenberg period, with its handwritten copies that were really even then a form of publication, knew nothing of our peritextual elements; and below we will have reason to ask how Antiquity and the Middle Ages handled such elements as the title or the name of the author, whose chief location today is the publisher’s peritext.¹⁷

Genette implicitly recognised the limits of his theory when applied to ancient manuscripts. Unfortunately, he did not strive to adjust or develop it in order to embrace them as well.

1.2 The concept of paratext in manuscript studies

Despite the fact that Genette’s theory is not well adapted to manuscript studies, his ideas have nonetheless proven to be very fruitful for scholars working with ancient manuscripts, especially in recent years. In the past, the concept of the paratext has frequently been used in scholarly discourse in a variety of ways but only recently the discussion of its theoretical dimensions has started seeing marked developments.

¹⁵ Genette 1987, 265–78 = 1997, 263–75. Interestingly, he does not mention the editions of the Bible, and the word Bible does not appear in his index.

¹⁶ Genette 1997b, 270 = 1987, 273.

¹⁷ Genette 1997b, 16 = 1989, 21. Genette also had a prejudiced concept of medieval manuscripts, for example when he writes “... in antiquity and the Middle Ages, periods in which texts frequently circulated in their almost raw state, lacking any formula of presentation” (Genette 1991, 263).

As early as 1997, in the proceedings of a conference dedicated to the titles of texts in manuscripts, the word “paratext” appears several times in relation to them.¹⁸ Throughout the conference papers, when it does not refer to the titles, it is at least understood as designating a textual element which accompanies the main text of a manuscript.

In the preface of a multi-author volume entitled *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions*, August Hollander, Ulrich Schmid and Willem Smelik recognise the limits of Genette’s author-focused definition. In practice, they include in their concept of paratext and “megatext” a wide range of written elements, from punctuation to translations, including of course accompanying elements such as prefaces, headings and illustrations.¹⁹

In the first decade of twenty first century, research on paratextuality in printed books was an important topic in Italy, particularly in the journal “Paratesto” and in the scholarly initiatives of Marco Santoro, Maria Gioia Tavoni and Maria Antonietta Terzoli, among others. In this context, several Italian scholars have also worked on paratextuality in ancient manuscripts. For example, Mariangela Regoliosi gives a grand tour of the paratextual elements in ancient manuscripts, which she understands primarily as the written elements around the main text, such as the frontispieces, the dedicatory pieces, the titles, the marginal “notabilia” of the scribe, and the index.²⁰ She also includes the marginal notes of the readers. Similarly, Giorgio Montecchi has compared various aspects of the layout in manuscripts and early printed books and discussed in some places the “paratextual value” of these physical features.²¹

Eric Scherbenske, first in a 2010 article and again, in greater detail, in his 2013 monograph *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*, explores the “making of an edition” in ancient biblical manuscripts. He uses the term “paratext” to indicate the

¹⁸ Fredouille et al. (eds.) 1997; see the use of the word by Michelle Fruyt, p. 31; Simone Déléani, pp. 399, 421, 425; Pierre Petitmengin, pp. 491, 501. Peter Lebrecht Schmidt prefers the expression “paratextual elements,” like in his title “Paratextuelle Elemente in lateinischer Fachprosa,” in which he includes items like “Titel und Gedichtüberschriften, Inhaltsangaben oder Kennzeichnung von Dialogpartnern” (p. 223). The concept is also used several times in the conclusion by Philippe Hoffmann, “Titrologie et paratextualité,” who, among other things, pleads for “une ecdotique des titres et de tous les éléments paratextuels” (p. 584).

¹⁹ Hollander/Schmid/Smelik (eds.) 2003, particularly vii–viii, xii.

²⁰ Regoliosi 2006, 21.

²¹ Montecchi 2005.

verbal elements that frame the biblical text in a codex. Concentrating on the corpus of Pauline epistles and influenced by Euthalian categories, he groups them in “A. Bioi,” “B. Hypotheses,” “C. Kephalaia” and “D. Other aids.”²² He then speaks of “paratextual material” or “paratextual voices,” which “transformed early Christian manuscripts from mere receptacles of the text into vehicles for transmitting its interpretation.”²³

In his 2012 study, Michael Curschmann also makes use of the word “paratext” to designate first-hand textual elements in the pictures of a specific manuscript in the Abbey of Admont.²⁴ But if these small pieces of text are part of the initial composition, one wonders whether they should really be considered paratexts. Moreover, the author never refers to any “Genettian” category, and endows the word “paratext” with a different meaning, creating confusion in the scholarly vocabulary.

Another group of scholars, working with Qumran manuscripts and ancient Jewish literature, also started using the word “paratext,” though consciously, in a sense which is more in line with the definition outlined by Genette in 1979.²⁵ Their approach to Genettian paratexts is set forth in the introduction to the proceedings of a conference held in Vienna in 2007, published in 2010 with the title *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature*. Armin Lange writes in the introduction that “the participants of the Vienna conference and the authors for this volume are evenly split as to which term to use for the scholarly description of literature in the second degree.”²⁶ The position of those who support a “revivalist” meaning must be understood in their effort to use neutral language when dealing with modifications, amplifications and rewritings²⁷ of texts which were not yet part of the Hebrew canon of the Bible.

This approach presents major problems, given that according to the established Genettian system, the

transtextual relation they describe fall within the realm of hypertextuality, as the title of the proceedings shows.²⁸ Moreover, the “revivalists” do not suggest another expression to describe Genette’s broadly accepted use of “paratexts.” The result of this is, as Anders Klostergaard Petersen correctly remarks, that “a return to the older terminology of Genette may cause more confusion than contributing to create conceptual clarity,”²⁹ especially since other scholars active in the same domain, like Emanuel Tov or George Brooke, were already using the term in closer alignment with Genette’s standard and widely-accepted definition.³⁰ It is interesting that very few of the studies mentioned above have used the word “peritext” to describe the accompanying texts or features in a manuscript, though such would be more in agreement with Genette’s terminology.³¹ Nor did they generally include the physical features of the manuscripts³² in their definitions of paratexts.

As noted before, the word “paratext” and the concept of paratextuality has become ever more popular in manuscript studies in recent years, but not always with the benefit of a solid theoretical framework. In addition to the works of Scherbenske and Petersen just cited, several publications can be mentioned.

It is not surprising that various articles in the multi-author volume *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, which appeared in 2014,³³ also deal with paratextuality given that there is a somewhat porous border

²² Scherbenske 2013, 55–70.

²³ Scherbenske 2010, 139.

²⁴ Curschmann 2012.

²⁵ See above pp. 130–1. See examples of this revival use of this meaning in Lange 2008, 207 n. 38, and Alexander/Lange/Pillinger 2010 (interestingly, the title of this last work *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* is a hypertextual reworking of the title of Genette’s book which precisely changed the meaning of the word paratext, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré!*)

²⁶ Lange 2010, 19, see also 16–20. In the same volume, see also Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, 66–67.

²⁷ Apparently assimilated here to the “pastiche” of Genette’s terminology.

²⁸ See also George Brooke in the same volume, 43–45.

²⁹ Petersen 2014, 25 n. 28. See also Brooke 2010, 44: “The term ‘paratext,’ preferred by some scholars ... is not really adequate for the task of categorizing literary activity that involves imitation and dependence of one sort or another.” Speaking of Lange’s new terminology, he adds, “It is equally problematic to move to the term ‘paratextual’ since that term has been coined by others for other purposes” and he goes on quoting Genette’s standard definition of paratextuality.

³⁰ For example, Tov defines paratexts fairly broadly as “elements indicated by scribes in manuscripts beyond the consonants, vowels, and accents” (Tov 2004, 202). He includes in paratexts some scribal practices, like “extraordinary points” and “unusually shaped letters.” See for example Tov 2004, 201–5; Appendix 10 “Paratextual elements in medieval Masoretic manuscripts,” based on Tov 1999 “Paratextual elements in the Masoretic manuscripts of the Bible compared with the Qumran evidence.”

³¹ The word was not often used in the studies on printed books either; see as an exception Castiglioni 2005. See also the remarks of Rozzo 2006, 213.

³² See above p. 131 and n. 12. For an exception, see Montecchi 2005, mentioned above.

³³ Aufrère/Alexander/Pleše (eds.) 2014. These are the proceedings of a conference in Aix/Marseille organised within the network “The

between the two concepts as well as some overlap, as Sydney Aufrère notes in the introduction.³⁴ In this volume, George Brooke deals with the physical features of a codex from Qumran. He clearly states, “starting with Genette I take all the non-verbal and verbal scribal phenomena used to present the text as paratextual”,³⁵ including aspects such as the shape and size of the scrolls, the layout including the ruling and the size of the columns, text divisions etc. However, even if “most of what will be presented falls under the broad umbrella of paratextuality as peritext”,³⁶ Brooke opts for periphrases like “non-verbal paratextual phenomena,” “paratextual items,” “paratextual indicators,” or “paratextual data,” and does not directly call the physical features “paratexts” or “peritexts.”

The collective book entitled *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers* (also published in 2014)³⁷ begins with some central questions, “What is a paratext, and where can we find it in a Roman text? What kind of space does a paratext occupy, and how does this space relate to the text and its contexts?”³⁸ In order to answer these (and other) questions, the authors mainly explore what Genette would call “authorial paratexts,” and study what kind of paratexts the authors built in their works; how they relate to the “text” and contribute to constructing an audience, etc., generally not in relation to the handwritten tradition or to specific manuscripts.³⁹ Several articles in this interesting

Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam” and following the above-mentioned conference in Vienna.

34 Aufrère 2014, 8; see also the remarks of Daniel Stöckl ben Ezra (who explores the concepts of oral and ritual paratextuality), 197 n. 8, 206–7.

35 Brooke 2014, 176. See also n. 6, where he rejects Gilles Dorival’s suggested expressions “protext” or “antetext” for designating preparatory physical features like ruling. Interestingly, Dorival’s suggestion re-establishes the difference between the written and preparatory aspects of the codex (see below).

36 Brooke 2014, 176. See also 178 n. 18: “In some ways I am extending the definition of peritextual to include everything on the manuscript that surrounds the text; I do not use the term just to refer to supplementary textual items that adorn the text.”

37 Jansen (ed.) 2014.

38 Jansen (ed.) 2014, i.

39 There are several exceptions, particularly chap. 2 by Roy Gibson (in Jansen [ed.] 2014), mainly about the lack of the maybe original prefatory index in the manuscripts of the Letters of the Younger Pliny (except one); chap. 8 by Donncha O’Rourke, including remarks about the position of paratexts in ancient papyrus books; chap. 4 by Shane Butler, about capitulation in Cicero’s manuscripts—this article, which was published at an earlier point and was not written from the perspective of paratextual studies, is republished in the volume, “with corrections,” as a supplementary case study; chap. 11 by Irene Peirano, about the paratextuality of the *sphragis*; some remarks by Laura Jansen in chap. 13 on the equivalent of book covers in ancient scrolls and on Ovid as editor.

series of study cases tackle the question how the evolving “mises en livre” (our expression), including the loss of an ancient preface and/or the surge of editorial traditions (organising the texts, adding sub-titles etc.), modified the interaction between the texts and the readers. Stimulating theoretical questions are frequently raised, mostly about the limits and applicability of the Genettian concept of paratext,⁴⁰ and the authors attempt to answer these questions using a broad conception of paratexts, including, when significant, elements of the layout, book divisions, internal structure of the works and physical format.⁴¹

Published in 2016, *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* explores quite a different kind of paratextuality.⁴² The book deals primarily with colophons but also includes glosses, possessor marks, even quire marks, etc. In a pioneering cross-cultural approach, this interesting series of eight essays reveals the similarities and differences of manuscripts from diverse cultural backgrounds and illustrates both the challenges and advantages of using paratexts in reconstructing the history of the manuscripts. Moreover, this volume (the first result of an on-going project about paratexts by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the University of Hamburg), which discusses a large variety of paratextual situations in different cultural contexts, raises several thought-provoking ideas about the theoretical dimensions of paratexts.⁴³ For example, paratexts are divided “into two sub-categories: the first one provides explicit temporal and spatial information; this is the case for colophons, prefaces, postfaces, etc., in which the date and place of production are usually recorded. The second sub-category, on the other hand, contains non-explicit information that

40 See for example Laura Jensen, 1–16; Duncan F. Kennedy, 19–22, 24; Matthijs Wibier, 57–58, 68–69; Donncha O’Rourke, 156–57; Laura Jansen, 262–66. Outside the world of manuscripts strictly speaking, one also notices chap. 7 by Alison E. Cooley, which extends the concept of paratextuality to Latin epigraphy; chap. 9 by Hérica Valladares, who explores the unframed floating figures on Roman wall paintings as “paratexts” to the architectural ensemble they are part of; chap. 10 by Ellen Oliensis, who makes a distinction “between paratextuality and metapoetics” (see 207–8, 212–14), and offers an “anti-paratextual reading” of some verses of Ovid.

41 For example, Shane Butler, chap. 4 (cf. supra); Matthijs Wibier, chap. 3, about the “topography” of Roman law books; Bruce Gipson, chap. 12, cf. p. 246, etc.

42 Ciotti/Lin 2016.

43 The reader learns that the project explored the functions of paratexts, whose three main functions are presented as “(1) structuring (e.g. offering navigation aids that guide the reader, such as tables of contents), (2) commenting (e.g. glosses and annotations that offer interpretations and explanations of a text), and (3) documenting”, Ciotti/Lin (eds.) 2013, Introduction, 7.

can only be accessed by means of philological, palaeographical, codicological and material-based investigation; glosses may be written in a language or register which is peculiar to a specific region and moment in time, for example.”⁴⁴ It seems, however, that the intended scope of this statement is limited to paratexts with a documentary function⁴⁵ and does not apply to all of them, since paratexts like traditional titles, prefaces or tables of contents (which most of the time are written by the main scribe) often do not provide any clues about the history of the codex.⁴⁶

The studies mentioned above bear witness to both the fruitfulness of the concept coined by Genette and the need for greater awareness and precision about its use in manuscript studies. In summary, most of the scholars who discuss or mention paratextuality in relation to ancient manuscripts have used the term without a clear definition and have avoided mapping its nuances and limits. But in reality, they do not always include the same elements within the limits of paratextuality and, as we have just seen, there are at least three different tendencies in the underlying understanding of this concept: paratextuality limited to verbal peritexts; paratextuality extended to physical elements such as the layout or certain scribal practices; and paratextuality confusingly describing a relation of imitation or rewriting.

After exploring the notions of “text” and “content” we will come back to the role of the physical features in the definition of “paratexts.”

1.3 “Texts” and “contents” in ancient manuscripts

The term “paratext” implies a particular understanding of the word “text,” whose meaning is notoriously ambiguous. In an article on the paratexts of ancient editions in a bibliographical context, Ugo Rozzo humorously draws attention to this ambiguity: “dovrebbe essere altrettanto evidente che il paratesto non è il testo (anche se è un testo); e dunque si tratta allora di definire cosa sia il testo e cosa il paratesto.”⁴⁷ Let us first try to outline some of the different meanings that can be conveyed by the word

⁴⁴ Ciotti/Lin (eds.) 2013, 8.

⁴⁵ See note 43 above; including glosses.

⁴⁶ Similarly, the interesting statements that paratexts “pertain not just to texts but also to their carriers—in our case, manuscripts” and that they are at the “intersection between texts and materiality” (Ciotti/Lin [eds.] 2013, 7) merits further discussion.

⁴⁷ “It should also be obvious that the paratext is not the text (even if it is a text),” Rozzo 2006, 213.

“text” as they appear in the scholarly literature related to manuscript studies.⁴⁸

(a) On a very basic level, any meaningful sequence of words in a manuscript can be called “a text.” This sets it apart from (and sometimes in opposition to) other elements such as pictures, drawings, tables, or musical notation. A copy of the Gospel of Matthew, a scribal colophon, the marginal comments left by a reader, and the owner’s note on the first page of a codex are all texts with different meanings and functions, and they relate to one another in different ways. This is also what Genette has in mind when he writes, “the literary work consists, exhaustively or essentially, of text, that is to say (a very minimal definition) in a more or less lengthy sequence of verbal utterances more or less containing meaning.”⁴⁹ In order to separate this first meaning of the word “text” from other usages, it can be called here “text-as-words.”⁵⁰ Roughly speaking, a “text-as-words” is little or nothing more than some ink on a material support, which expresses verbal meaning.

(b) On the opposite side of the “semantic field,” the meaning of the word “text” is sometimes extended to designate any piece of content in a manuscript, even if it is not (or not primarily) made up of words but, for example, of pictures or musical notations. We can call this “text-as-any-content.” This inclusive definition results, however, in a systemic difficulty: if “images” can thus designate the subcategory of text (in this very broad definition) consisting of pictures and drawings, what ought we to call the subcategory of text limited to words and sentences?

(c) Other meanings of the word “text” have emerged from the philological tradition. Classical philologists as well as digital editors⁵¹ working on critical editions of ancient authors (and thus with ancient manuscripts) have established a basic opposition between “texts-as-document,” or “text-as-witness”—what they find in the manuscripts—and

⁴⁸ Other fields, like linguistics, have developed their own approach to this concept. See for example Schwarz-Friesel/Consten 2014, or Scherner 1996.

⁴⁹ Genette 1991, 261.

⁵⁰ “Text-as-a-series-of-written-words-with-a-sense” would certainly be more precise as an expression but also more ponderous. What about a series of characters/signs without any discernible meaning (and possibly, without any meaning at all, such as some *probationes calami*)?

⁵¹ As entry points, see Zundert 2015, Sahle 2013, Robinson 2012, Gabler 2010. Interestingly, Sahle presents six meanings of the word “text,” in a wheel, whose three main poles are “text-as-ideas-&-intention,” “text-as-document” and “text-as-verbal-expression.”

“texts-as-work” or “texts-as-opus”⁵²—the unreachable original⁵³ which the author actually wrote or dictated. This original—or its nearest approximation—is sometimes positioned at the top of a *stemma codicum*.

The distinction between the texts in a manuscript and the work or opus is important. For example, even though at some point, in half-waking dreams, someone beheld a vision of the Apocalypse and subsequently had this vision transferred to parchment or papyrus, what we have now are some 333 “corrupted copies” of this account, full of variants, mistakes and corrections. These are called “texts-as-witness” because each of them is only one witness—one interpretation I am tempted to say—of this master “text-as-opus.” When codicologists try to “identify a text” in a manuscript, they are doing nothing more than putting one supposed “text-as-witness” in a more or less secure relation to a “text-as-opus.” In the case of pictures, however, it is usually not possible to speak of an opus/witness relation because, unlike scribes, artists usually did not try to produce an exact copy of their model (if any); a more nuanced “intertextual” relation is at work here.

It is important to note, however, that these texts, either as “opus” or as “witness,” are not necessarily entirely composed of “text-as-words.” There are indeed good reasons to believe that some “texts-as-opus” published by Archimedes, Aratus, Aristotle or Nicomachus of Gerasa did not contain just words but also diagrams and graphic representations. For the Bible, Martin Wallraff convincingly argues that in all likelihood the Canons of Eusebius were also originally accompanied by rich decorations, forming an integral part of the opus.⁵⁴ Inversely, many

⁵² In the English scholarly literature, this basic dichotomy is indicated by various expression like “text” versus “work”; or “document” versus “work”; or even “text of the document” versus “text of the work”; see for example Gabler 2010, 55 n. 1; Robinson 2012, 120 “The text is the site of meaning which links the document and the work” etc. In the French literature, one sometimes finds “texte” versus “œuvre”; see for example Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 51. This article uses “opus” as a relatively neutral and broadly acceptable term.

⁵³ There is need for caution here for several reasons: first because the term “original” can be a tricky one. To give an example: when Cicero runs to the *librarius* to correct his manuscripts and all the remaining copies, is it no longer possible to speak of a single original “text-as-opus.” The same holds true for Eusebius who published several versions of his *Ecclesiastical History*: one is no longer dealing with one underlying (and authorised) original text, but several of them. Secondly, in many cases, what is preserved is not the work of a single author, but the result of several layers of “hypertextual activity” as in the Pentateuch or the fourth gospel. Finally, what an author wrote or dictated can also be distinguished from the even more unreachable “text-as-ideas,” that is, how he conceived it in his mind.

⁵⁴ Wallraff 2013, 42–43.

images (such as evangelist portraits) contain some verbal elements which identify the pictured saint or contain the opening words of his work; thus here it follows that a “text-as-words” is not necessarily part of a “text-as-witness.” In such cases, what was produced by the painter or the scribe, or even composed by the authors, is a mix of verbal and pictorial elements bound closely together. The resulting entity could, strictly speaking, be called a single “image-and-text-as-opus,” or “text-and-image-as-witness.”⁵⁵

(d) Apart from the philological tradition, one also finds a book-historical usage of the word “text” which is more closely aligned with codicological considerations. For example, even if one does not know the language in which a codex is written, a quick look at the various page layouts usually reveals the likely placement of the titles—that is to say, where the main “text(s)-as-words” are located and, where the “text(s)-as-witness” most likely begin(s). In common usage, sections delimited in such a way are also called texts, but for the sake of clarity let us call them “texts-as-laid-out-content.”⁵⁶

“Texts-as-laid-out-content” often match “texts-as-witness,” but this is not always the case. They also include fluid traditions, where scribes act as authors, and cases of unique production—for example if a piece of content was specifically created for one prestigious book, such as a new book-epigram or a specific dedicatory introduction.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Traditional collections of “text-as-opus” (or extracts thereof) also raise special problems that lie beyond the scope of this essay; see Maniaci 2004, 82–90 and also Andrist 2016c, 18–21, where the question of biblical manuscripts as *syllogè* is briefly set forth.

⁵⁶ Strictly speaking, these are generally meant to be “texts-as-laid-out-verbal-content.”

⁵⁷ There are also other cases where “texts-as-laid-out-content” do not coincide with “texts-as-witness.” This might occur, for example, when—due to an error (according to current philological thinking, but one should also consider whether it could not be a conscious change in the tradition)—a scribe did not divide the written material at the customary place between two “texts-as-witness” or when a material accident takes place in the transmission of a book, or even when a series of “texts-as-witness” are read in an alternative way. The “textbook” example of this phenomenon occurs in the Codex Sinaiticus, where, in the middle of a line, the scribe “jumps” from I Par. 19,17 to II Esdr. 9,9 (see Parker 2010, 65–67). However, since each part of the resulting single “text-as-laid-out-content” is a discontinuous witness to one specific “text-as-opus,” this “text-as-laid-out-content” can still be analysed as two fragmentary “texts-as-witness.” Similarly, a “text-as-laid-out-content” might include a copy of an “opus” as well as the adjacent colophon found in its model, especially when these two pieces of contents are not clearly differentiated by their layout. Inversely, a philologist might claim that, due to peculiar ways of splitting and grouping “texts-as-witness,” a codex may present a greater number of “texts-as-laid-out-content” than there are actual

Similarly, they also cover any clearly delimited textual unit in the margins of a manuscript, such as, for example, a marginal scholion. At this point we hope to have shown that the content of a codex is composed of an articulated series⁵⁸ of “pieces of content” whose nature varies according to the greater symbolic system to which they belong (words, musical notes, shapes and colours, etc.). Additionally, each piece of content can be made up of any number of elements which may equally vary according to their main symbolic system.⁵⁹ Secondly, we have also seen that they may vary according to their dependence on (or independence from) a specific textual tradition. As we shall see, paratextuality reveals a third type of difference between the various pieces of contents.

The physical way in which the pieces of content are rendered in a manuscript should not be confused with the pieces of content themselves, even if the form can influence the reception (and sometimes the interpretation) of the message, i.e. the meaning of the pieces of content. As will be explained in the next chapter, material support, quires, layout, ink, decoration and other such things are also able to convey important messages but they usually do not belong to the direct or primary meaning of the text or the images in the codex⁶⁰ (even though these two types of meanings can interact) and are not included in the content of the manuscript. Similarly, written elements such as folio numbers or quire signatures are technical tools closely linked to their corresponding physical features (pages, quires, etc.), and do not have any direct relationship with the meaning of the pieces of content. This is why they are a part of the physical language of the codex⁶¹ and are not to be designated as pieces of content.⁶²

“texts-as-witness.” For example, the first production unit of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 459 (Diktyon number 9563) presents 4 “texts-as-witness” from the *corpus Rufianum: De nomenclatura corporis partium; Epitome de nomenclatura corporis partium; De anatomia corporis partium; De ossibus*. However, according to the *mise-en-texte* of these witnesses in the codex, there are only 3 “texts-as-laid-out-content”: a) the first part of the *De nomenclatura corporis partium*; b) the second and last part of this same text; c) and then, the three last “texts-as-witness” clumped together as a single “text-as-laid-out-content.”

⁵⁸ “Series” is always meant to include the unusual case of only one element.

⁵⁹ Again, for example, an artist can choose to incorporate many verbal elements in his pictures; or an author can include diagrams or small pictures in his opus, which are then more or less well transmitted by the scribes.

⁶⁰ Exceptions could be visual poems, or calligrams such as the *Syrinx* of Callimachus.

⁶¹ See below, p. 139.

⁶² This stands to reason: If a page in a manuscript has nothing written on it, we say that it is blank or empty. If a page contains only

In the preceding paragraphs, we have briefly explored the complexities of using the word “text” to describe a piece of content in a manuscript and the confusion that can easily attend this designation. For the purposes of the present study, then, it seems preferable to limit the word’s sense either to “text-as-words” or to pieces of content mainly made up of words (the “mainly verbal category” of the pieces of content), while “images” will be applied as a generic name for the “mainly graphical category.”

(e) Finally, the word “paratext” implies one further meaning of the word “text” which is encapsulated in the above-mentioned quotation by Ugo Rozzo, that “the paratext is not the text (even if it is a text).” On the most basic level, a paratext is a piece of content whose presence in the codex directly depends, as far as its meaning is concerned, upon another piece of content, which we suggest to call its “protext.” It might draw on the structure or one of the main themes of the protext,⁶³ discuss the style or touch upon a small detail, but there must be an “internal” link between the two pieces of content. Theoretically speaking, if one were to take a paratext out of a codex, the protext would in most cases still make sense. But the inverse does not hold true: if the protext is removed from a manuscript, in most of the cases the paratext would make little sense alone.

Consequently, in a manuscript a paratext represents a piece of content which distinguishes itself from other pieces of content on the basis of its subordinate position in the greater scheme of the overarching book project, an idea we will revisit in section 2.2. Genette’s theory is based on the idea that not all the pieces of content in a printed book possess equal importance in the eyes of the author. The same is true of manuscripts, the criteria being, in this case, the book itself and the book-making traditions (and not, of course, the reader’s whim). The most basic distinction is the one between a book’s “core-contents”—the pieces of contents that form the core of the book’s project theme(s)—and their paratexts. A third type of content consists of small pieces which we call “side-contents,” without obvious connection to the book’s project theme(s). Sometimes they were added incidentally and we also find them, for example, as “bouche-trous” (filler)—we will revisit these again below. It should be noted that there are cases where side-contents can also be prototexts.

In this brief overview alone, we’ve already come across at least seven direct or implicit uses of the word

a folio number, most would agree (and correctly so) that it still is an empty page.

⁶³ On the concept of “theme/thematic,” see Andrist 2016b, 22–24.

“text.”⁶⁴ As such, it is important to be cognizant of the word’s high degree of polysemy and to guard against the confusion and misunderstanding which this polysemy is liable to produce in scholarly discourse.

1.4 “Physical features” and paratextuality

As our bibliographical survey has shown, if one leaves aside the “revivalist” use of the concept of “paratext,” the main difference between the two others “poles” of meaning has to do with the way physical features are treated. Why should features like the script or the layout or the writing support not be considered genuine paratexts? Genette would consider them paratexts, after all. Several other printed-book historians have also included all physical features of a printed book in the realm of paratexts, to the extent that sometimes the content (= the text) stands in opposition to the container (= the paratext)!⁶⁵ Do they not mediate between the readers and the main content? Why should the category of “paratext” be limited to pieces of content?

There are several reasons for this. Firstly, (most of) the physical features of a book are essential to the existence of its pieces of content (either core-texts or paratexts). As such they are very different from the (content) paratexts which can theoretically be retrieved from the codex without a priori modifying the core-content. Although it doesn’t cover every possible case, Gilles Dorival’s remarks⁶⁶ concerning the preparatory physical features such as ruling remind us that (most of) the physical features are a *sine qua non* for the books’ existence (including its content).

⁶⁴ “Texts-as-words,” “texts-as-witness,” “texts-as-opus/-work,” “texts-as-any-content,” “texts-as-laid-out-content,” “texts-as-core-content,” “texts-as-ideas.”

⁶⁵ In addition to the cases mentioned above, see also for example, Castiglioni (2005), who considers elements such as the paper and its colour, the layout, the typographic characters and the binding to be paratexts; see also Biancastella/Santoro/Tavoni 2004, 141 on the “livres d’artistes” from the early twentieth century: “Tali esperienze preludono al *livre object*, che assume dalla tradizione la sola veste esteriore, rinnova materiali e funzioni, ribalta la preminenza del contenuto (testo) sul contenente (paratesto).”

⁶⁶ As quoted by Brooke, see above note 35. See also the remark by Rozzo 2006, 213–14: “Ma, a mio avviso, senza moltiplicare le invenzioni terminologiche, anche al fine di evitare confusioni, si tratta semplicemente di precisare che l’insieme delle componenti materiali del libro (carta, caratteri, ecc.) non possono essere considerate paratesto, sono solo i supporti attraverso i quali il prodotto o l’oggetto/libro esiste.”

Secondly, in contrast to Genette’s printed editions, the antique and medieval manuscript book is an unique object whose cultural relevance and importance reach beyond its content, no matter how important its texts are or how humble its materiality is. A codex is much more than just a vehicle for texts and images. It is always a witness of the people who ordered it, of those who produced it (and the techniques they used) and of the people who used it. As an object, it can also convey (among other things) political, aesthetic or spiritual meaning. There are even cases where it is likely that the primary objective in producing a manuscript book was not to create a copy of the content or to have this content be available for reading and circulation.⁶⁷

Thirdly, in Genette’s view, an author (or a person authorised by the author) is in control of all the elements surrounding the publication of his text and the printing of its many copies. His text is at the centre of the project and the publication is entirely in service of the text. But this was certainly not the case in the production of most medieval manuscript books.

It is worth remembering that the producers of a medieval manuscript book usually had no contact or authorisation from the authors of the core-texts (or even the authors of the paratexts) they wished to include in their book. As such, the patron (or the person responsible for the book) was often able to choose the core-contents and the paratexts with a given measure of freedom and the result was a unique object.

Regardless of the book producers’ wider goals, the physical making of this unique object (including all the physical features) was a crucial and necessary component of the larger book project. While a book’s content usually played a major role in the decision to create a book as well as in its planning and production (it was often even *the* decisive factor), other factors can and should not be discounted. Cultural standards, book-historical practices, particular local circumstances, practical requirements all equally played their role in producing an object which was, in each case, an original artefact with its own particular historical signification (see below). It also happened on occasion that the main project goals of the book producers had little or nothing to do with the meaning of the written texts or images.

The importance of the content in determining a book’s physical features should, then, not be overstated. When a

⁶⁷ For example, in a forthcoming study Martin Wallraff discusses luxury Gospel manuscripts with basic errors in the Eusebian canon and apparatus and calls into question whether these books were actually meant to be used, or even read (Wallraff, forthcoming).

manuscript's physical features are thus reduced to paratexts or paratextual functions—meaning that their only possible *raison d'être* is to be a vehicle for the content of the book—the book project's larger cultural signification remains overlooked.

Fourthly, a medieval codex, it must be remembered, is an evolving object. In its present state it is often the result of several book projects whose complexity and individuality often become apparent only when the book's physical features are correctly understood and sufficiently considered.

Thus, the physical features of a current codex are “like a language with its own rules, made of small significant details, recurring elements and more or less important discontinuities. When understood properly, this language informs the readers about the stratigraphy of the codex and, ultimately, its history.”⁶⁸ This history (which takes into account both the “genetic” and subsequent historical phases of the codex) includes the various projects which the constitutive elements of the book were once part of, as well as (among other things) their cultural and social significance (and importance) at any stage of its life.⁶⁹ This broader approach to the manuscript book does not rule out that some aspects of the physical features (the layout, the ink, the script etc.) can play a special mediating role between the main content and the reader. Since the secondary paratextual functions of a manuscript book's physical features operate on a different level than the relationship between primary paratexts (i.e. pieces of content) and their related core-content, we prefer to speak of these physical features in terms of their “paratextual dimension” or, to borrow a term from chemistry, their paratextual “valence.” For example, when thinking in these terms, we might posit that when standard ink is used to copy out a text, this ink does not possess any specific paratextual function other than the fact that it allows for the text to be read. The paratextual valence of this ink in this particular book is thus null. If, on the other hand, the text is fully copied out in a resplendent golden ink on purple parchment, it certainly influences how the reader looks at the text (besides an obvious message about the wealth and social status of the patron, and, in some cases, his *mauvais-goût*). In such a case, the paratextual valence of the ink is certainly important.

⁶⁸ Andrist 2015, 520 (see also pp. 513–14, 521–22, and Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013).

⁶⁹ The marked advantages of this broader approach become readily apparent when dealing with cases where one has multiple copies of the same content, as is the case for biblical manuscripts.

The literature cited above shows that even those scholars who consider physical features to be paratexts⁷⁰ spontaneously make a basic but major distinction in their vocabulary between elements like titles and accompanying epigrams (whose primary purpose in the book is directly related to its main content) and elements with paratextual valence (whose chief purpose lies in their relation to the book object).

To conclude this section, we suggest that the definition of paratexts in manuscript books be limited strictly to the realm of content, to the exclusion of their physical features, even if the paratextual valence of the latter can play an important role in determining the paratextual effects or strategies at work in a book and in more general discussions of paratextuality. The analysis of a manuscript's physical features should never be reduced to their potential paratextual valence.⁷¹

As a result, a paratext would simply be a piece of content which is thematically dependent on another piece of content in the same book.

1.5 The concept of “producing” an ancient manuscript book

In our present day (as well as in Genette's theoretical system) the concept of “publishing” is strongly linked to that of an author making a “text-as-opus” public, that is to say, potentially available to other people. In the world of ancient manuscripts,⁷² producing a book (encompassing both the content and physical features) was a privileged way of potentially making texts (and/or music and images, etc.) available to oneself or to other people in a lasting way. According to the most common scenario—though there are exceptions to be found—the book producers (including all who were responsible for the book's form and its contents)⁷³ had no direct contact with the author(s) of the books' content, who usually lived long before them, as

⁷⁰ For example, see above p. 134.

⁷¹ Similarly, the analysis of paratexts or of the physical features should never be reduced to a codified method for “dating and locating” the manuscript as this fails to do full justice to the initial or subsequent production projects which it helps uncover.

⁷² Basically, before printing was established as the main tool for circulating texts and images. This does not mean, of course, that none of the following remarks apply to subsequent periods.

⁷³ This often, but not necessarily, implies a patron, a scribe and a book-binder, and includes cases where the responsibility for the entire process was held by a single person.

we have already mentioned above.⁷⁴ This scenario breaks away from the pattern outlined by Genette.

Producing a book is not the same thing as producing a copy of a text.⁷⁵ If they so wished, the producers could make a new book by putting together all its constitutive elements from already existing manuscripts without producing any new “text-as-witness.”⁷⁶ When one sets down some content in writing on a wax tablet or a sheet of parchment, this means that the content is fixed and preserved for a period of time. Producing a manuscript book (a scroll, a codex, a “*leporcello*,” etc.), however, either from scratch or from reused materials, transforms this act of fixing content into something much more durable. In this form, the content is easily shared and transmitted and, if conditions are right, can be preserved almost indefinitely.

Thus the concept of “producing” a manuscript book has much in common with “publishing” a printed book.⁷⁷ In this essay, “producing a book” designates the process by which a manuscript book is conceived and physically created. It encompasses all the stages between the original ideas about the book until its completion, including all the decisions about its content, its layout and its physical realisation. In short, it includes all aspects of the intellectual and physical project that underlie the creation of every book.

If one sees the producers of a manuscript book as the pre-modern equivalent of the author and the publisher of a printed volume, the concept of paratextuality (as outlined by Genette with reference to the printed literary book) can be meaningfully transposed onto the medieval manuscript book. Thus, Richard Macksey’s summary (quoted above) can also apply to manuscript books because also

⁷⁴ Painters are the exception to this, of course. This can also be the case for some pieces of content such as epigrams: one cannot exclude that the book-producers may have been personally acquainted with their authors, or even commissioned these small pieces.

⁷⁵ In structural codicology, the result of producing a book is a new Circulation Unit, while the result of producing a copy of a text is a new Production Unit, which might also be a Circulation Unit. On these important concepts, see Andrist/Canart/Maniaci 2013, 59–61, 79–80.

⁷⁶ For some examples of NT manuscript books re-using parts of previous ones, see below p. 144.

⁷⁷ Several earlier attempts of mine to transpose the word “publish” directly to the world of manuscript studies resulted in a great amount of misunderstanding by friends who acted as proofreaders and exposed how much confusion can arise from unexamined assumptions. (For these friends’ frank and helpful criticism I am very grateful.) The same difficulties arose with the concept of “editing,” in spite of expressions such as “editorial practices” as used by Eric Scherbenske (see Scherbenske 2013). The term “manufacture” was equally weighed and found wanting.

in manuscripts, paratextuality comprises “those liminal devices and conventions ... that mediate the book to the reader.”⁷⁸ This is what the current essay now sets out to explore within the paratexts of Greek New Testament manuscripts.

2 Paratextuality in the Greek New Testament manuscripts

2.1 The corpus of Greek New Testament manuscripts⁷⁹

According to the website of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, 5560 manuscript witnesses to the Greek New Testament are known today,⁸⁰ in addition to an unknown number of ostraca and amulets. These manuscript witnesses—sometimes just tiny fragments—date from the second to the nineteenth century. They were almost exclusively copied as codices of many different types. Their main categories are:

(1) Books containing New Testament “texts-as-opus” as their only core content, in the traditional order (see category III). This includes the two main types of books into which the New Testament was traditionally divided in the Greek Orthodox and related churches:

- Tetraevangelia, containing the four gospels;
- Praxapostoli, containing the other canonical texts, often without the Book of Revelation. More rarely (but not altogether uncommon), all the canonical texts of the New Testament (sometimes even all the canonical texts of the Christian Bible) are found in the same volume. These New Testaments or full Bibles were sometimes completed as part of a later restoration (i.e. a different scribe, at a later stage, would supplement the extant material with additional texts) or were produced out of several separate volumes containing single biblical texts or groups of texts.⁸¹

⁷⁸ See above, p. 131.

⁷⁹ Among the abundant literature, see as possible entry points Ehrman/Holmes (eds.) 2014, Parker 2008, Dupont-Roc 2008.

⁸⁰ Data verified on 21 June 2016: 131 papyri, 286 majuscules, 2783 minuscules, 2360 lectionaries.

⁸¹ In order to avoid creating confusion, we do not use the expression “biblical books” in this essay. The polysemy (and thus ambiguity) surrounding the use of the word “book” is a question that merits further investigation.

(2) Books containing New Testament texts accompanied by commentaries. From a book-historical perspective we may distinguish between two main types:

- Manuscripts with a standard layout, where the biblical pericopes alternate with their relevant commentaries in the main body of the text. These can be, for example, commentaries by a single author or complete biblical chains.⁸²
- Framed chain manuscripts, where the main written space contains the biblical text and is framed by related chain commentaries (side glosses) mostly on the three external sides.

(3) Liturgical books (particularly lectionaries) containing the text of the New Testament divided into short sections and arranged for use in the Greek Orthodox liturgy. They are often grouped together according to the same book types as in category I.

We should also mention that in some ancient biblical manuscripts, copies of (what is traditionally considered) the canonical New Testament texts sometimes circulated alongside (what are traditionally considered) non-canonical texts, also copied as main contents.

Our remarks below are based on a representative subset of books drawn from the first category mentioned above (including also framed chain manuscripts) which date through the end of the sixteenth century.⁸³

2.2 Book producers' paratexts in Greek New Testament manuscripts

As with any other book, every codex of the Greek New Testament is the result of a book production project and process

which usually (but not always) had as its main objective the copying of biblical texts.⁸⁴ In addition to the biblical witnesses which form the core piece of content of these manuscripts, the producers also (almost) always⁸⁵ included paratexts like prologues or capitula. From the producers' point of view, these paratexts were entirely in service of the book's theme, since their *raison d'être* is (to put it in modern terms) to help mediate the biblical content to the readers.⁸⁶ They can be called "book producers' paratexts" and must be distinguished from "post-production paratexts" (see below).

Thus, when analysing the content of any manuscript, the most obvious and objective distinction which can be made is the following: on the one hand there are the pieces of content (including the paratexts) which belong to the book as it was produced—their presence in this book results from the same project—and on the other hand, there are the pieces of content which were added later, such as notes by a reader or an owner. When making this distinction, we do not mean to imply that post-production paratexts are in and of themselves less interesting than book producers' paratexts or that all paratexts within each of these two groups are similar. On the contrary, they can be grouped in various categories, as we shall attempt to do now.

Firstly, these are the categories of book producers' paratexts that we have found in Greek New Testament manuscripts:

(a) A first category covers the content which is very frequently found around the biblical text, and we call this "traditional paratexts." Various types of traditional paratexts can be identified.

First, scholars agree that titles such as "The Gospel According to Matthew" were neither given by the Gospel's author, nor invented by the Byzantine scribes or producers; they had to write a title just before each biblical text begins.⁸⁷ Though bound by firmly-established traditions,

⁸² Dorival 2014; among many possible titles see also Dorival 1986–1995 and, for non-biblical "chains," Maniaci 2006. Basically, biblical chains are a consciously arranged and transmitted series of patristic commentaries on small biblical units (often a verse) in the order of the biblical text. As a result, they should not be seen as a long series of small paratexts to the Bible, but as a single "opus," whose materialisation in a manuscript is a single "text-as-witness." Chains must not be confused with the scattered marginal commentaries added freely by the scribe, which are non-traditional book-producers' paratexts. Of course, if the scribes begin reproducing these scattered commentaries systematically, they might soon also become traditional paratexts; see below.

⁸³ This is also traditionally the chronological end point of Greek manuscript studies, since after the sixteenth century manuscripts (apart from certain exceptions) ceased to be the main vehicles for Greek works in general and the Bible in particular.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 138.

⁸⁵ On very rare occasions, a biblical manuscript may contain none of the expected paratexts (except for the titles). See for example the tetraevangelium Jerusalem, Patriarchikī Bibliothikī, Panagiou Taphou, 46, described by Sergey Kim in the ePTB/Pinakes database (Diktyon number 35283; cf. Gregory Aland number 1318) for the ERC ParaTexBib project.

⁸⁶ This dimension of medieval book making seems to have escaped Genette completely; see Genette 1997a, 16; 1984, 21: "But what the pre-Gutenberg period did not know anything of—precisely because of the handwritten (and oral) circulation of its texts—is the publisher's implementation of this peritext, which is essentially typographical and bibliographical in nature."

⁸⁷ We also fairly often find titles at the end of the biblical texts. The precise origin of the titles of the New Testament books is unknown,

the producers still had a certain amount of leeway to make small changes to the titles. As a result one still finds a series of variants, mostly involving adjectives qualifying the holiness of the attributed author and/or his opus. Let us call this kind of paratext “mandatory traditional paratexts” or, in full, “mandatory traditional book producers’ paratexts.”

The strength of the tradition varies also according to the type of paratext and the historical context of the producers. In many cases, the producers enjoyed a certain amount of freedom to include or omit a specific paratext, mostly texts-as-witness. But, as far as the textual content of these paratexts was concerned, there was much less freedom because they were bound to their own textual tradition. For example, some producers might choose to include or omit the *Canons* of Eusebius or the *Letter to Carpianus* in a tetraevangelium in accordance with the purpose of their book and their preferences. If they did so, however, they could not significantly alter the contents of these “texts-as-witness.” In this sense, this type of traditional paratexts can be said optional (or “optional traditional book producers’ paratexts”).⁸⁸ Other examples of traditional paratexts are the capitula lists and divisions, liturgical tables or the liturgical indications in the margins of the biblical text. We also include in this category the traditional painted material like the Evangelist portraits.

These traditions were liable to vary and evolve rapidly according to place and time—unlike the biblical text, whose textual tradition was much more resistant to change. In an abundant corpus such as the biblical Greek manuscripts, it is, however, easy to see what was optional and what is mandatory, and what are the exceptional cases. But one must also be aware that the traditions that make a paratext mandatory in a specific cultural context might be different in other contexts, where this paratext is not mandatory. Additionally, in smaller corpus these kinds of nuances might be impossible to see.

(b) In other cases, however, the producers included some unusual material (that is, unusual within the tradition of New Testament manuscripts) such as epigrams, paschal tables, or exceptional prologues or paintings. The presence of these pieces of content in a codex appears to be the

result of a deliberate decision on the producers’ part. We might mention, for example, the tetraevangelium Athos, Hagion Oros, Monê Philotheou 21,⁸⁹ which begins with no fewer than 35 folios containing all kinds of paratexts, including excerpts from homilies of John Chrysostom, various indices, and brief explanatory pieces. The Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.1, containing Eusebius’s Canon of the Psalms,⁹⁰ is an even clearer example, though from the realm of the Old Testament. These are also producers’ paratexts but belong to a different category which could simply be called “non-traditional paratexts” (or, in full “non-traditional producers’ paratexts”). Even in light of a specific cultural context, the difference between traditional and non-traditional should be seen as a continuum between two poles. Our current studies try to determine whether the degree of “traditionality” of a specific paratext depends on historical factors such as geographic location, chronological period, or even more book-historical related factors, such as the overall aesthetic of the book (luxurious, simple ..., its intended usage (liturgical, private ..., or the religious peculiarities and religious traditions of the producers (the customs of their monastery, their involvement in religious debates ... Even though the relative weight of these factors cannot yet be correctly evaluated, it is still possible to tell when a specific paratext is very traditional or less so.

(c) Often, in a biblical manuscript, there can be various types of written elements which are added by the producers and do not belong to the tradition of any opus, such as signs placed in the margins by the scribe in order to call the reader’s attention to a certain part of the core text or internal revisions added by the scribe or a reviser before the book left the place it was copied.⁹¹ These are very closely linked to the content of a specific book and, in the light of the equivalency discussed above between printed book publishers and manuscript book producers, we call them “manuscript producers’ paratexts,” building on a suggestion by Liv Ingeborg Lied.

How should we analyse a scribal colophon? They are, without a doubt, pieces of content which belong to the book but do not form part of its core texts.⁹² Are they paratexts? Strictly speaking, they have no direct connection to

but it is early, as they are already found in some second century witnesses. On the question of the titles, see the forthcoming book by Emanuele Castelli.

⁸⁸ Again, “optional” in the sense that they could choose not to include them in their book—in contrast to titles, which were required; “traditional” in the sense that it is quite usual to find titles, *capitula* and Eusebian canons.

⁸⁹ Lambros 1784. See the description by Sergey Kim in the ePTB/Pinakes database (Diktyon number 29385; cf. Gregory Aland number 1118), for the ERC project ParaTexBib.

⁹⁰ Diktyon number 46972. See Wallraff 2013, 5, 8–9.

⁹¹ They should not be confused with “re-made book paratexts” or “sacred book producers’ paratexts,” which are briefly presented below.

⁹² This is also true if they are copies of another older colophon.

the biblical theme of the book (in many cases the colophon would not be different if the core content were non-biblical), and apart from certain exceptions they also do not help to mediate its message. From this perspective they might be viewed as (small) secondary core contents or even side-contents (see above). In another sense, however, they are thematically linked to the core content because the theme of the colophon is related to the core-content inasmuch as it refers to the crucial act of bringing it into material existence (for example, when it was produced, by whom, or under what circumstances). In any case, they are very closely linked to the production, and we consider them another type of “manuscript producers’ paratexts.”⁹³

When a scribe attaches a religious epigram or a prayer to the end of a biblical text or the codex, what he adds is not necessarily dependent on any specific biblical passage or opus. We still consider it a paratext, however, because it contributes to the overall sacred character of the book, which can be placed in direct relation to its core-content. This is another type of manuscript producers’ paratexts.

But what about framed chain manuscripts?⁹⁴ In a recent article, Gilles Dorival analyses the relationship between scholia and the commented text as both metatextual and hypertextual.⁹⁵ But is it also paratextual? On the one hand, one can argue that, as a unit, the sacred text and its glosses represent a witness of a broader, more complex “text-as-opus.” On the other hand, chains are clearly paratexts, since they lose their relevance when separated from the corresponding biblical “texts-as-witness.” The reverse is certainly not true: if a manuscript of the New Testament with a chain were stripped of the chain, the biblical text would be able to stand and be read on its own. Furthermore, chains evolve at a much faster rate than the biblical text, since the scribe has often taken it upon himself to edit or condense certain glosses. We will return to this shortly,⁹⁶ but the fact that chains are paratexts should not prevent anyone from also viewing and analysing the resulting content (biblical text + chains) as a single witness. In fact, both types of analysis (on the one hand, examining the biblical text and the chains in a codex together as one single text and, on the other, as two pieces of contents linked by a paratextual relation) reveal complementary aspects of the complex structure and history of these kinds of intricate book contents.

⁹³ The same is also true if a colophon mentions the name of a painter.

⁹⁴ About chains, see above, n. 82.

⁹⁵ Dorival 2014.

⁹⁶ See below, p. 146.

It should be noted that many of the pieces of content in the above categories b) and c) are both autonomous witnesses to a specific author, such as Eusebius or Euthalius, *and also* paratexts, because they do not belong to the core content of the book. In the Codex Alexandrinus for example, before the Psalms we find Athanasius’s Epistle to Marcellus and Eusebius’s Hypothesis to the Psalms, which are thematically connected with the Psalms. According to the philological tradition, the Codex Alexandrinus is a witness to those “texts-as-opus,” while from a book-historical perspective they are also paratexts to the Psalms in a biblical pandect.

At this point a few important questions need to be addressed. In our biblical manuscripts, is there such a thing as authorial paratexts according to Genette’s definition?⁹⁷ In one sense there are some; the prologue of the Gospel of Luke (Luc. 1,1–4), for instance, can technically be considered an authorial paratext. This instance, however, falls within the purview of text historians.⁹⁸ Both in the present day as well as at the time when the codex was produced, this section is considered an integral part of the author’s opus and, from a book-historical perspective, it is not a paratext since, in the manuscripts, it never appears as a separate piece of content.

Secondly, should the images in a New Testament codex also be considered paratexts? One often finds paintings in tetraevangelia, such as evangelist portraits or representations of the Nativity or the Resurrection. As we have discussed above, insofar as these graphic entities can also be considered pieces of content, they are paratexts.⁹⁹

A third and related question has to do with the limits of graphic elements as paratexts. At what point should a graphic element no longer be considered a paratext but a decoration? And, inversely, when should a beautiful non-figurative headpiece or initial be described as a paratext? Again, without denying the paratextual valence of these physical features, their possible social, book historical and other possible significations¹⁰⁰ have to be distinguished from the intended message(s) of the pieces of content. As a result, non-figurative decorative elements cannot *a priori* be considered paratexts.

⁹⁷ See above, p. 131.

⁹⁸ Incidentally, it alludes to an additional definition of the word “text.”

⁹⁹ See above, p. 137. It may seem awkward to call an image (with or without a caption) a paratext, and I once suggested replacing “paratext” with the word “para-content” at least in technical discussions. However, the suggestion was not widely adopted and it is perhaps simpler to continue with “paratext,” extending the term to include non-verbal content.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 139.

Fourthly, are all pieces of content in a manuscript book either core-content, paratext or side-contents? Yes, from our perspective, with the exception of contents on reused material such as the *scriptura inferior* of palimpsests, which are pieces of content “in” but not “of” the book, if one wishes to express it this way. However, the analysis of core-contents must also accommodate differing degrees of complexity. For example, when the vast majority of a book’s core-contents is thematically coherent (“homothematic”) but there are also a few pages in the same codex of mostly “heterothematic” material.¹⁰¹ How can we explain such a situation when both the homothematic and heterothematic elements clearly belong to the same original book project? Seeing that the contents on these few pages differ thematically from the other contents, it is difficult to posit a paratextual link between them. But, since the heterothematic contents were produced at the same time as the homothematic contents, these must also belong to the core-contents of the codex, though not as principal core-contents but as secondary core-content.¹⁰² In the case of New Testament manuscripts this situation is very rare, most probably because in the book tradition of tetraevangelia and praxapostoli¹⁰³ there was no “conceptual space” to publish secondary core-texts.

Inversely (and as mentioned before) it frequently happens that a new book is produced from the remains of an already existing one (or part of it) by adding or modifying some elements. For example, in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 363 a later hand added both the liturgical tables at the beginning of the book and the *apparatus liturgicus* in the margin of the biblical text, which resulted in a tetraevangelium which was coherent according to the traditions of the New Testament manuscripts and was different from the previous one.¹⁰⁴ We call such altered

¹⁰¹ On the concepts of “homothematic” and “heterothematic” see Andrist 2016b, 38; see also Andrist 2012, in particular about the concept of “quasi full book.”

¹⁰² For an introduction to and further explanation of the concept of principal and secondary thematics in a book and the distinction between them, see Andrist 2016b, 22–24.

¹⁰³ Cf. above.

¹⁰⁴ See the description by Agnès Lorrain in the ePTB/Pinakes database (Diktyon number 66992; cf. Gregory Aland number 132), in the frame of the ERC ParaTexBib project. A similar but not quite identical situation occurs when people producing a new book reuse already circulating texts for a small part of it, as in the manuscript of Sofia, Naučen Centër za Slavjano-Vizantijski Proučvanija “Ivan Dujčev,” D. gr. 177 (olim Serres, Monê tou Prodromou, membr. A’ 2; Diktyon number 62431; cf. Gregory Aland number 1684; see again the description by Agnès Lorrain in the database ePTB/Pinakes), where, if our analysis is correct, book producers of the twelfth century copied a tetraevangelium but reused a liturgical table from the second half

codices “re-made books.”¹⁰⁵ The remaking of a book is often (but not always) linked to its restoration.

2.3 Post-production paratexts in Greek New Testament manuscripts

What is the situation with respect to later, small supplementary texts, including notes by a reader or an owner? Is there space in this approach for paratexts added after the book was produced?

The answer is affirmative and relies (as explained above) on the major distinction between the pieces of contents produced by the producers, which are the result of a more-or-less coherent project, and the contents which were more-or-less haphazardly added to it at a later stage. However, as we will see, not every added piece of content is necessarily a paratext.

Let us now move forward and discuss the various categories into which we can divide post-production contents:

(a) The elements of content (often small notes in the margins of the book) which correct, supplement or comment upon the adjacent part of the core-content or the producers’ paratexts (like corrections to the biblical texts or the capitula). They might also provide new content relating to one or several of the biblical texts, such as a new prologue on an empty page. As such, they are directly or indirectly linked to one of the themes of the book. They could somewhat loosely be called “readers’ paratexts” (or, in full, “readers’ post-production paratexts”). A well-known example of such a paratext occurs on p. 1512 of the codex Vaticanus (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1209)¹⁰⁶: here we find a marginal note voicing its disapprobation of a variant reading in Hebr. 1,3, “Fool and knave, can’t you leave the old reading alone and not alter it!”¹⁰⁷

There are, of course, grey areas. For example, are the paschal tables added to the tetraevangelium Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, grec 19 “reader’s paratext” or “re-made book paratexts”?¹⁰⁸ At first glance, they seem to belong to the realm of re-made book paratexts rather than

of the eleventh century. This kind of phenomenon seems to be fairly frequent.

¹⁰⁵ It has sometimes been called a “second edition.”

¹⁰⁶ Diktyon number 67840; cf. Gregory Aland number 03.

¹⁰⁷ ἀμαθέστατε καὶ κακέ· ἄφες τὸν παλαιόν, μὴ μεταποιεῖ, see the presentation by Didier Fontaine on areopage.net/blog/2013/07/04/hebreux-1-3-φανερων-ου-φερων (accessed 16 November 2017).

¹⁰⁸ See the description by Agnès Lorrain in the ePTB/Pinakes database (Diktyon number 17169; cf. Gregory Aland number 75). See also Andrist 2008, 440.

that of reader's notes since the supplementary material, written on more than one added page, applies thematically to the whole book (or at least a large part of it).

(b) Are post-production contents such as owners' notes to be considered paratexts? This question picks up on several of the points that we previously discussed in relation to colophons: on the one hand, when an owner decides to put his name, and nothing else, on all his books, the added content has no thematic link to any of the books. Such a note would then be little more than a piece of "post-production side-content." On the other hand, however, one can argue that such a note provides important information about the book's history and is thus able to mediate the book's content to its users, especially if the note specifically mentions the name of the book or the title of its main piece of content (a common example is "this tetraevangelium belongs to ..."). In order to simplify the nomenclature, we consider them "book paratexts" (or "post-production book paratexts").

Another type of book paratext covers those not infrequent cases where a piece of content is added in a Bible, not with reference to a specific biblical book or verse, but simply because it was considered a sacred book. In this category we find, for example, obits, hymns and prayers added on the last page or on the fly-leaf. Again, instead of considering them "post-production side-content" we prefer to place these in the category of "(post-production) book paratexts" as well. In contrast to prayers and religious epigrams, they do not increase the sense of sanctity conferred upon the book by the biblical text, but depend on it. It could also be termed "sacred book paratexts."

The above-mentioned supplementary or reused¹⁰⁹ texts appearing in a re-made book present a special situation. They might well be called "re-used paratexts" in light of their double role in both the original and the new book projects. But in relation to the re-made book, they simply act as constitutive book producers' paratexts.¹¹⁰

Can we thus reach the conclusion that all (or any) supplementary material can be seen as a paratext? Unfortunately not, because one sometimes finds supplementary written materials which have absolutely no thematic link either with the main contents of the book or, more locally, with the adjacent material. This is the case, for example, when we find the first words of the *Iliad* being used as a *probatio calami* on the initial fly-leaves of a tetraevangelium in Jerusalem, Patriarchikî Bibliothîkî, Timiou

Stavrou 95.¹¹¹ This clearly isn't a paratext but it is still a piece of content. It definitely fits the category of "post-production side-content."

Another example we could mention (which is also a borderline case) is taken from the tetraevangelium Cologny (Genève), Fondation Martin Bodmer, Bodmer 25.¹¹² At a certain point, the book was re-made through the addition of a new production unit containing liturgical tables. Then, at a later stage, an extract from the *De mensuris et ponderibus* by Epiphanius was added to the end of the liturgical tables. Thus, in a sense these supplementary lines from Epiphanius could be considered a piece of post-production side-content. But they also give glosses for technical terms like "talent" and "stater" which are used in Matth. 25 and Matth. 17 and, as such, could also be considered a post-production paratext to the Gospels. This example underscores the nature of the paratexts: they are paratext not by virtue of their content or position in the codex, but by thematic relation to one or several other pieces of content of the book. Now, if non-paratextual supplementary material is modified by a later user, this modification is still a paratext even though its protext is not thematically linked to the main theme of the book.¹¹³

A last example should warn us about the misleading impression that the position of a text could give about its paratextual nature. The portrait of John and Prochoros on f. 265v of the codex Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AN IV 2¹¹⁴ is an image paratext to the Gospel of John, which begins on the opposite page. Beneath the image, a later hand added the following epigram: "The lion, who is the model of strength and courage, prefigures Christ the King, as all-powerful."¹¹⁵ There is, however, no lion painted on the page and thematically speaking, this epigram would have a much clearer and more obvious link to other biblical verses like Apoc. 5,5.¹¹⁶ If

111 Noticed by Emanuele Castelli. See the description by Sergey Kim in the ePTB/Pinakes database (Diktyon number 35991; cf. Gregory Aland number 1353), in the frame of the ERC project ParaTexBib.

112 See Andrist 2016a, 77 (Diktyon number 13159; cf. Gregory Aland number 556).

113 Besides, the relation paratext-protect can also be indirect. For example, if a paratext is a correction to the prologue of the Gospel of Matthew, it is the direct paratext to the prologue and—if one would care to think of it that way—an indirect paratext to Matthew. The prologue is then the direct protect of the correction and also the direct paratext to the Gospel of Matthew, which in turn is both the direct protect of the prologue and the indirect protect of the correction.

114 Diktyon number 8902; cf. Gregory Aland number 1. See also Brown 2016, 126 and Andrist 2016c, 87–95.

115 Nelson 1980, 25; type 1834 in the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams.

116 At a stretch, one could argue that the "model of strength and courage" refers to the smaller painting of the Resurrection above the

109 See p. 144, including n. 104.

110 The same can be said about the main content.

one sees this epigram simply as an independent piece of content with no obvious link to the material around it, one can say it is just a piece of (post-production) side-content.¹¹⁷ However, given the thematic link with the main core contents of the book (i.e. the four gospels), it makes more sense to consider the whole tetraevangelium as the protext of this epigram, which is not linked to any specific passage. Seen from this angle, the epigram resembles the prayers mentioned above and would be a paratext to the sacred book. In sum, the position of a text on a page does not automatically determine its paratextual nature.¹¹⁸

2.4 The dynamics and perception of paratexts

We would now like to draw particular attention to the fact that, for a large part, paratextuality depends on the historical situation and perspective of the reader. As we noted above, some parts of texts (like the prologue of Luke) might be considered to be a paratext by text historians. They would find themselves in disagreement, however, with book historians, who see it as a full part of the witness.

Inversely, titles—which were often added to texts in a somewhat arbitrary manner until tradition moulded their form into a relative degree of fixity—are clearly paratexts for book historians but might not necessarily be seen as such by producers. From their point of view, those titles, and probably also the prologues and the chapter divisions could have been considered a full part of the related “text-as-witness.” For users of these books, such pieces of content probably had a sort of double function; as paratexts that helped them navigate and gave them better access to the text in various ways but also as intrinsic elements of their Bible.

Let us go back to the example of exegetical chains. As mentioned, these can be seen as either as a single long

portrait or to proclaiming the Incarnation in Ioh. 1. But, in the sentence, they refer to the word “lion,” whose presence here is difficult to connect directly and internally with other elements of content in this book opening.

117 The ambiguous nature of this paratext calls to mind the similar situation we encountered earlier in Tetraevangelium Bodmer 25.

118 In order to complete our overview of possible pieces of content in manuscripts, let us mention another category of contents, which are neither paratexts nor core-contents: the content on reused material, like the *scriptura inferior* of palimpsests or cut-out folios used as fly-leaves. In both cases, one will probably find situations where the scribe or the binder did choose specific reused material containing a thematic link with the content of the book he was working on, but the chances are very slim. Let us simply call these “reused material contents.”

paratext or as a part of a single “text-as-witness” containing both the Bible and the commentaries. In a related area, one finds illustrated versions of the book of Job in framed chain codices. Again, one can argue that depending on the reader’s perspective, these books can be analysed both as biblical core texts “paratextualised” by glosses and images and as a single piece of content consisting of biblical, exegetical and graphic elements. Possibly, this is what happened at a certain point in the tradition: the producers and readers of these books no longer distinguished between the core content and their paratexts but viewed them rather as one single articulated piece of content. In any case, a wide range of analytical approaches enriches the discourse and leads to a more nuanced understanding of paratexts and their dynamics. If this is the case, one is tempted to extend the concept to New Testament books, and take the fairly frequent tetraevangelia containing four identically sequenced sets of Capitula-Portrait-Biblical text together as a single witness to one larger opus, created not by a single person but by a long tradition.

Gerard Genette warned us: “La paratextualité, on le voit, est surtout une mine de questions sans réponses.”¹¹⁹

3 Perspective

These theoretical considerations allow us to suggest the following working definition for the notion of paratext when used in the realm of manuscripts: “a piece of content whose presence in the manuscript-book is thematically dependent on one or several other pieces of content in the same book, or the book itself.”

The study of paratexts in Greek New Testament manuscripts allows us to further distinguish between various types of contents and types of paratexts and to situate these with greater accuracy within the timeline of a book’s production; in other words, whether they were added before or after the pivotal moment of the book project’s completion.

Our method clearly distinguishes, as many authors implicitly do, between a) a paratext, according to the above repeated definition, b) the core-contents and side-contents which are not paratexts, c) the other aspects of the manuscript book which are outside the realm of its content *per nature* such as the ruling, quire signatures, layout, size of the characters etc., and d) the paratextual valence that some of these aspects may or may not have. It thus clarifies the terminology and as such, has the potential to facilitate

119 Genette 1982, 11 = 1997a, 4: “... a treasure trove of questions without answers.”

discussions both within the field of manuscript studies and beyond it. It also strives to systematically cover all the possible types of contents in a manuscript book (see the summary table below).

As a result, from a book historical perspective, this analysis also gives full consideration to the book project that the paratexts were a part of when they were produced. Thus it supplements the historical study of these books with what can be learned from the nature and structure of their underlying projects, as far as their related contents are concerned. It is however not designed to limit or exclude the possibility (or indeed the existence) of different approaches to paratextuality in other fields of research.

Our discussion has had as its focus the study of paratexts as seen from a diachronic perspective rather than synchronous one. There are other, equally important aspects of paratextuality that fall beyond the scope of this paper but which certainly merit further study in the future. These include, for example, the various types of dependent relations between paratexts and protexts which, in turn, lead us to broader questions about the diverse functions and roles of paratexts.

As far as we can tell, the applicability of the definition as well as the above-mentioned limited scope of the article do not depend of any specific features of Greek or biblical manuscripts. It remains to be seen, of course, as part of a broader cooperative effort, how well these definitions and categories apply to other types of manuscripts and how much they will have to be adjusted or completed in order to comply with a more global theory of paratextuality in manuscript studies.

There are, nevertheless, good reasons to believe that a global theory of paratextuality in manuscript books is possible: the copying of a text always points to a person (or several people) making the decision to set it down in writing: taking writing materials (leather, papyrus, parchment, etc.) and ink (or something like it) in order to produce a more-or-less faithful text from a model or to “materialize” it for the first time or to paint a picture. Similarly, the act of producing a manuscript book (a scroll, a codex or another type) always points to people deciding to make it (including its content): taking some (already filled or still empty) pieces of writing material, assembling them, adding written content (if called for), and making the resulting object (including its content) available for circulation and use. A comparison of the resulting books from various cultural areas and/or various types of content should allow for the development of an appropriate, coherent and broadly accepted array of analytical tools and a set of concepts and expressions to describe, understand and classify all the related and implied aspects of paratextuality. This tentative analysis

Types of content in Greek New Testament manuscripts

- A. Book producers' contents
 - 1. Producers' core-contents
 - a. main core-contents
 - b. secondary core-contents
 - 2. Producers' paratexts
 - a. traditional paratexts (mandatory, optional)
 - b. non-traditional paratexts
 - c. manuscript producers' paratexts
 - 3. Producers' side-contents
 - 4. Content on re-used material
- B. Post-production contents
 - 5. Post-production paratexts
 - a. reader's paratexts
 - b. book paratexts (sacred book paratext)
 - 6. Post-production side-contents
- C. Re-made book contents = Book producers' contents (re-used core-contents; re-used paratexts...)

Figure 1: Summary table of the types of content in Greek New Testament manuscripts

of paratexts in Greek New Testament manuscripts from a diachronic perspective should be understood as a step in that direction.

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