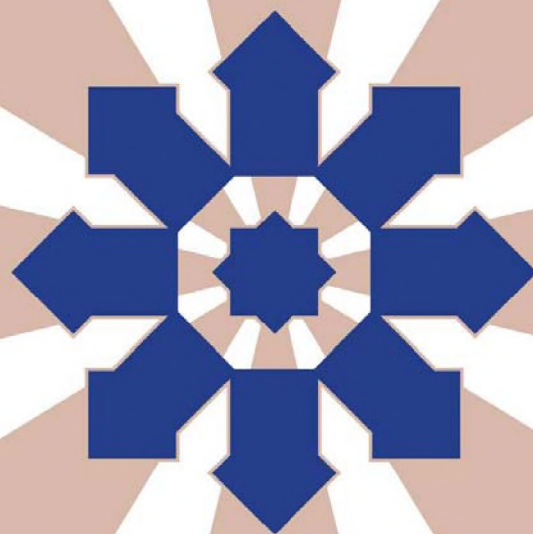


STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

*An Introduction to the
Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*

Dominique Barthélemy



*Textual Criticism and the Translator
Volume 3*

Studies in the Text of the Old Testament

Textual Criticism and the Translator
Volume 3

Edited by Roger L. Omanson

1. *A Handbook on Isaiah*, by Jan de Waard
2. *A Handbook on Jeremiah*, by Jan de Waard
3. *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, by Dominique Barthélemy
4. *A Handbook on the Psalms*, by Jan de Waard

Published in Association with
The United Bible Societies
Reading, U.K.
by Eisenbrauns,
Winona Lake, Indiana

Studies in the Text of the Old Testament:

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Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*

by

Dominique Barthélemy

English Translation of the Introductions to Volumes 1, 2, and 3
CRITIQUE TEXTUELLE DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT

Translators

STEPHEN PISANO and PETER A. PETTIT, Volume 1

JOAN E. COOK and SARAH LIND, Volume 2

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Winona Lake, Indiana

EISENBRAUNS

2012

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Printed in the United States of America.

www.eisenbrauns.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Introductions. English.

Studies in the Text of the Old Testament : an introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament text project / by Dominique Barthélemy

p. cm. — (Textual criticism and the translator ; v. 3)

This book contains English-language translations of the introductions by Dominique Barthélemy to volumes 1-3 of Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament.

The introduction to v. 1 is translated by Stephen Pisano and Peter Pettit; the introduction to v. 2 is translated by Joan Cook and Sarah Lind; the introduction to v. 3 is translated by Sarah Lind.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-57506-235-8 (hardback : alk. paper)

I. Bible. O.T.—Criticism, Textual. II. Barthélemy, Dominique. III. United Bible Societies. Committee of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project. III. Title.

BS1136.C74213 2012

221.4'46—dc23

2012013447

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.Ⓢ

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Editor's Preface

The United Bible Societies, a global fellowship of 146 national Bible Societies, is currently engaged in around 550 Bible translation projects throughout the world.¹ It is the Bible Societies' policy to base their translation on the best available editions of the ancient texts. UBS and its member societies have taken an active role in producing critical editions by calling upon leading textual scholars, specializing in both Old Testament and New Testament, to produce these editions.

For the New Testament, the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Netherlands Bible Society, and the Württemberg Bible Society, under the inspiration and leadership of Dr. Eugene A. Nida, brought together an international team of New Testament textual scholars: Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, later joined by Barbara Aland, Johannes Karavidopolous, and Carlo Martini. The result was the publication of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (1966), now in its fourth edition (1993), which has served an entire generation of Bible translators. A perusal of the prefaces to most modern Bible translations reveals that this edition has formed the basis for their work.

In 1969, the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project was launched, again under the leadership of Dr. Nida. Professor James Sanders tells the story of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP) in the Introduction to this present volume. He is uniquely qualified to do so since he was one of the six members of the HOTTP committee. The preliminary conclusions of their work were published in the five-volume *Preliminary and Interim Report on The Hebrew Old Testament Text Project* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1973–1980) in both English and French. Their final report has been published in the following four volumes:

1. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 1. Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther* (1982)
2. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 2. Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations* (1986)

1. <http://www.unitedbiblesocieties.org>.

3. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 3. Ézéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes* (1992)
4. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 4. Psaumes* (2005)

The first three volumes of the final report contain lengthy introductions, followed by detailed discussions of the textual problems and the proposed solutions. Dominique Barthélemy died in 2002 before the fourth and fifth volumes (on Psalms and the Wisdom books) were finished. Fortunately, Stephen Desmond Ryan and Adrian Schenker edited the fourth volume from Barthélemy's notes, but the fourth volume does not contain a major introduction like the first three volumes. Unfortunately, the information in these final report volumes has not been readily accessible to many scholars, students, and translators, perhaps in part because of the prices of these volumes, but most certainly because it is in French and because the discussions are quite detailed and technical.

In an effort to make the results more accessible, Dr. Jan de Waard has been preparing less technical summaries. So far only two volumes of his work have been published, both by Eisenbrauns in the present series "Textual Criticism and the Translator": *A Handbook on Isaiah* (1997) and *A Handbook on Jeremiah* (2003). The volume on Psalms is in preparation and will be published in 2012.

Whether all of these *CTAT* volumes will ever be published in English, either in full or in summary fashion, is uncertain. But the material in the Introductions to the first three volumes is significant and important for Old Testament textual criticism and can stand alone, apart from the detailed discussions of the textual problems in these volumes. Indeed, as Sanders quotes Emanuel Tov, the introductions to volumes 1–3 of *CTAT* form "an almost complete introduction" to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

Based in a significant measure on the groundbreaking work of Barthélemy and the rest of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project committee, the decision was made that the time had come to produce a new edition of *Biblia Hebraica*, to supersede the *Stuttgartensia* edition, which itself was a revision of Kahle's third edition of *Biblia Hebraica. The Megilloth*, the first fascicle of this new edition, *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, was published in 2004; the second fascicle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, was published in 2006, the fascicle on *Deuteronomy* in 2007, the fascicle on *Proverbs* in 2008, and the fascicle on *The Twelve Minor Prophets* in 2010.

All these publications have taken their place as basic tools for original language Bible study, text-critical studies, exegesis, and Bible translation. Nevertheless, the United Bible Societies felt that it would be important to offer Bible translators additional help if they were to make the best use of these fundamental works. Accordingly, we launched this series, "Textual Criticism and the Translator," to provide translators with additional help in applying the results of these textual studies to their work. We are convinced that many others will benefit from

these studies, and we are pleased to have launched this series under the publishing auspices of Eisenbrauns, thereby reaching a wider audience.

This volume, the third volume in this series, is the result of work by numerous scholars: Rev. Harold Scanlin, my predecessor as the United Bible Societies' Consultant for Scholarly Editions and Helps guided work on this translation from its inception. The translations themselves were done by Stephen Pisano and Peter Pettit (vol. 1), Joan E. Cook and Sarah Lind (vol. 2), and Sarah Lind (vol. 3). Special mention must be made of the extensive work that Sarah Lind did not only in translating much of the Introductions from French but also in helping to edit this English edition, as well as in proofreading much of the material in proofs.

This series, which we hope will serve to encourage textual studies by both Bible translators and exegetes, would not have been possible without the vision of Dr. Eugene A. Nida, who recognized the vital importance of source texts based on the best of scholarship. Special appreciation and thanks is also expressed for the monumental work of the late Dominique Barthélemy (1921–2002), whose work is here offered in English translation.

ROGER L. OMANSON

Series editor

United Bible Societies

Consultant for Scholarly Editions and Helps

Introduction

The introductions to volumes 1–3 of *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (CTAT) form, according to Emanuel Tov of Hebrew University, “an almost complete introduction” to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.² They are, in effect, the fruit of a lifetime of research by Jean-Dominique Barthélemy, O.P., in the field, as well as the results of a decade of work by the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP) launched by the United Bible Societies in 1969.

Jean-Dominique Barthélemy

Barthélemy was a young Dominican resident at the *École biblique et archéologique française* in Jerusalem during the earliest official digs and probings around the site of Qumran Cave One and of the ruins nearby. Most scholars associate the ruins with a Jewish sect that owned the library found in the eleven Qumran caves and lived a communal life centered in the buildings indicated by the ruins.³ With Abbé Josef Milik, Barthélemy edited and published the fragments from Cave One other than the original scrolls found there by bedouin.⁴ Because of serious illness Barthélemy had to return to Europe and was not involved in work on the massive trove of fragments found in 1952 in Qumran Cave Four. He was nonetheless appointed to read and study the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll that was found in 1953 in a cave in a different area, the Wadi Habra or Nahal Hever, nearby.⁵

While his work with Milik on the Cave One fragments was thorough and suggestive, it was his later work on the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll that attracted the attention of the scholarly world and eventually evoked the praise of all for its

2. E. Tov, “The Biblia Hebraica Quinta: An Important Step Forward,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 31 (2005) 3 n. 10.

3. The regnant theory, but one still being challenged; see, for example, Hershel Shanks, “Qumran—the Pottery Factory: Dead Sea Scrolls Not Related to Settlement, says Excavator,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 32/5 (2006) 26–32.

4. *Qumran*, DJD I.

5. See now the stunning, succinct account of the modern history of the Scrolls by Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), esp. pp. 40ff.

stunning effect on the whole field of First Testament textual criticism. Barthélemy's *Devanciers d'Aquila* caused a complete revision of the history of transmission of the text of the First Testament (Hebrew and Greek).⁶ Emanuel Tov, the editor of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD), claims in the introduction to the publication of the actual text of 8HevXIIgr that *Devanciers* "in many ways has revolutionized scholarship."⁷ It has indeed, and these introductions to volumes 1–3 of *CTAT* by Barthélemy, translated here into English, are an in-depth review of the whole field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in the light of the "revolution" he incited.

What Barthélemy meant by "devanciers" (antecedents) to Aquila was that the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll, portions of which were also discovered in the "Cave of Horrors" in 1953, provided what he called the "chaînon manquant" (missing link) between the rather fluid earlier Greek translations, signaled by the word Septuagint (LXX), and the quite literal, even rigid, Greek translations of the second century of the common era (C.E.).⁸ He showed how the Greek translation of the Minor Prophets in the Hever scroll had a distinct tendency to correct the earlier Greek translations in the direction of what would become known as the proto-Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible after the "great divide" at the end of the first century C.E.⁹ But in doing so Barthélemy completely revised the history of the transmission of the Hebrew text, and that was indeed revolutionary. Whereas earlier it was thought that there were perhaps three "families" of texts that had developed in Babylonia, Palestine, and Egypt, but back of which lay a single Ur-text that had given rise to the three, Barthélemy's work showed the history of the transmission of the text should rather be seen in four stages:

- a. the early literary forms of various blocs of texts in the hands of editors and schools before they became community texts;
- b. the rather fluid pre-Masoretic texts evidenced in the Qumran biblical scrolls and in the LXX;
- c. the proto-Masoretic text evidenced in the Hebrew texts from Murabba'at, Masada and elsewhere (than Qumran) and in the second-century Greek translations (Aquila and Theodotus; cf. Symmachus and the Vulgate); and
- d. finally the Masoretic Text (MT) of the tenth and eleventh centuries (the classical, Tiberian codices).¹⁰

The Greek Minor Prophets scroll would have been an early example of the transition from the period of textual fluidity (b) to the period of textual stability (c).

6. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*.

7. *Greek Minor Prophets*, DJD VIII, ix.

8. Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," *Revue Biblique* 60 (1953) 18–29.

9. The term "the great divide" is Shemaryahu Talmon's; see Talmon, "Study."

10. See the succinct statement by Hans-Peter Rieger, in "Texts in Context—Scholarly Edition of the Bible," *United Bible Societies Bulletin*, 108/109 (1977) 16–19.

The art of textual criticism is based on a valid understanding of the history of transmission of the text. How one goes about applying textual analysis of particular problems in the text, indeed how one develops the tools with which one works the art of textual analysis, stem directly from one's understanding of the history of the transmission of the text. The history of textual transmission is quite distinct from the earlier history of the formation of the text. One discerns the history of a text's formation by applying the tools of literary and conceptual analysis whereby scholarship is able to explain the anomalies and discrepancies in the text by suggesting different sources, authors, and editors at different times in the history of the formation of the text.

The history of a text's transmission, on the other hand, begins after its formation is complete, and is the business of textual criticism. However, the two sometimes overlap. That is, even after a text has left the hands of its authors and editors and has become functionally canonical for one or more communities (what Talmon calls a "Gruppentext")¹¹ there is sometimes evidence that later communities before the "great divide" modified a "finished" text to render it relevant to its own time and situation, one of the continuing characteristics of pre-Masoretic manuscripts. The overlap has to be taken into account in doing textual criticism and often affects the "aim" of textual criticism of a particular biblical book or major section. While the "task" of textual criticism is that of locating true (as opposed to pseudo-) variants, the "aim" differs with each bloc of text but should ideally be that point at which the history of its formation has ceased and the history of its transmission has begun.¹² The "goal" of textual criticism is, of course, to establish the critically most responsible text possible through the art of textual criticism, that then may be recommended for translations. Discerning the "aim" for each biblical book or textual bloc is crucial to the whole enterprise because that is the point in a text's history at which the "goal" is set, and that is the text used for translation—the particular mission of the United Bible Societies (UBS).

The Hebrew Old Testament Text Project

When Eugene Nida, the head of the translations department of the Societies, organized the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP) in 1969, he asked six First Testament scholars to meet for a week in Arnoldshain in (then West) Germany to get acquainted with the purpose of the proposed HOTTP and with each other to see if they could work together and to see if they were committed to its purpose and goal. Before 1946 the Societies had selected the best extant versions of the Bible to propagate and distribute around the world. But when Nida became

11. See again Talmon, "Study."

12. See James A. Sanders, "The Task of Text Criticism," in *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim* (ed. Henry Sun, et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 315–27.

head of the Versions Department in 1946, he proposed that the Societies sponsor translations of the best available text of both Testaments. Thus translation teams made up of nationals in each country and linguistic area along with a few textually oriented missionaries were formed to make dynamic or functional equivalent translations into as many local or receptor languages as possible. Even though this was an improvement over distributing versions in the Western, colonial languages, the local national teams often consulted Western versions in order to translate particularly difficult texts, and that presented a major problem. Western translations and versions in the mid-twentieth century often varied widely on how to solve text-critically difficult problems. Nida first formed the Greek New Testament Text Project in 1955 and then the HOTTP in 1969 to address the problem. The idea was to provide text-critically responsible solutions to difficult texts to help the local, national teams in their work.

The six scholars that met in Arnoldshain understood and accepted the assignment but also stipulated that in order to do so they would need to address the new situation in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible that the discovery of the Judaean Desert Scrolls presented, especially the issue of the new history of transmission of the text. Nida willingly accepted this stipulation. We were interested in having the opportunity the assignment offered to probe into all the different kinds of textual problems the Bible harbors in its different literary forms, and to work out a much needed new understanding of what textual criticism is all about. We were asked to address some 5,000 difficult problems throughout the Tanak from all the blocs of text in the Bible. Though the team included two prominent Catholic scholars, we all understood that we would be given problems only from the Protestant First Testament, and none from the non-Masoretic books that are included in the Catholic or Orthodox canons, the so-called deuterocanonical books. We were to deal with the "Hebrew Old Testament" as the name of the project indicated. This meant basically that we would not be addressing textual issues of a purely literary nature, such, for example, as the LXX books of Samuel or Jeremiah, nor indeed with the Greek Esther or with Qohelet or Proverbs. Those would come into purview only as need be in dealing with textual problems *ad loc.* in the Hebrew Bible.

Barthélemy, especially, helped us realize that many problems in the text had been neutralized or sterilized, so to speak, by the text being too quickly declared unintelligible or corrupt and hastily supplied with a solution from later versions (which also had had to solve the same problem), or by conjecture. There are a number of sources that have seldom been exploited in textual criticism but which we found important to our work. Among these are the issues of Hebrew syntax and style.

We would have to fend for ourselves. But in doing so we found immense help in two sources seldom probed: the medieval exegetes who wrote in Judaeo-Arabic, and the six medieval Hebrew-Old French *glossateurs* in northern Europe who dated even before Rashi. Barthélemy immersed himself in the Judaeo-

Arabic commentaries of Yefet ben Ely, Daniel al-Qumisi, Saadya Gaon, David Z. Lichaa, and Salmon ben Yeruham. Yefet lived in Palestine between 950 and 1000 C.E. and had an intimate acquaintance with the mentality of his contemporaries, the Masoretes themselves; and most all his work, though little is edited or published, is available in microfilm from libraries in Europe and New York.

Probing such rarely used sources, the team was able to address the full history of the text where problems occur and in doing so found that many texts that had been thought unintelligible or corrupt were actually examples of the intricacies of Hebrew grammar and syntax long since forgotten.

Biblia Hebraica Quinta

Biblia Hebraica Quinta (BHQ), currently being edited, has evolved out of two major stimuli: the mission and work of the UBS (of which the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, publisher of the BH series, is a part), and the research and work of the HOTTP.¹³

The introduction to fascicle 18 of BHQ, the first to appear, states that the “character of BHQ is shaped by two histories, that of the editions of *Biblia Hebraica*, and that of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project of the United Bible Societies” (p. VII). The three forces that shape BHQ are: (a) the mission and interests of the UBS; (b) the HOTTP, which was launched and funded by the UBS; and (c) the intended audience of BHQ. The UBS, founded in 1946, includes the Württembergische Bibelanstalt, a regional Bible Society in Germany which had published the earlier editions in the BH series and became a part of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, which now publishes BHQ; its major mission is to provide translations of the Bible in as many mother tongues as feasible around the world.

The audience that BHQ wishes to address, according to Richard D. Weis, a member of the editorial committee of BHQ, is approximately the same as that which the first four editions of *Biblia Hebraica* have tried to serve:

- a. scholars who are not necessarily text critics but who need critical help in seeing the textual history of “problems” in the MT;
- b. clergy who are conversant with the Hebrew text and use it but who need as well-established a text as possible to use in their ministries and in sermon building;
- c. students who are basically beginners at reading the Bible in its original tongues and need as clear guidance as possible to perceive the history of the text in a manageable format; and

13. See James A. Sanders, “The Hebrew University Bible and *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*,” *JBL* 118/3 (1999) 518–26; and idem, “Review of *Biblia Hebraica Quinta: Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth*,” in *Review of Biblical Literature 2006* (ed. Jan G. van der Watt; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 1–10.

d. translators of the Bible around the world who wish to provide their people with Bible translations that are as responsible as possible.¹⁴

The BH series had the same audience in mind from its inception in 1905, especially the first three noted above. The significant difference in audience now is the fourth, (d)—translators of the Bible around the world supported by the UBS, who are working to translate the Bible into their languages for the first time.

Now that five fascicles of BHQ have appeared, it seems appropriate to describe as clearly as possible the role of the UBS, and especially the HOTTP, in the shaping of this fifth edition of *Biblia Hebraica*, which will probably serve the four intended audiences noted above for half a century at least. It is so conceived and shaped that the more ephemeral aspects of it can be updated when need be without having to create a whole new edition, especially the book-editors' commentaries on the apparatuses.

Eugene Nida and the United Bible Societies

Prior to Eugene Nida's becoming the "Secretary for Versions" of the American Bible Society (ABS) in 1943, the various Bible societies in the West had generally sought the best versions/translations already available to distribute around the world. The non-Western people they reached at that time in distributing the Western versions largely spoke and read the language of the colonial power of their region. But that situation was changing.

Nida had just earned a Ph.D. at the University of Michigan in linguistics. He was the first person in any Bible Society to be academically trained in linguistics. Several Societies had begun to see the need of doing their own translations even while they continued to evaluate the suitability of existing versions. In the course of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Nida developed a theory of translation he called "dynamic equivalence" (which was later refined to "functional equivalence"). He built his theory on the work of Noam Chomsky, linguist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Nida's idea was to "transform the deep structure" of the original language into the corresponding equivalence in the target or receptor language of the translation.

It was an idea whose time had come. Nida launched both an English and a Spanish translation project based on those principles; the *Versión Popular* appeared just before *Today's English Version* (TEV), both in 1966. Nida in essence reshaped the role of the Versions/Translations departments in the ABS and in the various other Societies. He also encouraged the development of high-quality ancient text editions; thus was born the Greek New Testament Project and the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project. The GNTP produced the first edition of The

14. Weis, "Biblia Hebraica Quinta and the Making of Critical Editions of the Hebrew Bible" in *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002) [<http://purl.org/TC>] 4–9.

Greek New Testament in 1966; and the HOTTP in 1980 launched BHQ, the first fascicle of which appeared in 2004. Related to these editions have been numerous text-critical and lexical aids for translators which Nida also instigated; these have appeared in a steady stream for some forty years.

These developments, effected through Nida's genius and vision, paralleled the de-colonization moves that took place in the mid-twentieth century after the Second World War. The various Western European powers were gradually giving up their former colonies, and nationalist sentiments were blossoming all over the third world. These included the desire to read the Bible in native languages rather than in the colonial languages. The Bible Societies, taking note of this, saw the need to provide Bibles in those lands in the languages of the people, and Nida's theories and work found ready reception for doing so. Bishop Berggrav of Norway, an outspoken critic of the Nazis during the war, with others proposed a cooperative fellowship of national Bible Societies. The United Bible Societies was thus founded in 1946 through the joint efforts of thirteen Bible Societies: (in alphabetic order) those of Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the USA. There are currently 146 national Bible Societies which oversee translation work in about 235 countries or territories.¹⁵

The UBS currently is involved in almost 550 translation projects worldwide,¹⁶ made up largely of nationals who, while skilled in their mother tongues, are sometimes marginally familiar with the intricacies of the biblical languages. Before the middle of the twentieth century such translations were done mainly by missionaries, who had a better acquaintance with the biblical languages perhaps but whose translations often did not reflect the nuances of the cultures of the receptor languages. As one native church leader wisely remarked: the translations of the missionaries provided the way the Bible *could* be expressed in his language, while the later translations influenced by Nida's method provided the way the Bible *would* be expressed. With the new situation came a tendency, while not absent among earlier missionary translators, to resort to translations in the old colonial languages for solutions when textual difficulties were encountered. And it was at this stage of the work of producing translations into local languages that confusion would intrude because modern translations often differed widely in how difficult textual problems were resolved. This sometimes resulted in the embarrassing situation of the UBS sponsoring translations that varied considerably

15. See Philip C. Stine, *Let the Words Be Written: The Lasting Influence of Eugene A. Nida* (Atlanta: SBL, 2004) for the full story of Nida's genius and legacy. I am also indebted to Harold Scanlin and Philip Stine, both of the UBS, for much of the data concerning the history of the Bible Societies. And I wish to thank David Marcus of the Jewish Theological Seminary for a couple of valuable data otherwise, as well as Adrian Schenker, general editor of BHQ, for his suggestions.

16. <http://www.unitedbiblesocieties.org>.

in what certain difficult texts actually conveyed in the receptor languages. The situation was not unlike that in antiquity when translators sometimes consulted earlier translations, especially the Greek, to solve difficult textual passages; early Greek translations were themselves sometimes free-style and less than totally faithful to the Hebrew text we know, or were based on different Vorlagen.

These effects were exacerbated, however, in UBS translation projects because in the mid-twentieth century, precisely when missionary translators were being replaced by nationals, some modern Western versions tended to offer translations that were based freely on emendations and conjectures inserted into the Hebrew and Greek texts. The first edition of *La Bible de Jérusalem* (1955), the *Revidierte Lutherbibel* (1971), and the *New English Bible* (1970) were prime examples of translations done around mid-century based on widely varying reconstructions of difficult texts. The *Revised Standard Version* (1952) and then the *New Revised Standard Version* (1989), while not as egregious, also reflected the attitude dominant in mid-twentieth century in Bible translations, including the mandate of the NRSV to use inclusive language, abandoning sometimes the actual wording of the ancient text to do so. The old method of the various Bible Societies, selecting the best versions to propagate, was thus still at work through the back door; and the situation required attention and adjustment. While the second edition of the *Jerusalem Bible* (1973), the later *Revised English Bible* (1989), and the *Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible* (1975) were considerably more sober, the problems faced by the new translation committees (made up largely of nationals), still needed to be addressed.

When the HOTTP was launched in 1969, Nida charged us with the responsibility of addressing those passages in the Hebrew Bible that were giving the translation committees difficulties, and of publishing our findings as promptly as possible. The result was the *Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project/Compte rendu préliminaire et provisoire sur le travail d'analyse textuelle de l'Ancien Testament hébreu* in five volumes published by the UBS (1973–1980). These were to be followed by a final report/*rapport final* in which the concept and methods employed by the team and their mode of textual analysis that led to their decisions would be fully explained in the light of the most recent developments in the art of textual criticism, especially the impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the field. The result has been *CTAT*, four volumes of which have so far been published by Editions universitaires in Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen (1982–2005).¹⁷

CTAT has been ignored by most scholars, but some have questioned the way in which *CTAT* is presented. Two typical comments have been (a) that only a select number of text-critical problems are dealt with, and (b) that modern western

17. When Yohanan Goldman, e.g., in his commentary on the critical apparatus of Qohelet, in *BHQ* 20, refers on p. 72* to “*CTAT*, 5, ad loc.,” he is actually referring to the notes generated by Barthélemy for the HOTTP; there is, as yet, no fifth volume of *CTAT*. See p. 158 n. 15.

translations of the problems chosen are provided at the beginning of each treatment. The answer to both questions, as noted above, is that the UBS through Nida had formed the HOTTP to address the issue of the most critically responsible text to offer translators (a) in the face of the situation in the mid-twentieth century of the most recent Western translations often varying as to the actual text translated at crucial junctures, and (b) in the light of the need to assess the impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the whole field of textual criticism. For each biblical book, the HOTTP was given a list of passages most troubling for translators, and each of these was taken up by the six-member team of the HOTTP to scrutinize, analyze, and make judgments about. While the number of these eventually mounted to over 5,000 for the whole of the Hebrew Bible, the team actually dealt with almost 6,000 passages since a number of passages assigned the HOTTP of necessity entailed consideration of cognate or similar passages elsewhere in the Tanak, each in its own context. The HOTTP fretted little about these criticisms at the time since it had expected from the beginning that the concept and method of textual criticism being elaborated in its work would result in a fifth edition of BH, which would address them both.

The HOTTP team often discussed whether the witnesses in the pre-Masoretic phase (b) should be called the “earliest attested texts” or the “earliest accepted texts.” The difference may seem strained, but as Rüger states in his early report we had come to see that the “aim” of textual criticism had to be the point at which early literary products left the hands of editors and redactors and became “canonical” for various communities in phase (b). We used the word “canonical” in its functional sense, not in its formal sense as it had usually been used. We meant the same phenomenon Talmon called “Gruppentexte,” texts *accepted* by various communities that functioned for them as authoritative. The crucial point was that we needed to find the juncture at which literary activity had basically ceased, indeed the point at which the history of the formation of a text ceased and the history of transmission of that text began. The two overlapped in some cases, as we have noted, but the distinction was important. “Earliest accepted texts” (by ancient communities) was therefore a more fitting term, and yet “earliest attested texts” (by text critics today) would probably be more generally understood. My *Torah and Canon* and “Adaptable for Life,”¹⁸ had shown the importance of seeing the term “canonical” in its functional sense as much as in its formal sense.¹⁹

The *modus operandi* of the HOTTP was for John A. Thompson of the ABS to list those passages that UBS translation committees had found most difficult for

18. Sanders, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972; revised edition by Cascade Books, 2005) and “Adaptable for Life: The Nature and Function of Canon,” in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (ed. F. M. Cross, et al.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 531–60.

19. Pace Eugene Ulrich in “The Notion and Definition of Canon,” *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee McDonald and James Sanders; Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2002) 21–35. See, on the contrary, the writer’s “The Issue of Closure in the Canonical Process,” in the same volume, 252–63, and see now *Torah and Canon* (2nd ed.).

their purposes and for Hans-Peter Rieger of Tübingen then to provide sheets well before each annual session giving the readings of all the ancient witnesses for the principal words in the passages. This first move on the team's part was very much in the usual style of textual criticism when the focus was largely on individual words that were deemed to be "variants," or possibly so. My assignment was to provide all the available readings from the Judaean Desert Scrolls, Qumran and otherwise.²⁰ With all these in hand, Norbert Lohfink of Frankfurt would research the pertinent, important, modern critical studies on the passages to share during the annual sessions, and Dominique Barthélemy would research the pertinent history of exegesis of each problem up to the modern critical period. The other two members of the team, A. R. Hulst of Utrecht and W. D. McHardy of Oxford, brought their long experience in the work of translation to the discussions.

It was Barthélemy's findings in the pre-critical literature that were basically new to modern textual criticism. Barthélemy had gathered in his study at Fribourg microfilms of published and unpublished treatises on the whole of the Tanak from the medieval period up to the eighteenth century. I often marveled when I visited him in Fribourg at the sheer vastness and thoroughness of the collection. We often found, as noted above, that the medieval exegetes who wrote in Judaeo-Arabic provided understandings of difficult Masoretic readings that showed they were not at all "corrupt" or in error as modern, critical studies had assumed and as the apparatuses in the BH series so far indicated. It became clear that the medieval exegetes' knowledge of Hebrew grammar and syntax derived from their thorough acquaintance with Arabic grammar and syntax and was superior to modern grammars of Hebrew, which are largely based on the structure of classical languages.²¹

The team would then review the ancient witnesses and the modern critical findings concerning the problem passages to find that the latter often went astray because of a lack of the in-depth knowledge of Hebrew grammar and syntax we had found in the medieval exegetes. These findings led us to label far fewer readings as *crpp* "corrupt" or *dub* "uncertain" than had been the case in the earlier BH editions. Sometimes we found that the problem addressed could not be solved by any of our searches, and those we were forced to admit were intractable; but they were considerably fewer than we had first thought. Even in-depth textual analysis could not always clearly determine a preferred reading so that the team felt it important to convey the uncertainty by "grading" our decisions, leaving the choice

20. It is my pleasant duty once more to express gratitude on behalf of the HOTTP to Frank Moore Cross of Harvard, Patrick Skehan of Catholic University of America, and Johannes van der Ploeg of Nijmegen in The Netherlands for their ready and cordial assistance in providing the then unpublished biblical texts from the Judaean Desert Scrolls.

21. This is quite different from the efforts of scholars like Schultens in the eighteenth century and G. R. Driver in the twentieth to import meanings of Arabic words to apparently cognate words in classical Hebrew.

of the available readings up to the reader; this was especially the case with a “D” or even “C” grade. In this we followed the UBS practice established by the GNT²².

We came to realize that ancient tradents, both scribes and translators, were less prone to “scribal errors” than the field had thought, precisely because in the early history of transmission of the text there was more freedom than scholarship had realized to alter the text slightly to make it understandable to the communities the ancient tradents served. These then were not “errors” in the usual sense but purposeful changes done in service to the communities that accepted the texts as “canonical” or authoritative. Often they are what are called “facilitating,” substitute readings. As Weis points out, scribes in the early period not only occasionally “roughened” a text, that is, made mistakes, they more often than not “smoothed” it.²³ Scribes made unintentional errors, no mistake about it, but we found they were less accident-prone than scholarship had been accustomed to think. In the pre-Masoretic period they sometimes substituted a word or term their community knew and would understand.

A major characteristic of the work of the HOTTP was the conviction that textual criticism could not focus simply on individual words. The field already recognized that one had at least to consider the full sentence in which the problem reading occurred. But we often saw the need to take into account a whole passage or pericope to be able to discern how the tradent of a textual witness understood the passage. Sometimes we needed to do a structure analysis of a whole passage to see what the concept was that lay behind what the tradent (author, editor, scribe, or translator) had in mind, and in doing so we could better perceive how the word in focus came into play in the whole.²⁴ We sometimes found that this exercise underscored Eugene Nida’s concept of dynamic or functional equivalence in translation in that one has to discern the basic concepts or ideas lying behind a passage in order to express it accurately in a receptor language, the concepts of texture and sub-text in more recent literary criticism.

The HOTTP also found text-critical help in the *masorot* of the Masoretic tradition. We saw on occasion that they clarified a problem arising from either the consonants or the vocalization of texts. This is fully explained in Barthélemy’s Introduction to *CTAT*, vol. 3, lxix–xcvii, a section subtitled, “Du bon usage des massores.”²⁵ This appreciation of the *masorot* is carried over into BHQ, which provides not only the information of the Masorah parva and Masorah magna in

22. Criticisms of this practice have been rather superficial and not very helpful. We were working against the kind of over-confidence of earlier editors of the BH series in their frequent use of *errp* or *dub* for many passages that had not been thoroughly probed, and then the use of “lege” for emendations and conjectures.

23. Weis, “Biblia Hebraica Quinta and the Making of Critical Editions of the Hebrew Bible,” 31.

24. See again the writer’s study, “The Task of Text Criticism,” 327 n. 33.

25. P. 331 in this volume.

English, offered with modern chapter and verse numbers, but also commentaries to each biblical book on both *parva* and *magna*, giving the user the meaning and value of the information in them for text-critical analysis. As Emanuel Tov states in his magisterial review of BHQ 18 (Megillot), "A detailed commentary on the notes of the Masorah, in English (pp. 25*-50*), introduces the reader to its treasures and clarifies many an ambiguity."²⁶

The HOTTP tried to distinguish between textual forms that are almost literally autonomous, and those that involve discerning technical details. We often turned to the Masorah to address the latter (the Okhlah and the Babylonian Masoretes of Chufut-Kale, or the marginal notes in the classical Tiberian manuscripts). For the former type it was necessary to retrace the literary or redactional history of the problem. Often the same problem gave rise to different solutions over time, like glosses, literary exegeses, or textual corrections. Retracing the history of such problems often led us to recognize the high antiquity of some textual problems: such as ancient accidents, syntactic peculiarities we no longer understand, or semantic nuances. These considerations led us not to correct the text except with great caution. We realized also, in retracing the history, how "critical" corrections (and certainly conjectures, even retroversions) "sterilized" the search from further serious probing. Textual difficulties have caused students through the centuries to want to offer a "solution" to the problem and then others would fall in step with that "solution," thus masking the real problem as though it were solved for all time. True criticism, even textual criticism, is a process in which criticism is critiqued.

Philological efforts have occasionally shed light on old problems, such as A. Schultens's work in the eighteenth century with Arabic, Friedrich Delitzsch in the nineteenth century with Akkadian, or G. R. Driver and Mitchell Dahood in the twentieth century with Ugaritic. But such efforts have rarely been successful; and they have tended to paper over the old problem. Often modern knowledge of cognate languages is dependent on knowledge of Hebrew in the first place; hence, the HOTTP used them only with circumspection. Therefore, before declaring a text unintelligible, we turned to syntactic and stylistic analyses of the grammar and syntax of a text that had rarely been used. Unfortunately, the field still lacks a syntactic concordance based on careful use of the *ʿamim*.

Summaries of *CTAT* Introductions

The introduction to the first volume of *CTAT* provides a history of textual criticism from its origins up to J. D. Michaelis, that is, up to the era of modern biblical criticism. It then goes on to explain how the HOTTP did its work, its concepts and method.²⁷ The balance is devoted to explaining the team's understanding of the new history of transmission of the text and the delicate question of the

26. Tov, "The Biblia Hebraica Quinta: An Important Step Forward," 5.

“aim” of our work, that is, the point at which a book or major section of the biblical text left the hands of authors and editors and became “functionally canonical,” that is, the possession of communities of faith in antiquity (Talmon’s *Gruppentexte*).

The Introduction to the second volume explains the *modus operandi* of the team: how the problems were chosen and the structure of the critical apparatuses. It explains why and how the twentieth-century translations are cited (those the UBS local translation committees throughout the world had turned to in order to solve difficult textual problems). It then goes on to explain the structure of the presentation of each problem, beginning with how common “corrections” to problems arose and the history of the problems both before and since modern biblical criticism.

The introduction to the third volume is the most elaborate and the richest. Here is Dominique Barthélemy at his best. These introductions, whether in French or in English, are a legacy worthy of the scholar. After more fully explaining the importance of understanding the functional meaning of “canon” and its importance in determining the “aim” of textual criticism, it addresses the issue of the diverse forms of the Masoretic Hebrew text of the Bible that have recently come to light and the “text of Ben Asher” and its value and authority. It then takes up the limited value of the later medieval manuscripts so often cited in earlier apparatuses; the issue of what the MT really is; the textual traditions other than the Tiberian; the central issues involved in using the MT; the correct use of the *masorot* in textual criticism; the newly found pre-Masoretic Hebrew texts (the Scrolls); the emergence toward the end of the first century C.E. of the proto-Masoretic texts and their value; the major issues involved with the early versions and their value for textual criticism, especially the LXX, the Hexapla, the Vulgate, the Peshitta, the Targum and the Arabic versions; and finally, conclusions about how critical apparatuses should be constructed. Even a cursory reading of these pages gives evidence of Barthélemy’s passion for accuracy and his deep personal desire to make the art of textual criticism as close to a hard science as possible.

Any summary of this book is necessarily superficial. The depths of what is here will take the field of textual criticism yet more years to probe and evaluate to practice the art of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in the least subjective manner possible. Barthélemy dedicated the second volume of *CTAT* to the first of our team to die, A. R. Hulst of Utrecht in 1978, and the third to Hans-Peter Rieger of Tübingen, who died in 1990. This volume is the legacy of the rare genius and exceptional humanity of one of the greatest scholars of the text of the Hebrew Bible who ever existed, Jean-Dominique Barthélemy, who himself died, after thirty-four years at Fribourg, February 10, 2002. W. D. McHardy of Oxford had

27. See Sanders, “Text and Canon: Concepts and Method,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979) 5–29.

died in April of 2000, and Eugene Nida died in August of 2011, leaving only Norbert Lohfink, S.J., of Frankfurt, and myself, the least of them all, to remember and to celebrate what is surely the redemption in our time of the textual criticism of the First Testament/Hebrew Bible.

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Abbreviations

- A (in the discussion of Latin versions) MS Amiatinus; see \mathfrak{D} (San Girolamo)
A (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) Aleppo manuscript; see MS Aleppo.
 \mathfrak{A} First printing of \mathfrak{D} (B42)
 α' Aquila, cited according to \mathfrak{G} (Göttingen), *Hexaplorum* (Field); \mathfrak{G} (Brooke/McLean).
Ad Jerome (Adriacn)
Akh Akhmimic
Al Polyglot (Alcala)
Amer Jerome (Amerbach)
B (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) MS London BL Or 4445
 \mathfrak{B} Second printing of \mathfrak{D} (B42)
B42 \mathfrak{D} (B42)
Ba (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) MS Berlin Or qu. 680 and MS New York JThS 510
bab Babylonian
BL British Library
BN Bibliothèqne Nationale
C Ms Cairo
C (in the discussion of Latin versions) MS Cava; see \mathfrak{D} (San Girolamo)
Co Coptic
Cpl Complutensis: Polyglot (Alcala)
corr(ect) correctum
D (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) Damascus Pentateuch; MS Jerusalem heb quart 5702
E (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) \mathfrak{M} (Ben Hayim)
E (in the discussion of Latin versions) \mathfrak{D} (Stephanus 1540)
EL Elias Levita
Em (in the discussion of the Latin) Variant from the margin of \mathfrak{D} (Stephanus 1540)
Et Text of \mathfrak{D} (Stephanus 1540) when the margin has a variant
F Firkovitch; MS Leningrad; MS Leningrad Saltykov Shchedrin Library, hebr B 19^A

- F (in the discussion of Latin versions) \mathfrak{V} (Froben 1495)
- FT Fernández Tejero; see Ortega and Fernández, “Nahum”
- G (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) \mathfrak{M} MS St. Petersburg, Bibl. Saltykov Shchedrin, II Firk 17
- G (in the discussion of Latin versions) MS St. Gatien de Tours; see \mathfrak{V} (San Girolamo)
- G (elsewhere in the discussion of Latin versions) \mathfrak{V} (Gadolo 1495)
- \mathfrak{G} , g The Old Greek (\mathfrak{G} = primary reading, g = secondary reading). As read in: Papyrus 965; MS Alexandrinus, MS Sarravianus-Colbertinus; MS Sinaiticus; MS Vaticanus.
- g \mathfrak{V} (Laridius)
- GA *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*
- Greg De Gregoriis; see Jerome (Gadolo)
- H (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) MS Leningrad, Bibl. Saltykov Shchedrin, II Firk 10
- Hev 8HevXIIgr, Greek fragments from Nahal Hever, according to their publication in Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, and Tov in *Greek Minor Prophets*, DJD VIII
- θ' Theodotion, cited according to \mathfrak{G} (Göttingen)
- JThS Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York)
- K \mathfrak{M} (Koren)
- \mathfrak{K} Coptic versions
- L (in the discussion of the Latin) \mathfrak{V} (Laridius)
- L (in the discussion of the Syriac) \mathfrak{S} (Leiden)
- \mathfrak{L} Vetus latina (Old Latin).
- LW Luther, *Works*
- Ly Ms Lyon, Bibl Municipale, 3–4
- \mathfrak{M} , m Masoretic Text (\mathfrak{M} = primary reading, m = secondary reading[s]). As read in: MS Aleppo; MS Berlin, Staatsbibl, Or fol 1213; Or qu 680; MS Bern, Burgerbibl, 92; MS Cairo; MS Cambridge, University Library, T.S. A 39, 4b; MS Kassel; MS Leningrad; MS London, BL, Add 15 451; Add 21 161; Or 4445; MS Madrid; MS New York, JThS, 229; JThS, 232; MS Paris, BN, hébr 1–3; hébr 5, 6; hébr 26; hébr 82; hébr 105; MS Parma, Bibl Palatina 2668; MS Petrograd; MS Roma, Bibl Vat, cbr 3; cbr 7; cbr 448; cbr 468; cbr 482; Urbino cbr 1.
- Mar Jerome (Martianay)
- Moses Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32)
- MS Manuscript. The manuscripts are cited from the microfilm unless otherwise indicated. Most of the MSS of \mathfrak{G} represented by a single letter (A a₂b b₁c e₁d e e₂f g h i j k l M m n o p q r s t u v w x y Z z) are cited in \mathfrak{G} (Brooke/McLean).
- Ms* first hand
- Ms^a second hand, etc.

- Mu Ms München, Staatsbibl., hebr 74
 Mur Scroll of the Twelve Prophets from Murabba^c; see *Grottes*, DJD II
 N (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) MS New York, JThS, 232
 O (in the discussion of the Latin) ϑ (Stephanus 1557)
 O (elsewhere in the discussion of the Latin) MS Ottobonianus, see ϑ (San Girolamo)
 OM Ortega Monasterio; see Ortega and Fernández, "Nahum"
 P (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) MS Petrograd
 P (in the discussion of Latin editions) Polyglot (Alcala)
 Pa See MS Paris, BN, hébr 134 and 135
 PG *Patrologiae Graecae*
 Q Qumran
 R (in the discussion of the Greek) Θ (Rahlfs)
 R (in the discussion of Latin editions) ϑ (San Girolamo)
 r ϑ (Stephanus 1532)
 rel *reliqui* "the rest" (in the discussion of Papyrus 967 and the Complutensis, referring to the rest of the MSS in Ziegler's apparatus)
 \aleph Samaritan text
 \S , s Syriac (\S = primary reading, s = secondary readings). Published in the following editions: Polyglot (Paris); Polyglot (London); \S (Mossul); and read in: MS Ambrosianus; for Isaiah, witnesses cited according to Dietrich, *Apparatus*; for Lamentations: published in Albrektson, *Studies*, 41–54.
 Sca Moses, Song of the Sea (Exodus 15)
 Sn Ms Sassoon 1053, cited according to Breuer, *Aleppo*
 Syh SyroHexapla; see MS Ambrosianus; cited by: Θ (Brooke/McLean), published in: Lagarde, *Bibliothecae*.
 σ' Symmachus, cited according to Θ (Göttingen)
 \mathfrak{C} , t Targum (\mathfrak{C} = primary reading, t = secondary readings), published in \aleph (Felice da Prato), \aleph (Ben Hayim), Polyglot (Antwerp) and Polyglot (London); as read in: MS Reuchlin; MS Roma, Bibl Vat. Urbin ebr 1; MS Paris, BN, hébr 1325; MS Parme, de Rossi 7; MS Milano, Ambrosiana, ebr 5; MS Hamburg, Staatsbibl, hebr 4; MS Copenhagen, Kong Bible, hebr 11.
 tib Tiberian
 TR textus receptus
 V (in the discussion of Masoretic MSS) MS Vatican ebr 448
 V (in the discussion of editions of ϑ) ϑ (Gadolo 1495)
 ϑ , v Vulgate (ϑ = primary reading, v = secondary readings)
 Val Jerome (Vallarsi)
 W Washington Papyrus
 W (in the discussion of editions of ϑ) ϑ (Weber)
 WA Luther, *Werke*.

<i>WABr</i>	Luther, <i>Briefwechsel</i>
<i>WADB</i>	Luther, <i>Deutsche Bibel</i>
<i>WATr</i>	Luther, <i>Tischreden</i>
yer	ycrushalmi
Z	⊗ (Ziegler)

Part One

1

The History of Old Testament Textual Criticism from Its Origins to J. D. Michaelis

When the United Bible Societies' Committee for the textual analysis of the Old Testament began its work, it recognized the importance of situating that work within the history of the critical discussion of each case. Thus, the efforts of earlier critics would be taken into account; in fact, the Committee would undertake to use all available sources and to state clearly which ones have been drawn upon.

Textual criticism clearly did not begin with the critical apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. If we turn to the great exegetical commentaries written toward the end of the nineteenth century (for example, the *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, the *Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, or the *International Critical Commentary*), we see that textual corrections or conjectures are frequently attributed to authors such as Klostermann, Dillmann, Wellhausen, Böttcher, Graetz, Ewald, Hitzig, Thenius, Bertheau, Doederlin, Dathe, and J. D. Michaelis. In other words, the lineage of textual criticism easily goes back more than a century, especially in the German cultural milieu in which this criticism particularly flourished.

Earlier scholars from outside the German milieu, such as Châteillon, Cappel, and Houbigant, are cited only rarely, even though more recent authors, without acknowledging their sources, have often repeated the suggestions that originated with these earlier critics. Further, with regard to \aleph manuscripts, it is often stated that there are this many Kennicott manuscripts and that many de Rossi manuscripts, even though serious confusion exists regarding the identification of these manuscripts. What, in fact, was Kennicott's work and what was de Rossi's? It seems that much is obscure when one attempts to look back before the end of the eighteenth century outside of Germany.

For this reason, it is useful to survey the beginnings of Old Testament textual criticism from its origins up to the time of J. D. Michaelis. It hardly seems necessary to include the period from Michaelis to the present, since it was neither a

very creative nor consistent one, and is also easily accessible in most modern introductions to textual studies. But readers need to be aware of the context in which the older research was carried out, in order to understand more fully the implications of certain corrections or conjectures proposed by the early pioneers of textual criticism when such corrections are included in the Committee's final report.

A sign of our modern neglect of the origins of textual criticism can be seen in the way the encyclopedias treat the subject. In the nineteenth-century *Real-Enzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, every edition (1854, 1878, 1897) devotes five pages to Louis Cappel, the founder of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. By contrast, unfortunately, he is not even mentioned in the more recent *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (1981), even though it is larger than the earlier work. This situation should be corrected, especially since the study of textual criticism has been significantly influenced by the bitter polemics that surrounded its inception.

I. Origins of the Criticism of the Hebrew Text

A. Attempts at Emendation within Judaism during the Early Middle Ages

1. The First Critical Jewish Correctors of the Hebrew Text

The earliest known Jewish exegete to consider the received Hebrew text of the Torah to have been corrupted by scribal errors was apparently Ismael al-Ukbari (ca. A.D. 840). Qirqisani tells us that al-Ukbari regarded the number thirty-three in Gen 46:15 as a scribal error for thirty-two.¹ He also believed that the original form of various other passages of the Torah differed from the received Hebrew text of his day.

The next critic was an anonymous grammarian who, according to Ibn Ezra, held that more than a hundred words of Scripture should be replaced by others.² Ibn Ezra was scandalized by this claim and judged that his work should be burned. Nevertheless, Ibn Ezra reports the grammarian's proposed changes for six of the most difficult cases, four of which are found in the historical books. We will have occasion at Judg 14:15a to place one of those proposed changes within the context of the history of the criticism of that verse, where we will see that it differs significantly from Abulwalid's interpretation. Bacher was therefore right to reject the identification of this anonymous grammarian as Abulwalid, whom Ibn Ezra greatly admired.³ Moreover, neither Abulwalid nor Ibn Ezra had the audacity to propose that Scripture should be corrected. Nevertheless, Abulwalid achieved the same result by pointing out about eighty cases in which he thought

1. Qirqisani, *Kitab al-Anwar*, vol. 1, 56, lines 12–13.

2. Ibn Ezra, *Sahot*, 471, 5–6.

3. Bacher, *Schrifterklärung*, 28–29.

a given expression in a passage replaced one which would convey more clearly the intended meaning of the sacred author, and which could thus be used to provide a satisfactory interpretation of the passage.⁴

Bacher was also correct in suggesting that the audacious critic made infamous by Ibn Ezra was most likely a Spanish disciple of Abulwalid who took the final step that his master was unwilling to take, namely, to say that texts should be corrected and that existing expressions should be replaced by those which Abulwalid had proposed as the keys to their interpretation.⁵ Two of the cases singled out for correction by this anonymous grammarian and cited by Ibn Ezra (1 Kgs 2:28 and Jer 33:26)⁶ are also cited by Abulwalid with his proposed keys for interpretation. The other cases were among difficulties Abulwalid recognized but which he solved in other ways (Exod 21:8 and Judg 14:15).

Following Joseph b. Eliezer, Lippmann identified this anonymous grammarian as Isaac ibn Yashush of Toledo (ca. A.D. 1040), though Bacher maintained that it would be difficult to prove or disprove Lippmann's theory definitively.⁷ Accordingly, we must accept the fact that this first advocate for correcting the text of the Hebrew Bible remains anonymous.

2. Exegesis by Permutation or Substitution

Even though the notion of correcting difficult passages of the received Hebrew text made no headway among the Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages, they had recourse nevertheless to subtle and less obvious practices that achieved the same result: understanding and translating something other than that which a simple reading of the text would have suggested as its most obvious meaning. This does not refer to the homiletic technique known as *'al tiqre* ("Do not read this, but rather that"⁸), which allowed midrashic developments by verbal associations but which did not claim to explain the *peshat*. We mean, rather, a type of exegesis used by the first Hebrew grammarians: exegesis by permutation or substitution.

We have already seen that Abulwalid used this type of exegesis frequently. He recalls a memory of his youth which shows us the importance he gave to this exegetical method.

Scripture says, in 1 Kgs 2:28, that "Joab had supported Adonijah and he had not supported Absalom." This second name is here in place of "Solomon" because Joab was not guilty of failing to follow Absalom's party but rather of abandoning Solomon's. This same method is used in Arabic. Thus, the poet said *כמו יוסף בצורתו ובשער אדניה*, where the last word is in place of "Absalom." The au-

4. Abulwalid, *Luma*, 294,7–300,19.

5. Bacher, *Schrifterklärung*, 29.

6. Discussed by Abulwalid in *Luma* 295,17–296,21.

7. See Lippmann's notes on Ibn Ezra's *Sapha berura*, 9b, and Bacher, *Schrifterklärung*, 29, and *Grammatiker*, 186.

8. See McCarthy, *Tiqqune*, 139–66.

thor was thinking of Absalom but said Adonijah because of the meter, as he himself declared when we learned this poem under his tutelage. We cite this declaration of the poet here in order to justify our opinion on this point. One of the so-called scholars, since he did not understand this expression of the poet, decided to take these words as a copyist's error and thus to reestablish the text by conjecture. However, he destroyed the meter by replacing *ובשער אדניה* with *ובשער אח אדניה*. But the poet had indeed said *ובשער אדניה*. That is the text we recited before him in our youth and the explanation he gave us. Further, *ובשער אח אדניה* strays from what is correct as much as a wayward wild ass from a flock of good animals.⁹

R. Isaac ben Mar Shaul, the poet cited by Abulwalid, belonged to a circle of scholars who submitted the content of a text to the requirements of the form, thus producing poetry based on numbers, so that its interpretation required verbal substitutions. It is understandable, therefore, that Abulwalid devoted chapter twenty-seven of his grammar to "expressions whose intended meaning is different," where he dealt with cases that a less subtle scholar would have suspected to be scribal errors in need of correction.

Exegesis by permutation or substitution was not invented by Abulwalid. The first two cases he cites are "people" in Exod 21:8 and "nation" in Gen 20:4, where the meaning should be "man."¹⁰ Ibn Ezra, in the two editions of his commentary on Exod 21:8, tells us that Saadya had already proposed this interpretation in both cases. It was, therefore, the incontrovertible authority of the Gaon that provided a precedent for Abulwalid. Even before Saadya, however, Judah ben Koreish made use of the theory of exchanged or substituted letters.¹¹ Between Saadya and Abulwalid, Abraham ha-Babli made extensive use of the substitution of letters and the permutation of letters or words. (His work was published by A. Neubauer from a single manuscript, Oxford 1466.) The great Karaite lexicographer David b. Abraham al-Fasi also devoted an important excursus to substitutions.¹² These exegetical methods provided an easy solution to those cases where there were textual difficulties.

3. Grammatical and Lexicographic Research

In spite of the foregoing, the great Karaite and rabbinic exegetes, Japheth ben Ali, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Aaron b. Joseph, and David Qimhi, recognized that a mindless acceptance of these ideas was not in accordance with the dignity and nature of Holy Scripture. Since they were not prepared to admit that there were corruptions in the received text, they were led to a thorough study of morphology, lexicography and syntax in order to attempt an explanation of the textual

9. Abulwalid, *Parterres*, 288.

10. Abulwalid, *Luma*, 294,7–8.

11. See Bacher, *Anfänge*, 70 nn. 4 and 5.

12. David ben Abraham, *Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 439–45.

difficulties. Judah Hayyuj analyzed weak verbs, providing a solid basis for the research that Abulwalid carried further. The grammar and dictionary of David Qimhi (Radak) constitute the most accomplished work in this area.

Most popular manuals of the sixteenth century followed the tradition of Radak. They were edited, or, more accurately, simply compiled, by the most learned of the Christian Hebraists of that century, Santes Pagnini, a Dominican from Lucca. On October 1, 1526, he published his *Institutiones Hebraicae*, a grammar of 428 pages printed at Lyon by Antoine du Ry. In 1528, he published, again with du Ry of Lyon, the first literal Latin version of the entire Bible translated from Hebrew and Greek since Jerome's Vulgate. In 1529, again at Lyon but this time printed in folio by Sébastien Gryphe (Gryphius), he published his *Ošar lešon ha-qodesh*, a Hebrew thesaurus of 2752 columns. Cornelius Bertram revised it in 1577 at Lyon, and it was published by Bartholomé Vincent or, according to other copies, by Antoine Gryphe. This second edition was enlarged to 3188 columns through the addition of annotations by two great Hebrew scholars, Jean Mercier (Mercerus) and Antoine Chevalier (Cevallerius). Pagnini, following his Jewish predecessors, tried to solve textual difficulties as far as possible with recourse only to grammatical and lexicographical explanations.

B. Luther

With Luther we encounter the first step in a tradition of textual criticism that we still largely depend upon today, as the following account will bear out.

1. Translation Method

We know that Luther translated the historical books rather quickly in 1523.¹³ He explained his method of translating on several occasions: "Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen"; "Summarien über die Psalmen und Ursachen des Dolmetschens"; and "Tischreden," nos. 312, 4857, and 5002.¹⁴ The criticism by the "papists" of his translation of the letter to the Romans prompted him to write the "Sendbrief." The "Ursachen" responded to criticism of the liberty with which he had treated the Hebrew text of the Psalter. And finally, Sebastian Münster's criticism of some of Luther's alternate readings in the notes of his Bible (e.g., on Jonah 2:5) directly prompted some of the "table conversations" to be mentioned below.

Luther thought that the books of the Old Testament could only be interpreted properly by someone who had a good understanding of the subject (*res*) treated in the books. But that which the Old Testament prophesied could only be understood in the light of the analogy of faith, as Paul said (Rom 12:6), that is, by analogy with the New Testament. It is, therefore, the relation of continuity (Gospel,

13. *WADB* Vol. 9/1, ix.

14. Sendbrief: *WA* Vol. 30/2, 626–46; Summarien: *WA* Vol. 38, 1–69; Tischreden: *WAT* Vol. 1, 128; Vol. 4, 554, 608.

forgiveness of sins) or of contrast (law, wrath) with Christ, the subject of the New Testament, which enables one to determine the theme (*argumentum*) of a given text of the Old Testament. Elsewhere, as we will see, Luther classified the themes as Church, Household, and Government. Once the theme was recognized, one had the key for discerning the meaning of each statement (*sententia*) that makes up the text. Obviously, in order to discern the meaning, the translator had to consult the grammar to find the meaning of the words, but, in the last analysis, it was the subject and the theme that governed the interpretation of the statement, since the words are at the service of the meaning and not vice versa.¹⁵

One table conversation held by Luther during the winter of 1542–1543 gives an insight into his reactions as translator as well as the type of cooperation he expected from the Hebraists Johann Forster and Bernhard Ziegler:

It helped Dr. Forster and Ziegler very much that they talked with us here, for when we translated the Bible I gave them three rules: First, the Bible speaks and teaches about the works of God. About this there is no doubt. These works are divided into three hierarchies: the household, the government, the church. If a verse does not fit the church, we should let it stay in the government or the household, whichever it is best suited to. Second, whenever equivocal words or constructions occur, that one would have to be taken which (without, however, doing injustice to the grammar) agrees with the New Testament. Third, sometimes a sentence seems to be in conflict with the whole [message of the] Bible. So the rabbis have greatly corrupted all the Scriptures with their glosses and relate everything only to the coming of the Messiah, to his supplying us with food and drink, and to his dying afterward. This is rubbish! Accordingly we simply throw it out, and we have taken many sentences like this from Forster. When he said, "Ah, the rabbis interpret it this way," I said, "Could your grammar and points allow you to render the sentence so that it rhymes with the New Testament?"

Answer: "Yes."

"Then take it!"

The result was that they themselves marveled and said they never in their lives would have believed it.¹⁶

2. Distrust of Rabbinic Exegesis and of Vocalization

Luther showed more and more clearly a profound distrust of rabbinic exegesis. In 1543 he approved of studying language and grammar with the Jews, "but one must avoid their faith and their interpretation, which are cursed by God."¹⁷ Luther also assigned the following tasks to Christian Hebraists:

15. "Summarien," WA Vol. 38, 11.

16. LW Vol. 54, 446 = No. 5533, WA/r Vol. 5, 218.

17. "Vom Schem Hamphoras," WA Vol. 53, 646.

Whenever they can modify the points [vowels], distinctions [accents], conjugations, constructions and meanings, and everything that pertains to the grammar, and turn that away from the interpretation of the Jews so that it agrees with the New Testament and is oriented toward it, they should do it with audacity and joy, as St. Paul teaches that prophecy should be analogous to and in conformity with the faith (Rom 12:6). They [the Jews] have acted in this way for the last fifteen hundred years with respect to us as far as the Bible is concerned. Wherever they could deform the Bible of our Messiah and our faith and make of it something which did not conform to the New Testament, by the use of points, distinctions, conjugations, etc., they accomplished it with a great and frenzied zeal. . . . Thus, in Isa 9[.5], they interpreted the text “Vayicra Schemo, Pele, etc.” as “The Wonderful, Counselor, God, Hero, eternal Father will name the Messiah: Prince of Peace” [Rashi’s interpretation]; there we see their arbitrariness. We reject their points and constructions, and we read that as we read it [i.e., as Luther read it, with the Vulgate, in his course of 1527–1528 printed in *WA* Vol. 31/2, 71], because the grammar of the letters [the consonants] readily allows this meaning, so that we read “Vayicare” for “Vayicra” and all the names can remain in the nominative. Hebraists would probably find still other cases of this type, so that we justly take back from the thieves that which they shamelessly stole during the last fifteen hundred years, and perhaps even longer. The central point should be, in truth, that the ancient Holy Scripture leads to the Messiah and to our faith and witnesses to these. Whoever does not interpret it this way cannot possess it. . . . If I should be attacked and reprimanded for having sometimes committed errors in translating, I am ready to recognize it, for Jerome himself committed many errors! And I recognize that these two distinguished men, Sanctes [Pagnini] and Münster, translated the Bible with an incredible application and inimitable care, and that by doing so they accomplished a great deal of good. But they valued the rabbis a bit too much, so that they themselves committed errors against the analogy of faith, and they showed too acute a preference for the glosses of the rabbis. In fact, I myself followed their translation too closely, so that I have to retract that, as I will do soon, especially at 2 Kings 22 [= 2 Sam 23:1ff.], regarding the last words of David.¹⁸

This last statement is an allusion to the new, and much more explicitly Christian, interpretation which he was to give to this pericope (under that title) a few months later. In the preface Luther says:

If I were offered free choice either to have St. Augustine’s and the dear fathers’, that is, the apostles’, understanding of Scripture, together with the handicap that St. Augustine occasionally lacks the correct Hebrew letters and words—as the Jews sneeringly accuse him, or to have the Jews’ correct letters and words—which they, in fact, do not have everywhere—but minus St. Augustine’s and the fathers’ understanding, that is, with the Jews’ interpretation, it can be easily imagined which of the two I would choose. I would let the Jews with their inter-

18. *Ibid.*, 646–47.

pretation and their letters go to the devil, and I would ascend into heaven with St. Augustine's interpretation without their letters. For even if St. Augustine cannot say *Kikaion*, as the Jews do, but says *cucurbita* instead in Jonah 4:6, and cannot say *venient Hemdath* but says *veniet Desideratus* instead in Hag. 2:7, and many similar things, yet his faith on that account breaks neither neck nor limb, for he knows "the Valiant One," who is called "Way, Truth, and Life" (John 14:6), of whom, as I said, the prophets foretell and testify. . . . Indeed, in translating and expounding, one need not intentionally strain oneself to transmit the concept of the rabbis and grammarians to us Christians. It is all too prone to stick to us of itself, automatically, just like pitch and glue, even if we deliberately guard against it. For the letters and the stories of the others blind the eyes and induce us occasionally to lose sight of the meaning of Christ where we should not, and thus the Jewish concept insinuates itself unawares, as every translator without exception has experienced. I, too, was not exempt from it.

In brief, if we do not apply all diligence to interpret the Hebrew Bible, wherever that is feasible, in the direction of the New Testament, in opposition to the interpretation of the rabbis, it would be better to keep the old translation (which, after all, retains, thanks to the New Testament, most of the good elements) than to have so many translations just because a few passages presumably have a different reading or are still not understood. This only confuses the memory of the reader, hinders his study, and leaves him in greater uncertainty than he was before.¹⁹

3. Origins of Luther's Distrust

Luther implicitly embraced this hermeneutic from the very beginning of his translation work, as is shown by the preface of the first edition of his translation of the Pentateuch (1523). But in the same year, the year he also translated the historical books of the Old Testament, Luther wrote "Dass Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sei,"²⁰ in which he expressed his belief that a satisfactory presentation of the Messianic oracles based on the specific details of the Hebrew text would lead the Jews to recognize Jesus as Messiah. His hopes, however, were not realized. Just the opposite happened, as he recounts several times, most explicitly in "Von den Juden und ihren Lügen":

I once experienced this myself. Three learned Jews came to me, hoping to discover a new Jew in me because they were beginning to read Hebrew here in Wittenberg, and remarking that matters would soon improve since we Christians were starting to read their books. When I debated with them, they gave me their glosses, as they usually do. But when I forced them back to the text, they soon fled from it, saying that they were obliged to believe their rabbis as we do the pope and the doctors, etc.²¹

19. LW Vol. 15, 268–70 = WA Vol. 54, 29–30.

20. WA Vol. 11, 314–36.

21. LW Vol. 47, 191–92 = WA Vol. 53, 461.

Moreover, Luther learned from Count Wolf Schlick zu Falkenau in 1538 that, instead of letting themselves be convinced, the Jews were making converts and were circumcising Christians in Moravia. This led to his writing “Wider die Sabbather.”²² On top of that, Münster expressly drew upon Jewish commentators in order to criticize Luther’s translation in the notes of his Hebrew Bible (published, along with a Latin translation, at Basel in 1534). Thus, for Jonah 2:5, he wrote: “Miror quo hic Lutherus respexerit. . . . Hoc Hebraismus non habet, nec Hebraeorum expositores.”

4. How to Correct Corrupt Texts

It is in this context that we must understand Luther’s progressively more distrustful attitude toward the Hebrew text as it had been handed down by the Jews “for the last fifteen hundred years.” Although this attitude only became explicit in some pamphlets he wrote in 1543, it was already evident in the revision of his German Bible in 1539–1541 in cases where the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament was not an issue. With regard to the number of Solomon’s workers, in 1 Kgs 5:29 (15), the records of the revision process attribute to Luther the remark that “Forte Judei corruperunt textum.”²³ In a printed marginal gloss (beginning with the second edition [1541]) on 1 Chr 23(24).3 regarding the age at which the Levites began their service, Luther suggests, “Es scheint, die Ebreische Bibel hic verfelscht sein.” On the last words of Neh 2:1, Luther noted in his copy of the Old Testament of 1539, “textum depravatum in Ebreo.”²⁴

One should not think, however, that Luther attributed all these textual corruptions to the maliciousness of those who had transmitted the text. From the edition of 1528 on, Luther had translated 2 Sam 23:8 “Jasabeam der son Hachmoni . . . der seynen spies aufhub . . .,” referring in the margin to the parallels in Chronicles. He noted in the margin of the autograph that he had translated the parallel 1 Chr 11(12).11 in place of the Hebrew text of Samuel.²⁵ His revision gave him the opportunity to come back to this question. We are fortunate in having his letter of June 30, 1540, in which he wrote about this to Georg Rörer, addressed from Weimar. It contains a detailed statement of Luther’s critical reasoning, which was later condensed in a somewhat confused way in a marginal gloss in the edition of 1545.

I am sending you, my dear Georg, this passage of 2 Kingdoms 23 which has been translated and reconstituted as we wished. Speak to Dr. Aurogallus about it and show him my findings on the passage, namely that in it the manuscripts were corrupted by the incompetence of a scribe or, more likely, by the deforma-

22. *WA* Vol. 50, 312–37.

23. *WADB* Vol. 3, 419, line 11.

24. *Ibid.*, 465, line 30.

25. *WADB* Vol. 1, 137 n. 8.

tion of letters. I have laid out the relationship between the two texts, 2 Kingdoms 23 and 1 Paralipomena 11, as follows:

2 Kgdms 23	Here are the names	of the strong ones of David	Ioseb Basebeth Thachmoni
1 Par 11	Here is the number		Iasabeam, son of Hachmoni

leader among	three.	He	Adino Haezniv	against	eight hundred	wounded at one time.
	thirty.		raised his lance		three hundred	

The meaning is clear in Paralipomena, but Kingdoms makes absolutely no sense. “Adino Haezniv” was put in Kingdoms in place of “he raised his lance,” just as “Ioseb Basebeth Thachmoni” was put in Kingdoms in place of “Iasabeam, son of Hachmoni.” Therefore, direct Aurogallus to leave the points aside, and to put in the text of Par 11, “hu orer eth hanitho,” in letters that are as deformed and coarse as possible, transposed, truncated or scribbled, to see if he cannot somehow arrive at something similar to the “hu adino haezniv” of 2 Kgdms 23. Also, “Iasabeam, son of Hachmoni” had doubtlessly been corrupted into “Ioseb Basebeth Thachmoni” because of the same deformity and scrawling of letters. For example:

his lance	raised
העצנו	עדינו
את חניתו	עורר
B.	A.

A. Here, if you transpose the “waw” and “resh,” you come up with something similar to “adi.” Then, the final “resh” will be similar to “nun” in “Adino,” especially with deformed and truncated letters, where a truncated “resh” is similar to a “nun.”

B. Here, “alef” could have become the “waw” to complete the preceding “Adino” if a poor copyist had joined the separate words, as incompetent scribes are wont to do. Then, “taw” could have been changed to “he” and “heth” to “ayin”; then “Nitho” to “Zeniv” if the letters had been transposed, joined, confused and truncated, as is habitual with a poor copyist who scrawls.

The fact that the ancient codices of 2 Kgdms 23 are in agreement on these unknown words does not constitute an objection. There is nothing new about the fact that deformed and poorly written signs have been reproduced. We know that the era of the seventy translators was very uncultivated and that people wrote and understood things at that time in a very unsophisticated way. This frequently led them to translate letter by letter, word by word, and phrase by phrase.

If Aurogallus agrees with these suggestions, we will then consult the other Hebraists, Ziegler and Forster, and we will indicate this type of thing for the reader at the end of the Bible if we find other cases.²⁶

26. *WABr* Vol. 9, 166–67.

No other textual difficulty seems to have prompted Luther to present such a detailed analysis. It might be said that he led the way for other critics who would follow, but his occasional remarks do not constitute a systematic critique of the Hebrew biblical text.

As noted above, it was during the revision of 1539–1541 that Luther explicitly expressed his doubts about the state of the Hebrew text. His adversary, Cardinal Cajetan, had already done the same in commenting on the historical books in 1531 and 1532. He did not know Hebrew, but had it translated for him very literally by two Hebraists, one a Jew and the other a Christian.²⁷ We shall see that in the historical books he concluded three times (at 2 Sam 21:8b; 2 Chr 22:2; 36:9) that the Hebrew text had been corrupted by scribal errors. However, Cajetan, unlike Luther, did not indicate any distrust of the intentions of the Jewish transmitters of the text.

C. Sébastien Châteillon²⁸

Cajetan and Luther expressed the necessity of correcting the Hebrew text on only a few occasions. With Sébastien Châteillon's annotated Latin translation published at Basel by Jean Oporin in 1551, we come to a new stage in the history of textual criticism. Châteillon wanted to furnish Latin scholars with a Bible in good Latin which would provide the fullest documentation possible on the history of Israel. He included not only the deuterocanonical books, but also historical summaries taken from the *Jewish Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* of Josephus, from the period between the two testaments, both before and after the time of the books of Maccabees. In addition, wherever the Greek or Latin text had a plus of a few verses or even of a few words in relation to the Hebrew, Châteillon inserted them in his translation and put a mark indicating the textual source from which he had taken them.

Finally, wherever Châteillon thought the Hebrew text was corrupt, he tried to restore the original text by using the Greek, the Latin, or even conjectures, with brief and precise critical notes. These notes are not numerous enough to make up a continuous commentary, but they do provide the first elements of one. We will show later that in twenty-two of the cases in the historical books that we treat (Judg 5:14; 8:16; Ruth 4:4; 1 Sam 6:18; 12:15; 17:12; 28:17; 30:2; 2 Sam 7:7; 15:7; 18:3; 21:6; 1 Kgs 1:18; 19:3; 2 Kgs 6:33; 20:13; 1 Chr 24:6; 2 Chr 21:2; 22:6; 25:28; 28:16; Neh 4:17), Châteillon was the one who raised the problem and frequently proposed a solution that later critics would follow like sheep. In these twenty-two cases, Cappel (who had not undertaken to treat all the textual

27. Cajetan, "Preface on the Psalms," *Opera*, Vol. 3, 1.

28. Châteillon was also known by the Latin forms Castalio or Castellio. The French form, which he and his son used, is preferred here, especially since it appears this way up to and including the historian Michelet.

difficulties) followed Châteillon nine times, and Houbigant followed him sixteen times. Though he had directed Calvin's academy, Châteillon broke with him and then worked alone without leaving any disciples. His work is usually used without being cited. Wellhausen, followed by S. R. Driver, misinterpreted Thenius's abbreviation at 2 Sam 21:6 and took it for Edmund Castell, the author of the *Lexicon Heptaglotton*.

II. The Century of the Great Debates

In the sixteenth century translators tended toward more or less sporadic corrections of the Hebrew text. In the seventeenth century, criticism of the Hebrew text achieved the status of a science after chaotic and impassioned debate.

A. When Were the Vowel Points Established?

1. Tiberias by J. Buxtorf, the Elder

J. Buxtorf's *Tiberias*, published in 1620 by L. König of Basel, marked the beginning of this debate. The great Hebraist from Basel was the only Christian of his time who had a thorough knowledge of the Masorah. A complement to the Rabbinic Bible Buxtorf had published two years before, *Tiberias* provided a triple Masoretic commentary that was historical, didactic, and critical. In the preface he noted that, as yet, very few people had acquired a knowledge of the Masorah. In the sixteenth century, Elias Levita had distinguished himself by publishing a brief commentary on the Masorah, *Masoret ha-Masoret*, the few remaining copies of which are rarely read. Sebastian Münster alone translated the third preface in the second edition of that commentary and presented it in Basel in 1539, a year after the *princeps* edition of Venice. From this translation Christian theologians and philologists drew false and dangerous prejudices with regard to the work of the Masoretes, since they had no idea that Levita was going against all of Jewish tradition in the dating of vowel points. Levita gave the impression that the Masoretes were sages from Tiberias who had lived after the writing down of the Talmud, that is, more than five hundred years after Christ. Buxtorf aimed to refute this opinion by showing that they had lived well before the Talmud was compiled.

About the dangers of Levita's conclusions, Buxtorf said:

What is especially dangerous is that he states that it was the sages of Tiberias who, so long after Christ the Savior, had supplied the books with the vowel points, which are the foundation of the present reading and of the meaning expressed by it. However, these men were as any other, and were not prophets as those of earlier times whose words and writings had their authority from the direct initiative of the Holy Spirit. The task of inserting the vowel points was a *poal enushi*, a human task. Thus, the authority of this reading is human and not binding on anyone. If they are a human invention, and if their authority is

human, they can be omitted and then the reading would become completely arbitrary. Where then would the stability and authority of the Hebrew text be? . . . Nevertheless, some devoted and important Christians, especially those who hold the principal chairs of theology, have accepted this opinion of Elias without reservation . . . and some of them say that Christian Hebraists may modify with audacity the points, distinctions, constructions, meanings, and anything else that pertains to the grammar, so that the meaning is in accord with the New Testament.

Even though Buxtorf did not specifically mention him, this was almost a direct quote of what Luther had written in 1543 in the passage of his pamphlet “Von Schem Hamphoras” cited above.²⁹ He had stated there that “it is an advantage that Moses and the Prophets did not write the points, which are a recent human invention, added after their time. Thus it is not necessary to hold onto them as firmly as the Jews wish to.”³⁰ The same year, in his “Enarratio capitis noni Esaiac.” Luther repeated that the points were “a recent invention.”³¹ He does not cite any authority to back up these statements, but they might have been based, as Buxtorf presumed, on Münster’s 1539 translation of the third preface to Levita’s work. Indeed, Levita was well known at Wittenberg, where his name was mentioned on December 20, 1543 by the authorities of the university, among whom were some noted Hebraists, in the matter of filling the chair of Hebrew after the death of Matthew Aurogallus.³² Levita was not Luther’s candidate, however, as the latter mistrusted the influence of the rabbis on the Christians. This was the background for a letter written by Melanchthon to Osiander at the beginning of April 1545 in order to assure him that nothing had changed from Luther’s point of view in spite of his correspondence with Elias Levita.³³ Nevertheless, although he mistrusted Levita’s possible influence, Luther could very well have borrowed his opinion on the recent origin of the vowel points. That was not necessarily the case, however, since Nicholas of Lyra, of whom Luther thought very highly, had already stated (concerning Hos 9:12) that “the points do not pertain to the substance of the text and do not go back to the origin of Scripture. That is why the scrolls read in the synagogues are without points. It was only much later that these points were invented in order to facilitate the reading.”

Buxtorf discussed the question of whether the Masoretes invented the vowel points and accents on pages 12 to 24 of *Tiberias*. In order to lay the foundation for responding in the negative, Buxtorf dwelt on what seemed to him to be an essential point. In their notes the Masoretes frequently point out anomalies of vocalization, of the presence or absence of the *dageš* or the *mappiq*, and of accentu-

29. P. 7.

30. WA Vol. 53, 647, lines 35–36.

31. WA Vol. 40/3, 664, line 8.

32. WABr Vol. 10, 457.

33. *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. 5, cols. 728–29.

ation. The fact that they limit themselves to pointing out these anomalies, without hazarding an explanation or attempting to justify them, proves that they could not have invented them and that, in their opinion, these elements are part of the legacy of tradition. Therefore, the whole system of vowels, points, and accents, with all the peculiarities which are so difficult to explain, were considered by the Masoretes as something that had existed before them. The Talmud refers to the Masoretes as "the ancients." This double precedence, i.e., of the points in relation to the Masoretes and of the Masoretes in relation to the Talmud, destroys Levita's position. Buxtorf then attempted to refute the four arguments on which Levita based his opinion, and concluded:

Where he says that the Jews of the generations after Ezra carefully memorized for public reading the places where there was a pause or where the reading had to be joined, according to the tradition of the prophets, this could be conceded for those prophets who had been instructed directly by God. But it is absolutely impossible that those who followed, down to the time of the Talmud, would have been able to observe these norms through all the catastrophes and persecutions. What human intelligence or memory would have been able to retain the pauses that separate so many thousands of verses and the particular pronunciation of so many myriads of words with such precision that no error would have been committed for any sentence, word or vowel down to the time of the Masoretes of Tiberias? . . . In any event, if the vowel points and the disjunctive accents had been inserted into Holy Scripture by the people of Tiberias or by other humans, then the meaning expressed by a reading of the vowels and accents possesses human authority (and is, therefore, uncertain), but not the divine prophetic authority (which would then be authentic) which is necessary for Holy Scripture. Therefore, where a case is doubtful, ambiguous or difficult, these points could be modified and substituted by other points by anyone who is learned and competent. Then anyone at all could consider himself wiser and more competent than another and could correct the text, which would lead to great uncertainty when a word's meaning had been changed by the modification of only a single point. If the text were reduced to the consonants alone, it would be like wax that could be modeled into various forms. Then there would be no supreme judge in debating the texts, and there would be no normative state of the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament to serve as a yardstick for interpretation and to resolve controversies.³⁴

Buxtorf ended this chapter by expressing his regret that he could not discuss the question in greater depth, hoping that he would have an occasion later on to take it up again and to develop certain other facts whose treatment would have taken him too far afield from the aims of this Masoretic commentary. He ended by saying, "Perhaps others will take this as an opportunity to explore all these questions more successfully and to arrive at a better solution to them."³⁵

34. Buxtorf, the elder, *Tiberias*, 23.

35. *Ibid.*, 24.

2. *Arcanum* by Louis Cappel

Someone would, in fact, soon take up the challenge: Louis Cappel, a professor at the Protestant Theological Academy of Saumur, France, who had had to seek refuge for a while with his brother in Sedan because of the wars of religion. Barely two years after Buxtorf's book had come out, Cappel sent him the manuscript of his study in which he tried to prove that "the present signs of the points, vowels, and accents were invented by the Masoretes and were added to the Hebrew text approximately five hundred years after Christ."³⁶ Against Buxtorf's argument based on the anomalies of punctuation, Cappel noted that "the present corpus of Masoretic notations was not composed by only one or two people in a single moment, but is a compilation and a kind of immense forest of the most diverse observations which a great number of people worked at over several centuries. . . . Their corpus, which is called the Masorah, is a type of work that could be developed *ad infinitum* if individuals were willing to spend their time and efforts making minute observations of this kind."³⁷ Cappel conceded that certain categories of the Masoretic notations record "observations which could have had their beginning shortly after the era of Ezra," such as those dealing with the determination and computation of verses and letters. He admitted that a great mass of observations of this type might have already existed before the Talmud was compiled.³⁸ Still, however, it must be proven "that the Masoretes of whom the Talmud speaks are really those who were the authors of the notes on the anomalies of punctuation," something that could not be proven by any argument whatsoever. Cappel established the relatively recent date of the invention of the "points" based on a large cluster of converging indications of which only a few had been noted by Elias Levita. We cannot analyze these indications here, but can only point out that they reveal a well-informed and quasi-prophetic understanding for his time of the progressive development of vocalization. Cappel completed his study by showing, against Buxtorf's objections which he addressed without mentioning his name, that the text, when reduced to the consonants alone, was not at all like "wax that could be modeled in any way."³⁹ Cappel believed that the biblical context left only a very limited margin of uncertainty to the vocalization and accentuation. For someone who had learned Hebrew from very good teachers it was in no way necessary to memorize all the accents and vowels. One had only to remember the doubtful cases and anomalies. Thus, the situation of the unvocalized Hebrew text was not as Buxtorf described it, nor was it any more uncertain than the access we have to the authentic text of the New Testament.

Cappel waited several months without receiving a reply from Buxtorf, and then decided to write him a second time to ask for his manuscript back, as he had

36. Cappel, *Arcanum* in *Commentarii*, 790.

37. *Ibid.*, 767.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, 783, 789.

no other copy. Thanks to the double witness of Cappel and Buxtorf the younger,⁴⁰ we can reconstruct the answer that Buxtorf gave. He said, first of all, that a complete answer would require a book rather than a letter. Then he recalled the arguments that could lead to one conclusion or another. Then, after praising Cappel's application, erudition and intelligence in treating the subject, he concluded:

That leads me to admit that the question of the age of the points is a difficult one. Nevertheless, you have not sufficiently calmed my fears about the very negative and dangerous consequences that would follow if the points are recent. These consequences lead me to believe that it would not be advisable to treat this question in a detailed and learned fashion in the schools, either orally or through publications.

Cappel was not discouraged by this response.⁴¹ After putting the final touches on his work, he sent the manuscript, in March of 1623, to one of his old teachers, the well-known Thomas Erpenius, Professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden. He left the matter to Erpenius's judgment, authorizing him to edit the work if he thought it necessary, or to "condemn it to eternal darkness." However, the manuscript contained a preface in which the author, still without mentioning Buxtorf, took a position with regard to the uncertainties that the latter had expressed. Cappel said there, among other things, that:

Surely there are pious and learned men who, even though they have almost no reason for opposing such evident truth, continue nevertheless to fear that it leads to dangerous consequences. As if one had to fear that the truth presented some danger to the truth! That which is true is always in accord with the truth and upholds it without ever opposing or threatening it. . . . When one truth has already been the object of debate and has been brought to light, even if this has been done by a depraved and wicked adversary, it is never permissible to refute it and to reject it by erecting an opposing doctrine and by painting it with colors, shades and nuances which make it seem that what is true is false and what is false is true. This would set a very evil and dangerous example. . . . Defending a true doctrine by a false hypothesis is using evil means for a good cause. That not only fails to show an upright and loyal character, but it means that you are doing your utmost to betray and to ruin entirely the cause that you claim to be serving.⁴²

The following year Cappel received⁴³ from Erpenius a copy of his (Cappel's) work which Erpenius had published under the title *Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum*,⁴⁴ without the name of the author but with a lively first preface, signed by Erpenius, in which he named Buxtorf as opposed to this thesis, and said:

40. Cappel, *Arcanum*, 798; Buxtorf, in the preface to his *Punctorum*, no page.

41. Cappel, *Arcanum*, in *Commentarii*, 798.

42. *Ibid.*, 700.

43. *Ibid.*, 699.

44. *Sod ha-nikud ha-nigleh hoc est, Arcanum punctationis revelatum, sive, De punctorum vocalium & accentuum apud Hebraeos vera et germana antiquitate, diatriba [Lud. Cappello auctore] in lucem edita à Thoma Erpenio* (Lugduni Batavorum: apud Iohannem Maire, 1624).

I did not allow myself to be turned aside from my project of editing this work by the fact that some would perhaps have preferred to inculcate and obstinately defend the contrary thesis, even though it is false, rather than this one, even though it is true, thinking that such a thing would better serve our allies in a certain controversy. Truth should not invoke the aid of error at any price! They have nothing in common; no more than light and darkness or Christ and Belial. On the contrary, the truth can only be of service to the truth and support it by making it more evident.

At the end of his preface Erpenius promised that he and the author would willingly welcome any better and more truthful arguments that might be presented to them. Cappel said that the publication of his work was well received and that, for more than twenty years no one had presented any objections.⁴⁵ He thus proposed a second edition, since the first was out of print.

J. Buxtorf the younger wrote that after Cappel's treatise came out, many people had written to his father and asked him what to make of it.⁴⁶ His father, however, intent on completing some important work (probably the admirable *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, which the son was to publish after his father's death), was loath to be distracted and kept putting off any detailed response to the question. He died in 1629 without having offered a rejoinder. According to Buxtorf the younger, his father's silence greatly surprised everyone, and was interpreted as inability to respond to Cappel's arguments. The son was asked to respond in the name of his deceased father. Not wanting to get involved in the polemic, however, he kept delaying until Cappel published his *Ad novam Davidis lyram Francisci Gomari animadversiones* at Saumur in 1643. In the preface Cappel interpreted the silence of possible adversaries by saying:

Seventeen years ago, the very wise and learned Erpenius published a book that we entitled *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, in which the opinion commonly held until then was effectively refuted by us. Until now, as far as I know, no one has come forth to defend it against our arguments. I have no doubt that this work is turning the stomachs of some who wish that it had never been written because they see that the opinion to which they adhered was shaken, and they show by their silence that they are incapable of defending it.⁴⁷

Buxtorf the younger felt that this was claiming victory too soon. But there was also another reason that led him to react. He knew that Cappel had written a *Critica Sacra* several years earlier, and had heard that it was to be published shortly.⁴⁸ Thus, based on what he had heard, he determined to make the first move and demonstrate the dangers that lay in subjecting the Masoretic Text to

45. Cappel, *Vindiciae*, in *Commentarii*, 798.

46. Buxtorf, the younger, *Punctorum*, preface.

47. Cappel, *Animadversiones*, Preface.

48. Buxtorf, the younger, *Punctorum*, 281.

unrestrained examination when there were those who, convinced by the *Arcanum*, believed the vocalization to be recent. And so, in 1648, he published his *Tractatus de punctorum vocalium, et accentuum, in libris Veteris Testamenti hebraicis, origine, antiquitate et auctoritate: oppositus Arcano punctationis revelato, Ludovici Cappelli*. Cappel wrote a response to this treatise, which he entitled “*Arcani Punctationis Ludovici Cappelli Vindiciae. Adversus Joh. Buxtorffii F. Tractatum, de Punctorum Vocalium, et Accentuum, in libris Vet. Testamenti Hebraicis, origine, antiquitate et auctoritate: in quibus Falsa Punctorum Hebraicorum Antiquitates refellitur, eorundemque, post annum a Christo nato quingentesimum, Novitas ostenditur firmiterque adversus omnes Cavillatiunculas et Exceptiones adstruitur.*” This response, however, was not published until 1689,⁴⁹ for the appearance of the *Critica Sacra* would abruptly change the grounds of the debate.

B. Cappel’s *Critica Sacra*

Indeed, after the publication of his *Arcanum*, Cappel’s work entered a new stage. As he himself states,⁵⁰ in October of 1634 he completed a work entitled *Critica Sacra, sive de variis quae in sacris Veteris Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus libri sex: in quibus ex variarum lectionum observatione quamplurima S. Scripturae loca explicantur, illustrantur, atque adeo emendantur non pauca*. This work definitively established the legitimacy and necessity of submitting the Hebrew text of the Old Testament to a criticism analogous to that used for any ancient secular literature. Rosenmüller, a hundred years later, gave the following evaluation of Cappel’s work:

The work of Cappel has indisputably great merits. The questions that he treated had been debated frequently in isolation before, but never in such a complete, coherent and unprejudiced way. Before him, most of the Protestants had a respect for the Masoretic Text that could be called superstitious. It was believed that, thanks to a special divine assistance, that is, a continuous miracle that had protected every copyist against errors, the Hebrew text had been preserved completely and faultlessly just as it had come from the hands of the sacred writers. Though unbelievable in itself, and though contradicted by the experience of other ancient written records that have survived down to our time, this opinion was so closely tied to the strict conception of the integrity of Sacred Scripture held by the dogma of that time that the theologians and philologists felt no need of having to defend it. . . . [But Cappel], overcoming the prejudices of his coreligionists, made use of the Protestant’s right to judge with an open mind, independently of all human authority. . . . The result of his research was that the Hebrew text, like every other written record of antiquity, requires the assistance of criticism. But it was not so disfigured as to cast doubts on the doctrines of faith and

49. By his son Jacques in Cappel, *Commentarii*.

50. *Critica*, 440.

moral precepts, nor as to prefer versions affected by human arbitrariness to the original. Today these positions seem natural to us, and we agree on their accuracy. But it would be unjust if the general agreement on these positions should overlook the strenuous efforts that this man expended in order to bring them to light. On the contrary, his merit is even greater since he defended these positions, so enlightening to the unbiased mind, against the prejudices and superstitions of the age and, in so doing, returned authentic criticism to its rightful place.⁵¹

C. *Tempestuous Times*

The publication of the *Critica Sacra* caused a number of storms. In 1664 Matthias Wasmuth, a student of Buxtorf and later professor at Kiel, wrote of Cappel and his work, “Cappellus profanus Bibliomastix et eius Critica Atheismi buccina et Alcorani fulcimentum, publica flamma abolendum.”⁵² In a 1706 issue of the periodical *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, the *Critica Sacra* was to be judged again more than fifty years after its publication in the following terms:

However successful Cappel may have been in his deception, the evil intent of his work breaks through occasionally. . . . This is how the foundation is destroyed: in the *Arcanum punctuationis* the punctuation and accentuation are shown to be uncertain. The consonants, which had previously been safe from attack, are also called into question in the *Critica*, so that they can be modified on the basis of a simple resemblance, and thus the meanings can be multiplied at will, so that everything is thrown into total confusion.⁵³

1. The “*Formula Consensus Helvetici*”

The question was not confined to the level of personal polemics. In 1675 the Churches of Zurich, Basel, Berne, and Geneva wrote a “Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helveticarum Reformatarum,”⁵⁴ whose purpose was to prevent the pernicious doctrines emanating from the Theological Academy of Saumur from spreading among them. In 1634, the same year in which Cappel had finished writing the *Critica Sacra*, his colleague Moses Amyraut published a “Treatise on Predestination,” in which he attempted to found the thesis of the conditional universality of divine grace on the Bible. That had led the Church of Zurich, followed by the other Reformed Churches in Switzerland, to forbid their students to attend the academy at Saumur. When Cappel finished his *Critica*, he first tried to find a Protestant publisher. On all sides, however, there was strong opposition to its publication; it was his son Jean, a convert to Catholicism, who was able to have it published in Paris sixteen years later, in 1650, by Sébastien Cramoisy. It

51. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*, Vol. 1, 470.

52. Wasmuth, *Vindiciae*.

53. *Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen*, 1706, 304–5, cited by Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*, Vol. 1, 480, note.

54. Hodge, *Outlines*. First printed in 1714 (Zurich) as an appendix to the Second Helvetic Confession.

was published under royal sponsorship, which had been obtained for him by three Catholic fathers, Petavius, a Jesuit, Mersenn, a Minim, and Jean Morin, an Oratorian to whom we shall return later.⁵⁵

The “Formula Consensus” of 1675 was sent to the political authorities of various Protestant Swiss cantons with a view to requiring pastors to sign it. As far as Amyraut’s position on predestination was concerned, Blösch gives the following summary of the Formula: “Christ did not die for all, but only for those who are chosen for beatitude by the eternal design of God. And lest there be any misunderstanding, God did not intend to have pity on all, but only on a part of humanity.”⁵⁶ The first three canons of the Formula dealt with Cappel without mentioning him by name. Blösch summarizes them as follows: “Henceforth we must teach, against Cappel, that the vocalic signs of the Old Testament are included in the inspiration of the Holy Scripture.”⁵⁷

The following passages convey the tenor of the first three canons. The first canon affirms that God not only “took care to have his word . . . committed to writing by Moses, the prophets, and the Apostles, but has also watched and cherished it with paternal care ever since it was written up to the present time, so that it could not be corrupted by craft of Satan or fraud of man.”⁵⁸ God said of the Church that it “has, and will have to the end of the world, . . . the ‘Holy Scriptures’ . . . from which, though heaven and earth perish, ‘one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass.’”⁵⁹ The second canon affirms that:

the Hebrew Original of the Old Testament, which we have received and to this day retain . . . is, not only in its consonants, but in its vowels—either the vowel points themselves, or at least the power of these points—not only in its matter, but in its words, inspired of God, thus forming, together with the Original of the New Testament, the sole and complete rule of our faith and life; and to its standard, as to a Lydian stone, all extant versions, oriental and occidental, ought to be applied, and wherever they differ, be conformed.⁶⁰

The third canon declares that the opinion of those who accord a human origin to “the text which the Hebrew Original exhibits, cannot be approved.”⁶¹ It then goes on to condemn Cappel’s thesis:

[They] do not scruple at all to remodel a Hebrew reading which they consider unsuitable, and amend it from the Greek versions of the LXX and others, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Chaldee Targums, or even from other sources, yea,

55. This information is given by Richard Simon in the preface to his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*.

56. Blösch, *Geschichte*, Vol. 1, 493.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Hodge, *Outlines*, 309–10.

59. *Ibid.*, 310.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

sometimes from their own reason alone; and furthermore, they do not acknowledge any other reading to be genuine except that which can be educed by the critical power of the human judgment from the collation of editions with each other and with the various readings of the Hebrew Original itself—which, they maintain, has been corrupted in various ways; and finally, they affirm that besides the Hebrew edition of the present time, there are in the Versions of the ancient interpreters which differ from our Hebrew context other Hebrew Originals, since these Versions are also indicative of ancient Hebrew Originals differing from each other. Thus they bring the foundation of our faith and its inviolable authority into perilous hazard.⁶²

In Geneva, each new pastor had to sign the Consensus with the note “*sic sentio*.” But, after encountering difficulties in obtaining the signatures of some of the new pastors, the Council and the Society of Pastors had to be satisfied with asking them to sign the statement “I will teach thus, and in my discussions I will never teach the contrary, either orally or in writing, in public or in private.”⁶³ Finally, beginning September 10 of the same year, the magistrates of Geneva abandoned the demand for a written promise and merely required oral consent to a much more flexible formulation.⁶⁴

2. J. Morin’s Incriminating Support

This violent storm thus did not have longlasting effects. But it is interesting that the opinion expressed in the Consensus concerning the grave danger Cappel’s *Critica* posed to the Reformed Church was shared by one of the three Catholic fathers who had obtained the royal sponsorship for that work. Reprimanded by Cardinal Barberini for procuring the sponsorship of the Most Christian King for a Huguenot theological work, Fr. Morin defended himself in a letter of December 1, 1653, saying that censure by the Roman Church, instead of harming Cappel, would be most useful to him:

Indeed, the heretics sought to prevent the publication of this book for more than ten years. For a long time the manuscript remained in Geneva, where no publisher could be found. Then it was for a long time at Sedan, then at Leiden, where it suffered the same fate, even though Saumaise of Leiden had been engaged to publish it. The pastors were worried that the compelling and almost only argument they had used up to that time against the Vulgate was effectively eliminated [by Cappel]. They held that “the Hebrew text is absolutely intact, just as it was written by Moses and the Prophets under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. Therefore any translation that does not agree with this original text should be corrected according to it. Since the Vulgate differs from the Hebrew text in countless places, it must be corrected in countless places and completely

62. *Ibid.*, 310–11.

63. May 7, 1706; Gaberel, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 162.

64. *Ibid.*, 167–68.

redone." They demonstrated the state of the Vulgate with a great mass of examples, and their claim that the Hebrew text must be considered the source of all streams of translation has duped many faithful Catholics, or has made them uncertain. Cappel, however, devoted himself entirely to destroying this foundation. He made a great effort and succeeded. The undertaking, however, had been very difficult, for there is no truly ancient Hebrew manuscript and the agreement among the editions of the Hebrew Bible is remarkable. Thus, if something is not present in one of the codices, it will also not be present in any of the others. How did Cappel accomplish his project? He made comparisons among the various books of the Old Testament where the same texts were repeated and he collected undeniable variants. He did the same for the passages in the New Testament that come from the Old. Then he turned to the *Qere* and *Kethiv* of the Jews and unveiled the mysteries of Masoretic practice, which is so puzzling and arcane. After that he compared various witnesses of the Septuagint with the present Hebrew text, since their differences could only have come about if the exemplar used by the Septuagint was different from our Hebrew text. He did the same for the Chaldaic paraphrases as well as for various fragments of the ancient Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion that have survived. By comparing them among themselves and with the Hebrew text, he showed that the disagreement among the manuscripts he used, manuscripts which also differed from the present Hebrew text, was as great as the agreement among the Hebrew Bibles now in use. Finally, he compared the Vulgate with the Hebrew text in many places, showing by this comparison that the differences frequently noted between the Hebrew and Latin texts come neither from the translator's error nor from copyists' mistakes, but from the fact that the manuscript St. Jerome used differed from the Hebrew text currently in use. St. Jerome's readings are more certain than the present text because his manuscript was older than the present text. . . . The same reasoning that so agitated the pastors and made them oppose the publication of this book led certain learned Catholics, into whose hands this Critique had fallen, to bring its publication about discreetly. They saw, in fact, that this argument that errors had corrupted the Hebrew manuscripts was developed quite skillfully and was backed up by a Hebrew documentation as broad as it was deep and well-developed in every way, so that the invincible argument of the heretics against the Vulgate was totally destroyed by this dissertation. Another reason, based on the first, strongly influenced them to undertake this project. Once the first point was admitted, nothing else could ever again be absolutely certain as long as one refused to take the tradition of the Church as the criterion. For, if mistakes abound in that which is the only foundation of their faith, this faith is certainly completely ruined and absolutely sterile. They made the consequences known to their friend Cappel; he was concerned about the problem and tried to respond to it, but always in vain. In running away from the smoke he fell into the fire.⁶⁵

65. *Antiquitates Ecclesiae Orientalis*, 432ff.

In a letter of January 25, 1651 to James Usher, the Anglican bishop of Armagh, Cappel was obliged to defend himself against the calumny of a Dutchman, Arnold Boot, who maintained that Cappel “had arranged things with Morin and that they had joined their efforts in order to fabricate this new opinion together.”⁶⁶ Cappel states:

Boot accuses me of being an old friend of Morin and one of his intimates. This accusation, just as the others, is rash and false. I never saw Morin or had any correspondence with him until seven years ago, when the *Critica* had been ready for print for eight years. I saw Morin only two times in all. The first was in Paris seven years ago when I wanted to visit the library of his confreres, which contains many Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic and rabbinic books and manuscripts. I stayed there barely an hour. The second time he came here to visit me out of politeness, and his visit lasted a quarter of an hour. The only communication between us by correspondence was once when he had written to me because of the book Buxtorf had recently written against my *Arcanum*. I answered him once briefly and only on the subject of Hebrew points, without a word about the variants as far as I can recall. This is the close and old friendship with Morin for which Boot reproaches me.⁶⁷

3. *Morin's Aims*

Who was this Jean Morin who pushed Cappel's *Critica* to the front as a war machine against the Protestants and whom they accused of having an evil influence on Cappel? Born into a Protestant family at Blois, France, in 1591, Morin converted to Catholicism shortly before his twenty-fifth birthday under the influence of Cardinal du Perron. He had already by that time studied Hebrew and Positive Theology at Leiden. In 1618 he entered the congregation of the Oratory, which had recently been founded by de Bérulle. After he had completed some research on the history of ecclesiastical institutions, the assembly of the clergy of 1626 entrusted him with the publication of an edition of the Septuagint with a Latin translation. For the Greek text he reproduced the Sixtina edition of 1587 that had been published in Rome and was based essentially on Codex Vaticanus. All the preceding editions had come either from the Complutensian Polyglot of Alcalá (1517) or the Aldine edition (Venice, 1518–1519). For the Latin, he used the translation compiled by Flaminio Nobilius (Rome, 1588). The most original part of this edition, which Morin published in 1628, consisted of a long preface in which he highlights the importance of the Samaritan Pentateuch in order to elevate the text of the Septuagint. The Samaritan Pentateuch had not yet been published in the West, but one manuscript, bought in Damascus by Pietro della Valle in 1616, had been given to the library of the Oratory of Paris by Achille de Harlay-Sancy, the former French ambassador to Constantinople, when he entered

66. Cappel, *Critica*², Vol. 3, 473–74.

67. *Ibid.*, 489.

the Oratory in 1619. A former project of Cardinal du Perron's, taken up by Michel Le Jay, was to edit a polyglot Bible in Paris that would be much more complete than that of Alcalá or Antwerp. This task gave Morin the chance to provide the scholarly world with an *editio princeps* of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its targum. This work was presented in the sixth volume of the above-mentioned polyglot edition, in 1632. One year before, Morin had published his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in Utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, in which he attempted to prove the superiority of this new text over the Masoretic Text and to show the close proximity he had discovered between the Samaritan text and the Hebrew archetype of the Septuagint.

In 1633 Morin published his *Exercitationes Biblicae de Hebraei Graecique Textus Sinceritate Germana LXXII Interpretum Translatione Dignoscenda, Illius cum Vulgata conciliatione, et juxta Judaeos divina integritate, totiusque rabbinicae antiquitatis et operis Massorethici aera explicatione et censura*. He gave the final form to this work in its second edition, which appeared in 1660, just after his death. A few passages from the first chapter of the second edition reveal his point of view:

I think, and I feel that no one will disagree with me, that the autograph copies of the Apostles and the Prophets should be the rule against which all the versions are measured. If we should be presented with the book of Moses himself, which, according to God's order, had been preserved in the Ark, I would readily agree that all the versions should be corrected by using it as the norm. . . . But what evidence or even plausible conjecture is there to justify teaching that the Jewish and Greek scribes could not have made any mistakes in copying their manuscripts?⁶⁸

There is no manuscript to be found among the Jews which is more than five hundred years old, and those Jews of our day who have worked at correcting their books do not mention any older ones. However, the Jewish manuscripts have not been corrupt for five hundred years. We conclude, therefore, that for fifteen hundred years they have lost nothing of their integrity. . . .⁶⁹

Some people claim that it is possible to have total confidence in the Hebrew Bibles. Based on what? Simply on the fact that the editions are in agreement with each other. And so these people rashly conclude that the same situation obtains for the manuscripts of all ages, even though they may never have seen a single one. People do not realize that almost all the editions come from the same source, and therefore the agreement among them is no more remarkable than the close agreement of the editions of the Vulgate that were corrected by order of Clement VIII.⁷⁰

68. Morin, *Exercitationes*², 2.

69. *Ibid.*, 4.

70. *Ibid.*, 5.

4. *The Originality of Morin's Hermeneutic*

We can see from these passages that Morin possessed an acute critical intuition. His intention in his book was to show that the Masoretic Text should not be identified with the autograph copies of the sacred writers and that it therefore cannot serve as a norm to which the traditional versions of the Greek and Latin Churches should be made to conform, as the Protestants demanded. Certain aspects of his research have not been superseded even today, such as the fourth "Exercitatio" on the meaning of the asterisks and obeli in Origen's recension,⁷¹ or the ninth, where he treats the history of the ancient editions of the Septuagint.⁷²

Morin's most original study is the sixth "Exercitatio," on the "conciliation" of the Septuagint with the Vulgate.⁷³ To be sure, he exaggerated the authenticity accorded the Vulgate by the Council of Trent when it recognized that Jerome (like the translators of the Septuagint) had the special assistance of the Holy Spirit, guaranteeing that he had translated his Hebrew Vorlage accurately.⁷⁴ But, while he stated this (debatable) principle, Morin explained that the significant differences between the Septuagint and the Vulgate led him to believe that either the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint or that of the Vulgate must have been corrupt.⁷⁵ Morin had noted that for the first five hundred years of the Church the Septuagint had been its only Bible and that for a thousand years the Vulgate had been the only Bible of the Church in the West.⁷⁶ Was one forced to admit, therefore, that God had allowed his Church to accept as the authentic and canonical form of Holy Scripture a translation that rested, at least in part, on a corrupt Hebrew base?

The difficulty appeared particularly acute to him since it was possible to discern two distinct Hebrew bases, one attested by a quotation in the New Testament and by the Septuagint translation, and the other attested by the Vulgate and the Masoretic Text.⁷⁷ No matter what one might think of the Septuagint or the Vulgate, one is presented with an apparently insoluble situation. The authors of the New Testament have canonized as Holy Scripture a translated textual form that most likely rests on an erroneous Hebrew text. In these particularly troublesome cases, the inspired authority of the New Testament rehabilitates, in a manner of speaking, and canonizes the corrupt form of the Old Testament that it cites. But Morin enlarged this principle to include all cases where a translation accepted by the Church as authentically representing the Bible is derived from a corrupt Vorlage:

71. *Ibid.*, 80–94.

72. *Ibid.*, 196–222.

73. *Ibid.*, 98–162.

74. *Ibid.*, chap. 12, §8.

75. *Ibid.*, chap. 12, §6.

76. *Ibid.*, chap. 1, §2.

77. *Ibid.*, chap. 13, §§2ff.

In general I would say that it is absolutely impossible for a divine text to be changed by human agency in such a way that its meaning is changed but the passage remains divine. Consequently, it becomes corrupt insofar as it degenerates from a divine meaning to a human one. However, as we have shown, such is not the case for the authentic versions that were made from texts of this type. The human meaning is changed by the authority of the Church into a prophetic and apostolic meaning and its former dignity is restored.⁷⁸

In the following chapter he clarified his thought before illustrating it by several examples:

I mean to say that the variants which the Church and the sacred Fathers have confirmed and canonized in this way are not only those that do not add, subtract or modify something that might create an error or danger for the Christian religion. Some variants are of a very different nature, since the modifications seem to lead to an offense to the Church, and to do away with very solid proofs for the Christian religion, wrenching them out of our hands. The variants in question were not produced by expressing something false, for the Church never approves anything of this sort, but by suppressing things that were true, through either omission or modification.⁷⁹

From this perspective, Morin believed that the traditional versions of the Church should never be corrected according to the Masoretic Text, for the two reasons that he mentioned: first, because it is highly possible that the Masoretic Text is more corrupt than the Vorlage from which the versions were made; and second, because the possible textual defects to which these versions testify have been rectified by ecclesial use, which has identified them as authentic biblical forms. Thus, Morin felt that we should make the same use of the original text as the Fathers did of Origen's Hexapla:

The Hebrew texts must be put to the service of the Church's translation without allowing them to dominate it. They should help but not command. They should support it but not demolish it. They should illuminate it and highlight it but neither obfuscate nor break it into pieces.⁸⁰

The tendentious nature of Morin's work and his proselytism, filled with paradoxes, earned him many enemies, and not only among Protestants. The Catholic Simeon de Muis, Archdeacon of Soissons and Professor of Hebrew at the Royal College, devoted three treatises to refuting him. The Protestant Arnold Boot took him on in two treatises and attacked Cappel in two others. It must be admitted, however, that even if Morin's dogmatic nature often makes it difficult to accept his conclusions, the breadth of his erudition and the originality of his hermeneutic

78. *Ibid.*, chap. 13, §8.

79. *Ibid.*, chap. 14, §1.

80. *Ibid.*, 4.

make his adversaries pale by comparison. His *Exercitationes Biblicae*, as well as Cappel's *Critica Sacra*, are still laden with unexplored treasures today. When Morin died in 1659, he had just finished a second volume of his *Exercitationes Biblicae*, published along with the first in Paris by Gaspard Meturas in the following year. The second book contains the first critical rabbinic bibliography ever published. Richard Simon, who was no great admirer of Morin but was himself an able critic, admitted that "his last work is filled with a prodigious erudition with regard to the Jewish books."⁸¹

5. Cappel as an Advocate of Facilitating Variants

If Morin could be criticized for his convert's proselytism warping a good number of his conclusions, Cappel also came in for criticism from Vogel and Scharfenberg, who published an edition of his *Critica Sacra* in three volumes (Halle, 1775–1786). They reproached him for something that had already been clearly expressed in the "Formula Consensus" of 1675. Both in his *Critica* and in his letter to Usher,⁸² Cappel repeatedly maintained that, in order to decide among biblical variants, the one that provides "the most appropriate and convenient meaning" should always be preferred. Scharfenberg accused him of failing to recognize the accepted principle among text critics that "the most difficult, the rarest and the most complicated reading should be preferred to one that is more felicitous and more prevalent."⁸³ Vogel had already remarked that the fact that a reading "provides a more or less convenient meaning . . . is not sufficient for declaring it correct."⁸⁴ As we shall see later on in this report, Cappel's rather naive confidence in easy readings that make good sense strongly influenced later exegetes in their application of textual criticism.

This tendency of Cappel's explains the great significance even for today of the younger Buxtorf's *Anticritica* (Basel, 1653), in which he opposed Cappel. Buxtorf, with a very subtle critical sense, showed the risks of this more facile way of proceeding:

The result will be that when there is a certain passage that does not seem clear enough to a translator, professor or some other critic, he will begin to look around to try to find something clearer, either in the versions or in his own intelligence and ability to invent conjectures. Thus the traditional reading of the Hebrew will be abandoned for the slightest reason, and even without the least reason.⁸⁵

81. Simon, *Lettres*, Vol. 1, 12.

82. Cappel, *Critica*², Vol. 3, 449–634.

83. See, for example, *Critica*², Vol. 2, 749 n. 433, and Vol. 3, 506 n. 243.

84. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 235 n. 172.

85. Buxtorf, the younger, *Anticritica*, 258.

The entire second part of the *Anticritica* (357–1026) goes over Cappel's suggestions with a fine-tooth comb. We shall have occasion later on to show the importance of this criticism, for example, at 1 Chr 24:26 or 2 Chr 28:19. The critique of the *Critica* allowed Buxtorf, Jr. to formulate methodological comments that were both nuanced and subtle, and Cappel was the first to profit from them. We shall see, for example at Josh 9:4, that he was occasionally convinced by his opponent (as evidenced in his *Notae Criticae*, published⁸⁶ by his son Jacques after his death), whereas most exegetes have adopted the decisions of the *Critica* without realizing that Cappel himself had later given up these positions.

III. Analysis of the Questions Surrounding Criticism of the Hebrew Text in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century

To understand the critical issues in Old Testament textual criticism around the middle of the seventeenth century as Morin, Boot, Cappel, and Buxtorf the younger saw them, it is necessary to point out a statement of fact and a principle with which these adversaries were all in agreement. They are both immaterial today, however, in view of the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts and in view of the way in which tradition criticism and literary and redaction criticism have examined the Hebrew text and the ancient Greek translations and have transformed our understanding of the "sacred authors" and of the traditional textual forms. We will attempt to formulate a problematic of textual criticism that takes these developments into account in the second part of this introduction. Right now we wish only to evaluate a few studies, both older and more recent ones, that sought to scrutinize the legitimacy of the fundamentals concerning which these seventeenth-century critics were in agreement. We shall also mention studies that contributed to the modification of those fundamentals.

A. A Statement of Fact and a Position of Principle

In the middle of the seventeenth century, critics were in agreement on this fact: the accessible witnesses of the Hebrew Bible provided a text that was remarkably unified. They were also in agreement about a principle: if the autographs of Moses and the Prophets were available, they would be considered normative for the text.

1. Virtual Absence of Hebrew Textual Variants

There was agreement among these critics that the witnesses of the Masoretic Text to which they had access presented an extremely unified text. Thus the versions, especially the Septuagint, were their principal sources of textual variants. However, they tended to put nearly all the variants between the Septuagint and

86. In Cappel, *Commentarii*.

the Masoretic Text on the level of the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint, while their adversaries tended to consider all the variants as errors, translational liberties, or accidents in the transmission of the Greek text. Cappel and Morin were well aware that their position was weakened by the noticeable contrast that they were forced to presuppose between the very strong unity of the textual tradition of the Hebrew text of their time and the very different Hebrew text that they imagined as the archetype for the Septuagint.

Although it was true that the recently discovered Samaritan Pentateuch presented a Hebrew text form that was quite distinct from that of the Masoretic Text, exegetes of the seventeenth century were doubtful as to the authenticity and antiquity of this newly-found textual witness. For this reason, the critics concerned themselves with broadening their search for variants among the manuscripts of the Masoretic Text, in the hope of shattering its apparently monolithic nature and of finding vestiges of a very different text, which Morin and Cappel believed had served as the Vorlage of the ancient versions.

2. Primacy of the Autographs of Moses and the Prophets

There was also general agreement that if the autographs of Moses and the Prophets were available, they should be considered as normative for the text. This was a given for both Jean Morin and the authors of the “Formula Consensus Helveticus.” They differed only in that the “Consensus” maintained that the Masoretic Text found in the editions of the day had been preserved in a form identical to the autographs by virtue of special divine assistance, while Morin and Cappel believed they could show it differed from the autographs in a certain number of readings. In this case, it was not scholarly research that advanced the discussion, but rather Spinoza’s ideas, brought to the debate via Richard Simon, that caused a transformation in the notion of inspired author. The horizons opened up by Simon, however, were scarcely explored after him. He was, in fact, something of a maverick. During his lifetime, the privileges for the works that he tried to publish were either refused or taken away. The first edition of his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1685) was seized and destroyed at the initiative of Bossuet, who saw him as “this false critic [who] makes sport of the Church.”⁸⁷ Although he took the precaution of publishing the four volumes of his *Bibliothèque Critique* (1708, 1710) under a pseudonym, they met with the same fate. His final work, the *Critique de la bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques et des Prologues de la Bible, publiez par M. Elies Du-Pin* (published posthumously), only obtained the royal privilege because it was accompanied by a page-by-page refutation written by his Jesuit editor (and friend), E. Souciet. The textual criticism that developed in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century was concerned with finding the “original text,” and paid no attention to the perspectives Simon

87. Bossuet, *Correspondance*, 334.

had opened up a century earlier. For that reason it is worth exploring those perspectives, which still retain their value today.

IV. The Search for Hebrew Variants

A. Charles François Houbigant

On the basis of the manuscripts in the library of the Oratory and the Royal Library, Richard Simon had already remarked that:

Louis Cappel, who gathered the variants of a few printed Bibles in his *Critica*, complained that it was difficult to collect old manuscripts of the Hebrew text of the Bible and that those who had them did not share them willingly. Father Morin had at his disposal a library that was quite rich in this sort of book, but only consulted them in two or three places, and that with a great deal of negligence.⁸⁸

It makes sense, therefore, that another Oratorian with access to the same library, Father Charles François Houbigant, would set out to make up for the oversights in Morin's research. Further, the appearance of the Paris Polyglot made the Samaritan Pentateuch (along with its targum) accessible, as well as the Syriac (Peshitta) of the whole Bible, and an Arabic version (which usually depends on the Syriac and the Greek).

With the aid of this broader textual base, Houbigant produced his *Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latine ad notas criticas facta*, a critical commentary on the entire Hebrew text of the Old Testament, published in four magnificent folio volumes totaling 3,759 pages (Paris, 1753). The Oratorians chose Antoine Claude Briasson and Laurent Durand to publish this critical commentary by their confrere Houbigant. They had just begun publishing the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and ALEMBERT in 1751. For Houbigant's work, the Hebrew characters were specially engraved, and the frontispieces were designed by the famous Charles Eisen, Madame de Pompadour's drawing instructor until she had to dismiss him because of his dissolute lifestyle. The Congregation of the Oratory spent 40,000 francs to complete this masterpiece of printing.

1. Houbigant's Work Misrepresented

Apparently only about three hundred copies of this edition were printed. It was cumbersome, heavy, and prohibitively expensive. Consequently, in 1777, Varrentrapp, Jr. and Wenner, publishers in Frankfurt on the Main, decided to publish the critical notes separately, preceded by the prolegomena.⁸⁹ J. D. Michaelis welcomed this project,⁹⁰ but the following year he had to retract his

88. Simon, *Histoire* (VT), 117.

89. Houbigant, *Notae*.

90. Michaelis, *OEB*, XII, 14.

endorsement and inform his readers of an observation made by Karl Stridsberg, one of his students:⁹¹ The Frankfurt edition had omitted a large number of Houbigant's critical notes and had distorted others so badly that the author's comments were no longer comprehensible. To verify Stridsberg's observation, it suffices to list, for only a few chapters of Genesis, the number of lines of notes in the Paris edition that were omitted in the Frankfurt edition: In Genesis 3, 36 out of 62 lines were omitted; in chap. 13, 20 of 35; in chap. 16, 32 of 35; in chap. 17, 25 of 40; in chap. 18, 45 of 69; in chap. 19, 56 of 78; and in chap. 20, 39 of 63. The other books of the Torah suffered at least as much damage. Sometimes even all the notes of a chapter were omitted. For example, the forty-three lines of notes to Deuteronomy 19 and the thirty-four lines to Deuteronomy 23 in the Paris edition disappeared entirely. The other volumes were not treated quite as badly, but in general about three-fifths of Houbigant's critical commentary was omitted. Also missing were the four indices at the end of each volume. But the omission of the *Index mendorum et emendationum*, the most important of the four, completely marred the work, since that index contained the critical apparatus giving the reasons for Houbigant's choices in the critical notes. Michaelis concluded his caution against the new edition by adding, "It is only regrettable that, as far as I know, there is no absolutely clear law which would force the seller to recall such a book, as one would a ducat made of bad metal."⁹²

It is truly unfortunate that most textual critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries knew of Houbigant's work only through this severely mangled edition. Those who transmitted Houbigant's conjectures used the truncated Frankfurt edition, as we shall show at Josh 21:5, 6; Judg 5:14; 20:16; 1 Sam 9:24a; 2 Sam 3:18; 11:11; 21:19b; 2 Kgs 23:8; 2 Chr 11:23; Neh 3:1b; 5:2; 12:31, 38a.

2. A Flawed but Indispensable Work

Ordinarily, Houbigant (and through him Cappel) is used without being cited. His Bible was severely criticized, for example, by Rosenmüller⁹³ and by Fabricy.⁹⁴ And, in fact, Houbigant had committed serious errors. For example, throughout his commentary he interpreted the small circle placed above a word in the text of the Hebrew manuscripts or Masoretic editions as meaning that the word is in doubt, while it simply signals that there is a Masoretic marginal note. Further, he knew little about other Semitic languages; his disputes with Schultens in his critical notes on Job show that he did not understand how comparative linguistics could be used to justify the Masoretic vocalic tradition, or to enrich Hebrew lexicography and expand the overly narrow rules of Masoretic Hebrew grammar.

91. *Ibid.*, XIII, 61–72.

92. *Ibid.*, XIII, 64.

93. Rosenmüller. *Handbuch*, Vol. 2, 34–40.

94. Fabricy, *Titres*, Vol. 1, 372–437.

However, J. D. Michaelis, from whom Rosenmüller had taken the essence of his critique of Houbigant, later restored some balance by giving more credit to Houbigant:

In spite of everything, I attribute to him the great merit of having given a new impetus to criticism of the Hebrew text. I also find much that is good in his work, of a kind that I look for in vain elsewhere. Through experience I have learned that his book is indispensable for a critic, and I paid dearly for this experience for, not having the book, I had to have it brought from the library of our university and I could not consult it whenever I wanted.⁹⁵

B. Disregard for Vocalization and Masorah

I. Vocalization

After formulating twenty-two rules on how to discover errors in a text and on the art of correcting them,⁹⁶ Houbigant applied his rules to the entire biblical text, drawing on the manuscripts and versions where he found them helpful. This led him to reject the witness of vowel points and accents as unimportant. In fact, he considered them as “not coming from the sacred authors, not founded on any authority, being passed on without any record that could attest to them, introduced into the sacred manuscripts by human and not divine intuition, by the often erroneous judgment of uneducated Jews.”⁹⁷ Houbigant agreed with Buxtorf the younger⁹⁸ that “no human intellect or memory would have been able to retain the distinct pronunciation of so many thousands of words.”⁹⁹ The implausibility that a reading tradition could have been transmitted by memory was the reason the two Buxtorfs and the authors of the “Formula Consensus” believed the vowel points had to have come from the sacred authors, or at least from Ezra. As we saw above, Cappel thought, somewhat anachronistically, that educated Jews had been able to pass down the principles of Hebrew grammar and vocabulary, so that they had to commit to memory only the vocalization of ambiguous words or textual anomalies.

But Houbigant rightly denied that Hebrew grammar had existed as a science before the closing of the Talmud.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, Morin had demonstrated that at the time of Jerome this science was not yet established.¹⁰¹ Therefore, Houbigant reasoned in this way: If the vowel points were only invented towards the end of the Talmudic period (Cappel), and if no principles of grammar were available to the

95. Michaelis, *OEB*, XII, 16.

96. Houbigant, *Prolegomena*, 153–63.

97. *Ibid.*, 175.

98. Buxtorf, the younger, *Punctorum*, 365.

99. Houbigant, *Prolegomena*, 173.

100. *Ibid.*, 172.

101. Morin, *Exercitationes*², Book II, Exer. 15, Chap. 3.

vocalizers for guiding their choices (Morin), and, on the other hand, if it was impossible for the human memory to hand on a reading tradition for the entire Hebrew text (Buxtorf), the only conclusion to be drawn was that “the vowel-points that convey meaning teach us how the Jews who formulated the punctuation believed one had to understand” the consonantal text, and therefore, that “the vowel-points in no way belong to the sacred books.”¹⁰²

R. Simon, however, took a more balanced position in his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*.

One should note, however, that even though the authors of the points that serve as vowels in the text of Scripture were human, the meaning of this text does not depend entirely on them. With these points they only set limits on the reading which was already received and authorized by usage. . . . The usage therefore determined that which the points settled and this usage could only have come from an ancient tradition. By inventing the points, the Jewish doctors who are ordinarily believed to be those of the Tiberian School only stabilized this ancient tradition. . . . The sect of Karaites, of whom we shall speak later on, reject all the false traditions of the Jews as fantasies, and in spite of this they accept the points of the Masorettes and follow the reading today with the same precision as all the other Jews. This is clear proof of the truth of the tradition concerning the points.¹⁰³

It would appear that the critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lived in a world that was much too dominated by the written word to be able to imagine the vitality of a cantillation tradition of the type that transmitted the biblical *Qere*. On this point, Simon was more perspicacious than most of his contemporaries.

The prevailing disregard for the Masoretic vocalization led Cappel to propose freeing Hebrew grammar from it. At the end of his *Critica*, he states:

Since all punctuation found in the present Hebrew text was invented by the Masorettes, to whose authority and vocalization we are held only insofar as this punctuation provides an appropriate and convenient meaning, if only the consonants are to be taken into account when reading and if the rules of grammar should be formulated only from the consonants of the words, all that concerns punctuation and the modifications having to do with the points should be stricken from the grammar. Thus one should wipe out the largest part of the grammar. We would see destroyed, for example, the distinction between the conjugations *qal*, *piel*, *pual*, since they depend only on the *dagesh* and the vowels. The same would be true for the distinction between the genders of the second person singular of the perfect, or the distinction between the vocalizations “î,” “é,” “ay” of the endings with *yod*. . . . Certainly some of these distinctions

102. Houbigant. *Prolegomena*, 167.

103. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, 148–49.

are useful for avoiding homonyms, but some are superfluous, and other languages do not take these differences into account.¹⁰⁴

The first person to produce a grammar that did not take the vowels into consideration was Olivier Bulaeus (Utrecht, 1658). The most successful one, however, was that of François Masclef, a canon of Amiens. In the periodical *Mémoires de Trévoux* for 1711,¹⁰⁵ he published his “Projet d’une nouvelle grammaire pour apprendre l’hébreu et les anciennes langues orientales sans points.” The grammar was printed in Paris in 1716 and went through four editions in the next thirty-five years. In 1732, Houbigant, as a partisan of this method, published his *Racines hébraïques sans points-voyelles, ou, dictionnaire hébraïque par racines* anonymously in Paris. The disdain for vocalization partially explains why Kenicott believed it would not be a great loss if he took only the consonants into account in the huge collation of Masoretic manuscripts that he was to undertake.

2. The Masorah

The same authors who found it unnecessary to take the vowel points seriously judged the Masorah just as negatively.

According to Morin the traditional view of the Masorah’s purpose as a “fence for the Torah” was wrong:¹⁰⁶ Only rarely did the Masorah attempt to protect the transmission of the text against the risk of corruption. If this had been its purpose, it might be inferred that it had corrupted the text it was supposed to protect, since anyone who had studied or edited the Masorah recognized that it existed in divergent and corrupt forms in the various manuscripts. It would be absurd to undertake correcting a text from such an uncertain base. But Morin reassured his readers that in most cases the Masorah simply pointed out peculiarities and oddities in the text. Further, the Masorah’s obscure way of referring to places in Scripture led to confusion and made it practically useless. Only concordances could provide the information the Masorah was said to contain.

In Cappel’s view, the observations contained in the Masoretic notes had been the work of isolated individuals, which is why the notes were not uniform. Each Masorete had noted the particularities he observed in his own manuscript. But there was no reason for investing that manuscript with an authority superior to any other, or for using it as a base to correct other witnesses of the Masoretic Text. Therefore, the authority attributed to the Masorah was totally illusory.¹⁰⁷

Houbigant believed that the Masorah was a collection of the observations made about certain manuscripts the Masoretes regarded as models that could be used to correct others. But it was never able to perform its assigned function of

104. Cappel, *Critica*, Book VI, Chap. 11, §1.

105. *Mémoires pour l’histoire des sciences & des beaux arts* (Trévoux), October, 1791–1820; November, 2002–19; December, 2154–71.

106. Morin, *Exercitationes*², Book II, Exer. 20, Chaps. 1 and 2.

107. Cappel, *Critica*, Book III, Chap. 16, §§26–27.

stabilizing the text. In early times it had been transmitted in autonomous treatises in a fairly pure state. But these treatises were copied only rarely and the last references to them known to Houbigant were by Elias Levita, Arias Montano, and Buxtorf. Houbigant believed they had disappeared entirely by his own time. He apparently knew nothing of the existence of the Paris and Halle manuscripts of the *Okhlah*, or, more understandably, of the fragmentary manuscript of Chufut-Kale. Houbigant felt, therefore, that these treatises never had a wide enough distribution to have been able to exercise a genuinely normative influence. Besides, only the rare specialist would have been able to use them. Also, when the Masorah began to be copied in the margins of manuscripts, it had to be abridged. Then it came to be primarily decorative, used to create lacy designs and fanciful animals, a process that involved displacing certain elements or spiraling the notes around in minuscule characters, with the result that they were often illegible. In the margins, the Masorah became disfigured and unusable. In short, Houbigant regarded the Masorah as an immense but practically useless undertaking that had remained unfinished and had then been ruined by the way uneducated copyists had treated it.¹⁰⁸

Kennicott gave the most negative judgment of all concerning the Masorah:

After examining more than a hundred manuscripts, I am absolutely convinced that the older the Hebrew manuscripts are, the less corrupt. It is the recent ones that are ordinarily less valuable. In the oldest manuscripts a large number of authentic and original readings have been either crossed out or modified by incorrect ones. I realized finally that the rule that had been followed in this strange work of correcting was the Masorah, a work constructed partially from the most recent manuscripts and partially from ancient but particularly corrupt manuscripts.¹⁰⁹

With such an unnuanced appraisal, it is not surprising that Kennicott was only interested in the first hand of the manuscripts he was collating; as a result, he included among his variants a large number of scribal errors that had been corrected immediately by the scribe himself.

C. Benjamin Kennicott

1. The Search for Variants

Houbigant had access only to those Hebrew biblical manuscripts found in the royal library and the library of the Oratory of Paris. Before him, Johann Heinrich Michaelis had had access to the manuscripts of Erfurt, which constituted the main part of his critical apparatus of the Hebrew Bible that he published at Halle in 1720. The Hebrew biblical manuscripts of Königsburg had been studied thor-

108. Houbigant, *Prolegomena*, 12–25.

109. Kennicott, *Dissertatio secunda*, 449.

oughly by Theodor Christoph Lilienthal, who published his results in 1770 in his *Commentatio critica sistens duorum codicum manuscriptorum Biblia hebraica continentium qui Regiomonti borussorum asservantur praestantissimorum notitiam*. The manuscript of Kassel was studied by Johann David Michaelis from 1771 to 1773 in the first four volumes of his *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*. Those of Helmstadt were described and one of them analyzed by Georg Johann Ludwig Vogel in 1765 in his *Descriptio codicis ebraei scripti bibliothecae academicae Helmstadiensis. Accedit descriptio manuscriptorum textus ebraici Helmstadiensium reliquorum*. The strong interest in Hebrew Old Testament manuscripts that became increasingly evident in Germany in the eighteenth century prepared the way for the immense collation of consonantal variants published by Benjamin Kennicott in two volumes, entitled *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxford, 1776 and 1780).

2. Kennicott and the Bodleian Manuscripts

The production of Kennicott's important work is indicative of the intellectual climate in Germany and England during the great awakening of textual criticism that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is worth retracing in some detail the history of this undertaking, which had its share of vicissitudes, many of which are not commonly known.

As J. D. Michaelis observed, Houbigant's work had "given a new impetus to criticism of the Hebrew text."¹¹⁰ The anticipated publication of the *Prolegomena* to his important critical commentary in 1746 in Paris had already kindled "the desire to see and to learn" in a young student at Oxford, Benjamin Kennicott.¹¹¹ Kennicott was the son of the barber and sacristan of Totnes (Devonshire) and seemed so brilliant from the moment of his arrival at Oxford that he was made a Bachelor of Arts by decree, without examinations or fees.

In his *Dissertatio generalis*,¹¹² he recounts the event that led to his embarking on his great enterprise. In 1748, when Kennicott was in his fourth year at Oxford, Robert Lowth, the future bishop of London and commentator on Isaiah who was teaching poetry there at the time, assigned him the task of writing a dissertation on the relationship between 2 Samuel 23 and 1 Chronicles 11. Kennicott, who tells us that he had total confidence in the integrity of the Hebrew text at the time, very quickly concentrated his attention on a comparison of 2 Sam 23:8 with 1 Chr 11:11 and found proof there that the Masoretic Text had undergone scribal corruptions. Was he at all aware that this was exactly the same verse that had led Luther, in his letter of June 30, 1540, to Georg Rörer, to make the first critical study of the corruptions of the Hebrew text? Kennicott then expanded his study to the entire list of David's warriors, and concluded that the textual form of Samuel

110. Michaelis, *OEB*, XII, 16.

111. Kennicott, *Dissertatio super ratione*, 277.

112. Kennicott, *Dissertatio generalis*, §133.

and that of Chronicles could be of mutual help in restoring the original state of the list.

He was preparing to publish the results of his study when, for the sake of thoroughness, he decided to check whether the Hebrew manuscripts had a textual tradition that was as unified and consequently as unusable as he had heard:

Therefore, I consulted a few of those manuscripts that had been neglected by scholars up until then and had suffered the assaults of worms and cockroaches in the Bodleian Library. I soon discovered that the conjectures formulated by most scholars with regard to these manuscripts were without foundation. These manuscripts show the same signs of carelessness on the part of the copyists (omissions, additions, transpositions, etc.) seen not only in the manuscripts of the New Testament, but also in all manuscripts of every age. In analyzing them with regard to the two chapters I had treated in the study that I was about to publish, I discovered therein a certain number of readings that I had conjectured to be authentic in the part of my dissertation that had already been printed. By comparing my dissertation with the variants I am now publishing, it can be seen clearly that in the list of Samuel my conjectures are confirmed for 19 words and in Chronicles for 14, for a total of 33 cases in 87 verses. When I made this new and entirely unforeseen discovery, which would elevate the status of the Hebrew manuscripts considerably, I suspended the publication of the work, by that time almost entirely printed, until I could consult a larger number of manuscripts from Oxford and Cambridge. After I looked over 64 manuscripts that contain all or part of the Hebrew Bible, as well as six manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, I added a presentation of these 70 manuscripts along with some observations on several places in the Old Testament where these manuscripts would permit correction. These additions made up the second part of my dissertation and both of them appeared in one volume in January 1753.¹¹³

3. J. D. Michaelis's Reservations

The two-part dissertation described by Kennicott was thus printed in Oxford under the title *The State of the printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered*. J. D. Michaelis, who had defended a doctoral thesis entitled "De Antiquitate Punctorum hebraicorum" on October 7, 1739, and who was to devote several articles to textual criticism of the Old Testament in *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* (which he would found in 1771), was at that time secretary of the Göttingen Royal Academy of Sciences and, as such, also editor of *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*. In fascicle 128 for 1753 (October 22), he credited Kennicott with rendering a great service to Old Testament textual criticism. His book, he said,

deserves both lasting renown among future generations for as long as Hebrew learning continues to flourish, and an extended treatment in our review. since he

113. *Ibid.*, §135.

is the first to bring the criticism of the Old Testament to a new level of respectability, thanks to his having consulted a great number of manuscripts. He has settled, to a certain degree, the question of differing readings in the Hebrew text and the Greek translations, a question that was disputed between Cappel and Buxtorf.¹¹⁴

It was the second part of the dissertation that Michaelis found most important. He agreed with Kennicott that a good number of the manuscripts Kennicott consulted were older than those used by Ben Hayim as the basis of his edition, the source of all other editions at the time. He also agreed that those manuscripts had not been harmonized as rigorously with the particulars of the Masorah as those that Ben Hayim had used, and therefore had a good chance of containing readings that were older, and most likely, more original.¹¹⁵

Michaelis's deep interest in the work begun by Kennicott did not blind his critical sense. Already in this first review of Kennicott's work he expressed a number of reservations that suggested tendencies in the future collator of variants similar to those Buxtorf the younger had criticized in Cappel:

We greatly fear that he is too inclined to reject a difficult and unusual reading out of hand. Indeed, a reading that flows normally and regularly shows by that very fact that it is suspect of being the facilitating correction of a bold scribe. Thus, on p. 24, he considers the omission of *alef* in מבי (2 Sam 5:2) as an obvious error. However, many other similar examples can be found in the Hebrew Bible—though perhaps he considers them all to be scribal errors. Furthermore, this spelling can be justified by the Chaldean, whose characteristic forms were often adopted in the Hebrew Bible. For הסירך (2 Sam 5:6), he assumes that a *waw* must have been omitted because this verb is translated as a plural in the Greek (ἀντέστησαν) and because the words following it are plural in the Hebrew. But it is well known that Hebrew, just like the languages related to it, can use the singular for the plural in certain cases. Since that cannot be done in Greek, the Septuagint had to translate with a plural, no matter what it read in Hebrew. We fear also that he wants to make the books of Samuel and Chronicles too much alike, even though they come from different authors who were not necessarily in agreement on the choice of words. He does this with particular audacity on pages 26, 46, etc., where he draws support from the Greek translation, without considering that what happened in the Greek could have been the same thing that happened in the old pre-Jerome translation of the Gospels, where the copyists transferred expressions and things recounted in one Gospel to another in order to make them more like one another, as is well-known.¹¹⁶

114. Michaelis, *GA*, 1753/128, 1147.

115. *Ibid.*, 1150–51.

116. *Ibid.*, 1148–49.

4. Kennicott's Extensive Collation

In his *Dissertatio Generalis* Kennicott tells us that the Bible with Houbigant's critical annotations did not arrive in England until a year after the publication of his dissertation on the state of the text, so he was not able to use the *Prolegomena* in his first work.¹¹⁷ In any case, Houbigant had collated only a few manuscripts, and those only partially. Thomas Secker, then bishop of Oxford, suggested to Kennicott in 1757 that he collate all the Hebrew biblical manuscripts located in Great Britain.

Then in 1758 the curators of the Oxford University Press asked the university professors to suggest books that they thought would render the greatest possible service to belles-lettres. Thomas Hunt, Regius Professor of Hebrew, recommended a collation of all the Hebrew biblical manuscripts of the Bodleian. The curators asked Kennicott to take on this responsibility, and he accepted, informing Secker of his decision and saying that from that moment on he was ready to devote his life to doing all he could to produce an exhaustive collation of the extant Hebrew biblical manuscripts in order to preserve the variants in them from the inevitable ravages of time. The results he had obtained in his first dissertation had convinced him that the variants were both numerous and significant.

In 1759 (according to the title, but actually in January, 1760¹¹⁸), Kennicott published a second dissertation, *The State of the printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered. Dissertation the second, wherein the Samaritan Copy of the Pentateuch is vindicated, the printed Copies of the Chaldee paraphrase are proved to be corrupted: the sentiments of the Jews on the Hebrew Text are ascertained, and also a particular catalogue of 110 Hebrew MSS. in Oxford, Cambridge and the British Museum*. In this dissertation Kennicott set out a number of methodological principles that he deemed necessary as the foundation for the great project to which he had devoted himself, and he began the inventory of the manuscripts to be collated. This inventory branched out even beyond what the title promised, listing manuscripts in Europe and elsewhere—including Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, India, and China—that Kennicott had gleaned from bibliographies or travel accounts.

5. Michaelis's Growing Skepticism

In fascicle 71 of the *Göttingische Anzeigen* volume for 1760 (June 14), Michaelis reviewed Kennicott's second dissertation on the state of the text. He admired his wide and profound research: "Contrary to the custom of the English, he even informed himself on the writings of the Germans. And what is more astounding, he even quotes German works fairly often." He encouraged Kennicott to persevere in his great undertaking.¹¹⁹ Kennicott's two dissertations had been

117. *Dissertatio Generalis*, §§137–38.

118. *Ibid.*, §139.

119. Michaelis, *GA* 1760/71, 624–25.

published in Latin at Leipzig in 1756 and 1765 by Wilhelm Abraham Teller, who was so objective that he even reproduced, at the beginning of the second dissertation, Kennicott's criticism of the way Teller had translated the first, and followed this criticism with recognition of his errors and an explanation of his intentions. Kennicott suspected that his translator had purposely twisted his thought in order to open him to attacks by conservative German exegetes. His suspicions were based on the passionate criticism that his first dissertation had aroused in England from Fowler Comings in *The printed Hebrew Text vindicated: An Answer to Mr. Kennicott's Dissertation in two Parts* (Oxford, 1753), as well as from Julius Bate in *The Integrity of the Hebrew Text, and many Passages of Scripture, vindicated from the Objections and Misconstructions of Mr. Kennicott* (London, 1754).

When Michaelis reviewed this last work, he took the opportunity to point out that "the knowledge of the Hebrew language evidenced by Bate, while it is not extraordinary, is certainly as good as, and perhaps even better than, that of Kennicott. Of course, that should be evaluated in terms of the level of such knowledge commonly achieved currently in England. That is to say that it is not too good, not even good enough to avoid grammatical errors." And he concludes:

We can only lament the fate of Hebrew criticism. It has fallen once again into the hands of those who understand neither the language nor the laws of criticism. It was the same in the controversy between Buxtorf and Cappel. One of them knew the grammar of the language but rejected the criticism, which remained completely foreign to him, so enamored was he with Jewish slogans. The other had a critical sense, but used it to justify conjectures that had such little foundation that they could only cause disgust in one who might look at them in his leisure hours. And then comes Houbigant, with his in-folios where one can search for a long time before unearthing something accurate, while almost every verse contains serious errors and marks of carelessness, as well as ignorance of the language. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that this worthy sector of literary culture appears to the impartial judge to be in bad straits.¹²⁰

As is obvious, the secretary of the Göttingen Royal Academy of Sciences was rather skeptical about the conclusions Kennicott hoped to draw from his vast inquiry. This did not prevent him, however, from taking a keen interest in this large collection of variants. In fascicle 123 of 1760 (October 13) he asks that readers inform him of any Hebrew biblical manuscripts of which they might be aware, and that they indicate whether these manuscripts can be collated where they are, or whether they can be sent to Göttingen, where the collating would take place.¹²¹

120. Michaelis, *GA* 1756/85 (July 15), 729–30.

121. Michaelis, *GA* 1760/123, 1064.

6. *The English Spirit of Enterprise*

Though the English knowledge of Hebrew grammar did not impress Michaelis, their spirit of enterprise compelled his admiration. Just as Brian Walton had invented the collection of subscriptions in order to finance the printing of his Polyglot, Kennicott seems to have financed his research by contributions from numerous supporters. In the ten years between 1760 and 1770, he received a total of 9,119 pounds, seven shillings and six pence from his English contributors, thanks to support from highly placed individuals, among whom must be included Thomas Secker. Secker, who had engaged Kennicott for this project in March 1758, became Archbishop of Canterbury on April 21 of that year. Also highly placed was Kennicott's brother-in-law, Edward Chamberlayne, who was later to become Secretary of the Treasury. With the money he collected, Kennicott was able to pay manuscript collators in England, Germany, France, Italy and elsewhere, who worked according to the precise rules he had formulated for them. The collations were sent to him and were to constitute the critical apparatus of his edition. Every year Kennicott sent his financial contributors a "state of the collation of Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament" in order to sustain their interest in his enterprise.

In 1761 the project was going full steam when Thomas Rutherforth, Professor of Theology at the sister university of Cambridge, wrote "A letter to the Rever. Mr. Kennicott, in which his defence of the Samaritan Pentateuch is examined, and his Second Dissertation on the State of the Old Testament is shewn to be in many instances injudicious and inaccurate."¹²² Rutherforth questioned the merit of the critical conclusions Kennicott professed to draw from his variants. Even more seriously, he reproached him for his great carelessness in the collation of the manuscripts. Fearing that this sharp and often well-founded criticism would demoralize his band of contributors, and that the sources from all over Europe that kept him supplied with variants might thus dry up from lack of finances, Kennicott published "An Answer to a Letter from the Rever. Mr. Rutherforth . . . By B. K." in London in 1762.¹²³ He tried to persuade his readers, and especially his contributors, that his work left nothing to be desired either in its method or in its accuracy, and that their money was being used well.

Rutherforth then published, in Cambridge at the end of 1762, "A Second Letter to the Rever. Dr. Kennicott in which his defence of his Second Dissertation is examined." This controversy led Kennicott to reassure his contributors, in 1763, that he would limit his research to Hebrew and Samaritan variants, that he was giving up treating the ancient versions, and that he would withhold any personal critical judgment in the critical edition he was preparing. Michaelis announced this decision in the *Göttingische Anzeigen* and expressed his satisfaction that Kennicott had thus allayed the fears lurking beneath a number of disparaging

122. Rutherforth, *Letter*.

123. Kennicott, *Answer*.

judgments of his work. He noted, however, that in doing so he had to relinquish his capacity as critic; Michaelis voiced his concern that, if Kennicott gave up including the versions and citations, “the number of true readings would run the risk of being too small or at least of too little importance.”¹²⁴

In any event, a gift of two hundred pounds from King George III in the same year attested to the credibility of the redefined project and had the happy result of attracting a number of other contributors. In 1771 Michaelis was able to inform his readers that Kennicott had just completed his collations.¹²⁵ Kennicott had compiled the variants of 253 manuscripts (of which eight were Samaritan) and of twelve early editions (of which six contained the entire Old Testament). It was more than he had promised when he began his project ten years before. Michaelis noted, “Certainly it will always be a distinction for these people to have accomplished such a great work, from their own resources, for all Christianity. We Germans are divided into too many states dominated by patriotism and chauvinism to carry out an enterprise of this magnitude.”¹²⁶

7. 1,500,000 Hebrew Readings

Nevertheless, Kennicott still had to prepare the collations for printing. That is, he had to create a critical apparatus that was to contain about 5,000,000 quotations of manuscript numbers in the two in-folio volumes published in 1776 and 1780. He launched a new appeal for funds that was supported by his reissuing “The ten annual accounts of the Collation of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament; begun in 1760 and completed in 1769: by Benj. Kennicott.”¹²⁷ He added a notebook of “Proposals for preparing for the Press the various Readings collected from the Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament.”¹²⁸ While Kennicott had been able to interest 315 contributors from Great Britain in the collation of variants (along with Prince William V of Orange and the Mannheim Academy of Sciences), 45 new contributors and 138 former ones contributed to the production of the critical apparatus. During this time, Kennicott married (1771). His wife Anne learned Hebrew in order to assist him in copying, checking, and proofreading the biblical variants.

In his *Dissertatio generalis* Kennicott explained that on a trip to Paris he got the idea of completing his collation by sending a reliable man, the German Paul Jacob Bruns, throughout Europe to make a supplementary collation of manuscripts that had not yet been inspected. This collation would concentrate on textual difficulties Kennicott had chosen as having especially challenged the wisdom of the critics.¹²⁹ Bruns left England in May 1770 with Kennicott’s instructions.

124. Michaelis, *GA* 1763/150 (December 15), 1211.

125. Reported in the first volume of *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, founded by Michaelis, 133–46.

126. *Ibid.*, 137.

127. Kennicott, *Accounts*.

128. Kennicott, *Proposals*.

129. *Dissertatio generalis*, §156.

He later published these instructions concerning each of the 1,170 textual difficulties he had been sent to examine.¹³⁰ Bruns traveled throughout Europe for three years, provided with two letters of recommendation for the Jews of Germany, Poland, France, and Italy. One of these letters came from the Sephardic synagogue of London and the other from the Ashkenazi synagogue. The second was printed in the *Dissertatio generalis*.¹³¹ In addition, his mission was announced to all the ambassadors of His Britannic Majesty so that they would vouch for him. When he returned to Oxford in May 1773, he brought the supplementary collation of 349 manuscripts for the 1,170 difficulties which Kennicott had chosen. During this time, Kennicott had extracted 1,500,000 readings from the 700 fascicles of collations which he had received. The information collected by Bruns was added and the manuscript of the first volume was sent to the printer in October 1773. On May 29, 1776, Kennicott had the pleasure of personally presenting the first volume to King George III, a little more than a month before the Congress of the United States deprived the king of his possessions in New England by the Declaration of Independence. The second volume was printed in 1780, almost twenty-nine years after its author had begun to examine the manuscripts of the Bodleian.

8. *A Businessman's Wiles*

As soon as the first volume was published, with a list of 450 subscribers, Michaelis wrote a long review in his *Bibliothek*¹³² in which he expressed a certain disappointment at the lack of significance of most of the variants.¹³³ He bemoaned the fact that Kennicott had reserved for the second volume the key to the numbers designating the various manuscripts. This made it impossible to evaluate their age.¹³⁴ Moreover, those who had access to one or another of the manuscripts were not able to check on the precision of the collations. Thus Kennicott's supporters, among whom Michaelis counted himself, were unable to refute the rumors about the work habits of some of his collators, accused of being more interested in pocketing their employer's guineas than in picking out the variants with precision.

In the following year, 1777, a letter was printed at Oxford entitled "Benjamin Kennicotti epistola ad Johannem Davidem Michaelis, de censura primi tomi bibliorum Hebraicorum nuper editi, in bibliotheca Orientali, Parte XI" ("Letter of Benjamin Kennicott to Johann David Michaelis on the review of the first volume of the recently printed Hebrew Bible in Orientalische Bibliothek, Vol. XI"),¹³⁵ which Kennicott insisted that Michaelis print in his *Bibliothek*. Michaelis agreed, and added a supplement to Volume 12 in 1778 which contained (in Latin transla-

130. Bruns, "Index," 200–256.

131. Kennicott, *Dissertatio generalis*, §157.

132. Michaelis, *OEB*, Vol. 11 [1776] 72–131.

133. *Ibid.*, 99–120.

134. *Ibid.*, 73–76.

135. Kennicott, *Epistola*.

tion to facilitate its access to foreign readers) Michaelis's review and Kennicott's letter, with copious annotations by Michaelis. In one of the points, Kennicott revealed his talents as a businessman in such a way that Michaelis was scandalized: Kennicott, responding to Michaelis's regret over the impossibility of deciphering the numerical sigla of the manuscripts, had written:

I made sure to cite the manuscripts in such a way that before the appearance of the second volume no one would be able to discover which manuscripts were used or by what number each one was designated. If I had not taken this honest precaution, I would have been exposed to painful conflicts and bitter quarrels. For, if any one at all had been able to examine the unfinished work and to set up a comparison with the manuscripts, you see how much material for accusation would have been offered! Envy would have propelled some, and incompetence others, to lower the esteem for this work.¹³⁶

Michaelis responded:

I would never have believed that you would use as an excuse for not having explained the meaning of the numbers the fact that you wanted to prevent people from making a judgment about the work before the second volume appeared. In this way you are encouraging and confirming the suspicions that your adversaries have formulated. I personally have always thought, and still do, that these suspicions are unjustified. They will conclude that you do not want anyone to judge the work before it has been sold completely. But even now, in spite of your precautions, you will not escape being judged if someone succeeds in guessing at your manuscripts. As far as I am concerned, I claimed not to be able to formulate a judgment on your work as yet because I did not know the meaning of the numbers. Others, however, were more astute than I. I am attaching to this letter a presentation of your work which was given at Jena by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Professor of Oriental Languages at the Jena Academy and very competent in sacred criticism and in the collation of manuscripts. His essay will show you that he was able to judge your work in spite of the mystery of the numbers.¹³⁷

And indeed, from pages 165 to 173 of the same volume Michaelis published Eichhorn's judgment. In the dissertation Schnurrer published at Tübingen in 1775 on the Song of Deborah,¹³⁸ Eichhorn had found a detailed collation of ten manuscripts of the famous Harley collection, bought by the British Museum in 1753. That allowed him to decipher some of Kennicott's sigla, since Kennicott's work was already being printed when Schnurrer's dissertation was published. From this inspection Eichhorn concluded, "It should suffice that we have pointed to eleven examples of carelessness in the Kennicott collation of four manuscripts

136. Michaelis, *OEB*, Vol. 12 [1778], 63.

137. *Ibid.*, 64–65.

138. Schnurrer, *Dissertatio*.

for the Song of Deborah alone. Our brief evaluation augurs what an abundant harvest of errors will appear when it is a question of manuscripts which were not collated by Kennicott personally but only under his auspices."¹³⁹

9. Kennicott as Judged by His Colleague

Bruns reviewed Kennicott's work in the second fascicle of the *Commentarii de rebus novis literariis* of Helmstadt, and Kennicott responded to him in a minor work he published at Oxford in 1782 entitled *Editionis Veteris Testamenti Hebraici cum variis lectionibus brevis defensio contra ephemeridum Goettingensium criminationes*. He accused Bruns of lacking straightforwardness and competence in his critique.¹⁴⁰ Kennicott's haughty response gave Bruns the opportunity to say what he really felt at the beginning of a study entitled "De variis lectionibus Bibliorum Kennicottianorum." Having been Kennicott's emissary for three years, and having then cooperated with him in compiling the critical apparatus, he stated now without mincing words:

I feel that I can affirm generally that among the notes which mention the variants in Kennicott's Bible, even though great care and effort was taken in assembling them, putting them in order and printing them, many are nevertheless either included for no reason or omitted through carelessness. However, those who must claim the responsibility for these defects are neither the editor nor the one whom he chose to share the work (I mean myself), but those who collated the manuscripts and editions. It is undeniable that some of them were competent and careful, but others, especially those who collated the manuscripts in England, were inexperienced and ignorant of the art of criticism. No matter how zealous some of them were, these people cannot defend themselves against monstrous errors. . . . Every time I look at the variants in Kennicott's Bible, I discern as far as the eye can see that they are swarming with mistakes which come from the ignorance and negligence of those who copied the manuscripts, but I think I also see enormous confusion in the English codices, much of which, I fear, must be attributed only to the negligence of the collators. . . . I corrected innumerable mistakes of this type, but it would have been beyond the strength of one man to expurgate all the collations.¹⁴¹

After testifying to the meticulousness with which Kennicott had worked, Bruns added, "I think, however, that in a few cases his desire to find variants prevented him from extracting the genuine readings from the manuscripts."¹⁴² He then gives four examples of this and goes on to reproach Kennicott for having often mistaken Masoretic notes for textual variants. "I was not able to convince Kennicott to omit them from his Bible. For, from the moment that something

139. Michaelis, *OEB*, Vol. 12 [1778], 173.

140. Kennicott, *Editionis*, 48.

141. Bruns, "Variis Lectionibus," 242–43.

142. *Ibid.*, 244.

seemed to represent a variant, he seized upon it eagerly.”¹⁴³ Bruns also noted something even more serious in pointing out that, “With regard to codex 294 I do not know why he collated the first folios but then neglected the following ones, which were often older. Similarly, he refused to collate codex 293, written in 1144, which is by far the oldest of the Pentateuchs that he had. The reason for this refusal is, however, easy to grasp: this codex seemed to follow the Masorah too closely.”¹⁴⁴

10. Equivocal Obituaries

Kennicott died in August of 1783, leaving unfinished a second book in which he wanted to use his variants to correct the text and thus establish the basis for a new English translation of the Bible. Michaelis wrote an obituary for him in which he expressed his mixed feelings. “Even though he made many errors, and new ones are being found every day, he has the merit of having collected enough money in England to have allowed him to compare an enormous number of Hebrew manuscripts, both good and bad. . . . It is now possible to begin separating the wheat from the chaff in these manuscripts, for it is now becoming more and more evident that many of them did not deserve to have been collated, except perhaps in order to show that they were useless.”¹⁴⁵ He concluded by saying that Kennicott’s death, which allowed access to the fascicles of collations, would finally permit an examination of which collations Kennicott had refused to include in his critical apparatus, as Bruns had revealed.

Michaelis was not the only one who was disappointed in the weakness of Kennicott’s “variants.” Eichhorn, in the second edition of his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, took the opportunity of inserting a judgment on Kennicott’s Bible as a whole:

The sources of Kennicott’s critical apparatus were, in addition to the manuscripts, ancient editions, the Talmud and a few rabbinical writings. From these we have obtained exactly what one would have expected: a large number of copyists’ errors and very few usable readings. In saying that I do not mean to blame Kennicott. If only he had done what he did as he should have done it, then we could only regret that the efforts expended by so many collators, both experienced and inexperienced, did not allow us to advance the study of biblical criticism any further. But even in the outline of the work as he conceived it there were many mistakes, and even more, it appears, in its execution. I think that I have found, at the least, evidence of errors which do not give a very favorable idea of Mr. Kennicott’s critical judgment, in case his meager prolegomena, written with such little competence, did not already offer a sorry demonstration of this.¹⁴⁶

143. *Ibid.*, 250.

144. *Ibid.*, 246–47.

145. Michaelis, *OEB*, vol. 22, 175–79.

146. Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, Vol. 2, 202–3.

With regard to Kennicott's project, Michaelis went from an attitude of hopefulness to one of disappointment, and Eichhorn's attitude was always rather negative. The assessment of the third great German critic of this era, E. F. C. Rosenmüller, was more considered, although he, too, was disappointed:

This great hodge-podge of variants, collected at the cost of so much time and money, yields basically a rather simple result: all the codices which we still have at our disposal are very recent when compared with the originals . . . they are very rich in copyists' faults, but extremely poor in important and usable readings. Taken all together, they represent the same recension coming from one single source, and, therefore, we can expect only very little help, perhaps even none, for the places in the Hebrew text which have undergone corruption. Even if this result is hardly gratifying, it would be lacking in justice and gratefulness not to recognize the merits of the man who has allowed us to arrive so easily at this conclusion which is, in itself, an important one. We were able to do this, thanks to the enthusiasm and persevering zeal with which he sacrificed the greatest and best part of his life for the most tiring, disagreeable and thankless task imaginable.¹⁴⁷

D. Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi

In 1772, while Kennicott was busy transcribing his variants and Bruns was traveling throughout Europe, the Dominican Gabriel Fabricy, a professor at the Casanata, published a work in Rome entitled *On the original claims of revelation, Or, Critical considerations on the purity and integrity of the original text of the sacred books of the Old Testament, in which are shown the advantages which Religion and Literature can obtain from a projected new edition of this text compared with Hebrew MSS and the ancient Greek, Latin and Oriental versions*.¹⁴⁸ From what he knew about the manuscripts at Rome, Turin, and Florence, he felt that Kennicott's critical apparatus would not provide any important revelations with regard to the variants.¹⁴⁹ He believed, too, that the canvassing undertaken by Kennicott and Bruns was incomplete, and said with regard to the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible, "I have no doubt that many others could be discovered in the different libraries of Rome, both in private ones and in the monasteries, as well as in some towns in Italy where there is more of this kind of literary wealth than one might think."¹⁵⁰

I. A Reclusive Scholar

In fact, in his *Dissertatio generalis* Kennicott had mentioned a certain number of manuscripts that he had not been able to collate because of a lack of time or

147. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*, Vol. 1, 247.

148. Fabricy, *Titres*.

149. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 511–14.

150. *Ibid.*, 477, note.

money. The fullest account is the one given of “Parma, where in the library of the famous G. B. de Rossi a large number of manuscripts are to be found. It is possible to think that some of them are included in my list as having been consulted by Bruns, for they had been formerly in the possession of some Jews and now are with this very learned man who, as I sincerely hope, proposes to edit all their variants.”¹⁵¹ Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi was a successful professor of Oriental languages at the university that the Duke of Parma had founded in his capital in 1770. A true bibliophile, de Rossi had accumulated a magnificent collection of Hebrew manuscripts and rare editions. Word had spread as far as England that he possessed in his library five copies of an edition that had previously been thought to survive in only one copy. When Kennicott announced de Rossi’s project to his subscribers in 1780, it was well on the way to being completed. Since de Rossi realized, as did his friend Fabriey, that it would be possible to augment Kennicott’s critical apparatus significantly on the basis of the Italian manuscripts, he had spent three months in the libraries of Rome in 1778 in order to collate the variants that had escaped Kennicott.

On January 3, 1782, de Rossi published a prospectus describing a four-volume work which he would edit under the title *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti ex immensa manuscriptorum editorumque codicum congerie haustae, et ad Samaritanum textum, ad vetustissimas versiones, ad accuratiores Sacrae Criticae fontes ac leges examinatae, perpetuisque notis historico-criticis illustratae*. As he explained the project, it was thanks to Kennicott’s collation and to the collation of the material in his own library that he had more than 1,200 witnesses at his disposal. He intended to consult them at places selected for their importance in understanding the meanings of words, where they also had support either in the Jewish manuscripts, in the Samaritan text, or in the ancient versions. At each point, he planned to compare the manuscripts of his collection with those that Kennicott had collated (which he often re-collated himself) and with others from foreign collections that Kennicott had not collated. To that he would add the ancient editions, of which Kennicott had collated only a small number, as well as the ancient versions and biblical citations taken from Jewish writings. He also wanted to take the vocalization into consideration. Finally, unlike Kennicott, he would undertake to describe all the witnesses and to explain his symbols in the first volume.

In order to whet the appetite of his future readers, he published an *Apparatus Hebraeo biblicus, seu manuscripti editique codices sacri textus, quos possidet, novaeque variarum lectionum collationi destinat Jo. Bern. de Rossi* (1782).¹⁵² In it he described 413 manuscripts and 159 editions of the Hebrew Bible that were in his own collection.

151. Kennicott, *Dissertatio generalis*, §172.

152. Rossi, *Apparatus*, later incorporated in *Manuscripti codices hebraici* (1803).

2. 1,793 Witnesses

The four promised volumes were published at Parma in 1784, 1785, 1786, and 1788,¹⁵³ followed by an important supplement in 1798 entitled *Scholia critica in Veteris Testamenti libros seu Supplementa ad varias Sacri Textus lectiones*. In this supplement he provided the totals for the witnesses that he had collated: 1,418 manuscripts (of which 577 were known from Kennicott's collation, 691 belonged to de Rossi's own library, 134 were foreign, and 16 Samaritan), 375 editions (of which 333 were in de Rossi's library and 42 were from foreign libraries) giving a total of 1,793 "codices."¹⁵⁴ In 1803 de Rossi was to crown his labors with the publication of a catalogue of the manuscripts from his library that he was giving to the Palatine Library of Parma, a gift that included 1,377 Hebrew manuscripts and 194 in other languages.

Except for the financing of the printing costs by subscription, de Rossi did all his work by himself and at his own expense, from the purchase of the manuscripts to the delivery of the five volumes to the printer. Michaelis explained how this priest, who was not known for his wealth, was able to assemble such a collection.¹⁵⁵ It was through his relationship of trust with a number of Jews that he had been able to obtain for a modest price, or even as gifts, ancient manuscripts which had been judged unusable, either because they were worn or incomplete or because their ink had faded.

All the critics appreciated the fact that de Rossi, unlike Kennicott, had himself deciphered the items that he added to those edited by his predecessor. The result, however, confirmed what had come to light from Kennicott's work. Eichhorn (according to Rosenmüller) expressed himself in the following way in an article in which he summed up the importance of the Hebrew manuscripts to Old Testament textual criticism after the large collations of Kennicott and de Rossi: "We now know, unfortunately, that the manuscripts are helpful only for minute points, whereas for the most important corruptions they are no help at all. Thus any mention of these corrupt texts should always be followed by the regret that the manuscripts do not lend any help."¹⁵⁶

E. From the Eighteenth Century to the Present

With the somewhat meager results of these large collations, the eighteenth century ended on a disappointing note. Was it possible to hope that other manuscripts, inaccessible up to that time, would dramatically modify these results? De Rossi did not think so: "In addition to these manuscripts, there is a great number of others, especially in Asia, but also in Africa, Spain, Poland, and other places, which would be worth collating. But now that most of the principal oldest manu-

153. Rossi, *Variae lectiones*.

154. Rossi, *Scholia*, 143.

155. Michaelis, *OEB*, Vol. 21, 137–38.

156. Quoted in Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*, Vol. 2, 49.

scripts have been collated, it is possible to say that the collation of the whole has been done and that all, or almost all, of the most important variants have been edited."¹⁵⁷ Fabricy, however, had been suggesting since 1772 that the Italian collections had not yielded all their treasures to Kennicott. In the seventeenth of his "Random remarks on the variants in general, and on the choice which can be made of them in the Hebrew manuscripts and in the ancient versions," which concluded his study *Les titres primitifs de la Révélation*, he wrote:

There is no known Hebrew manuscript in Europe which goes back more than seven or eight hundred years, or at the most nine hundred. But all the manuscripts which are extant at present are by no means well-known enough to arrive at a definite decision. In various eastern countries where Jews have been present since the destruction of Jerusalem it would not be impossible to discover very ancient manuscripts.¹⁵⁸

In this regard, as well, his presentiment would prove to be true. With regard to Hebrew manuscripts, no notable progress was made by the editions of Baer (published by Tauschnitz at Leipzig from 1869 to 1895) or Ginsburg (London, 1926), nor by the first two editions of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. It was Paul Kahle, working on the Firkovitch collections and on the fragments of the Cairo Geniza, who showed the value of the great classical Tiberian manuscripts and, most especially, of the Leningrad, which served as the basis for BHK³. Working from this manuscript, he rightly showed the relation between the Cairo Prophets manuscript and British Library manuscript Orient 4445, which contains the Pentateuch. The Aleppo manuscript, already mentioned by Kennicott in his *Dissertatio generalis*,¹⁵⁹ was added to this group of great classics after 1960, when it was presented in the first volume of *Textus*. From these same sources Kahle was able to delineate the early stages of Masoretic vocalization, thus confirming Levita's and Cappel's intuition of three hundred years earlier.

It was not until the discoveries of Qumran, however, that it became possible to penetrate beyond the high degree of agreement in the consonantal text which characterizes the proto-Masoretic textual tradition from which all the Hebrew manuscripts known until then derived. On this point also, Morin's and Cappel's intuition was confirmed: The Vorlage of the ancient Greek was often clearly different from the textual tradition which was preserved by the Masoretic Text.

V. Criticism of the Autographs of Moses and the Prophets

As we have already suggested, around the middle of the seventeenth century the proponents of textual criticism and their adversaries agreed that, if we possessed the autographs of Moses and the Prophets, we should accept them as

157. Rossi, *Variae lectiones*, Vol. 1 ("Prolegomena"), 23.

158. Fabricy, *Titres*, Vol. 2, 528.

159. §172.

normative for the text. What divided them was that the “anticritics” believed the Masoretic Text had been kept identical to these autographs by special divine assistance, while the “critics” felt they could show that it differed from the autographs on a certain number of readings because of copyist errors.

A. Spinoza’s Predecessors

While Morin and Cappel had considered only the possibility of accidental modifications of the textual tradition, Spinoza ventured into the area of literary criticism of Sacred Scripture in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, published in 1670, in which he formulated theories which threatened to modify drastically the conception prevalent until then of the “autographs of Moses and the Prophets.” It is necessary to note immediately, however, that in this new area he had at least two predecessors: Thomas Hobbes and Isaac de La Peyrère.

1. Thomas Hobbes

Auvray, referring to chapter 33 of *Leviathan*, published in 1651, sums up Hobbes’s contribution to the question of Moses’ activity in the following way:

Hobbes notes first of all that the term *the books of Moses* indicates not the author of those books but their subject. Not only is it never said that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, but there are several proofs to the contrary in the book. Hobbes indicated three of them: How could Moses have written the account of his own death (Deuteronomy 34)? Why would he say that the Canaanite was “still” in the land (Gen 12:6)? And why would he cite the “Book of the Wars of the Lord” (Num 21:14) as a source? After this, Hobbes presents his conclusion: “But though Moses did not compile those books entirely, and in the form we have them; yet he wrote all that which he is there said to have written: as for example, the volume of the law, which is contained, as it seemeth, in the 11th of Deuteronomy, and the following chapters to the 27th, which was also commanded to be written on stones, in their entry into the land of Canaan.”¹⁶⁰

Later in the same chapter, Hobbes offers some conjectures on the authors and on the time when other books of the Bible were written. In chapter 42 he discusses the canonization of the biblical books, emphasizing that the power of declaring something canonical belongs to human authority.

2. Isaac de La Peyrère

Isaac de La Peyrère, a Calvinist from Bordeaux, published two strange and paradoxical books in Holland in 1655: *Praeadamitae sive exercitatio super versibus duodecimo, decimo-tertio et decimo-quarto capituli quinti Epistolae D. Pauli ad Romanos, quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum conditi*, and *Systema theologicum ex praeadamitarum hypothesis*. These two books, which went

160. Auvray, *Simon*, 63.

through four editions in one year, were successful both as curiosities and scandals and gave rise to many refutations. Spinoza had them in his library, and Richard Simon personally knew La Peyrère who, after his conversion to Catholicism, lived with the Oratorians.

In *Systema*, La Peyrère took some rather bold positions concerning the authenticity of the historical books of the Bible.¹⁶¹ Bernus summed them up as follows:

He declares straight off that all these books are much more recent than the events which they describe. For the Pentateuch, which he treats more fully, he bases his demonstration on the lack of order in the account, on the repetitions, and on a certain number of passages which clearly betray a time posterior to Moses, as later critics have frequently shown. Moses had most likely left some writings, probably even a detailed history of the events in which he had participated, preceded by what he knew of earlier times, either through revelation or by reading (for writing was extant among the Hebrews before him). His work, however, was not preserved, and the present Pentateuch is only a reworked extract of it. The books of Joshua, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles were also formed at a rather later date, and are summaries of more complete works which are cited by the biblical writer.¹⁶²

La Peyrère, therefore, had no hope of ever rediscovering the “autograph of Moses.” He felt that for Moses’ work we possess “neither the autograph (*autographum*) nor a copy written directly according to it (*apographum ex autographo descriptum*), but rather what should be considered as something having come from a derived form of it (*apographum apographi*).”¹⁶³ As Bernus noted, “With these explanations the author attempts to place the true word of God and the genuine sacred authors (whose writings no longer exist) outside the obscurity and confusion with which he reproaches all of the Old Testament for everything except that which directly concerns salvation.”¹⁶⁴

B. Spinoza

Neither Hobbes nor La Peyrère approached biblical criticism systematically. Spinoza, on the other hand, presents a sort of “discourse on method” for biblical criticism in chapters seven to ten of his *Tractatus*.

1. A Method for Interpreting Scripture

Spinoza’s point of departure was almost the opposite of La Peyrère’s. While the latter, according to Richard Simon, applied himself to “reading only the text

161. La Peyrère, *Systema*, Book 4, chapters 1 and 2.

162. Bernus, *Richard Simon*, 66–67.

163. La Peyrère, *Systema*, 186.

164. Bernus, *Richard Simon*, 67.

of Scripture in order to strengthen certain visions that he had on the coming of a new Messiah,”¹⁶⁵ Spinoza states that:

we see . . . that the chief concern of the theologians on the whole has been to extort from Holy Scripture their own arbitrarily invented ideas, for which they claim divine authority. In no other field do they display less scruple and greater temerity than in the interpretation of Scripture, the mind of the Holy Spirit. . . . In order to escape from this scene of confusion, to free our minds from prejudices of theologians and to avoid the hasty acceptance of human fabrications as divine teachings, we must discuss the true method of Scriptural interpretation and examine it in depth; for unless we understand this we cannot know with any certainty what the Bible or the Holy Spirit intends to teach. . . . [T]he task of Scriptural interpretation requires us to make a straightforward study of Scripture, and from this, as the source of our fixed data and principles, to deduce by logical inference the meaning of the authors of Scripture. In this way—that is, by allowing no other principles or data for the interpretation of Scripture and study of its contents except those that can be gathered only from Scripture itself and from a historical study of Scripture—steady progress can be made without any danger of error, and one can deal with matters that surpass our understanding with no less confidence than those matters which are known to us by the natural light of reason. . . . This, then, is the universal rule for the interpretation of Scripture, to ascribe no teaching to Scripture that is not clearly established from studying it closely. What kind of study this should be, and what are the chief topics it should include, must now be explained.¹⁶⁶

2. *The Necessity for a History of Scripture*

Spinoza then classified in three parts what this history should recount. It should first of all deal with the nature and particularities of the language in which the books of Scripture were written. It should then group the statements contained in each book, noting if their meaning is easy or difficult to perceive. On this level it is a question of determining, from the context, the meaning which the author intended and not of judging whether the meaning is acceptable to reason.

In assigning the third task to the history of Scripture, Spinoza clearly formulated for the first time the agenda of what would later be called “higher criticism”:

Finally, our historical study should set forth the circumstances relevant to all the extant books of the prophets, giving the life, character and pursuits of the author of every book, detailing who he was, on what occasion and at what time and for whom and in what language he wrote. Again, it should relate what happened to each book, how it was first received, into whose hands it fell, how many variant versions there were, by whose decision it was received into the canon, and, finally, how all the books, now universally regarded as sacred, were united into a single whole. All these details, I repeat, should be available from a historical

165. Simon, *Lettres*, Vol. 2, 25.

166. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 456–58 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 83–85.

study of Scripture; for in order to know which pronouncements were set forth as laws and which as moral teaching, it is important to be acquainted with the life, character and interests of the author. Furthermore, as we have a better understanding of a person's character and temperament, so we can more easily explain his words. Again, to avoid confusing teachings of eternal significance with those which are of only temporary significance or directed only to the benefit of a few, it is also important to know on what occasion, at what period, and for what nation or age all these teachings were written down. Finally, it is important to know the other details we have listed so that, in addition to the authenticity of each book, we may also discover whether or not it may have been contaminated by spurious insertions, whether errors have crept in, and whether these have been corrected by experienced and trustworthy scholars. All this information is needed by us so that we may accept only what is certain and incontrovertible, and not be led by blind impetuosity to take for granted whatever is set before us.

Now when we possess this historical account of Scripture and are firmly resolved not to assert as the indubitable doctrine of the prophets anything that does not follow from this study or cannot be most clearly inferred from it, it will then be time to embark on the task of investigating the meaning of the prophets and the Holy Spirit. But . . . we must first seek from our study of Scripture that which is most universal and forms the basis and foundation of all Scripture; in short, that which is commended in Scripture by all the prophets as doctrine eternal and most profitable for all mankind. . . .

Having acquired a proper understanding of this universal doctrine of Scripture, we must then proceed to other matters which are of less universal import but affect our ordinary daily life, and which flow from the universal doctrine. . . . If there be found in Scripture anything ambiguous or obscure regarding such matters, it must be explained and decided on the basis of the universal doctrine of Scripture. If any passages are found to be in contradiction with one another, we should consider on what occasion, at what time, and for whom they were written.

But other biblical passages which belong only to the field of philosophical speculation do not yield so easily to investigation. . . .

We have already pointed out with many apposite examples what great caution we should exercise in these matters to avoid confusing the minds of the prophets and historians with the mind of the Holy Spirit and with factual truth . . . But with regard to the meaning of revelation, it should be observed that this method only teaches us how to discover what the prophets really saw or heard, and not what they intended to signify or represent by the symbols in questions. The latter we can only guess at, not infer with certainty from the basis of Scripture.¹⁶⁷

167. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 459–62 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 87–91.

3. *The Difficulties in Working Out This History*

Spinoza goes on to point out the difficulties which the application of such a method presents, even though he considers it the only adequate one. He begins with the difficulties involved in the first part of the history of Scripture, which concern the Hebrew language. These difficulties come from the way it is written, in which there is often confusion among the laryngeals, from the ambiguity of its conjunctions and adverbs, from the fact that its verbal aspects do not conform to our tenses, and especially from the fact that “[points and accents] cannot satisfy us, having been devised and instituted by men of a later age whose authority should carry no weight with us.”¹⁶⁸

This insecurity in our grasp of Hebrew makes the working out of the second part of the history of Scripture uncertain: “such being the structure and nature of the Hebrew language, it is quite understandable that such a number of ambiguities must arise that no method can be devised for deciding them all.”¹⁶⁹ It shows further that the simple collation of parallel texts provides only limited help in this area. Spinoza then discussed the difficulties inherent in the third part of the history of Scripture, which treats of “higher criticism”:

One further difficulty consequent upon this method is this, that it requires an account of the history of all the biblical books, and this for the most part we cannot provide. As I shall make clear at some length at a later stage, we either have no knowledge at all or but doubtful knowledge of the authors—or if you prefer the expression, the writers—of many of the books. Again we do not even know on what occasion or at what time these books of unknown authorship were written. Furthermore, we do not know into whose hands all these books fell, or in whose copies so many different readings were found, nor yet again whether there were not many other versions in other hands.¹⁷⁰

4. *Evidence and Uncertainty*

Spinoza thought these difficulties would have serious consequences for a category of cases which he described in the following way:

If we read a book relating events which are incredible or incomprehensible, or which is written in a very obscure style, and if we do not know the author or the time or the occasion of its composition, it will be vain for us to try to achieve a greater understanding of its true meaning. Deprived of all these facts we cannot possibly know what was, or could have been, the author’s intention. But if we are fully informed of these facts, we are in a position to form an opinion free from all danger of mistaken assumptions; that is to say, we ascribe to the author, or to him for whom he wrote, no more and no less than his just meaning, con-

168. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 464 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 94.

169. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 465 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 95.

170. *Ibid.*

centrating our attention on what the author could have had in mind, or what the time and the occasion demanded. . . .

These difficulties, which I undertook to recount, I consider so grave that I have no hesitation in affirming that in many instances we either do not know the true meaning of Scripture or we can do no more than make conjecture. But on the other hand I must again emphasise, with regard to all these difficulties, that they can prevent us from grasping the meaning of the prophets only in matters beyond normal comprehension, which can merely be imagined; it is not true of matters open to intellectual perception, whereof we can readily form a clear conception. For things which of their own nature are readily apprehended can never be so obscurely worded that they are not easily understood; as the proverb says, “a word to the wise is enough.” . . .

Thus we can conclude that, with the help of such a historical study of Scripture as is available to us, we can readily grasp the meanings of its moral doctrines and be certain of their true sense. For the teachings of true piety are expressed in quite ordinary language, and being directed to the generality of people they are therefore straightforward and easy to understand. And since true salvation and blessedness consist in true contentment of mind and we find our true peace only in what we clearly understand, it most evidently follows that we can understand the meaning of Scripture with confidence in matters relating to salvation and necessary to blessedness. Therefore we have no reason to be unduly anxious concerning the other contents of Scripture; for since for the most part they are beyond the grasp of reason and intellect, they belong to the sphere of the curious rather than the profitable.¹⁷¹

Right from the preface of the *Tractatus*, Spinoza cautioned his readers that “the revealed Word of God is not to be identified with a certain number of books, but is a simple conception of the divine mind as revealed to the prophets; and that is—to obey God with all one’s heart by practising justice and charity.”¹⁷² It is “from Scripture itself we learn that its message, unclouded by any doubt or any ambiguity, is in essence this, to love God above all, and one’s neighbour as oneself.”¹⁷³ Therefore, the only thing which the above-mentioned methodological difficulties make uncertain is the proper understanding of that which is a matter of speculation.

5. *Distorted History Makes the Autographs Inaccessible*

Further, “the difficulty of interpreting Scripture arises not from the lack of power of the natural light, but from the negligence (not to say malice) of those who failed to compile a historical study of Scripture while that was still possible.”¹⁷⁴ As he specifies later on:

171. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 465–67 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 95–97.

172. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 392 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, vi.

173. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 508 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 151.

174. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 467 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 98.

we discussed the foundations and principles of Scriptural knowledge, and showed that this consists simply in a thorough historical study of Scripture. In spite of its indispensability, the writers of ancient times failed to compile such a study, or if in fact they did compile or transmit one, it has disappeared through the ravages of time, consequently leaving us to a great extent deprived of the foundations and principles of Scriptural knowledge. This loss would not have been so serious if later generations had kept within the bounds of truth and had faithfully transmitted to their successors the few facts they had received or discovered, without the addition of new ideas of their own devising. As it is, the historical study of Scripture has remained not merely incomplete but prone to error: that is, the foundations of Scriptural knowledge are not only too scanty to form the basis for a complete understanding, but are also unsound.¹⁷⁵

The facts of this history, which Spinoza considers to have been falsified by tradition, must also undergo critical scrutiny. He attempts to do this with regard to the prejudices which tradition has handed on concerning the true authors of the biblical books. Here Spinoza shows that, insofar as such a history can still be outlined, it suggests that the biblical books, in the form in which the Pharisees of the Second Temple period canonized them, are not the autographs of the Prophets. In so doing, Spinoza merely restates, with a few personal touches, the indications which Hobbes and La Peyrère had already found to show that the Pentateuch could not have had Moses as its author and that the prophetic books were written a long time after the events they deal with by one or several compilers who left their work unfinished. We are dealing, therefore, only with the “apographs” of the inspired authors. And so, “those who propose to prove the authority of Holy Scripture are required to prove the authority of each separate book. Proving the divine origin of one book does not sufficiently prove the divine origin of all. . . .”¹⁷⁶

To sum up, then: according to Spinoza the theologians try in vain to base their speculations on those parts of Scripture dealing with things which the intelligence cannot grasp, since a sufficiently critical history of Scripture can no longer be written today in a complete and exact way. Further, insofar as such a history can be reconstructed, it shows that for the parts of Scripture with which we are concerned, the canonical books have suffered too much interpolation, and our knowledge of Hebrew is too uncertain, to allow us to determine the meaning which the Prophets intended.

C. Richard Simon

Spinoza's *Tractatus* encountered strong opposition. The Amsterdam synagogue excommunicated the author in 1656, and Protestants as well as Catholics cried out against Spinoza's impiety. His immanentist and anti-religious deism

175. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 471 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 104.

176. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 497 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 136.

was easily shown and denounced, which relieved his critics of having to enter into the problematic of his critique in more detail. When someone did go into his critique, it was with the specific intention of showing the weakness of his arguments in the hope of evading the questions which he posed.

Richard Simon thought it necessary to take Spinoza's questions seriously, but without necessarily following him in the conclusions which he had drawn. Even before he knew of the *Tractatus*, Simon had assembled almost all the elements necessary for a history of Scripture, as Spinoza understood this term, from the standpoint of a very free critique of the more or less traditional facts concerning this history. In 1678, one year after Spinoza's death, Simon published his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*. In the "Author's Preface" he set out to:

show the utility of this work. First, it is impossible to understand the sacred books completely unless one knows first the different states of the text of these books, according to different times and different places, and unless one is exactly aware of all the changes which they have undergone. This can be seen in the first book of this *Histoire Critique*, in which I have indicated the various vicissitudes of the Hebrew text from Moses up to the present.

Simon formulated a response to Spinoza's critique on two different levels. First, he wished to call into question and to qualify the more or less traditional statements concerning the authors of the various books of the Bible. But he also thought it necessary to counter Spinoza's argumentation with an original hermeneutic which would distinguish very clearly the notion of scriptural authenticity from that of literary authenticity. This distinction depended on three ideas: first, the idea that scriptural inspiration is a form of divine guidance which continued from the very first draft up until the closing of the canon; second, the idea that the prophetic Spirit makes use of the concrete contents of the imagination and intelligence of the prophet, corresponding to the literal or historical meaning of his oracles, while at the same time that Spirit also aims at a second meaning which is concerned with Messianic realities; and third, the idea that, during the time of the Old Covenant, there existed traditions that were authorized and, in a certain sense, inspired, and these traditions governed the redactional reworkings of Scripture, the elucidation of the second meaning principally intended by the Spirit, and the discernment of books destined to constitute the sacred library of the people of God.

1. The Literary Non-originality of the Old Testament Books

The subtitle to Chapter Five of the first book of the *Histoire Critique* unleashed Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's lightning bolts for its total acceptance of the critical claim. The subtitle ran: "Proof of the additions and other changes which were made in the Scripture and especially in the Pentateuch. Moses cannot be the author of all that is in the books which are attributed to him. Various examples."

I.a. Spinoza's influence on the Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament

In Chapter Five Simon mentions first of all two Catholic critics prior to Spinoza, Masius and Pererius, whom he represents as holding that many things had been added to the books of Moses. Then he states that “Bonfrerius, a Jesuit, also attributed to writers other than Moses several facts which the law-giver could only have written by a prophetic spirit.”¹⁷⁷ Later on, Simon mentions a case (the last chapter of Deuteronomy where the death of Moses is recounted) where Jacques Bonfrère (Bonfrerius) had formulated the hypothesis that it could have been “added by someone else.”¹⁷⁸

Simon then brings up Gen 12:6, “At that time the Canaanites were in the land,” concerning which Bonfrère had not mentioned any difficulty.¹⁷⁹ This verse, which Ibn Ezra had pointed out, was used as an argument by Hobbes and Spinoza, but not by La Peyrère.¹⁸⁰ It is easy to show that Simon borrowed the argument from Spinoza. His partial citation of the verse is identical to that of Spinoza, and Spinoza’s formulations (and not those of Hobbes) can be detected in Simon’s, who says first of all, “It is known that the Canaanites still possessed the land which is mentioned in this place in the time of Moses.” Spinoza had said of Moses, “cujus nimirum tempore etiamdum illas regiones possidebant [Canahanitae].”¹⁸¹ Then Simon says, “and that could have been written only after they had been chased out.” Spinoza had said, “Cum Canahanitae jam erant expulsi . . . haec debuerunt scribi.” Note that just after the citation of the complete verse, and not of the second part only, Hobbes added the following brief commentary, which is not dependent on Spinoza’s or Simon’s comments from a literary point of view: “which must needs be the words of one that wrote when the Canaanite was not in the land; and consequently, not of Moses, who died before he came into it.” Finally, Simon returns to the passages that had troubled Bonfrère in his commentary.

In the *Histoire Critique* Spinoza’s name is mentioned only in the Preface, but Chapters Two to Seven indicate a definite literary dependence on the *Tractatus*. The most obvious passages indicating dependence are the following (the *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* [H] is cited below by page, column, and line from the Rotterdam edition of 1685 while the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [T] is cited by page and line from the Gawlick/Niewöhner edition of 1979):

H		T
17a: 12–20	≈	30: 7–10
18a: 2–8	=	286: 11–18
23b: 28–35	≈	396: 19–24

177. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, 32a.

178. *Ibid.*, 93.

179. *Ibid.*, 185.

180. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 200; Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 472–73 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 105.

181. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 472–73 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 105.

25a: 21–38	≈	308: 22–310: 5
32b: 3–12	≈	288: 8–23
36b: 15–26	≈	312: 3–8
42a: 19–40	≈	290: 13–18
46b: 6–15	=	290: 6–10

Auvray has already pointed out another characteristic parallel: H 44b: 21–30 ≈ T 280: 11–15.¹⁸² Of the nine parallels just cited, Auvray mentioned only the one, but even for this one he believed that Spinoza and Simon simply relied on Rashi, who is cited by both as a support for this opinion.¹⁸³ But no known text of Rashi sufficiently accounts for the literary similarity between Spinoza and Simon here.

From these incomplete facts, Auvray claimed that “Richard Simon was unaware of Spinoza during the writing of his *Histoire Critique* and learned of the *Tractatus* only shortly before publishing his book. It was then that he added a kind of appendix to Chapter Six, in order to point out the text of Aben [Ibn] Ezra and to discuss his interpretation. It was then also that he wrote his preface.”¹⁸⁴ It is true that in his “Response to the letter of M. Spanheim” of 1679, printed at the end of the 1685 edition of the *Histoire Critique*, Simon said that he completed his work ten years before.¹⁸⁵ At the same time, also in 1679, he wrote to another correspondent, Père du Brueil, saying that it had been seven years.¹⁸⁶ It seems, in fact, that the encyclopedic contents of the second part of the first book (Chapters 1 to 31), as well as the second and third books, were assembled and even written after that time. Simon himself, on pages 46–47 of the *Réponse de Pierre Ambrun . . . à l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament . . .* (1685) and in a letter dated 1699¹⁸⁷ acknowledges that he added Chapters 20 to 24 of Book Three immediately before the work was printed. Bernus believes that his additions were not limited to that part alone.¹⁸⁸ The characteristic parallels between the beginning of the first book and Spinoza’s *Tractatus* lead one to believe that the first nine chapters, which are so important for the history of the beginnings of “higher criticism,” were written by Simon after he had read the *Tractatus*, two editions of which were found in his personal library.¹⁸⁹

1.b. The role of Henri Justel

The most probable explanation is that it was through the Protestant Henri Justel, secretary and counselor to the king, that Simon knew about the *Tractatus*.

182. Auvray, “Simon et Spinoza,” 211.

183. *Ibid.*, 209.

184. *Ibid.*, 211.

185. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, 667.

186. Simon, *Bibliothèque Critique*, Vol. 4, 67.

187. Simon, *Lettres*, Vol. 2, 240.

188. Bernus, *Richard Simon*, 37.

189. See “Mémoire sur la distribution des livres de feu M. Simon” in Auvray, *Simon*, 207.

P. Vernière believes it was Justel who made Spinoza's work known to Huet and Simon.¹⁹⁰ In a letter of 1699, Simon said of Justel, "By means of the exchange of letters which he had with the learned and the curious of foreign countries, he found out almost everything that went on, both in literature and in business. And, since people often brought their difficulties to him, he consulted me occasionally and informed me about the news which he received from various places."¹⁹¹

In a letter of July 30, 1677, Justel informed Leibniz of the work which Simon was preparing, and said, of Simon's positions, "It is also Spinoza's sentiment."¹⁹² This makes it unlikely that Justel would not have already discussed Spinoza's work with Simon, especially since he had been in continual contact with Simon since 1676 about a project for an interconfessional translation of the Bible.¹⁹³ Writing of that project, Simon stated that it was "printed at the beginning of Book Three of the *Histoire Critique de l'Ancien Testament*,"¹⁹⁴ which is certainly a reference to the first four chapters of the book and confirms our conjectures (in accordance with Bernus) about the importance of the additions made to the *Histoire Critique* in the period just before its publication. One might grant Auvray that the end of Chapter Six of the first book (44b and 20ff.) was added after the rest of the first chapters had been written. But it must be recognized that Simon's reading of the *Tractatus* played an important role in the elaboration of his thought regarding the authors of the sacred books and scriptural inspiration. Spinoza thus exercised an influence on the entire beginning of the first book, an influence that was deliberately concealed.

I.e. Simon identified with Spinoza

We have seen that Simon inserted an argument taken from Spinoza between two others that he took from the commentary of the Jesuit Bonfrère. It is not surprising that Simon should have preferred to cite three Catholics predating Spinoza as authorities for the hypothesis of later additions to the books of Moses and that he should remain silent about Spinoza's name. He wanted to avoid the possibility of his hypothesis being attacked because of its similarity to the impious Spinoza's since he had borrowed the latter's arguments. Indeed, Justel was not the only one to associate Simon's system with that of Spinoza. Elics Du-Pin also opined that "the system of M. Simon is not very different from that of these authors [i.e., Hobbes, La Peyrère and Spinoza]."¹⁹⁵ Simon, in return, repaid Du-Pin with 2,332 pages of criticism in his *Critique de la bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques et des Prolégomènes de la Bible, publiez par M. Elies Du-Pin*, a four-volume critique of Du-Pin's work.

190. Vernière, *Spinoza*, 111.

191. Simon, *Lettres*, Vol. 3, 245.

192. Leibniz, *Briefwechsel*, 285, no. 262.

193. Simon, *Lettres*, Vol. 3, 238–46.

194. *Ibid.*, 241.

195. Cited in Simon, *Critique*, Vol. 3, 198.

I.d. Spinoza and the "True Word of God"

Simon knew perfectly well that Spinoza had called into question the traditional identities of the authors of the books of Scripture in order to "discredit the authority of the divine books."¹⁹⁶ According to the traditional position, the Old Testament was Holy Scripture insofar as it brought together the writings of "Moses and the Prophets." Spinoza, as La Peyrère before him, thought, therefore, that if it could be shown that the books of the Old Testament had not been written by Moses and the Prophets but by much later compilers, one would be obliged to question the sacred nature of this collection of books. For Spinoza as for La Peyrère, even if the inspired writings (the autographs of Moses and the Prophets) were at the origin of the books included in the Pharisaic canon, it was no longer certain that those writings could be retrieved from books which had been literally enlarged, reworked, or abridged. La Peyrère saw in this conclusion the possibility of protecting the word of God, no longer accessible, from the imputations of obscurity and confusion to which the Old Testament in its present form was susceptible.

Spinoza, for his part, refused to accept that "the Word of God properly so called, . . . consist[s] in a set number of books."¹⁹⁷ What critical study has shown to be "faulty, mutilated, adulterated, and inconsistent,"¹⁹⁸ is simply a "set number of books" which were "chosen from many others by the Pharisees of the second temple,"¹⁹⁹ and there is no way of knowing for certain what criteria they employed to make their decisions.²⁰⁰ On the contrary, "the phrase 'Word of God,' when used in connection with anything other than God himself, properly means the Divine Law . . . ; that is, religion universal to the entire human race, or catholic religion."²⁰¹ Because of this, the Word cannot be corrupt; if words "are so arranged that readers are moved to devotion, then these words will be sacred."²⁰² In fact, "nothing is sacred or profane or impure in an absolute sense apart from the mind, but only in relation to the mind."²⁰³

So Scripture likewise is sacred, and its words divine, only as long as it moves men to devotion towards God; but if it is utterly disregarded by them, as it was once by the Jews, it is nothing more than paper and ink, and their neglect renders it completely profane, leaving it exposed to corruption. So if it then suffers corruption or perishes, it is wrong to say that the Word of God suffers corruption or perishes.²⁰⁴

196. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, Preface.

197. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 523 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 171; see Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 504–5 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 146.

198. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 503 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 144.

199. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 497 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 136.

200. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 490 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 127.

201. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 506 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 148.

202. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 505 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 146.

203. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 505 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 147.

204. *Ibid.*

In Spinoza's eyes, the goal of criticism is to fight against the situation where "instead of God's Word [some people] are beginning to worship likenesses and images, that is, paper and ink."²⁰⁵ For "if in accordance with the saying of the Apostle in 2 Cor. chap. 3 v. 3 [those who contradict us] have within themselves the Epistle of God, written not with ink but with the Spirit of God, not on tablets of stone but on the fleshly tablets of the heart, let them cease to worship the letter and to show so much concern for it."²⁰⁶

I.e. The lasting influence of Spinoza's hermeneutic

Thus Spinoza wanted to show that the "apographs" which we possess no longer allow us any access to the inspired "autographs" from which they come. Biblical literary criticism as practiced by believing exegetes, insofar as it accepts the fact that the present state of the biblical text is not the same as the original, as Spinoza demonstrated, aims to recover the original state of these literary works from which our canonical books derive. We most probably have only the apographs at our disposal, but from them we should try to reconstitute the autographs, or at least to get as close to them as possible. The earlier stages, therefore, have their value in relation to the later ones insofar as they bring us closer to the text whose authors were Moses or the Prophets. It is only this original state which fully deserves the name of Holy Scripture. This is the hermeneutic understood by Christian literary criticism after Spinoza; that is, an approach which, on the one hand, accepted the diagnosis concerning the literary development of the canonical books as described by Hobbes, La Peyrère and Spinoza, and, on the other, refused the radical criticism of the idea of Holy Scripture and of the Word of God as Spinoza formulated it.

2. Richard Simon's Hermeneutic

It would be inaccurate to consider Spinoza the father of biblical criticism. On the contrary, he subverts it, insofar as he traces its purpose only to show that it is unattainable and that genuine Scripture containing the Word of God has escaped the mishaps which the canonical books have undergone.

Does the title "father of biblical criticism" belong then to Simon? He was, after all, the first competent biblical scholar to have accepted Hobbes', La Peyrère's and Spinoza's analysis of the literary development of the canonical books of the Old Testament without too many reservations. However, the tasks Simon assigned to criticism are situated within the perspective of a hermeneutic entirely different from the one that directed the critical energies of Christian exegetes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Simon's hermeneutic may be characterized by the two points in which it differs from that of his predecessors and of his successors: his conception of scriptural inspiration and of literary authenticity.

205. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 504 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 145.

206. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 506 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 148.

2.a. Scriptural inspiration and prophecy

In Chapter 25 of his *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689), Simon clearly articulated his doctrine of inspiration, which constituted the foundation of his entire biblical hermeneutic.

2.a.i. Spinoza: The Prophets do not reason

It is in this chapter that Simon takes on Spinoza, who, in order to show that the epistles of the Apostles were not inspired, compared their manner of writing to that of the Prophets in the following terms:

the Apostles everywhere employ argument, so that they seem to be conducting a discussion rather than prophesying. The prophetic writings, on the other hand, contain only dogma and decrees, for they represent God as speaking not like one who reasons, but one who makes decrees issuing from the absolute power of his nature. Then again, the authority of a prophet does not permit of argumentation, for whoever seeks to base his dogmatic assertions on reason thereby submits them to the arbitrary judgment of the individual.²⁰⁷

On the following page, Spinoza nuances his position somewhat, and explains it more clearly:

I do not absolutely deny that the prophets may have argued from the basis of revelation, but this much I will assert, that the more use the prophets make of logical reasoning, the more closely does their revelatory knowledge approach to natural knowledge, and the surest mark of supernatural knowledge in the prophets is their proclamation of pure dogma, or decrees, or judgment. And thus Moses, the greatest of the prophets, never engaged in logical argument, whereas in the case of Paul the lengthy chains of logical argumentation such as we find in the Epistle to the Romans were most certainly not written from supernatural revelation.²⁰⁸

2.a.ii. Reasoning directed by the Spirit of God

To these comments, Simon responded that

What deceived Spinoza is that he imagined that a man cannot use his reason and at the same time be directed by the Spirit of God. It is as if in becoming the interpreter of God one ceases to be a man and is a purely passive instrument, if I might use such a term. . . .²⁰⁹

This man still thinks that inspiration completely deprives one of the use of reason, which is entirely false. The Apostles, he says, reason continually so that they seem to dispute rather than prophesy. But, in addition to the fact that he has a false idea of the inspiration of the Prophets, it is enough to counter him with

207. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 499 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 138.

208. Spinoza, *Complete Works*, 500 = Spinoza, *Tractatus*, 139.

209. Simon, *Histoire (NT)*, 299b.

the example mentioned above, where the Apostles, after having deliberated and reasoned in assembly, never stop using the expression, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us." This clearly shows that the Spirit of God, who guided them in the assembly, did not prevent them from reasoning. To be sure, there is a subordination between the two realities, the one does not destroy the other. Spinoza's Prophets are enthusiasts who are more like men pushed by a spirit of passion than by a spirit of prophecy. He wants to maintain that the office of Prophet does not allow for reasoning because whoever reinforces his teaching with reason subjects himself to the judgment of others. . . . It is true that one is vulnerable to the judgment of others when one uses reasoning alone, but that cannot be said when this reasoning is directed by the Spirit of God, which is the case with Moses and the other Prophets. . . .²¹⁰

Saint Paul writes as a teacher who instructs the nations and draws the consequences from the principles which he establishes. It is not possible to conclude from this that he is simply following his own reason, for this reason itself could have been illuminated supernaturally and directed by the Spirit of God. That is why the objections Spinoza puts forward to demonstrate that most of the discourses of this Apostle consist only in admonitions and moral exhortations in no way refute the inspiration of the Apostles. . . . For it is not necessary that God should have dictated to St. Paul or the other Apostles all their moral discourses. He allowed them to use their own insights and to use all the means their reason could provide in order to persuade people.²¹¹

In his *Réponse au livre intitulé Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, written in 1686, Simon clearly upheld this extension of scriptural inspiration beyond its normally accepted boundaries:

As if inspiration had smothered entirely the sentiments of human nature in the Apostles, M. N. goes on to add that St. Paul said many things without prophetic inspiration, and that these are attributable to his own wisdom rather than to the Spirit of God. As we already noted above, these kinds of objections can only be made by someone who is unable to reconcile reason and inspiration, and who supposes that when someone is a Prophet he ceases to be a man. Did not Jesus Christ, who promised his disciples that the Spirit of God would lead them in all their actions, recommend that they join the wisdom of a serpent to the simplicity of a dove?²¹²

Simon returned to this question again in 1699 in his *Réponse au livre intitulé Défense des Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*:

210. Ibid., 300a–b.

211. Ibid., 302a–b.

212. Simon, *Sentimens*, 130.

It is sufficient that witnesses to their inspiration be found in the writings of the Apostles without it being necessary that they spoke in the manner of the Prophets, for they did not exercise the function of Prophets but rather of Apostles of Jesus Christ. There are, in fact, proofs of this inspiration in their writings. Our Lord himself promised this to them: "Cum venerit ille Spiritus, docebit vos omnem veritatem" (John 16:13). They did nothing pertaining to their office without the direction of the Spirit of God who led them. St. Peter, in the discourse which he delivered before the assembly of the Jews, did not say, "Thus said the Eternal One" because he did not proclaim prophecies to them, but it is expressly noted that, "being filled with the Holy Spirit, he said to the assembly, etc." Was this holy Apostle any less inspired than the Prophets simply because he did not use their expressions?²¹³

2.a.iii. *Prophetic inspiration goes beyond consciousness without abolishing it*

Further, for Simon, prophetic inspiration itself went beyond the conscious grasp of reason rather than abolishing consciousness. In 1686 he made his position explicit on this point for the first time:

With regard to the example of Caiaphas, who prophesied without realizing it, that is not a terribly extraordinary thing since even the true Prophets did not always know what they were prophesying. Caiaphas could very well not have known that he was a Prophet since he said only the things which his reason and the nature of the situation allowed him to. The providence of God, however, which often leads men to ends which are unknown to them, made this high priest speak in this way for a different purpose than that which he himself imagined. There are also many predictions in the Psalms of David which seemed to have only a historical meaning at the time when they were spoken. This did not prevent them from being at the same time true prophecies for a more distant period. The Jews themselves are in agreement with the Christians on this principle since they commonly accept two meanings in Scripture, one which is literal and historical and another which is mystical and spiritual, but which at the same time often does not cease to be literal in its own way. We see in the Psalms expressions which literally and historically refer to David and Solomon but which both Jews and Christians see as also pertaining to the Messiah because of certain surrounding circumstances which make it difficult to apply them to David or to Solomon. I prefer to think that the author of the Psalms did not intend this himself, and that sometimes he had only the historical meaning in mind. One may not conclude from this that God did not direct the mind and words of this writer toward more sublime meanings which were reserved for the time of the Messiah. This truth cannot be contested, unless one wants to deny the entire economy of the Old and New Testament.²¹⁴

213. Simon, *De l'inspiration*, 162–63.

214. Simon, *Sentimens*, 123–24.

2.a.iv. *Traditions of interpretation go hand in hand with Scripture*

In 1689, in his *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, Simon took the opportunity to clarify his position on the use the New Testament makes of the Old. He began by revisiting the expression “literal in its way,” which he had used in his *Réponse aux Sentimens* to designate the “second, wider, mystical or allegorical meaning” recognized in many passages by most of the Jews who were contemporaries of Jesus.²¹⁵ Then he specified that “to be precise, there is only one literal meaning properly speaking, for each passage of Scripture.”²¹⁶ He explained that when he used the expression “literal in its way” to refer to the second meaning with Messianic significance which the Apostles recognized in certain passages of the Old Testament, he meant that the Apostles did not invent this Messianic meaning, but that it was “founded on the theology and traditions of the Jews” of their time.²¹⁷ For:

it can be taken as a constant that the Jews in the time of Our Lord and the Apostles believed many things for which they had no literal proof anywhere in the Old Testament, but which depended on their traditions alone. The writings of the Evangelists and the Apostles should be explained in relation to this idea of the belief of the Jews and not in relation to any idea about their belief which we might formulate by consulting only the books of the Old Testament. These books, in fact, contain only a part of their religion; the other part is included in their traditions. The Jews remain in agreement on this principle. Even the Karaite Jews, who strongly opposed the traditions of the Talmudists that had deteriorated into fables, preserved those they believed to be reliable.²¹⁸

Simon conceded that “in general, a passage of Scripture that is taken allegorically can in no way be used as a proof. But it is a question [in the citations of the Old Testament made by the Apostles] of allegorical meanings that were received and were even founded on authorized traditions.”²¹⁹ When Christians “recognize a second meaning that is called spiritual or mystical, they should apply it to the Messiah. This meaning is similar to what the Jews call ‘*derash*.’ In a word, it is impossible to understand perfectly the Christian religion and the principles upon which it is established unless one knows the religion of the Jews which is at its origin.”²²⁰

Simon cites two types of “authorized traditions”: The first type consists of those traditions of interpretation having to do with a particular word of a prophecy:

215. Simon, *Histoire (NT)*, 245b.

216. *Ibid.*, 252b.

217. *Ibid.*, 254–55.

218. *Ibid.*, 269–70.

219. *Ibid.*, 270a–b.

220. *Ibid.*, 271b.

St. Matthew (1:23) applied [the words of the Prophet Isaiah 7:14] to the Messiah who came from a virgin, and reported them in the following way: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a child who will be called Emmanuel." The Jews accuse this evangelist of not having cited the words of the Prophet faithfully and even of having made a false application of them. They say first of all that the Hebrew word "alma" does not mean "virgin" at all, as St. Matthew translated it, but simply a girl, whether a virgin or not. They then attempt to prove this through other places in Scripture. . . . Without entering into criticism in great detail or going through all the places in the Old Testament where the word "alma" is found, it is sufficient to refute the Jews with their own ancient Greek version which St. Matthew, or rather, his translator followed. It can not be said that the Jews who lived such a long time before Jesus Christ purposely corrupted the meaning of this passage by a false translation. The accusations which they bring against St. Matthew fall on the people of their own nation.²²¹

2.a.v. The "typological" value of historical realities

The second kind of "authorized traditions" considers a historical person or situation as the type of a person or situation of the Messianic era. Thus, still in connection with Matthew's use of the same passage of Isaiah, Simon answers the Jews' reproach of a "false application":

With regard to the meaning of this passage, the Jews claim that it cannot be applied to the Messiah, as St. Matthew had done, since it refers, in its original place, to something which will happen soon. . . . St. Jerome tells of the explanation of one Christian who, according to him, gave a Jewish explanation. This author thought that this passage spoke of the wife of the prophet Isaiah who had two children, Jesub and Emmanuel, and that the latter was the type of Jesus Christ. In spite of St. Jerome, I do not see anything in that which is not perfectly in accord with the principles of the Christian religion, and even with those principles which Jerome establishes elsewhere. This prophecy, like most others, has two meanings: the first, which is the most obvious, refers to Isaiah's wife; the second, which is wider and which might be called spiritual and mystical, refers to the time of the Messiah. This second is also literal in its own way since it is based upon the theology and the traditions of the Jews. If these two meanings are presupposed, their objections are easily answered. If, on the other hand, one stubbornly wants to apply this prophecy only to the Messiah, it would be more difficult to answer them.²²²

Just after this, Simon takes another example, from Jerome's commentary on Daniel:

Porphyry claimed that there was nothing more than history in this book of the Prophet. He explained King Antiochus in the same way that Christians explain

221. Ibid., 253–54.

222. Ibid., 254–55.

the Antichrist and the end of the world. The Christians did not reject Porphyry's interpretation completely, but they said that Antiochus is the type of the Antichrist. . . . In order to clarify their meaning even more, they added this fine maxim: It is the custom of Scripture to designate by types the truth of the things which are to come.²²³

2.a.vi. The second meaning is the one principally intended by the spirit

Bossuet's first "Instruction" on Simon's translation of the New Testament presented Simon the opportunity of adding the final clarifications to his idea of the "second meaning." In a letter of January 20, 1703, Simon clearly affirmed that "it is necessary to repeat unceasingly that in every passage of Scripture there is only one meaning which is really and truly literal, as Ribera has shown in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets. The other meaning, even though it is not purely literal, is true nonetheless, and is according to the intention of the Holy Spirit."²²⁴ Simon expressed himself most clearly, however, in the letters found in Volume four of the *Bibliothèque critique* of 1710, spurred on as he was by Bossuet's continuing criticism. In a letter of January, 1703, he stated that "the sublime and spiritual meaning in no way excludes the true one. It is, in fact, the principal meaning which the Holy Spirit had in mind. These mystical and spiritual meanings are based on Scripture itself, and in the constant usage of the Synagogue and the Church a common agreement that these meanings are no less true than the literal one is supposed."²²⁵ In another letter of the same year, he approvingly cited Sixtus of Siena, according to whom the mystical or spiritual meaning "is not signified by the words, but by the things themselves."²²⁶ This agrees perfectly with the typological meaning, where a person or situation directly indicated by the literal meaning is seen to carry within itself a second meaning insofar as it designates typologically a reality of the Messianic era.

In a letter of August 26, 1703, Simon became angry with a remark of Bossuet's:

I do not see at all why the illustrious Censor says here, "In the Councils, the Holy Spirit has always been characterized as being called the Prophetic Spirit." Those who presume the double meaning in prophecies believe just as much as the Censor that the Spirit who spoke by the Prophets "spoke of Jesus Christ, and that the faith of the Son of God which is presented in the symbol was the faith of the Prophets, as well as that of the Apostles." They are convinced that the mystical meaning is no less true than the literal one, and that it is "according to the direct and original intention of the Holy Spirit." They deny only that it is both

223. Ibid.

224. Simon, *Lettres*. Vol. 3, 271.

225. Simon, *Bibliothèque critique*. Vol. 4, 498.

226. Ibid., 506.

literal and historical because they believe that those who want to express themselves in a precise way should admit of only one literal meaning and not two.²²⁷

2.a.vii. *The need of a literal meaning for access to the prophetic meaning*

According to Simon it must be acknowledged, for most of the prophecies, that “the force of the words alone” does not allow direct access to the fullness of their meaning:

No matter how great the scriptural erudition of the Censor might be, he will not be able to show easily that the prophecies cited by Jesus Christ and by the Apostles all constitute conclusive proofs by the force of their words alone. . . . It seems to me that he would do much better to say, along with the most learned commentators on Scripture, that these prophecies, along with other similar ones, are applications which were in use among the ancient Jewish doctors, and that Jesus Christ and the Apostles are not at all the originators of this way of interpreting the prophecies. For to want to maintain that these passages are proofs by themselves and by the force of the text is to decide in favor of the Jews, of Porphyry, of the Emperor Julian, and of other enemies of the Christian religion by refuting them so ineffectively.²²⁸

Simon insisted on the “second meaning” of the prophecies in order to give reason and prophetic inspiration their rightful place. Ordinarily, the Prophet had only partial consciousness of the significance of the words the Spirit inspires him to use. He interpreted them according to the literal meaning (that is, “the force of the words alone” determined by contemporary usage) and according to the historical meaning (that is, relating to the immediate objects of his fears and hopes—the persons and situations of his time). The Spirit, on the other hand, goes beyond the contemporary use of the words, aiming at a more sublime meaning that a later reading tradition will explicate, and presenting the persons and situations contemporary with the Prophet as types of the persons and situations of the Messianic era which are the real object of the oracles. For Simon, the spiritual meaning is in no way the free and imaginary accommodation to which it too often deteriorates. It is, rather, “the principal meaning intended by the Spirit.” Only the ongoing “authorized traditions” transmitted among the people of God along with Scripture allow a safe interpretation of the meaning which, in the case of prophecy, is even more authentic than the literal meaning. For this to be true it is necessary to acknowledge, as Simon does, that the official possessors of these traditions are *ipso facto* inspired as well.

2.a.viii. *The inspired authority of the Sanhedrin*

Simon frequently based his argumentation on rabbinic or patristic authority. Thus, in the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, he tells us that the Jews

227. *Ibid.*, 526.

228. *Ibid.*, 512–13.

considered certain works as “apocrypha, that is, hidden and unknown because they had not been published under the authority of the Sanhedrin.”²²⁹ He adds that “Sixtus of Siena, who recognized the authority of the Sanhedrin of the Jews, asserts that the history of the Maccabees written by Jason was abridged by order of the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. Nor were the ancient Fathers unaware of this authority of the Sanhedrin at the very time that Josephus maintained that there was no longer an exact succession of Prophets among the Hebrews.”²³⁰ He cites in this regard St. Hilary, who “recognizes the particular privilege of these ancient Senators whom he believes to have been inspired by God even though neither the name nor the office of Prophet is attributed to them.”²³¹

In his *Réponse au livre intitulé Sentimens* Simon answered the objections presented by Le Clerc (Clericus) with regard to the Sanhedrin:

He cannot deny that the establishment of the Sanhedrin was divine, since God was its author. God said to Moses, “Gather seventy men for me from among the elders of Israel.” Moreover, it is certain that these seventy old men received the same prophetic spirit as Moses. . . . M. Le Clerc adds that it is not said that this Sanhedrin would always last in the Republic of Israel.²³²

To that Simon responded, “would it not be better to believe that, from the time of Moses, the Jews continued to maintain that form of government which God had established?” He then gives references illustrating the activity of the “elders of Israel” at various times in biblical history, although he adds the following reservation: “I am not examining here whether this Sanhedrin had ever lost its continuity in the Republic of the Hebrews, or if it had been composed at various times of a smaller number of persons than seventy, for those things are not in question here.”²³³

Simon had said in his *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* that “God promised the Prophets and the Judges of the Sanhedrin who succeeded Moses the same grace and the same spirit of prophecy as those who had lived during his time. Consequently they preserved the same power not only of interpreting the Law, but also of making new ordinances which were written down and then placed in the archives of the Republic.”²³⁴ Simon then recalled the innovations of Solomon in the construction of the temple in relation to the plan of the tabernacle which Moses had received on Sinai, and then the innovations of the compiler of Chronicles in relation to its sources. The difficulties which the innovative character of the more recent biblical books presents are solved if it is recognized that “these

229. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, 57a.

230. *Ibid.*

231. *Ibid.*, 57b.

232. Simon, *Sentimens*, 112–13.

233. *Ibid.*, 115.

234. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, 19b.

books, having been reviewed by the Sanhedrin or by other persons inspired by God, possessed all the necessary authority which could be desired for a matter of this importance.”²³⁵ In the *Réponse au livre intitulé Sentimens* he states that:

it is clear that God established Moses and the assembly of his time so that they would have knowledge of the most important things which would take place in the Republic of the Hebrews. This power, as we proved above, passed from Moses to his successors the Judges. Could there have been, however, anything more important in a State than that which pertains to the Prophets and to the prophetic books? Many called themselves Prophets who were not so at all and they never stopped delivering their false prophecies. . . . There were rules for discerning true Prophets from false ones, and it was up to the Judges of the Sanhedrin to decide, since the Law contained only statutes which had to be explained by the Judges and then applied to the cases of prophecy that arose.²³⁶

2.a.ix. *The inspiration of the Sanhedrin is distinct from prophecy and from infallibility*

Le Clerc objected to Simon that the uncertainty concerning the fate of the stones of the altar which had been defiled (1 Macc 4:46) and the condemnation of Jesus both showed that the Sanhedrin was not inspired. These two objections provided Simon with the opportunity of distinguishing, in his *Réponse à la Défense*, the inspiration of the Sanhedrin from prophecy and infallibility:

Everyone knows that prophecy ceased among the Jews under the Prophets Zechariah and Malachi. But it does not follow that there was no longer any inspiration among the Judges of the Sanhedrin for carrying out their duties. It is certain that there is no Prophet in the Church but that does not prevent the recognition of some type of inspiration or grace or infallibility in its general assemblies for deciding controversies. . . . Further, it was never maintained that the Sanhedrin was infallible in everything, just as in the Church the grace of infallibility is not accorded to the councils for all their decisions. In order not to be too long I will simply recall here what Grotius said concerning Deut 17:11. . . . This learned scholar recognized that in certain unimportant things the Judges of the Sanhedrin could have been wrong. . . . But he adds at the same time that the Sanhedrin could not make a mistake in matters of great importance, unless it was after many centuries and when the discipline of the State had been corrupted.²³⁷

Then Simon cites Grotius, who thought that, in the case of a corruption of this discipline, “God, who loves unity, would respond by the Urim and Tummim in order to warn or convince them, or He would raise up a prophet who would perform authentic miracles, and finally He would provide the Messiah himself as

235. Ibid., 19–20.

236. Simon, *Sentimens*, 119–20.

237. Simon, *De l'inspiration*, 136.

one greater than Moses, whose commissioning would mark the disappearance of the authority of the Sanhedrin.”

2.a.x. Simon's views on *derash* and on the Karaites

It seemed necessary to Simon to recognize the existence of an inspired authority in Israel during the time of the Old Covenant. This authority would have had a conserving role in relation to traditions, and was entrusted with three functions: the authentic interpretation of the second meaning of the prophecies, the actualization of the observance of the Law of Moses through ordinances adapted to new circumstances, and the discernment of books which could be canonized as Holy Scripture.

Simon felt it was important to note that Jesus and the Apostles had not arbitrarily improvised a new reading on a different level, in accord with a Messianic perspective of texts whose literal and historical meaning might seem long out of date. He affirmed as well that the Jewish *derash* had traditional, pre-Christian origins. In his *Nouvelle bibliothèque choisie*, Simon based his view on Josephus's mention of the *deuteroseis*, or traditions of the Jews, and considered that in the first century “even though the Jews had not yet written them down, these *deuteroseis* never ceased to be known by their teachers, who kept a few written records of them for their own private use, although they did not publish them.”²³⁸ He had no idea that the *pesharim* of Qumran would one day provide us with re-readings in an eschatological vein which clearly predated our own era.

At the same time, Simon distinguished with great foresight the Karaites' refusal of the Talmudic traditions from their acceptance of certain traditions of scriptural interpretation which they felt constituted a common patrimony for all Israel. In the supplement to his *Cérémonies des Juifs, de Léon de Modène*,²³⁹ Simon said that Aaron, son of Joseph, a Karaite commentator on the Pentateuch, “defers a great deal to the teaching of the Ancients when it has not varied and when it is in conformity with those good writings which have not followed the caprice and inconstancy of men and of which every Jew approves.” As Simon pointed out, Schupart used the witness of Aaron ben Elia to say that the Karaites, while they reject the traditions belonging to the Rabbanites, when they want to interpret Holy Scripture “use their reason and a kind of tradition founded on the explanations which their teachers gave for many different passages in Holy Scripture.”²⁴⁰ This position was to be clearly confirmed in the twentieth century when L. Nemoy reconstructed and published the *Kitab al-Anwar wal-Maraqib* of Qirqisani, where a veritable treatise of the Karaite hermeneutic of the beginning of the tenth century²⁴¹ presents the Karaite doctrine on tradition and consensus.²⁴²

238. Simon, *Bibliothèque choisie*, Vol. 1, 45.

239. Cited by Simon himself in the *Bibliothèque choisie*, Vol. 2, 238.

240. Simon, *Bibliothèque choisie*, Vol. 2, 237.

241. Qirqisani, *Kitab al-Anwar*, Vol. 2, Chap. 18.

242. See the translation by G. Vajda, “Etudes,” 93–98.

2.b. *Literal authenticity and scriptural authenticity*

Simon takes up the question of the literary authenticity of the sacred books in terms of this very diversified, though in no way attenuated, conception of inspiration and tradition. In the "Author's Preface" of the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, he gives his clearest and most synthesizing treatment of this question. Later, because he hoped after all to obtain the approval of the royal censors, he learned to exercise a prudence and discretion which would conceal the direction of his thinking.

2.b.i. *The public scribes*

Simon never distinguished very clearly between the Prophets and the inspired scribes. The seamless shift from one to the other was justified by the link he had established between inspiration and reason as well as by the distinction of the two levels of meaning of prophecy (conscious and transconscious). It is not a question here of confusion nor of an ambiguity motivated by prudence; it is rather an essential element of Richard Simon's hermeneutic. In his Preface the notion of Prophet is widened so as to mean any person appointed by the leaders of the "Hebrew Republic" who carries out a redactional role with regard to the sacred books and who, because of that, possesses an inspired authority which enables him to fulfill it:

These Prophets, who could be called "public scribes" in order to distinguish them from private writers, were entitled to make collections of the ancient records which were preserved in the archives of the Republic and to put these records in a different form by adding to or subtracting from them as they saw fit. Because of this we find a solid reason for the additions and changes which are found in the sacred books, without their authority being diminished, since the authors of these additions or changes were true Prophets directed by the Spirit of God. That is why the changes which they might have introduced into the ancient records have the same authority as the rest of the biblical text.²⁴³

2.b.ii. *Everything in Scripture is prophetic*

Here Simon categorically opposes Holden, a "Theologian of the faculty of Paris," who maintained that:

the writers of the sacred books were only truly inspired by God for that which pertained to faith or which had some necessary relation or link with it. With regard to the other things contained in these same books, it was not at all necessary to recognize any more divine inspiration there than in any other work composed by pious persons. But, in addition to the fact that this view could have dangerous consequences, it is totally opposed to the teaching of the New Testament, which proclaims that all of Scripture is prophetic and truly inspired. For this reason, I thought it necessary to establish principles which would attribute

243. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, Preface.

to the Prophets. or to those persons directed by the Spirit of God. everything which is contained in the sacred books, even the changes, except for those which came about at a later time and through the negligence of copyists.²⁴⁴

2.b.iii. *The futility of seeking out the authors*

This “principle” of public Scribes-Prophets makes it

futile to search with too much curiosity, as is usually the case, who the authors of each book of the Bible were, since it is clear that they were all written by those Prophets who were never lacking to the Hebrew Republic all during the time of its existence. . . . Also, it is possible to answer very easily, with this same principle, all the false and pernicious consequences which Spinoza claimed to draw from the changes or additions in order to deny the authority of the divine books, as if these corrections were purely human. He should have thought, rather, that the authors of these changes, since they had the power to write sacred books, also had the power to change them.²⁴⁵

It was in his (unpaginated) Preface, from which all the preceding passages have been cited, that Simon had formulated this essential principle. In the writings that followed he was to temper and vary the literary notion of author with regard to the books of the Bible. In his *Nouvelle bibliothèque choisie*, he noted with approval a comment of Diego de Stunica on the book of Job: “With regard to the author of this book [of Job], after having presented the different opinions above, he adds that nothing could be more uncertain, and that the question is, moreover, a futile one since we know that the Holy Spirit is the principal author.”²⁴⁶ This is exactly Simon’s own underlying sense, and in order to emphasize it he played down the personal characteristics of the traditionally accepted authors, preferring rather to concentrate on their function.

2.b.iv. *The periods before, during, and after Moses*

In a letter to M. Pirot, Simon clarified the role of Moses in the compilation of the older documents and in the recording of contemporary events:

That which Moses wrote about the creation of the world, the genealogies of the first patriarchs, and the other things which came before him, could be gleaned from the memoirs of these patriarchs. Would one say, therefore, that this first part of the Pentateuch was not inspired, simply because it had been taken from these ancient memoirs? Moreover, it was not necessary that God dictate to Moses the things which took place before his eyes. Moses collected these things himself, or had scribes do it.²⁴⁷

244. Holden, *Divinae*, Book I, Chap. 5, cited in Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, Preface.

245. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, Preface.

246. Simon, *Bibliothèque choisie*, Vol. 1, 224–25.

247. Simon, *De l’inspiration*, 20b (November 15, 1686).

In the *Critique de la bibliothèque*, he once again takes up this theme: "Moses would have written in Genesis what he had learned from the memoirs of his ancestors. Should one say because of that that he was not the author of the entire Pentateuch? . . . It is enough that these memoirs were incorporated into the history of Genesis by Moses' assistants in order for them to be attributed to him, since he was the leader of the Republic."²⁴⁸

This, therefore, was Simon's notion of the pre-Mosaic literary history of the Pentateuch and the greatly enlarged interpretation of Moses' role as author. With regard to post-Mosaic literary history, Simon, after having treated the passages of the Pentateuch which certain critics thought should be attributed to later authors, wrote:

After all these remarks which we have just made, the result is that Moses is the true author of the Pentateuch. It cannot be denied, without going against the most evident truths, that some changes and additions have been made in it. That, however, does not diminish in any way the authority of this book which has been recognized by the Jews of all ages and then by the Christians who received it from them.²⁴⁹

2.b.v. Free compilations of occasionally erroneous memoirs

Elsewhere, with regard to the historical books, Simon opened the way for redaction criticism when he spoke of "these ancient memoirs abridged in the books of the Bible that we have at present. Some things were even changed in them, either by shortening them or lengthening them according to the judgment of those who made the collection of the canonical books and who were inspired."²⁵⁰

Simon went so far as to grant that the (inspired) compilers of the former memoirs had often worked from copies into which errors had been introduced:

Ezra did not take the genealogies entirely from the books of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, etc., but also from some private copies of genealogies which did not represent the elders exactly. It makes little difference, for example, if one is to read "Sema" or "Semua," "Maseia" or "Asaia," "Jaaziel" or "Aziel," "Jeremuth" or "Ramoth," etc. . . . They must not be considered genuine errors of the copyists since Ezra, to whom the Chronicles, or Paralipomena, are attributed, was not so much the author as the compiler.²⁵¹

In the pages immediately preceding, Simon had cited a daring opinion which he attributed to certain rabbis in order to protect himself behind their authority:

R. Solomon ben Melek, who composed an abridged literal and grammatical commentary on all of Scripture, which he took mainly from Qimhi, finds no

248. Simon, *Critique*, Vol. 3, 242–43.

249. *Ibid.*, 194–95.

250. *Ibid.*, 163.

251. *Ibid.*, 451–52.

better way of escaping from these difficulties than to say, along with many other rabbis, that from the time of Ezra there were variations in the Hebrew copies which were never corrected, either by Ezra or by any other writer of that time. They were satisfied with providing the most correct books they could according to the memoirs which they possessed.²⁵²

2.b.vi. Divergences in the parallels should be respected

At this point, Simon states his position:

One must not, therefore, correct Paralipomena according to the other books of the Old Testament, for that would be tantamount to correcting the genealogies in St. Matthew's Gospel according to those of St. Luke in order to bring these two evangelists into agreement. . . . Even when the different readings in Paralipomena and the other historical books of Scripture clearly result from alterations, the Jews to whom we referred above did not think that it was necessary to change any of those places since they presupposed that this change in the Hebrew copies dated from before Ezra, who himself had left some of the errors which he found, not thinking that they were important enough to be changed. Further, in so doing he showed his exactitude, by preserving the memoirs of the particular genealogies in the form in which he had received them.²⁵³

Simon then concludes by saying, "I could add many other examples similar to these, but those which I have presented are more than enough to show that it is not necessary to multiply too quickly the various readings of the Hebrew text of the Bible. Louis Cappel, who did not always share this view in his *Critique sacrée*, often takes the copyists to task for variations or changes for which they were frequently not responsible."²⁵⁴

Later on, Simon discussed the relationship between the list in Nehemiah 7 and that of Ezra 2. Here his point of view followed in the footsteps of Conrad Pellican:

Pellican, in his note on chapter seven of Nehemiah, recognizes that what is recounted there is the same thing which is found in chapter two of Ezra. There is a rather large difference between the two, but this has no importance. He adds, however, that this serves to show that the Hebrew copies of the Bible were no more exempt from faults than profane books. Letters are omitted, words and names are poorly written, entire sentences transposed and numbers have been changed. Thus it is impossible to deny that from the time of Nehemiah that which had been written just before, under Zerubbabel, had been copied poorly. These faults do not endanger religion, nor could it be said that these evident errors of the copyists impair the truth of history or of doctrine. Otherwise we would have nothing certain concerning the facts which are in all these books.²⁵⁵

252. Ibid., 448–49.

253. Ibid., 452–53.

254. Ibid., 457.

255. Ibid., 473–74.

2.b.vii. *The compilers respected the various data of the memoirs*

Simon, however, before borrowing his conclusions on these cases from Masius, felt that it was necessary to balance Pellican's point of view with other considerations:

There is nothing exaggerated in Pellican's observation. . . . But it is possible to maintain also that the writers themselves were the authors of part of the changes, especially where certain names have been omitted. It is clear, for example, that many people have been purposely omitted in the genealogy of Our Lord as presented by St. Matthew. It cannot be said that it was composed in this way for reasons which we do not know at all. Further, since this confusion is often found in Scripture, where the facts themselves are occasionally presented in a different and sometimes obscure way, I do not see anything better for resolving a good number of these difficulties, when they come up, than that which the learned Masius remarked in his commentary on the history of Joshua, where he says, "I am greatly in error if this confusion which is found in some narratives does not come from the diversity of the ancient memoirs or annals which had been set down by different people. They did not always report the same events in the same order and with the same words. Whoever had the last hand in the collection of the entire sacred history which we have, not wanting to omit anything he found in these different memoirs, copied them in a confused way without bothering to make the narrative follow exactly."²⁵⁶

3. *The legacy of Richard Simon: Partly enduring, partly forgotten*

With these last considerations, the way is open for Jean Astruc to formulate his *Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paraît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse* (1753). It is well known what the fortunes of source analysis were to be later on in literary criticism, especially for the Pentateuch. Richard Simon opened up perspectives, however, not only in these head waters of criticism but also downstream, where his observations on redactional evolution would be carried all the way down to very recent times. Simon's followers, however, took very little advantage of them, and they deserve to be summed up here.

3.a. *Inspiration is valid for all of Scripture*

First of all, Simon does not make scriptural inspiration the monopoly of the persons whose names have been traditionally preserved as connected with certain books of the Bible: Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and the other prophets. He refuses to allow that their authority be given any special privilege in relation to that of a great number of anonymous scribe-prophets who were also authentically inspired and who had received the mission of cooperating with the establishment of the Sacred Library of the Republic of the Hebrews.

256. *Ibid.*, 475–76.

This mission lasted as long as the Old Covenant itself. Simon's intuition rested on the principle that Holy Scripture is inspired and prophetic in all of its parts.

3.b. Scriptural authenticity is distinct from literary authenticity

Even though criticism forces the recognition of alterations which from a literary perspective should be considered secondary, still it should be recognized that scriptural authenticity (which knows neither "plus" nor "minus") is not identical to literary authenticity. It is useless, therefore, to wage a battle while retreating, as most Christian exegetes do, in order to preserve the greatest possible literary role for the traditionally accepted authors or in order to try to reconstitute their literary work, through conjecture, where the Bible presents it in an altered and disfigured form.

3.c. The progressive clarification of the second meaning

For Simon, the prophetic significance of the Bible is a reality which becomes clarified progressively. The major inspired writers were not the ones who saw most clearly the meaning of the words which the Spirit placed on their lips. This is not because an ecstatic trance took away their reason, but because the meaning intended by the Spirit went beyond the scope of their vision, which stopped at the circumstances and persons present to their senses or to their imagination. The Spirit, on the other hand, by means of the writers' words and of the circumstances and persons which these words designated in their historical meaning, intended to designate typologically, by a second meaning which was more real than the first, circumstances and persons of the Messianic era in which their prophecies were meant to be fulfilled. These circumstances and persons would only become clear for the generation which was to experience the Messianic fulfillment, in light of the faithfully transmitted traditions of interpretation.

3.d. Simon and Luther

Simon's view of the second meaning of the prophecies corresponds, from a more nuanced hermeneutical perspective, to Luther's intuition, in the best Christian tradition, concerning the role of the New Testament as the interpretative key of the Old. It makes it necessary to have higher consideration for the fulfillment than for the origin. In this case, literary criticism, just like textual criticism, has as its essential task not reconstituting an original state of the text, but situating a finished and canonical state of Scripture within the literary or textual stages which preceded it and of which it is the outcome.

3.e. Simon and Spinoza

The only valid response to Spinoza's sharp criticism is the one which Simon's hermeneutic contributes to orienting prophecy, which comprises in a certain sense the entire Old Testament, toward fulfillment. This orientation is accomplished by a re-reading in which tradition is transmitted along with Scripture, and

this re-reading brings out a second meaning with Messianic significance beyond the literal and historical meaning. It is this second meaning which is principally intended by the prophetic Spirit, even if it goes beyond the watchful and impassioned consciousness of the Prophets.

Spinoza, in fact, had made the possibility or impossibility of interpreting prophecy authentically entirely dependent upon our capacity or incapacity to re-constitute the contents of the prophet's thought, and to identify the circumstances and hearers of his word. For Simon, none of that was of any importance, as he showed in the remarkable special introduction to the books of the Old Testament which makes up volumes three and four of his *Critique de la bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques et des Prolégomènes de la Bible, publiez par M. Elies Dupin*. The most important thing is to be able to arrive at the second meaning principally intended by the prophetic Spirit, beyond the historical meaning which criticism helps to determine. The clarification of this second meaning is brought about progressively, from the time of the prophet up to the time of its fulfillment, through the traditions of interpretation which are formulated and transmitted under the continual assistance of the Spirit who spoke through the prophets. Thus a veritable Copernican revolution has been accomplished. The contemporaries of the fulfillment as opposed to those of the prophet, find themselves in a privileged position for interpreting the prophecies.

It is clear that this revolution had important consequences for the textual criticism of the Old Testament. The textual form which must serve as a point of reference is not the one constituted by "the autographs of Moses and the Prophets," but is constituted rather by the state of divinely guided maturation in which the books of Scripture are found at the time of the fulfillment, that is, at the time when the Messiah reveals himself in order to renew all things.

The Hebrew Old Testament Text Committee and the Task of Hebrew Textual Criticism

I. Establishment of a Committee for the Textual Analysis of the Hebrew Old Testament

A. *Previous Projects*

The tasks of Old Testament textual criticism are complex. It is not surprising, therefore, that the suggestion has been made at various times to unite the efforts of many investigators among whom these tasks could be distributed.

On September 20, 1756, in Göttingen, J. D. Michaelis drafted a plan for a society that would coordinate the work of scholars in order to expedite the critical examination of variants in the biblical texts, especially those affecting the Old Testament. His plan followed on the publication of J. H. Michaelis's and Houbigant's editions of the Hebrew Bible (Halle 1720 and Paris 1753, respectively), each of which had collated the textual variants of a limited number of Hebrew manuscripts. Several months later, the Seven Years' War intervened to thwart the implementation of the plan, the urgency of which was soon to be relieved in large measure by the extensive collations of variants by Kennicott and de Rossi.

In 1920, in the prologue to his *Studien zum Text des Jeremia*, Paul Volz suggested a commission be created for the study of the original text of the Old Testament. In 1935, at the second international conference of Old Testament scholars in Göttingen, Volz learned of Michaelis's plan and the following year set forth an "Arbeitsplan für die Textkritik des Alten Testaments."¹ He proposed the creation of an international and interconfessional journal that would draft, test, and review a body of critical rules. It was his opinion, and justifiably so, in considering the commentaries of his day, that for the last hundred years textual criticism had been carried on in too superficial and fragmented a fashion. The time

1. Volz, "Arbeitsplan."

had come to coordinate a systematic scrutiny of Old Testament text-critical method. Several years later, the plan was rendered impracticable by the Second World War, and Volz died.

The same year that Volz presented his proposal for a journal, Henrik Samuel Nyberg, working independently, offered “a contribution to clarifying the problem of Old Testament text criticism” in his *Studien zum Hoseabuche*. Approaching the problem from the requirements of philology, he challenged the method—or better, the lack of method—that held sway in the field. Shortly after the war, the manuscript discoveries in the caves of the Judean Desert were to be an unforeseen boon to our knowledge of the state of the Old Testament text at the beginning of the Common Era. These discoveries provided the opportunity both for in-depth studies of various details in the history of the text and for the formulation of general views concerning the development of that history.

B. The United Bible Societies Project

The time was ripe for pursuing the broad methodological investigation that had long been advocated, and more recently been made imperative by Nyberg’s contribution and the discoveries in the Judean Desert. So it was, in 1969, that the United Bible Societies, committed to Volz’s international and interconfessional perspective, invited six Protestant and Catholic biblical scholars—British, American, German, Swiss, and Dutch—to participate in such an undertaking. For translators of the New Testament, the UBS had provided a textual aid reflecting the decisions of a committee on 1,440 textual difficulties (committee members were Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren²). It was now eager to provide an analogous aid to the more than 150 Old Testament translation teams whose work the UBS was coordinating. Once again, therefore, it sought to establish a committee, this time to work through the 5,000 principal difficulties that \mathfrak{N} presented to its most recent translators.

The six biblical scholars who agreed to participate in the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project were Dominique Barthélemy, Alexander R. Hulst, Norbert Lohfink, William D. McHardy, Hans P. Rüger, and James A. Sanders. In their collective experience, they had already devoted particular study to each of the groups of textual witnesses contributing to the formation of \mathfrak{N} (Qumran manuscripts, Greek and Syriac versions, Targumim). Moreover, they had had occasion to address textual issues from the standpoint of editorial or translation work in

2. [The committee members for the first edition (1966) were Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce Metzger, Arthur Vööbus, and Allen Wikgren. For the second and third editions (1968, 1975), Carlo M. Martini replaced Vööbus, who had resigned after four years. When Black and Wikgren retired, Barbara Aland and Johannes Karavidopoulos replaced them for the fourth edition (1983). —Ed.]

which they were involved (BHS, *Nieuwe Vertaling*, NEB, NAB, RSV, TOB, *Einheitsübersetzung*). Coming from different backgrounds, cultures, and experiences, each sensed in 1969 that the time had come to reflect together on the aim, the tasks, and the method of Old Testament textual criticism. Rather than debating theoretical positions, they deemed it more worthwhile to focus on the critical task itself, and only thereafter to analyze the methodological implications of their common work.

After an initial six-day session at Arnoldshain, West Germany, in 1969, the committee met for ten annual four-week sessions from 1970 through 1979 at Freudenstadt, West Germany, and St. Andrews, Scotland; Eugene Nida presided, and the committee's work was expedited by two secretaries, Adrian Schenker and John A. Thompson. With the goal of providing a functional aid to translators, the committee studied the textual difficulties which abound in the notes and variant readings of the most widespread translations: the Revised Standard Version (RSV), La Bible de Jérusalem (BJ), the Revised Luther Bible (RL), and the New English Bible (NEB). In those collected notes, they would encounter the culmination of the last one hundred years of text-critical practice. In the opinion of the six committee members, the list of difficulties which the UBS had presented, together with the working-group setting, offered them both a point of departure and working conditions conducive to the methodological investigation that they all agreed was necessary.

II. Preliminary and Interim Statement of Aim, Agenda, and Criteria for the Committee's Work, and Its Position on Conjectural Emendation

From its first working session, the committee needed a provisional formulation of its aim, agenda, and criteria, and had to establish its position on conjectural emendation. These can be found in summary form in the prefaces of each of the five volumes of the *Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*.³

In this chapter we will note some matters whose reconsideration, after ten years of work, permits an updated formulation of the committee's methodological approach.

A. Aim

1. Two Extreme Positions

Wellhausen defined the task of textual criticism as a journey back through the text's development to the archetype which lies behind the versions at our

3. Vol. 1: Pentateuch (London, 1973); Vol. 2: Historical Books (Stuttgart, 1976); Vol. 3: Poetical Books (Stuttgart, 1977); Vol. 4: Prophetic Books I (New York, 1979); and Vol. 5: Prophetic Books II (New York, 1980).

disposal.⁴ It was his opinion that conjectural emendation does not recover some intermediate form of the text, but aims at reconstructing the original text form, since its validity lies precisely in its verisimilitude.⁵ He sought, then, to recover the original (“Urschrift,” a term which Wellhausen borrowed explicitly from A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzung*).⁶

Nyberg, in his work on Hosea sixty years after Wellhausen, took virtually the opposite position.⁷ He felt that the goal and task of textual criticism lay solely in recovering the earliest written tradition of the Jewish community. That means, he added, that only the biblical book as we receive it can be taken into consideration by the textual critic. The task of ascertaining what can be attributed, for example, to Isaiah, Amos, or Hosea in those books must be left to the exegete, whose role must not be confused with that of the textual critic. He concludes: “Let us return to the Masoretic Text, to scrutinize it and interpret it. It alone provides a solid basis for philological study and exegetical interpretation.”⁸

2. Kittel’s Aim

R. Kittel, who stood midway in time between Wellhausen and Nyberg, also stood midway between them on the issue of what text type he would set forth. He accepted Wellhausen’s aim as the ideal:

The ideal end of all our work bearing on the Biblical Hebrew text must be, of course, the reconstruction of the autograph of the biblical writers; in the final analysis, what interests us is not what some modern publisher or ancient scribe would pass on as the words of prophets, narrators or poets, but only what Isaiah, Jeremiah, David or Deborah really said or sang, and what the ancient narrators actually had to say about them and about Moses, Elijah, Gideon, Samuel, Ezekiel and the other men and women of the Old Testament.⁹

But Kittel believed this ideal to be unattainable with regard to the ancient and medieval manuscripts of the Old Testament:

Today, with the methods at our disposal, we are undoubtedly no longer in a position to establish with scientific certainty the autograph of an Amos, an Isaiah or an Ezekiel, or even what the Hexateuchal narrators or the historians of Judges and Kings actually wrote.

Thus, he proposed a more modest aim: “to push back beyond the Masoretic Text toward the original, to a point which stands between the original and the

4. Wellhausen, *Samuelis*, 14.

5. *Ibid.*, 14, note *.

6. *Ibid.*, 5.

7. Nyberg, *Studien*, 9.

8. *Ibid.*, 116.

9. Kittel, *Notwendigkeit*, 32.

Masorete.”¹⁰ Given the methods available, Kittel believed that this could be taken as a standard for the text of the ancient writings of the Old Testament, “which the Jewish community was reading about 300 B.C.”¹¹ In effect, this is the period when the manuscripts which served as Vorlage for the Greek translators and as source for the *Chronicles* would have been transcribed. Kittel grants that diverse textual traditions already existed in this period, and that \aleph and Θ preserve two of these traditions for us.¹² Therefore, in principle, where the Vorlage of Θ offers the better text, we should take it as our basis, always calling on \aleph as the final arbiter in questionable cases.¹³ Where the case is reversed, \aleph must be taken as the basis, with occasional recourse to Θ . Kittel stood firmly opposed to those who would see the readings of \aleph and the Vorlage of Θ as variants of the same text type and who would reconstruct an eclectic text working from both, judging the greater or lesser probability of one or the other.

In fact, Kittel believed that the synagogue had every reason to give preference to the text that gave rise to \aleph , over all the other versions of the Bible then in circulation. Its restraint stands in contrast to the midrashic elements of dubious value which sometimes characterize the Vorlage of Θ . Moreover, even if the two textual traditions were of equal value, preference should be given to the text reflected in \aleph , since a text attested in the original language is to be preferred to a Vorlage reconstructed from a translation.

Such factors can leave no question in our minds. In our quest for the best available text, we must take exactly that direction in which the Masoretic Text itself moves. That is, a text’s origins must be sought by tracing them back through the textual record.¹⁴

At the end of his essay, Kittel recapitulates the editorial task which he set for himself:

For those writings completed by about the middle of the fourth century, the editor must have as an aim the form they had attained at that time, essentially at the hands of their redactors; for those not completed until later, the form available to the translator for each of them.¹⁵

However modest this ambition may have been, five years later Kittel had to resign himself, as everyone knows, to publishing only the text of the Ben Hayim tradition, with his suggested corrections in the critical apparatus.

10. *Ibid.*, 36.

11. *Ibid.*, 38.

12. *Ibid.*, 44.

13. *Ibid.*, 45.

14. *Ibid.*, 46.

15. *Ibid.*, 84.

3. *The Committee's Aim*

At the beginning of its work, the committee formulated an aim similar to that which Kittel had set for himself, in the following terms:

the Committee found it necessary to recognize four phases in the development of the Hebrew text. (1) The First Phase, consisting of oral or written literary products in forms as close as possible to those originally produced. Literary analysis is the means primarily employed in attempts to recover these types of texts usually called "original texts." (2) The Second Phase, consisting of the earliest form or forms of text which can be determined by the application of techniques of textual analysis to existing textual evidence. This text stage may be called the "earliest attested text" (attested either directly or indirectly). (3) The Third Phase, consisting of the consonantal text as authorized by Jewish scholars shortly after A.D. 70. This text stage may be called the "proto-Masoretic text." (4) The Fourth Phase, called the Masoretic Text, as determined by the Masoretes in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., and for all practical purposes essentially identical in vowel pointing and accentuation with that which exists in the principal manuscripts of the schools of the Tiberian Masoretes.

In the treatment of various departures from the text tradition as found in the Masoretic Text, the Committee has attempted to ascertain what is most likely to have been the form or forms of the Second Phase of Hebrew Old Testament text development.¹⁶

With respect to most of the biblical books, the results of literary criticism have had the effect of pushing the idea of an "original text" back into a period far more remote, fragmented, and unstable than the formulators of textual criticism had ever imagined. Tradition criticism, for its part, has pushed still farther back into a pre-literary phase, where that which was to become written was still oral. Beyond the "original text" sought by literary criticism, it raised on the horizon an "original" that was not yet a text. One can see, then, why textual criticism proper shifted its aim from the first to the second stage, hoping thereby to forswear the "original text" of some of the books of the Old Testament.

Although this second stage envisioned by the committee could be dated to the same period as the text type sought by Kittel (about 300 B.C.), the committee did not grant from the outset—as Kittel did—that the text of the Old Testament was already fragmented into distinctive traditions in that era. That possibility was held open throughout, but the committee began its work with the belief that it could, on the basis of extant textual witnesses, recover that text type which lay behind all the ancient variations. This belief rested in part on the hypothesis that the various textual traditions had not begun to diverge until after their content had come to be recognized as sacred, or—to use a convenient phrase, albeit ambiguous—until after they had become canonical. This process of canonization

16. *Preliminary Report*, Vol. 1, VI–VII.

would have entailed a literary stabilization of the material, marking the end of its literary development and the beginning of its textual history. Adopting this aim for Old Testament textual criticism offers two advantages:

1. A stabilized literary form is thereby recovered which, while not “original” in the sense that literary criticism would impute to that word, can for all practical purposes be considered the “original” of a biblical book, insofar as it finds a place in “the Bible.”
2. Where the intention to move to the common origin of divergent textual traditions is realized, a text type is established that stands prior to the various divergent forms used by different faith communities. Given this hypothesis, it is no longer necessary to preface textual criticism with a critique of canonical configurations.

The foregoing notwithstanding, it became clear to the committee in the course of its work that, in the cases of Proverbs¹⁷ and Jeremiah and Ezekiel,¹⁸ \aleph and \textcircled{C} were the products of differing literary developments. Indeed, using the methods of textual analysis it was impossible to resolve the numerous difficulties these books present into a single text type prior to the divergence of the two literary traditions. The committee therefore decided to follow the \aleph tradition for these books, wherever it differs from \textcircled{C} at the literary (and not just the textual) level.

B. Agenda

In attempting to recover the textual form—apart from the three exceptions mentioned above—which obtained at the beginning of the second phase of textual development, the committee studied each of the difficulties presented to it *in seriatum*.

Initially, for the exploratory meeting at Arnoldshain, the UBS office had identified a sample of fifty typical difficulties drawn from all parts of the Old Testament. It then presented to the committee those cases where the RSV, BJ, RL, or NEB (and later TOB) departed from \aleph in such a way as to change substantively the meaning of the text. This process required a sifting of the text of the RL, but the other translations typically suggest their textual alternatives in footnotes (including, for NEB, L. H. Brockington’s *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, the Readings Adopted by the Translators of the New English Bible*).

The committee was thus confronted with those instances in which English, French, or German scholars, in recent efforts to translate \aleph , felt compelled to diverge from that text, finding it inapt as a basis for their translations. In accordance with the goal defined above, the committee had to determine, in each of

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 444.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, 175.

these instances, what textual form most likely corresponded to the text as it stood at the beginning of the second phase.

Prior to each session, the textual variants in each instance were collated and classified, and the committee studied the principal critical judgments and interpretations of them which had emerged throughout the history of exegesis.

The committee then had to evaluate the merits of the various textual forms which might represent the text at the beginning of the second phase of its development. This evaluation led to a vote of the committee, in which each member present assigned a mark of A–D to the textual form which he believed should be retained. (This system parallels that of the prior UBS committee for the study of the New Testament.)

Finally, in order to provide an aid to translators, the committee found it necessary to suggest the most probable interpretation(s) of the selected text form.

C. Criteria

In evaluating the merits of various textual forms, the committee utilized the accepted criteria of textual analysis. The final reports give ample illustration of the committee's use of these criteria. In enumerating them here, we utilize brief descriptions drawn from the *Preliminary and Interim Report*.¹⁹

From one group of variants attested by the several textual witnesses emerge three factors which help in making an initial judgment concerning the value to be assigned to their occurrence in the witnesses. Since the textual forms must be subjected to critical scrutiny, these factors of evaluation, as well as all those which follow, are expressed in negative terms; that is, they are formulated in such a way as to cast doubt on the merits of a given variant. By contrast, they highlight the value of any alternative textual form:

Factor 1: *Narrow basis for a variant form of the text.* If a form of the text occurs in only one tradition, for example, the Targum, Syriac, or Vulgate, one is less inclined to regard it as original than if it occurs in more than one such tradition. On the other hand, in treating textual evidence, one must not count text traditions; one must weigh them. That is to say, it is not the number of textual witnesses, but the independence of their witness, which is important. For example, sometimes the text of the Syriac version is important, but often this version simply follows the Septuagint or the Targum, and therefore, in such instances, it cannot be counted as an independent witness.

Factor 2: *Deceptively broad basis for a variant form of the text tradition.* In certain instances, a variant form of the text may appear to have a broad base, in that it is represented in a number of different textual traditions, but a closer examination of the situation may reveal that these traditions have all followed the same interpretive tendency. This frequently happens when an original text

19. Ibid., Vol. 1, ix–xv.

contains an obscurity which can be readily removed by what seemed to early scribes or translators as an obvious improvement. But, instead of being independent witnesses to some earlier Hebrew form of the text, these alterations are all secondary, and dependent, not upon the particular verbal form of some text, but upon a special way of interpreting the obscurity.

Factor 3: Dependence of a variety of text forms upon one earlier form. When an original text contained a particularly difficult expression (either inherently difficult or rendered such through the loss of background knowledge necessary to understand its meaning), different scribes and translators often resolved the textual problem in quite diverse ways. Accordingly, one must look for a “key” to explain how the diverse forms may have arisen. Beginning with this one “key” form of the text, one can often readily describe how the other forms developed, while beginning with any other form of the text would result in a hopelessly complex description of developments.

These three criteria permit one to make an initial appraisal of the several variants on the external grounds of their attestation (Factor 1) and to reduce their number by grouping those which are only variations of a particular interpretation (Factor 2) or those which can be related through a particular “key” form (Factor 3).

No decision regarding the particular value of each variant under consideration can be made, however, without attempting to identify the causes of textual alteration. Although it is difficult to determine to what extent an alteration may have been conscious or unconscious on the part of the scribe or translator responsible for it, one can catalogue the factors responsible for textual changes under ten distinct headings; scribal intention is more likely in the first six factors (4–9) than in the last four (10–13).

Factor 4: Simplification of the text (easier reading). When a text was particularly difficult, there was a tendency for ancient scribes and translators to simplify the text by employing contextually more fitting lexical, grammatical, and stylistic forms (these modifications are often spoken of as “facilitating”). This is not the same as adjusting the form of the text to the translational requirements of the receptor language, nor is it equivalent to introducing some preferred interpretation. It is only the amelioration of what seemed to be unnecessary difficulties. This tendency toward simplification means, however, that quite often the more difficult text may be regarded as the better, since one may readily explain why a complicated form is made simpler, but find it difficult to explain why a clear, simple text would have been purposely made more complex.

Factor 5: Assimilation to parallel passages. Some variant forms of a text arose because ancient editors, scribes, or translators assimilated the text of one passage to that of a similar or proximate passage, usually with the apparent purpose of attaining greater consistency. Some of the more common types of assimilation include assimilation to more explicit details given in a nearby passage, assimilation of described action to a previous account of plans or command for such action, assimilation to the form of a passage which has greater literary or theological importance, and assimilation to the recurring grammatical and

lexical forms of a particular passage. There are also many instances in which repeated content, instead of being presented in a more concise form (as is so often the case), is reproduced with precisely the same wording which it has at the place of its first occurrence. Whenever it seems clear that an assimilation has occurred, the unassimilated form is presumably earlier.

Factor 6: Translational adjustments to the text. In order to produce satisfactory translations in ancient versions such as Greek, Syriac, and Latin, it was often necessary to make certain adjustments in the form of the receptor language, since a literal word-for-word reproduction of the Hebrew text would have been unacceptable. Therefore, when there are differences between the renderings of the ancient versions and the traditional form of the Hebrew text, one must always try to ascertain (1) whether such differences can be explained on the basis of the linguistic requirements of these ancient receptor languages or on the basis of the stylistic peculiarities of ancient translators, or (2) whether there was some different underlying Hebrew text which formed the basis for the versional tradition.

Factor 7: Interpretive modifications. In some instances, a particular form of the text may appear to be essentially interpretive. That is to say, certain ancient editors, scribes, or translators may have thought that the underlying text should be changed or amplified to conform to certain views, primarily theological. Or they may have wished the text to state explicitly a meaning which was not completely clear. Such variant forms of the text which would have arisen in later phases of textual development cannot be regarded as valid alternatives.

Factor 8: Misunderstanding of linguistic data. Knowledge about certain features of biblical grammar and lexicography, including related practices of ancient copyists of manuscripts, were sometimes lost (in certain instances, even by the time of the earliest attested text). As a result, certain alterations were made in texts, because the meaning of these passages had become obscure. But evidence from (1) the Hebrew language in particular, (2) related Semitic languages in general, and (3) the language, style, and peculiarities of the ancient versions helps in many cases to recover the original meaning of a difficult text and thus to determine the original form of the text.

Factor 9: Misunderstanding of historical data. Over a period of time, certain elements of the historical and cultural settings of the Old Testament which were understood and tacitly presupposed by the biblical authors as the normal conditions of their life and speech, disappeared or underwent important changes. Consequently, many texts based on such patterns of behavior became unintelligible to later readers. Such misunderstandings of old texts led to textual alterations which were designed to give a sense to passages that had become obscure. Newly recovered evidence concerning ancient biblical and Near East cultures and civilizations, their laws and customs, and cultic, military, and political life assist scholars in recovering the meaning of obscure texts and thus in distinguishing earlier textual forms from the later modified forms.

Factor 10: Accidental omission of similar letters, words, or sentences. When scribes copy manuscripts, they may accidentally omit sentences. For example, if two phrases end with a similar sequence of letters, the second of the phrases may be accidentally dropped. (This is technically called "homeoteleuton.")

Conversely, if two expressions begin with similar sequences of letters, scribes may also accidentally omit the first expression. (This is technically called “homeoarceton.”) In some instances, two sequences may be entirely identical (sometimes in Hebrew the consonants may be identical, while the intended vowels, and hence the meaning, may be quite different), and the accidental omission of one of these by a scribe is not infrequent. (This is technically called “haplography.”)

Factor 11: *Accidental repetition of identical sequences.* In contrast with accidental omission of expressions, there is also the relatively less frequent possibility of accidental repetition of the same sequence of letters. (This is technically called “dittography.”)

Factor 12: *Other scribal errors.* There are many other scribal mistakes, such as confusion and transposition of letters, false separation of words and sentences (in many old writings there was no indication of word or sentence separation), and dropping out of letters; sometimes the consonantal scheme of a word was badly interpreted (since Semitic writings do not always note all the vowels in a word, there exist ambiguous words and phrases which can be interpreted in more than one way); sometimes there were mistakes based on confusingly similar sounds (when copyists wrote from dictation); and, finally, there are other errors difficult to explain.

Factor 13: *Conflate readings and doublets.* Another type of error is on the boundary line between the unconscious scribal errors and the intentional interventions of Factors 3 and 6. Difficult texts were sometimes accompanied in manuscripts by short explanations or alternative readings. Often they were put between the lines, over the difficult passage, or in the margins of the manuscript. Some copyists, unfortunately, did not carefully distinguish between the text and such glosses, but wove them together in the body of the text. This led to expanded text forms, as well as to doublets. Sometimes also a textual form underwent modification but the corresponding unmodified, original form was not deleted. An earlier form and a later modified form then existed side by side, and finally both became part of the text. The resulting text is called a conflate reading.

D. Conjectural Emendation (Factor 14)

1. The Committee's Position

The committee often encountered instances in one or another modern translation in which a difficult reading in \mathfrak{R} was abandoned in favor of a reading obtained by conjectural emendation. In these instances, the committee decided that, “in view of the fact that the Committee was asked to analyze the textual rather than the literary problem of the Old Testament, it would be outside the terms of reference adopted by the Committee to propose suggestions which are purely conjectural, that is to say, those which are not reflected, either directly or indirectly, in some existing form of the Old Testament text, whether in Hebrew or in the various ancient versions” (= Factor 14).²⁰

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, XV.

2. Albrektson's Objection

This decision was criticized by B. Albrektson, who believed it represented "an arbitrary redefinition of the limits of textual criticism."²¹ His position, in summary, was that:

conjectural emendation is universally regarded as one of the essential tasks of textual criticism, as may be established by consulting any of the current manuals on the subject. The textual criticism of the Hebrew Old Testament is no exception: the task of the scholar cannot properly be restricted to weighing the existing variants, as there are cases where a corruption is so old that it is found in all extant manuscripts and translations, and then there is no way out except by conjectural emendation. . . . In fact, to make it a principle never to allow conjectures means *either* to presuppose that no corruption is early enough to be present in all extant Old Testament texts (which is absurd) *or* to prefer deliberately what is almost certainly wrong to what is probably right (which seems a strange choice).²²

3. Response to the Criticism

Albrektson's objection is pertinent, telling, and clearly stated. One can respond to it on two levels.

3.a. Reasons for caution concerning conjectural emendation

It would be an understatement to say that each of the committee members regarded conjectural emendation with considerable mistrust. Indeed, it was already recognized by Origen that one major cause in the corruption of various witnesses to a textual tradition—after scribal negligence—is "the fact that there are those who add or delete as they see fit, while they are making corrections."²³ As Albrektson reminds us,²⁴ S. R. Driver underscored the necessity of wrestling with conjectural emendation when he wrote:

it is impossible not to feel that a large proportion of the conjectural emendations which have been proposed rest upon arbitrary or otherwise insufficient grounds.²⁵

In a close review of the history of textual criticism, one cannot avoid being struck by the moribund character of certain conjectures that "critics" have obediently transmitted from Houbigant's time to the present day. These conjectures are not the result of the critical process; rather, they avoid it entirely. Based on the authority of someone else's prior judgment, which is often itself uncritically dependent on an even earlier analysis, a correction (*emendatio*) is adopted which

21. Albrektson, "Difficilior," 15.

22. Ibid.

23. Origen, *Matthaeum*, Book XV, §14 (p. 1293).

24. Albrektson, "Difficilior," 15 n. 32.

25. Driver, *Notes*, xii.

relieves the critic of the obligation to proceed independently to the *recensio* and *interpretatio*, whose negative results alone can justify the *emendatio*.

The first step of textual criticism, *recensio*, must determine those attested forms of the text which possess the greatest merit and the least likelihood of being secondary. The critic must then utilize every means necessary to interpret the form(s) thereby identified, which will often be the *lectio difficilior* (preferred over other forms precisely because the facilitating style of the latter marks them right away as secondary). It is perhaps in this task of *interpretatio* that current textual criticism is most deficient. The end results have become familiar—a hasty conclusion that none of the attested forms offers a sensible text; an interpretation based on an uncritical use of Ugaritic or Eblaite, languages distantly separated in time and space from a Hebrew text only slightly predating the Common Era; a meaning elicited from those great catch-alls, the estimable Arabic dictionaries—all arrived at before any rigorous stylistic and syntactical analysis on the basis of comparative data in other Old Testament texts has been undertaken. *Interpretatio* must progress upward through concentric circles, never taking up the larger context until all the resources of the more immediate context have been exhausted.

An examination of the textual difficulties treated in the *CTAT* volumes and the “critical” treatment that the most notorious among them have received reveals that it is less likely that conjectural emendation will recover the original literary form of a text than that one of the better extant forms will preserve a more faithful witness to that text—even if we are not yet in a position to interpret that witness adequately. Western scholars of the last 250 years have often become enamored of a particular emendation for superficial and anachronistic reasons, while their grasp of an authentic interpretation of a given text form has been inadequate and fumbling. Critics thus rule out a valid textual form in the Hebrew text in favor of conjecture, when the interpretation of that form, sometimes corrupt, eludes us in the current state of our knowledge. In doing so, they take on a heavy responsibility with respect to future developments in the exegesis, grammar, and lexicography of the Hebrew Bible.

Nevertheless, while textual criticism cannot countenance changing such texts, one must provide translators with advice as to the least objectionable means of handling the difficulties they encounter. This will call for a thorough study of the history of exegesis, in order to draw from it those proposals that are least improbable.

These factors give good reason for extreme caution in the use of conjectural emendation. The recent history of textual criticism offers abundant proof that, in the vast majority of cases, conjectural emendations have led to a decline in attempts to interpret the direct or indirect witnesses to the difficult textual forms that the emendations have supplanted. On the other hand, there are at least some cases in which the emendation yielded the original literary textual form with quasi-certainty. To refuse categorically to utilize conjectural emendation (and it is by no means certain that the committee always acted entirely in consonance

with that initial decision)—is this not to make the “strange choice” of preferring “what is almost certainly wrong to what is probably right”? To respond to this question, we must proceed to the second level.

3.b. Conjectural emendation can have no aim but the original

Wellhausen²⁶ demonstrated profound insight in stating that conjectural emendation does not serve well to recover some intermediate stage in the evolution from archetype to recensions, but aims at reconstructing the original text form, since its validity lies precisely in its verisimilitude. Fundamentally, conjectural emendation takes the mutilation of a text as its starting point, but it is grounded in the internal coherence of the text in its original literary framework. It is that original framework which provides the internal evidence for conjectural emendation, and which can therefore be its only aim.

As long as textual criticism aims at recovering the original literary framework of a text, it will be both necessary and appropriate to appeal to conjectural emendation. If, however, the aim is to arrive at the text as it stood at the beginning of the second phase of its development, conjectural emendation runs the risk of overshooting this aim and recovering a textual form appropriate to the first phase. One might object that textual criticism takes the second phase as its aim rather than the first simply for want of anything better. If the first stage were the aim, it would not be necessary to make the “strange choice” of preferring an altered text belonging to the second stage when one could have a text that is original, in literary terms, by way of conjecture. Two rejoinders may be offered to this argument.

3.b.i. Risk of disrupting a secondary literary framework

When there is no hope of recovering a writing in the overall coherence of its original literary state, it is valid to ask whether we should attempt to recover what turns out to be a patchwork literary state. For example, a given half-verse, freed from corruption by way of conjectural emendation, may well have been restored to its original written form, but the following passage, which was the result of restructuring so that it would fit with the corruption that has now been eliminated, must be retained in its secondary form. Or would we wish to remove from the text, through conjecture, a restructuring that a redactor implemented to ensure the coherence of the text in a new context? Jepsen²⁷ offers a pertinent example: at the end of Gen 24:67, BHK¹, BHK², BHK³, and BHS recommend correcting “his mother’s death” to “his father’s death.” As Jepsen notes, this makes sense if the aim is to restore the Yahwist’s text; such a correction, however, destroys the meaning of Genesis 24 in its present context, in which Abraham live thirty-five years after Isaac’s marriage. Moreover, Wellhausen showed “his mother” to be clearly a correction of the redactor, who waited until 25:8 to narrate Abraham’s death

26. Wellhausen, *Samuelis*, 14 n.*

27. Jepsen, “Aufgaben,” 333–34.

using another source.²⁸ In dealing with composite texts such as we find in the Pentateuch or Chronicles, a textual criticism based on conjectural emendation threatens to shatter the fragile unity which the redactor tried to piece together out of diverse materials.

3.b.ii. Literary authority and canonical authority

The second response to the objection cited above is this: The committee set the second phase as its goal not only because it was skeptical of the means available for recovering the first phase. The decision derived just as much from the fact that the committee's task was to determine the text of the Holy Bible; that is, to produce the oldest literary form which can be proved to have functioned as a sacred book within a community that searched it for signs of its identity, signs for which we still turn to it today. We are interested in a text that was received as "canonical," and that text interests us because it is witness to a religious development of which the text itself is a product, and because it continues to inspire today. It is not only their original literary forms that give these texts authority. The inspiration recognized by the community for whom the text was canonical was closely tied to what the community saw as its own salvation. This is why the community, which derived its legitimacy from the text, felt bound to preserve the "authentic" form of the text, that is, the form in which it came to be held as sacred. Textual criticism of the Old Testament as Scripture aims at establishing this authoritative form in which a text gained canonical function, even if that is not in every case the original literary form. But conjectural emendation cannot aim at any but the original literary form. Albrektson should not be surprised, then, that the committee's stated aim would sometimes lead it to prefer a text form which is "wrong" (= of inferior quality) on literary grounds but authoritative as canon, to a conjectural text which has every possibility of being literarily correct but for which there is no evidence that it functioned as sacred Scripture for a community.

Herein lies the principal reason for the committee's self-limitation to text forms which are attested in the textual evidence. That is not to say that the committee did not make full use of what it calls indirect textual attestation (of which *CTAT* Vol. 1 contains about ten examples). The beginning of the second phase of textual development has been defined, hypothetically, as the point at which canonical function had already stabilized a text's literary form and the text had not yet splintered into divergent textual traditions. The text that belongs to the targeted second phase is not directly attested by any of the textual witnesses, but can be inferred as the common basis from which those witnesses diverged. In such a case, the convergence of partial witnesses outlines the shape of a unitary textual witness.

28. Wellhausen, *Composition*, 28.

E. Unsatisfactory Results of Textual Criticism (Factor 15)

The committee was fully aware of the fact that textual criticism, however it defines its aim, is sometimes incapable of pressing beyond a particular form which is unmistakably corrupt by literary standards. Nevertheless, it preferred to retain that corrupt form which attests to the earliest age in which the writing can be shown to have been read as sacred Scripture. In such cases, it may be helpful to indicate in a note the possible literary antecedent that this earliest attested canonical form seeks to translate.

III. Relationship among Textual Stabilization, Canonization of Writings, and the Plurality of Text Types

We have already noted that the committee had to depart from its original principles in treating Proverbs, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. As the subsequent volumes of this report demonstrate,²⁹ it seemed clear that MT and LXX of these books were the products of autonomous literary developments through two distinct traditions. For these books, the hypothesis that canonization and literary stabilization were contemporaneous is not self-evident; one must at least grant canonical function to independent forms which, having diverged, underwent further literary development. More specifically, then, the hypothesis that canonization precedes the splintering of the text into various divergent traditions is not self-evident.

Once the committee had completed its analysis of the most problematic textual difficulties in the Hebrew Old Testament text, it was time to address such methodological questions, by choosing the examples from the historical books which we have had opportunity to study more thoroughly in preparing the first volume of the final report. To begin to clarify the relationship among textual stabilization, canonical function, and the plurality of text types, we will examine the interplay of two trends, both of which acted to preserve the integrity of the text throughout the various phases of textual development: that which would "freeze" it completely, and that which would introduce limited literary innovations.

A. The Interplay of Textual Stabilization and Limited Literary Innovation

The biblical texts discovered at Qumran have shown a Hebrew text already segregated into distinct textual forms in the last centuries before the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, paralleling a similar situation in the Greek text. Nevertheless, at least in the pre-Masoretic tradition, a trend can be clearly discerned, which would have arisen after the repression of the revolt, to stabilize the form of the text. Nor can one ignore the role played by the forces of literary innovation in

29. [Jeremiah: *CIAT* Vol. 2; Ezekiel: *CIAT* Vol. 3. The volume that was to contain Proverbs was not published.—Ed.]

the transmission of a text on its way to stabilization, and even continuing to the fourth phase of textual development.

In weighing these competing trends, we will examine first certain innovations that are revealed through the preservation of parallel traditions in the Old Testament. We will then study the Chronicler's innovations made on the basis of sources which had already undergone textual alteration. Next, pursuing a comment of Wellhausen's, we will survey the path textual criticism must take in cases where \mathfrak{M} and LXX have undergone independent redaction. Finally, we will dwell at some length on an issue that stands somewhere between literary criticism and textual criticism: euphemisms and their evolution. Beginning already in the biblical authors, this evolution can be traced through the recasting done by scribes and translators of the consonantal text, as well as through the establishment of a reading tradition and the very precise suggestions for vocalization and accentuation.

At the end of this section, we will attempt to characterize the role which late editorial innovation played in preserving the integrity of a text already handed down as sacred. We will see how this creative force made use of every last measure of freedom left to the text's transmitters by those aspects of the text which had not yet stabilized.

1. Texts Preserved in Parallel Traditions

The benefit of parallel texts—which occur with particular frequency in the Historical Books—is that they provide reliable evidence of the expansions or alterations made by one tradition with respect to another.

It is clear, for example, that the Chronicler has taken literary initiative in handling the materials borrowed from an old form of Samuel–Kings. In doing so, did the Chronicler view this source as a sacred book, or merely an archival document? Put in this way, the question is difficult to answer. One can observe, though, that the Chronicler did not take as much literary license with the material borrowed from the Pentateuch as with that borrowed from the Former Prophets (Joshua–Kings). In handling the Pentateuch, the Chronicler would omit or add to borrowed material, but never change it. Even where no parallel source was available for expanding the material provided by the Historical Books, however, the Chronicler took the liberty of making literary changes. Naturally, such literary coloring of the Chronicler's own design was respected and retained by the committee.

What, though, if the difference between parallel texts is only one of textual corruption? Here, the committee took different routes in treating variant proper names, on the one hand, and all other corruptions, on the other.

Let us look first at two cases involving proper names. At 1 Chr 1:6, \mathfrak{M} of the Chronicler has "Diphath," the place-name for which \mathfrak{M} of the Chronicler's source (Gen 10:3) preserves "Riphath." Similarly, at 1 Chr 1:7, the Chronicler calls "Rodanim" those who are called "Dodanim" by \mathfrak{M} of the source (Gen 10:4). In

both cases, the variants differ only in the classic confusion of *reš* and *dalet*. Since only one form of the place-name and the gentilic used here as examples can be correct—either with *reš* or with *dalet*—the committee felt obliged to choose between the forms where it had grounds for doing so (choosing in favor of “Rodanim” as a fairly certain reference to the inhabitants of Rhodes). In the first case, however, the committee retained in each location the place-name as received in מ, finding itself without adequate means to determine in which direction the corruption had occurred.

Turning to a case in which a verbal form has suffered corruption, we note that the “he was seen” of 2 Sam 22:1 is likely to have resulted from the corruption of a *dalet* to a *reš*, while the original “he came swiftly” is preserved for us in Ps 18:10. Further, however, the corrupted text has undergone a change in vocalization, as a *qāmeš* in the final syllable has replaced a *šgól* in the original. Thus, in the present form of מ, two distinct verbal forms give individual literary nuances to the parallel texts of Samuel and the psalm. Especially in such cases of parallels in the tradition—where the secondary character of a form can easily be recognized by reference to the occurrence of the original within the Bible—the committee felt it should respect the later literary form even when it had been spawned essentially by a textual corruption.

2. The Chronicler and Textual Alteration of Sources

A simple revocalization such as the one just reviewed represents a fairly modest literary innovation. Considerably more significant rewriting, motivated by textual corruption, is also encountered, though, and nowhere more than in the books of Chronicles. Several examples:

(1) In 2 Chr 4:22, we note that a *het* in the third radical position has replaced the second *taw* in the first noun of the second half of 1 Kgs 7:50 (which was the Chronicler’s source). It is difficult to determine whether this change in the reading might not be due to the problems of interpreting the *hapax legomenon* used here by the writer of Kings. In any event, this change has prompted a shift of syntax in the three words following and the emendation of a *lamed* to a *waw* later in the verse. The Chronicler’s hand can be seen in these changes by the characteristic use of a *casus pendens* construction. For three hundred years, textual criticism has striven to correct the defective reading by restoring the radical on the basis of 1 Kgs 7:50. Since the nineteenth century, various secondary emendations have been supplied to smooth the syntax produced by this restoration, demonstrating what a pointless path that is. Either the work of the Chronicler is cancelled out when five of the ten words in this half-verse are corrected to restore the verse to the form of its source, or a few facile strokes produce a readable text which, however, never existed. It would be better to admit once and for all that the initial corruption of a *taw* to a *het* is beyond the reach of critical restoration, not because the corruption is in doubt—the Kings parallel shows clearly that it is not—but because the corruption has given rise to a compensatory reintegration which

belongs to the Chronicler's redactional activity and can no longer be considered in the realm of merely textual variation.

(2) At 2 Chr 4:3, the Chronicler saw *bēqārîm* ("oxen") where the source (1 Kgs 7:24) read *pēqā'îm* ("gourds"). The Chronicler's misreading is underscored by the unusual usage of the plural form of *bāqār*, which subsequently appears in the same context in the Kings source (v. 25) in its more usual collective singular form. This misreading may derive from a misunderstanding of the meaning of the word used in Kings. In fact, the Chronicler makes the same substitution—using this time the collective singular form—upon encountering the word in the second half of the verse, the word "oxen" being suggested by the following verse. Bothered perhaps by having introduced additional oxen in the description of the Temple, the Chronicler specifies that these are "figures" (*dēmûr*) of oxen. Here again, the adjustments and reintegration entailed by the Chronicler's error weigh against any decision to follow Kittel and Begrich, who—in SBOT, BHK², and BHK³—are satisfied to require in both instances the reinstatement of the "gourds" of the source. Nor does Rudolph, in BHS, take any better route in suggesting that the unusual plural form of "oxen" be emended to a collective singular by transferring the *mem* to the next word, when it is precisely that abnormal usage which demonstrates the Chronicler's misreading. Once again, the erroneous introduction of these "oxen" has led to such characteristic redaction on the Chronicler's part that critical scholarship should forswear any attempt to correct the error which gave rise to that creativity.

(3) A comparison with 1 Kgs 11:36 will leave no doubt that the text attested by the entire tradition at 2 Kgs 8:19 is corrupt, a *bet* having replaced a *pe* in the third word from the end of the verse. The corruption is also undoubtedly quite early, since the Chronicler already found it in the source of 2 Chr 21:7, which underwent only two slight alterations for the sake of smoothness: the addition of a *waw* before this word, and the omission of the first of two occurrences of *lô* in a half-verse now overloaded by the introduction—through this corruption—of a third object for the dative. Once more, in the Chronicles text, critical scholarship must respect the corrupt form which prompted these alterations. But how should one deal with the Kings text? The corrupt form there attested by all the witnesses represents an interesting middle term between the original (restorable with reasonable certainty by a conjectural emendation based on 1 Kgs 11:36) and the altered form in Chronicles. If textual criticism is to seek the original literary form, the conjecture must be used to correct the text at this point. If, however, textual criticism seeks the beginning of the second phase of textual development, it must be satisfied with indicating the original in a footnote, and must respect the earliest attested form of the text.

(4) 1 Chr 11:26–41 provides a parallel version of the list of David's warriors recorded in 2 Sam 23:24–39. Among the gentilic identifications of these warriors, the Chronicler twice refers to *happēlônî*: in v. 27 it corresponds to *happalî*

of 2 Sam 23:26, and in v. 36 to *haggilōnî* of 2 Sam 23:34. The form used by the Chronicler seems in both instances to be a corruption of the forms in Samuel, where the two gentilics occur (Bethpelet being a town in Judah and 2 Sam 15:12 establishing Ahitopel's hometown). Either in the form of Samuel which was the Chronicler's source, or in the Chronicler's reading of that text, there occurred, in the first case, the corruption of a *ṣet* to a *waw-nun*, and—in the second case—the corruption of a *gimel* to a *pe*. Since these are proper names, it is tempting simply to replace both the Chronicler's *happēlōnî* ("the Pelonite") with the original gentilics from which they arose, as Kittel, Begrich, and Rudolph do in SBOT, BHK², BHK³, and BHS. Nevertheless, we must take note of the recurrence of the name *heleṣ happēlōnî* (1 Chr 11:27) at 1 Chr 27:10—a passage that is solely the Chronicler's—where the context of names surrounding the reference makes it clear that we are dealing with the same man. In the latter instance, though, he is specified as being part of the *bēnê eṗraim*; we cannot then correct his pseudo-gentilic to *happalṣî*, since Bethpelet is part of Judah, not Ephraim. We must also note that the gentilic *haggilōnî* is attributed to "Eliam the son of Ahitopel" at 2 Sam 23:34, while the parallel passage at 1 Chr 11:36 attributes *happēlōnî* to "Ahiya." As we will see in treating 1 Chr 26:20, one suspects that the name favored by the Chronicler was introduced at several points. The two occurrences of *happēlōnî* which characterize the Chronicler's text cannot, then, be considered simple textual corruptions. They form part of a larger system, which Willi astutely recognized.³⁰

In the four examples studied, we have been able to see how a textual stream which had undergone an initial crystallization again became fluid. Though textual corruption is normally thought of as occurring subsequent to literary stabilization, we have been dealing with changes which one would spontaneously identify as textual, but which have given rise to greater or lesser developments or recastings showing fresh literary creativity. In fact, a comparison of Samuel-Kings with Chronicles gives us a unique opportunity to observe a canonical writing undergoing reintegration by just this process. Behind the redactional activity of the Chronicler, we have discerned numerous misreadings of a source text which, for the examples discussed, is preserved in more original form in Samuel-Kings. This has enabled us to grasp the essence of the Chronicler's redaction of earlier texts. Given that this redaction is part and parcel of the Chronicler's literary contribution, any attempt to eliminate these changes would end up destroying—in these passages—Chronicles' individuality with respect to Samuel-Kings. Furthermore, even correcting the "textual errors" which gave rise to these changes would rob the Chronicler's efforts of their *raison d'être*.

The work of the Chronicler provides a clear case where textual criticism must respect the late redactional interventions in texts which the redactor looked upon

30. Willi, *Chronik*, 73 n. 111.

as traditional, if not yet sacred; nor is this responsibility removed merely because the textual corruption can be retraced through underlying strata.

3. *Textual Corruption or a Different Redaction?*

We now come to texts which, while not preserved in parallel traditions in \mathfrak{M} , nevertheless enable us further to clarify the text-critical task in relation to that of literary criticism.

3.a. *Wellhausen's position*

Wellhausen cites several additions in the \mathfrak{M} of Samuel-Kings which "proceed from various periods, and are mostly later than the Deuteronomic revision, and belong rather to textual than to literary criticism."³¹ He considers it "very important to detect and remove these re-touchings," for "the whole ancient tradition is covered over with such products of Jewish rumination (*Verdauungschleim*)." He deals with four additions, of which we will discuss the first two ("commandments" in 1 Kgs 18:18 and "covenant" in 1 Kgs 19:10, 14) in connection with 1 Kgs 18:18. We now take up the other additions, which Wellhausen uses as his third and fourth examples.

(1) After reporting in 1 Kgs 18:30b that "(Elijah) repaired the altar of the Lord that had been thrown down," the \mathfrak{M} of vv. 31–32 adds: "Elijah took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Jacob, to whom the word of the Lord had come, saying—'Israel shall be your name'—and he made the stones an altar in the name of the Lord." The transposition of these two reports in \mathfrak{G} confirms the impression that one of them—more probably the second, which breaks the rhythm of the narrative—is an addition.

(2) At 2 Sam 6:2, the narrator begins solemnly to narrate the transfer of the ark: "Then David arose and went with all the people who were with him from Baalejudah to bring up from there the ark of God, which is called by the name of the Lord of hosts who sits enthroned on the cherubim." Wellhausen considered the relative clause identifying the ark to be an addition, despite its attestation by \mathfrak{G} (which appears to have read \mathfrak{M}), 4QSam^a (which removed two words, according to Ulrich³²), and 1 Chr 13:6 (despite a rearrangement of some elements).

It is not the intention here to debate whether these phrases in 1 Kgs 18:31f and 2 Sam 6:2 are additions; rather, assuming them to be additions, we must decide how textual criticism will handle them. Wellhausen felt they must be removed from the text, since they were likely subsequent to the Deuteronomic revision. Such is the historian's agenda (which had already guided Ewald's use of textual criticism in the Historical Books and was also to guide Graetz): the historian wants to deal with an account divested of all anachronistic glosses. But what Wellhausen labels "products of Jewish rumination" (*judaistischen Verdauungschleim*), which

31. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 277 n. 1.

32. Ulrich, *Qumran*, 194.

he saw overlying the ancient tradition, are in fact limited final redactional activities of those who transmitted this account as sacred. If textual criticism seeks to restore the text of the Old Testament as Bible, it must respect these adjustments. The fact that one of these (2 Sam 6:2) would have had to occur somewhat before the other changes matters not one whit.

We must ask ourselves, then, whether the committee should not employ the same principle of restraint in dealing with the Historical Books as it did with respect to Proverbs, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. With these latter books, the committee rejected the legitimacy of efforts which would cut out of \aleph all textual developments subsequent to the divergence of the $\textcircled{6}$ and \aleph traditions while leaving in place similar developments predating that split. The justification for the committee's position will become clearer with the examination of several cases that exhibit more limited textual development.

At 1 Kgs 18:18, Wellhausen advises omitting "commandments" in accordance with $\textcircled{6}$ and reading "forsaking the Lord" rather than \aleph 's "forsaking the commandments of the Lord." This cannot be granted, however. Wellhausen neglects to mention that $\textcircled{6}$ adds "your God" to "the Lord." It seems clear that the distinct redactional processes of the two textual traditions did not reach their conclusions until after those traditions had diverged.

3.b. A Third-century B.C. witness

Several similar cases arise in the latter portion of 1 Samuel contained in the fragments of 4QSam^b, which Cross dates to the last quarter of the third century B.C.³³

1. At the end of 1 Sam 16:4, 4QSam^b and $\textcircled{6}$ add the vocative, "See!" which \aleph does not have.
2. At 1 Sam 20:30, \aleph reads: "Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan." $\textcircled{6}$ and 4QSam^b add: "greatly."
3. At 1 Sam 20:32, \aleph reads: "Then Jonathan answered Saul his father, and said to him. . . ." 4QSam^b omits "to him," while $\textcircled{6}$ shows neither "his father" nor "and said to him."
4. At 1 Sam 20:36, \aleph reads, "And he said to his lad," whereas 4QSam^b and $\textcircled{6}$ read: "And he said to the lad."
5. In 1 Sam 20:42, \aleph repeats the independent pronoun "we" after the pronominal suffix of "both of us;" 4QSam^b omits it and $\textcircled{6}$ does not express it explicitly.
6. At the beginning of 1 Sam 21:1, \aleph does not specify "David" as the subject, while 4QSam^b and $\textcircled{6}$ do.
7. At 1 Sam 21:3, \aleph reads: "And David said to Ahimelek the priest. . . ." Neither 4QSam^b nor $\textcircled{6}$ specifies the name of the priest.

33. Cross, "Manuscripts," 164.

8. In 1 Sam 21:5, after the conditional, “if only the young men have kept themselves from women,” \aleph records no apodosis, while 4QSam^b and Θ continue: “you shall eat.”

In these eight variants of differing lengths, \aleph is more explicit than its parallels in four cases, and more restrained in the other four. It would seem, then, that we are dealing—at least in some cases—with autonomous final redactions.

3.c. *The list of Canaanite kings*

We now take up a case from Joshua: at the end of the list of Canaanite kings (Josh 12:9–24), \aleph records a total of thirty-one kings while Θ counts twenty-nine, each figure corresponding to the number of kings enumerated by the respective textual tradition (\aleph in 16b and 19a mentions two kings ignored by Θ : the kings of Bethel and Madon). Each king is identified in Θ by the phrase “king of” followed by a place-name; in \aleph , however, each place-name is preceded by “king of” and followed by “one” (the number). In Θ , the insertion of the separator “king of” to an original list of place names took place in a straightforward manner. In \aleph , however, a king of Lasharon was created by an extra separator (instead of “the king of Aphek of the Sharon” we read “the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one”), while the kings of Shimron and Maron were reduced to one “king of Shimron-meron” by the loss of a separator. It appears that the definitive totals, determined after the insertion of these separators between the place-names, were fixed by forces in each textual tradition only after the two had diverged. As we will see, the original total (which in all likelihood was not specified) was probably thirty, the \aleph tradition having added one while the Θ tradition omitted one. In its first discussion of this text, the committee decided—often on very weak textual grounds—to restore the original form of the list (though, without attestation of the number thirty, it refrained from altering the reported totals). As can be seen in this report, the committee has now decided to respect the divergent characters of the final redactions of this list in the \aleph and Θ traditions.

3.d. *Inconsistent final redaction*

Ezra 5:3f. presents a succinct report of Tattenai and Shetharbozenai’s meeting with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who were rebuilding the Temple. In Ezra 5:4a, however, we find in \aleph (supported by Ψ) a first person plural verb—“thus we then asked them”—which is out of context. The narrative leads us to expect a third person—“thus they then asked them.” 1 Esd 6:4, which SBOT and BHS follow, omitted the first part of this verse, which is unintelligible with the verb as it stands, while Θ and Syriac, which BHK² and BHK³ follow, corrected the first person form to the third person required by the context. As we will see, this is probably a case of oversight on the redactor’s part; in constructing this narrative from the report which Tattenai and Shetharbozenai sent to Darius to report on their meeting and ask for instructions, the redactor neglected to change this particular

verb from the first person form used in the source to the third person. The fact that the redactor subsequently transcribed extensive portions of the source which was abridged for this report allows us to read that source in its original form at 5:9: "Then we inquired of these elders; thus we said to them. . . ." Correcting the text of 5:4a would not restore a more original form; it would merely complete the job that the redactor left unfinished. This did not seem to the committee to be the prerogative of textual criticism. As Meyer observes,³⁴ such inconsistency in the composition of a narrative convinces us that the narrator has not created the documents to support the narrative; rather, regardless of their authenticity, it is precisely from these documents that have been transcribed for us that the narrator has composed the preceding story.

It could be that the dissatisfying state of \aleph at other points results, as here, not from textual corruption but from inadequate final redaction, and that we are at the other points simply unable to discern the inadequacy. It is, after all, unusual for a redactor to have provided us with both the narrative and the source which was used to construct it.

4. *Euphemisms*

The committee gave special attention to a particular category of redactional intervention: euphemistic usages of ultimately theological significance. In accordance with its primary aim, the committee endeavored to remove the intentional changes when they were more recent than the beginning of the second phase of textual development. Recognizing that this constitutes an interesting methodological paradigm for fixing the relative limits of literary and textual criticism, we will use the successive phases of textual development to classify the principal euphemisms uncovered by the committee in the course of its work on the Historical Books.

4.a. *The standard list of tiqqune sopherim*

By way of preliminaries, we note that three of the standard *tiqqune sopherim* occur in the Historical Books. One (1 Sam 3:13) is an authentic tradition; \odot avoided correcting it. Another (2 Sam 16:12, see McCarthy, 81–85) is a traditional miscorrection of a textual difficulty tied to a *Kethiv-Qere*. The third (2 Sam 20:1; 1 Kgs 12:16; 2 Chr 10:16) actually conveys a midrashic tradition,³⁵ and has not been taken into consideration by modern textual critics, so it was not referred to the committee.

34. Meyer, *Entstehung*, 27.

35. For each of these, see McCarthy, *Tiqqune*, 77–79, 81–85, 85–91, respectively.

4.b. The earliest euphemisms

4.b.i. Authors' euphemisms

Some euphemisms can be attributed to the author of a particular narrative, since they are merely typical figures of speech. Such is the case with the use of “bless” instead of “curse” in the false testimony which convicted Naboth (1 Kgs 21:10, 13). Such is also the case with numerous typical Hebrew circumlocutions such as “to cover the feet” (Judg 3:24; 1 Sam 24:4) in the sense of defecation, “to know” in the sense of having sexual intercourse (Judg 11:39; 19:25; 21:11; 1 Sam 1:19; 1 Kgs 1:4), or “to come/go to” a woman (2 Sam 11:4; 12:24; 16:21; 20:3) in the same sense. The Chronicler is more delicate in such expressions than the author of Samuel: to express the idea “to die,” rather than saying “to lie” with his fathers (2 Sam 7:12), the Chronicler prefers to say “to go” with his fathers (1 Chr 17:11). Rudolph sees another euphemism in the designation of a leper asylum as a “house of freedom” in 2 Kgs 15:5 (= 2 Chr 26:21).³⁶ McCarthy has raised the case of 1 Sam 29:4, where “the heads of these men” serves to express “our heads” in order not to put oneself in danger of decapitation—a danger that, however, should be clearly expressed, as *ḏ*, Syriac, and the parallel in 1 Chr 12:20 well understood.³⁷ This interpretation is almost certainly correct in light of the use of “these men” for “us” in a similarly dangerous situation narrated at Num 16:14.

It is conceivably an intentional dissonance on the author's part that 2 Kgs 23:13 refers to the Mount of Olives as the “mount of corruption” (*hār-hammašhîṭ*) in place of the traditional “mount of anointing” (*hār-hammišhâ*). This meaning, deciphered by the Targums, is pointed out by Rashi.

4.b.ii. Redactors' euphemisms

Other euphemisms can be attributed to a biblical author reworking a source.

- Thus, as Wellhausen saw, 2 Sam 8:17 reuses a list which would originally have read: “Abiathar, son of Ahimelech son of Ahitub, and Zadok were priests.” It is to liberate Zadok from the shadows and relegate Abiathar to them that we now read: “Zadok son of Ahitub and Ahimelech son of Abiathar were priests.” This recasting is attested by all textual witnesses of 2 Sam 8:17, including its parallel at 1 Chr 18:16. This theological correction can be expected to have taken place in the book of Samuel before the Chronicler used it as a source. Furthermore, it is not impossible that this alteration of a still older source goes back to the redactor of Samuel. This hypothesis gains support from another alteration of the same source—this time without theological import—which occurs six words later (2 Sam 8:18) and which we will study in this report.

36. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 284.

37. *Ibid.*, 181–82.

- Redactional motives with theological intent can be identified in the numerous interventions of the Chronicler with respect to sources: thus, as we have seen at 2 Chr 4:3, where the Chronicler inserted “figure of” before the oxen which he thought he read in 1 Kgs 7:24; or, as we will see at 2 Chr 1:6, 13, when the Chronicler located the *’ohel mo’ed* in Jerusalem at the time of Solomon’s enthronement. Likewise, the Chronicler eliminated the name “Dan” from 1 Chr 6:46, 53f.; 7:12—as can be seen in the discussion of 7:12 in *CTAT* Vol. 1, 441–42. At 2 Chr 9:7, the Chronicler wished to avoid saying that the queen of Sheba called Solomon’s wives “blessed,” and, in 1 Chr 17:21, changed a verb to the singular, lest *’elohim* be taken as a genuine plural.
- The redactor of Nehemiah seems also to have been guided by theological motives when he altered the source of 11:10 (= 1 Chr 9:9) by inserting “the son of” before “Yoyarib,” thereby granting a genealogical basis to the Hasmonean claim to the high priesthood.

4.c. Euphemisms incidentally introduced into the text

4.c.i. Incidental euphemisms lacking attestation of the original

While the preceding euphemisms must unquestionably be attributed directly to the biblical authors, whether composed by the original hand or in the reworking of sources, another group includes euphemisms of quite probably casual provenance, though the original textual form is not attested by any extant witness.

- Thus, at 1 Sam 20:16b, the word “enemies (of)” before “David” in a threat under oath is probably a euphemism employed to remove the threat from David. Nothing proves this euphemism to be “incidental”; nevertheless, the fact that at 1 Sam 25:22 the random nature of a similar euphemism is attested could suggest that here we are dealing with a euphemism of the same type.³⁸
- We will see, in Josh 22:34, as in 22:26, that the text of the ancient witnesses seems mutilated by the suppression of the name of the Transjordanian altar. Only secondary and paraphrastic textual traditions have yielded the name—“Witness”—suggested by the context.
- As we will see with regard to 2 Sam 2:8, the name of “Ishbaal” has been “de-Baalized” into “Ishbosheth” at 3:8, 14, 15; 4:5, 8 (twice) in all extant witnesses. Similarly, all witnesses de-Baalize “Mephibaal” to “Mephibosheth” at 2 Sam 21:8. In both instances, the fact that some witnesses preserve the original name in close proximity to the euphemism demonstrates that the corruption of the name is random, rather than systematic.
- As we will see at 1 Kgs 11:7, no textual witness preserves the original vocalization “Melek,” which would be the simple form (without mimmatation) of the

38. See *ibid.*, 191.

- name of the Ammonites' god Milkom. In all witnesses which attest it at this point, the name is vocalized disparagingly as "Molek."
- At 2 Sam 3:7; 4:1, 2, different branches of the textual tradition have employed different means to suppress the name "Ishbaal." While Ⓞ and 4QSam^a have de-Baalized it to "-boshet" (whence a later confusion further corrupted it, as in other places, to "Mephiboshet"), Ⓜ, in light of the presence of the appositional "son of Saul," simply omitted it.
 - 1 Kgs 9:8 presents a marginal case. In order to avoid proclaiming that the Temple will become a heap of ruins, Ⓜ appears to have created one euphemism by assimilation to the parallel in 2 Chr 7:21, while Ⓟ created another by revocalizing its Vorlage. It would seem that the original is preserved by Ⓢ (which would preserve a Ⓞ that had not undergone recension) and the Syriac, and that the parallel at 2 Chr 7:21 attests this indirectly as the basis of its redaction. The fact that a Jewish exegetical tradition continued to attest the sense of Ⓢ and Syr, however, raises doubts about the value of their witness.

4.c.ii. *Incidental euphemisms with indirect attestation*

We now take up two instances where the correction may be attributable to the second phase of textual development, though the original is attested only indirectly (by the divergence of additions and changes to it in various witnesses).

- An incidental euphemism can be discerned in 2 Sam 12:14, though no witness to the original exists. This is one of several places we found where incidental euphemistic usage aimed to avoid "the Lord" as the object of "scorn." Here, the traditions divide on the attestation of the preferred expedient: 4QSam^a and the Sahidic offer "the word of," while Ⓜ and others give "the enemies of;" both expedients serve the same function in other contexts (where, moreover, their random nature is demonstrable). The range of options in choice of euphemism here points us toward a common base text in which the euphemism did not yet appear.
- At 1 Sam 14:47, the "he acted wickedly" of Ⓜ and "he was saved" of Ⓞ (on which Ⓟ and Syriac depend for "he was victorious") are two ways to avoid saying that Saul "saved." This original appears clearly enough to us as the common base out of which both reworkings grew.
- To this group of cases, one more may be added: 1 Sam 20:31, where Ⓜ and Ⓞ have followed separate paths to avoid attributing the establishment of kingship to human agency (rather than God). We will see, though, that here the original seems to have been preserved by the very old manuscript, 4QSam^b.

4.c.iii. *Incidental euphemisms with direct attestation*

Three categories will now be considered. First, we will examine incidental euphemisms introduced into Ⓜ during the second phase of textual development (that is, between the divergence of the principal textual traditions and the defini-

tive stabilization of the proto-Masoretic consonantal text), which can be identified by comparison with the Θ witness. The second category will comprise incidental euphemisms introduced into Θ , identifiable by comparison with \aleph . The third category will include incidental euphemisms introduced into \aleph during the third phase of textual development, between the stabilization of the proto-Masoretic consonantal text and the fixing, as completely as possible, of the vowels and accents by the Tiberian Masoretes.

Euphemisms introduced incidentally into \aleph before consonantal stabilization and identifiable through other witnesses

Euphemisms identifiable through Θ and 4QSam^a

We begin here with three cases from the beginning of 1 Samuel where 4QSam^a adds its witness to Θ 's to reveal an incidental euphemism in \aleph .

1. The most extensive of the “euphemisms” is the complex and intrusive addition which distinguishes \aleph from 4QSam^a and Θ at 1 Sam 2:22. The original attested by the latter witnesses summarizes the sins of the sons of Eli in the phrase, “what his sons were doing to the children of Israel,” while \aleph expands that to: “all that his sons were doing to all Israel, and how they lay with the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting.” (The phrase “who served at . . .” is the euphemism, a phrase borrowed from Exod 38:8.)
2. At 1 Sam 2:17, 4QSam^a and Θ preserve the original “they treated the offering of the Lord with contempt,” while \aleph has inserted the expedient “(the) men,” to separate further the verb from its direct object.
3. At 1 Sam 10:4, 4QSam^a and Θ preserve the technical term for the bread offered to Saul: it was the “offertory” bread (*tenuḥot*); \aleph omits this specification, probably judging that Saul, a layman, would never have received such fare reserved for the priests.

Euphemisms identifiable through Θ

There are a number of other cases where Θ stands without the support of Qumran fragments to brand certain \aleph euphemisms as incidental.

- We have already seen that this was the case with the *tiqqun sopherim* of 1 Sam 3:13, where \aleph elides an *ʾalep* to transform “blaspheme God” (as Θ reads) into “blaspheme themselves.”
- The Θ of 1 Sam 25:22 preserves intact a self-imprecation of David where \aleph has inserted “the enemies of” to defuse the curse.
- At 2 Sam 12:9, \aleph has inserted “the word of” between “you have despised” and “the Lord;” Θ (here represented by the Antiochene and ξ) does not show this insertion.
- It seems that \aleph , by transforming a *reš* to a *dalet* in 2 Sam 7:23 (and its parallel, 1 Chr 17:21), has made “unique” from the adjective “other,” which—as

we will discuss further—could seem derogatory of the people of God, but which Ⓞ nevertheless preserves.

- At 1 Kgs 10:8, Ⓞ preserves the praises spoken by the queen of Sheba of Solomon’s wives, while Ⓜ assimilated (intentionally?) to the parallel, 2 Chr 9:7, where the Chronicler addressed these praises to Solomon’s men by the simple addition of an *’alep*.
- The Ⓢ of Judg 1:16 seems to stand as a witness to Ⓞ against other witnesses which have assimilated to Ⓜ, which by the omission of the last two letters has done away with Amaleq. The two readings, nevertheless, figure in a doublet in certain Ⓞ minuscules and in the Sahidic.
- Ⓢ again witnesses to the Ⓞ reading “Moses” at Judg 18:30, where the other witnesses also add Ⓜ reading that transforms “Moses”—mentioned here as an ancestor of the idolatrous young priest—into “Manasseh” by the addition of a *nun*. Ⓜ does retain a memory of the original reading in that the intrusive *nun* is suspended. The Antiochene tradition here joins the two variants in a conflated reading.
- In 2 Sam 2:2, 8, 10, 12, 15, the name “Ishbaal” is attested by the Antiochene (and Ⓢ, where it knew the former), while Ⓜ has de-Baalized it to “Ishbosheth.”
- In 2 Sam 4:4; 9:6 (twice), 10, 11, 12 (twice), 13; 16:1, 4; 19:25, 26, 31; 21:7, it is the name “Mephibaal” which is attested by the same witnesses, while Ⓜ has de-Baalized it to “Mepiboshet.” It is to be noted in this regard that the Chronicler, on finding these two Baalophoric names in source lists (1 Chr 8:33–34 and 9:39–40, which have no formal parallels in Samuel), did not de-Baalize them.
- At 2 Sam 23:8, the same witnesses again (the Antiochene and Ⓢ) preserve “Ishbaal” where the Palestinian recension (supporting the proto-Masoretic text) attests the de-Baalized form, “Ishbosheth,” while Ⓜ and other witnesses have corrupted this form into “Yosheb Bashebet” (“Josheb-basshebeth”) under the influence of a nearby word.
- In 2 Sam 11:21, the majority of Ⓞ witnesses and the portion of Ⓟ witnesses that has been contaminated by Ⓢ attest the original “Yerubaal.” The Vaticanus manuscript (here representing the Palestinian recension?) shows a deformation of the Greek transcription, “Yerobaal,” into “Yeroboam” (as seen already in 1 Sam 12:11), while the proto-Masoretic text (here attested by Ⓟ) has de-Baalized the name to “Yeruboshet.” Since the name, however, expresses Gideon’s laudable opposition to Baal, the Masoretes revocalized the pejorative ending, yielding “Yerubesheth” (“Jerubbesheth”).
- In 1 Chr 11:11, Ⓜ has apparently de-Baalized “Ishbaal” by another means, used also in the parallel of 2 Sam 23:8: by transforming the final *lamed* into a *mem*, it has assimilated to the name “Yashabeam” (“Jashobeam”), used also at 1 Chr 12:7. Here Ⓞ preserves the original “Ishbaal.” The transcription “Sobal”

- at 1 Chr 27:2 in Vaticanus may permit us to discern the same initiative behind another \aleph use of “Yashabeam.”
- At 2 Sam 15:8, it is possible, but less likely, that \aleph and 4QSam^c intentionally omitted “to Hebron” (attested by Θ) from Absalom’s vow. Such a preference for Hebron as a cult place, while the ark was at Jerusalem, would have shocked a scribe. We show in *CTAT* Vol. 1³⁹ that another explanation of the textual situation is more probable, however.
 - In contrast, it is quite likely that, for theological reasons, \aleph omitted a stich in 1 Kgs 8:13 presenting the sun in parallel with the Lord. Θ has preserved this stich, but in too corrupt a form to discern its probable Vorlage. In any event, the Chronicler (2 Chr 6:1) employed a form of the Kings text in which the stich did not appear.

Incidental euphemisms introduced into Θ and identifiable through \aleph

We now take up the second category of euphemisms, subsequent to the second phase of textual development, mentioned above. This comprises euphemisms introduced incidentally into Θ or its Vorlage which we can spot by comparison with \aleph . Since the committee’s work did not formally focus on Θ , only a very partial sampling of such euphemisms is given here. Nevertheless, it seems to be representative.

- We have already noted the disappearance of the name “Amalek” from \aleph of Judg 1:16 by the apparently intentional omission of two letters. At Judg 5:14, it is the Vorlage of Θ which, by the omission of a *lamed*, has eliminated this name.
- In 1 Sam 28:16, Θ did not want to let Samuel declare to Saul: “the Lord has . . . become your enemy.” Thus it treated the three letters, *‘ayin - reš - kap*, as an abbreviation (or acronym) which it understood to yield “the Lord has . . . been with your neighbor.”
- In 2 Sam 3:8, Θ has not translated “of (= belonging to) Judah” after the words “Am I a dog’s head?” This is quite probably intended to avoid having the name of this tribe appear in a scornful context.
- At 2 Sam 7:23, we have noted that the Chronicler (1 Chr 17:21) made an effort to prevent the plural form of a verb from implying the interpretation of “Elohim,” the subject of the verb, as a genuine plural. The same concern has led Θ to vocalize its Vorlage (consonantly identical to \aleph) as “led (Israel),” rather than “set out.”
- At the end of the same verse, the transposition of a *lamed* and a *he* has allowed 4QSam^a and the Vorlage of Θ to transform “their gods” into “their tents.” Apparently, it was desirable thus to avoid the appearance of a pan-

39. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 272.

- theon. It was probably the same motivation which led the Chronicler (1 Chr 17:21) to omit the last two letters of the verse, and the Targumist to be content with copying them in their Hebrew form without translating them.
- In 1 Kgs 4:5, we see that Ⓞ deprives a Judean of questionable lineage of the title “priest.” We also see in this regard that at 2 Sam 8:18 Ⓞ, recognizing only priests of levitical descent, replaced the title of “priest” with *aularches* for the sons of David.
 - At 1 Kgs 8:13, to avoid having Solomon accused of arrogance for having said to the Lord, “I have built you a house” (as in *Midrash Tehillim*), Ⓞ transforms this declaration into a supplication: “Build me a house!”
 - At 2 Kgs 5:18, to avoid having Elisha authorize Naaman to prostrate himself before Rimmon, Ⓞ has Naaman asking Elisha’s permission to prostrate himself “before the Lord my God” at the time that his master prostrates himself in the temple of Rimmon.
 - Twice in 2 Kgs 23:15 and once in 1 Kgs 13:32, we see⁴⁰ that Ⓞ has removed references to the high places. This may be a matter of an internal Greek alteration; the neuter substantive which usually translates this term has been transformed into an innocuous adjective (“high”) modifying another substantive.
 - In 2 Chr 26:5, Ⓞ is an early witness to the effort to replace “seeing God” with “the fear of God,” an effort that persisted as an internal variant in Ⓜ.
 - At 2 Sam 12:30, it is the proto-Masoretic text (attested by the Palestinian recension of Ⓞ) that attests “Milkom,” the name of the Ammonite god, while Ⓞ and later Ⓜ—by a vocalic correction to *malkām* (“their king”)—avoided having David adorn himself with a jewel consecrated to an idol.
 - Wevers drew attention to the Greek of 1 Kgs 11:11 and 19:10, which includes an attempt not to mention the covenant in contexts which would permit one to conclude that the human partner is capable of forgetting or breaking it.⁴¹ In treating 1 Kgs 18:18,⁴² we add one more case (19:14) to the two cited by Wevers. Nevertheless, we question whether his explanation is the best one.
 - At 1 Chr 24:13, we see the name “Yeshebeab” suffer two successive transformations; it was first accidentally Baalized (by assimilation to “Ishbaal”), then omitted.⁴³

Incidental euphemisms introduced into Ⓜ after consonantal stabilization

Some euphemisms are introduced incidentally in vocalization, or even only a particular accentuation. A good many of them are likely to have taken place during the third phase of textual development; that is to say, to have been produced after the proto-Masoretic consonantal text had already stabilized.

40. *Ibid.*, 420.

41. Wevers, “Exegetical.”

42. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 370.

43. *Ibid.*, 464–65.

Suspended letters

We mention first the “suspended” *nun* in Manasseh, the insertion of which in Judg 18:30 we have already discussed. This particular fact attests that the consonantal text was already fixed by tradition when this insertion was made.

Eastern Kethiv

Whatever the original of the toponym “Bet Aven” may have been, it is clear that, during the third phase of textual development, it was identified as “Bethel,”⁴⁴ the form being assumed to be a pejorative reference to this idolatrous sanctuary. This is indicated by the translations of Theodotion and Symmachus (“house of injustice”) and Aquila (“useless house”) at Hosea 4:15; 5:8; and 10:5. It is impossible to say how far back this usage of Bet Aven for Bethel at these points in Hosea may have occurred. In Josh 8:12, though, an Eastern *Kethiv* which has the support of Origen’s recension of Ⓞ witnesses to the fact that some transmitters of the consonantal text had attempted to understand this pejorative reference at other places where the toponym “Bethel” is used. The Western consonantal tradition protected the text it transmitted against this late deformation.

Qeres

Some euphemisms could only be introduced in the form of *Qeres*, in light of the *Kethivs* which were already fixed.

- The most universal and one of the oldest is the tradition of reading “Adonai” in order to avoid pronouncing the Tetragrammaton.
- A *baraita* reported by the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Meg.* 25b) introduces nine *Qeres* into the Historical Books for the sake of decency (the *Kethiv* here referring to excrement or hemorrhoids): At 1 Sam 5:6, 9, 12; 6:4, 5, it would read *ṭēḥôrîm* for the *Kethiv* עֲפֹלִים, with respect to the plague which struck the Philistines for having detained the ark of God. At 2 Kgs 6:25, it would read *dibhyônîm* for the *Kethiv* חֲרֵי יוֹנִים, referring to a food with the offensive name, “pigeon droppings.” At 2 Kgs 10:27, it would read *lēmôṣa’ôṭ* for the *Kethiv* לְמַחְרָאוֹת. At 2 Kgs 18:27, it would read *ṣô’âtâm* and *mêmê raḡlêhem* for the *Kethiv*’s חֲרִיָּהֶם and שִׁינֵיהֶם.
- The *Qere* of 2 Sam 5:8 could be considered euphemistic: “who are hated by” instead of the *Kethiv*, “who hate.” This is a case of avoiding having “David’s soul” as the object of the verb “to hate.” We note that 4QSam^a has achieved the same result by another euphemism: “whom (David’s soul) has hated.” To be precise, we must note that here the Masoretic *Qere* consists of a simple revocalization of the Hebrew variant with a final *yod* (instead of the *waw* of the *Kethiv*), which is what Ⓞ read in its Vorlage and vocalized as an active participle: “who hate.”

44. See Neubauer, *Géographie*, 155–56.

Vowels

We now move on to euphemistic vocalizations of the consonantal מ:

- Two alternative vocalizations are possible for the first word of 1 Kgs 19:3, one of which fits well in the context—“then he was afraid,” which Ⓞ, Ⓟ, Syriac, and part of the מ witness read—and another—“then he saw,” whose intent is to avoid saying that Elijah, who had held firm before the Lord, feared Jezebel. The second reading is the authentic reading of the traditional Tiberian מ, where it is supported by a Masorah. The Targum is based on it. This would seem to be an incidental euphemism dating from the third phase of textual development.
- Indecision about reading the same two roots is apparent in 2 Chr 26:5. Here the situation is reversed. As we have already noted, the concern to replace the vision of God with the fear of God is expressed here by Ⓞ, supported—as in the preceding case—by the Syriac. Here the traditional Tiberian מ (supported by a Masorah and Ⓟ) considers this euphemistic reading to be inauthentic, although it nevertheless made its way into the Targum and certain מ manuscripts under the influence of Talmudic citations which make use of it.
- Taking into account other similar cases, we will grant that in 2 Sam 5:16 “Eliada” and “Becliada” could have been two forms of the name of one of David’s sons. The latter form, attested in 1 Chr 14:7, was not de-Baalized by either Ⓞ or the pre-Masoretic scribes, since it is attested at the beginning of the third phase of textual development by the consonantal מ, and subsequently by Ⓟ. In effect, the possibility that a son of David was devoted to Baal gave no grounds for concern. Nevertheless, the vocalizers of מ took scruples to establish a sort of clandestine *Qere* by vocalizing the first two consonants of the proper name with a *šewā’* and *šegôl* (in place of two *patahs*). The reading *hē’elyādā’* is thereby suggested, in which the *’alep* of the alternative form replaces the *’ayin*, something which has in fact occurred in some rare witnesses of מ.
- At 2 Sam 11:21, the vocalizers’ activity, as noted above, is seen operating in the reverse sense: with a *šegôl* in place of a penultimate *hōlem*, the champion of the resistance to Baal, Gideon, has been freed from the pejorative nuance given to his name by a de-Baalizing scribe of the pre-Masoretic era who changed Jerubbaal to Jerubbesheth.

There are distinctive vocalizations for which it is very difficult to determine from what age they date: thus, at 2 Kgs 10:19, 21, 22, 23, the placement of a *hōlem* or a *patah* in the first syllable of the same consonant group distinguishes the “worshippers” (of Baal) from the “servants” (of the Lord). This distinction (partially attested by Ⓟ and faithfully incorporated into the Syriac, Targum, and traditional Tiberian מ manuscripts) does not appear in certain other מ manuscripts nor in Ⓞ. This last fact may be interpreted in two ways: either this nuance

of vocalization represents a development subsequent to the beginning of the second phase, or, rather, the Greek translator (together with some 𐤀 manuscript copyists) either missed the nuance or didn't consider it useful to take into account in translation.

Diacritical point

In certain other nuances with theological implications (for example, the placement of the diacritical point in 2 Chr 1:5), even the various witnesses of the traditional Tiberian text diverge. In this case, it is a Masorah that stands clearly in the Ben Asher tradition which arbitrates among the witnesses, showing that the authentic Tiberian text, supported by 𐤄 and 𐤅, rejects a theological alteration attested by the Syriac and the Targum.

Accents

We now take up the most tenuous of incidental euphemisms: those which exist in the rhythm of a phrase, insofar as it is indicated by accents. In the examples we will consider, it seems that we are dealing with textual activity subsequent to the second phase of textual development. Nevertheless, it is impossible to show that these nuances of reading were not already known to very early tradents of the pre-Masoretic text, however artificial they may appear to us.

- We have noted that 𐤀 and 𐤅 have made different attempts to avoid predicting the destruction of the Temple in 1 Kgs 9:8. A parallel attempt is made by the accenter of the parallel at 2 Chr 7:21. The Chronicler, in fact, by several alterations and a fairly minor reconstruction of the text of Kings, has obtained the following: "And this house, which rose high above everyone passing by it, will be destroyed." Only David Qimhi's exegesis truly does justice to the Chronicler's text. The accenter, by marking the word "high" with a *zāqēp qāṭôn*, introduced the possibility that the subsequent *lamed* is superfluous, and that the verse should be understood, with Rashi, "And this house which was exalted—everyone passing by it will be astonished."
- We have noted at Josh 22:26 and 34 that the name of the Yahwistic altar built in Transjordan seems to have been suppressed before the second phase of textual development. A similar step was taken by the accenter of 𐤀 with regard to the name that Gideon gave to the altar he built (Judg 6:24). The natural sense of the text (according to 𐤀 and LXX) is that Gideon named the altar "the Lord is peace" or "the peace of the Lord" (thus 𐤄 reads). By marking the Tetragrammaton with a *ṭipḥâ*, however, the accenter of 𐤀 avoided the name Gideon had given the altar and obtained: "and the Lord named it 'peace'."
- In 2 Kgs 2:14, the placement of the *ʾaṭnāḥ* leads to the reading: "And he said, 'Where is the God of Elijah?' Indeed, he then struck the waters. . . ." However, the most fitting accentuation suggested by the text would move the

ʾaṭnāḥ back after “indeed he,” which leads to the reading: “And he said, ‘Where is the God of Elijah, indeed?’ Then he struck the waters. . . .” This is the sense which Abravanel prefers. It is quite likely that the less natural positioning of the *ʾaṭnāḥ* results from the accenter’s attempt to lessen the bitterness of Elisha’s challenge to the God of Elijah.

4.c.iv. The various phases of Baal-euphemisms

We have presented more than a hundred cases of euphemisms drawn from the Historical Books in order to illustrate fairly completely a particular category of textual interventions which stand on the line between literary and textual criticism. Dysphemisms also come into consideration in the category of euphemisms. In either case, it is a matter of “the fitting word,” to avoid speaking inappropriately of those deserving of honor or those deserving of contempt.

In some cases, the same words underwent successive euphemism and dysphemism. The following present the development of euphemisms of Baal. They are grounded in Hos 2:19: “Then I will remove the names of the Baals from her mouth, and they shall be mentioned by name no more.” We have seen that varied techniques were applied after the beginning of the second phase of textual development, principally in the second book of Samuel—in the pre-Masoretic textual tradition as much as in 4QSam^a and the Ⓞ strain—to achieve the result promised in Hosea: at times, the Baalophoric name is omitted (when it is modified by the oppositional “son of Saul,” which can suffice to designate the man in question) and, more often, the “-baal” element is replaced by the pejorative “-boshet.” However, this de-Baalization does not take place in a completely logical way. In the second book of Samuel, Ⓢ and the Antiochene tradition of Ⓞ are products of a textual strain which escaped this influence. The Chronicler, in handling lists with Baalophoric names which have no direct parallel in Samuel, retains the “-baal” element. One Baalophoric name was usually retained, even in the old Historical Books: “Yerubbaal,” because it conveyed Gideon’s rebellion against Baal (13 times in Judges and once in 1 Samuel). But we have seen that the tide of de-Baalization has not spared even this venerable name in the pre-Masoretic tradition of 2 Samuel, where, at 11:21, it has changed it to “Yerubbosheth.” To purge the consequent insult, the vocalizer of Ⓜ has neutralized the pejorative nuance by reading “Yerubbesheth.” The Chronicler, in this regard, at 1 Chr 14:7, retained the name of David’s son, “Baalyada,” which in other lists appears under the alternate form, “Elyada.” But we have noted that the vocalizer of Ⓜ, uncomfortable with a text that seems to presuppose a cult dedicated to Baal in David’s family, has steered the pronunciation toward the alternate form by vocalizing: “be-Elyada.”

5. The Preservation of Textual Integrity by Limited Innovation

This example of the process of de-Baalization gives us the opportunity to observe that the euphemistic intention—which appears already in the work of the

biblical authors—continued to find expression throughout the transmission of sacred books, as much in the מ tradition as in that of ש. The Deuteronomist commands: “you shall blot out the remembrance of Amaleq” (25:19). We have seen one attempt by מ (Judg 1:16) and one by ש (Judg 5:14) to apply this principle by textual intervention. The euphemism is a necessity that imposes itself—in however inconsequential fashion—on the transmitters of the sacred text to assure the text’s integrity in the face of changing sensibilities. It is one of the “controlled variations” about which Talmon made the following astute observation: “in this sphere of biblical text transmission the possibility should be considered that the principle of ‘controlled variation’ which was the legitimate right of biblical authors, editors, and likewise of transmitters and copyists retained a lease on life also in the post-biblical period.”⁴⁵ In the pre- and proto-Masoretic line, the standard of literal exactitude was only gradually put into place: first, the consonantal text, then the vocalization, and then the accentuation. Before these levels of consonants, vowels, and accents underwent their successive stabilization, however, and the text’s adaptability to life’s circumstances was relegated to solely external domains of midrashic interpretation, the “controlled variations” were not seen as unfaithful to the integrity of the text. They seemed to be required for the faithful transmission of canonical writings: it was a matter of allowing these writings always to speak what they had to say—in the case of euphemisms, to find suitable expressions—despite the fact that their hearers were differently attuned as a result of cultural transformations. As Sanders commented, the principal characteristic of canonical material throughout the biblical and post-biblical period was its adaptability.⁴⁶ For quite some time, this adaptability was manifested in limited innovations in which we must see a pious motive with respect to the transmitted texts.

One can also ask if textual criticism might not be using an anachronistic criterion when it assumes the requirement of a strict literal identity on texts from the moment when they became canonical. In fact, stabilization and adaptation are two apparently contradictory tendencies which, nevertheless, have long interacted and sought the same goal: to preserve the integrity of the text. Stabilization tends to guarantee this integrity by preventing further changes, whether to the written text (consonants) or to subtleties of pronunciation (vowels) or even to the rhythm of pronunciation (accents). Adaptation—recognizing that God speaks in human language—tends to consider it necessary to submit the text to certain alterations, of such character and extent as to reflect the evolution of human expression, specifically in order to assure that the text retain its audience under changing circumstances. It is clear that this adaptational tendency played a pre-

45. Talmon, “Study,” 376.

46. Sanders, “Adaptable,” 542.

dominant role in the various redactional reshapings which preceded the second phase of textual development.

During the second phase, it found a quite natural expression in the translation of the Bible into Greek. It can also be discerned in certain updated textual forms attested at Qumran. As for the pre-Masoretic strain, it was the stabilizing tendency which took the upper hand from the start of the second phase, giving this text form the appearance, as far back as the first century B.C., of a scholarly text preserved by scholars and intelligible only with difficulty, even for them. It would be anachronistic to stigmatize as “textual alterations” the final redactional interventions preceding the definitive ascendancy of stabilization. As an example, consider the most extensive theological gloss that we have seen penetrate the pre-Masoretic textual tradition after the beginning of the second phase: the intensification of the guilt of Eli’s sons in 1 Sam 2:22. Why treat this addition differently from the “pluses” that \mathfrak{M} presents in Jeremiah in comparison to \mathfrak{G} ? Are they not both a final literary creativity which must be considered legitimately a part of the subsequently stabilized text? It is for this reason that the committee—in this case, as in that of the list of Canaanite kings in Josh 12:9–24—has reversed its decision and recognized that here, too, is an autonomous literary development in the heart of \mathfrak{M} subsequent to the beginning of the second phase.

B. How Did the Canonization of the Scriptural Books Take Place?

As is now generally recognized with respect to the word “canonization,” one must not confuse the recognition of a given book as sacred with the closing of the canon which took place in Palestinian Judaism toward the end of the first century A.D.

1. Canonization as the Recognition of Literature as Sacred

If we take the liberty of using “canonization” in a broad sense to designate the act by which a book has been recognized as sacred Scripture, that is not necessarily to imply that we are dealing with an event which is easy either to describe or to locate. The Torah, the prophetic oracles, and the historical books of diverse eras came by different paths and in different stages to be integrated finally, with the Psalms and wisdom writings, in a single collection of sacred books.

1.a. The recognition of the Torah as a sacred book

Ever since a Torah was venerated as received by Moses on Sinai, even before it was codified and promulgated, it was accorded status as Word of God. The history of Israel allows us to identify two successive codifications: that which served as the basis for the Josianic reform and that which constituted the legal corpus promulgated by Ezra in the name of the Persian king. Each of these codifications probably entailed a textual stabilization. The one that occurred at the

end of the seventh century B.C. did not last long; the destruction of the Temple and the monarchy compelled the exiles to prepare a new codification. The text promulgated by Ezra, however, enjoyed the guarantees of additional stability accruing to it by virtue of official approval and solemn promulgation by the royal administration, and subsequently by its central place in synagogue worship. It is also that portion of the Jewish Bible in which are discerned the fewest literary alterations at the heart of the various transmission traditions.

1.b. The recognition of the prophetic oracles as sacred books

Prophetic oracles often constituted the legacy of small schools of disciples who recognized in them a divine word. The exile provided a larger audience for those prophets who had announced the destruction of the Temple and monarchy. Collections of their prophecies came to be formed. In Isaiah's case, the collection grew within a single school. In the case of Jeremiah, the collection was transmitted in two distinct settings before being entirely stabilized. Among the Maccabean *hasidim*, at Qumran, and in the Christian community, there are contemporizing readings which attest that these oracles were understood as a divine word offering these communities enlightenment as to their present and future destiny. The Samaritans, however, did not receive these oracles as sacred, and the Ebionites⁴⁷ did not recognize them as inspired. There is no evidence that the Sadducees read them thus. As for Philo, he uses them only sporadically while setting the Law at the center of his study. Even in the Pharisaic tradition, certain stories (such as the discussion between Jacob of Kefar Nibouraya and R. Haggai, reported by the midrash on Qoh 7:23) indicate that there were currents still persisting around A.D. 350 that would not place the "qabbala" (a category which includes the Prophets and Writings) on a par with the Torah. At Qumran, on the other hand, as in the New Testament, no distinction between the degrees of sanctity of the Torah and the prophetic writings can be discerned.

1.c. The recognition of the historical sources as sacred books

The historical books that Talmudic Judaism designates as the "Former Prophets" were probably "canonized" in two stages: initially, they were preserved as sources for the history of the people, which conferred on them the status of traditional books. We have already drawn attention to the fact that the Chronicler treated them with greater freedom than the Torah. Only later, after their redaction had been attributed to the Prophets, did they gain full standing as sacred Scripture, on the same grounds as the prophetic writings.

47. See Barthélemy, *Études*, 308.

1.d. The closing of the Haphtarot

A book such as Daniel, as a prophetic oracle, carried the hope of the *hasidim* and subsequently of all movements that shared in their scriptural legacy. In Pharisaic Judaism, however, it never gained entrance into the collection of Prophets from which are drawn the *Haphtarot* for synagogue worship. Here one might see an indication that the content of this latter collection was already determined toward the middle of the second century B.C., and that only the contours of the group of “other writings” were indistinct until the closing of the Pharisaic canon and the progressive stabilization of Christian lists.

1.e. Historical books outside the Pharisaic canon of Prophets

1.e.i. Chronicles

Chronicles probably entered the collection of sacred books in the wake of Kings. Their Greek title, *Paraleipomena* (= “Omissions,” Latin spelling *Paralipomena*), identifies them as supplementary archival material which the redactors of Kings did not use. The Hebrew title, *dibrê-hayyāmîm*, seems to represent the books as the archival collection that Kings cites frequently under the same title. This subtle pseudepigraphy must have played no slight role in the admission of Chronicles to the sacred books.

1.e.ii. Ezra-Nehemiah

However closely tied in its literary origin to Chronicles, which it completes, Ezra-Nehemiah seems to have gained entry to the canonical collection before Chronicles. We find one indication of this in the Greek Bible and another in the Hebrew Bible.

The Greek Esdras α presents an interesting literary phenomenon. In it we have an old translation of the last two chapters of Chronicles, all of Ezra, and a fragment of Nehemiah. Amidst these freely translated extracts, we find inserted the story of the question debated by the courtiers of King Darius, which has no parallel in the Hebrew Bible. It is probable that this entire narrative entered Hellenistic Judaism by different and older routes than those by which the considerably more literal translation of Paralipomena arrived. When a more exacting standard of literality came to be applied to the biblical translations, a second, fuller and more faithful translation (2 Esdras) was provided to replace the first. Since each offered material which was absent from the other, however, they remained side by side in the Greek Bible. One might consider that Esdras α was intended to provide Hellenistic Jews with the narratives which would continue the history recounted in the books of Kings. It was, in all likelihood, only after this continuation had been received that interest grew in the second version of the prior history which Paralipomena offered.

The Hebrew Bible itself may also provide an indication that Ezra-Nehemiah was received before Chronicles. This indication consists of the inversion of the

books, contrary to the succession of historical events, in the old rabbinic list preserved in the Babylonian Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14b). Moreover, the precaution has been taken at the end of Chronicles to retain the first verses of Ezra, so as not to lose the memory that the happenstances of canonization had broken a literary continuity. In any event, we note that Sirach makes use of both Chronicles (47:9–10) and Nehemiah (49:13).

I.e.iii. Two Scrolls

In the Historical Books of the Christian Old Testament, two small books still appear which the rabbinic list incorporates into the category of “Scrolls,” suggesting that the process of canonization has taken distinct paths.

Ruth

The book of Ruth is attested at Qumran in four copies. The Greek translation, however, appears to be late, having been produced among Palestinian Pharisees in the first decades of the Common Era.⁴⁸ It was probably aimed at spreading the practice of reading this small scroll on the feast of Shavuot among the synagogues of the Diaspora. Likewise, its entry into the collection of sacred books was probably tied to the spread of its liturgical usage at this time.

Esther

The situation with Esther is quite different. This scroll’s *raison d’être* was to promulgate the feast of Purim. Already in the second, or perhaps the first, century B.C., a Greek translation was developed for circulation in Egypt with just this purpose. Nevertheless, it is the only book in the Pharisaic canon which has not been found at Qumran.⁴⁹ In practice, Purim is more a familial and popular feast than a properly liturgical one; this explains how Esther could be the only “scroll” preserved in families and how (according to *b. San.* 100a), toward the end of the third century A.D., some rabbis could still question the necessity of making a “veil” for the book of Esther. They probably shared the opinion of Mar Samuel (ca. A.D. 230) that Esther had been inspired for recitation but not for writing (*b. Meg.* 7a). This uncertainty about the book’s degree of sanctity probably also explains how it could be omitted from the canons of Meliton, Athanasius, and Gregory of Nazianzus, while Amphilochius and Niccphorus doubted its canonicity. Nevertheless, we note that Josephus—who said that he chose at the age of twenty-one to join the Pharisaic sect⁵⁰—used the Greek Esther⁵¹ and that his choice of the reign of Artaxerxes as the *terminus ad quem* for

48. See Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 158ff.

49. [Since the publication of *CTAT* Vol. 1, some “Esther related fragments” from Cave 4 have been debated in the literature. See M. Saebø’s introduction to Esther in *BHQ Megilloth*, 24*. —Ed.]

50. Josephus, Vol. 1 (*The Life*, §2).

51. Josephus, Vol. 8 (*Jewish Antiquities*, Book XI, §§184–296).

the redaction of the sacred books seems to have been motivated by a desire to include Esther.⁵²

1.f. Different paths to canonicity

As far as we can ascertain, at least five different paths of admission to canonicity can be identified among the Historical Books treated in *CTAT* Vol. 1, and perhaps as many distinct settings and eras in which this admission took place. Even if the final stage (the integration of the sacred books into one common list) was in most places identical for all, the intermediate stages varied. Some had first been preserved as traditional archival material. For others, liturgical usage constituted an essential stage, whether in the Sabbath liturgy for which some provided the *Haphtarot*, the liturgy of one of the ancient pilgrimage feasts (Shavuot), or a popular and familial paraliturgical (Purim). For still others, a subtle pseudepigraphy must have played a role (prophetic redaction, or identification with a document cited in a book already read as Scripture).

2. Canonization as Closing

In attempting to represent the closing of the lists of canonical books, it is necessary to distinguish between the Jewish Bible and the Christian Old Testament.

2.a. Jerome's Perspective

In his quest for the *Veritas hebraica*, Jerome wanted to accept as the canonical list of the Christian Old Testament that which he found in use among the Jewish masters of his day. This choice was bound up with his use of the proto-Masoretic Hebrew text as the basis for his new Latin translation. Historians of Old Testament canon have subsequently interpreted Jerome's position as the deliberate abandonment of an "Alexandrian canon" which the Greek-speaking church of the first centuries had inherited at the same time as Hellenistic Judaism received the Septuagint. Jerome would thereby have taken two complementary, and wholly justifiable, initiatives. On the one hand, he would have carried out his translation directly from the Hebrew, to replace the uneven and corrupt ϵ which is only indirectly and tenuously related to the Hebrew Vorlage of the Greek translators. On the other hand, he would have chosen as the authentic list of biblical books that which the Palestinian Jewish contemporaries of Jesus had used, in preference to an Alexandrian canon which had accepted less critically other books in circulation among various pious groups in Hellenistic Judaism. As a result of his direct contact with Hebrew-speaking Palestinian Judaism, one could say, Jerome would have rerooted the Old Testament of the church, as much canonically as textually, more authentically in the Jewish milieu in which Jesus lived.

52. Josephus, Vol. 1 (*Against Apion*, §40).

The discovery of the Qumran manuscripts has, however, illuminated two points of which Jerome could not have been aware: first, the variability of content of sacred libraries and the diversity of forms in use among Hebrew-speaking Jews of Jesus' day; and second, the cultural and religious context in which the canonical closing and fixing of the text took place, which led to the *Veritas hebraica* that Jerome considered normative.

2.b. The Bible of Qumran and the Authors of the New Testament

The content of the Qumran library allows the determination that the collections of the Law and the Prophets were received at Qumran, as in the New Testament, but were accompanied by a complementary group of writings in three categories, which we shall designate (anachronistically) as (1) Writings (Ketuvim), (2) Deuterocanon or Apocrypha, and (3) Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha, without drawing a dividing line among them. The concern to establish such boundaries probably surfaced before the first revolt in the Pharisaic schools, but it had not yet manifested itself in the period of which the Qumran literature and the New Testament inform us.

This determination in no way challenges the fact that, at Qumran as in the New Testament, the two collections known as the Law and the Prophets were recognized as sacred Scripture. It does reveal, however, that the content of the remaining group which constituted the category of "sacred books" seems to have varied from community to community and even from author to author. The Psalms stood at the center of this group, although the collection at Qumran—at least in some manuscripts—still had imprecise limits. At Qumran, however, as among some New Testament authors, it certainly seems that some books which Jews and Christians today consider apocryphal (e.g., Enoch) were read more than some which we all agree today are canonical (e.g., Esther).

2.c. The "Alexandrian Canon"

The canons of African councils inform us of the list of books which the Latin church read as sacred Scripture in Jerome's day. As the preponderance of the great uncials of the Greek Bible and the patristic citations show us, this list was substantially identical to the list of books received by the Greek churches.

There is nothing to prove, however, that this list had been established authoritatively by Alexandrian Judaism since the first century A.D. and received by the church at the same time as the Septuagint. In fact, only the Pentateuch was made the object of an official promulgation in Alexandria.⁵³ With regard to the various Greek-speaking Jewish communities from which the church received the Scriptures, the New Testament shows us that they would have used sacred libraries with still fluid boundaries comparable to the sacred library at Qumran, their con-

53. See Barthélemy, *Études*, 336–37.

tent varying to a certain degree with respect to the books which they included with the Law and the Prophets.

It was probably by mutual consultation that the churches subsequently agreed to fix precise limits to the list of books which could be read as sacred Scripture in the liturgy. It is certain in any case that when Origen reports the content of the canonical list of the Jews, it is not done to set a norm for the church, but to provide guidance in the controversy with the Jews for a Church which had already established the list of books with which it had been entrusted at the time of its creation.⁵⁴

2.d. Closing of the Jewish canon

2.d.i. Why closing?

It can be demonstrated that Pharisaism, already at the beginning of the first century A.D., had begun to check the Septuagint against a proto-Masoretic text, and it is unlikely in these settings that a concern for distinguishing between that which could and that which could not be read as sacred Scripture waited for the beginning of Christianity to surface. Nevertheless,

Christian appropriation of Jewish Scriptures added impetus to the progress of their canonization. Such belligerent declarations as Justin Martyr's, "Your Scriptures, or rather not yours, but ours" [*Dialogue XXIX*, 2] egged on the rabbis to differentiate sharply between their own "authentic" Bible and alien accretions. The text began to be definitely established and the foundations of the *Masorah* were laid down through the minute toil of generations. Certain books were definitely included in, others excluded from, the Hebrew canon, a peremptory line of demarcation being drawn between those endowed with scriptural authority and the inferior "external" works (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha).⁵⁵

Thus S. W. Baron represented the cultural context in which the closing of the Jewish Palestinian canon took place.

Joshua Bloch, on the basis of two complementary studies by G. F. Moore⁵⁶ and L. Ginzberg,⁵⁷ reasoned that:

the fear that the gospels, the teachings of which they did not regard as of the authentic Jewish grain, may in the course of time assume a position equal with that held by the Hebrew Bible prompted the early rabbis to discourage their reading and ultimately to deny them a place in the national literature of the Jews by banning them from the body of Jewish literature. Already in the year 90 C.E.

54. See *ibid.*, 114, 207.

55. Baron, *History*, Vol. 2, 144–45.

56. Moore, "Definition," 115–41.

57. Ginzberg, "Observations," 142–63.

leading rabbis meeting at Jamnia declared that “the gospels and the books of the *Minim* are not sacred Scriptures.”⁵⁸

He adds:

When Rabbi Aqiba coined the term “outside books” and applied it to the books of the Nazarenes, he did so in order to stigmatize as un-Jewish certain writings for which scriptural authority was claimed by those who accepted their teachings. To discourage the use of those writings in and their influence upon Jewry, he declared that anyone reading in them is thereby deprived of a portion in the World to Come.⁵⁹

It is not improbable that this concern to prevent the Gospels and sacred books of the Jewish Christians from infiltrating the Jewish Scriptures played a part in the definitive closing of the canon. Josephus informs us that at the end of the first century a list of “. . . twenty-two books which are justly accredited had already been established”;⁶⁰ we cannot determine, however, whether one or another book, the canonicity of which was then under discussion, was included or excluded in this list. During the second century—setting aside the special case of Esther discussed above—the only two books that were still the object of substantive debate among the rabbis were Qohelet and Canticles.⁶¹

2.d.ii. The criterion of exclusion

If we wish to specify the criteria utilized to exclude already traditional books from the definitive list, Josephus’s contemporary witness is illuminating: “From Artaxerxes to our own time the complete history has been written, but has not been deemed worthy of equal credit with the earlier records, because of the failure of the exact succession of the prophets.”⁶² This interruption of the “succession” of prophets at the time of Artaxerxes corresponds to the sequence of tradition given at the beginning of the tractate *’Abot*, according to which the prophets transmitted the Torah to the “men of the Great Synagogue” (which the rabbinic sources tend to represent as an institution). This “Great Synagogue” finds its historical origin—as Kuenen rightly saw⁶³—in the assembly of Nehemiah 8–10. Buhl⁶⁴ has noted that the traditional rabbinic chronology has reduced the time which separates the reconstruction of the Temple and Alexander’s destruction of the Persian Empire to 34 years. Thus the rabbinic tradition can identify the last prophets (Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi) as those who transmitted the Torah to

58. Bloch, “Outside,” 205.

59. *Ibid.*, 223.

60. Josephus, Vol. 1 (*Against Apion*, §38).

61. See Lewis, “Jabneh,” 260.

62. Josephus, Vol. 1 (*Against Apion*, §41).

63. Kuenen, *Gesammelte*, 152.

64. Buhl, *Kanon*, 36.

the Great Synagogue (*Aboth R. Nat.*, Vol. 1, page 2, according to texts A and B), of which Simon the Just was a survivor (*m. 'Abot* 1:2). Furthermore, the Babylonian Talmud makes Simon a contemporary of Alexander (*b. Yoma* 69a).

Rabbinic tradition attests that the Holy Spirit disappeared from Israel with the deaths of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.⁶⁵ Since it is the fact of having been “spoken in the Holy Spirit” which distinguishes a holy book from a profane book,⁶⁶ there could be no holy book subsequent to these three prophets who transmitted the Torah (in a broad sense) to the “men of the Great Synagogue.” According to rabbinic tradition, Mordecai, writer of the book of Esther, being one of these “men of the Great Synagogue,” had composed the latest of the holy books.⁶⁷ The *Seder 'Olam* says, with regard to the appearance of Alexander: “Until then, there had been prophets prophesying in the Holy Spirit. Beginning at that point and thereafter, hearken and listen to the words of the sages.”⁶⁸

Already in the Maccabean era there had been an awareness that the time of the prophets had come to an end (1 Macc 9:27). From the moment the awareness dawned, the list of holy books was closed in the view of people who shared that awareness. Henceforth, whenever a new book would be integrated into the list, it was necessary to demonstrate that this “recently found” book had been composed before the end of the Persian era. This requirement could be satisfied by Qohelet or Canticles, by their attribution to Solomon, as well as by Daniel, whose visions were dated to the Babylonian or Persian empire.

However, this criterion was not applied entirely consistently. Thus Josephus—despite having testified to the lesser credibility to be accorded to writings subsequent to Artaxerxes—made considerable use of 1 Maccabees as a source for composing his *Antiquities*,⁶⁹ having said at the beginning of his work: “The precise details of our Scripture records will, then, be set forth, each in its place, as my narrative proceeds, that being the procedure that I have promised to follow throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything.”⁷⁰ Hebrew-speaking Pharisaism, for its part, continued to cite Ben Sira frequently as Holy Scripture,⁷¹ although the rabbis of the late first century A.D. had specified that it did not “defile the hands,” that is, was not among the holy books (*t. Yad.* 2.13). We can see from this that even in Pharisaic settings it was difficult to exclude a traditional book, even when it mentioned outright events of the Greek era (for example, Sir 50:1).

We conclude that the concern for closing the list of holy books surfaced fairly early among the Pharisees, who believed that the time of the prophets had reached

65. See Strack and Billerbeck, Vol. 1, 127, §b.

66. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, 444f, §§d–f.

67. Ginzberg, *Legends*, Vol. 6, 447.

68. *Seder Olam*, 140.

69. Josephus, Vol. 9 (*Jewish Antiquities*, Books XII, §237 to XIII, §217).

70. Josephus, Vol. 5 (*Jewish Antiquities*, Book I, §17).

71. Zunz, *Vorträge*, 106–11.

an end in the Persian era, but who also recognized that popular piety accorded the status of sacred Scripture to books composed after that era. Nevertheless, it was not until after the repression of the first revolt against Rome—and more urgently after the outbreak of the second—that the same Pharisaic circles undertook a systematic purge, believing that it was imperative to protect themselves from the infiltration of doctrines alien to authentic Judaism. The march toward stabilization of the consonantal text seems to have kept cadence with that which aimed at stabilizing the list of sacred books. It was by elimination and recension that Judaism, beginning with Yohanan ben Zakkai, standardized the form and content of its sacred library, theretofore characterized by the variety seen at Qumran. One of the reasons for this purging was to separate from Jewish Christian Nazarenes, thus preventing the new writings which they had begun to read as sacred Scripture from joining the sacred books of Israel.

C. Diversity or Unity of Textual Types

1. Causes of the Divergence of Textual Forms

As we have already shown, some redactional shaping and literary innovation of limited significance continued to occur in certain Jewish communities with regard to texts which these same communities were coming to consider as traditional writings and even to introduce into their sacred library.

The process of translation provided the Greeks with an occasion to integrate into the text additions of considerable extent, which in some cases already existed in the form of midrashim. We find, for example, in chapters three and four of the old translation of Ezra, the dispute among the courtiers of Darius concerning wine, women, and truth. Likewise, in Esther we have Mordechai's dream, prayer, and letter, as well as Esther's prayer and the edicts of Artaxerxes. So too, in the third book of Kingdoms (1 Kings) are the bits and pieces which regroup passages that had been scattered in the Hebrew or which embroider certain narratives. Numerous additions also proliferated in the various forms of the Esther Targum, the Ruth Targum, and the Targum on the psalms of Judges and Samuel.

Such literary creativity, as well as some textual accidents and redactional alterations thereby entailed, is manifested in the variety of textual forms which Qumran has brought to light for us in the world of Hebrew-speaking Judaism, showing us that these diverse forms coexisted in the library of one and the same community. When a book was translated into another language, the process of translation also occasioned further diversification of textual forms. Indeed, a book that had been translated fairly freely could undergo recension based on a Vorlage different from its primary Vorlage; it also happened that a slavishly translated book might subsequently receive stylistic alterations or glosses which did not take account of the contents of the original that the translation supposedly represented. Furthermore, these various forms interact with each other, producing secondary alterations and conflated readings.

2. *Varied Conditions Affecting the Diversity of Textual Forms*

Given this perspective on the diversity of textual forms, the situation of each book differs from those of the others.

2.a. *Late books in brief circulation*

Some books, such as Chronicles, that were quite late and of limited circulation, did not undergo extensive evolution between the time they were written, the time of their translation into Greek, and the time of their textual stabilization. This results in what might be called a flat textual tradition, without the expanse of time needed to set textual difficulties in perspective. When a corruption exists, it often goes back to the Hebrew archetype, to which the Greek textual forms rarely offer genuine variants. Somewhat paradoxically, one is often at more of a loss with textual difficulties in a late book than with those presented by earlier books.

2.b. *Books with long and complex textual traditions*

Indeed, other books have a long textual tradition with complex branching. The books of Samuel, for example, were translated into Greek from a Vorlage closer to certain textual forms attested at Qumran than it was to a pre-Masoretic type of text. Then witnesses of this Greek translation underwent recension based on a proto-Masoretic Hebrew textual form. Later—because of the way in which Origen arranged the different Greek forms, whether revised or not, into the various columns of the Hexapla—these different textual forms alternate and interfere with each other in certain families of Greek manuscripts. This entanglement makes it difficult to sort out the valuable contribution of the Greek witnesses.

2.c. *Popular books transmitted in settings of unsophisticated piety*

Still other books, although relatively late, were transmitted in popular or pious settings only marginally related to those in which the vigilance of the learned operated. Thus the book of Tobit is preserved at Qumran in both an Aramaic form (four copies) and a Hebrew form (one copy). On the other hand, it is also known in two distinct Greek forms from which \mathfrak{X} diverges. Finally, Jerome translated it from an Aramaic form which cannot be reconciled with the older forms, and which also stands apart from the Aramaic forms that have been edited since as far back as the sixteenth century. This book's extremely convoluted textual tradition seems to have escaped the normative influence of an official edition.

As we will see, the direction and extent of dispersion of textual forms varies from book to book. It is remarkable that at Qumran, as in the Christian church before Origen, this pluralism within which the sacred books were read seems to have been accepted without difficulty.

3. *The Standard Proto-Masoretic Edition*

Notwithstanding the foregoing, a tendency toward textual unification surfaced at the beginning of the Common Era in that branch of Palestinian Judaism that was the vigilant conservator of the pre-Masoretic text type. Editors who probably belonged to the school of Hillel endeavored to conform to the Hebrew text form which was normative for them. This Pharisaic branch represented that current within first-century Judaism which was best able to survive the repression of the two revolts against Rome. After each of these repressions, it was necessary to replace those biblical books which had been destroyed with new copies. This offered the opportunity to promulgate a standard edition which probably derived from a single archetype, and at the same time to eliminate other textual forms still in circulation. Alongside the Greek Bible, Aquila's recension sought to provide an almost perfect version of this standard edition of the Hebrew consonantal text.

This systematic promulgation of a normative consonantal text in the heart of Tannaitic Judaism constituted an event of central importance for the history of the Old Testament text: this was the proto-Masoretic edition of the Hebrew text. How was it that it came to supplant the other Hebrew textual forms? There was apparently no need for formal measures (of which we hear nothing from history), any more than there was a need for such measures in the western Church for the Vulgate to supplant the *Vetus Latina*. It was enough that the standard proto-Masoretic edition was considered as the most authentic by the groups responsible for the reorganization of Judaism after the suppression of the two revolts of A.D. 66–70 and A.D. 131–135. The biblical fragments from the caves occupied by the refugees of the second revolt give us a vivid portrait of the process of recension of the Hebrew biblical text based on this standard edition.

4. *Effects of the Standardization of the Hebrew Text on the Christian Old Testament*

What were the effects of this standardization of the Jewish Bible on the Greek and Latin Old Testament of the Christians? The *Dialogue with Trypho* shows us Justin's protestations against the first undertaking on the part of Palestinian Judaism to edit the Septuagint.⁷² Toward the middle of the second century, Melito knew of the Jewish canon, but the ignorance of Hebrew among Greek- and Latin-speaking Christians of the time slowed contact between their Old Testament and the standardized Hebrew edition. That had to wait for the publication of Origen's Hexapla in the first half of the third century.

4.a. *Origen*

When he became aware of the differences that existed between the Christian Old Testament and the Bible used by Hebrew-speaking Jews of his day, Origen

72. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 203–12.

felt the need to set these texts in a synopsis, which he used to two ends: on the basis of the Jewish recensions of the Greek Bible, he could complete the Christian Old Testament with the additional material in the Jewish Bible and draw attention in the text of the Christian Old Testament to what was missing in the Jewish Bible. Thus arose Origen's recension of Θ with its additions marked by asterisks, and obeli noting what Θ retained beyond the Jewish Bible. Moreover, by directly comparing the other recensions represented in the Hexapla or the scholarly marginalia drawn from them, Origen and the more educated of his successors—especially Eusebius and Jerome—were in a position to extend their grasp of the biblical text and to enrich their exegesis of it.

Origen's library included Philo of Alexandria's *Life of Moses*, in which Philo asserts the gift of prophetic inspiration for translators. Upon them fell the superhuman task of transposing laws revealed by God into a new language, without recasting, adding to, or changing them, but integrally preserving the basic concepts and that which characterized their original expression.⁷³ The Fathers of the second century had followed Philo on this point. Irenaeus stated that "the Scriptures had been interpreted by the inspiration of God."⁷⁴ Clement of Alexandria also affirmed that "it was not alien to the inspiration of God, who gave the prophecy, also to produce the translation, and make it as it were Greek prophecy."⁷⁵ However, neither Philo nor Irenaeus nor Clement was aware of differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible of the Palestinian rabbis. For them, the gift of prophetic inspiration guaranteed the absolute fidelity of the translators. Origen himself, though aware of the differences, nevertheless did not draw the conclusion that the Septuagint was either an inauthentic or an imperfect translation.⁷⁶ He did not believe, as Philo had, that the mission of the translators had been to make the Greek Bible a twin of the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁷ Particular purposes—an "economy," as Origen called it—had enabled them to avoid a literal translation, for the Septuagint sought to say to Greeks what the Jewish Bible would mean for them, as Greeks. Thus the translators had guided the interpretation of ambiguous passages through the use of various glosses. They had sought especially to enhance the figure of Moses, modifying passages which seemed to them too mundane. These details adduced by Origen reveal that the "Greek prophecy" discerned in the Septuagint by Clement of Alexandria is not characterized by correspondence to the Hebrew, but rather by innovations which became an integral part of the Christian Old Testament.

73. Philo, Vol. 6 (*On the Life of Moses*, Book 2, §§34, 37, 40).

74. Irenaeus, *Heresies*, Book 3, ch. 21, §2.

75. Clement, *Stromata*, Book 1, ch. 22.

76. See Barthélemy, *Études*, 112–13 and 204–5.

77. *Ibid.*, 214–15.

4.b. Augustine

This is, in fact, exactly the way that Augustine represented the relative autonomy of the Septuagint with respect to the Hebrew text:

If, then, we see, as it behooves us to see, in these Scriptures no words that the Spirit of God did not speak through men, it follows that whatever is in the Hebrew text but not in that of the seventy translators is something that the Spirit of God did not choose to say through the latter, but only through the prophets. On the other hand, where anything that is in the Septuagint is not in the Hebrew text, the same spirit must have preferred to say it through the former rather than through the prophets, thus showing that these as well as those were prophets.⁷⁸

One could say that Augustine, following the shift of emphasis effected by Origen, did not interpret—as Philo had—the inspiration of translators as guaranteeing a miraculous exactitude of literal correspondence between their work and the Hebrew text. Rather, he saw in this prophetic inspiration the reason for the relative autonomy displayed by the translated Old Testament as read by the Christians with respect to the Hebrew Bible of the Jews. Augustine sought to steer the church toward an Old Testament read in two distinct and complementary textual forms.

4.c. The “*Veritas Hebraica*”

In point of fact, this view of Augustine’s was unable to gain currency. After him, Western Christian exegetes—Catholic and Protestant—considered the Septuagint as an imperfect means of access to the Old Testament; a means of access with which the church had, unhappily, to be satisfied during the first four centuries, before Jerome finally had the audacity to draw directly on the *Veritas hebraica* for his completely new translation. Is this view still tenable today, in light of the particulars we have adduced regarding the progressive stabilization of literary innovations, and regarding the conditions in which the Christian Old Testament and the proto-Masoretic edition of the Jewish Bible came into being? Could one still say, with Cardinal Cajetan (at the end of his commentary on Esther), that “one must review the declarations of church Councils and Doctors in light of Jerome’s position”?⁷⁹

IV. Pluralism and a Favored Reference Text

A. What Hebrew Textual Form Is to Be Restored?

The critique of a text cannot be taken up until we have formed a sufficiently clear idea of the text that is the aim of restoration.

78. Augustine. *Civitate*. XVIII, §43.

79. In Cajetan. *Opera*.

1. No Stable and Unified Text at the Beginning of the Second Phase

As we have said, the committee hoped to achieve—at what it believed to be the beginning of the second phase of textual development—a textual form from which the various extant witnesses actually would have diverged and which those witnesses attest either directly or indirectly as the base from which they would have diverged. We have already mentioned the two advantages offered by such a goal: first, a stabilized textual form would thus be obtained which—even if it weren't "original" in the literary sense of that word—would have been able practically to qualify as the "original" of the given biblical book. Second, since the point of departure for the divergence of textual traditions is the aim, the biblical book would be realized in a form antecedent to the various textual forms in which the various confessions typically use it. Given this hypothesis, it would not have been necessary to preface the textual critique with a critique of canonical forms.

We have also stated that in the course of its work the committee had to limit its sights in the cases of Proverbs, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The editing of *CTAT* Vol. 1 offered the opportunity to identify some late literary innovations which can be found in almost every book included in that volume. We have had to conclude from this that the stable point which we had believed (with Kittel) could be fixed around 300 B.C. continues to elude our grasp. In that era, certain portions of the Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings corpus were already transmitted in several distinct textual forms, and these continued to undergo literary innovations of limited extent throughout their transmission in Hebrew. The Greek translations which followed often provided the occasion for more extensive literary innovations. As we have seen, moreover, canonization—in the sense of recognizing books as sacred—was a multifaceted and progressive process which in a certain number of Jewish—and later Christian—settings entailed neither a complete cessation of literary innovations nor the edition of a standard text designed to eliminate other textual forms.

These observations reveal the utopian character of the goal which the committee had, in all events, considered preliminary and provisional. In fact, the mirage of a text that was stable and unified (because of its canonical function) before the intervention of the Greek translators vanished before the committee's eyes.

2. The Unique Position of מ

To the contrary, the proliferation of varied textual forms revealed at Qumran serves to emphasize three characteristics of מ that the committee's work brings to light:

1. The pre-Masoretic text had been transmitted by scribes who—even if they indulged in occasional theological innovations—had managed to hobble that literary creativity which in other Hebrew textual traditions still found expression in modernizations, normalizations, and clarifications.

2. The pre-Masoretic text eventuated in a standard edition achieved and imposed by Hillelite Pharisaism at the end of the first century A.D. This standardization of the consonantal text was probably executed on the basis of an archetype by the twofold activity of recension and copying, carried out with such scope and rigor as to make it a unique event in the history of the biblical text.
3. A reading tradition was also transmitted in the same setting, protected by the Masoretes, and progressively fixed in the *Qeres*, vowels, and accents which characterize \mathfrak{M} . This tradition, transmitting with respect to dead texts a way of reading which was considered authentic, remained remarkably free from any changes motivated by grammatical exegesis. In fact, it was not until a century after the fixing of \mathfrak{M} that the grammatical analysis of weak verbs (discovered by Judah Hayyuj toward the year A.D. 1000) could influence literal exegesis.

These remarkable characteristics of \mathfrak{M} grant it a unique place in the history of the text. It is a very old form which was established in an exceptionally precise and rigorous manner. If one is seeking a Hebrew textual form that can serve as the basis for an edition of the Hebrew text of the Bible, it is not anachronistic to choose one that was recognized as normative at the end of the first century A.D., and whose reading tradition was specified through the following centuries. As Nöldeke resolutely affirmed, with respect to Wellhausen's study of the text of Samuel:

Wellhausen set himself the goal of achieving the most original form of the text by direct means. I nevertheless hope that no one will be misled by this to introduce into an edition of the Hebrew text either his readings, or others similarly corrected. I absolutely do not share his scorn [expressed in Wellhausen, *Samuelis*, 15 n. *] for what he calls the "fashion" of seeking to restore the text of a particular age in an edition, and I am even of the opinion that an edition of the Hebrew Old Testament must never stray from the Masoretic Text—that would at least be a text that enjoyed a genuine authority. However numerous may be the certain corrections one could make at various points in the Masoretic Text, many things—a fair proportion of which don't even appear to us to pose any difficulty—are now irremediably corrupt, such that we cannot regain the original. In any event, the introduction of individual more or less certain corrections into the coherent text of a later recension yields a motley text which never existed even approximately in that form and which sends a mild shudder through my philological sensibilities.⁸⁰

Brevard S. Childs rightly objected to the initial goal of the committee:

Why should a level in between the original and the final form of the Hebrew text be deemed normative? Does not this approach imply that the textual development

80. Nöldeke, "Wellhausen," 118.

from 300 B.C. to A.D. 100 is not part of the canonical process and can thus be disregarded?⁸¹

We agree, then, that the proto-Masoretic text must be recognized as the point of reference with regard to the Hebrew text.

B. The Christian Old Testament

But have we thereby settled clearly and unequivocally the question of the normative form of the Christian Old Testament? For Childs, it seems that we have indeed. In fact, he underlines that “the recensional history of the Septuagint confirms its dependence upon a normative Hebrew text.” He adds:

It is a false biblicism to argue that because ancient Christians often used a Greek text, a warrant is thereby provided for dispensing with the Hebrew text. Rather, the theological issue at stake is the maintenance of a common scripture, between church and synagogue as witness to Jesus Christ, which is threatened if the Hebrew text is abandoned as the normative Old Testament text by the church.⁸²

It is prudent to reject the terms of the dilemma to which Childs would confine us.

1. The Connection with the Jewish Bible

To begin with, we recognize outright that Christians had always believed that their translated Old Testaments were related to a Hebrew text. Before Jerome, though, they always believed as well that their translated Old Testaments constituted authentic forms of the biblical text. Even Origen, and later Augustine, refused to exchange the church’s Septuagint for the Hebrew text of contemporary Judaism. Jerome, however, cheerfully proceeded with this exchange, because he suspected neither the polymorphous character of the Hebrew Bible in the first century nor the conditions in which one text—albeit of high quality—had eliminated other forms toward the end of that century. One may thus ask of Childs why we should take as normative for the Christian church a canon and a text which, several decades after that church’s emergence, had been fixed by the rabbis in an archaizing effort to return to the sources and thereby to protect Judaism from the penetration of pernicious elements, among which the first gospels of the Nazarenes must have occupied front-rank positions.

It is right to refuse to choose between two equally untenable attitudes, the first consisting of a claim that a Hebrew text would have had no canonical significance for the church because it had inherited the Jewish Bible in the form of the Septuagint, the second consisting of the claim that the normative authority which

81. Childs, *Introduction*, 93–94.

82. *Ibid.*, 665.

the Synagogue recognized in the biblical form it had standardized at the end of the first century held sway *ipso facto* in the church.

Childs is not wrong to oppose the position that the Christians regarded the Jewish Bible as alien. Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine believed that what the inspired authors had written in Hebrew was from the outset a part of the dowry received by the church. The Christians had to give Israel an attentive hearing when the latter witnessed to the trust it transmitted and interpreted, given that this trust was part and parcel of the inheritance of the church.

2. The Jewish Bible Was Not Normative for Christians

Nevertheless, the lively interest that the Christians had in Israel's standardization of its Hebrew text did not necessarily lead them to eliminate from their Old Testament everything that was not to be found in the normative edition established by the Jews at the end of the first century. It is at this point that Gese's position deserves to be heard:

Certainly, a whole series of factors played a role in the canonization of the Old Testament which took place around A.D. 100: the decline of Essenism and Zealotism as much as the loss of influence suffered by both Hellenizing and apocalyptic circles. But the closing off of the entire earlier tradition of the Old Testament and the incipient formation of a new halakic and midrashic tradition took place in the context of an all-embracing reformulation of Judaism as late Pharisaic Judaism, after the crisis of early Judaism had led to the political catastrophe of A.D. 70. This crisis was closely related to the New Testament event and its consequences. Anti-apocalyptic, anti-sapiential, and above all, anti-Christian polemics were responsible for the elimination of some crucial materials, namely, a considerable portion of the apocalyptic and wisdom materials, when the tradition was brought to a close in A.D. 100. A Christian theologian ought never adopt the masoretic canon, for the process created a significant break in the continuity with the New Testament. I believe that one of the gravest consequences of the influence of Humanism on the Reformation was the confusion of the Pharisaic reduction of the canon with the masoretic textual tradition, to which one might have recourse as a "humanist" source. It was as a result of this confusion that the Apocrypha was eliminated.⁸³

Well before Gese, Origen had objected to what turned out in fact to be Jerome's intention:

[Are we] . . . to reject as spurious the copies in use in our churches, and enjoin the brotherhood to put away the sacred books current among them, and to coax the Jews, and persuade them to give us copies which shall be untampered with, and free from forgery[!] Are we to suppose that Providence which in the sacred Scriptures has ministered to the edification of all the Churches of Christ, had no

83. Gese, *Sinai*, 16–17.

thought for those bought with a price, for whom Christ died; whom, although His Son, God who is love spared not, but gave Him up for us all, that with Him He might freely give us all things?

In all these cases consider whether it would not be well to remember the words, "Thou shalt not remove the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set." [Prov 22:28]⁸⁴

3. *Translations and the Hebrew Form*

A Christian exegete, then, ought to revere the oldest translated textual forms that represented and continue to represent authentically the Old Testament for the churches, and also to rely confidently on the valuable reference form that the Masoretic edition of the text constitutes by virtue of the unrivaled care and respect with which it has been transmitted.

It seems, thus, that we return to the integrating position of Augustine: to cling to the Jewish Bible without abandoning the translated forms in which the church received the sacred Scriptures from God. With this perspective, the churches of East and West ought to be able to unite without at the same time running the risk of being severed from the Jewish Bible.

When the UBS Committee specified its task as the textual analysis of the Hebrew Old Testament, it deliberately left the door open to the possibility of a similar project involving the textual analysis of the Greek Old Testament.⁸⁵ In faithfulness to the tradition dominant in the Western churches since Jerome, the committee has concentrated its efforts on the Hebrew text. This is a practical matter of providing assistance to the churches that have typically translated their Old Testament from the Hebrew ever since Jerome. The committee has felt more and more clearly, nonetheless, the need to refrain from ransacking the Septuagint in order to emend it. Neither of these traditional forms can be treated merely as a deposit from which one pulls felicitous readings to join with others in reconstructing an original text. We have already indicated the utopian nature of such an enterprise. The great traditional "editions" of the Old Testament deserve to be respected as authentic witnesses first and foremost because they have represented and continue to represent sacred Scripture for one branch or another of the people of God.

84. Origen, *Africanus*, §§4–5.

85. In 1935, the Württembergische Bibelanstalt published an edition of the Septuagint prepared by A. Rahlfs. It was reissued in a portable single volume by the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft in 1979 at the request of the Greek Bible Society. Listed under Ⓞ (Rahlfs) in the Bibliography. [The German Bible Society issued a second revised edition by Robert Hanhart in 2006. —Ed.]

V. What Should Be the Aim of Textual Analysis of the Hebrew Old Testament?

After experience and reflection, we return now to the question of what the aim of a committee for the textual analysis of the Hebrew Old Testament should be.

A. A Point of Reference

It seems, finally, that the only fixed point in the history of the Hebrew text which can serve as a base of reference is represented by the standard edition of the consonantal text that was produced by the rabbis at the end of the first century A.D. Tied to this edition was a fixing of the reading tradition, although the latter would not be specified until several centuries later in the standardization of systems of vocalization and accentuation, for which the Tiberian tradition offers us the most developed form. Beginning with IQIs^b and especially with the biblical texts dating to the second revolt, we can test the rigor and exactitude with which the standardization of the consonantal text was carried out;⁸⁶ this, in turn, gives us an inkling that—even if it was specified only much later—the vocalization must have been preserved with similar fidelity. Moreover, taken together, the remnants of proto-Masoretic vocalizations preserved in palimpsests of the Hexapla and in the transcriptions of Jerome confirm this impression. We can then regard the Tiberian \aleph —at least for the books it contains—as an essentially faithful witness to the Bible that Paul read at the feet of Gamaliel. Even if this Bible does not constitute the only form of the Christian Old Testament, it does at least represent a particularly venerable form of it.

B. The Practice of Textual Criticism for Diverse Goals

It is important to distinguish a textual criticism whose purpose is to edit the Hebrew text from one whose purpose is to give guidance to translators and from one whose purpose is the writing of a textual commentary.

1. The Role of Textual Criticism in a Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text

When the intent is to produce an edition of the text, it makes the most sense to use a good classical Tiberian manuscript—Leningradensis B 19^A is still the best complete manuscript—as was done in the case of BHK³ and BHS, and publish it with its Masorah (without alterations, if possible). The text should be accompanied by a critical apparatus that seeks to establish the most authentic form of the classical Tiberian text, based on the available manuscripts and editions, and in the light of the Masoretic data. Later on, in Part Three, we will show how, after ten years of labor by the committee, we have come to view the task of internal criticism of the witnesses of the Masoretic Text. We will also attempt to analyze

86. See Barthélemy, *Études*, 352–54.

some of the problems that arise in establishing the most authentic form of the classical Tiberian text.

2. *The Place of Textual Criticism in Translations*

On the other hand, when the intent is to provide guidance for translators, it is necessary to distinguish those projects involving an extensively annotated translation that will serve as a basis for biblical studies, and those involving a common-language translation for general distribution, or a liturgical translation intended for oral use in worship.

In the first case, one would want as literal a translation as possible, based on the established Hebrew text. It is also useful to note a selection of other textual forms in passages that have been important in the Christian tradition. Such annotations stir reader interest in having a complete and independent translation of the Septuagint version of those books. This has already happened for Esther in a number of recent Bibles (for example, NEB [1970], TOB [1975], Dios Habla Hoy [1979], and *Die Bibel in heutigem Deutsch* [1982]).⁸⁷ With a literal translation of this type there is always the risk that translators will be tempted, as their predecessors were, to abandon the Masoretic Text in a number of particularly difficult passages where textual critics have habitually corrected what they regard as “unintelligible.” That is why this report devotes so much space to the history of interpretation. Because recent commentaries and dictionaries too often show little interest in those difficult texts that they eliminate through correction, it was essential to take a fairly large inventory of the syntactic analyses and interpretations that the most conscientious early Jewish and Christian interpreters offered for these texts. We hope that a given syntactic comparison or an original Judeo-Arab interpretation (even though 1000 years old) will occasionally be able to remind us that the situation of some of these texts is not as desperate as a lazy critic may claim in order to justify the proliferation or the mediocrity of his conjectures.

In the second case, when a common-language or liturgical translation is involved, the text must be easily intelligible for reading, or even hearing only, without reference to detailed notes, or to a parallel reading of the Septuagint in translation. This requires a freer choice of dynamic equivalencies in the style of translation; also, in the establishment of the text, it will sometimes be appropriate to follow the example of Jerome and Luther by including in the text material from other textual forms that are especially representative of the Christian reading of the Old Testament. The hearer or teacher would then need to refer to a study Bible or commentary for help in interpreting such an inevitably eclectic text.

87. [Several such projects are underway or have already been completed. French: *La Bible d’Alexandrie* (Cerf, 1986–2002); German: *Septuaginta Deutsch* (University of Koblenz); English: *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford University Press, 2007). —Ed.]

3. The Role of Textual Criticism in a Commentary

Finally, if the aim is to produce a commentary, the traditional form of the text that is the object of the commentary must be situated as precisely as possible in relation to its sources. This involves describing its formation, without claiming to reject a development in which inspiration played an essential role. Corrective criticism should not obliterate authorized biblical forms regarded as authentic by significant sectors of the faith community. The caution that we have called for in this domain should be supplemented by a thorough analysis of the prior literary and textual stages that place the traditional received text in proper perspective. The ascent toward the head-waters of the traditional textual forms should be matched by an exploration downstream, that is, of the theological, liturgical, iconographic, and literary import of the forms.

The analysis of the method and the results of the history of interpretation will be deferred to later chapters. There, we will be able to see (as already in the discussions of cases in this report) how the history of interpretation sheds new light on the question of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. In subsequent chapters we will place the Masoretic Text in perspective with respect to other early branching literary and textual traditions (Targums, Vulgate, Syriac, various forms of the Greek, Samaritan, other Hebrew forms represented in manuscripts from the Judean Desert).

C. Changes in the Committee's Views on Textual Criticism

The notions just expressed on the question of OT textual criticism and its tasks do not coincide exactly with the work that the committee set out to accomplish. They are the fruit of ten years of working together. If we compare the committee's final position with its initial perspectives, certain differences emerge.

We should reiterate, first of all, that throughout its work, the committee tried to confine its decisions to the task that it had initially set for itself: that of determining the existing textual form that had the best chance of representing the text as it was at the beginning of the second stage. The discussions of textual difficulties found in the volumes of *CTAT* aim to be faithful to this perspective, with no other goal than to explain the votes of the committee.

Textual criticism, as we have said, has the goal of correcting the accidents that the text has suffered, except in those cases where accidental forms became the object of literary restructuring. Of all the textual forms, the Masoretic Text is probably the one that lends itself best to correction. The rigorous stabilization of accidental forms occurred frequently there, since the purpose of the Masoretic annotation was to stabilize the text in the state in which the Masoretes had received it. Given that the vocalization was not finally fixed until some time after the consonantal text had been, the vocalizers often found themselves obliged to make sense of corrupt consonantal texts that had been preserved intact by means of the Masorah. The vocalizers' initiatives were cautious: As we will show, the

reading tradition (= *Qere*) respected the autonomy of the written tradition (= *Kethiv*), and was not intended to modify it. Consequently, the corrupt *Kethivs* survived within the living milieu of the vocalic traditions, accentual traditions, and various interpretive traditions. What we call the Masoretic Text is this complex and sometimes slightly dissonant whole. One is justified in asking whether these living traditions do not constitute separate and peripheral literary developments that were able to coexist with the corrupt forms of the *Kethiv* and deserve to be respected according to the reception they were afforded by the faith community that served as guardian of the holy books.

These considerations would call for a “rereading” of the work of the committee: in those places where we propose to “correct” the Masoretic Text as it appeared in BHK³, there may be one of two distinct issues involved:

1. Either it is a matter of determining—on the basis of Masoretic manuscripts, early editions, and the data in the Masorah—the textual form that has the best chance of representing the classical Tiberian text, with the committee focusing on those variants that imply a change in meaning;
2. Or it is a matter of pointing out earlier forms that seemed to us to have preceded the latest literary alterations (euphemistic alterations, for example, but sometimes simple vocalic restructurings) or textual accidents (haplographies or interchange of letters, for example) that characterize the classical Tiberian text.

In the first case, it is a matter of establishing the text that translators will use as a base. In the second case, textual analysis has an informative role, above all, and supplies data that have their place sometimes in the text, and sometimes in the translation notes. It will fall to the translator handbooks⁸⁸ to supplement this

88. [The first United Bible Societies Handbook was published in 1961, on the Gospel of Mark. Since then, handbooks have been published on all of the NT books, most of the OT books, and several of the deuterocanonical books. More recent volumes on the OT books take the recommendations of the HOTTP into consideration. Volume One of *A Handbook on the First and Second Books of Samuel* by Roger L. Omanson and John E. Ellington (New York: United Bible Societies, 2001), for example, says, “It should be underlined that the authors of this Handbook often agree with the conclusions of various interpreters and translators, that the earliest form of the text is probably not preserved in the MT of Samuel. But since the MT often seems to preserve the earliest attested text, we usually recommend that translators follow that form of the text rather than an emended (and possibly original) form of the text reconstructed by biblical scholars. . . . In this Handbook on 1 and 2 Samuel, the usual recommendation will be that translators follow the advice of the final report (CIAT) of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP)” (pp. 9–10). Similarly, *A Handbook on Ezra and Nehemiah*, by Philip A. Noss and Kenneth J. Thomas (New York: United Bible Societies, 2005) states, “In cases of variant Hebrew readings, the recommendations of the Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project are indicated. . . . A summary of HOTTP recommendations and those made in this Handbook is listed in the Appendix. Some of the recommendations made in this Handbook are different from HOTTP since they are based on more recent scholarship” (p. 23). —Ed.]

report by sorting out which decisions of the committee belong in each of these categories.

*D. Three Tasks*⁸⁹

In service of this aim, the task of a textual criticism bearing on the Hebrew Old Testament is threefold:

1. It must first determine from biblical editions and manuscripts, in light of the entire work of the Masoretes, which form is most authentic to the classic Tiberian text.
2. It must then attempt, with the aid of other proto-Masoretic text witnesses (D, hexaplaric recension, Palestinian Greek recensions, and, finally, Hebrew, Targumic, and Syriac variants), to restore the consonantal form which is most likely to represent the standard proto-Masoretic edition, as well as the vocalization and accentuation corresponding to it. To the extent that it would aid translators, it would eventually have to guide their choices when the *Kethiv* diverges from the *Qere*.
3. Finally, it must discern, with the aid of all the other textual witnesses, those corruptions and accidental mutilations suffered by the pre-Masoretic text, and correct these corruptions or mutilations to the extent that they have not produced literary restructurings.

If this threefold task is compared to the work to which the committee applied itself, there will be noted one evident and one less evident disparity.

The evident disparity deals with euphemisms. The committee attempted to eliminate them, while the proposal we have defined above would endeavor to treat them as any other interpolation: to retain them in the text while noting in the margin their secondary character, and at the same time indicating their probable prior textual form.

The less evident disparity regards the idea of literary restructuring. The committee has often suggested correcting \aleph in cases where a new vocalization (whether tied to minor consonantal retouching or not) had arisen to restructure a mutilated or corrupt consonantal text whose prior form has become accessible through another witness. It would be better in such cases to retain the reworked form in the text (as an integral part of the standard proto-Masoretic edition whose literary coloring it properly reflects) and at the same time to indicate in the margin the accident which occurred and the probable earlier textual form.

89. [This section was added by D. Barthélemy when the introduction to *CTAT* Vol. 1 was being translated for this volume. —Ed.]

Part Two

1

Textual Decisions of the Translations Consulted in *CTAT*

I. The Committee's Point of Departure

As part of its mission of distributing the Bible, the United Bible Societies assists more than 150 teams involved in translating the Old Testament into various languages. The teams base their translations on the Hebrew text, but they also often consult the more accessible excellent translations in the common language of the region where they work.

The relatively recent French and English translations used by these teams identify textual decisions in footnotes. This is true of the Revised Standard Version (RSV), published in 1952, the Bible de Jérusalem (BJ), the first edition of which appeared in fascicles in 1954, the New English Bible (NEB), issued in 1970, and La Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible (TOB), published in 1975.

Thus translators who would like to produce a faithful rendering of the authentic Hebrew text are often confronted with notes stating that the traditional Hebrew text is corrupt at a given point and that the authentic form can be determined on the basis of certain manuscripts, ancient versions, or conjecture. Those who use English versions will find differing critical opinions between the notes of the RSV and those of the NEB. The same is true of the notes in the BJ and TOB for translators who use French versions. Many translators who face conflicting textual decisions and different evaluations of the state of the Masoretic Text have asked for guidance in their task of determining the authentic Hebrew text.

Chapter Two of Part One¹ described the process by which the UBS committee for scholarly editions set up a working group in 1969 whose purpose would be to provide such assistance to translators. The scholars who were invited to participate were offered the opportunity both to sharpen their critical reflection on the text and to render a direct service to translators.

1. Above, p. 82.

A comparison of the critical apparatus of the first volume of BHK¹ (published in 1905) with that of the first fascicle of BHS (Isaiah, published in 1968) reveals that their structures are quite similar. The essential differences lie in the choice of the base text (the Leningrad manuscript B 19^A replaced the Ben Hayim edition beginning with BHK³) and the addition of a Masoretic apparatus in BHS. These critical apparatuses inform the reader of variants offered by other Hebrew manuscripts, of different Vorlagen underlying the readings in the ancient versions, or of conjectures proposed by recent scholars. Or, they might recommend the omission of a word or insertion of another, or the substitution of a different reading, often qualifying the suggestions with “perhaps” or “probably.” The inherent problem in these apparatuses is that their concise format leaves no room to explain either the presuppositions or the intention of a particular suggestion.

For each of the six scholars invited to serve on the committee, a primary concern of their individual research had been to examine the presuppositions of Old Testament textual criticism in this century and to give thought to what was intended by the suggestions in the critical apparatus. But that task lay beyond the resources of one scholar working alone. To have real significance, such a “critique of criticism” would have to include the entire Hebrew Bible, requiring an extremely lengthy study. Furthermore, to minimize subjectivity, there needed to be scholars from different confessional traditions and cultural contexts. Rather than assign different biblical books to each of the scholars, it seemed more valuable to bring together their complementary points of view and abilities, and try to reach a consensus. The six exegetes contacted by UBS were very interested in this concrete opportunity to work with the text, and they gladly agreed to participate in a trial session held in Arnoldshain, Germany, in 1969.

An important question for the participants was whether the goals of a global organization concerned primarily with dissemination of the Bible could be compatible with those of academic scholarly research. To this question the group responded affirmatively, because it considered one of its most urgent tasks was to submit textual criticism as it is currently practiced to a rigorous and objective critique. The UBS proposed that the group discuss 5,000 of the most characteristic textual problems identified in highly regarded translations in English, French and German (the Revised Luther Bible [RL] was added to those mentioned above). This set of problems would constitute a representative sample that could serve as a point of departure for its “critique of textual criticism.”

Already in 1769, J. D. Michaelis had paved the way for the practice of present-day Old Testament textual criticism. As he explained in his preface to the translation of Job dated September 15, 1769, he wished to translate the Old Testament for readers who had no university training, so he took the liberty of modifying the traditional vocalization and correcting the text where it seemed to be clearly erroneous. But he indicated in his notes all the modifications he had made to the received text, and gave for each one the meaning the text would have had if he had

left it intact. Omitting the Song of Songs (which he did not consider canonical), he published his translation in thirteen fascicles, with the preface of the last one dated September 24, 1785.² (This was the twelfth fascicle, which appeared after the thirteenth, and was first sold in Göttingen by Vandenhoeck's widow.) Rather than cite ancient languages in his notes for non-specialists, Michaelis justified his choices first in the *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, then in the *Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*.³

In this work, Michaelis was the forerunner of translators in the second half of the twentieth century. They, too, hope to give to the public at large literal translations adapted to current language usage, noting the points where they depart from the traditional Hebrew text. What follows is a discussion of the background of the five translations, in chronological order, whose textual choices the committee subjected to critique.

II. The Revised Standard Version (RSV)

In 1870, when the two houses of Parliament decided to make an official revision of the King James Version, they also decided to include Americans in the undertaking. In the course of the work, the revisers, English and American, agreed that on every point where their opinions could not be reconciled, the decision would be left to the English, as initiators of the revision project. Thus the New Testament of the English Revised Version was published in 1881 and the Old Testament in 1885. The English had proposed that the preferences of the American revisers be published as an appendix in the Revised Bible for a period of fourteen years. At the same time, the American committee agreed not to authorize, during the same period, any edition of that revision other than the one published by the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge. It was thought that after this initial fourteen-year period, the British revisers or the university presses could adopt any American alternatives that were approved by scholars and the public at large. But the English revision committee disbanded in 1885 as soon as their work was completed, and the Presses showed no interest in integrating all or part of the readings in the appendix into the text of the English editions. Consequently, the American revisers decided to embark on a second revision, which began in 1897, that would integrate all readings newly approved by two-thirds of their committee members. Meanwhile, in an effort to satisfy the Americans, the American branches of the Oxford and Cambridge presses published an edition of the (first) revised translation in New York in 1898 which incorporated the readings originally preferred by the American revisers. But the work of the

2. Michaelis, *Deutsche*.

3. OEB was published by Johann Gottlieb Garbe at Frankfurt-am-Main beginning with volume seven (1774), and NOEB was published by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht in Göttingen up to volume seven (1790).

second revision undertaken by the American revisers had advanced too far for them not to publish it. The result was the American Standard Version (ASV) published in 1901 in New York by Thomas Nelson and Sons under the title *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments Translated out of the Original Tongues, being the version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1881–1885, Newly Edited by the American Revision Committee A.D. 1901, Standard Edition.*

The copyright to the ASV was acquired in 1928 by the International Council of Religious Education, an organ of member churches of the United States and Canada. On the advice of a group of scholars, the Council authorized a committee of thirty-two members in 1937 to revise the translation so as to “embody the best results of modern scholarship as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and express this meaning in English diction which is designed for use in public and private worship and preserves those qualities which have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature.”⁴ The Revised Standard Version New Testament was published in 1946, and the complete Bible was authorized in 1951 by a vote of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA. It was published in 1952 in New York under the title *The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated from the original tongues, being the version set forth A.D. 1611, revised A.D. 1881–1885 and A.D. 1901, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1952.* The present editorship of the RSV is under the auspices of the American Bible Society and its copyright is held by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA. This revision, with several modifications, was officially adopted by the Catholic Church and authorized by Cardinal Heenan in 1966. The textual bases for the translation of the Old Testament are clearly explained in the preface of the RSV:

The present revision is based on the consonantal Hebrew and Aramaic text as fixed early in the Christian era and revised by Jewish scholars (the “Masoretes”) of the sixth to ninth centuries. The vowel signs, which were added by the Masoretes are accepted also in the main, but where a more probable and convincing reading can be obtained by assuming different vowels, this has been done. No notes are given in such cases, because the vowel points are less ancient and reliable than the consonants.

Departures from the consonantal text of the best manuscripts have been made only where it seems clear that errors in copying had been made before the text was standardized. Most of the corrections adopted are based on the ancient versions (translations into Greek, Aramaic, Syriac and Latin), which were made before the time of the Masoretic revision and therefore reflect earlier forms of the text. In every such instance a footnote specifies the version or versions from

4. Preface to the RSV.

which the correction has been derived, and also gives a translation of the Masoretic Text.⁵

Although the RSV is at some remove from the KJV, characteristics of the KJV appear throughout. However, three observations may be made:

(1) Following several other translations of the sixteenth century, the KJV used italics to set off words added to the text for the purpose of making the translation more explicit. This graphic device was continued in the ASV, but was dropped in the RSV, when the additions were simply incorporated into the text. The problem is that many of the additions in italics had been suggested to the translators of the KJV by the ancient versions, primarily the Vulgate. The RSV thus inserted a large number of elements not in the Hebrew without making note of them.

(2) It is commonly agreed that the vocalization of Hebrew manuscripts first took place at a relatively late date. In emphasizing the weak traditional authority of the vocalization, the RSV follows in the footsteps of the ASV. As we have seen in Part One,⁶ Luther also placed little confidence in these Jewish vowel "points." Calvin likewise often questioned them in his commentaries. From Cappel's time to the present, critics have generally held the opinion that the consonants should be respected (because they are more ancient), but the vowels can be treated more freely. We have also seen⁷ that Maselef and Houbigant were even preparing a Hebrew grammar based exclusively on the consonants. This led Kennicott to limit his extensive collation of medieval manuscripts to consonantal variants. The RSV thus has numerous early models in its low estimation of vowels. Departing from these precedents, in the course of its work the committee became increasingly convinced that the Masoretic vocalic tradition is much more ancient than its written fixation. Those who have the patience to follow this study will reach the same conclusion.

(3) When the RSV offers a different reading from the Masoretic Text, it frequently translates \aleph in a note. But the translation is sometimes a mere caricature that seems to serve as a foil to the RSV's choice, as can be seen in a comparison of the RSV translation and the interpretations of \aleph proposed by the committee. Here again the RSV is not acting independently. Rather, it depends upon recent commentaries. This is because dictionaries and grammars of the last hundred years or so have not attempted to resolve exegetical difficulties that had previously been avoided by correcting the text. So a vicious circle is established: a difficult text becomes more and more unintelligible because the exegetical tools that would contribute to our understanding of it have fallen into disuse.

5. Preface to the RSV.

6. Above, p. 6.

7. Above, pp. 33–35.

III. The Bible de Jérusalem (BJ)

Toward the end of World War II, the French translations that enjoyed the widest circulation were, among Protestants, that of Geneva professor Louis Segond (published in 1880), and among Catholics, that of Amiens Canon A. Crampon (first published in seven volumes from 1894 to 1904). Alongside the revisions of these two Bibles, new translations flourished in the period after the war: the Maredsous Bible, translated by the Benedictines of the Belgian abbey of the same name (1950), the Bible de Jérusalem (1956), the Pléiade Bible under the direction of E. Dhorme (the Old Testament appeared in two volumes in 1956 and 1959), the Osty Bible, translated by Canon Osty (1973), and the TOB (1975).

Three factors caused this sudden proliferation of French translations:

(1) The Classical age of French literature had been much less influenced by the Protestant Reformation than that of German and English literature. Consequently, no French translation of the Bible played the significant role that Luther's translation or the KJV did in their respective countries. The Bible had yet to claim a place in the French cultural world.

(2) Because most French-speaking Christians belonged to the Catholic Church, the encyclical "Divino afflante Spiritu," published by Pius XII on September 30, 1943, found a large receptive audience in them. It encouraged the French to turn to the Bible in their efforts to reconcile themselves to the overwhelming events associated with the Occupation and the aftermath of the war.

(3) Since the founding of the *École Biblique* in Jerusalem by French Dominicans at the end of the nineteenth century, the institute had produced a considerable number of outstanding exegetes among French-speaking priests.

Of all the French Bibles published after the war, the one that received the greatest response was *La Sainte Bible, traduite en français, sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem*. Its completion was the result of the efforts of T.-G. Chifflet, a Parisian Dominican and literary director of *Éditions du Cerf*. In direct cooperation with Roland de Vaux, director of the *École Biblique*, Chifflet coordinated the translation of the Bible, which appeared in forty-three fascicles from 1948 to 1954 before it was combined into one volume under the title cited above. From 1955 to 1962 all the fascicles were thoroughly revised, as many as four times for some, and published in one volume under the title *La Bible de Jérusalem* in 1973. The process of translation brought together thirty-three translator-exegetes and a dozen or so university professors and writers with expertise in French language and usage. The most competent Catholic exegetes of France and French-speaking Belgium participated in the work. Each fascicle was given to a team composed of a translator and two reviewers, one responsible for the exegesis and the other for the French. The translator of a fascicle served as a reviewer for another fascicle. Each fascicle was accompanied by an extensive introduction and ample annotations explaining, among other things, text-critical issues. The next step was the compilation of the one-volume edition of

1956, and later that of 1973. Th.-G. Chiffot supervised the 1956 edition, and Dominique Barrios-Auscher, the 1973 edition, while the professors at the École Biblique of Jerusalem were charged with the overall revision and with editing the introductions. Besides offering a new French translation, the BJ provided educated non-theologians, in a concise and accessible form, with the most important results of current research, as well as an introduction to the reading of Scripture. Over the course of twenty-five years, this version was put to the test in each of its four stages: the first edition in fascicles, the first one-volume edition, the revisions of the fascicles, and finally, the second one-volume edition. The results were so successful that adaptation rights were acquired in German, English, Spanish, Italian, and other languages.

Several remarks can be made about the way in which the Bible de Jérusalem has made use of textual criticism:

(1) Like the RSV, the BJ bases its textual decisions primarily on the textual apparatus of the second and third editions of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. It also reflects the influence of the decisions and the apparatus of the *Bible du Centenaire*, published by French-speaking Protestant exegetes from 1928 to 1947.

(2) The 1956 edition stated the textual bases of the translation as follows in the Foreword: "The translations were made from the original texts, established by critical work. The text-critical details can be found in the individual fascicles." In the Foreword to the 1973 edition, the approach is less ambitious: "The translation has been made from the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts. For the Old Testament, we follow the Masoretic Text, that is, the Hebrew text established in the eighth to ninth centuries A.D. by Jewish scholars, who established a standard for its spelling and vocalization. This is the text that is reproduced in most manuscripts. In cases where it presents insurmountable difficulties, we referred to other Hebrew manuscripts or ancient versions, especially the Greek, Syriac and Latin."

(3) An analysis of changes in the text-critical choices in the BJ between the first two editions of the fascicles (BJ¹ and BJ²) and the one-volume edition of 1973 (BJ³) shows that the boldness of the emendations diminishes with each edition, and that the effort to find a meaning in \aleph clearly increases.⁸ When John A. Thompson selected the problems for the UBS committee to treat, he based them on BJ². But the actual work of the committee (at least for the prophetic books) was based on BJ³. For this reason, it was deemed useful to mention the successive choices of BJ¹, BJ², and BJ³ in the discussion.

8. [This tendency to find a meaning in \aleph continues in the 1988 Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée. See, for example, 1 Chr 17:10, 19; 26:1; 2 Chr 4:14; 5:9; 6:22; 10:3; 17:3; and 18:33, where the 1998 revision follows M rather than conjectures or the early versions. —Ed.]

IV. The Revised Luther Bible (RL)

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Luther Bible was circulating in about a dozen different forms. The translation's fidelity to the original text left something to be desired at numerous points, a situation made more and more clear by later translations, among them that of Michaelis. With changes in the language since the sixteenth century, many passages took on an archaic charm, giving the Scriptures a fairy-tale quality that was hardly helpful for catechetical use.

In 1836 H. E. Bindscil prepared a revision of Luther's text for the Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt. Later, through his large critical edition of Luther's translation (7 vols., 1840–1855), he brought together all the materials necessary for a recension of the different existing forms. In 1852 the Conference of Evangelical Churches of Germany met for the first time in Eisenach. But it was not until 1855, when the Hamburg preacher Mönckeberg published an article on "Luther's Bible translation and the Eisenach Conference," that public opinion was stirred, prompting the German Evangelical Kirchentag in Stuttgart to decide in 1857 to revise the Luther Bible. The Eisenach Conference approved the decision in 1863, and established the Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt edition as the basis for that revision. Church authorities in Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and Württemberg appointed representatives to organize the revision project with the Bible Societies, which assumed primary responsibility for it. The decision was made to take into consideration all the editions that had appeared during Luther's lifetime instead of limiting the project to the final edition of 1545. Preference among the different readings was to be given to the reading that conformed most closely to the original text. Those modifications that were deemed necessary would take Luther's biblical vocabulary into account. The Old Testament was revised from 1871 to 1881, and a preliminary edition of the Bible appeared in 1883. Public opinion was strongly critical of the timid alterations and the outmoded flavor of the language. A new revision tried to take these criticisms into account, resulting in an "Edition revised by mandate of the Conference of Evangelical Churches of Germany," published by the Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt in 1892. Nevertheless, a fair number of linguistic archaisms had survived in this edition. Punctuation and spelling did not correspond to the norms taught in the schools. Since the Luther Bible was taught in the schools, these archaisms aroused lively protest. As a result, the Bible Society of the Principality of Saxony proposed yet another revision that was to culminate in the 1912 publication of an "Edition newly revised according to the text approved by the commission of Evangelical Churches of Germany." For the Old Testament, it remained the standard edition until 1955.

The multiplication of widely circulated modern translations created the need for a more direct and clear relation to the original text. So in 1921 the Bible Societies decided to undertake a new revision. In 1924 the Commission of the Evangelical Churches of Germany entered into an agreement with the Bible Societies, reserving the right of final editing and approval. In 1928, the Commission and the

Bible Societies formulated principles which were agreed upon by successive revision committees. These principles opened the way to more important modifications. They accepted (1) the normative character of the original text, (2) the correction of obvious errors in translation, and (3) the elimination of outdated words, forms and syntax that conveyed either the wrong meaning or no meaning at all.

The trauma of the war and its aftermath brought the revision to a standstill. In 1955, a preliminary edition of the Old Testament was submitted for comment to the Churches of Länder, the Bible Societies, and Theology Faculties. Most of the comments called for extensive reworking. Theologians from East Germany were able to participate in the last phase of revision of the Old Testament. The two revised testaments were approved in 1964 by the Council of the Evangelical Church and the Association of Bible Societies in Germany. In 1965, the Church synod gave its approval in Frankfurt and Magdeburg. The RL was published in 1967, under the copyright of the Württembergische Bibelanstalt of Stuttgart, with the title *Die Bibel oder die Ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers*.

Concerning the RL's use of text-criticism, the following may be noted:

1. The RL has no textual notes. It is therefore difficult to know if a discrepancy between \aleph and the translation comes from an intentional decision of the revisers. For this reason, it is still necessary to compare the RL with the various editions of the Luther Bible (up to 1545) in order to determine whether a reading reflects the original translation, or is the result of a decision made in the revision.
2. The Zurich Bible, which replaced its Swiss German dialect with High German in 1667, underwent a radical revision from 1907 to 1931 that resulted in a new translation based on the original texts. This was possible because it depended solely on the Council of the Church of the Zurich canton. Its textual choices exerted significant influence on those of the RL. The latter remained, however, much more conservative and respectful of the choices characteristic of Luther's translation.

V. The New English Bible (NEB)

In May 1946, at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane put forward a recommendation made by the Rev. G. S. Hendry. The Rev. Hendry was of the opinion that the language of the KJV, already archaic when the translation was done, had by now become even more archaic and difficult to understand. Consequently, he recommended that a modern-language translation of the Bible be made. The General Assembly passed a resolution to approach other Churches, with the result that delegates of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, and the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational

Churches held meetings in October at Westminster. They recommended that a new translation be undertaken rather than a revision (as the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge had originally planned) and that the translators should be allowed to employ a contemporary idiom, breaking free from traditional "biblical" English.

In January 1947 the same delegates met with representatives of the University Presses. At the request of this group, the Churches appointed representatives to form the Joint Committee on the New Translation of the Bible. The committee met in July of the same year, with the Rev. Hendry as its first secretary, and Dr. J. W. Hunkin, bishop of Truro, as its first chairman. By the time of the committee's third meeting in January 1948, the Presbyterian Church of England, the Society of Friends, the Churches in Wales, the Churches in Ireland, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the National Bible Society of Scotland had been invited to send representatives. All of these groups accepted the invitation. At a later stage the Roman Catholic Church in England and Scotland appointed observers to attend the sessions.

For the translation work itself, the Committee appointed three panels of scholars to have charge, respectively, of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament. For each book, one scholar was given the task of setting down a draft translation which was then circulated to the members of the appropriate panel. The panel discussed the draft verse by verse, until they reached consensus on the meaning of each phrase. In cases of uncertainty about a significant matter, mention was made in a note of the meaning not used in the translation. The resulting draft was then submitted to a fourth panel of literary advisors who returned it to the panel of translators with proposals for emendations so that the translators could ensure that the emendations did not affect the meaning. After sometimes repeated exchanges, the final draft agreed upon by the translators and the literary advisors was submitted to the Joint Committee. Coordinating the work as a whole, the members of the Joint Committee had numerous meetings with the members of the different panels, and convened regularly twice a year in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, where the translators of the King James Version had met 350 years earlier.

The Vice-Chairman and Director of the project was Dr. C. H. Dodd. Beginning in 1965 the Joint Director was Sir Godfrey Driver.⁹ It is his name that is on the introduction to the 1970 Old Testament edition, an edition with more complete textual notes, published by the university presses of Oxford and Cambridge. The introduction explains the translators' decisions in text-critical matters. It states that the standardization of the text, completed after A.D. 70, resulted in an eclectic text based on arbitrary rather than scientific principles, and that the Hebrew text as we have it is full of all sorts of errors due to defective exemplars, successive copy-

9. The above information concerning the NEB comes from the Preface to the NEB.

ists' errors, and clumsy efforts to rectify previous errors. The introduction states further that the Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages tried to explain rare words either from surviving traditions or by comparing them with Arabic, but these efforts were not always successful. The NEB thus appeals to the significant insights of comparative philology to explain Hebrew words and phrases whose meaning had not previously been properly understood. The NEB Old Testament is based on the third edition of BHK (BHK³), but because the translators believed that the text had been poorly transmitted, they felt free to discount the vowels and revocalize the consonantal text wherever it seemed suitable. In order to correct errors produced in the transmission of the consonantal text, the translators relied primarily on the ancient versions. As a last resort, they appealed to conjecture. The textual corrections were indicated in notes, except those that involved only revocalization. Another valuable source of information on the textual choices of the NEB is L. H. Brockington's *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament: The readings adopted by the translators of the New English Bible* (Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1973). The statement on the jacket specifies that all departures from BHK³ are recorded, whether they be in pointing, word division, or the consonantal text.

NEB's use of textual criticism calls for several remarks:

1. Thanks to Brockington's work, in the NEB, of all the recent translations, we have the most precise reporting of textual decisions. But the compilation is not as complete as it claims. In Genesis, for example, the NEB notes indicate 83 variants from BHK³. Brockington counted 131. But a systematic review reveals 180 actual textual variants, not including places where the translation is too free to permit a determination of the textual basis.
2. G. R. Driver's strong personality and immense competence exerted a decisive influence over the textual and translational choices of the NEB Old Testament. But it is uncertain whether choices made under his influence were as durable as the editors of that translation might have hoped.¹⁰
3. Unlike most other recent translations, the NEB does not hesitate to introduce major structural changes in the poetic books, based on a particular understanding of Hebrew metrics. The changes include permutation of verses or groups of verses and omission of stichs. In a translation that hoped to take the place occupied by the King James Version, it is doubtful that all these rework-

10. [The NEB was revised in 1989 under the name The Revised English Bible. Roger Coleman has written the following concerning the textual choices made in this revision of the NEB: "Many of the notes in the NEB Old Testament provided a translation of the Hebrew reading of passages where the translators had elected to rely on the Greek Septuagint text. As a matter of policy the revisers reviewed all these passages with great care, so that wherever possible the Hebrew reading might be adopted instead. In a great many cases they were successful in restoring the Hebrew, and the need for explanatory notes was accordingly reduced" (*New Light & Truth: The Making of the Revised English Bible* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989], 50). —Ed.]

ings of the text will survive. It is noteworthy, for example, that BJ¹ was quite bold in this same respect, while BJ³ is much more cautious.

VI. Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible (TOB)

Having completed the revision of the fascicles of the Bible de Jérusalem in 1962, Éditions du Cerf began planning for a new one-volume edition. They invited a number of Protestant scholars to participate in the project. But these scholars had just been asked to participate in a revision of the Second translation, and were hesitant to take on a second revision at the same time. Consequently, it seemed the time was right to produce a new translation together that would be truly ecumenical.

Since the French literary tradition did not include a “normative” translation, efforts to produce an interconfessional translation had already been undertaken, first by Richard Simon before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and again in 1866 by the National Society for a New Translation of the Holy Books in the French Language, but these efforts were unsuccessful. In 1963, the situation had improved in several areas. First, biblical scholarship had developed significantly, and since World War II scholars from widely diverse confessional and intellectual traditions had become accustomed to sharing the results of their work through publications and congresses. As a result they were beginning to challenge translations and interpretations peculiar to their various backgrounds. Furthermore, Vatican Council II was to take the view that “if, given the opportunity and the approval of Church authority, these translations are produced in cooperation with the separated brethren as well, all Christians will be able to use them.”¹¹ In addition, the United Bible Societies, the umbrella organization for several national Bible Societies,¹² had been invited to participate in interconfessional translation projects in order to avoid a situation in which a profusion of versions from different Churches would impede the distribution of the Bible.

Without abandoning the ongoing revision of the Bible de Jérusalem and the Second Bible, Éditions du Cerf and the Bible Societies agreed to the TOB project and undertook to insure its publication. The two partners surmounted considerable differences in principles and practice to come to an agreement that would assure the administrative and financial stability of the project. On one hand, the Catholic Éditions du Cerf and the Protestant Éditions les Bergers and les Mages assumed responsibility for publishing the translation in a two-volume “integral,” or study, edition consisting of introductions and fairly extensive notes. On the other hand, the United Bible Societies, with the approval of the Protestant

11. Constitution “*Dei Verbum*” VI, 22.

12. [In the French original, Barthélemy referred to the United Bible Societies as “groupant un certain nombre de Sociétés Bibliques protestants,” but these Bible Societies were not Protestant, even though Protestant churches may have been the strongest supporters. —Ed.]

Churches involved, undertook the publication of the new version in an edition containing a minimum of basic helps indispensable for any reader.

An editorial committee of representatives from Éditions du Cerf and the United Bible Societies coordinated the collaboration of about one hundred Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox scholars. Each book of the Bible was assigned to two translators, one Protestant and one Catholic. They sent their translations to small coordinating teams who functioned as liaisons between the working groups, especially regarding the homogeneity of basic vocabulary. The French-speaking Orthodox scholars, few in number, offered observations and opinions on the entire translation, and these were taken into account for the final draft. In addition, the translations were submitted to literary reviewers and to various specialists who likewise contributed their observations. The final version was completed by the translators of each book, who took into account the remarks received and the opinions of the coordinators. Unlike the Bible de Jérusalem, in which each book appeared under the names of its translator and revisers, TOB did not name the translators of each book. Instead, a page at the beginning of the study edition lists the names of the eight members of the editorial committee, its four advisors, and the one hundred thirteen contributors. Together, they assumed collective responsibility for the entire translation.

The project began with the translation and publication (1967) of the Epistle to the Romans with copious notes, as a test case. It could be assumed that ecumenical Bible translation would not encounter insurmountable obstacles if the Epistle to the Romans could be presented in a French version acceptable to all.

The New Testament of the study edition appeared in 1973, the Old Testament in 1975, and the one-volume edition with minimal annotations in 1977. In 1982 maps and introductions were reinserted into the one-volume edition.

The preface to the 1975 Old Testament states that the Old Testament is translated from the Masoretic Text, which

is the result of a long tradition whose transmission, extremely faithful on the whole, nevertheless did not always manage to preserve the original forms. Other Hebrew manuscripts (from Qumran) and ancient versions (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Aramaic) offer variants worthy of attention. Notwithstanding, in the present state of textual criticism, the Masoretic Text was adopted as the working base text, while notes indicate the important variants found in other manuscripts, particularly the Greek version (Septuagint). Those rare occasions where the text departs from the Masoretic Text are indicated in the notes. The decision to follow the Masoretic Text was made not only for scientific reasons, but also in a spirit of openness toward Judaism, as a step toward a joint translation of the Old Testament by Christian and Jewish scholars.¹³

13. TOB, Preface.

The cautious treatment of the text is even more evident in the section of the introduction to the Old Testament devoted to the transmission of the text. After mentioning the Qumran manuscripts, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint, the translators add:

Each of these forms of the pre-Masoretic text at times offers a clearer and more intelligible text. The temptation for many scholars, especially between 1850 and 1950, had been to appeal to these versions in order to “correct” the Masoretic Text, which was often considered corrupt. . . . Some critics did not hesitate to “correct” the Masoretic Text whenever they found fault with it, whether for literary or theological reasons. In reaction, others adhered to the Masoretic Text except when it was obviously indefensible, in which case they would try to find what they thought was a better reading in one of the ancient versions. These methods are not scientific, and are dangerously subjective, particularly the first one. . . . The truly scientific solution would be . . . to establish a “genealogical tree” of the extant witnesses through a close study of all the variants . . . , and in the process, to reconstruct the archetype that lies behind each of the versions, without subjective conjecture. . . . Generally speaking, this archetype dates to approximately the fourth century B.C. . . . It is nearly always separated from the original by a fairly long period, so the search for the original requires certain conjectures, but these must be based on well-established text-critical principles. Unfortunately, . . . such an undertaking would require several decades to complete because of the kind of skills and amount of research involved. So, to avoid creating an illusory text through misleading corrections, those responsible for TOB decided to follow the Masoretic Text as closely as possible, while adding explanations from the work of the great Medieval Jewish interpreters Rashi, Ibn-Ezra, Qimhi, and others.¹⁴

TOB’s use of textual criticism prompts the following observations:

1. The group of translators as a whole accepted the positions stated by the coordinators of the project in the preface and introduction. These positions reflect two tendencies among French-speaking scholars: a growing mistrust of the suggestions in the critical apparatus (omit, read, insert, transpose, join, etc.) and an increasing interest in the Medieval Jewish commentaries found in the *Miqraot Gedolot*.
2. The remarkable autonomy enjoyed by the translators resulted in rather significant differences from book to book from a text-critical point of view. Nevertheless, one can safely say that, in the realm of textual criticism, TOB proves much more conservative than the Centenary Bible or the first edition of fascicles of the Bible de Jérusalem.

14. Ibid., 22–25.

VII. The Critique of Textual Criticism

Since the appearance of these five translations, other translations intended for a much larger circulation have been made in each of these languages, according to the principle of dynamic equivalence. In the English language, the *Good News Bible*, with its subtitle *The Bible in Today's English Version*, was published in two editions in 1976, one American and the other British. In German, *Die Bible in heutigem Deutsch: Die Gute Nachricht des Alten und Neuen Testaments* appeared in 1982. In French, *La Bible, Ancien et Nouveau Testament: Traduite de l'hébreu et du grec en français courant* likewise was published in 1982. Although the *Good News Bible* appeared before the HOTTP committee had finished its work, the members decided against using its textual decisions in their study. The decisions are often difficult to identify because the base text is not as obvious in dynamic equivalence translation.

The committee's work continued for ten years (from 1970 to 1979) and the publication of the final report will take at least another ten years.¹⁵ During this time, all of the translations whose decisions were studied are in some stage of revision, so that our base of reference has already lost its original currency. This does not mean, however, that it has lost its significance. Indeed, the period from 1945 to 1975, during which the revisions or translations discussed above were made, can be characterized as the period when the results of the past hundred years of textual criticism finally exerted an explicit influence on translations that were still literal and intended for the public at large.

These results were communicated via the great German commentaries from the end of the last century and the beginning of this one—the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch* from Leipzig, the *Handkommentar* from Göttingen, and the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* from Tübingen. They appeared in condensed form in the critical apparatus of Haupt's *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (SBOT) and in the first three editions of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. Then they were circulated in the various editions of Kautzsch's *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (HSAT) and finally in the Bible du Centenaire. Through the publication of the RSV, BJ, RL, NEB, and TOB, the great majority of American, French, German and English scholars applied these results to establish a normative text for revision or translation. This is textual criticism as it was practiced in exegetical circles in these three languages in the third quarter of the twentieth century.

The secretariat of the United Bible Societies submitted to the committee the 5,000 textual decisions most typical of these translations. The committee agreed

15. [This was written in Volume 2, published in 1986. Volume 3, covering Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets, was published in 1992. Barthélemy died in 2002, leaving unfinished manuscripts for Volumes 4 and 5. Stephen Desmond Ryan and Adrian Schenker edited Volume 4, on the Psalms, which was published in 2005. Volume 5, which will comprise Job, Proverbs, Canticles, and Qoheleth, should be ready in 2012. This will be the final volume, since Barthélemy did not prepare the Pentateuch.—Ed.]

to study them with the belief that such a sample would provide a sufficiently broad and varied set of data, one that would be representative of textual criticism as practiced and applied by the committee members.

How should the contemporary use of Old Testament textual criticism be analyzed? As indicated in the statement of principles in several of the translations, the translators turned to textual criticism for correction when they had difficulty interpreting the Masoretic Text. A critique of this process involved four successive steps for the committee: after an examination of the translation decisions, research into the historical origins of those decisions enabled us to appreciate their significance. We then needed to identify the contributions of the various textual witnesses, and weigh the choices suggested by this evaluation of the witnesses. Finally, we investigated how the textual choice presented a solution to the difficulties that prompted the correction in the translation. This report retraces these steps for each of the cases submitted to the committee. The amount of discussion devoted to any one step reflects its methodological importance in a given case.

It may seem pretentious to entitle this report *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament*. What is involved is more properly a critique of textual criticism. But, in order to achieve reliable results, the committee undertook the most extensive research that has been done up to this time. It seemed necessary to include the entire Hebrew Bible in our study. Because the committee could treat only 5,000 cases in depth, we are quite aware that we were able to plot the vast territory of the Old Testament text only on a large scale grid. It remains for others to continue our work and explore in detail the areas where we have been able merely to scratch the surface.

Origins of the Corrections

The committee's first task was to determine which corrections in the five translations were text-critical and which were not. The question arises in particular for versions that are revisions of older traditional Bibles. When the translation does not correspond to \mathfrak{M} , is the variant a text-critical decision of a reviser, or rather the precritical or protocritical initiative of the first translator or even his predecessors?

This question applies especially to the RL, for two reasons:

1. As already seen, the revisions that Luther's translation underwent were much more limited than those of other traditional Bibles, for example the Zurich Bible or the King James Version. No other Bible had exerted such a strong influence on the language of high culture. Luther's translation played an essential role in shaping high German, and made that dialect the classic German literary vehicle. Consequently, it was a literary treasure treated with the greatest respect. W. Gundert had a primary role in organizing the last phase of the revision and supplied important information on this point.¹ Although the revisers had established "die Massgeblichkeit des Urtextes" as a fundamental principle,² the normativity of the original text implied by that principle sometimes came into conflict with the regard shown for Luther's own interpretation.³ This explains why Luther's pre- or proto-critical choices have often been left intact by the revisers.
2. First Houbigant, then Lowth, and especially German scholars of the end of the eighteenth century and of the nineteenth century were so strongly influenced by the Luther Bible that they often drew on it, whether consciously or unconsciously, in their treatment of the Masoretic Text. Often, rather than correct the traditional Hebrew text where it is difficult to interpret, it seems that they went out of their way to find support in the ancient versions for the

1. *TRE*, Vol. 6, 269:48–49; 270:13–21 and 271:24–28.

2. *RGG*³, Vol. 1, 1221:42.

3. *TRE*, Vol. 6, 271:16–28.

choices represented in the traditional German Bible. It is not surprising, then, that the critical apparatus of BHK has an equivocal relationship to the RL, since many of the results of these scholars are registered there. At first glance it might be tempting to conclude that the revisers (who do not provide textual notes) based their revision on the notes in the BHK apparatus. But a comparison of the RL with the original Luther Bible demonstrates that the revisers did not, in most cases, take any critical initiative, but simply retained Luther's choices. On the contrary, it was the textual critics of the nineteenth century who let their criticism of the Hebrew text be shaped by Luther's choices.

These observations concerning the influence of the Luther Bible on the RL are true to a lesser degree of the KJV's influence on the RSV. Overall, the textual opinions of Christian scholars from the West between about 1515 and 1615 had a decisive influence on the way the translators approached the Masoretic Text, and consequently, on the difficulties they addressed.

It is helpful, therefore, to identify the sources of influence that explain the pre- or proto-critical legacy inherited by the translations. There are fine studies of text criticism in the modern period, for example, H.-J. Kraus's *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*. In Part One (pages *2–*63 in *CTAT* Vol 1) we discussed textual criticism from its beginnings to J. D. Michaelis. But there is no study that investigates the interdependence of the origins of those German, French, and English biblical traditions that are based on the Hebrew. Accordingly, the following is a study of both the direct and indirect relationships of these Bibles to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

We begin by discussing Luther and the sources that influenced his work on the books treated in this volume, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations.⁴ Then we will consider the sources of influence subsequent to Luther.

I. Luther

Earlier,⁵ we discussed how Luther's attitude toward the Jews and his understanding of textual criticism motivated and influenced his critical work, especially in the revision of his Old Testament translation in 1539–1541. Here we look at his translation work and the influences on it.

A. Translator and Reviser

In 1517 Luther began translating the seven penitential psalms. During his stay at Wartburg, he decided to translate the entire Bible and translated the New Testament in eleven weeks. The translation was published in Wittenberg on September 21, 1522, and had to be reprinted already in December. The publication of the Old

4. ["This volume" refers to Volume 2 of *CTAT*.—Ed.]

5. Pp. 6–12.

Testament followed immediately: the Pentateuch in 1523, the Historical Books in 1524, and then the Writings. But an edition of all the Prophets did not appear until March 1532. However, his translation of Jonah appeared in the spring of 1526, followed by Habakkuk. Zechariah was published at the end of December 1527 (dated 1528), and Isaiah appeared in early October 1528. Then the first edition of the entire Bible appeared in August 1534. From the end of November 1540 until mid-February 1541, Luther revised his translation of the Prophets.

B. The Sources for the Translation

1. Isaiah

For Isaiah, the 1532 edition of the prophets mainly copied the 1528 *editio princeps*, but with the addition of numerous printing errors. It is appropriate, therefore, to try to identify the sources of the earlier edition.

The manuscript of the first part of Luther's translation (up to 33:1) is still housed in the University Library at Heidelberg, under the listing "Pal. Germ. 731."⁶ Luther offered a university course on Isaiah off and on between the summer of 1527 and February 22, 1530. Before 1914 the content of his course was known only by the notes "In Esaiaam Prophetam Scholia ex D. Mart. Lutehri [*sic*] praelectionibus collecta," published at Wittenberg in 1532 and republished in a fuller version in 1534.⁷ It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that Antonius Lauterbach's *reportatio*⁸ was discovered in MS theol. lat. Q.20 of the Royal Library of Berlin. It offers excellent information about the course. Since Luther offered the course while he was preparing the translation, the course presents the most authoritative commentary on his translation.

For the Isaiah translation as well as for the entire Old Testament, Luther's primary source was the small-format edition of the Hebrew Bible published in Brescia, Italy, by Gershom Soncino (May 24–31, 1494). P. Volz agrees with H. Ulbrich that Luther also used a folio edition of the Hebrew Bible.⁹ There are indications, to be discussed below, that this would have been Felice da Prato's Rabbinic Bible published in four volumes by Daniel Bomberg (Venice, 1516–1517). Besides the Hebrew text, this edition gave him access to the Targum (of which it is the *editio princeps*), David Qimhi's commentary on Isaiah and Jeremiah, and Rashi's commentary on Lamentations.

Volz suggests that Luther may have occasionally followed Oecolampadius's interpretation in his Isaiah translation.¹⁰ Oecolampadius had published a work "In Iesaiam prophetam hypomnematon, hoc est, commentariorum, libri VI" in

6. Published in *WADB*, Vol. 2, 1–39. The 1528 edition is reproduced on the even pages of *WADB*, Vol. 11/1, 16–188.

7. The two versions are reproduced in *WA*, Vol. 25, 87–401.

8. Published in *WA*, Vol. 31/2, 1–585.

9. *WADB*, Vol. 11/2, xx n. 48.

10. *WADB*, Vol. 11/2, xl, note.

Basel in 1525. Johannes Husschin, known since adolescence by the name Oecolampadius, had given a course on the Hebrew and Greek texts of Isaiah in the Aula Magna of the University of Basel from April 1523 to June 1524 before an audience of 400 of the city's bourgeoisie, not counting students and priests. The course played an important role in launching the Reformation in Basel. In a letter to Nicolas Gerbel of Strasbourg, toward the end of June 1523, Luther indicated his delight that Oecolampadius was then teaching Isaiah at Basel, although it displeased many.¹¹ When Luther offered his course he had in hand the commentary that Oecolampadius published after teaching his course. Indeed, Luther concluded the prologue of his course by saying, "Oecolampadius's work is quite good as far as grammar is concerned, although in certain points he is not in agreement with us."¹² Later on, we will see the substantial influence that Oecolampadius exerted on Luther and Brucioli.

In addition, Luther made continuous reference to the Vulgate, with which he was very familiar. From time to time he drew from the old German translation of the Vulgate, published and reprinted from 1466 on (when Johannes Mentel published it at Strasbourg for the first time). Several of his translational choices show that he probably read it in an edition derived from Günther Zainer's 1475 edition.¹³

When Luther translated Isaiah, he also used Santes Pagnini's Latin translation of the Bible published in Lyon by Antoine du Ry in 1527. This was the first Latin translation of the original texts since that of Jerome. It was likewise the first to number verses. (The numbering was omitted in Michael Servetus's 1542 edition in Lyon.) He also had at his disposal an edition of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla literalis*, which he often cited.

In a letter to Johannes Lang dated May 29, 1522,¹⁴ Luther sent his correspondent a Hebrew lexicon that he had purchased at Erfurt, because he had made fewer notes in it than in the one Lang had lent him, which he kept. This may have been the lexicon found on pp. 32–545 of "De rudimentis hebraicis," a quarto edition that Johannes Reuchlin had published in 1506. But the information provided by Reuchlin was meager. Clearly, Luther would have needed more adequate lexicographic aids for his Isaiah translation. A number of indications suggest this may have been Alphonso of Zamora's "Vocabularium hebraicum totius veteris testamenti cum aliis dictionibus chaldaicis ibi contentis," a folio edition of 682 columns that had been printed in Alcalá by Arnaldo Guillermo de Brocardo, March 17, 1515, as an introduction to the Polyglot Old Testament (Complutensis).¹⁵

11. WA, Vol. 12, 57:18–19.

12. According to the 1534 edition of the *Scholia* (Luther, *Isaiam*).

13. Mentel, Bible 1466, and Zainer, Bible 1475 in the bibliography.

14. WABr. Vol. 2, 547.

15. Polyglot (Alcalá), vol. 6.

When Luther speaks of Hebrew grammar, he mentions Santes (Pagnini) and (Sebastian) Münster.¹⁶ The most complete grammar in use at the time when he was translating Isaiah was, indeed, the “*Institutiones hebraicae*,” a 428-page quarto by Pagnini, published in 1526. This grammar, based on Radak’s *Mikhlol*, had largely superseded Reuchlin’s 75-page grammar in the third book of his *Rudimenta* and the sixty columns that Alphonso of Zamora had devoted to it. The latter had been printed May 31, 1515, as the conclusion of an introductory volume to the Alcala Polyglot Old Testament.

Luther also must have had access to an edition of the Septuagint. It may have been the Alcala Polyglot, whose fourth volume of the Old Testament contained the prophets and the first three books of Maccabees and was printed July 10, 1517. Or he may have used the edition of the Septuagint that Aldo and his father-in-law André had published in Venice in February 1518.¹⁷ It is difficult to determine which he used. In fact, while Occolampadius often cited the Septuagint in comparison with the Hebrew in his commentary, Luther cited the Septuagint only rarely. He frequently referred to the Hebrew in his Isaiah course, and interspersed his teaching with Greek words from the New Testament or from the humanists (Antonius Lauterbach took careful note of these in his *Reportatio*). Lauterbach reported a single definite citation, with regard to Isa 60:17. But even there, it is not certain that Luther quoted the Greek Bible directly, since Oecolampadius cited this text explicitly, interpreting it in the same way that Luther would (later) use it.

2. *Jeremiah and Lamentations*

In February 1530 Luther began to translate Jeremiah. He interrupted that work in order to translate the oracles against Gog in Ezekiel 38 and 39, in response to the Turkish threat. He resumed the Jeremiah project at the fortress of Coburg in early May and finished it in mid-June. He then revised it in numerous places, as the multiple corrections in the autograph show. This manuscript is housed in the ducal library of Gotha, under the listing “Ch. B. 142.” It contains the translation up to 51:28. Beginning with 20:16 it seems to have been recopied, by Luther himself.¹⁸ The translation appeared in 1532 with that of the other prophets, under the title *Die Propheten alle Deutsch*.¹⁹

In translating and revising Jeremiah and Lamentations between 1530 and 1532, Luther made use of a number of works to which he had not yet had access when he translated Isaiah in 1528. A serious translator draws inspiration from earlier translations and has them in front of him throughout his work. Not to use

16. In *WABr*, Vol. 8, 176:20 and *WATr*, Vol. 5, 220:11.24.

17. © (Aldine) in the bibliography.

18. See *WADB*, Vol. 2, xv n. 2. The manuscript was published in *WADB*, Vol. 2, 40–147.

19. It is reproduced on the even pages of *WADB*, Vol. 11/1, 190–390.

them would be irresponsible. To copy them would be plagiarism. Luther cannot be accused of either of these faults.

The Anabaptist Ludwig Hätzer, originally from Bischofszell in Switzerland and a former protégé of Zwingli, had translated the Prophets from the Hebrew, assisted by Hans Denck from 1526 on. His translation, entitled *Alle Propheten, nach Hebraischer sprach verteutschet*, was printed April 13, 1527, by Peter Schöffer at Worms. Georg Witzel, who had been in personal communication with Luther up until 1531, compared the 1534 Luther Bible to Hätzer's translation and concluded that there was a clear influence of the Worms Prophets on Luther's work.²⁰ Since then opinions have varied, with the Mennonites tending to emphasize indications of dependence and others to downplay them.

It is, in fact, possible that Luther made use of Hätzer's translation. As early as May 4, 1527, he wrote to Spalatin that he had the work in Wittenberg.²¹ At about the same time he stated to Wenzeslaus Link, "I do not look down on the Worms translation of the Prophets, except that the German in it is rather obscure, probably due to the nature of that region."²² In September 1530, when he was editing the "Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen" at the fortress of Cobourg, Luther wrote, "I believe that no false Christian or sectarian spirit can translate faithfully, as is demonstrated in the Prophets translated into German at Worms. Much zeal was spent there, and they closely imitated my German. But there were Jews present who showed little respect for Christ. Otherwise, the art and the zeal would have been sufficient."²³

Volz, in an excursus that he added in 1960 to *WADB*, was the first to examine closely the relations between Hätzer's translation and Luther's autograph. He drew the following conclusions:

The content of these more than 50 examples, which have no claim of being exhaustive, should offer sufficient evidence that Luther (who, furthermore, notes in his manuscript regarding Hos 10:14: "Vide hetzer") truly did make use of Hätzer/Denck's translation. Three different ways in which he used it can be identified. First, he could have adopted the Worms text of the Prophets right from the start and preserved it unchanged for printing; second, he could have first adopted the Worms translation, then later emended it in his manuscript in favor of another interpretation; third, constructions that he himself chose from the first could later have been replaced in his copy with the Worms text.²⁴

Volz cites examples that give evidence of each of these three types of intervention, in situations where neither the content of the Hebrew nor the influence of

20. Witzel, *Annotationes*, part two, printed at Leipzig in 1536 by Melchior Lotter the older.

21. *WABr*, Vol. 4, 197:10.

22. *Ibid.*, 198:6–8.

23. *WA*, Vol. 30/2, 640:28–32.

24. *WADB*, Vol. 11/2, cxxxi–cxxxiii.

the Vulgate can explain the characteristic similarities between Luther's translation and the Worms Prophets.

In three years Hätzer and Denck's translation had been published at various locations in thirteen editions in different formats. Zwingli could not have remained indifferent to its success. As early as May 5, 1527, Franz Kolb wrote to him from Bern:

Among other things, I have learned that you were planning to treat the translation of the Prophets that was recently published by Hätzer and Denck. I am told that you do not find it entirely satisfactory. I beg you by God, my brother, if, in the said translation, you want to correct, add or omit something, concern yourself only with what gives difficulty and what could not be accepted without committing a grave error. Add and omit with good will, with unfeigned charity, lest a wrong be perpetrated against our faith and against the Gospel that we profess. Nothing, indeed, impedes our route and jeopardizes the word of God more than this perpetual controversy between you who are our teachers.²⁵

On May 15, Jörg Regel informed Zwingli that the sale of the Prophets translation had been forbidden at Nuremberg (an interdiction that was handed down on the advice of Osiander).²⁶

The excitement caused by the Anabaptist translation of the Prophets and its huge success in bookshops stems from the fact that Luther had translated and published only the first three parts of the Old Testament in 1523 and 1524, then allowed three years to pass before completing the Prophets (which did not appear until 1532). During this period of religious ferment, people waited impatiently for the opportunity to read the prophets in their own language.

Luther's Bible, which had been published at Wittenberg, was immediately reissued at Basel. Thus, in 1523, the *editio princeps* of the Pentateuch had two reprintings at Wittenberg and four at Basel. It wasn't until two years later that an adaptation of the first three parts of Luther's Bible in the dialect of Zurich was published by Christoph Froschauer in that city. In 1527, the Basel market was apparently saturated, since only one reprinting of Luther's Pentateuch was issued there. At Zurich, on the other hand, the distribution of the Bible expanded—in that year each of the three parts was reissued twice. The lack of a translation of the Prophets into German was keenly felt in 1526, at the autumn fair in Frankfurt. Bookseller Christoph Froschauer had gone there as usual to sell books. He wrote to Zwingli on September 18, "People are complaining loudly . . . that you have not translated the Prophets into German."²⁷ Then in March 1527, the Anabaptists put their translation of the Prophets on a market that avidly devoured it.

25. Zwingli, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, 126.

26. *Ibid.* 134.

27. Zwingli, *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 2, 717.

Beginning in 1525, Zwingli and Juda, with the participation of several other scholars, had organized sessions for exegesis and translation of the Old Testament to which the name “Prophezey” was given, in an allusion to 1 Corinthians 14. In the discussion of Jer 38:23, we indicate how these working sessions were structured.²⁸ For the moment, we will simply mention that they used the Vulgate and the Hebrew text. Zwingli had the task of explaining the significance of the LXX, which he was reading in his Hausbibel, which consisted of a copy of the Aldina edition. This Hausbibel, with his annotations, is currently housed in the central library in Zurich. The Prophezey studied the Pentateuch from June 19, 1525, to December 26, 1526, and then the historical books from January to September 1, 1527. At that point, they skipped the third part, the Writings, and went directly to the fourth part (the Prophets), which they studied from September 2, 1527, until January 16, 1529. The results of this work were published March 1, 1529, by the ever-faithful Christoph Froschauer, with the title *Das vierde teyl des alten Testaments: Alle Propheten, auss Ebraischer sprach, mit guten treuwen und hohem fleys, durch die Predicanten zu Zurich, inn Teutsch vertolmätschet*. On the second page of the prologue, Zwingli explains why the Zurich Preachers ultimately decided to publish the fourth part, which at the time was missing from Luther’s Bible:

Although a translation of the Prophets was recently published, it was received with great distrust by many simple and loyal folk, because it came from the Anabaptists. In so far as we have consulted it, it has rendered the Hebrew writings into German with zeal and fidelity in many places. But who would not feel distrust and abhorrence of a translation that came from the very initiators of those sects and factions which have caused us more trouble in the Church of God today than the Papacy ever caused.²⁹

It seems clear, then, that the appearance of the Worms Prophets in the spring of 1527 led the Prophezey of Zurich to go directly from the historical books to the Prophets in September of the same year. It was considered urgent to counter the sectarian translation with one that was doctrinally sound and so, because Luther was involved in other tasks, the initiative was taken by the Prophezey.

Luther, as already noted, made use of the Worms Prophets. The Zurich Preachers made even more substantial use of it, a normal practice at the time which did not impede the translators’ freedom to make their own decisions. However, the influence of the Zurich translation of the Prophets on Luther’s has not yet been carefully examined with respect to those books that he had not yet translated by 1529. In the textual commentary below, we will try to shed light on the question of influence for Jeremiah and Lamentations, which Luther did not translate until 1530.

28. See *CTAT* Vol. 2, p. 721.

29. Froschauer, *Propheten*, Prologue, 2.

There are certain cases where Volz thought that Luther, having first adopted the Worms translation, substituted his own translation;³⁰ but a comparison with the Zurich translation would have revealed that that text had replaced the Worms text. Two examples of this:

In Jer 6:4, the Hebrew **בְּצַהֲרִים** (= *v*: *in meridie*) was translated by Hätzer “bei hellem tag.” Similarly, Luther first wrote “bey hellem tage.” Then he corrected it to “weil es noch hoch mittag ist.” Then he went back and struck out “mit” in the second-to-last word. The translation of the Zurich Preachers reads here “weils noch hoch tag ist.”

In Jer 11:16, the Hebrew **יְפֵה פְרִי־תֹאֵר** (= *v*: *pulchram fructiferam speciosam*) was translated by Hätzer as “der mit schönenn früchten geziert ist.” Luther first wrote “der mit schonen fruchten gezieret.” Then he corrected it to “schonen fruchtbar.” The translation of the Zurich Preachers reads “einen schönen, cyn fruchtbaren, cyn hüpschen.” Here it is clearly inspired by *v* and reflects the three Hebrew words more explicitly than the abridged form adopted by Luther.

Volz also did not take the translation of the Zurich Preachers into account when he found similarities in Luther’s and Hätzer’s translations. Consequently, he saw a direct influence in cases where the Zurich translation may have been the intermediary. For example, he noted that in Jer 4:23 Luther had first translated “wust und leer” for the Hebrew **תְּהִי נְבוֹהָה** (= *v*: *vacua . . . et nihili*), as he had done in Gen 1:2.³¹ Then he corrected the third word to “öde.” Hätzer has “wüst und öd.” But, in addition, the Zurich Preachers adopted Hätzer’s translation word for word. The same situation exists in Jer 9:18, where the Hebrew **קוֹל נְהִי** (= *v*: *vox lamentationis*) was translated by Luther as “ein geschrey.” Then he inserted the adjective “kleglich” before the noun. Volz noted that Hätzer had translated “eyn kläglich geschrey.” But Luther could have taken that reading from the Zurich Preachers, who had already adopted it.

These few examples show that it would be worthwhile to complement Volz’s study of the relationship between Luther’s translation of the Prophets and the Worms translation of the Prophets with another comparison between Luther’s choices and those of the Zurich Preachers.

One other tool that Luther did not have at his disposal in 1528 when he translated Isaiah but was able to use in translating Jeremiah in 1530, was the enormous *Oşar leshon ha-qodesh, hoc est Thesaurus linguae sanctae* (2752 columns) by Santes Pagnini, published in 1529 by Sébastien Gryphe at Lyon.

C. The Sources for the 1540–1541 Revision

The immediate outcome of the 1540–1541 revision of the Prophets were two sets of notes, both published in *WADB*.³² The first was the minutes of the revision

30. *WADB*, Vol. 11/2, cxxvi.

31. *Ibid.*, cxxvii.

32. By O. Reichert, *WADB*, Vol. 4, 39–278.

sessions, taken by Rörer and preserved in Jena Bos MS q. 24c; the second was Luther's own notes in his copy of the 1539 Old Testament, which is housed at the Jena library under the listing "Appendix Manuscriptorum Nr 24."

In his thirteenth sermon, Mathesius gives us a glimpse of the 1540 revision.³³ The sessions took place a few hours before the evening meal in Luther's home, where Luther would meet with his "Sanhedrin," consisting of J. Bugenhagen, J. Jonas, C. Cruciger, P. Melanchthon, and M. Aurogallus. Other scholars often joined them, among them B. Ziegler and J. Forster, who were accomplished Hebraists. Luther would arrive with his old Latin Bible and his new German Bible, as well as his Hebrew text. Melanchthon brought the Greek text, and Cruciger the Hebrew Bible with the Targum. Professors outside the group brought their rabbinic works. Bugenhagen used a Latin Bible, in which he was well-versed. Each had studied the text in the sources he possessed. Luther would begin discussion of a passage. Each gave his opinion, trying to identify the particular qualities of the ancient language and to gain insight from the readings of ancient interpreters. Rörer took down the essentials of the discussion.

One tool that had appeared since the translation of the Prophets, and was available for the revision, was the Latin translation that Münster had published at Basel with the Hebrew text and rabbinical annotations. The first volume, which appeared in 1534, contained the Pentateuch and the historical books. Münster represented the translation as new "& quoad fieri potuit, hebraicae veritati conformata." He claimed to have taken his annotations "e Rabinorum commentariis." In 1535, Münster published the second volume, which contained the Prophets, the Writings and the Five Scrolls. In composing his title, he recognized the distrust of the Zurich and Wittenberg Reformers regarding rabbinic exegesis. Indeed, he claimed to have taken his annotations "vel ex Hebraeorum commentariis, vel ex probatoribus latinis scriptoribus." On the other hand, he stressed his efforts to produce an accurate translation, saying of the biblical books, "sic ad Hebraicam veritatem genuina versione in latinum sunt traducti, ut ne quidem ad latum unguem ab ea dissideant."

The final outcome of the 1540–1541 revision was the new edition of Luther's Bible, beginning with the second of two editions published by Hans Lufft in 1541.

II. Sources of Influence apart from or after Luther

In this section we focus on the beginnings of the French and English Bibles, but first, a word about Italy.

A. Antonio Brucioli

At the beginning of the Reformation the great cultural crossroads were Basel, Lyon, and Venice. In the field of biblical studies Lyon distinguished itself as the

33. See *WADB*, Vol. 3, xv–xvi.

place of publication for Pagnini's translation, grammar and Hebrew Thesaurus (from 1526 to 1529), and Basel as that of the commentaries of Oecolampadius and successive editions of the Münster Bible. From 1517 on, Venice became prominent for publication of the Hebrew Bible and all Jewish literature. The converted Jew Felice da Prato had become an Augustinian, and while he was in Rome, he made the acquaintance of Daniel Bomberg, a merchant from Antwerp who had settled in Venice. Felice da Prato convinced him to found a Hebrew publishing house in Venice. This operated from 1516 to 1548, and its typographers were primarily converts and Jews. On December 1, 1517, Bomberg printed the first Rabbinic Bible, edited by Felice da Prato. At the same time another quarto edition appeared, which contained only the biblical text with variants and *Qeres* in the margin. It was intended for a wider circulation, but because it was the work of a convert, the Jews greeted it with suspicion. Bomberg therefore entrusted publication of another quarto Bible to the two sons of Baruch Adelskind, and it appeared in 1521. In 1524–1525, Jacob ben Hayim ibn Adonya, who was originally from Tunis, printed the first Masoretic Bible (and second Rabbinic Bible). Bomberg had also published the Hebrew Biblical Concordance of Isaac Nathan ben Kalonymos,³⁴ not to mention numerous Bible selections, biblical commentaries, and Hebrew grammars and dictionaries. Besides that, during the thirty years that his establishment functioned, Bomberg published the Jerusalem Talmud (1522–1523), and three times reprinted the thirty-seven tractates of the Babylonian Talmud, under the commission of Pope Leo X, according to a letter from Bomberg to Reuchlin. He published the Mishnah, the Mekhilta, the Sifra, the Sifre, the Pesiqta, the Midrash Rabba, the Midrash Tanhuma, the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides, the Semag of Moses de Coucy, and the liturgical books for most Jewish rites, among others. In allowing Daniel Bomberg to publish the entire legacy of Judaism with indisputable integrity and without fear of censure, Venice acquired a renown that extended far beyond its western milieu and the period of the Renaissance. It is therefore not surprising that the first Italian Bible translated from Hebrew would come from Venice.

Zurich was the first Western city to publish a complete Bible translated from Hebrew into common spoken language (1529). As mentioned above, its first three parts were adaptations of Luther's Bible and the fourth was the result of the work of Preachers during the course of the Prophecy, in the Grossmünster chancel. In May 1532 in Venice, Lucantonio Giunti of Florence published the first Bible in the "language of Tuscany," which was translated "from the true Hebrew" (for the Old Testament) and from Greek (for the New Testament). The translator was Brucioli, "servant of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior" as he identified himself in the colophon. The two volumes of the Old and New Testaments each began with a long dedication to François I, king of France. Brucioli

34. Nathan, *Me'ir Netib*.

was in fact, like many “evangelical Christians,” a protégé of the king’s sister-in-law, Renée of France, duchess of Ferrare, to whom he dedicated the first of the three volumes of his large Old Testament commentary (2611 columns). That commentary was also published in Venice, in October 1540, with a revised edition of his translation, by Bartholomeo de Zanetti, originally from Brescia. It has often been said that Brucioli knew little Hebrew and that for the most part, his translation of the Old Testament was based on Santes Pagnini’s Latin translation. The similarities are numerous and indisputable. But, as we will see, there were passages in which Brucioli, in 1532, seems to have been the first Christian Hebrew scholar to grasp the correct meaning of the Hebrew and to free himself of the influence of the Vulgate. Therefore, we must take seriously Brucioli’s avowal in his preface to the reader that he was much helped “by the very great Rabbi Elias Levita, who surpasses all other Hebrew rabbis of our time in the grammar of this holy Hebrew language.” Brucioli, who was living in Venice at the time, could in fact easily have had contact with Elias Levita, who took refuge there toward the end of 1528 and worked with Bomberg. In 1544 he even worked for Francesco Brucioli, Antonio’s brother, who had just opened a publishing house in Venice.

B. The French Bible

1. Olivétan and the Serrières Bible

Brucioli had a significant influence on Pierre Robert Olivétan, the first person to translate the Bible into French from the original languages. Originally from Noyon in Picardy and a cousin of Calvin, Olivétan was schoolmaster at Neuchâtel in 1531. At the Waldensian Synod held in September 1532 in the Angrogne valley, Guillaume Farel and Antoine Saunier determined “that it would be extremely expedient and necessary to repurify the Bible according to the Hebrew and Greek languages into the French language.” Olivétan was charged with the task. Pierre de Wingle, also from Picardy, published the work with a preface by Calvin, at Serrières, a small village south of Neuchâtel. The translation thus became known as “La Bible de Serrières.” The dedication, dated February 12, 1535, is addressed to “the Church of Jesus Christ” from the “the humble and lowly translator.” It was printed June 4 of the same year.

Olivétan states that he consulted “all translations ancient and modern, from the Greek and Hebrew, up to Italian and German, to the extent that God has given me knowledge of them.” He then explains that when the Greeks read something in the Hebrew other than what we read in it today, he often noted their alternative in the margin. When he followed the LXX or the Vulgate to interpret the Hebrew in a way that did not conform to the “pointing of the rabbis and Hebrew grammarians” he mentioned in the margin the meaning that would correspond to those pointings.

Indeed, in the margin of the Serrières Bible, Olivétan offered a critical apparatus that was more detailed and more developed than what followed in later revisions. None of the earlier great translations—those of Pagnini, Luther, the Zurich preachers, or Brucioli—had made such an effort to inform its readers of other possible interpretations, of the opinions of the rabbis, and of the readings of the Hebrew, Greek, Vulgate, or Aramaic texts. A few examples will demonstrate Olivétan’s importance for the origins of textual criticism.

In the marginal notes of his Psalms translation, he offered, for the Greek, thirty-five conjectures of a Hebrew Vorlage that was different from the edited Hebrew text that he had before him. The following are his first nine conjectures:

- In Ps 2:9: “Tu les desrompras.” The Greek had “will govern,” relating תרעם to the root רעה instead of רוע.
- In Ps 4:3: “en diffamant ma gloire.” The Greek and the common translation [the Vulgate] had “you will be of heavy heart,” reading *bet* instead of the *kap* in לכלימה.
- In Ps 16:1: “Michtam.” The Greek and the common translation had “writing,” reading *bet* instead of final *mem* in מכתם.
- In Ps 17:11: “Ils nous environnent.” The Greek had “me” as the complement, reading נִי instead of נַי at the end of the verb.
- In Ps 19:5: “le cours d’iceulx.” The Greek had “their sound,” reading קולם instead of קום.
- In Ps 19:14: “de ce qu’il a commis.” The Greek had “strange things,” reading *reš* instead of *dalet* in מזדים.
- In Ps 22:17: “ils ont percé,” according to the Greek and the common translation, which either read כרו or rejected the *ʾalep* in כארי. Jews today read “like the lion” and the Aramaic has “biting like lions.”
- In Ps 29:1: “des princes.” The Greek and the common translation had “sheep,” reading אלים instead of אילים.
- In Ps 42:5: “en flotte, et les accompaignoye.” The Greek had “at the marvelous tabernacle,” reading *reš* instead of the second *dalet* of אדם.

In the Psalms alone, the Greek is cited sixty times by Olivétan, “Rab. Kimi” (= Radak, which he could read in Felice da Prato’s Rabbinic Bible) is cited sixteen times, “Rab. Ezra” and “Rab. Salo” (= Ibn Ezra and Rashi, which he could read in Ben Hayim’s Masoretic Bible) eleven and nine times, respectively.

These examples in the Serrières Bible show Olivétan’s predilection and remarkable capacity for critical analysis of the text, as well as his exceptional interest in rabbinical exegesis. As noted above, he also claimed to have consulted the Italian and German translations. Indeed, the influence of Brucioli and of Luther can be seen clearly. However, he did not mention the two main sources of his translation: Pagnini’s Latin translation and especially the French translation by Le Fèvre d’Etaples. Perhaps he thought their use was self-evident.

Indeed, the first edition of the complete Bible translated into French by Jacques Le Fèvre d'Étaples had been printed by Martin Lempereur December 10, 1530, in Antwerp. The translator described it as “translated according to the pure and entire translation of St. Jerome, checked and entirely revised according to the earliest and most accurate copies.”³⁵ In spite of what Le Fèvre claimed, his translation was not based entirely on the Vulgate. For example, he translated the last word of Song 7:6 “(comme la pourpre du roy pliée) par plis.” The Hebrew has פְּרָדָּהּ. The Vulgate reads “(sicut purpura regis vineta) canalibus,” a word that Pagnini kept in his translation. But Le Fèvre’s translation of the word corresponds exactly to Luther’s translation in the 1524 edition: “(wie die purpur des königs) ynn fallten (gebunden).” Olivétan gave the translation “(comme l’escarlate du Roy liée) par plis.” Considering that Luther, Le Fèvre, and Olivétan seem quite isolated in their interpretation of this word in the sense of “folds” (= falten), it is highly likely that the *editio princeps* of Le Fèvre’s French translation (on which Olivétan depends) had been influenced by Luther’s German translation. Whatever the case, the phrase “according to the pure and entire translation of St. Jerome” must be taken *cum grano salis*. Indeed, in an era where the trend was to “go back to the sources” to use the original languages in biblical interpretation, it was difficult to hold strictly to the Vulgate.

The Serrières Bible left a very rich legacy. We will not describe all its reeditions and revisions, but will confine ourselves to the most characteristic four, which are frequently quoted in *CTAT* Vol. 2.

2. The Lyonnaise Bible of Philibert Rollet

In 1551 in Lyon, Philibert Rollet published a Bible entitled *La Bible en Francoys, qui est toute la Sainte Esriture, en laquelle sont contenuz le Vieil & Nouveau Testament, recentemente reueuz & fidelement corrigez selon l’Ebrieu, Grec, & Latin . . .* (“The Bible in French, which is all the Sacred Scripture in which are contained the Old and New Testament, recently reviewed and faithfully corrected according to the Hebrew, Greck, and Latin”). This distinctive formula identifies it as a descendant of the Serrières Bible, which was entitled *La Bible Qui est toute la Sainte escripture: En laquelle sont contenus, le Vieil Testament & le Nouveau, translatez en Francoys. Le Vieil, de lebrieu: & le Nouveau, du Grec . . .* (“The Bible, which is all the Sacred Scripture. In which are contained the Old Testament and the New, translated into French. The Old from the Hebrew and the New from Greek”). The Rollet edition does not present the two testaments as “translated from the Hebrew and the Greek,” but as “recently reviewed and faithfully corrected” according to the Hebrew, Greek, and “the Latin.” Indeed, this “grandchild” of Olivétan was intended for circulation in Catholic circles, starting from the cultural crossroad of Lyon. A number of indications suggest that this

35. From the title of Le Fèvre d'Étaples, *Bible*.

Bible is the endpoint of changes that the Geneva Bible (a descendant of the Serrières Bible) underwent in Lyon. The first of these is the alteration of “the Eternal” to “the Lord” in the quotation from Isa 1:2 below the title.

The text of Rollet’s Bible is that of Olivétan’s translation in its revised form, first published in Geneva in 1540 by Jean Girard. (It was called the “Sword Bible” because of the editor’s mark, an unsheathed sword held vertically in the hand, that appears on the title page.) That revision was accomplished under the authority of Antoine Marcourt, Jean Morand, Henri de la Mare, and Jacques Bernard, pastors who had charge of the Church during Calvin’s exile from Geneva from 1538 to 1541. The revision was greatly influenced by the Latin translation that Münster had published at Basel in 1534–1535.

This Geneva revision of Olivétan traveled to Lyon where it was published in more and more Catholicized forms: in 1544 by Sulpice Sabon for Antoine Constantin; in 1545 by the brothers Godefroy and Marcellin Beringen (and reissued in 1546); in 1547 by Jean Pidier and Nicolas Bacquenois as well as Guillaume Rouillé and Thibault Payen (reissued by the latter in 1548); in 1550 by Balthazar Arnoullet; in 1551 by Jean de Tournes; and finally, in the same year, by Philibert Rollet.

If we compare the Bible published by Rollet with its ancestor, the Serrières Bible, we can observe the following examples of “Catholicization.”

- The title page is decorated with a woodcut that depicts St. Jerome with a halo, his cardinal’s hat hanging behind him on a tree branch. On his knees before a crucifix with the inscription “INRI,” he beats his chest with a stone. A chapel on a cliff can be seen in the background.
- The dedications, prefaces and foreword by Calvin and Olivétan were omitted and replaced by a “List and Index of the most noteworthy and chief matters contained in the Bible,” a list that filled fifty-six columns. This list came essentially from the sixty-six-column “Index of the chief matters contained in the Bible” at the end of the last volume of the Serrières Bible. It is interesting to note that many expressions were made less offensive. The word “images” is no longer associated with the word “idols.” When rituals are referred to in a negative sense, they are described as “Judaic.” The abuses that the princes must reform are no longer those of “the Church.”
- Between the two testaments, the Serrières Bible placed “The volume of all the apocryphal books contained in the common translation, which are not found in Hebrew or in Aramaic.” This title is followed by a “statement of their authority according to Eusebius and St. Jerome” in which the editor states that these books are “not at all received or held as legitimate either by the Hebrews or by the entire church.” Rollet, on the other hand, left these books in their traditional place among the others: 1 and 2 Esdras, Tobit, and Judith between Nehemiah and Esther; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus between the Song of Songs and Isaiah; Baruch between Lamentations and Ezekiel;

- 1 and 2 Maccabees and the Prayer of Manasseh at the end of the Old Testament.
- Olivétan's text-critical observations are missing in the Rollet Bible: no more Hebrew in the margins, no more mention of the rabbis. Only two allusions, in French, to the Greek reading survived in the entire Psalter.
 - While the Serrières Bible has only illuminated capitals, the Rollet edition included 209 illustrations, the work of Georges Reverdy.
 - The Rollet Bible ends with a "table of Gospels and Epistles read in Church on Sundays and Feasts." It takes the place of the Index in the Serrières Bible which Rollet transferred, with modifications, to the beginning.

This brief discussion shows the wide circulation the "Sword Bible" enjoyed on the Lyon market, in more or less Catholicized form. We include the 1551 Rollet edition in our discussion of sixteenth-century Bibles because it represents the high point of that Bible's influence and success. Later editions would no longer have particularly original features. The pre-Calvin 1540 Geneva revision was to be supplanted by a descendant of the Serrières Bible: Robert Stephanus's 1553 revision.

3. Robert Stephanus's French Bible

The first revision of the Olivétan Bible to be prepared by Calvin was published in Geneva in 1546 by Jean Girard. It was never reissued but was replaced in 1551 by Calvin's second revision, published by Jean Crespin. However, it was Robert Stephanus's 1553 revision that enjoyed the greatest success. In the same year, it was reprinted by Jean Girard and by Adam and Jean Riveriz. In 1555 it appeared in an edition published jointly by Geneva publishers Antoine Cercia, René Houdouyn, Pierre Pignot, and Pierre Sorcl, and in another by Jean Crespin. It dominated the Geneva market until the appearance of the revision by the "Pastors and Professors of the Geneva Church," which will be discussed below.

Before looking at Stephanus's Bible, it is important to give some background on its editor and the fate of the Bibles he published.

Excursus

1. Robert Stephanus, Bible Editor

When Robert Stephanus published his French Bible in Geneva in 1553, he already had long experience as a Bible editor. He never produced a Greek Old Testament, but from 1539 to 1544 he published a quarto edition of the Hebrew Bible in fascicles, and from 1544 to 1546, another more accurate sextodecimo edition. These Bibles were particularly remarkable for the beauty of their typography, and for this reason their editor/printer was named "King's Printer of Hebrew and Latin" on June 25, 1539, by François I. Still, their quality is inferior to that of the Bomberg Bibles, and they would not have sufficed to give Robert Stephanus

either notoriety or lasting renown. But it was a different story with the Latin Bible, where his efforts at textual criticism forced him to leave Paris to take refuge with Calvin in Geneva.

A. *The First Critical Edition of the Vulgate*

The first editor to try to improve the Vulgate text by textual criticism appears to have been Bernardin Gadolo from Brescia, prior of the Camaldolite convent of St. Michel de Murano. He published the first edition to bring together the *Glossa ordinaria* and the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra (in Venice, by Paganino de Paganinis). In the dedication, dated January 27, 1495, and addressed to Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, Gadolo explains that all the publishers he first contacted had been frightened off by the expense and the labor that such a complex edition would entail. He therefore had to promise Paganino de Paganinis that he himself would assume responsibility for revision of the entire biblical text. So, he explains,

I procured for myself, not without difficulty, all the existing printed books of the Bible as well as five manuscripts. As I went through the text that printers have been accustomed to using as an archetype, wherever something erroneous or doubtful appeared, I inspected each of the works very attentively, and suppressed, with great care, what, by reference to them, I discovered to be inaccurate in the text; and there were a great many inaccuracies. In so doing, I certify, as God is my witness, that I have added or changed only what obviously appeared in need of addition, change or omission on the basis of one of the ancient works. I preferred to leave intact certain things that seemed to require correction, rather than correct them on the basis of my personal opinion, without the support of some author.³⁶

If Gadolo's edition is compared to another edition current at the time, for example the small sextodecimo Vulgate published by Jean Froben de Hamelburgk,³⁷ it can be seen that following this method he succeeded in eliminating many of the errors transmitted in previous editions.

But Gadolo's five folios did not have great influence on subsequent editions of the Vulgate, any more than did the Vulgate text that Cardinal Ximenes is said to have edited based on manuscripts as old as eight hundred years, until he put it in the Old Testament of his Alcala polyglot. It was not until the work of Robert Stephanus that the text of the Vulgate was subjected to a critique that had some impact. One could not classify under "text-criticism of the Vulgate" the various prior editions of the Vulgate corrected on the basis of the Hebrew and Greek (and not Latin witnesses) by Andreas Osiander, Johannes Petreius, Johannes Rudelius, and Luther.³⁸

36. ? (Gadolo 1495), Dedication.

37. ? (Froben 1495), published in Basel, on October 26, 1495.

38. Osiander: Nuremberg, 1522; Petreius: Nuremberg, 1527; Rudelius: Cologne, 1527; Luther, Pentateuch, historical books and New Testament: Wittenberg, 1529, published in *WADB*, Vol. 5.

B. The 1528 and 1532 Bibles

At the age of nineteen, when Robert Stephanus printed a sextodecimo Latin New Testament on the presses of his father-in-law Simon de Colines, he aroused suspicion among the Sorbonne theologians because he restored certain passages that he believed had previously been altered. In 1524 he began to gather materials for a more accurate edition of the Latin Bible. He had the Alcala Polyglot brought from Spain since he had heard praise of its exactitude. In the library of St. Germain des Prés he discovered a very old manuscript, full of corrections that seemed excellent to him. In the St. Denis library he found another manuscript of almost equally good quality. He collated them, on separate pages, with the best existing editions. These formed the basis for his first Bible, published in 1528. The innovations that he had introduced in the text provoked criticism. Furthermore, he was aware that he had not always been sufficiently careful in his collations. He undertook more extensive research, which culminated in his 1532 edition. This edition also aroused the displeasure of Sorbonne scholars, who "complained incessantly and extensively, in their usual way," reports Stephanus, "that I had corrupted the Bible . . . because they labeled as corrupt anything that had been purified from that common mire to which they were accustomed." Meanwhile, this time Stephanus had collated five ancient manuscripts from St. Germain, two from St. Denis, others from St. Victor, the Alcala Polyglot, a correctory from the Sorbonne, the 1495 sextodecimo Froben edition from Basel, and the 1462 Schöffer edition from Mayence, as well as other sources for the New Testament and Psalms. He kept with him a textual commentary in which he had carefully noted the witnesses that supported each of his corrections. He was prepared, as he explained, to use it in responding to anyone who asked him for explanations. Indeed, the text of the 1532 edition had more corrections than that of 1528. Nevertheless, Stephanus was unable to extract any specific critique of his corrections from the Sorbonne scholars. According to well-informed friends, he would have no further difficulty with the Parisian theologians if he limited himself in the future to printing the text of the earliest editions, relegating the readings he considered preferable to the inside margins of the book. Each of these readings would be marked with sigla designating the witnesses on which it was based. It so happened that the inside margin of the 1532 edition was entirely filled with notes that scrupulously indicated the differences between the Hebrew text and the Vulgate. The marginal notes could thus appear to be an ongoing critique of the Vulgate, showing it to be unfaithful to the *Veritas hebraica* that Jerome had claimed to translate. By requiring that the inside margin be reserved for variants in the Vulgate, the scholars would effectively halt the constant attack on the one biblical base available to the majority of Sorbonne theologians, whose knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was quite limited.

C. The 1540 Bible: The First Critical Apparatus

In his magnificent Bible of 1540, then, Robert Stephanus was to offer the first truly scientific critical edition, as a direct result of the sensitivity of the Parisian

scholars. His text reproduced a good early edition, and the margin, with its precise references, presented a listing of the most significant variants with accurate indication of the witnesses for each one. One might think that he had thus disarmed his censors, but that was not the case. In fact, at the same time, Stephanus published placards in Latin and in French that could be affixed to walls for the edification of the faithful. They contained two extracts from his Bible: “the Ten Commandments” and “the Summary of the Entire Scripture,” which was a kind of digest of the teachings of the Bible placed in his Bible as a preamble to it. (The summary was expanded between the 1532 and 1540 editions.) Stephanus tells us that the Sorbonne reproached him for the summary, saying it contained “doctrine worse than Luther’s.” When Stephanus finally obtained the endorsement of fifteen masters at the Sorbonne and the royal permission, the faculty ordered the publisher Jean André to print the Ten Commandments, followed by the Commandments of the Church. What is more, Stephanus tells us that these Ten Commandments had been “deformed and corrupted by a certain Odoard who combined the first two commandments into one, removing the explicit prohibition against making and worshiping images, and then, did not divide, but ripped the last commandment in two, so as to have ten.” Odoard had invented nothing new there. He was articulating a tradition common to the Latin Church since the time of Augustine: to collapse the first two commandments into one and to divide up the last. This custom was clearly expressed in the traditional form of the “Commandments of God” according to the French catechisms, a form that was maintained from the time of the “*Manuale seu instructorium curatorum*” published in Lyon February 13, 1505, right up to the middle of the twentieth century. The first two commandments are combined into one (omitting the prohibition against images): “Un seul Dieu tu adoreras et aimeras parfaitement,” while the tenth is divided into “L’oeuvre de chair ne désireras qu’en mariage seulement. Bien d’autrui ne convoiteras pour le garder injustement.” It is easy to understand the scandal that Robert Stephanus caused by posting placards of the Vulgate version of the Ten Commandments of Exod 20:2–17 all over Paris. He had emended them slightly, adding “ut adores illud” after “sculptile” in v. 4, and omitting vv. 5b and 6, as well as “quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi” at the end of v. 12.

D. The 1545 Nompaille

Meanwhile, Stephanus was already preparing a new Bible that appeared in 1545. It contained innovations certain to disturb the Sorbonne theologians.

- The Bibles of 1528, 1532 and 1540 were costly folio editions that were not easily moved around. The new edition was printed in two small octavo volumes printed in very small characters.
- Two Latin translations were presented on facing pages. One reproduced the text of the Vulgate according to the 1540 edition, with marginal notes about variants, but without listing their sources. The other was a new translation of

the Hebrew. Stephanus did not name the author and said only that he had chosen it in preference to Pagnini's translation. He admitted that Pagnini's was the more accurate, but he found its extreme literalism too unintelligible for the public for whom his edition was intended. In fact, the new translation was the work of Leo Juda, who collaborated closely with Zwingli. The work had been completed by Bibliander and published in Zurich in 1543, after the death of the translator.³⁹

- This new translation was accompanied by copious notes. In the preface, Stephanus explained his twofold intention in writing the notes: to compare this translation with Pagnini's and to explain the difficulties that remained in the Hebrew despite these translations. For this project he called on the devoted students of François Vatable, royal professor of Hebrew, who gave him notes they took in his course. Stephanus then edited the annotations on the basis of Vatable's lecture notes and notes in the margins of "Bibles that we have printed in previous years," an expression that most likely alludes to the 1532 edition.

E. Struggle and Exile

The 1545 Bible provoked a violent storm of protest in the Sorbonne. Here was a veritable commentary on Sacred Scripture that had been published, with King's Privilege, under the name of a professor of Hebrew of the royal College! To understand this indignation, we must remember that François I had founded the Collège du Roi in 1530, on the advice of Guillaume Budé. It consisted of two lecturers in Greek and two in Hebrew, the first of whom was Vatable. The University, jealous of its privileges, had incited its theology faculty to bring the Hebrew lecturers before Parliament on a charge of incompetence to teach Sacred Scripture. But the king had refused to submit the competence of his lecturers to the judgment of theologians. The Faculty was thus hardly disposed to look the other way when a commentary on Scripture was published under the name of a lecturer they had accused of incompetence. It was just the sort of work the Theology professors thought they alone were capable of producing. Robert Stephanus, knowing that they would accuse him before the king, took the offensive in 1546 and expressed his concern to Pierre du Chastel, bishop of Mâcon and King's chaplain. At their request, the king ordered the theologians to communicate their objections in writing and justify them. His printer could then publish their opinions in conjunction with the Bible "so that, in this way, readers would be alerted against falling into error inadvertently because of an annotation that did not reflect Jesus Christ." But the Sorbonne doctors wanted either Parliament or the king to forbid Robert Stephanus to sell his annotated Bible. They realized that if they communicated their censures and reasons in writing, these would become the object of a

39. Juda (1453).

public controversy. So they agreed only to formulate their censures orally, before the Conseil Etroit, "because the theologians were not accustomed to showing in writing what they judged to be heretical, but only orally." After some discussion, they realized that they would not obtain the suspension of royal privilege in this way. They agreed to send "fifteen passages that they had noted."

At that point François I died and was succeeded by his son Henri II, who was equally favorable to Stephanus. But Henri II was easily influenced, and in the end he promised the theologians that he would forbid his printer to sell the annotated Bibles once and for all, provided that they state the rest of their objections. "In this way," said Stephanus, "I was forced to give up all my efforts which I had spent up till now in the Holy Scripture and literature, and which I had firmly planned to dedicate to them for the rest of my life." Robert Stephanus had du Chastel relay the message to the king that he was "constrained to leave the country. . . . Then, the king responded that I need not leave the country, only that I should be careful in the future, adding the wish that I take courage and continue to do my usual work, that is, to enrich and embellish his printing concern."⁴⁰

The struggle had exhausted Robert Stephanus. After the death of François I, he had put his printing business under the name of his children, who were still minors. Then he had sent them to Lausanne, each separately by way of either Strasbourg or Troyes, where he had relatives. He himself took refuge in Geneva (where he had his children brought) in the final months of 1550. On June 27, 1551, his property was sequestered. But King Henri showed his favor for Stephanus one last time by having the sequestration lifted the following year in favor of the children, through the agency of their tutor Charles, brother of the fugitive. Robert immediately reopened his publishing house in Geneva. The first book he published there, in 1551, was a Greek translation of Calvin's catechism, which he did not publish in the original French until 1553. He also published it in Hebrew August 24, 1554, in a translation by Emmanuel Tremellius, to which we will refer later. In 1552, Stephanus published the censures put forward by the Sorbonne theologians, in the form that he was able to procure them through certain of those theologians, along with his response to the censures. They were published first in Latin (June 23) then in French (July 13).⁴¹ The whole was preceded by an apologia in which he explained the reasons for his voluntary exile. Several of the quotations above were taken from that apologia.

Thus it was the 1545 Bible that transformed petty annoyances into persecution. This little gem of such fine quality and typographical accuracy became known as the "Nompaille" among bibliophiles. It soon appeared in all editions of the Index of Forbidden Books: Paris 1549, Louvain 1550, Venice 1554, and Rome 1559.

40. See Stephanus, *Censuras*.

41. Stephanus, *Censuras*.

II. The Vatable Bible and the Spanish Inquisition

The 1551 Spanish Index, which reproduced that of Louvain, censured Stephanus's 1545 Bible. In 1552, inquisitors seized three copies of it during a search in Seville. Consequently, it was included in the list of "printings of the Bible that stand in need of correction and censure," published by the Spanish Inquisition in Valladolid in 1554 and titled "General censure against the errors which recent heretics have planted throughout the Holy Scriptures." Imbonati⁴² records the detailed enumeration of corrections that were required for the Old Testament of the 1545 Bible. As for the New Testament, its "new translation" and its "annotations" had to be omitted entirely, as did the "Index of subjects and sayings contained in the books of the Old and New Testament" that took up sixty columns at the end of Stephanus's Bible.

A. Official Documents concerning the 1586 Edition

The Spanish Index of 1559 reiterated the prohibition against the "Bible published by Robert Stephanus in Paris, with a double translation, Vulgate and new, and with Vatable's annotations." This was the 1545 edition, which scholars had taken to calling the "Vatable Bible." It was republished in Salamanca under circumstances described in seven documents found at the beginning and end of the edition, intended to establish its authenticity and ensure its distribution.

On January 26, 1569, Gaspard de Portonariis, a publisher at Salamanca, presented a request to the Council of the General Inquisition of Spain. He noted that the Vatable Bible with its double translation was listed in the Index of Forbidden Books and that he wanted to print it because it could be very useful for scholars. He then asked their lordships to submit it to people they considered competent to expurgate and correct it. The members of the Council granted this request, and on February 1, 1569, wrote to Master Francisco Sancho, Canon of Salamanca, Dean of the Theology Faculty and Commissioner of the Holy Office. They informed him of the publisher's project, stating that he wanted to include the New Testament, which the Inquisition had previously demanded be omitted. The Council charged Sancho with the task of correcting the Bible, including the New Testament, and asked that they be sent the corrected copy before it went to the printer. Sancho accomplished the task in collaboration with other members of the Theology Faculty of Salamanca. They spent many sessions studying the Vatable Bible, then communicated their censure of it to the Council, stating that it could now be printed. They indicated that the printing of the Bible would be "a very useful and important undertaking."

On March 20, 1571, Gaspard de Portonariis asked the Council to send him an attestation of its approval of Sancho's censures so he could begin the printing in conformity with those censures. April 21, 1573, the Council of King Philip II, in

42. Imbonati, *Bibliotheca*, 219–29.

view of the agreement of the Council of the General Inquisition, authorized him to print the said Bible, or have it printed, according to Master Sancho's censures. No copy could be sold without the signature of the commissioner, designated by the General Inquisitor to attest to the Bible's conformity to the required censures. Before the book appeared on the market, furthermore, it would have to be resubmitted to the Royal Council so that body could confirm that the conditions of its publication had been met, and also set the selling price of the work. Finally, on December 11, 1585, Gaspar de Quiroga, cardinal of Toledo, Inquisitor General, selected Brother Roman de Vallezillo, a Benedictine and commissioner of the Holy Office at Medina del Campo, to verify that all copies conformed to the censures formulated by the Inquisition. He was further required to examine and correct each copy and to sign it, adding the day, month and year when he had finished examining the particular copy. The copies that were kept at the royal court had to be submitted to the examination of Dr. Pedro Lopez de Montoya. According to the document that contains this order, Gaspard de Portonariis had printed the Bible in 1584 and was helped financially by Guillermo Robilio and Benito Boyer (whose names are on the title page in the Latinized forms Guilielmus Rouillius and Benedictus Boierius).

On February 6, 1586, the publisher received a royal privilege protecting his edition against forgery for twenty years. February 22, 1586, the Royal Council fixed the selling price at seven maravedís per printed page. In our copy, the certificate of conformity is signed by Brother Roman de Vallezillo, commissioner of the Inquisition; his review had been completed June 20, 1586, in the monastery of Medina del Campo.

B. Parisian and Spanish Censures

The Sorbonne doctors' censures against Robert Stephanus's Bibles were published by C. du Plessis d'Argentré,⁴³ who obtained them from the registry of the Paris Faculty of Theology. The first 46 were dated November 14, 1547, and the following 120 were dated May 15, 1548. If we compare them to the Spanish censures of 1554–1559 published by Imbonati, and to the corrections of 1569–1571 completed under the supervision of R. de Vallezillo in the Salamanca edition, a certain number of peculiarities appear.

1. The Parisian censure of 1547 concluded that the Bibles published by Robert Stephanus in 1528, 1532, 1534, 1540, 1545, and 1546 were to be suppressed (*supprimenda sunt*):

first, because many things have been audaciously inserted that are opposed to morality, piety, the decrees of the Holy Fathers and the doctrines of the faith; and also because they are strewn with numerous errors, with scandalous and impious assertions of Lutheran tendency, tending toward a heresy long ago con-

43. Argentré, *Collectio*, vol. 2, 143–60.

demned, and what is more, a certain number of clearly heretical affirmations and even blasphemies. Moreover, in the actual text of these Bibles, many passages have been boldly modified, some have been omitted, others added in a manner that diverges from the authentic textual form received by the Church; this must not be permitted of a private person either to do or to publish.

The 1548 censure added that these Bibles, as well as the New Testaments and Psalms edited by Robert Stephanus, were to be placed in the catalogue of forbidden books (*librorum reprobatorum*). The 166 censures consisted of rather eccentric lists in five separate catalogues. They seem to be successive dossiers furnished by the theologians to the king's Conseil Etroit for the sole purpose of achieving the confiscation and interdiction of the Bibles.

2. The 1554 Spanish censure did not intend to prohibit the use of Robert Stephanus's Bibles. J. M. de Bujanda has published documents that show very clearly that the 1554 Censure was intended to relieve the critical situation created in Spain by the 1551 publication of the interdictions promulgated at Louvain in 1550. On January 29, 1552, the General Council of the Inquisition wrote to Domingo de Soto and Francisco Sancho in these terms:

You are well aware that the catalogue of forbidden books mentions more than thirty editions of the Bible that must be seized and confiscated. Given the small number of Bibles that remain in the kingdom if none of the Bibles in question is returned, we desire that those in which only a few errors exist and which can be easily corrected, be returned to their owners.⁴⁴

The two masters of Salamanca were thus asked to note all the errors found in each edition. This was done for thirty-three editions with the help of other members of the Theology Faculty, and the lists were sent to the Council of the Inquisition. The Alcala theologians performed the same task for sixteen other editions. Still others were analyzed by various commissions. The goal of the 1554 censure, then, was to specify the 103 editions of the Bible that their owners were then expected to send to the Inquisition within sixty days, so that they could be expurgated (at the price of a demi-réal each). From then on it was forbidden to import censured Bibles, even if they had been corrected. The list of censures published by Imbonati, unlike the Parisian list, was not intended to provide justification for an interdiction. Rather, it served as a guide for the Inquisitors who were charged with correcting the 1545 Stephanus Bibles for the purpose of returning them to circulation.

C. Failure of a First Reedition in 1555

The prohibition against introducing new copies of the censured Bibles weighed heavily on all those who considered the Vatable Bible the most reliable

44. Bujanda, *Index*, 78 n. 101.

source of information on the meaning of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. This explains the 1555 republication of that Bible by André de Portonariis in Salamanca. He claimed that it had been corrected and revised by Domingo de Soto. When the 1559 edition of the Spanish Index was published with a listing of the 1555 edition, de Soto wrote to Bartolomé Carranza:

They have listed a Bible printed at Salamanca. My name appears under its title and it is placed under my patronage as corrector. I have never seen it in my life, nor do I know in what language it was printed. I submitted a complaint against the printer to the Inquisition, who promised to restore my honor at the expense of the printer.⁴⁵

Indeed, the 1559 Index mentions the Bible in these terms: “*Biblia Salmanticae per Andream de Portonariis anno 1555, cujus correctio, sive cognitio falso imponitur fratri Dominico de Soto Segoviensi, theologo ordinis praedicatorum.*” This edition was seized and put with the other banned books that filled five rooms of the cardinal’s palace in Toledo. On July 10, 1561, a request was addressed to the Council to ask what should be done about it: “There are other Bibles that contain none of the errors mentioned in this censure or any other. It seems that they have been banned only because the printer had wrongly stated that they were corrected by Brother Domingo de Soto and printed in Salamanca by André de Portonariis.” The decision of the Council was inscribed in the margin of the request: “Let them be burned because they contain many mistakes.” The order was not executed, however. In the following century a depository of Bibles “corrected by de Soto” was found in the imperial city. They were already rotting.⁴⁶ The fact was that André de Portonariis printed twenty-nine different works of de Soto between 1550 and 1569 in Salamanca. Dominique de Portonariis printed four between 1569 and 1572, and Vincent de Portonariis printed one in 1580.

In view of the failure of the 1555 attempt to reissue the Vatable Bible, on January 26, 1569, the fourth De Portonariis brother, Gaspard, undertook the proceedings that we have described with regard to the General Council of the Inquisition. Since Domingo de Soto had died on November 15, 1560, the task of correcting the 1545 Bible for this new edition was given to Francisco Sancho, one of the drafters of the 1554 censure. His colleagues at the Theology Faculty at Salamanca helped him with the revision. The most active participants were Luis de Leon, Juan Gallo, Juan de Guevara, Leon de Castro, Gaspar de Grajal, and Martin Martinez de Cantalapiedra.

D. The Trial of Three of the Revisers

After the revision was completed in January 1571, three of the revisers, Luis de Leon, Gaspar de Grajal, and Martin Martinez, were denounced to the Inqui-

45. See Beltrán de Heredia, *de Soto*, 413 n. 21.

46. *Ibid.*, 413.

sition by some of their colleagues. Among other things, Martin Martinez was accused of “preferring Vatable, Pagnini and the Jews and rabbis to the Vulgate translation and the interpretations of the saints and doctors of the Catholic Church,” and of having “removed and diminished the authority and the truth of the Vulgate edition by stating and affirming that it contains many errors and that a better edition could be made.”⁴⁷ The same charges were leveled against Luis de Leon, but in addition “he has stated that, even if the Evangelists’ interpretation and explanation [of the prophets] were true, the Jewish and rabbinical interpretation could also be true, even if it was a different interpretation, affirming that new interpretations of Scripture can be produced.” They reproached him likewise for having “spoken ill of the translators of the Septuagint, saying that they did not know Hebrew well, and that they translated the Hebrew into Greek poorly” and for having “affirmed that the Council of Trent did not establish the Vulgate edition of the Bible as an article of faith, but that they only approved it.”⁴⁸ The case of Gaspar de Grajal was still more serious. They objected to his saying “that he had corrected two or three hundred passages of the Holy Scripture that were erroneous in the Vulgate edition,” and “stating and affirming that the saints do not give the literal meaning of Scripture because the literal meaning must be looked for among the rabbis,” and “stating and affirming publicly that the translation of the Septuagint is erroneous and that it does not correspond to the Hebrew,” and “that the Vulgate had not been declared canonical nor is it so, because it has not been established that the translator was inspired by God and that, in the Vulgate text of the Bible, only the main propositions were articles of faith and not the others.”⁴⁹ Grajal was arrested March 1, 1572, and died in prison September 8, 1575. He was posthumously acquitted of the charge of heresy by the Council in an auto-da-fé on September 28, 1578. Luis de Leon and Martin Martinez de Cantalapedra were arrested March 26, 1572. They were reprimanded and advised to treat these matters more prudently. They were finally freed on December 11, 1576, and June 4, 1577, respectively. At the end of 1572, Gaspar de Quiroga had succeeded Diego de Espinoza as Inquisitor General. This change certainly played a role in the outcome of the proceedings against the three professors. Luis de Leon resumed teaching at the Faculty. Martin Martinez died November 18, 1579, without having recovered the losses in professional salary for the six years that he had spent in prison. These tragic events did not prevent the publication of the revised Bible. But they surely had an influence on the long delay between the authorization given to Gaspard de Portonariis by the Royal Council in 1573 and the printing in 1585. The publisher, in a request to the Royal Council that is mentioned in the printing privilege, states that he was prevented from printing this Bible for twelve years after receiving authorization. He complains that he and his

47. Act of Accusation of May 6, 1572, according to Coster, *de Léon*, 291.

48. *Ibid.*, 271–72.

49. *Ibid.*, 277–80.

associates spent the greater part of their fortunes for this printing. It appears that during these twelve years the Council of the Inquisition also submitted the Vatable Bible to the censure of the Alcalá theologians.

E. The New Publishers

Who were the De Portonariis brothers and the two co-publishers mentioned in the titles and initial documents of the new edition? The following summarizes Baudrier's account of them:⁵⁰ Originally from Trino, in the Marquisate of Monferrato, Vincent de Portonariis came to Lyon at the end of the fifteenth century to work as a laborer for Balthasar de Gabiano, a publisher originally from Asti. Around 1506, he started his own concern and his editions sold well until he died in 1547 without children. He entered a partnership with his brother Dominique, and employed Dominique's four sons: Pierre, Gaspard, André and Vincent. He named them and their two sisters his heirs, and left his goods to Dominique. Dominique managed the branches in Medina del Campo and Salamanca until his brother's death obliged him to return to the publishing house, which did not prosper under his direction. His sons managed the Spanish branches: André in Salamanca and Vincent in Medina del Campo. So as not to compete with his father and his brothers, Pierre established himself as a stationer in Rochetaillé in 1552. At first, Gaspard helped his father, then took over the direction of the Lyon house around 1556. He worked as a publisher in Lyon under the "Angel" trademark (which had been the mark used by his uncle and his father) until 1568. André had unsuccessfully submitted a bid to the Inquisition to publish the 1554 Bible Censure; instead, the more advantageous offer of Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba from Valladolid was accepted. It appears that André died in Salamanca toward the end of 1567. Dominique and his son Gaspard then established themselves there, bringing with them the Angel trademark.

The patronym of the first co-publisher is "Rouillius" in the title of the work and "Robilio" in the Inquisition document. Both refer to Guillaume Rouillé (the spelling that Baudrier prefers over "Roville"). He was born around 1518 in Dolus, near Loches en Touraine, and was trained in Venice as a bookseller-publisher by Giovanni Giolito de Ferrari, then in 1542 by de Ferrari's son and successor Gabriel. On the recommendation of the latter, Rouillé entered the service of the Portonariis at Lyon in 1543. Vincent de Portonariis had already worked in partnership with Giovanni Giolito de Ferrari for a publication in 1510. Around 1544, Rouillé married Marguerite, daughter of Dominique de Portonariis, and began a brilliant publishing career that lasted until his death in June 1589. In 1568, he bought the Angel publishing house (54 rue Mercière and 25 quai St. Antoine) from the Portonariis family. From that time on, he worked in close association with his brothers-in-law, who sold his books in Salamanca, and with Benoît Boyer ("Boicierius" in the title

50. Baudrier, *Bibliographie*, vols. 5 and 9.

and “Boyer” in the Inquisition document). Boyer was a wealthy bookseller-publisher from Medina del Campo who, from 1571 on, kept books in stock at numerous booksellers in Lyon, and in turn stocked their books in Spain. In September and October of 1580, he was seen in Lyon where he was settling his accounts with the booksellers. Guillaume Rouillé had difficulty recuperating the money owed him by his Spanish agents. So, for example, in September 1579,⁵¹ his brothers-in-law in Salamanca owed him around 1,300 écus d’or. The joint Portonariis-Rouillé-Boyer publication, then, probably had financial motivation with a double purpose: on one hand, the repayment of G. de Portonariis’s debts to Rouillé and on the other, Boyer’s recovery of money owed him by Rouillé as the agent of Boyer’s exports in Lyon. Everyone concerned, therefore, hoped that the new edition of the Vatable Bible would be a best-seller. In 1584, Rouillé sent his young legal representative, Jean-Baptiste Buysson, to Seville, where he had one hundred Vatable Bibles bound to send to the Indies.⁵²

The Spanish Inquisition could not have been unaware of Guillaume Rouillé’s status. Certainly in 1584–1586, when he financed the Spanish edition of the Vatable Bible, he had every appearance of being a great Catholic publisher. Indeed, he had published the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent in 1564, 1565, and 1566; and then again (with the Index of Forbidden Books) in 1572, 1577, 1580, and 1584; as well as the Catechism of the Council in 1567 and 1579. He had likewise published the *Missale Romanum* in 1578, 1583, and 1586. In it he reproduced a Papal brief from Gregory XIII that had been accorded May 22, 1573, to “G. Rouillius, typographus ac bibliopola Lugdunensis, quod ipse, qui in tumultibus et seditionibus ab haereticis superioribus annis in regno Franciae excitatis, fidem catholicam semper tenuit et secutus fuit. . . .” In the 1578 Missal, however, Rouillé used a series of vignettes that he had already used in a 1562 French Protestant New Testament of Genevan origin.

From 1545 to 1562 he had actively contributed to the distribution of French Genevan Bibles in Lyon. Beginning in 1545, the first year that he published under his own name, he shared with G. Arnoullet the publication of the Geneva New Testament based on Calvin’s 1543 revision published by J. Girard. Then in 1547 he arranged for Jean Pidier and Nicolas Bacquenois to print the Geneva Bible, which had first appeared in a Lyon edition in 1544, published by Antoine Constantin, his associate at the time. In 1547, Rouillé did not yet have the woodcuts for the illustrations, so he used those in the possession of Thibault Payen, whom he took on as co-publisher. The Bible was published by Rouillé et Payen in 1548, the same year that they published the Geneva New Testament together, in partnership with Constantin. Rouillé then published the same New Testament independently in 1550. Four years later, he published it in three different editions, two in

51. *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 95.

52. *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 103 and vol. 5, 115.

French and one in Latin and French. He reprinted them in 1557, 1558, and 1561. The French New Testament was published again in 1562, with the addition of the Table of Contents that appeared in the Geneva editions from 1556 on. These were not Rouillé's only editions of the Bible. He also published a translation "from the Hebrew into Latin and French" of the Psalms, Proverbs, Qohelet, Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus in 1558. This translation, published without mention of the translator's name, was the work of the Calvinist Louis Budé. It had appeared for the first time in 1551, published in Geneva by Jean Crespin, Calvin's own publisher. Rouillé shared several editions with him until 1566.⁵³ Even more astonishing is the fact that Rouillé published the Italian New Testament of Antonio Brucioli in 1547, 1549, and 1550; he reprinted it in 1552 and 1558, but without mention of the translator's name. In fact, the first Index of Forbidden Books to be published by the Holy See, that of Paul IV in 1559, mentioned explicitly the "Novum Testamentum Lugduni apud Guilielmum Rouillium 1545."

Rouillé's early eclecticism is evident in the ten successive editions of Marot's works from 1546 to 1561. He also published Boccaccio's *Decameron* once in Italian in 1555 and four times in French between 1551 and 1560, in a translation dedicated to Marguerite de Navarre, whose *Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse* he had published in 1549. The same year, he brought out editions of Erasmus's *Apothegms* in French and Latin, and Sébastien Châteillon's *Sacred Dialogues* in Latin. With the taking of Lyon by the Protestants in 1562 and the religious difficulties that followed, Guillaume Rouillé's editorial policies underwent a sharp change. Thus, on the strength of the Papal brief from Gregory XIII (1573), he could present himself to the Spanish Inquisitors in 1584–1586 as the most famous Catholic editor of Lyon.

F. The Inquisition's Correction of the 1584 Vatable Bible

The title page, dated 1584, bears the statement "Cum Privilegio Hispaniarum Regis" and the title *Biblia Sacra cum duplici translatione & Scholiis Francisci Vatabli, nunc denuò à plurimis, quibus scatebant, erroribus repurgatis, doctissimorum Theologorum, tam almae Universitatis Salmanticensis, quàm Complutensis iudicio: Ac Sanctae & generalis Inquisitionis iussu.*

The Inquisition's demands for this new edition were far fewer than those it had required for the correction of confiscated copies in 1554.

1. In 1554, the Inquisition required the complete suppression of the "nova translatio" and the scholia for the New Testament.⁵⁴ The new edition, on the contrary, kept them with only minor corrections. The Index of subjects and sayings contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments were replaced by a "Biblical Index" compiled by the Jesuit Jean Harlemius. Nevertheless,

53. *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 308.

54. Imbonati, *Bibliotheca*, 227b.

- the 1584 edition is still more complete than the 1545 Bible. Indeed, the much more extensive scholia of the Psalms were taken from the “*Liber Psalmorum Davidis*” that Robert Stephanus published in Paris in 1546, as he had promised when he was hastily finishing his 1545 Bible.
2. In 1554, the Inquisition was not satisfied with the simple statement “*Ex officina Roberti Stephani*” at the bottom of the title page. It insisted on adding “*Monemus Lectorem, translationem novam, & scholia horum Bibliorum à Roberto Stephano, Auctore damnato, primum edita, & depravata fuisse.*”⁵⁵ In the new edition, it preferred that any mention of Robert Stephanus’s name be omitted.
 3. The following is an example of the censure of the Old Testament. Of the 123 corrections required in 1554⁵⁶ for Psalms, Proverbs, Qohclet, Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Isaiah, only 96 were made in the Salamanca edition, of which 90 were made by the printer, and six were added in ink by Roman de Vallezillo. The 27 omissions seem to be due to carelessness, since they ordinarily appear in groups of two or three.
 4. In 1554, the New Testament had not been the object of specific censures (the scholia were to be omitted entirely). This explains why the 1569–1571 commission did not have at its disposal the first list of Parisian censures of 1548, censures that concerned those very annotations in Robert Stephanus’s New Testaments. Vatable, as a professor of Hebrew, had had nothing to do with this part of the annotations of the 1545 Bible. For the most part, these were taken from Stephanus’s 1543 New Testament, as the Parisian theologians had noted. Unaware of the Parisian censures, the Salamanca revisers left untouched more than thirty of Stephanus’s statements that the Sorbonne had described as heretical, suspect of heresy, favoring heresy, schismatic, rash, false, erroneous, insidious, and so on.

G. *Conflicting versus Different Interpretations*

At the time of his trial, Luis de Leon recounted a dispute that took place between Leon de Castro and himself during the revision of the Vatable Bible:

I remember that . . . in examining the new explanations that Vatable gave, and the manner in which it was necessary to admit or reject them, my opinion was as follows: . . . that when all (the saints) agree in interpreting a passage in the same way, that interpretation should be kept as certain and catholic, especially in what concerns faith or morals; but that, without rejecting this interpretation, and respecting it as I have just said, if there exists another meaning which would not contradict the interpretation, even if it differs from it, and that other meaning is catholic and good doctrine, it can be admitted, but given less authority than the first which the saints give; and I proved it with reasons and texts taken

55. *Ibid.*, 219a.

56. According to Imbonati, *ibid.*, 223–29.

from St. Augustine. This displeased Master Leon [de Castro]; but I remember that Master Francisco Sancho endorsed me and, in support, referred to a passage from Aristotle in which he declared that to be contrary was not the same thing as to be different; and consequently, the other masters approved it. And it was according to that rule that we corrected the Bible concerned, and when we found something contrary to the opinion of the saints, or that was not good doctrine, we suppressed it, and what was not contrary, even if it was different, we left.⁵⁷

Luis had taken as an example the phrase from Isaiah “*Generationem ejus quis enarrabit?*” found in Isa 53:8 and quoted in Acts 8:33. In these two places the “*nova translatio*” is identical to the Vulgate: “Who will recount his generation?” The “saints” agreed here in seeing an allusion to the ineffable character of the miraculous begetting of the Savior. In Acts 8:33, “Vatable” commented: “Here, ‘generation’ indicates his contemporaries. The meaning is: Who can depict the injustice of the people who will live in his time, because they will put him to death even though he is just.” In 1548, the Paris theologians had made this commentary the thirteenth article on their list, with the following censure: “This interpretation is completely foreign [*omnino aliena*] to the absolutely correct [*rectissima*] comprehension of the Church and the holy doctors.” The commission of Salamanca kept “Vatable’s” scholium, simply noting in the margin: “a new exegesis which must not detract from the exegesis of the saints.” In Isa 53:8 the same note was printed in the margin of the following “Vatable” scholium: “his time, that is the perversity of his time. He is stating his indignation against Christ’s contemporaries, that is: ‘who can express in words the perversity of the Jews who will live at the time of Christ!’” Later, commissioner Vallezillo struck out the scholium with ink, with the result that it could no longer be determined to what the revisers’ marginal note referred.

It is clear that the revisers tried to introduce a certain exegetical pluralism, on the initiative of Luis de Leon and under the influence of Aristotelian logic, which had found an able advocate in Francisco Sancho. But the ultimate omission of the “Vatable” scholium on Isa 53:8 was probably a consequence of Luis de Leon’s having made an example of it during his trial.

Leon de Castro did not agree that the same passage of Scripture could have several meanings. In the seventh paragraph of his deposition against Luis de Leon he explained that to accept that idea would eliminate the possibility of convicting heretics.⁵⁸ Luis de Leon answered him,

The expression ‘convict’ has two very different meanings: to convict the Jews and the heretics according to their own judgment, which is impossible if God does not enlighten their intelligence, since they interpret the Scripture differ-

57. Coster, *de Léon*, 241–43, notes.

58. *Ibid.*, 352.

ently from Catholics and there is no authority recognized by both parties who can bridge the difference; and to convict them according to the Church's judgment, that is, to show, within the testimony of the Scripture as it is understood by the Saints and the Councils, that their opinions are erroneous.⁵⁹

On February 12, 1574, before the entire tribunal, Luis de Leon obtained permission to consult the copy of the Vatable Bible that contained the revisers' corrections with their signatures.⁶⁰ There he found, uncorrected, the scholium on Ps 8:6 where "Vatable" says: "Several places [in the Scripture] have a double meaning, namely, one prophetic and the other non-prophetic, that is, plain and simple." He pointed out that this statement had not been the object of any remarks and that it was thus covered by the signature of Leon de Castro himself.

H. The General Censure

The possibility of different, but not conflicting, interpretations justified the edition of two different translations with notes that brought out untraditional meanings. Luis de Leon then proposed to draft a "general censure" in which the revision commission would formulate its intentions, stating that

for our part, we did not wish to do harm to the Vulgate by leaving in the new translation of the Bible, and by allowing Vatable's explanations we did not mean to prefer them or to equate them with those of the Saints; but the new interpretation and translation were accepted only to the extent that they brought increased understanding of the Vulgate; we do not ascribe any more authority to the Vatable notes than to any other given doctor.⁶¹

The drafting of this censure underwent several changes of fortune, as reported by Luis de Leon,⁶² and finally resulted in a printed document, placed at the beginning of the Bible, and entitled, "General Censure by the senate of the theologians of Salamanca and Alcala of the copy of the Holy Bible in a double Latin edition with scholia." The word "censura generalis" means here "general judgment," a translation that we have adopted in the following text:

The general judgment has been made that the new edition does not literally conform to the Hebrew, but is rather a paraphrase sufficiently pure in its style and its Latinity, and that neither it nor the Scholia nor the Marginal notes have more authority, in what is peculiar to them, than the opinion of any doctor, regarding controversial matters.

Furthermore, the new translation may be accepted where it differs from the Vulgate without contradicting it or opposing Catholic faith or Church tradition, on the condition that it safeguard the honor and dignity that the decree of the Council

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, 372.

61. *Ibid.*, 242 n. 1.

62. *Ibid.*, 242-44.

of Trent acknowledges in the Vulgate, such that the Vulgate edition is recognized as true and more sure than all the others, and it must be preferred to other editions because it conforms more closely to the Hebrew truth. One must neither conclude nor allow that the new edition or the interpretation in its scholia impugns the Vulgate in any way, or diminishes its authority or that of the Saints, or the interpretations that prevail among them. On the other hand, where they do no damage to the sacred interpretations and are not contrary to the teaching of the Church or to the interpretations of all the holy fathers, one must accept the likelihood of these scholia, most of which are taken from Jewish commentaries; so that, when we compare them to the interpretations of the Saints, the sublimity of the interpretations of the Church and the Saints, as well as the life-giving Spirit that penetrates them, will become evident in contrast to the platitudes of the Jews who follow the dead letter without representing anything more elevated, and who sometimes distort by false interpretation and commentary the oracles pertaining to Christ. Finally, these scholia will help those who do not know the Hebrew language to obtain a certain comprehension of the various meanings of the words in Hebrew, as well as the syntax and the expressions that characterize that language.

1. Hopes and Fears

On the point of giving his final approval for the printing of the Bible, the Inquisitor General Quiroga mentioned the 1545 Stephanus Bible twice in the 1583 Index. He repeated the condemnation found in the earlier editions of the Index. Two pages before, he stated: “Biblia ibidem [= Parisiis] ab eodem [= Roberto Stephano] impressa anno 1545, cum duplici translatione et annotationibus, quae Biblia Vatabli vulgo dicuntur, nisi repurgentur seu sic repurgata denuo prodierint excussa.”

His approval was quickly regretted by the Spanish inquisitors. F. H. Reusch states that first in 1613, then in 1632, all copies had to be returned for new corrections.⁶³ Finally in 1790, the Inquisition resigned itself to putting in the Index this edition which had nevertheless been published “Sanctae & generalis Inquisitionis iussu.” It was a sad ending to a courageous endeavor, following as it did so closely upon the Council of Trent.

[End of excursus]

3. Robert Stephanus’s French Bible (continued)

According to the colophon, Stephanus’s Bible was printed June 9, 1553. This folio Bible preserves the title design and the famous mark of the man with the olive tree that had already adorned the title pages of the 1532 and 1540 Bibles. Because Stephanus hoped to sell copies in France, he did not mention Geneva. The only words found beneath the logo are “The olive tree of Robert Stephanus M.D. LIII.” The volume also contains the beautiful panels that had been engraved according to François Vatable’s specifications for the 1540 Bible: one for Genesis,

63. Reusch, *Index*, 1, 204.

eleven for Exodus and eight for First Kings. At the beginning of each book are found the magnificent capital letters already used by Stephanus in his 1532 and 1540 Bibles. Finally, this was the first complete French Bible with numbered verses, 25 years after Pagnini had inserted them in his Latin Bible.

The notes are moderate and precise, taken in part from the notes in the Serrières Bible and in part from the 1545 "Vatable" Bible. For the Psalms, Stephanus followed the 1551 Crespin edition and adopted Louis Budé's translation, occasionally indicating Olivétan's readings in the margin. For the Apocrypha he reproduced the 1551 Crespin edition, and for the New Testament he used his own edition published the previous year in Geneva.

The true originality of the 1553 Bible lies in the detailed summaries, with references to individual verses, at the beginning of each chapter. These summaries provide a kind of continuous commentary that serves as a guide for the reader.

This Bible, as we have mentioned, enjoyed great success on the Geneva market. While Stephanus had omitted any mention of Calvin's city in the edition in the hope of achieving a large circulation in France as well, Catholic opinion was too strongly prejudiced against him for that to happen. In a different form, however, his Bible nearly succeeded in making a significant breakthrough in the French edition.

4. *The Benoist Bible*

René Benoist (Benoit) was a priest at St. Eustache, the most populated parish in Paris at the time. He was nicknamed "the pope of the marketplace" because of his pastoral zeal and his great influence over the people of Paris. During the troubled times of Charles IX and Henri III, he always gave his faithful support to the king. Henri IV asked for his help in preparing for his abjuration, with the result that he became the king's confessor. As a staunch defender of the rights of Parisian priests, Benoist was the target of hostility from the Mendicant Friars and the Jesuits. As a partisan of the king, he was distrusted by the members of the Sainte Liguë and by the Pope's legate. On the other hand, he had the resolute support of the bishop of Paris.

Benoist was also "professor of Holy Letters" at the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne. Since the circulation of Geneva Bibles played an important role in Protestant evangelization, the best way to protect Catholics against the influence of the Protestant Bible was, in his opinion, to prepare and distribute a carefully expurgated edition of it. Benoist's intentions are known to us from an apologia published by Du Plessis d'Argentré.⁶⁴ Benoist claimed that he was not its author. Nevertheless, his colleagues at the Faculty recognized his style in it, and he himself acknowledged having furnished the sources. According to this apologia, Benoist wanted to

64. Argentré, *Collectio*, vol. 2, 435–441.

bring people back to salvation, and return them to or keep them in the bosom of and obedience to the Apostolic and Roman Catholic Church, to its doctrines, morals and traditions, which he never intended to denounce or set aside in any way, either in public or in private, but rather to work with all his might to have them obeyed. That is why he had no qualms about copying anything from the heretics that he found good and edifying, whether in the Text, Annotations, Propositions, Arguments or Scholia, in imitation of Abraham and David and Job. After surprising and overpowering their pillagers, they not only demanded and took what belonged to them, but also pillaged the pillagers, as the children of Israel did to the Egyptians.

He then referred to the statement of the Ancients that “regardless of who pronounces the truth, it comes from the Holy Spirit.” Besides, just as “the heretics took the text of the Holy Scripture from us,” they also “took the annotations of the Holy Doctors.” He therefore thought he had the right, according to the rule and determination of the deputies of the Council of Trent, “to use one as well as the other, ridding one as well as the other, as well as possible, of what had been mixed in by the cunning ways of Satan, who continually tries to sow discord in the field of the Church among the good seed of the word of God and salvific Religion.” It was his intention to put that Bible forward with both aggressive and defensive armament, “observing the places that confirm our faith” and “presenting in a Catholic way those places where the heretics have impugned Catholics.”

Benoist shared his work with “several learned doctors, colleagues at the Faculty of Theology, that is, at the Sorbonne of Paris.” They approved it with 18 signatures, even though two would have sufficed. He then gave the work to four Paris publishers for printing: Sébastien Nyvelle, Gabriel Buon, Nicolas Chesnau, and Michelle Guillard. They published it concurrently in 1566.⁶⁵ On November 7, Jacques Le Fèvre, a trustee of the Faculty, bought a copy for five pounds and five sous. He gave Genesis to the Dean Jean Benoît for examination, and Psalms and Prophets to Antoine de Mouchy. He himself examined the New Testament. He gave the rest of the Pentateuch to Maître de Courselles and the historical books to Maître Dalesden Choletacus. In a meeting held at the end of April, 1567, the eighteen signatories of the approval acknowledged that they had not acted under a Faculty mandate, nor had they read the entire work that they approved. On July 15, on the basis of 30 censures identified by faculty appointees, the faculty decided to ban the translation and informed the publishers that they must no longer print or sell it. The principal reason given for the ban was that “almost everything found in the Bible and the Scholia comes from the Bibles of the Geneva Ministers.”⁶⁶

René Benoist indicated his willingness to correct his Bible if they would inform him of the points in need of correction. The bishop of Paris and the par-

65. Benoist (1566).

66. Argentré, *Collectio*, vol. 2, 430a.

liament likewise requested communication about the “matters deserving correction.” The Sorbonne refused. René Benoist then published his translation again in 1568 with the same four publishers.⁶⁷ This time the translation was accompanied by the text of the Vulgate. The New Testament was reissued five times: in Paris in 1566, 1568, and 1569; by Plantin in Antwerp in 1567 and by Hovius in Liège in 1572, with a printing privilege for six years granted by “Monseigneur Gerard de Groisbeeck, Bishop of Liège, Duke of Bouillon.”

In 1572, the faculty still had not gotten Benoist to agree to the pure and simple interdiction of his translation. He demanded the confirmation of that censure by the Bishop of Paris, who evidently refused to give it. As a result, the faculty excluded Benoist from its ranks. In his apologia,⁶⁸ Benoist stated that more than a million copies of his Bible were already in circulation, either as entire Bibles or New Testaments. He added that his translation “if there is something wrong, is truly a rare sin and a very new crime, since there has never been a doctor in Paris who wished, dared or deigned to put the Holy Bible into French—whatever the need in this excellent kingdom of France. And I do not know why, because our language is no more cursed or excommunicated than any other.” And he depicted “some of the best of this great and distinguished faculty of Paris, popularly known as the Sorbonne, who consider their greatness not to be in writing, but in admonishing and censuring what the Learned and Industrious ones write.”⁶⁹ He compared them to drones that are useless to bees, and contrasted them to the

learned and diligent Catholic theologians of Louvain, who were joyful in their Christian charity and love of the public good and were not at all envious. . . . And since they are wise and clear-sighted, not wanting to abuse nor to approve lightly something so important and significant as the circulation of the Bible in the common language, that is in French for the French, they pored over it diligently again and again, the text as well as the notes, and in the end gave the following approval: “This Bible, translated into French according to the common version with all its notes as they have been collected or corrected, can indeed be printed with great value to all Catholics and confusion to heretics.” To this statement they give solid witness, having read and examined the entire Bible. Signed, Bro. Jean Henten, Doctor, Regent of the Faculty of Louvain, Michaël de Bay, Regius Professor of Sacred Theology at Louvain, Jodocus Tiletanus, Augustinus Hunacus.⁷⁰

5. *The Louvain Bible*

According to B. T. Chambers,⁷¹ these four Louvain theologians are the same ones who, on February 23, 1567, signed the approval of the New Testament pub-

67. Benoist (1568).

68. Argentré, *Collectio*, vol. 2, 440a.

69. *Ibid.*, 438.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Chambers, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 414–15.

lished by Plantin at Antwerp. This New Testament with its “Annotations and expositions of the most difficult places” attributed to “M. René Benoist, Doctor . . .” was, in principle, only the last part of a complete Bible which was then not published.⁷² In 1573 Plantin reissued the same New Testament under the title *Le Nouveau Testament de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ, Traduict de Latin en François, Par les Theologiens de Louvain*.⁷³ A printing privilege guaranteed him the exclusive right to print, sell and distribute both the Old and New Testaments translated from Latin into French by the “Louvain Theologians.” Chambers points out that only the omission of Benoist’s name and notes distinguished the 1573 edition from that of 1567. She notes further that “these theologians had nothing to do with the actual translation (Benoist’s); rather, they were the authorities who had approved Plantin’s 1567 NT” with minimal corrections.⁷⁴

In 1578 Plantin published a complete Bible, which became known as the “Louvain Bible.” With regard to the Louvain Bible, Chambers states that “although there are some changes in the Benoist text, the most striking difference is the complete omission here of Benoist’s name and of all notes other than Scriptural references.”⁷⁵

Prior to this, meanwhile, the Sorbonne realized that neither the king nor parliament nor Pierre de Gondi, Bishop of Paris, would implement the ban on the Benoist Bible. Consequently, it petitioned Pope Gregory XIII for endorsement of the censures. The entire dossier was submitted by Cardinal de Pelevé, Archbishop of Sens, and on October 3, 1575, the Pope completely forbade René Benoist’s translation “under pain of anathema and excommunication.” The Sorbonne thought that it had thus exorcised Robert Stephanus’s spirit. It could not acknowledge that his specter reached beyond Paris to all of France.

Why was Louvain’s reaction so different? The explanation can be found in the preface to the 1547 Latin Bible, written by Jean Henten of Meehelen. (Henten was a Hieronymite who became a Dominican the following year.) He observes that the circulation of the Bible and the teaching of Scripture are the most frequently used ways to spread error among the people. The problem lies not so much in modifications to the text itself, but in the index, prefaces, marginal notes and summaries. There, even if only biblical expressions are used, the propagation of error “is all the more pernicious as one conceals venom in the honey he offers.”

There is no one who does not know, to give only one example among many, what assiduous work and what expenses Robert Stephanus, royal printer at Paris whom I name with praise, undertook in order to place at our disposition

72. *Ibid.*, 381.

73. Louvain (French 1573).

74. Chambers, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 415.

75. *Ibid.*, 422.

Bibles that are carefully prepared and perfectly accurate . . . And meanwhile deceitful Christians have influenced that courageous man, rapacious wolves disguised in lambs' skin have swayed him particularly in the marginal notes, prefaces and indices. And since they have corrupted even the best books of the holy Scriptures and Catholic doctors with their additions, his Imperial Majesty had every reason to decide that these pernicious books, regardless of their language, ought to be removed from the hands of the people. In this domain, it is Bibles that occupy first place.⁷⁶

He then explains that all Bibles that are in any respect contrary to the Christian religion have been removed from circulation by imperial order and that “we [= Henten and others?] have obeyed the order, on the advice and opinion of theologians of this academy of Louvain, who are both the most respectable and the most learned, as well as exercising very astute judgment.” He then describes in detail the project represented by that edition: the Vulgate, used so long by the Church, must remain stable. Thus Henten and his collaborators procured the best editions of it (he lists here the edition in which Robert Stephanus mentioned many codices in the margins, that is the 1540 edition) and all the ancient manuscripts they could find. By comparing them, they tried to return the Vulgate to its original purity, “without wanting to involve ourselves in trying to determine whether it always corresponds to the Hebrew and Greek texts.” We note in passing that when P. Manriquez, Master of the Holy Palace, reproduced Henten's edition in Venice in 1571, the two references to Robert Stephanus disappeared from the preface.

The first edition of Jean Henten's revised Vulgate appeared in 1547, published by Barthélemy de Grave. The goal of the Louvain theologians was to implement the decree on the Vulgate published by the Council of Trent on April 8, 1546. With that in view, on November 9, 1546, emperor Charles V granted to “Barthélemy de Grave, sworn Printer of our University of Louvain . . . permission to print Bibles in three languages, Latin, French and Flemish . . . approved by Messieurs the Doctors of holy Theology at Louvain . . .” for three years.⁷⁷ On May 9, 1546, the Theology Faculty of Louvain had published an index of forbidden books that included many Bibles, as Henten mentioned. Consequently, Charles V charged the professors of that same Faculty to publish a Vulgate as quickly as possible, followed by translations in French and Flemish. The hasty revision of the Vulgate with which Henten was charged took nearly all its readings from the 1532 and 1540 Stephanus Bibles.⁷⁸ In 1574, Luc de Bruges completed a more thorough revision on behalf of the Louvain theologians, published by Plantin.

Barthélemy de Grave used his third printing privilege in 1548 to publish *Den gheheelen Bybel . . . Met grooter naersticheyt ende arbeyt nu corts in duytsche*

76. *Œ* (Louvain 1547), Preface.

77. Chambers, *Bibliography*, vol. 1, 168–69.

78. Quentin, *Mémoire*, 135–36.

*van nyews ouerghestelt wt den Latijnschen ouden text . . . onlancs te Loeuen by sekeren gheleerde wt beuel der Keyserlijcker Maesteyt ghecorrigeert ende aldaer Ghedruct.*⁷⁹ This edition had been prepared by Clacs van Winghe, regular canon at Louvain, under the supervision of Peter de Corte and Govaert Stryrode, professors at the university. It was based on the 1547 Vulgate edition, and was replaced in 1553 by J. van der Haghen's edition published in Louvain by Antoine Marie Bergagne and frequently reprinted.⁸⁰

Barthélemy de Grave's second printing privilege concerned a French Bible. In 1550 he published *La Sainte Bible nouvellement translátée de Latin en François, selon l'edition Latin, dernièrement imprimée à Louvain: Reueuë, corrigée & approuvée par gens sçavants, à ce deputez* in collaboration with Bergagne and Jehan de Wacn.⁸¹ This was a revision of the Bible of le Fèvre d'Étaples, based on the Henten edition of the Vulgate and carried out by Nicolas de Leuze, under the supervision of Pierre de Corte. François de Larben also participated in the revision. Darlow and Moule estimated the number of editions of this translation to be about 200.⁸² According to Chambers, on the other hand, it did not have any direct descendants, but it was Plantin's 1578 edition that gave rise to all French Bibles that were not based on the Geneva text up until the end of the century.⁸³ And, as we have seen, the 1578 Plantin edition is René Benoist's Bible, without his name or notes and with the addition of the approval of the Louvain theologians. In the various Bibles that they published, the Louvanists continued to suppress the weapons that the Reformers found in the notes. In this, they were at odds with Benoist, who had thought he could turn the weapons against their Reformatist creators.

Du Plessis d'Argentré notes that Benoist's French translation, after being "completely banned" by the brief of Gregory XIII, was expurgated by the Louvain theologians.⁸⁴ It was reprinted frequently after 1582, the date when it first appeared with approvals from Paris theologians. Indeed, in 1581 two doctors of the Sorbonne approved it in the form in which the Louvain theologians had published it at Antwerp in 1578. In the edition published at Lyon in 1582 by Jean Pillehotte, these approvals appeared after the prefaces and the list of the books of the Bible.⁸⁵ The royal privilege, dated August 28, 1581, states that this translation had now been "reviewed at the king's wish by doctors in the Theology Faculty of Paris." The first censor, interestingly enough, was "Frère Jacques Maistret, Docteur Théologien en la faculté de Paris, Evesque de Damas & Suffragant de Lyon."

79. Louvain (Dutch 1548).

80. Louvain (Dutch 1553).

81. Louvain (French 1550).

82. Chambers, *Bibliography*, vol. 2, 387.

83. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 169 and 422–23.

84. Argentré, *Collectio*, vol. 2, 534.

85. Louvain (French 1582).

He attested that “in this present Bible, translated, reviewed, and corrected by the Doctors in Theology at the University of Louvain, . . . we have found nothing that is not good & Catholic, & accurately translated for use by Christians.” This was precisely the same Jacques Maistret, at the time still Prior of the Carmelite monastery at Lyon, who had been charged by the Theology Faculty to take to Rome “a large packet of books and papers wrapped in sealed cloths”: that is, the dossier of condemnation of René Benoist’s Bibles.⁸⁶ It contained “those Geneva Bibles from which he had extracted almost everything, the Bibles [= of René Benoist] concerning which there is as much question for the first edition [1566] as for the second [1568] with our censures and transactions.”⁸⁷ It appears that Maistret accomplished his task of censorship a bit hastily. Otherwise, he would have noticed that the only censures from the Sorbonne in 1567 concerning Benoist’s translation (as opposed to his notes) pertained to Gen 4:13: “Then Cain said to the Lord, my sin is too great to be pardoned.” Jean Benoit’s censure was formulated as follows: “This translation of the sentence of the Vulgate ‘major est iniquitas mea, quam ut veniam merear’ is perverted and the sentence, as is, is erroneous, heretical and blasphemous and borrowed from the Geneva Bibles.” The last claim is correct. Benoist had indeed adopted the translation cited in the margin of the 1553 Stephanus Bible. But Maistret should have noticed that the translation censured in 1567 as “erroneous, heretical and blasphemous” had remained intact in the Bible where he concluded that he had “found nothing that is not good & Catholic.”

Benoist accepted the Roman condemnation, while discreetly witnessing the clandestine success of his French Bible. The Theology Faculty reinstated him and he served as its dean from 1598 to 1607. In his position during this time, he demanded explanations and obtained retractions from several suspects. He had the Faculty condemn those who supported propositions that derogated the pastoral ministry or the hierarchical order.⁸⁸

6. The Châteillon Bible

A continuous, though often unacknowledged, strand joins the Serrières Bible to that of Louvain by way of Stephanus and Benoist. There was another sixteenth-century French Bible, one that was produced independently and never recited, that of Sébastien Châteillon. He was “the only really innovative 16th-century translator of the Bible into French.”⁸⁹

Our principal source here is a work by F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son oeuvre*. The quotations from his Bibles are taken from the Oporin edition for the Latin Bible,⁹⁰ and from the only edition made of the French Bible, published

86. Argentré, *Collectio*, vol. 2, 433–34.

87. *Ibid.*, 432.

88. See *ibid.*, 534.

89. Chambers, *Bibliography*, [vol. 1], 221.

90. Châteillon (Latin 1556).

in 1555 by Jean Hervage at Basel.⁹¹ As mentioned above,⁹² we have retained the spelling “Châteillon” because that is the spelling he and his sons used.

Sébastien Châteillon, originally from St. Martin en Bugcy, began by studying Greek and Latin at Trinity College in Lyon. He then went to live near Calvin at Strasbourg. By that time (1540), Calvin, who had been banished from Geneva and was living in exile near Buccer, had opened the first French-language “Protestant seminary.” When he was recalled to Geneva in 1541, he named Châteillon, who was only 24 years old at the time, Regent of Rive College. There, with the help of two recent theology graduates, Châteillon taught his students classical languages and French. According to “L’ordre et manière d’enseigner en la ville de Genève” (1538),

one of the regents abandons the usual solemnity of master, and fluently presents phrases from the Holy Scripture, from Latin into French, but while he does it, he constructs the text word by word, in the popular manner of teaching in the schools. Then, he introduces and presents the Latin in a simple way to the children, following the manner and order in which he had first presented it, and they translate into French, as each was able to retain and commit it to memory; any one of them will answer in turn until the end of a clause or sentence, and during this time the others readily go over it again in a vigorous and thoughtful way, preparing for the next turn. In this way the diversity of languages and books is presented, so that even children profit greatly from the Holy Scripture without study or work.⁹³

This simultaneous teaching of Latin and French thus also served as an initiation to the Bible. Châteillon condensed the fruits of his approach into a small manual, “*Dialogi sacri latino-gallici, ad linguas moresque puerorum formandos.*” The four books of these dialogues are divided in the following way: the first, made up of 33 dialogues, ends with “Samson”; the second, with 39, goes up to “Sede-cias”; the third, with 18 dialogues, goes from “Tobias” to “Veritas” (the disputed question of 3 Esdras 3–4); and the fourth, with 47, goes from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment. As the title suggests, the manual consisted of dialogues of biblical characters in Classical Latin. Châteillon followed the biblical narrative fairly closely. The first edition appeared in Geneva in 1542–1543. In the first book, the Latin and a translation into simple, lively French are placed side by side. This manual enjoyed great success, and after some alteration and the removal of the French translation, it was frequently reprinted in Basel, Cologne, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Antwerp, and Leipzig.⁹⁴ After Châteillon’s death, it appeared with his notes at Augsburg, Frankfort-am-Main, Leiden, Bremen,

91. Châteillon (French 1555).

92. P. 12 n. 28.

93. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 1, 148–50.

94. For example, Châteillon, *Dialogi*, in the bibliography.

Tübingen, and Llandaff; and without notes at Prague, Bautzen, London, Smalcald, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Lübeck, Heidelberg, Edinburg, Paris, Dublin, Debreczen, Kaschau, Pressburg (Bratislava), and Coburg. Finally, critical editions of it appeared at the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth at Leipzig, Frankfort, Giessen, and Basel.

Châteillon explained his project in a letter to the great teacher and humanist Mathurin Cordier: "I had extracted lively and enjoyable dialogues from the holy books of the Hebrews."⁹⁵ These dialogues were only a first attempt to have the biblical characters speak in real Latin and in the French of the time. Indeed, as early as September 11, 1542, Calvin wrote to Viret:

Learn now of our Sébastien's fantasies: they contain material to make you laugh and to make you angry. He came to me three days ago and asked me if I would agree to allow his translation of the New Testament to be published. . . . I answered that I did not wish to interfere with the printing, but that I was, nevertheless, obliged to keep the promise I had made to Jean Girard, to examine and correct what required correction. He rejected this condition, but offered to come and read his manuscript to me at a time I would set. I warned him that never, even if he gave me 100 crowns, would I agree to meet at a fixed time and then spend up to two hours arguing about a single word. On that note he left, visibly troubled.⁹⁶

The end of January 1544 marked the beginning of a conflict between Châteillon and Calvin. For two years, "Maître Bastian, regent of schools" had been requesting a raise in salary from the Council of Geneva. Because of the high cost of living, he was no longer able to retain the two theology graduates and assure the functioning of the college. When his request was rejected, Châteillon resigned from his post as regent and put forward his candidacy for the pastoral ministry. Calvin turned down the request because, in his opinion, Châteillon gave an erotic meaning to the Song of Songs and also

he could not share our view . . . regarding what we accept in the catechism concerning the descent of Christ into hell as signifying the crisis of consciousness he experiences in presenting himself on our behalf before the divine tribunal to expiate our sins by his death, transferring sufferings and curses onto himself. . . . He did not deny that the doctrine we profess is pious and holy; the question was whether that was really the meaning of the passage. At first we attempted to lead him to our opinion through reasoning. We refuted, as much as possible, the arguments that he presented to us. As that accomplished nothing, we finally tried another approach: we showed him . . . that in fact we were not passing censure on churches that permitted another interpretation; our only concern was to avoid the serious difficulties that would arise from the diversity of explanations.

95. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 1, 159 n. 1.

96. *Ibid.*, 183.

He responded that he was unwilling to promise what was contrary to his conscience.⁹⁷

The opposition between the two men remained latent until the first eruption took place the following May 30. Calvin informed Farel of it in these terms:

Our Sébastien has lashed out at us in as violent a tirade as possible. Yesterday there were about 60 people in the congregation for the informal explanation of Scripture. We were studying the passage, "in all things we commend ourselves as ministers of God, in much patience, etc." [2 Cor 6:4ff.] He proceeded to weave an endless antithesis, showing at every point the contrast between us and the ministers of Christ. Here is his clever witticism: "Paul was a servant of God, we serve ourselves; he was very patient, we are very impatient; he spent his nights dedicating himself to the edification of the Church, we spend the night playing; he was sober, we are drunk; he was threatened by sedition, we are the seditionists; he was chaste, and we corrupt, he was imprisoned, and we imprison whoever says a word against us. He made use of God's power, we use the power of others. He suffered for the sake of others, we persecute the innocent." What more need I say? In sum, a bloody attack. I remained silent for the moment, so as not to start a heated discussion in front of strangers. But I filed a complaint with the trustees.⁹⁸

On July 11, Châteillon gave up his post as regent and looked in vain for scholarly work elsewhere in French-speaking Switzerland. In August he took refuge in Basel with the printer Oporin. In April 1545, Calvin wrote to Farel: "If you knew what that dog utters against me—I refer to Sébastien—you would find monks sweet and moderate by comparison . . . Now he is vomiting his venom with full force. He claims that my tyranny forced him to leave the ministry so that I could govern alone."⁹⁹ It was probably at that time that Châteillon began working as a printer's corrector for Oporin. Until about 1553, when he became professor of Greek at the University of Basel, Châteillon lived in great poverty, with his family of eight children.

He devoted all his efforts to two translations of the Bible, first into Latin, then into French. The Latin Pentateuch appeared in August 1546, the Psalter in September 1547, and finally the complete Bible, which had three editions in Châteillon's lifetime: in 1551, 1554, and 1556.¹⁰⁰ At the same time as the publication of the folio edition of the Bible, Oporin published a separate sextodecimo New Testament.

The order of books in Châteillon's Bible was one of its distinctive features. Pagnini, in his 1527–1528 Latin translation, had taken the initiative of grouping

97. *Ibid.*, 198.

98. *Ibid.*, 210–11.

99. *Ibid.*, 239.

100. Châteillon (Latin 1551).

the “*Libri Agyographi qui non sunt in Hebraeo inter Canonicos Libros*” in a special class, between the “*Vetus Instrumentum*” and the “*Evangelium secundum Matthacum*.” The reformers followed in his steps, naming the category “*Apocryphal Books*.” But Châteillon broke with that tradition and placed the books in the classical order of the Vulgate. At the same time, however, he placed 1 Esdras immediately after Ezra-Nehemiah and 2 Esdras before the books of Maccabees, at the end of the Prophets. Beginning with the 1554 edition, he introduced the books of Maccabees with a summary of historical facts taken from Flavius Josephus’s *Jewish Antiquities* and *The Jewish Wars*. In so doing, he was returning to the old tradition of the *Historia Scholastica* of Pierre le Mangeur and the historical Bibles. The additions from Josephus are printed in italics so that “whoever does not like this supplement need not read it.”

It is clear that Châteillon took care to be as thorough as possible in establishing the text. In his “notice to the readers,” he states that “for the books that exist in Hebrew, when we found something in the old Greek or Latin translation that did not exist in the Hebrew, we included it, marking such insertions with the letters G or L, while the letter H indicates the return to Hebrew. We did the same for the books translated from the Greek, when the Latin contained something not in the Greek.” Consequently, Esther 5 looks like a veritable patchwork, with seven additions from the Greek and two from the Latin. The translation of Judith, for its part, indicates 117 additions from the Latin. The copious final notes (156 columns) mention numerous critical corrections made in the translated text.

Châteillon tried to eliminate all Hebraisms from his Latin, declaring that people who were attached to them would be better off reading the Hebrew. In the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch, he explains: “I have undertaken to have Moses speak in Latin as he would have expressed himself in that language, that is with as much facility and elegance as he has in Hebrew.” This effort to Latinize the Bible had grammatical and lexical implications. The translator explains at the beginning of his notes that he made systematic use of indirect discourse, characteristic of Latin as opposed to Hebrew, and did not hesitate to decline all proper nouns according to traditional Latin forms. In his choice of words, at first (in the 1546 Pentateuch and in the first edition of his Bible) he used some daring substitutions: “genius” instead of “angelus,” “lavare, lavacrum” instead of “baptizare, baptismum,” “collegium” instead of “synagoga” and “respublica” instead of “ecclesia.”¹⁰¹ But in his later editions Châteillon restored nearly all the old transcriptions of the Greek that had become traditional in the Latin of the Church.

This Latin translation is also characterized by daring transpositions founded on an audacious hermeneutic. So, in Gen 6:2, he translated בני־האלהים as “*hominum potentissimi*” with the following note:

101. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 1, 318.

“the most powerful men.” The Hebrew has “the sons of the Gods.” But the Hebrews often used nouns instead of adjectives, which are relatively rare in Hebrew. “Sons of the Gods” is used, therefore, in the sense of “divine,” that is, “eminent.” In Ps 82, for example, the judges and those who govern are called “gods” or “divine,” and in Job 41 it is the powerful. Similarly, the French use the word “Dieu” to describe someone who excels in some way, like a “fire of God” for someone who is magnificent or a “man of God” for someone who is pious and religious. The Latins, too, speak of “the divine Plato.” As for the word “son,” it is often the equivalent of “man.” The “sons of Israel” are the Israelites or the males among the people. The “sons of man” are men. Similarly, the French say “enfant de Lyon” for a native of Lyon, “enfant de ville” for citizen, “enfant perdu” for someone in disgrace. The Greeks used the expression “son of the Achaeans” for Achaeans “and children of doctors” for doctors. It is in this sense that I have interpreted the expression “son of God” here. But if someone has an interpretation that is more accurate, I would not wish him to adopt mine. Indeed, these words are ambiguous and I, too, have doubts.

This mixture of daring and reserve makes Châteillon particularly engaging. When a more elaborate Latinization threatened to detract from the meaning, the translator kept the Hebrew phrasing. So, for “the mother of all the living” (Gen 3:20) he notes: “For the Hebrews, men are sometimes designated with reference to life, whereas the Latins call them ‘mortals.’ But here, because of the name [Eve], they cannot be called ‘mortals.’ Besides, the word ‘living,’ used in speaking about human beings or God, has a richness of meaning that the word ‘mortal’ does not.”

Châteillon finished his Latin translation in 1550. He immediately began his French translation, which he completed in the spring of 1553. It was printed by Jean Hervage in March 1555.¹⁰² In contrast to the Latin Bible, aimed at an educated readership, his French Bible was intended for the unlettered, the *idiots* as they were called in the language of the time. He explains himself in the “Foreword concerning the translation”:

As for the fact that I did not give the reason for my translation in the notes in certain cases, as I did in the Latin, it is because it would have required many Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words, and I am writing here for the French people for whom these languages which are so strange to them mean nothing. And when I write that I do not understand a particular passage, I do not wish to imply that I understand all the others; what I mean is that I understand a little in the others, while I grasp nothing in that passage. I also do it so that in certain passages people will not put too much trust in my translation. . . . As for the language, I had in mind principally the simple people [*idiots*], and so I used common, simple language that was as understandable as I could make it. To achieve that goal, instead of using Greek or Latin words that would not be understood by

102. Châteillon (French 1555).

simple people. I sometimes used French words, when I could find them; otherwise I created them from French when necessary, and did so in such a way that they could be easily understood after a person had been told once what they meant. For example, with regard to sacrifices I used the word *brûlage* instead of *holocaust*, knowing that a simple person [*idiot*] would not know, nor remember, what a holocaust is. But if it is explained that a *brûlage* is a sacrifice in which one burns [*brûle*] the sacrifice, he will soon remember the new word because of the word *brûler*, which he already understands.¹⁰³

Châteillon then asks that people let him know or let the readers know about any errors that may be contained in his translation, “especially if it is a dangerous error,” and he concludes by saying: “However long I have worked at this task, by the grace of God, continually, at great leisure, in good health, and with great spirit, all the same, please God, if I find an error, whether discovered by someone else or found in another way, I will take pains, with God’s help, to correct it. If another, better translation is done, I hope that this one will happily give up its place.”

Châteillon’s translation was a completely new work. The Geneva Bible, by contrast, was the fruit of numerous reworkings, since it goes back by way of the Serrières Bible to Le Fèvre d’Etaples. That is why, even today, the Châteillon Bible appears much more lively and dynamic than the 1553 Stephanus Bible. The passage about Rachel’s death (Gen 35:16–18) illustrates the difference between the two translators. Stephanus translated:

En après ils partirent de Beth-el, et y avait encore environ une demi lieue de pays pour venir en Ephratha. Lors Rachel enfanta, et eut difficulté en son enfantement. Et comme elle était au travail de son enfantement, la sage femme lui dit: Ne crains point, car ce te sera encore ici un fils. Et au département de son âme, quand elle mourait, elle appela son nom Ben-oni.

Châteillon’s version:

Et quand ils furent partis de Bethel, et furent venus à une dînée près d’Ephrata, Rachel enfanta, et enfanta à grand peine. Et comme elle avait beaucoup de peine d’enfanter, la sage femme lui dit: N’aie peur, car c’est encore un fils. Mais elle, en rendant l’âme (car elle en mourut), le nomma Benoni.

Because of its style, this translation should have become a great French classic. But it enjoyed only limited circulation. Beza and Calvin, in the preface to a new edition of their New Testament published October 10, 1559, warned their readers against Châteillon’s translations:

As for Sébastien Chastillon, a man so well known in this church, as much by his ingratitude and impudence as by the trouble we have taken to try to set him on

103. Ibid., Foreword.

the right path, we would be obliged not only to silence his name (as we have done until now) but also to warn all Christians to be on their guard against such a person as an instrument chosen by Satan to amuse fickle and indiscreet spirits. Certainly, if there ever existed proof of ignorance together with the shameless audacity to toy with the holy Scripture and expose it to derision, it would be found in the translations and writings of the man against whom we bring testimony, to our great regret.¹⁰⁴

Relations between Calvin and Châteillon deteriorated still further after Châteillon published the “Treatise of the Heretics” (1554),¹⁰⁵ under the pseudonym Martin Bellic, in response to the execution of Michael Servetus (October 27, 1553). He reproached the Evangelicals, whose brothers had died as martyrs at the stake, for stoking the fires in turn to burn those they judged to be heretics. Châteillon’s protest against the condemnation of Servetus led Calvin to say about him in 1555: “He is so perverse in his complete impiety that I would a hundred times rather be a papist.”¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, Calvin insisted that French-speaking Calvinists use only one translation. As a result, it was not until 1644 that a new translation appeared in Geneva, that of Diodati, after thirty years of opposition from the Company of Pastors.

From the French point of view, Châteillon was a Protestant, but Geneva had blacklisted him and he was living meagerly as a refugee in Basel in a Germanic milieu. In this threeway isolation it is easy to see why his translation was not accessible to the French public. This fact prevented his neologisms (like *brûlage*) from taking hold. Today they are still considered oddities. In other circumstances, they would have created an authentically French biblical vocabulary. Even though he denounced these oddities, Richard Simon¹⁰⁷ considered Châteillon “much more learned in languages . . . than the Geneva doctors.” He thought that “Theodore Beza and his colleagues, who could not tolerate the idea of any French biblical translation other than the one they had published . . . gave obvious signs of their jealousy in not doing justice to Castalio, whose abilities were much greater than theirs.” According to O. Douen, general secretary of the Bible Society of France when Buisson published his study of Châteillon, his French Bible

surpasses Calvin’s revision in both essence and form in many passages . . . and there are traces of its positive influence on the later revisions, which would have profited by being even further influenced by them. In a perusal that is by no means complete, we have identified 95 passages that can be cited with certainty as improvements introduced by Castalio and which gained a definitive place in our Protestant Bibles, in spite of all the obstacles against him and his work. His

104. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 2, 251.

105. Châteillon, *De haereticis*.

106. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 2, 61.

107. Simon, *Histoire (VT)*, 349.

French version shows considerable progress over that of 1553 in terms of the understanding of the text, and even more progress in terms of language.¹⁰⁸

Despite these qualities, Châteillon's French Bible remains unknown today.

For the moment, we will interrupt the history of the French Bible. At the end of this overview of sixteenth-century Bibles we will return to the 1588 revision of the Geneva Bible by the "Pastors and Professors" of that city. That Bible makes use of Latin sources, which exercised a direct influence on it; these sources will be presented as part of the history of the English Bible.

C. *The English Bible*

General studies of the history of the English Bible, for example, S. L. Greenslade's "English Versions of the Bible A.D. 1525–1611,"¹⁰⁹ allow us to dispense with retracing its stages. We will limit ourselves to examining the sources used by the various translators and revisers.

1. *The Coverdale Bible*

Our comments here are based on the facsimile edition, *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, published with an introduction by Greenslade.¹¹⁰ Coverdale was the first to publish a complete Bible in English (in 1535). On the original title page, he spoke of his Bible as "faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe." In his preface addressed to Henry VIII, he states: "I have nether wrested nor altered so moch as one worde for the mayntenaunce of any maner of secte: but have with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyve sundry interpreters, havynge onely the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes." In his Prologue addressed "unto the Christen reader," he explains:

"to helpe me herin, I have had sondrye translacions, not onely in latyn, but also of the Douche interpreters: whom (because of theyr synguler gyftes & speciall diligence in the Bible) I have ben the more glad to folowe for the most parte, accordynge as I was requyred. But to saye the trueth before God, it was nether my laboure ner desyre, to have this worke put in my hande: nevertheles it greved me the other nacyns shulde be more plenteously provyded for with the scripture in theyr mother tongue, then we."

What are the five translations on which Coverdale based his Bible? Pollard agrees with Greenslade on four of them: in German, the Luther and Zurich translations; in Latin, the Vulgate and Pagnini.¹¹¹ In Pollard's opinion, the fifth was

108. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 1, 435–36.

109. Greenslade, "English."

110. Coverdale (1535).

111. Pollard, *Records*, 12; Greenslade in Coverdale (1535), 14.

the New Testament and Pentateuch translated and published by Tyndale. Greenslade also tended toward this conclusion, but points out that Coverdale mentions only German and Latin. The fifth, then, may have been Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament. However, it appears that Coverdale made little use of it. Perhaps he was referring to the German translation of the Prophets published in 1527 by Hätzer and Denck in Worms. Undoubtedly he considered it self-evident that he would use those parts of Tyndale's translation that had already been published. Our own analysis confirms the conclusions of various recent studies, that even though he based his work on Tyndale, he made many modifications, most frequently according to the 1531 Zurich Bible. Tyndale, for his part, even though he knew Hebrew, relied primarily on Luther and Pagnini for his translation of the Pentateuch, which was published January 17, 1530.

Coverdale thus did not use the Hebrew directly, and his translation was superseded by other Bibles that were more closely linked to the original languages. For that reason we do not refer to it in the body of this work.

According to Greenslade, Coverdale's Bible was printed October 4, 1535, probably in Cologne by Cervicorn and Soter. Peter Quentel prepared the main part of the work, and James Nicolson, a Dutchman established at Southwark, made the final changes. Anne Boleyn's fall from favor and subsequent execution (May 19, 1536) prevented Thomas Cromwell from publishing in his "Injunctions" of July 1536 an ordinance requiring that, after August 1, every parish church make the complete Bible in Latin and English available to the faithful. All the same, the Coverdale Bible sold well—Nicolson reprinted it twice in 1537.

2. *Thomas Matthew's Bible and the Great Bible*

Tyndale was arrested in Antwerp by Charles V's officers and executed October 6, 1536. This learned man, competent in Greek and Hebrew, had meanwhile managed to complete his translation of the Old Testament up to the end of Chronicles. His translation then passed into the hands of his friend John Rogers. Under the pseudonym "Thomas Matthew" Rogers had a new Bible printed in Antwerp, for which Cranmer had obtained the king's authorization.¹¹² It included Tyndale's translation from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Chronicles, as well as his New Testament. The rest was Coverdale's. The originality of the Rogers Bible lay primarily in the many reading aids (summaries, tables, index and more than 2,000 notes) taken for the most part from the French Bibles of Le Fèvre d'Étaples and Olivétan, and from numerous commentators. The Bible as a whole had a decidedly Protestant tone.

On September 5, 1538, Henry VIII published an "Injunction" intended for the clergy. He ordered them to place in every parish church "one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English." Half the expenses for the project would

112. Rogers (1537).

fall on parishioners. This injunction required the printing of a large number of Bibles. For that reason Cromwell, with the agreement of Cranmer, charged Coverdale with the preparation of a new "Great Bible." It was printed in Paris by François Regnault, under editorship of Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who had the authorization of François I. However, the notes of the "Matthew Bible" had caused a scandal among the English bishops. As a result, on November 16, 1538, Henry VIII issued a proclamation forbidding the publication of annotated Bibles without his explicit approval. Coverdale thus removed the notes of the Matthew Bible, just to be safe. For his Old Testament revision, he was particularly helped by Sébastien Münster's Latin and Hebrew Bible published in 1534–1535. As relations between France and England became strained, the Inquisition confiscated the printed pages from Regnault and deposited them at the University of Paris. The confiscation lasted from December 17, 1538 to November 1539.¹¹³ The publication of the Bible apparently took place at the beginning of 1540, and by December 1541 there was a total of seven editions.¹¹⁴ The second, third, fifth, and seventh editions noted on their title page: "This is the Bible appoynted to the use of the churches." Indeed, in spite of Cromwell's execution in July 1540, Henry VIII renewed his injunction in May 1541: By All Saints Day, every parish was to have placed the Bible at the disposition of its parishioners, under pain of a fine of 40 shillings per month. Nevertheless, from December 1541 to the end of Henry VIII's reign in 1547, there were no more editions of English Bibles. This is probably due to the fact that, during the Convocation of January 1542, the majority of the participants thought it desirable to bring the English Bible into greater harmony with the Vulgate. According to Gardiner, about 100 words required Latinization. This revision work was first entrusted to bishops and learned people, and was later transferred to the universities. The project did not amount to anything, apparently in fulfillment of a secret request from Cranmer.¹¹⁵

Under Edward VI there were numerous editions of the Great Bible and of those that had preceded it.

3. *The Geneva Bible (Ge)*

Under Mary Tudor no Bibles were published in England. Many were destroyed, even without publication of a formal interdiction of Bibles in the vernacular. However, a number of scholars who took refuge in Geneva and gathered around William Whittingham prepared an extensive revision of the English Bible. This Bible, printed by Rowland Hall, was first published in Geneva in 1560. There were three features, in particular, that contributed to its success. First, it was a quarto edition, which facilitated its domestic use, in contrast to the enormous church Bibles previously published. Second, it was the first English

113. Pollard, *Records*, 21.

114. Coverdale (1540).

115. Coverdale (1535), 25.

Bible to have numbered verses. Third, it was the first to be printed in Roman characters instead of Gothic. For these two innovations, the editors were inspired by Robert Stephanus's Geneva Bibles. Stephanus's Bibles were also the source of most of the corrections made in this revision of the "Great Bible."

To begin with, Stephanus's Latin Bible of 1557 exerted a great influence on the editors. Its title and subtitle are: *Biblia Utriusque Testamenti: De quorum nova interpretatione et copiosissimis in eam annotationibus lege quam in limine operis habes epistolam*. The New Testament, translated and annotated by Theodore Beza, is dated 1556 on its title page, and March 1, 1557, in its colophon. The notes on the Apocrypha are Claude Baduel's, who followed the Alcala polyglot closely for the Latin translation. Robert Stephanus concentrated his efforts on the canonical books of the Old Testament (dated 1557). In his letter to the "pious and truly Christian reader," he explained that he undertook this edition because he finally had most of the tools he needed. In the 1545 edition, he gives two Latin translations and notes. But the format (folio) and content differed. The Vulgate, printed in small letters, has only parallels in the margin. His later Vulgate text integrated the marginal readings, with their witnesses, from the 1540 and 1546 editions. The new translation—which occupies first place here—is no longer, as in 1545, Leo Juda's, but Santes Pagnini's, "which everyone agrees is preferable, being the most faithful." Stephanus claims to have obtained two copies of the first edition of that translation, corrected and revised by the translator himself. He also uses Pagnini's Old Testament annotations. Then, in a more detailed manner than in 1545, he states that he reviewed the notes from Vatable's course. They had been taken by Bertin, who then succeeded Vatable in teaching the course. Vatable's teaching was based on Pagnini's translation. At times, however, he would distance himself from a translation after analyzing it. For that reason Stephanus first revised Pagnini's translation based on Pagnini's own corrections, then based on Vatable's opinions. Nevertheless he retained Hebraisms, as Pagnini had done. The notes had at least four different sources. The first two were the notes taken during Vatable's course and Pagnini's original annotations. Then Stephanus clarified the Hebraisms in the text, basing his explanations principally on Pagnini's Thesaurus. Finally, for the difficult passages, he added interpretations of various Jewish and Christian commentators. The presentation of Pagnini's translation contains two unique characteristics. First, Stephanus indicated words that had no direct Hebrew counterpart, a practice started by the Zurich and Serrières Bibles, in a more systematic way, with smaller, cursive characters. Then he enabled a more accurate pronunciation of the proper names by inserting Hebrew letters in their transcriptions in order to make up for the deficiencies of the Latin letters. We may conclude from all this that the editors of the *Critici Sacri* were mistaken when they attributed the eclectic ensemble of notes for the 1557 Bible to "Vatable." They would have been more accurate if they had published the notes in the 1545 Bible under his name, because those

notes apparently depended on only two sources, Vatable and notes from Stephanus's earlier Bibles.

The 1557 Bible and the French Bible published by Stephanus in 1553 are the two primary sources on which the 1560 Geneva Bible depends for the characteristic elements of its text and notes. This can be demonstrated in several difficult passages from Jacob's blessing of his sons (Gen 49).

The 1540 Great Bible translates 49:3: "Ruben myne eldest sonne, thou art my myghte and the begynnyng of my strength, the noblenesse of dignyte and the noblenesse of power." Geneva (Ge) corrects only the two uses of "noblenesse" to "excellencie," which no previous English Bible had used here. This correction is based on Pagnini's 1557 translation: "excellencia dignitatis, & excellencia roboris." In fact, his 1527 edition had "excellencia, dignitas, & excellencia fortis" and the 1542 edition had "excellens dignitate, & excellens fortitudine."

Tyndale rendered the first two words of v. 4 with "As unstable as water." The translation "unstable as water" survived in the 1540 Great Bible, the 1602 Bishops' Bible, the KJV, and the RSV. Coverdale had translated the first word, "Thou passest forth swiftly," in which, in spite of the facilitating change to second person, we can recognize the Zurich Bible (1531): "Er fart eylets schnäll dahin." Ge has "*Thou wast* light." As Stephanus's annotation recommends, it translates the Hebraism "Levitas *fuit tibi*," found in Pagnini's translation in the 1557 Bible. The 1527 edition had the erroneous reading "Levi (sicut aqua)," while the 1542 edition had "Labilis (ut aqua)," which corresponds quite closely to Tyndale's translation.

Tyndale then translated "(Thou shalt therefore not) be the chefest." Coverdale, the 1540 Great Bible, and the 1602 Bishops' Bible retained the reading, omitting "therefore." Ge corrected this to "(thou shalt not) be excellent," which corresponds to "non excelles" of Pagnini (1557)—the 1527 and 1542 editions read "non habebis excellentiam."

Then Ge reads: "because thou wentest up to thy fathers bed," which is the translation of the 1540 Great Bible, and "then didest thou defile my bed," which corresponds to "Even then dydest thou defyle it" of the Great Bible.

The greatest difficulty in the Blessing of Reuben lies in the last word of v. 4: $\eta\lambda\gamma$. The Vulgate did not translate it, thus prompting a variety of interpretations. Tyndale offered "With goynge uppe" (retained by Coverdale and by the 1602 Bishops' Bible). This came from Luther and Zurich: "mit dem auffsteygen." The 1540 Great Bible has "and it was no more my couche," a reading that Coverdale borrowed from Münster (1534): "& stratum meum esse desiit". Ge reads "*thy dignitie* is gone," from the 1553 Bible "& la dignité s'en est allée" and from a note in the 1557 Bible: " $\eta\lambda\gamma$ Ad verbum, ascendit, id est abiit & evanuit . . . sensus est, dilapsam esse, ac extinctam excellentiam Ruben." The KJV translates "he went up to my couch," following Tremellius's translation "stratum meum ascendit," considering it an apostrophe that Jacob addresses to his other sons.

Tyndale translated the beginning of v. 11 “He shall bynde his fole unto the vine, and his asses colt unto the vyne braunche.” The last four words render לְשֵׁךְ קֶהָל. The 1540 Great Bible and the 1602 Bishops’ Bible simply omit the word “vyne,” consistent with Münster’s “& ad palmitem.” Coverdale translated “to the noble braunch,” in which we can recognize “an den edlen reben” of Luther and Zurich. Ge has “Unto the best vine,” based on Pagnini’s “ad vitem optimam” in the 1557 edition. The 1527 edition read “et ramum” and the 1542 “et ad ramum.”

Tyndale translated v. 12 as “his eyes are roudier than vyne, and his teeth whitter then mylke.” This interpretation of the two occurrences of the preposition מִן as comparatives is also found in Coverdale and in the 1540 Great Bible. But Ge translates “His eyes *shalbe* red with wine, and hys tethe white with milke.” This interpretation of the prepositions as causatives comes from the 1553 Bible: “Ayant les yeux vermeils de vin, & les dents blanches de lait,” and from the notes in the 1557 Bible: “Rubescent etiam oculi virorum Juda ab ipso vino, tanta abundantia vinum proferret terra illa: quin & lactis in ea tribu tanta crit copia, ut dentes ipsius ex frequenti ejus usu sint albicaturi.” The translation “with” would be retained by the 1602 Bishops’ Bible, the KJV, and the RSV.

Tyndale rendered the beginning of v. 21 as “Nepthali is a swyft hynde,” a translation retained by Coverdale and by the 1540 Great Bible. Here we recognize “Naphthali ist ein schneller hirs” from Luther and Zurich. Ge preferred “Naphtali *shalbe* a hynde let go,” which is Pagnini’s translation “cerva dimissa,” interpreted according to the first meaning proposed by the note in the 1557 Bible: “id est quae venatione capta non occiditur.” The 1602 Bishops’ Bible would read “a hinde sent for a present.” That is the second meaning proposed in the same note: “Alii vertunt ‘cerva missa,’ subauditur: ‘ad aliquem principem,’ quae solet esse pulcherrima.” The continuation of this note may have prompted Ge to correct the Great Bible: “Putant quidam laudari celeritatem in tribu Nepthali: at doctioribus alius sensus magis probatur.”

Tyndale translated the second part of v. 22 as “the doughters come forth to bere ruele.” This comes from Luther: “die tochter tretten eynher ym regiment.” Coverdale preferred “the doughters go upon the wall,” inspired by the Zurich Bible’s “die töchtern gond här auff den mauren.” The 1540 Great Bible with “the doughters ran upon the wall,” was altered in accordance with Münster’s “filiae discurrerunt super murum.” Ge corrected this to “the smale boughes shal runne upon the wall,” suggested by a note in the 1557 Bible: “Doctiores non interpretantur concursum fore virginum super muros, quas illexerit arboris conspectus: sed continuam esse metaphoram scribunt, ramusculos filias vocari existimantes.”

In v. 24, after “the myghtye God of Jacob,” Tyndale added, “out of him shall come an herde man a stone in Israel,” a translation that would be retained by the 1540 Great Bible and by the 1602 Bishops’ Bible. Coverdale puts this expression in the plural: “Of him are come herdmen & stones in Israel,” which corresponds to Luther’s “Aus jnen sind komen Hirten, und Steine in Israel.” Ge corrects this to “of whome *was* the feeder *appointed* by the stone of Israel,” with

a note on “stone”: “That is, God.” The 1557 Bible had “unde pascens lapidem Israel.” In the note, Stephanus explains, “Alii vertunt ‘pastor lapidis’ in genitivo: lapidem accipientes pro familia. Doctiores ad Deum referunt qui pastoris munus servo suo injunxit.” The KJV corrects this passage to “From thence *is* the shepherd, the stone of Israel,” under the influence of Tremellius: “unde *fuit* pastor & lapis Jisraëlis,” which is explained by the note “id est, a Deo ipso eodem evectus est eo usque, ut victum Aegyptiis et aliis gentibus suppeditaverit, fueritque Israelitis lapis perfugii.”

In the last three cases, Ge adopts the interpretation that the annotations of the 1557 Bible attributed to the “*doctiores*.” These few examples demonstrate that Tyndale’s translation, founded mainly on Luther, served as a basis for those that followed it. We note also the close link between the Coverdale Bible and that of Zurich (and, secondarily, to that of Luther); between the Great Bible and Münster; between Ge and the Bishops’ Bible and the very rich contributions of Stephanus (especially in his 1557 Bible); and finally, between the KJV and Tremellius.

The Geneva Bible never received any official authorization, but it became extremely popular, superseding even the other Bibles in the Scottish Church. It was the Bible of Shakespeare, and of most of the families, including the Puritans, that settled in New England. Between 1560 and 1644, it or its NT was issued in at least 140 editions. Of all the English Bibles, it was the one that competed for the longest time with the King James Version.

4. The King James Version (KJV)

After Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, she renewed her father’s injunction that “a copy of the complete Bible of the largest format in English” be made available to the faithful in every church. Considering the number required, a new edition was necessary. Parker revived Cranmer’s plan, which had failed in the final years of Henry VIII’s reign, of parceling out the books of the Bible among the bishops and several other prelates for revision. On October 5, 1568, with the first copy of the revised Bible (which would receive the name Bishops’ Bible), Parker explained to the Queen the principles that had governed the revision. They had departed from the Great Bible only where it disagreed with the original Greek or Hebrew. In order to follow the original languages more faithfully, the revisers made use of Pagnini (most likely in the 1557 Stephanus edition) and Münster. They refrained from aggressive or polemical notes, in an implicit criticism of Tyndale’s New Testament, the “Thomas Matthew” Bible, and the Geneva Bible. Those sections that were considered not sufficiently edifying for public reading were indicated with a mark. Finally, euphemisms were substituted for words that, in earlier Bibles, might shock the reader as obscene or inappropriate.¹¹⁶ To the

¹¹⁶ Pollard, *Records*, 297–98.

day he died (May 17, 1575) Archbishop Parker apparently prevented the printing of the Geneva Bible in England,¹¹⁷ with the intention of facilitating the dissemination of the Bishops' Bible. But after that date, the Geneva Bible spread widely, so much so that Puritans as well as prelates soon felt the drawbacks of a situation where the Bible that was read at home did not correspond to the one that was read in church.

In January 1604, James I convened a conference at Hampton Court to hear the complaints of the Puritans and consider possible responses. The meeting at which it was decided to undertake a new translation of the Bible was described by William Barlow, dean of Chester.¹¹⁸ The two initiators of the project were Dr. John Reynolds, spokesperson for the Puritans and president of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, and the King himself. Reynolds pointed out three cases where the official Bibles in use at the time were not faithful to the original Greek and Hebrew:

- In Gal 4:25 “bordreth” expresses neither the force of the word *συστοιχεῖ*, nor the meaning intended by the apostle, nor the role of that word in its context. The KJV would choose the Ge translation “answereth.”
- In Ps 105:28 the official Bibles read “they were not obedient,” while the original reads “they were not disobedient.” This was Ge’s reading, but the KJV would choose “they rebelled not.”
- In Ps 106:30, the official Bibles translated “Then stood up Phinees and prayed,” in contrast to the original “and executed judgment.” Again this was the Ge reading, which the KJV would duplicate.

The bishop of London remarked that it was not possible to take every opinion into account without constantly redoing the translation. The King then expressed his desire that special efforts be made to arrive at a uniform translation. He declared that he had not yet seen a Bible well translated into English, but the worst of them, in His Majesty’s opinion, was the Geneva translation. The work should be done by the best scholars of the two universities, then revised by the bishops and the most learned Church members and presented to the Privy Council, and finally ratified by royal authority, so that the whole Church would be obliged to use that Bible and no other. In response to a remark by the bishop of London, the king forbade the inclusion of marginal notes. Indeed, in a Geneva Bible that an English dame had given him, he had noticed several very tendentious, false and seditious notes, giving evidence of dangerous and perfidious ideas. For example, in Exod 1:19, the marginal note permitted disobedience to the kings, and in 2 Chr 15:16 the note reproached Asa for merely deposing his mother and not killing her.

117. *Ibid.*, 39–40.

118. *Ibid.*, 46–47.

- In Exod 1:19, regarding the disobedience of the wise women to the orders of Pharaoh, Ge did indeed note: "Their disobedience herein was lawful."
- In 2 Chr 15:16, Ge states: "herein he shewed that he lacked zeale: for she ought to have dyed bothe by the covenant and by the Lawe of God: but he gave place to foolish pitie." It is understandable that the note disturbed the king.

The Puritans and the king thus agreed on the necessity for a new translation. But, while they saw the Geneva Bible as the model to follow, the king wanted that Bible to disappear because its notes constituted a threat to his authority.

The dean of Westminster and the royal Hebrew professors of Oxford and Cambridge suggested the names of translators, and six teams, each with seven to ten members, were assembled. Of the two Westminster teams, one had charge of Genesis to 2 Kings, the other of the Pauline Epistles and the Canonical Epistles. Of the Cambridge teams, one worked on the Old Testament from 1 Chronicles to Qohelet and the other on all the Apocryphal books. Finally, one Oxford team took the Prophets and Lamentations, and the other the Gospels, Acts and Revelation. At the end of four years (two of individual work and two of group work), when the teams had finished their work, two delegates from each assembled in London as a committee of twelve members, to revise the translation and assure its consistency. They worked for 39 weeks. Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and Miles Smith, future bishop of Gloucester, supplied the finishing touches. Bancroft, bishop of London, who had at first shown little enthusiasm for Reynolds's project, managed an additional fourteen last-minute changes to the translation.

The essence of the revision consisted in integrating into the Bishops' Bible the best elements of the Geneva Bible. However, the translators also had recourse to all earlier English Bibles, often even giving weight to findings of Tyndale that had not made their way into any Bible. They omitted all marginal notes except biblical parallels, more literal translations of the Hebrew, and a number of alternative interpretations. Among the sources that were not yet available when the Geneva Bible was being prepared, the one that the creators of the King James translation used most was the Latin translation of Tremellius and Junius.

Emanuele Tremellio, a Jew born in Ferrare in 1510, converted to Christianity and was baptized in 1540. He fled Italy in 1542 with the reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli, and taught Hebrew at Cambridge in 1549. In 1559, he was appointed tutor of the son of the duke of Zweibrücken, and obtained a chair at the University of Heidelberg in 1561. He began his Latin translation of the Bible in 1571. François du Jon (Junius) assisted him and also translated the Apocrypha. For the New Testament, Theodore Beza's translation, which Stephanus had used in his 1557 Bible, and Tremellius's translation from the Syriac were printed side by side. The Old Testament translation is the work of Tremellius, and it remained intact through the third edition, published by Henry Middleton in London in 1585. Then Junius made unfortunate alterations to it in the editions that appeared in Geneva in 1590 and Hanau in 1596. Tremellius translated the Hebrew quite

closely. However, when a literal translation was unintelligible, he placed it in the margin and gave the text a more Latin turn. The translation is enriched by many exegetical notes explaining the meaning and reasons for the interpretations. Like Stephanus's 1557 edition and like the Geneva Bible, this one utilizes italics for words of the text that have no direct counterpart in the original language, a procedure that the King James Version would also follow until it was discontinued in the RSV.

In certain difficult passages, the influence of Tremellius's translation on the KJV is obvious, as some examples from Genesis demonstrate. In 3:4b, according to Tyndale, the serpent says to the woman: "tush ye shall not dye," to which Coverdale adds "the death." The 1540 Great Bible and the 1602 Bishops' Bible follow Coverdale, but omit "tush." Ge translates "Ye shall not dye at all," which corresponds to a note in Stephanus's 1557 Bible: "Hebraismum sic quidam reddunt, Nequaquam moriemini," the reading found in the Vulgate. Here the KJV breaks with its predecessors and reads, "Ye shall not surely die." This modification can be traced to a note in Tremellius: "Satanas . . . ex dubitandi particula qua usa est Cheva, infert non esse certum mortem secuturam . . . : non enim dicit moriendo non moriemini, id est, utique non moriemini . . . sed inverso vocum ordine, tantum negat mortis certitudinem."

In 4:22, Tyndale presents Tubal-Cain as "a worker in metall and a father of all that grave in brasse and yeron." Coverdale corrects it to "a worker in all conynge points of metall & yron." The 1560 Great Bible and the 1602 Bishops' Bible prefer "which wrought cunningly every craft of brasse and of yron." Ge merely changed "which" to "who." The KJV departs from these translations with "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." This follows Tremellius, who translated "qui erudit omnes fabrum acerarium & ferrarium," and noted that the complement of "qui acuit" is the artisans and not the metals.

In 22:14 Tyndale renders the saying as "in the mounte will the LORde be sene," which is Pagnini's 1527 translation "in monte Dominus videbitur." This translation was preserved in the 1540 Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, and the 1602 Bishops' Bible. Coverdale preferred "Upon the mountayne shal the LORDE provyde," perhaps inspired by Jerome or Nicholas of Lyra. Here again, the KJV breaks from previous translations, reading: "In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen." The idea of making the Tetragrammaton a genitive of the preceding word came from Tremellius: "in monte Jehovac providebitur."

We have already seen, in connection with Ge, the characteristic case of the final word in 49:4. Throughout this work these examples will be supplemented by many others.

Several remarks can be made to conclude this brief study of the sources of the English Bible. First, its development took place after that of the German and French Bibles. In the Old Testament, while it used the German and Latin translations as means of access to the Hebrew text, it chose these intermediaries with

excellent discernment. Second, the numerous revisions prompted by the tortuous history of the beginnings of the Anglican church permitted a continuing improvement of the English Bible culminating with the KJV, the most accomplished product of sixteenth-century biblical research. The German Bible, in contrast, for a long time remained fixed in the form that Luther had given it.

D. The Bible of the Pastors and Professors of the Geneva Church

A revision of the Geneva Bible appeared in 1588, offering numerous innovations. It was subtitled *le tout reueu & conferé sur les textes hebrieux & grecs par les pasteurs & professeurs de l'Eglise de Geneue* ("Entirely revised and compared with the Hebrew and Greek texts by the Pastors and Professors of the Geneva Church"), with no mention of the publisher. A "Notice to merchants, booksellers and printers" stated that the profits from the sale of the Bible would serve "the community of poor refugees from various countries and nations in this Church." It then requested that booksellers and printers respect this intention and avoid turning an illicit profit from the forgery of the Bible. The Bible was published simultaneously in three formats: folio, quarto and (with fewer notes) octavo. It must have had a very large printing, because it was not reprinted before the beginning of the seventeenth century. During that century it was reissued without modification approximately every five years.

The documents relating to the revision were published by C. Borgeaud.¹¹⁹ The two men that initiated the project were Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor, and Corneille Bertram, lecturer in Hebrew at the Geneva Academy. The latter, who signed his name "Bertramus," was born in 1531 in Thouars, Poitou, under the name Bonaventure Bertrand. From 1553 to 1556 he studied Hebrew in Paris under Jean Mercerus, professor at the Royal College. The troubles connected to the first wars of religion obliged him to disguise his identity under a new given name, and later to take refuge in Geneva. In 1562 he was named pastor in the village of Chancy. He married the niece of Theodore Beza.

When the position of lecturer in Hebrew was created, Calvin offered it to Mercerus, who refused it. He then called on Emmanuel Tremellius, who wanted to accept it, but could not obtain permission from the duke of Zweibrücken to leave the college in Hornbach, where he was rector. So Tremellius's son-in-law Antoine Raoul Chevalier, a native of Vire, Normandy, and former student of Vatable, was named lecturer in Hebrew in 1559. When he requested a leave-of-absence for reasons of health in September 1566, it was most likely Bertram who replaced him. In any case, by January 13, 1567, Bertram held the position. In 1574 he published a comparative grammar of Hebrew and Aramaic, and in 1577 he published an edition of Pagnini's *Thesaurus*, with additions by Mercerus and

¹¹⁹ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, vol. 1, 319–23.

Antoine Chevalier. Beginning in 1569, he and Beza undertook the revision of the French Geneva Bible. At first they planned to publish it through Jérémie des Planches. However, complaints against the project reached the Council of Geneva, claiming “that they are having it printed with several new notes and corrections, even, it is said, that they changed some verses and chapters, which, if this is the case, would result in scandal.” The Council met with des Planches, and then with Beza, who furnishes the following details:

After he and Bertram had gone over the entire Bible the first time, the Venerable Company added three members, Charles Perrot, Jean Jacquemot, and Jean-Baptiste Rotan. When the five members encountered a difficulty, they submitted it to the Venerable Company. In addition, since the revision had been undertaken at the request of the Churches of France, their Synod had sent two of its members to Geneva to inquire about the work that had been accomplished. The Council’s authorization had not been requested because none of the previous revisions had required such an authorization. Beza and Perrot attested, moreover, that no chapters or verses had been changed. They added that the loans that had been obtained were sufficient to cover the main costs.

They did not specify that it was the reviser Jean-Baptiste Rotan who had advanced the money.¹²⁰ Rotan was the wealthy son of a patrician of Padua. His connections among the Lombard bankers made it possible for him to negotiate a loan in 1588 with Henri de Béarn.¹²¹ With great faith in this heir to a fortune, the Company had a magnificent copy of the Bible bound, with the arms of France and Navarre, and Rotan was commissioned to give it to Henri IV. But, at the very time the gift from Geneva would have been presented to him, Henri became engaged, with Rotan’s encouragement, in an attempt at reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants. Consequently, the compromising gift was returned to Geneva where it remains in the library under the listing Bb553.

The preface to the Bible was the work of Theodore Beza “according to certain points that were prescribed by the Company.” In it he discloses the method employed by the revisers: “We compared the old French translation of the Holy Bible in its major printings with the Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts, then with the various Latin interpretations that we were able to recover, in both the canonical and apocryphal books. We were greatly helped by these texts, having recognized in them, beyond the knowledge of the translators, a singular piety and fidelity, although we were not governed by any of them.” Bertram states that once the work of the five-member committee was finished, he took on the task of drafting the more detailed notes required by certain passages.¹²²

As we will see in the following pages, it was Tremellius’s Latin translation that had the greatest influence on the Bible of the Geneva Pastors. But it would

120. *Ibid.*, 322.

121. *Ibid.*, 240.

122. *Ibid.*, 322, note.

be a mistake not to recognize the important role played by Pagnini's translation, revised and corrected by Arias Montano, in the revision of 1588. In his preface, Beza leaves unacknowledged the considerable extent to which the 1588 Bible borrows from Sébastien Châteillon's translation.

We might note, to conclude, that the translational choices for 180 passages of the 1588 Bible caused a heated controversy between the Jesuit Pierre Cotton and the Genevan professor Benedict Turretin in 1618 and 1619.

III. The Bible in Vernacular Languages in the Sixteenth Century:

An Overview

A. Before the Reformation

Before the Reformation, Germany, France, and Italy had traditional Bibles, translated from the Vulgate and printed in forms that had been edited in varying degrees. It appears that these first editions were most widespread in Germany. In England, on the other hand, where French had long been the dominant language of high culture, the translation of the Bible from the Vulgate into English (around 1380–1383) was never printed. As the work of Wycliffe's disciples, it met with mistrust in the church hierarchy. But the German-speaking culture was ready for a translation into the common language based on the original texts. The French and Italians also had a heightened awareness of the Bible, an awareness that had not yet reached English-speaking culture.

B. Luther's Role

Luther's decision to translate the entire Bible from the original languages into German, and the completion of the first part of that translation from 1521 to 1524, were crucial events. The enterprise of translating into the vernacular was linked by a strict logic to the two principles of "sola Scriptura" and the "clarity of Scripture." Because faith (which alone justifies) can be based only on Scripture, the Scripture must be made available to every believer. And because Scripture is not obscure but clear, it can be made accessible to all, in the vernacular. The dissemination of the Bible in the vernacular was thus a direct implication of Luther's doctrine. Luther's role as initiator of the Reformation finds a natural extension in the role of initiator of translations from the original languages into vernaculars.

C. Role of the Latin Translations

Throughout this work we have seen that Latin translations based on the Hebrew and Greek regularly played the role of intermediary between the original texts and the spoken language. When Luther spoke of Christians who were well versed in Hebrew, he was referring to Pagnini and Münster.

The most lasting influence was wielded by Pagnini's translation in its four major sixteenth-century editions:

- The *editio princeps* published by Antoine du Ry in Lyon. The title page bears the date "1528," but the colophon at the end of Revelation states that this "Veteris ac novi instrumenti nova translatio" was printed January 29, 1527.¹²³
- The edition by Michael Villanovanus (Servetus) published by Hugues de La Porte in Lyon in 1542.¹²⁴
- Robert Stephanus's 1557 Geneva edition.¹²⁵
- Arias Montano's Hebrew interlinear edition, in Volume VII (1571) of the Antwerp polyglot.¹²⁶ This edition is based on the 1542 Lyon edition. Montano's corrections of Pagnini appear in italics, while Pagnini's readings are retained in the margin.

A mystery lies in the particular connection between the 1557 Geneva edition and the 1542 Lyon edition. In the prologue to his Bible, Servetus claims that he devoted much effort to Pagnini's translation "post omnia eius annotamenta . . . Annotamenta, inquam, quae ille nobis quàm plurima reliquit. Nec solum annotamenta, sed & exemplar ipsum locis innumeris propria manu castigatum." Stephanus, as we have mentioned, makes roughly the same claims in the prologue to his 1557 Bible: "Nacti enim sumus duo ex prima illius editione exemplaria, in quibus non solum typographica errata non pauca, nec levia, manu propria ipse author correxerat, sed multos etiam locos diligentius & accuratius quàm antea examinatos, recognoverat. Venerunt etiam in manus nostras eiusdem Sanctis in Vetus Testamentum annotationes." These notes were autographs, as Stephanus states in a note on Ps 1:2, where he mentions "Sanctes in suis annotationibus manu scriptis, quas apud me asservo." How did Stephanus obtain the two copies of the first edition corrected by Pagnini himself? How did Pagnini's autograph notes on the Old Testament fall into Stephanus's hands? If Stephanus used the same sources in 1557 in Geneva that Servetus used in 1542 in Lyon, it was probably because Servetus was executed in Geneva in 1553.

Next after Pagnini's translation, the influence of which was felt throughout the century, was the Münster Bible (Basel, 1534–1535).¹²⁷ Its influence can be detected especially in the first revisions of the Serrières Bible in Geneva beginning in 1540, and in the revision that produced the 1540 Great Bible in English.

In his 1545 Bible, Stephanus used Leo Juda's 1543 Latin translation (Zurich) before replacing it with Pagnini's in 1557. Juda's translation did not exert a strong influence over translations into the vernacular. Châteillon's 1551 Latin

123. Pagnini (1527).

124. Pagnini (1542).

125. Stephanus (1557).

126. Under Polyglot (Antwerp) in the bibliography.

127. ¶ (Münster).

translation was even less influential during the sixteenth century. Douen pointed out the error R. Simon had made in that regard when he claimed that Châteillon's French translation "was based on his Latin version."¹²⁸ However, the French and Latin translations differed in their interpretation of the Hebrew. Châteillon himself thought he had improved the accuracy of the French translation over the Latin. Nonetheless, his Latin translation enjoyed a certain popularity from 1697 to 1778, and was reissued once in Frankfort, twice in London and six times in Leipzig.

Finally, Tremellius's Latin translation had a strong impact on the Calvinists in Geneva. Indeed, Tremellius had been closely involved in the foundation of the Hebrew chair of the Geneva Academy, and his translation had been completed by François du Jon (Junius), a former student of that academy who remained in close contact with Geneva. The translation was reprinted there in 1590.

As we have seen, Tremellius's translation also made its mark on the KJV.¹²⁹ Tremellius had taken refuge with Peter Martyr Vermigli in Oxford in 1548. He had then taught Hebrew at Cambridge before leaving England with the arrival of Mary Tudor (1553). The ties he maintained with England explain the three successive editions of his translation at London in 1580, 1581, and 1585. His work was without doubt at the disposal of all the translators of the 1611 Bible.

D. Robert Stephanus's Role

The former printer of François I who took refuge with Calvin exercised a primary influence on sixteenth-century French and English biblical translations.

His 1553 revision of the Geneva Bible was the official Bible of French-speaking Calvinists until the 1588 revision. As we have seen, René Benoist, followed by the Louvain theologians, assured him a large audience among Catholics as well, in spite of alterations to bring it more in line with the Vulgate (of which Stephanus had been the finest editor in that century).

Stephanus's influence on the English Geneva Bible (and through it, the KJV) was wielded particularly through his 1557 Latin Bible, to which the English exiles made constant reference for their interpretation.

In addition, the two translations and the notes contained in the 1557 Bible constituted the central column of the triglot published in Heidelberg in 1586 "ex Officina Sanctandreana," with a Hebrew column on one side, and on the other, a Greek column reproducing the LXX of the Alcalá polyglot. This edition was probably produced by Corneille Bertram after he left Geneva.

128. Buisson, *Castellion*, vol. 1, 417; Simon, *Histoire (VI)*, 650a.

129. Tremellius (1585).

E. The Bibles and the Authorities

Those who translated the Bible into the vernacular often faced conflict with religious and civil authorities. The politics of the Catholic authorities, however, varied according to region—Flanders, France, or Spain.

Charles V's policies were consistent. They were already clearly announced in a placard published at Mechelen July 17, 1526:

All Gospels, Epistles, Prophecies and other books of the Holy Scripture in German, Flemish and French will be confiscated and burned if they contain marginal notes or glosses, or if they have prefaces or prologues containing falsehoods or errors or doctrines of Luther and his adherents condemned by the Holy Church or contradicting the common teaching and doctrine of the Church.¹³⁰

On April 8, 1546, the Council of Trent published a prohibition against printing or selling “without the authorization of ecclesiastical superiors, the books of the Holy Scripture with notes and commentaries by just anyone, often without identification of the editor or with a false identification, and—what is even more serious—without the author’s name.”¹³¹ In response, on May 9 the Theology Faculty of Louvain published a “Catalogue of forbidden books”¹³² that included many Bibles. Nonetheless, the Emperor did not wish to leave his subjects without Bibles. He therefore ordered the Louvain theologians to revise Bibles in Latin, Flemish, and French. We have seen how they carried out that order, beginning in 1547, by avoiding any notes. We have also seen that these Louvain Bibles circulated in France, where the Sorbonne doctors ultimately gave them their formal approval.

In France, Robert Stephanus’s Latin Bibles were the first to suffer the criticisms of the Sorbonne, from 1547 to 1550. The king (François I, then Henri II) tried to protect Stephanus and to obtain from the theologians censures that would permit correction of the Bibles, instead of the outright interdiction that the Sorbonne wanted. A similar conflict took place from 1567 to 1575 regarding the French Bibles of René Benoist. In neither of these two conflicts did the Parisian theologians demonstrate any clear intention to replace the Bibles they forbade.

In Spain, the Inquisition prohibited any translation of the Bible into the vernacular, with the result that it was not until 1790–1793 that the first complete Catholic translation of the Bible in Spanish appeared, translated by Philippe Scio de San Miguel, (based on the Vulgate, of course) and published in Valencia.¹³³ However, the Council of the General Inquisition adopted a more nuanced position with regard to Bibles in the ancient languages. It is noteworthy that it was the

130. Reusch, *Indices*, 23.

131. *Canones*, Fourth session.

132. Louvain, *Catalogue* 1546.

133. Scio de San Miguel (1790–1793).

Spanish who created the first two polyglots: that of Alcalá (thanks to Cardinal Ximenes) and that of Antwerp (with credit due to Arias Montano). As we have seen, when the Louvain Index was promulgated in Spain in 1551, the Inquisition confiscated most of the Latin Bibles, but at the same time made certain that they were corrected and returned to their possessors. Later, when scholars expressed their desire to be able to use the Vatable Bible, which the Sorbonne had forbidden, the Spanish Inquisition organized a revision of that Bible and published it with the stamp of its formal approval. This attitude, we have seen in detail, differed markedly from the often much more rigid positions of other Catholic authorities regarding Bibles with Protestant annotations.

The churches of the Reformation, too, experienced many difficulties over the question of unauthorized Bible translations in the vernacular. We have mentioned Luther's and Zwingli's misgivings when the Anabaptists Hätzer and Denck published the first German translation of the Prophets from the Hebrew in 1527. The Zurich Preachers put great effort into replacing it with their own 1529 translation. We also saw how Châteillon's decision to translate the New Testament aroused Calvin's distrust, and his French translation of the Bible received a hostile reaction from both Beza and Calvin.

In England, the abrupt shifts in the religious politics of the monarchs were mirrored in multiple revisions of the English Bible, as we have seen, resulting then in an attempt by James I to eliminate the Geneva Bible by ordering a new translation.

F. The Debate over Reading Aids

The fundamental conflict between the Catholic authorities and the biblical editors in the sixteenth century concerned reading aids. The editors ordinarily added prefaces, notices, summaries of the Bible, biblical indices, chapter summaries, annotations, and various scholia. These devices conveyed polemical theological interpretations that furthered the cause of the Reformation.

Catholic authority varied in its attitude regarding reading aids. The Sorbonne censured them and used its censorship to prohibit Bibles that had such aids. Charles V had the annotated Bibles replaced by editions without notes. The Spanish Inquisition corrected the annotations by omitting whatever had a Protestant flavor. Only René Benoist and the English editors of the Rheims New Testament made bold attempts to reverse the polemical balance to favor Catholicism.

In England, first Henry VIII, then James I mistrusted the notes, especially those in the Matthew Bible and the Geneva Bible, because of the notes' anti-institutional tendencies.

Theodore Beza, in the foreword to the 1588 Bible, explains that the revisers would willingly have omitted the marginal notes because "prior to now, several editions have contained improprieties in the notes." But they deferred to the "pressing need of many honest folk, placing first the recognition that not everyone

has the means to read entire commentaries, nor a sufficiently developed discernment to sift through their contents.”¹³⁴

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Catholic and Protestant positions were reversed. On June 13, 1757, the Congregation of the Index gave the bishops power to authorize translations of the Bible into the vernacular, on the condition that they be “published with notes from the holy Fathers of the Church or from competent Catholic scholars.” This condition was repeated in the Code of Canon Law of May 27, 1917 (§1391). The Code of January 25, 1983 (§825) requires only that these translations be “supplied with necessary and sufficient clarifications.”

In the opposite direction, Article I of the statutes drawn up in 1804 for the British and Foreign Bible Society established as its goal “to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment,”¹³⁵ in the manner of Kings Henry VIII and James I. Since then virtually all Protestant Bibles have eliminated all notes or commentaries, as the *conditio sine qua non* for obtaining generous English subsidies. However, the UBS adopted a more flexible position when its worldwide council, meeting in 1980 at Chiang Mai, Thailand, decided “to assist the reader to understand the meaning of the Biblical text by including helps in all Scripture publications. . . .”¹³⁶ This comes close to “necessary and sufficient clarifications” required by the 1983 Catholic Code of Canon Law.

The reversed positions of Protestants and Catholics in the nineteenth century corresponded better to the distinctive characteristics of the Reformation and of the Catholic Church than did the positions each took during the sixteenth century. Indeed, according to the Reformers, the Word of God does not need human help to be understood; at the same time, according to Catholic tradition, the only authentic reading of the Scripture is that which takes place in Church in a dynamic relationship with the Magisterium. However, Catholics now understand better that reading aids of a historical, textual or literary nature (whose usefulness Protestants also now recognize) should be distinguished from “notes and commentaries” that draw theological conclusions, and whose place is not necessarily in the margin of a Bible, even if the commentators of the Middle Ages and Luther himself liked to place them there.

Conclusion

In this introduction we have discussed the conditions under which the five translations used for our “critique of textual criticism” were prepared. Of these, two (RSV and RL) are revisions of Bibles that date from the Reformation, and

134. Pasteurs (1588), Foreword.

135. First published in BFBS, *Report*.

136. Item 2.4 of the Chiang Mai resolutions, published in *UBS Bulletin* 120/121 (1980) 157–61.

the other three, as we will see, often base their textual decisions on translations that preceded them. In addition, the committee had many opportunities in its work to observe that the great authority enjoyed by the Luther Bible often set the course for criticism of the Masoretic Text. We also observed that the Vulgate exerted a long-ranging influence on Protestant as well as Catholic Bibles.

For this reason it was helpful to understand the conditions under which Bibles developed in German, French, and English throughout the first century of the Protestant Reformation, and to observe and analyze the essential role played by the Latin translations from Hebrew. In the sixteenth century, Latin was the language of letters. As a result, the Latin translations performed a function similar to that of the RSV, NEB, JB, or TOB for translation committees in Africa and Asia whose common working language is English or French.

Finally, in a century when the call to the gospel so dramatically challenged the institutional authorities, it was also important to clarify the issues involved in the conflicts that took place between those authorities and the people who prepared and distributed the "new Bibles." Recognizing the subtleties and nuances in the course of events helps to supplement the usual interpretation of these conflicts. Nonetheless, we ask the reader's indulgence in the excursus, where Robert Stephanus's personality and the ups and downs of the Nompaille have taken us on several detours that provided the opportunity to consider the concept of the authenticity of the Vulgate developed by the Salamanca theologians shortly after the Council of Trent, and also the way in which a theory of plurality of biblical meanings permitted them to reconcile that concept with their own curiosity about the teachings of "Vatable."

Part Three

Introduction

The Textual Witnesses

Preliminary Methodological Discussion

The introduction to the second volume of *CTAT* (Part Two of this work) provided a background discussion of the first two sections in the treatment of each textual problem presented in this report—the modern versions and the bases of their textual decisions. The third section is devoted to the ancient witnesses, and it is that section which is treated here in Part Three.

The committee set itself the task of examining how five influential translations completed in the third quarter of the twentieth century make use of textual criticism of the Old Testament. The translations—the Revised Standard Version, the Bible de Jérusalem, the Revidierte Lutherbibel, the New English Bible, and the Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible—were chosen as representatives of the broad spectrum of results obtained by Old Testament textual criticism in German, English, and French scholarship over the course of the preceding one hundred years.

As already noted,¹ exegetes and translators have called on textual criticism and turned to the other ancient textual witnesses primarily when they experience difficulty in interpreting the Masoretic Text. It is clear that these forays, which are selective and motivated by immediate demands, cannot constitute a textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. A critique of such initiatives, which constitutes the essence of this report, is also not sufficient to provide an adequate analysis of the textual tradition of the Hebrew Old Testament. Such an analysis is indispensable to the preparation of a critical edition. The goal of this introduction, then, is to characterize, in the framework of some essential methodological considerations, those textual witnesses that form the foundation of a critical edition, and those witnesses that must be considered in situating the text of the critical edition.

1. Above, p. 160.

A. Aim of a Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible

Since the term “Bible” designates a book regarded as canonical by certain communities, a critical edition of the Bible as such should be concerned with a canonical state of the text. The preferred state will be one that offers the clearest indications of authenticity among the various states of an edition which has served as Bible for a historically and sociologically identifiable community. In view of the fact that the critique we are working on aims to establish the Hebrew text of the Jewish Bible, it is important, first of all, to identify the text’s distinctive features. In order to do this, we tackle two complementary aspects of the text: First, we will situate its status as canonical Scripture, and second, we will analyze the consequences that this status has had for its literary and textual development.

B. Holy Scriptures and Canonical Scriptures

While these two expressions are often used interchangeably, it may be helpful to distinguish Holy Scripture from canonical Scripture. The former is considered holy inasmuch as it has the value of God’s word for its believers. The latter is canonical inasmuch as it is imposed as normative by the powers that codify the religion.

Canonical Scriptures become fixed by being circulated in editions based on authenticated exemplars, while forms not identified as authentic fall into disuse. However, these forms can survive and possibly continue to evolve in groups where the actions of the authenticating authority have no influence.

Holy Scripture can constitute a legacy held by a relatively closed school, where the Scripture evolves by additions, alterations, and omissions to keep current the divine message which it transmits and which must retain its value for future generations. It was because of their status as Holy Scripture that the Torah, in the possession of the priests, and the book of Isaiah, in the possession of the Isaiah school, were able to survive the rift caused by the exile and return.

What constitutes the essence of our present Deuteronomy was first Holy Scripture among the priests before becoming canonical Scripture (under the authority of Josiah), then again becoming Holy Scripture (after the collapse of the canonizing authority), and being canonized again (under a new politico-religious authority in the fifth century).

A secular literary work does not present the same necessities of updating as a Holy Scripture, which must continue to say the same thing, in the name of God, in changing circumstances and ways of thinking. The need to update Holy Scripture requires its custodians to make omissions, additions and alterations, some of which may be significant and extensive.

These same significant modifications would be forbidden in the case of a canonical Scripture, whose identity with reference to its authenticated state is preserved by the canonizing authority. The possibility of modification is only present

in the marginal form of *tiqqune sopherim* or as a result of the difference between the written tradition (*Kethiv*) and the reading tradition (*Qere*), or in the case of translations, which can range from literal to paraphrase biased by traditional modernizing interpretations.

The necessary updating of a Scripture that is fixed because of its canonization takes place thanks to the hermeneutic that governs its interpretation. This hermeneutic is brought into play by interpreters over whom the canonizing authority will attempt to exercise control by formulating, or at least by sanctioning, the norms employed by their hermeneutic.

C. The Canonicity of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles

The most typical case of canonization (which also constitutes the first example of it) is the one that occurred in the scriptorium of the Temple, and then in the pharisaical school up until about A.D. 100. The Alexandrian version of the Pentateuch known as the Septuagint fought to preserve its Ptolemaic canonicity (see the Letter of Aristeas) in the face of recensional efforts based on the form of the Hebrew Pentateuch considered normative in Jerusalem.

The books or groups of books in the Hebrew Bible achieved canonicity in different ways and at different times. “Jamnia” was only the final point (except for Esther, whose popular canonization was sanctioned afterwards). Furthermore, it should be added that “canonicity” does not have exactly the same sense for each of the three divisions of the Jewish Bible.

The Deuterocanonicals and the Greek translations outside of the Pentateuch had a polycentric canonization. It is often impossible to say whether those textual forms that one is tempted to describe as “aberrant” were semi-canonical in certain communities.

D. Which Text of the Hebrew Bible Is Canonical Scripture?

As stated, a canonical Scripture is a Holy Scripture spread by way of editions and recensions that originate with a textual state recognized as authentic by the religious institutional authority.

1. Consonantal Standardization

Between the two revolts against Rome, the Rabbinate achieved the standardization of the text of the canonical Scriptures by circulating copies of the exemplar that it declared authentic. The scrolls used in the Pharisaic synagogues that were of a fairly similar text type could then be corrected based on those circulated copies. The diffusion of non-Pharisaic text types, such as the Samaritan Pentateuch and most of the biblical manuscripts preserved at Qumran, was prohibited.

In the Judaism that was in the process of reorganization after A.D. 135, a reader in the synagogue would have had at his disposal a Torah scroll made up of a string of consonants that, it was hoped, was identical to that of the authentic ex-

emplar, with the consonants separated by identical major spaces in the same locations. But is this a text? If a text is a writing that communicates a literary work by permitting an accurate reading of it, this is still only a rough outline of a text. To speak in Masoretic terms, this *Kethiv* (written text) needs a *Qere* (reading tradition) for its contents to be read. Both a *Kethiv* and a *Qere* are necessary in order to have a *Miqra*.

2. The Masorah Insures the Accurate Reading of the Consonantal Text

Those involved in fixing the text knew very well that even the best text is in danger of deteriorating when copied by scribes with varying degrees of attentiveness, so that after several generations, a well-intentioned scribe in search of a model would find himself before numerous divergent manuscripts, hard-pressed to decide between them. Thus mnemonic devices were invented and passed on orally, with the aim of eliminating the main sources of confusion that plagued copyists. In this way, little by little, the Masorah was created. An increasingly rich collection of memory helps enabled the scribe to detect possible corruptions in his model. The Masorah was also concerned with fixing the tradition of vocalization and accentuation. It scrupulously recorded the differences between schools or between masters of the same school.

In Babylonia, the Masoretes were busy working on the text of the Torah already before the end of the first century A.D.² But this should not obscure the fact that the Babylonian rabbis from the beginning of the fourth century already believed³ that they had lost the tradition that had allowed them to distinguish in a precise way between the full and the defective spellings of the words in the Torah. We also know that the Babylonian schools were in disagreement over certain vocalizations⁴ and accentuations.

3. Putting the Qere and the Masorah into Writing

As always, when an oral tradition is in danger of disappearing in Judaism, it is put into writing, however reluctantly. At a time when the Syrians began to distinguish the heavier and lighter pronunciations of certain letters in homographs by using points, the simplest thing for the Jews would have been to add distinctive pointing to the words in their canonical books. Thus the authenticity of the *Qere* would have been assured. But the tradition required that, for liturgical reading, the Holy Scripture be written on scrolls where it was forbidden to add diacritical marks to the letters.

As a result, two types of manuals were drawn up, one for the Torah and one for the *Nevi'im*. The first,⁵ called ספרוגין and destined for readers in the synagogue,

2. See Barthélemy, *Études*, 356; Weil, "Propositions," 107–8.

3. See Weil, "Décomptes," 682.

4. Weil, "Propositions," 106; see Bauer/Leander, 130.

5. See Perles, *Analekten*, vol. 1, 9; Dietrich, *Bibelragmente*, 32–36; Yeivin, *מקרא*, 419, 424; Yeivin, "Fragment," 120–39.

showed where to divide the verses, what kinds of accents certain syllables had to have, and in cases where there was danger of confusion, which vowels. The second type of manual, destined principally for copyists, subdivided into two categories: one kind assembled the Masoretic notes in the order that a copyist had to take them into account, the other type attempted to collect in a more or less logical order those Masoretic lists which, because of their size or complexity, were at the greatest risk of being corrupted or forgotten. In the case of the Ketuvim, however, since they are not part of the liturgical reading, nothing prevented them from being copied into codexes (more practical than scrolls) where they could be written with accents and vocalization added to the consonantal text. The Masoretic notes could be placed interlinearly above each relevant word, with the more extended ones copied out at the bottom of the page. This is how it was done in the Babylonian schools.

4. *The Great miṣḥafim*

There were three distinct systems of vocalization: Palestinian, Babylonian, and Tiberian. While the first two were used largely for copying non-biblical writings, it appears that the third was the creation of the Masoretic school of Tiberias, and that from the beginning, its purpose was to express the biblical *Qere* in the most precise and complete way possible. It took the efforts of five generations before the Ben Asher family succeeded in writing the entire Hebrew Bible in a single *miṣḥaf* (codex). The Tiberian system was the only one to achieve the degree of precision required for such a project to succeed. In 895 Moses ben Asher, the fourth in the dynasty, produced a *miṣḥaf* of the Nevi'im supplied with the Masorahs parva and magna; then his son Aaron did the same for the entire Bible. This latter work had such success that it very quickly emerged as a model manuscript against which the authenticity of copies in use could be measured.

5. *The "Masoretic Text"*

Whereas consonantal stabilization had produced only the outline of a text eight centuries earlier, it was at the beginning of the tenth century that the Hebrew Bible was finally put completely into writing. From that point the term "Masoretic Text" may be used to designate the norm represented by the manuscript of Aaron ben Asher. Because of Maimonides' great authority, this norm very soon became the focal point for the ideal of perfection of almost all Jewish copyists. It could just as well be said that the Masoretic Text is to be identified with the Aleppo manuscript, which is extant for three-fourths of the Hebrew Bible. It might thus be tempting to conclude that an edition of the Hebrew text of the Bible should consist of a complete edition of the Aleppo manuscript, that is, of its four related elements, the consonantal text, vocalization, accentuation, and Masorah, for those books that are preserved in it. The Aleppo manuscript does indeed offer us the Hebrew text of the Bible in its first complete "edition," as it was realized by those recognized to be its most competent custodians, the Tibe-

rian Masoretes. But in the course of this introduction, we will have the opportunity to weigh other information that will lead to a nuancing of this suggestion. It may then be stated more precisely at the conclusion of our excursion through the various witnesses of the text.⁶

E. Task of a Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text of the Bible

Before the work of the Tiberian Masoretes, the Hebrew text can be said to have existed in variants, since the textual tradition had not yet crystallized in a complete written form. Given the complementarity that exists between the consonantal text, vocalization, accentuation, and Masorah, it is reasonable to build a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible around the complete reproduction of a chosen base manuscript. Around this center, the various textual witnesses would be placed in apparatuses whose function would be defined by the way the history of the text is viewed.

1. The History of the Text and the Apparatuses

The history of the Hebrew text for the majority of the books of the Bible can be traced in four stages:

1. from the origin of the text to its first edition as Holy Scripture,
2. from its first edition as Holy Scripture to consonantal stabilization,
3. from consonantal stabilization to the Masoretic Text,
4. the life of the Masoretic Text.

A certain number of preliminary studies are necessary before we can determine how the critical commentary should be structured into various apparatuses and what function should be assigned to each of those apparatuses.

2. Preliminary Studies on the Interrelationships of the Witnesses

First we need to examine the historical information that will help to situate the Aleppo manuscript (A) in relation to the activity of the Masoretes in the ninth century, and to characterize the authority that was ascribed to it.

The next task is to specify the sense and the range of the designation "classical Tiberian text" and to determine the relationships between this text type and the mass of medieval Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible. This will afford the opportunity to characterize the relation between the text and its Masorah and to assess what use should be made of the latter in selecting manuscript evidence.

Next an evaluation must be made about the extent to which the classical Tiberian text has preserved the consonantal skeleton standardized eight centuries earlier. This will determine whether the term "proto-Masoretic" may be used to describe this standardized *Kethiv*.

6. Below, p. 569.

The classification of the Hebrew witnesses will be accomplished through the study of the principal witnesses prior to the first revolt. Can one speak of a "pre-Masoretic" text for some of these, and what profile does it have in comparison to the "extra-Masoretic" Hebrew texts?

The next step is to tackle the most ancient of non-hebraic textual traditions, that of the Septuagint. With respect to the textual tradition that is established in the proto-Masoretic text and ends with the classical Tiberian text, does the Septuagint give access to a previous stage in a linear development, or does it constitute another branch of the same tree, that is, another text deserving its own edition and commentary?

Finally, the principal indirect witnesses to the proto-Masoretic text that are in our possession should be situated, at least in a general way. These are the versions that resulted from the proto-Masoretic text (recensions and hexaplar translations, Vulgate, Peshitta, Targum) and the citations of that text made in Jewish writings deriving from the oral Torah.

3. Literary Developments and Textual Accidents

Once we have thus classified the "cloud of witnesses" available to the scholar who wishes to edit the Hebrew text of the Bible in a critical manner, and have specified the sort of contribution to be expected from each of them, it will be valuable to define in a precise way the boundaries of text criticism and the disputed zones where the textual and the literary interpenetrate.

In the course of its transmission, a text can undergo both textual accidents and literary developments in successive stages. For example, the Gilgamesh epic underwent successive literary developments (or simultaneous developments in several languages), and numerous textual witnesses existed for some of these recensions. Similarly, it was because of literary developments that the books of Chronicles are related to a Samuel-Kings in a different textual state than the one attested by extant ancient witnesses of Samuel-Kings.

A change can be described as literary to the extent that it comes from a more or less conscious or intentional human intervention. A change can be described as textual to the extent that it is an accident sustained by the text. The literary and the textual can be tightly intertwined. Thus, when a copyist wishes to make sense of a text which has become incoherent through homeoteleuton, he restores the accidentally damaged text with intentional alterations. The literary enterprise is narrowly linked to the textual accident that preceded it. Or when a vocalizer tries to find a pronunciation to make sense of a word that a copyist garbled through metathesis of the consonants, he performs a literary task to obtain sense from a text corrupted by a textual accident.

4. Constitutive and Interpretive Literary Initiatives

It is legitimate to distinguish between literary intervention that results in creating a text and that which aims at interpreting a text. A literary activity would be considered constitutive to the extent that it results in a fixed text. The literary

initiatives where the Chronicler was content to make alterations to his text of Samuel-Kings are at the same time interpretative of Samuel-Kings and constitutive of Chronicles. Constitutive initiatives are common in active textual traditions, while interpretative literary initiatives dominate in a more quiescent textual tradition.

Textual stabilization is a cultural phenomenon to be placed in a socio-political context that it is canonical criticism's task to analyze. It can happen that the successive crystallizations that fix a text are separated by thaws where the text that had been stabilized returns to a more fluid literary state. Thus, the "Book of the Torah" that inspired Josiah's reform had the force of an inviolable norm in the view of the reformers. Later, after the collapse of the politico-religious structures of the Kingdom of Judah, it would become just another element in the new mix that led to the formation of the Pentateuch of Ezra under the authority of the God of Heaven and the King of Persia.

5. Reconstructive Textual Criticism and Genetic Textual Analysis

It is perhaps useful to distinguish between reconstructive textual criticism (RTC) and genetic textual analysis (GTA).

Using numerous exemplars of a given text from the same tradition, RTC endeavors to establish the most authentic form of the tradition from those witnesses, whether direct (manuscripts in the same language) or indirect (translations, citations).

GTA takes as a point of departure several textual traditions dependent on the same prototype (whether the traditions are fixed and circulate in editions, or survive only as isolated witnesses). From these textual traditions, it attempts to infer the textual accidents and redactional innovations that have occurred in the traditions in the course of their independent paths of transmission. GTA endeavors to analyze textual forms and may present hypotheses of limited scope and varying probability about some feature or other of an archetype or hyper-archetype. Unlike RTC, it does not endeavor to establish a text.

6. The Critical Apparatuses and Their Role

With the contribution of the various witnesses established and the methodological matters clarified, we can attempt to characterize the three apparatuses that a critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Bible requires: one apparatus of RTC, aimed at identifying the best form of the classical Tiberian text, and two apparatuses of GTA, one that records the contributions of the proto-Masoretic witnesses and another that records those of the different text types prior to consonantal stabilization.

7. Recovering the Original or the Archetype

When the best form of the classical Tiberian text has been established, the question must be asked whether it is possible to recover the archetype of this text on the basis of the data in the second apparatus. That is, is it possible to retrieve

the prior canonical state, the Miqra (*Kethiv + Qere*) presupposed by the fixed consonantal skeleton in circulation toward the beginning of the second century A.D.? If such a recovery turns out to be impossible, one must be content to attach a *differential* critical commentary to the edition of the classical Tiberian text, situating it in relation to its archetype point by point.

If the “original” of a book of the Hebrew Bible is considered to be the literary product of the last redactional activity prior to the first edition of that book as Holy Scripture, we must then inquire, in different terms for each book, about the relation of that original to the canonical state fixed between the two revolts against Rome. Here too, it will be necessary to draw up differential critical notes, when the possibility of reconstituting the original seems to be lost.

Section One:
The Different Forms of the Hebrew Text

1

The Authority of the Aleppo Codex

According to the plan outlined in E.2 above (pp. 000–00), we will attempt to characterize the authority ascribed to the Aleppo manuscript, and to situate it with regard to Masoretic activity in the ninth century.

I. The Recent Emergence of Ancient Manuscripts

The first, and very rare Masoretic Bible edited by Ben Hayim in 1524–1525 was reissued in facsimile¹ in 1972, permitting a comparison of that text and its Masorahs with ancient Masoretic manuscripts that have reappeared in the course of the last century. To offer background to the points of clarification that we will try to contribute to the notion of “classical Tiberian text,” we will first list those manuscripts that occupy the attention of \aleph critics.

A. The St. Petersburg Manuscript (P)

In 1863 in Vienna, Simcha Pinsker published his *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem nach den im “Odessaer Museum der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthümer” befindlichen Handschriften (unicis) bearbeitet*. A manuscript of the Latter Prophets came to light there, dated 916/17 and bearing for the most part² a supralinear vocalization of the Babylonian type. In 1876 this manuscript, called the “St. Petersburg manuscript,” was reproduced in facsimile³ by Hermann Strack. The limited extent of its contents and the particular system of vocalization prevented it from being the basis of an edition of \aleph . However, Kahle considered this manuscript to be “strongly influenced by the Tiberian Masoretes.”⁴

1. \aleph (Ben Hayim) in the bibliography.

2. A few pages have Tiberian vocalization.

3. “MS Petrograd” in the bibliography.

4. Kahle, *Geniza*, 73.

B. The Firkovitch Manuscript (F)

In 1875, in their *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, Abraham Harkavy and Hermann Strack highlighted the importance of the manuscript B 19^A, also from Odessa, as “the oldest manuscript dated with certainty (1009) that contains the entire text of the Old Testament in the original language.”⁵ Later on, they point out that “the masora is extraordinarily copious and the codex has even greater value because of it.”⁶ The colophon of F presents it as having been written, pointed, and supplied with a Masorah by Shmuel ben Jacob, “from the books corrected and annotated by the master Aaron ben Moshe ben Asher.”⁷ It is understandable that when preparations began for the third edition of the Kittel Bible, Kahle would decide to make this manuscript the base of his edition, recognizing it as a witness of the school of Ben Asher. That choice was likewise upheld by the editors of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. The Firkovitch manuscript has been published in facsimile.⁸ Besides this manuscript, however, in the introduction to BHK³ Kahle mentions the existence of two other manuscripts as models of the school of Ben Asher: the Aleppo Bible and the Prophets from the Karaite synagogue of Cairo.⁹

C. The Aleppo Manuscript (A)

It was not until 1960 that Izhak Ben-Zvi¹⁰ informed the scholarly community that the famous Keter Torah of Aleppo had been saved from the pogroms of 1947 and was in safe hands. At the same time, Moshe Goshen-Gottstein demonstrated,¹¹ from a firsthand study of the manuscript, that it was indeed the model codex described by Maimonides,¹² and by his dedicatory text (no longer extant¹³), as having been corrected, vocalized, and supplied with Masorah by Aaron [ben Moshe]¹⁴ ben Asher. This statement led Ben-Zvi to conclude that the Aleppo Bible “was written at the end of the ninth century, at any rate not later than the year 910.”¹⁵ What remains of the Aleppo manuscript, that is, 294 folios out of

5. Harkavy and Strack, *Catalog*, xxix–xxx. Note that this MS was ordinarily designated as the “Leningrad codex” in accordance with the name of that city between 1924 and the summer of 1991. Although it was not the only one bought from Firkovitch by the Imperial Library, it is the most famous.

6. *Ibid.*, 263.

7. מן הספרים המוגהים המבואר אשר עשה המלמד אהרן בן משה בן אשר. [From a carpet page, fol. 479r. —Ed.]

8. See “MS Leningrad” in the bibliography.

9. BHK³, iii.

10. Ben-Zvi, “Codex,” 1.

11. Goshen-Gottstein, “Authenticity.”

12. Maimonides, *Mishneh, Hilkot Sepher Torah*, viii, 4. The case drawn from Maimonides will be discussed at greater length below.

13. Ben-Zvi, “Codex,” 13–15. This dedication will be considered below.

14. On the omission of these two words, see *ibid.*, 13.

15. *Ibid.*, 5.

approximately 380, was published in facsimile in 1976. Elsewhere,¹⁶ we have expressed some reservations about the reliability of this splendid reproduction.

D. *The Cairo Manuscript (C)*

In a colophon of original autograph¹⁷ Moshe ben Asher presents the Prophets manuscript from the Karaite synagogue of Cairo as having been copied by him in 896. Previously published in a poor facsimile, this manuscript has now been published¹⁸ in a very clear and complete edition by the research team of the Madrid polyglot, under the direction of Federico Perez Castro.

E. *The New York Manuscript (N)*

To complete the list of ancient manuscripts that contain the books treated in this volume, mention should be made of a manuscript listed in the catalog of Elkan Nathan Adler's library¹⁹ as containing the Latter Prophets with Masorah, probably written in the ninth century and originating in Yezd in Iran. This manuscript, which has not yet been reproduced in any form, today belongs to the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, with the classification "Lutzki 232." Having suffered some damage, it begins at Isa 17:3, with a lacuna between Ezek 6:13 and 40:7, and ends at Zech 1:15. Many of its pages were darkened by the use of a chemical reagent.

F. *British Library MS Or. 4445 (B)*

Among the ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch, BL MS Or. 4445 is dated mid-ninth century by Margoliouth and beginning of the tenth by Kahle and Yeivin.²⁰ This date applies only to the ancient part of the manuscript, which extends from fol. 29a (Gen 39:20) to fol. 159b (Deut 1:33). The manuscript, which remained for a long time in Iran,²¹ bears a Masorah that cites "the great master Ben Asher"²² at Gen 49:20. It has not yet been published.

G. *The Damascus Pentateuch (D)*

In 1932, David Solomon Sassoon presented his "Damascus Pentateuch" as having been written in the ninth century.²³ Purchased by his father in 1915 in Da-

16. Barthélemy, "Alcp." 55–62.

17. On this colophon and the group affiliation of its author, see Kahle, *Geniza*, 95–97, and Schenker, "Lehre."

18. The references are under "MS Cairo" in the bibliography.

19. Adler, *Catalogue*, 5, under number 346^v; listed as MS New York, JThS, 232, in the bibliography.

20. Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 36b; Kahle, *Geniza*, 136; Yeivin, *Introduction*, 19.

21. See Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 38a.

22. Against the reading in this Masorah is the statement "there are those who say" followed by the reading found in the Firkovitch MS.

23. Sassoon, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, 22b–23b.

mascus and well preserved²⁴ (it begins with Gen 9:26 and has only one lacuna from Exod 18:1 to 18:23), this manuscript of 229 folios was acquired in 1975 by the Jewish National and University Library of Jerusalem, where it now bears the classification “Heb Quart. 5702.” It has been reproduced in a facsimile of two volumes.²⁵ In the introduction to the first volume, D. S. Loewinger dates the manuscript to the ninth century, “perhaps the first half,” and considers it to be of Tiberian origin.²⁶ In the introduction to the second volume, M. Beit-Arié dates it to the year 1000 and places its origin in Palestine or in Egypt.²⁷ Yeivin dates it to the beginning of the tenth century.²⁸

H. Vatican MS ebr. 448 (V)

This manuscript from the Ottoboni library has not yet stirred the interest it merits. On the verso of fol. 349, in small cursive letters and added to a Hebrew text which is half-obliterated, it bears the inscription *ושלם שנת ה' אלפים יב לפק'*. This inscription led the Assemani brothers to date the manuscript to 1253.²⁹ But this scribble has nothing to do with a colophon and Tisserant, believing it to be an addition from the fifteenth century, dated the manuscript to the eleventh century.³⁰ He was followed in this by Kahle, Sperber, and Díez Macho.³¹ In the introduction to his (inferior) facsimile edition, Díez Macho offers four paleographic parallels that range in date from 989 to 1017.³² However, bibliographers who lack a recent catalog continue to repeat the Assemani dating.³³ The manuscript contains the Pentateuch with text and targum alternating by verses, and is almost complete (of the ancient text, only Gen 1:1–7:10 is missing). It is supplied with a double Masorah on the text and on the targum. All through the Middle Ages, such manuscripts of the Pentateuch (and some of the entire Bible) with alternating text and targum can be found. This one is unquestionably the oldest one extant.

I. Berlin MS Or. qu. 680 and JThS 510 (= Ba)

This is probably the oldest manuscript³⁴ (partially preserved) containing the poetic books (with Masorah). Its Babylonian pointing (later altered according to

24. However, the ink frequently disappeared almost entirely on the skin side of the leather, where it was poorly absorbed.

25. *Damascus Pentateuch*.

26. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 13.

27. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 10.

28. Yeivin, *מקרא*, 430.

29. Assemani, *Bibliothecae*, 405.

30. Tisserant, *Specimina*, xv.

31. Díez Macho, *Manuscritos*, 376.

32. Díez Macho, *Pentateuch*, Introduction.

33. For example, Allony and Loewinger, *Hebrew*, 62.

34. Yeivin suggests the ninth century (*מקרא*, 422).

Yemenite norms) earned it an in-depth study by Kahle in 1902.³⁵ Kahle also published a precise description of the 101 surviving folios of this manuscript, which he considers “by far the most substantial piece of an authentic Babylonian manuscript that has come down to us.”³⁶ The order of the books follows the order given in the Babylonian Talmud.³⁷ A facsimile of this manuscript was published in 1972.³⁸

The fact that some of these ancient manuscripts have been discovered in the last hundred years, others have been dated and analyzed more accurately, and a number have been made accessible through facsimiles or other editions, has completely transformed the characterization that can be made of the “Masoretic Text.” We now have more direct means to arrive at that characterization, so that it is no longer necessary to use medieval manuscripts to make alterations to the *textus receptus* of Ben Hayim’s edition.

II. The “Ben Asher Text”

A. *The Influence of Maimonides*

In treating the textual divisions used by the scribes of the Torah scrolls, Maimonides expresses himself in his *Mishneh Torah* as follows:

As I have observed great confusion on this point in all the manuscripts I have seen, and that the Masoretes who wrote and composed works to identify the open and closed sections disagree on this point, according to the differences in the manuscripts on which they based their work, I have decided to record here all the sections of the Torah, the closed and the open, as well as the arrangement of the Songs, so that all the manuscripts may be rectified following this information, and corrections may then be made from them. And the manuscript we used as a base for this purpose is the manuscript known in Fustat,³⁹ which contains the 24 books and which has been at Jerusalem for many years so that manuscripts could be corrected on the basis of it. And everything is based on it because it was Ben Asher who corrected it and made alterations to it over a period of many years and made corrections numerous times on the way it had been copied. And it was upon it that I based the manuscript of the Torah that I wrote according to its *halakah*.⁴⁰

It was because of the great authority of Maimonides that the “text of Ben Asher” then came to be considered as the normative form of the “Masoretic Text” on the basis of this statement.

35. Kahle, *Text*.

36. Kahle, *Bibelhandschriften*, 20–21.

37. *B. Bat.* 14b.

38. Yeivin, *Bible*.

39. Or Fostat—first Islamic capital city of Egypt. On this interpretation of במצרים, see Chiesa, *Emergence*, n. 64.

40. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* (Ahabah, *Hilkot Sepher Torah*, viii, 4).

B. In Search of the "Text of Ben Asher"

For centuries, in order to identify the "text of Ben Asher," exegetes had at their disposal only a traditional list of 847 differences⁴¹ between "Ben Asher" and an illustrious unknown by the name of "Ben Naftali." However, it is disappointing to note that the differences are generally minimal, almost all consisting of the presence or absence of a *meteg*, or a letter pointed with *šwā'* or with a *ḥatep*. To be sure, Kahle made a certain commotion⁴² about the discovery of a treatise concerning these differences, written by Mishael ben 'Uzziel in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁴³ The publication of this treatise by Lipschütz in 1962⁴⁴ based on seven fragments from the second Firkovitch collection had the initial effect of raising some doubts about the various conflicting states of the old traditional list. However, numerous scholars went through the recently discovered ancient manuscripts with a fine-toothed comb, with many of them inclined to conclude that the manuscript they were studying was closer to the "text of Ben Asher" than any competing manuscript. From these studies, several conclusions may be drawn: It would have been only through emendation that the F manuscript became somewhat close to "Ben Asher." The original pointing of the A manuscript was decidedly closer, without completely conforming to it. As for the pointing of the C manuscript (copied by Moshe ben Asher, father of Aaron), it is decidedly closer to "Ben Naftali" than it is to "Ben Asher." Beyond this, it should be added, Pérez Castro⁴⁵ has shown that Lipschütz chose arbitrarily between the many variants of the text that he edited, so that the original state of the treatise is practically inaccessible.

C. The Aleppo Manuscript and the Model Manuscript of Maimonides

At the time when it was still kept in an iron coffer in the "crypt of Elijah" at the Great Synagogue of Aleppo, an ancient tradition identified the Aleppo manuscript as the model manuscript to which Maimonides referred in the passage of the *Mishneh Torah* just cited. But the Jewish community of Aleppo refused to let it be photographed and the only competent bibliacist permitted to study it for several days running was Moshe David (Umberto) Cassuto, in 1944. He concluded from his study that he doubted this identification "for technical reasons" which to his dying day he did not explain. As Goshen-Gottstein astutely recognized,⁴⁶

41. This is the number of differences that Ben Hayim reports in the list that he gives at the end of his edition of the Masoretic Bible.

42. Kahle, *Geniza*, 116–17.

43. Levi ben al Hassan ben 'Aly al Basri, son of the great Karaite exegete Yefet ben Ely, had already composed a treatise on the divergences between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali in the first half of the eleventh century (Lipschütz, *Kitab*, 3).

44. Lipschütz, "Treatise."

45. Pérez Castro, "Edition," 191–200.

46. On the following, see Goshen-Gottstein, "Authenticity," 33–58.

Cassuto's "technical reasons" must stem from the fact that, in the description that Maimonides gives of the arrangement of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32), he specifies that this passage was written in 70 lines in his model manuscript. In the current editions of the *Mishneh Torah*, his words are: וכותבין אותה בשבעים שיטות. Now the Aleppo manuscript (in which the end of Deuteronomy is the only part of the Pentateuch to have survived) writes the Song in 67 lines. This discrepancy was enough to arouse Cassuto's doubt. However, when Lonzano consulted manuscripts of the *Mishneh Torah*, he observed (could this have escaped Cassuto?) that three out of four manuscripts have 67 here instead of 70.⁴⁷ After double-checking this fact, Goshen-Gottstein concluded that, in the printed editions, the number 67 was emended to 70 to avoid having Maimonides contradict the norm furnished in the *Massekhet Sopherim*. It is unfortunate that when Goshen-Gottstein compared the *editio princeps* of Rome 1480 to a recent edition of the *Mishneh Torah*, he concluded that the editions say 70 "no matter whether we consult the first or the latest edition of Maimonides's Code."⁴⁸ What he says is certainly true for the old Italian editions (like the one produced by Gershom Soncino December 19, 1488), but it is not valid for an edition⁴⁹ by Moshe ben Shealtiel (published around 1491, in Spain or Portugal) where it is written: וכותבין אותה בשבע ושישים שיטות. As Goshen-Gottstein notes, the custom of writing the Song in 67 lines survived long after Maimonides, in the Torah scrolls copied by the Sephardic and Yemenite Jews. But the Ashkenazis, scandalized that the master would have chosen as a model a manuscript that did not conform to the details provided by the *Massekhet Sopherim*,⁵⁰ continued to follow this norm, emending even the text of the *Mishneh Torah* to avoid any contradiction with the *Massekhet Sopherim*.

D. Relation between Masorah and Text

In the search for the "Ben Asher text" then, it seems that we have arrived at our object, since we have, for three-fourths of the Bible, the very manuscript that Maimonides selected as a model because of the great care that Aaron, the last Masorete of the Ben Asher dynasty, took in perfecting it. Nevertheless, it is striking that there are several differences between the A text and the readings that Mishael ben Uzziel attributes to "Ben Asher."⁵¹ Aware of the situation, Goshen-

47. Lonzano, *Yadot*, 25a.

48. Penkower ("Maimonides," 111) also affirms that "All the printed editions of the *Code* require *seventy* lines and not sixty-seven." In "Aleppo," 156c, Goshen-Gottstein again repeats that "our printed editions of Maimonides's *Code* state that Deuteronomy 32 should be laid out in 70 lines" and he proposes that "we refuse to rely on printed editions."

49. I cite this edition according to an exemplar belonging to Abraham Erlanger that is presently in the possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

50. This treatise (XII.8 in the Higger edition) indicates the words with which each of the 70 lines of the *האזינו* Song should begin.

51. Loewinger mentions some of these in "Aleppo," 65–66.

Gottstein surmises that the thirteenth-century manuscripts from which we know the treatise of Mishael ben 'Uzziel were corrupt.⁵² But Dotan adds another difficulty to this one.⁵³ At the beginning (no longer extant) of the A manuscript was a copy of the treatise *Diqduqe ha-Teamim*, rightly attributed to Aaron ben Asher. Now, in the edition of this treatise by Baer and Strack, there are certain parts that had been copied from the A manuscript.⁵⁴ Comparing them with the biblical text of the A manuscript and with its Masorah, Dotan discovered inconsistencies which led him to conclude that the author of the treatise did not vocalize the A manuscript, even though this manuscript is perhaps the closest to the decisions of Aaron ben Asher among the biblical manuscripts of this era which have survived. It should be added that Aaron evolved in his decisions throughout his career as Masorete;⁵⁵ it would be unrealistic to claim that he is confined definitively to the framework created by one set of decisions or another.

One of the chief qualities that A shares with C (and that distinguishes them both from F) is that in each of them Masorah and text correspond quite closely. This distinguishes them even more decisively from all the more recent Western Masoretic manuscripts. Throughout this work, there will be many occasions to test the correspondence or lack of correspondence between the Masorahs and their texts and to distinguish the ancient Masorahs from other more recent forms.

E. The Great Classical miṣḥafim of the Karaites from the Tiberian School

It is important to underline, with Allony,⁵⁶ an essential difference between the norms in force throughout the Middle Ages for the Karaites on the one hand, and for the Rabbanites in the liturgical reading of the Torah on the other. Both groups acknowledged the need for vowels, accents, and Masorah for an adequate transmission and reading of the Torah manuscripts. But since time immemorial, the Rabbanites in the synagogue service read a *Sepher Torah* in the form of a scroll with a purely consonantal text, and vowels and accents had to be memorized by the reader. The Karaites, in contrast, rejected the Rabbanite claim of possessing an "oral Torah" which also came from Sinai, and instead believed that Moses had received the Torah in its "written and pointed" form at Sinai, that is to say, with consonants, vowels, and *teamim*.

In his *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, a survey of ancient Karaite theology (1148), Judah Hadassi expressed himself on this point as follows:

52. Goshen-Gottstein, "Tiberian," 100–101.

53. Dotan, *האמנם*, 138–42.

54. Ben Asher (Baer and Strack).

55. This is what Mishael ben 'Uzziel reports for Ben Asher concerning Exod 20:3 and for Ben Naftali concerning Exod 19:13 (י"א–י"ב).

56. Allony, *ספר התורה*, 321–28.

It is fitting that the Sifre Torah be pointed with vowel signs and accent signs, for the accents also teach about the interpretation of what is said, as in the cases we have mentioned, and they teach also about conjunction and separation and about the clarification of words through analysis and about the participle or the noun. for our God (for whom praises resound in heaven and earth) did not give them without vowel signs and accent signs. As the writ of our God was engraved on tablets, likewise they [the books of the Torah] were filled out in their writing with vowel signs and accent signs, and they did not lack any vowel signs or accent signs, as it is written: “the Torah of the Lord is perfect” (Ps 19:8). For, without the five vowels that are the kings of vocalization, no word can be produced, nor stand firm in the mouth, and it cannot be identified if not by its surrounding vowel signs and accent signs. Since Adam, the consonants and the writing and the language and the vowel signs and the accent signs have been given to interpret the language, the holy language of our God (may his name be blessed). For without them the five vowels could not be produced, and without the vowels the language is unusable, the pure and holy language of our God and of the visions of the prophets.⁵⁷

In contrast to this Karaite position, we find an anonymous Rabbanite response dating from the eighth or ninth century:

And [concerning] what you ask, “whether it is forbidden to point a *Sepher Torah*,” the *Sepher Torah* that was given to Moses on Sinai, we have not heard anything about there being pointing in it. It was not given at Sinai pointed, for it was the sages who created the signs for it, and we must not add to it from what we know, for fear of violating [the commandment] “you shall not add.” That is why the *Sepher Torah* is not pointed. And although the verse beginnings, accents and reading melodies were given by tradition from Sinai, as it is written “and to give the sense” (Neh 8:8), they were communicated orally and not with signs of pointing in a book.⁵⁸

R. Hai Gaon (938–1038) is credited with the following opinion:

A pointed *Sepher Torah* is not read from in the congregation. Why would a pointed *Sepher Torah* be read from in the congregation? Even if most of the pointing in it has been scratched out, it would not be read. The reason for this is that Moses gave the Torah to Israel unpointed. You can observe that what is read is something other than what is written, for example ישגלנה [Deut 28:30 where ישקבנה is read] and other similar cases. The transmitted words (המסורות) are written, but what is read (המקרא), that is not written.⁵⁹

57. 70a in the Gozlow edition (Hadassi, *Sepher*). The text cited is according to the Leiden MS Warner 17 (148b–149a), on which all the others depend (see Barthélemy, “Tradition,” 6–8).

58. Often attributed, on insufficient grounds, to Natronai Gaon, this response was preserved in the *Maḥzor Vitry*, 91, §120.

59. Cited from Allony, ספר התורה, 326.

Allony pointed out that the great codexes (*miṣḥafim*) completed in the circle of Masoretes of the Ben Asher family in Tiberias bear notices (in the cases where they have survived) that confirm their destination to be synagogue reading.

Indeed, the oldest of them, the Cairo manuscript of the Prophets (C), bears the attestation in Moshe ben Asher's hand (p. 585, just before the colophon on p. 586 where he says he copied it in 896) that it was completed for Ya'beṣ ben Shelomoh ha-Babli. Repeated two pages before this (pp. 582 and 583) in two margins is an older note saying that Ya'beṣ ben Shelomoh dedicated this manuscript of the eight Prophets at Jerusalem "to the Karaites who celebrate the holy days according to the observation of the moon (ללקראין העושים את המועדים על ראית הירח), so that they might all read from it during the sabbaths and the new moons and the holy days (יקראו בו כלם⁶⁰ בשבתות ובחדשים ובמועדים)." On the page where the biblical text ends (p. 581), a clearly more recent cursive hand notes that David ben Yefet al-Iskandari, after having redeemed this book of the Prophets,⁶¹ dedicated it to the community of the Karaites (על עדת בני מקרא) to read from on the sabbath and fast days (לקראת בו בימי השבתות והתעניות) in the synagogue at Cairo (בכנסת אל-קאהרה).

The certificate of dedication for the Aleppo manuscript, drawn up a century after its completion, has been lost. However, it was copied and edited numerous times.⁶² Ben-Zvi recently published it, using a copy which was communicated to him by R. Meir Nehmad, a member of the Rabbanite community in Aleppo. Ben-Zvi relates that he met R. Nehmad several times and discovered him to be a scholar with vast knowledge and scientific acumen.⁶³ This certificate of dedication, then, says that

this complete codex of the twenty-four books is the one which Shelomoh ben Buyâ'â (בן בויאעא) wrote . . . and which was pointed and provided with the Masorah in a very clear fashion (ונקד ומסר אותו באר היטב) by the great master, the astute sage, the lord of scribes and the father of sages and the leader of masters, a man skillful in his work and wise in his undertakings and unique among his contemporaries, Mar Aaron son of Mar Rab Asher. . . . It is our Mar and our Rab Israel . . . son of Mar Rab Simḥah, son of Mar Sa'adyah, son of Mar Rab Ephraim . . . who dedicated it for the lineage of Israel, the assembly of Jacob, the congregation of Yeshurun, the possessors of knowledge, the elect of the sages who dwell on Mount Zion.

60. In the note on 582, the following is added: "and may none of them be prevented from reading it in the place where it is kept (ולא ימנע אחד מהם מלקרות בו במקום אשר הוא מונח בו)."

61. It appears that it was in 1071, at the time of the pillage of Jerusalem by the Seleucids, that MS C and MS A were taken to Cairo where they were redeemed, the one for the Karaite synagogue, the other for the synagogue "of the Jerusalemites" where Maimonides had the opportunity to consult it.

62. By the famous traveler Jacob Saphir, אבן ספיר, vol. 1, 18a, among others in the last century. Later by Harkavy, חדשים, vol. 6, 6–8.

63. Ben-Zvi, "Codex," 13 n. 30, in introducing his edition of the dedication.

The colophon adds that the manuscript was entrusted to two brothers, Yoshiyahu and Yehezqiyahu, sons of David son of Booz, who were to put it at the disposition of the houses of study and congregations (אל המושבות והקהלות) that met in the holy city at the time of the three pilgrim feasts, Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot, so that it might be read (בשלשה רגלים חג המצות וחג השבועות וחג הסוכות לקרות בו) and studied, and so that one might learn from it all one wished and all one chose to do. It is added that the two custodians could delegate for this task two men known to be honest, judicious, and incorruptible. Then the colophon distinguishes between this public use of the manuscript and an individual use:

if any man from all the descendants of Israel, among the discerning of the Rabbanites, desires to check it during the ordinary days for *plene* and defective words, for passages joined together or divided by the *petuhot* or *setumot*, or for the presence of one of the accents, it may be brought to him so that he might check, understand, and instruct himself about it by reading and studying, then it will be returned to the place where it is kept, and it will not be left alone with someone who does not inspire complete confidence.

Moreover, R. Meir Nehmad informed Ben-Zvi that the word החכמים (in the expression “the elect of the sages who dwell on Mount Zion”) is written in the place of another that had been scratched out and that, in his opinion, was הקראים (= “the Karaites”). He explained that the expression מבעלי הבינה מהרבנים (= “among the discerning of the Rabbanites”) also covers an erasure under which he perceived the words מבעלי המקרא ומהרבנים (= among the Karaites and among the Rabbanites).⁶⁴ Given the fact that the two Nesiim Yoshiyahu and Yehezqiyahu left Jerusalem for Fustat around 1050, this document must have been composed shortly before.⁶⁵ It is thus rather inappropriate to designate as “colophon” a certificate of dedication written more than 100 years after the final preparation of the manuscript by its vocalizer and Masorete had been completed.

Manuscripts 223 and 225 (former and latter prophets) of the second Firkovitch collection bear an identical certificate of dedication attesting for each that

Hasûn daughter of Jacob son of Joseph son of Kushnâm dedicated it for the community of Karaites (על עדת בני מקרא הקראים) who dwell in Jerusalem the holy city . . . under the watch of our lord the prince Shelomoh son of David son of Booz . . . may the Lord bless our lord Shelomoh the prince and his two sons Hizqiyahu and Yoshiyahu . . . and she decided that it would be in the hall of Jo-

64. See *ibid.*, nn. 32 and 36. Harkavy already, in his edition of the certificate, had pointed out these two corrections. He believed also that, just before the first of them, the word המדע in the expression בעלי המדע (= the possessors of knowledge) was initially המקרא (the expression בעלי המקרא being a characteristic designation of the Karaites). These suggestions of Harkavy seem to have been missed by Ben-Zvi.

65. Mann, *Texts*, vol. 2, 136 n. 10.

seph son of Bakhtawi so that the congregation might read in it at the time of sabbaths and feasts (יקראו בו הקהל בשבתות ובמועדים).⁶⁶

Mann considers the date 1016 given in these certificates for the dedication of the manuscripts to be authentic.

Manuscripts 25 and 26 (former and latter prophets) in the second Firkovitch collection bear an identical certificate of dedication stating of each *mishaf* that it was

Bâbshâd ha-Kohen son of David son of Shelomoh son of Abraham son of Shahriâr son of Abzûn son of Bazergoy ha-Kohanim . . . [who] dedicated it for the community of Karaites who are at Fustat (על עדת הקראיין בני מקרא אשר) (במדינת מצרים) so that it might be in the house of study of the prince Şemaḥ son of Asa son of Şemaḥ⁶⁷ so that the Karaites and whoever wants to reflect on it might read in it (ליקראו בו בעלי מקרא) during the days of the sabbaths and the feasts and the fasts and Purim (בימי השבתות והמועדים והצומות והפורים) and so that it might not be profaned during the six weekdays, but if someone wants to see something in it, he should not be prevented from it, provided that it not be opened during the night.⁶⁸

Manuscript 34 (Ketuvim) of the second Firkovitch collection, according to its certificate of dedication,

is in the hands of Ely ben Salawaih in all his houses of study so that he might read it all the days of his life. And after Ely ben Salawaih has left this world, with or without posterity, this Bible will be received in one of the houses of study where the assemblies of the Karaites are held (אל אחת המושבות שיהיה בה) (קהלות הקראיין) (בשבתות ובמועדים) in Fustat, so that the assembly might read in it at the time of every sabbath and feast (לקראת הקהל בו בכל שבת ומועד) . . . and may every curse . . . fall on his head and on his son and his grandson and on anyone else who might prevent the assembly from reading from it (כל מי שימנע הקהל מקראות בו) at the time of the Sabbaths and the feasts (בשבתות ובמועדים) after it has been received in one of the places of the assemblies of the Karaites in Fustat.⁶⁹

The dedication of manuscript 94 (Nevi'im and Ketuvim) in this same collection tells us that Joseph son of Aaron Algazzi [xv] dedicated it in 1100 "for the sect

66. Cited according to Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 1, 67 and Mann, *Texts*, vol. 2, 134–35.

67. "Şemaḥ son of Asa son of Şemaḥ" appears in a marriage certificate in 1036 (according to Mann, *Texts*, vol. 2, 132).

68. Cited according Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 1, 71–72.

69. Again, it is Kahle (*Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 1, 75–76) who cites this certificate of dedication and dates the manuscript to the beginning of the eleventh century.

of the Karaites (על כת הקראיין) who are in Egypt, so that it may be read in the holy place.”⁷⁰

These six manuscripts of the second Firkovitch collection are only fragmentary, but their dedications confirm the use of these codexes for public liturgical reading in Palestinian and Egyptian Karaite communities of the eleventh century when they came into being. Obviously, we do not claim that the Karaites were alone in creating great codexes of the Bible. A large number of splendid manuscripts of the Bible were produced in communities that were clearly Rabbanite. However, it is to be expected that the initiative in this domain would come from the Karaites. Their rejection of the Mishnah and Talmud, as well as the equal regard they held for the Torah, Nevi'im, and Ketuvim, led them to concentrate their efforts on an access to the Tanak in its entirety that was as reliable as possible. It was thus perfectly predictable that the effort to achieve a codex including all 24 books would issue from one of their communities. Furthermore, it seems that this custom of composing a dedication for a manuscript in the place where a colophon would be expected in a Rabbanite manuscript, comes from a Karaite milieu and follows from the sacred use of the manuscript in that setting, in contrast to the use that a Rabbanite community would make of it. In view of this, the colophon of the Cairo manuscript (where Moshe ben Asher speaks in the first person) could represent a form of transition, since Schenker has clearly demonstrated Moshe's Karaite bent,⁷¹ and the even more clear Karaite affiliation of his son Aaron will be highlighted below.

It is striking to observe how the author of a polemical poem⁷² defends the Rabbanite academy of Palestine⁷³ against the claims of the Karaite community in Jerusalem.⁷⁴ He reproaches the latter for claiming that “the Bible is our inheritance”⁷⁵ while busying themselves with *ṭarḥah* and *azlah*, and *dargah* and *merkah*⁷⁶ and performing the melodies of the accents⁷⁷ and becoming drier up adding *ma'arik* to *qāmeṣ*.⁷⁸ They all clash over exegesis, they wheel round and stagger like drunks, one saying this and the other saying that.⁷⁹ In the precepts and the commandments they are trapped and they stumble.⁸⁰ In contrast, in the Rabbanite academy, there are seven *ḥaberim* who are experts in the ancient

70. According to Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 1, 74.

71. Schenker, “Lehre,” 245.

72. Cited according to the pages and lines of the edition by Schechter (“Specimens,” 358–69). For the interpretation of the poem, I rely on Mann, *Jews*, vol. 1, 274–77 and vol. 2, 48–49.

73. Designated as חבורת הצדק in 7,26 and 8,9.

74. Mann (*Jews*, vol. 1, 274–75) has convincingly identified the community designated הצולעה in 1,19 and 7,21.

75. כי לנו המקרא נחלה (7,25).

76. סבו אל טרחה ואזלה ואל דרגה ומארכה (1,3–4).

77. עוגבי הטעמים (1,5).

78. יבש כחרש כוחם בקמצה מאריכים (1,7–8).

79. צבא יצבאו כלם על הפתרון. יחוגו וינעו כמלאי שכרון. זה אומר בכה וזה אומר בכה (1,9–10).

80. בחקים ומשפטים נוקשו ונכשלו (1,12–13).

words.⁸¹ Their task is to teach in Israel the commandments and the precepts and the Torah of Moses with which he charged us as a heritage.⁸² This writing, probably dating from the tenth century, shows that in Jerusalem at that time, the Karaites—considered by the Rabbanite community as specializing in vocalization and accentuation of the Bible, but as incapable of offering a coherent exegesis of the precepts of the Torah for lack of ancient traditions in that domain—cut a sorry figure in the eyes of their Rabbanite brothers.

One more indication of the greater success of the Karaites over the Rabbanites in the minutia of pointing lies in the fact that the three earliest witnesses of the lists of “differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali” whose names have been preserved appear to be Karaite. It is certainly the case for the first of them, Levi ben Yefet, and for the third, Shemu'el ha-Rofe, author of the *Muqaddima*. But it is also probable for the second, Misha'el ben 'Uzzi'el.⁸³

F. The Fame of “Ben Asher”

In its original form, the dedication of the Aleppo manuscript specified that this manuscript had been dedicated by Israel ben Simhah to the Karaite community of Jerusalem.⁸⁴ It has the characteristic signs that indicate its vocalization and Masorah were written by a Karaite. Yeivin noted that the mode of vocalization used consistently by the vocalizer of A when reversed consonants distinguish the *Qere* from the *Kethiv*, can only be explained by the vocalizer's conviction that the vowels had been attached to the consonants since Sinai.⁸⁵ So while the majority of manuscripts vocalize the consonants of these words in the order that the *Qere* places them, the Aleppo manuscript (with some rare witnesses from the same period) vocalizes them in the order that they are found in the *Kethiv*, that is, it considers the vowel inseparable from the consonant. Yeivin concludes: “These considerations prove, in my opinion, that the vocalizer of A was most certainly a Karaite.” In contrast, the Cairo manuscript sometimes has the distinctive vocalization and at other times the normal vocalization in these cases. With regard to the Masorah, that of the Cairo manuscript often mentions “the 18 *tiqqune sopherim*,” for example, for 1 Sam 3:13; 1 Kgs 12:16; Jer 2:11; Ezek 8:17; Hab 1:12; Zech 2:12; Mal 3:8, that is, in seven of the ten traditional cases in the former and latter prophets. Now, Dotan has demonstrated that the Karaite Qirqisani's⁸⁶ crushing critique of the tradition of the *tiqqune sopherim* at the beginning of the tenth century makes it unlikely that a manuscript barely antedating him and citing this tradition often in its Masorahs would be the work of a

81. שבעה החברים משכילי הדברים עתיקים (8,3–4).

82. ללמד בישראל משפטים וחקים. ותורת משה צוה לנו מורשה (8,4–5).

83. See Lipschütz, *Kitab*, 2 n. 8.

84. See Mann, *Texts*, vol. 2, 135–36.

85. Yeivin, “Vocalization,” 148.

86. Qirqisani, *Kitab al-Anwar*, vol. 2, 22.

Karaite.⁸⁷ By the same token, it is interesting to note that the Aleppo manuscript does not mention a single one of the 13 traditional cases of *tiqqune sopherim* located in the part of the codex that survived, and that the Firkovitch manuscript does not mention a single one of the 18 cases. According to Dotan's argument, would it not then be necessary to consider Aaron's omission of a feature that figured in the Masorah of his father Moshe to be an important test of Karaite provenance?

From these observations, we would be led to conclude that Aaron ben Asher (in a more marked manner than his father Moshe) was Karaite at the time that he pointed this manuscript and put in it the Masoretic lists of his choosing.⁸⁸ Moreover, it is telling that, in a fragment of a Masoretic work cited in turn by Neubauer, Baer/Strack, and Mann, a Rabbanite addresses the Karaites to ask for an explanation of the motivation of the great master Aaron ben Moshe ben Asher for pointing two words of the Torah with both *dageš* and *rafe*.⁸⁹

How did it happen then that Maimonides took Aaron's *mishaf* as a model for his summary of the *setumot* and *petuhot* of the Torah, as well as for the arrangement of its two Songs? It was probably because he read the dedication after it had undergone three emendations dissociating it from the Karaites,⁹⁰ emendations which must have taken place after the manuscript, once redeemed, was deposited in the Rabbanite synagogue of the "Jerusalemites" in Cairo. Indeed, another note, now lost, said of the Aleppo manuscript that it had been

transferred by right of a ransom payment from the plunder of Jerusalem, the holy city (may it be rebuilt and restored!), to the community in Cairo, to the synagogue of Jerusalem (may it be rebuilt and restored in the days of Israel!). Blessed be the one who guards it and cursed be the one who steals it, and cursed be the one who pawns it. It must never ever be sold or redeemed!

87. Dotan, *Creed*, 52–53.

88. Among those who have concluded that "there are good reasons for believing that the Ben Ashers accepted the Karaite doctrine," Chiesa (*Emergence*, 41) seems to me to be the only one to have specified that "this is not to say that all the representatives of the Tiberian school were Karaites. It is extremely unlikely that the Masorettes of the first generations were so. . . ." It should be added that *Diqduqe ha-Teamim* contains lists whose resonances are, in fact, Rabbanite. But the traditional attribution of *Diqduqe ha-Teamim* to Aaron does not at all guarantee that the insertion of the lists in question in certain witnesses of this very composite collection is the work of Aaron himself.

89. Neubauer, *Bibliothek*, 104; Ben Asher (Baer and Strack), xxxviii–xxxix; and Mann, *Jews*, vol. 2, 48 n. 3.

90. Corrections mentioned above, p. 248, and n. 64. It is not surprising that the curiosity of Rambam was not aroused, as was that of Meir Nehmad and of Harkavy later, by the fact that three words of the colophon seemed to have been rewritten. Every manuscript reader in Rambam's period was accustomed to encountering scribal errors which had then been corrected by a reviser. At that time, a correction would not have awakened the curiosity of a learned reader about what might have been written by the first hand. Such curiosity shows the scientific acumen that Ben-Zvi was able to recognize in his informant Meir Nehmad.

Thus it seems clear that Aaron's manuscript of the 24 books followed the same journey of being plundered in Jerusalem and redeemed in Cairo as his father Moshe's manuscript of the *Nevi'im*⁹¹ and that it was in this "synagogue of Jerusalem" of the community in Cairo that Maimonides used this manuscript as a model. It was probably from its dedication that Maimonides drew the facts that he relates in his *Mishneh Torah*: that this manuscript had been in Jerusalem for many years so the *Sifre Torah* could be corrected from it with regard to *setumot* and *petuhot* and that the value of this manuscript lies in the fact that it was painstakingly perfected by Ben Asher. In all good faith, due to the later emendation in the dedication, Maimonides thought that only the Rabbanite community of Jerusalem had used the manuscript for this purpose.

The fact that this manuscript passed from the hands of the Karaites into those of the Rabbanites in the course of its history is sufficient to prove the esteem that even the latter group had for it. Those who felt (at what point?) the necessity to emend the dedication were perfectly aware that it was part of the Karaite legacy that they were appropriating. But the great value that the Rabbanite community attached to the codex shows that the fidelity of Aaron ben Asher's vocalization and accentuation with regard to the traditional liturgical cantillation in use by the Rabbanites must have been so perfect that they could find no fault with it. This was in spite of the fact that, beginning with Saadya Gaon, the Rabbanite community had been extremely vigilant against any infiltration of Karaite doctrine in its midst. If, at the height of the conflict, neither Karaites nor Rabbanites made biblical pointing or Masorah the subject of disputes, it is because the tradition of reading the Bible (in all its vocalic and melodic particulars) was already an undisputed element of the common Jewish heritage before Anan created the schism. The fact that the Aleppo manuscript testifies (by the vocalization of certain types of *Qere-Kethiv*) to the conviction of the Karaites that the vowel signs and accents were received by Moses on Sinai also proves that Tiberian pointing was already regarded as an ancient trust in the first decades of the tenth century.⁹²

It is, in any case, striking that the emendators of the dedication did not feel the need to diminish the immense esteem that the Karaites in Jerusalem had expressed for "the great master, the astute sage, the lord of scribes and the father of sages and the leader of masters, a man skillful in his work and wise in his undertakings and unique among his contemporaries, Mar Aaron son of Mar Rab

91. See above, n. 68.

92. From the remarkable study that he devoted to this question, Chiesa concluded (*Emergence*, 44–45) that the beginning of the supremacy of the Tiberian tradition over its rivals can be dated to the end of the ninth century and that the principal cause of this superiority was the opinion, then very widespread, that it was at Tiberias that the pronunciation of Hebrew had preserved its purity. To this must be added, however, that Tiberian pointing also came to dominate because it was a notational system much more refined and complete than its rivals.

Asher,” and in no other colophon is it related so fully that “*plene* and defective words, passages joined together or divided by the *petuhot* or *setumot*, or the presence of one of the accents” were checked against it. The high reputation of the chef-d’oeuvre of Aaron ben Asher was so well-established among the Karaites and the Rabbanite community in Jerusalem that the Rabbanites in Cairo did not feel the least disturbed about taking it as a model. This agreement between the two branches of Judaism in the celebration of the merits of Aaron ben Asher should serve as a model for researchers today. It may be historically interesting to try to pinpoint the sectarian affiliation of Aaron, but it would be a disappointment to that great servant of Scripture if his affiliation were made a bone of contention.

III. The Predecessors of Aaron Ben Asher

The Masorahs of Western manuscripts after the twelfth century often refer to model manuscripts (as Norzi would do later): *Sepher Hilleli*, *Sepher Zambuki* [xviii], *Sepher Yerushalmi*, *Sepher Sinai*, the Pentateuch of Jericho.⁹³ But older manuscripts cite the opinions of Masoretes predating Moshe and Aaron ben Asher.

The Firkovitch manuscript, at Job 32:3, establishes a distinction between the accentuations of the *מחזורת רובה*, of *רבי פינחס ראש הישיבה*, and of the *בעלי טבריה*. At Prov 3:13, it does the same for *בן אשר*, the *מחזורת רובה*, and the *בעל טבריה*. The Damascus Pentateuch, at Lev 23:17, cites the pointing of *רבי מוחה*, *רבי פינחס*, and *רבי חביב*. Aaron ben Asher attributes 18 spellings with *hatef pataḥ* to *רבי פינחס* and *ראש ישיבה*.⁹⁴ For Job 8:3, the Cambridge fragment TS 18A:1 opposes *ר משה מוח* and *ר משה גמז* to *ר פינ*.⁹⁵ In Song 5:13 another manuscript⁹⁶ opposes *פינחס* and *בן פיפוס* to the *מחזורת רובה*. Ancient Masorahs in the Firkovitch collection had already cited the *מחזורת רובה* and introduced the names *מוחה*, *בן מוחה*, *משה בן מוחה*, *רבי פינחס ראש הישיבה*, *רבי יהונתן*, and *רבי חביב*.⁹⁷ It is indicated there that *מוחה* and *משה בן מוחה* were among those who had perfected Tiberian pointing. Mishael ben ‘Uzziel compares a decision of *משה מוחה* with those of *בן אשר* and *בן נפתלי*.⁹⁸

Two Chufut-Kale manuscripts and two Geniza fragments allow the line of Ben Asher to be reconstructed and to be situated chronologically in relation to these

93. On these model manuscripts, see Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 431–437. He begins by mentioning the “Codex Mugah.” I hesitate to see anything in that but the designation of a “carefully prepared manuscript,” a qualification which could have described different manuscripts at different times. This is also the opinion of Yeivin (*Introduction*, §152).

94. Ben Asher (Dotan), 139.

95. Cited by Yeivin, *Introduction*, 138.

96. Cited in Ben Asher (Baer and Strack), 84.

97. Pinsker. *Likute Kadmoniot*. לב to כט.

98. Lipschütz, *Kitab*, ג.

other names.⁹⁹ From them it emerges that the Ashers constituted a dynasty of five Masoretes, with Aaron as “ben Moshe ben Asher ben Nehemiah ben Asher the elder,” and that Asher the elder had eight Masoretes as contemporaries (around 820–825): Abraham ben Riqâṭ, Abraham ben Furat, Pinḥas Rosh ha-Yeshibah, Aḥiyahu ha-Kohen¹⁰⁰ the Ḥaber of Tiberias, Ḥabib ben Pipim, Moshe Moḥeh, Moshe of Gaza, and Şemaḥ ibn Şayyara.¹⁰¹ From the previous generation, these lists of Masoretes cite only Riqâṭ (father of Abraham) and Şemaḥ ben Abû Shaiba.

The main import of these lists is that they show that “the great master, the astute sage, the lord of scribes and the father of sages and the leader of masters Mar Aaron ben Asher” was situated at the end of a dynasty that worked in the heart of an active and vigorous school. It seems most likely that Tiberias was the center of that school. Indeed, this city had been the center of Jewish studies in Palestine during Byzantine domination. After the Moslems took power, that center was displaced by Jerusalem. But it was at Tiberias that the activity of the Masoretes appears to have been concentrated.¹⁰² The reason that Aaron had no successor is almost surely that after his predecessors had perfected the Tiberian pointing, he succeeded, for the first time in history, in completing a codex integrating the entire Hebrew Bible with its Masorahs. After that, the preoccupation was essentially with correcting the manuscripts that were in existence, based on this codex which was regarded as the culmination of the efforts of five generations of Masoretes from a prestigious school.

It can be concluded that the renown of “Ben Asher,” in that it focused the attention of Kahle and contemporary scrutinizers of Masoretic manuscripts on the minimal “differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali,” had led research on it to an impasse. Fortunately, the publication of the Aleppo manuscript gives access, for three-fourths of the Bible, to a manuscript of excellent quality that can be considered without doubt the chef-d’oeuvre of the Tiberian Masoretes. It happens that there is another manuscript of great value for the text of the prophets, the Cairo manuscript, completed by Moshe the father of Aaron. Throughout this study, these two manuscripts will continually be consulted. To define the concept of the “classical Tiberian text” more precisely, they will be compared to the text and Masorah of the Firkovitch manuscript and of the Ben Hayim edition.

99. These texts were edited and interpreted by Mann, *Jews*, vol. 2, 43–49, and later by Levy, *Grammatik*, 8*–9*, and were discussed by Dotan in Ben Asher (Dotan), 303–305 and 384–86, and by Chiesa, *Emergence*, 38–41.

100. His Arabic name was probably “Abû’l ‘Omaitar.”

101. Or “Şawwara,” whose Arabic name was probably “Abû Sluṭum.”

102. See Mann, *Jews*, vol. 2, 43.

The Medieval Manuscripts and the Classical Tiberian Text

In Chapter One, we were able to see how the undisputed authority attributed to the Aleppo manuscript by all of Judaism was the result of contingent events that provide no objective certainty about the quality of the text. That authority rests, above all, on the fact that Aaron ben Asher, crowning the extended efforts of the Tiberian Masoretic school and of his four direct ancestors, managed to write the entire Bible in a single *miṣḥaf*. “To write the entire Bible” means that, for the first time, (1) all the syllables of the Bible were vocalized in the manuscript, with a precise distinction between *šērê* and *sěgôl*, and between *pataḥ* and *qāmeṣ*; (2) all the words were given accents, whether disjunctive or conjunctive, tied to the tonic syllable; (3) an extensive Masorah justified and guaranteed the coherence of the whole of the consonantal text and its pointing. These facts explain why the Palestinian scribes in the following generations would have chosen this manuscript as a model to imitate with the greatest accuracy possible. But the thing that made the authority of this *miṣḥaf* and its pointer and Masorete universal and undisputed in Rabbanite Judaism was the testimony of Maimonides, a testimony resting essentially on the high regard for this manuscript held by the Rabbanites, as by the Karaites of Jerusalem, and later of Cairo. The observation about the contingent character of the renown attained by the Aleppo manuscript thus offers no objective support for assigning it the function of a base manuscript to be reproduced in a critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Bible, surrounded with the various apparatuses. To judge the quality of its text, we begin by trying to situate it in relation to the body of medieval manuscripts of the biblical text. We will then define the criteria by which we can recognize the possible existence of a “Masoretic Text,” and attempt to apply the criteria to those manuscripts that are most likely to have come from the Masoretic school at Tiberias. This will lead us to treat these manuscripts from the point of view of their pointing in particular. But every “Masoretic” manuscript integrates three elements: Its pointer works on a consonantal text that is often (as is the case for the Aleppo

manuscript) produced by a copyist other than himself, a text that he corrects and points. Then he or another person supplies the manuscript with a small and a large Masorah.

I. The Body of Medieval Manuscripts

A. Attempts to Use the Great Collations of the Eighteenth Century Critically

When a critical edition of a text represented by many manuscripts is proposed, it is normal to begin by trying to organize the manuscripts by classifying them in a *stemma codicum*. However, that is not how critics have proceeded with regard to the medieval Hebrew manuscripts. A glance at the critical apparatuses of the Kittel and the Stuttgartensia Bibles is enough to confirm this. When the reading of the text being edited is in doubt, whether the Ben Hayim edition or F, one sometimes finds, added to the citation of the versions or of the Samaritan text, the notation “some MSS,” or “many MSS” or even “1 MS” found in the collations of Kennicott or de Rossi. These unidentified witnesses to which only an episodic appeal is made have scarcely any value.

For this reason Hempel, basing his work in 1930 on a number of characteristic examples, underlined the necessity of studying the particulars of each manuscript before making use of its testimony to critique the *textus receptus*.¹ Along these lines, in 1934 he attempted to see if it was possible to extract from Kennicott’s apparatuses a group of Masoretic manuscripts that would attest a Samaritan text type (ω). The results he arrived at were rather disappointing: “The manuscripts that are closest to ω are frequently written in a particularly careless manner. This could naturally create the impression that it is frequently not a matter of ancient conformity in these instances, but of more recent secondary circumstances.”² He views this as the problem of a popular text and its history.

In 1948 Wevers tried to see whether traces of the Hebrew that could be reconstructed as the Vorlage of the various recensions of Θ in the books of Kings had survived in the manuscripts collated by Kennicott and de Rossi. He arrived at the conclusion that the number of characteristic coincidences between the reconstructed Hebrew readings and the text of this or that manuscript was too great to be simply a matter of chance.³ From this it emerges, in his opinion, that the variants of the medieval manuscripts have preserved pre-Masoretic textual traditions. However, Wevers lamented the fact that it would scarcely be possible to classify the Hebrew manuscripts in groups or families. Yet this was in the nature of the thing, in his view, since the copyists of these manuscripts felt the pull of the Masoretic tradition, and tried to bring their copies into a stricter accord with what they knew of the characteristics of that tradition.

1. Hempel, “Chronik,” 191–195.

2. Hempel, “Bestätigungen,” 273.

3. Wevers, “Study,” 75.

In 1954, Goshen-Gottstein compared the variants of the large Isaiah Scroll from Qumran with the manuscripts in the Kennicott collation, taking the versions into account. He arrived at the conclusion that

what one is tempted to consider as accord between variants attested by the ancient versions, on the one hand, and the Hebrew manuscripts, on the other, almost never rests on either an original kinship or on the penetration of extra-Masoretic readings into manuscripts postdating the Masoretes. It rests on the "law of copyists," and it is not the least bit the result of chance if the same modifications that are encountered in the versions also arise so often in the Masoretic manuscripts available to Kennicott and de Rossi.⁴

He then explains what he means by the "law of copyists," an expression that he will use frequently later on:

To be able to judge a manuscript, we must keep in mind that at least the following modifications can always occur repeatedly: syntactic assimilations, dittographies and homeoteleutons, omissions and additions of particles (especially -), substitution of words with similar meanings, changes on the basis of parallel passages, addition and omission of suffixes and change in their number.

To know whether it is possible that a variant of this type resulted from the penetration of another textual tradition, it is important to have first established whether the manuscripts that attest the variant also offer variants that cannot be attributed to the "law of copyists." This is very rarely the case.

In 1956, Gese compared the variants in the Kennicott manuscripts of the Twelve Prophets with those in the ancient versions (and in the *peshet* of Habakkuk from Qumran). The originality of his research lies primarily in the fact that he compared the absolute number of the variants offered by a manuscript to the number of those that are found outside of the Masoretic tradition. He arrived at the disappointing conclusion that the same manuscripts that take frequent liberties (for example, with the addition or omission of a conjunction) are also those that attest variants where one would otherwise be tempted to see a survival of a popular Hebrew text that had not been revised from the *textus receptus*. He concluded from this fact that it is more likely that most of these cases also involve initiatives on the part of the copyist.⁵

B. Attempts at Quantitative Analysis

Over the last two decades, the expansion in the use of computers permitted Sacchi and some of his students to attempt a quantitative analysis of the medieval tradition of the Biblical Hebrew text according to the great collations of the eigh-

4. Goshen-Gottstein, "Jesaiiah-Rolle," II, 433.

5. Gese, "Bibelhandschriften," 63–64.

teenth century, with the hope of seeing a *stemma codicum* take shape at the conclusion of the analysis.

1. The Method

The computer permits the manipulation and classification of a great number of data according to various criteria. It was thus entirely appropriate to try to make use of it to handle the great mass of variants offered by the extensive collations of medieval Hebrew manuscripts carried out by Kennicott and de Rossi.

To obtain a *stemma codicum*, Sacchi developed the following method:⁶

- a. A manuscript X that offers the greatest number of variants with respect to the *textus receptus* (= TR) is identified.
- b. Next, manuscripts whose index of distance is the weakest with respect to X are identified. The index of distance is obtained by dividing the number of variants that distinguish a certain manuscript from the TR by the number of these variants that it has in common with X.
- c. Manuscripts belong to the same group when they have an index of distance not greater than two between them (that is, they have in common at least half of their variants with respect to the TR).
- d. A manuscript Y is identified. This manuscript offers the most variants with respect to the TR but is not a part of group β , whose leader is X. Next, the index of distance with relation to Y is established for all the other manuscripts (including those that are already part of group β , so that a single manuscript may belong to several groups). With the same procedure used to form group β , a group γ , whose leader is Y, is thus formed. And it continues in this way, as long as there is any manuscript that has not been integrated into a group, that is, that does not have half of its variants (with respect to the TR) in common with the leader of one of the established groups.

For the variants of the few manuscripts that ended up belonging to several groups, Sacchi planned a qualitative analysis. Following these various operations, he hoped to have a number of textual families sufficiently distinguished by their shared variants, which would then be the object of an in-depth textual study.

2. Working with the de Rossi Collation

Sacchi studied Genesis, working with the de Rossi collations.⁷ Given the fact that de Rossi only noted variants that he considered of interest to textual criticism, Sacchi first formed a group α of those manuscripts indicated by de Rossi as containing Genesis but from which he did not draw any variants for that book. In principle then, this group α should contain manuscripts that present no notable variants with regard to the TR. There remained 314 manuscripts with at least one

6. Presented as he described it in "Analisi," 6–7.

7. Sacchi, "Analisi," 8–14. The results of that study are summarized here.

variant with respect to the TR. Following the method spelled out above, the computer divided them into 23 groups, a number considerably larger than Sacchi expected. He also observed that most of the manuscripts belonged to several groups, thus appearing to be mixed manuscripts.

He noted further that the largest groups were those whose leader showed the most variants with respect to the TR, in his view an indication of a general contamination of the non-TR textual tradition. He discovered, finally, that even those manuscripts that had only one variant always shared that variant with another manuscript.

Noting that the very large majority of variants were found in the extra-Masoretic witnesses, Sacchi interpreted this situation as proving the existence of two large families: The one made up of group α is monolithic, and is the family of the TR; the other no longer survives except in the form of very old variants scattered throughout all the other groups. These are variants that escaped the TR recensional activity, activity which was experienced throughout, but with varying degrees of intensity. This second family, whose quality is demonstrated by the fact that its variants are invariably ancient, is essentially European and principally Ashkenazi.

Sacchi wisely limits the scope of his conclusions to the book of Genesis. He is also aware that the manuscripts discovered since the beginning of the nineteenth century could modify certain of these data. Furthermore, he recognizes that the de Rossi collations are very partial and that the cases were ordinarily selected to prove that the variants had ancient traditional support in the non-Masoretic textual forms.

3. Working with the Kennicott Collation

Borbone studied the book of Hosea. He began by noting that de Rossi only mentioned variants that he recognized as having a certain semantic weight, and that drastically reduced the number of readings cited in comparison to the variants that are actually present.⁸ In particular, it implies that readings were neglected that, however unimportant semantically, can nevertheless characterize a tradition or a manuscript. For this reason, Borbone based his study solely on the Kennicott collations, taking into consideration only the 69 manuscripts that were thoroughly examined. After indicating the contents of each manuscript and its geographical origin (to the extent that Kennicott supplies that information), he distinguished readings offered by the first hand from those that remained after the intervention of a corrector (second hand).⁹

He applied Sacchi's method of quantitative analysis in a simplified form, taking into consideration only the first hands of manuscripts with at least 100 variants and settling for a single grouping around the manuscript that offered the

8. Borbone, *Osea*, 184.

9. *Ibid.*, 185.

strongest index of distance from the TR.¹⁰ He then classified by type the variants offered by the six manuscripts belonging to this group.¹¹ This allowed him to observe that, out of the 76 variants shared by the leader manuscript of the group (K 150) and the manuscript closest to it, 68 involve only *plene* and defective spellings, variants that are typically polygenetic (that is, they can arise in different traditions without there being any contact between them). The eight other variants belonged to the same type, since five of them consisted of the presence or omission of a conjunctive *waw*, one of the exchange of the prepositions -ו and -ב, another of the entry of a *Qere* into the text, and the last of the normal spelling $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ instead of the unusual $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ of the TR. Another analysis was applied to variants representing significant errors that might allow identification of a textual family, but the results were equally disappointing: In this category, the very unusual errors that were shared by two manuscripts contrasted with the fact that the same manuscripts were far from each other in their other variants.¹²

Going no further in his analysis, Borbone concluded quite rightly that none of these variants could be considered characteristic of a textual family. Rather, it is the reading $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ that characterizes the TR as a family.¹³ The qualitative analysis of the variants in the five other manuscripts close to the leader led to the same result: The very great majority of them are polygenetic in type. Those that can be considered as textual are extremely rare and none of them is common to the whole group.

Thus, this statistical analysis does not allow the identification of families in the medieval tradition.¹⁴ On the contrary, it reveals a generalized contamination of the medieval Tiberian tradition. Borbone is convinced that it is necessary to go beyond the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi. Perhaps a more in-depth description of individual manuscripts from the same scriptorium would allow the characterization of a certain textual type proliferating within a certain geographical area.

4. Differences in Results

Even though Sacchi, in 1973, confined his conclusions to the book of Genesis and Borbone, in 1990, spoke only of the book of Hosca, it is still surprising to see the contrast between the results they obtained. For Sacchi, quantitative analysis reveals the existence of a monolithic textual tradition in the family of the TR. It also gives evidence of the fragmentary remains of another textual family from a Western tradition—European with Ashkenazi dominance—surviving in all the manuscripts of the other groups. For Borbone, the quantitative analysis of the

10. *Ibid.*, 188–89.

11. *Ibid.*, 191–92.

12. *Ibid.*, 192.

13. Although one might hesitate, with Dietrich (*Bibelfragmente*, 90), to base membership in a textual family on the slight foundation of a single variant.

14. Borbone, *Osea*, 193.

medieval Hebrew manuscripts does not yield any *stemma codicum* but instead reveals a generalized contamination.

A third view was contributed by another of Sacchi's students, Chiesa, who, without the use of a computer, studied the group of biblical fragments with Palestinian vocalization, as well as medieval sources pertaining to the pointing of the biblical text. He concluded that

this research made it possible to establish that the period from approximately 900 to 1200 is characterized by the recognition of the consistent superiority of the Tiberian text and tradition of reading, and at the same time made it possible to discover the existence of another great Masoretic school, the Oriental school, with its own distinctive textual tradition.¹⁵

Referring to the community from which the "Palestinian" vocalization emanated, Chiesa stated that

the biblical text preserved by them is characterized, in the number and quality of the variants, as independent with regard not only to the Oriental branch, but also to the Western branch of the direct tradition of the consonantal text of the Hebrew Old Testament. Furthermore, their text appears to be linked to the representative of the priestly milieu of the Temple.¹⁶

Before he arrived at these broad statements in his conclusion, a comparison between this "Palestinian" text and the manuscripts collated by Kennicott led Chiesa to infer

the *latent presence of a tradition* that is apparently at least to some extent unitary, which can be called the tradition of the *non- (or anti-) receptus*. Notwithstanding a progressive and gradual rapprochement with the TR, this tradition preserves many clear traces of the *Palestinian text* from which both the Greek and the text with "Palestinian" vocalization derive, in different ways and with different characteristics (due in large part to the history of their transmission).¹⁷

As may be observed, the perspectives opened up by Chiesa from his study of the Kennicott variants do not coincide entirely with the overall views of his conclusion, nor with the conclusions drawn by Borbone from the same variants (in Hosea), nor with what Sacchi concluded from the de Rossi variants.

What explains the failure of these various efforts to use the great collations from the end of the eighteenth century in order to formulate conclusions about the transmission history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament?

15. Chiesa, *Palestinese*, 387.

16. *Ibid.*, 388.

17. *Ibid.*, 330.

C. Reasons for the Failure

Sometimes glaring failures are more profitable than apparent successes, since failure calls for a reevaluation of the methods utilized. In the process, certain fundamental factors may emerge.

1. *The Quantitative Analysis Method*

When a textual critic of the Hebrew Bible is faced with classifying the 1,793 witnesses¹⁸ collated by de Rossi, or with extracting something of use from the 1,500,000 pieces of textual information assembled by Kennicott,¹⁹ it is understandable that the critic might try to tackle the treatment of these enormous masses of materials with quantitative tests applied to limited amounts and call on the computer's capabilities in order to be able to manipulate even these limited amounts. However, after observing the disappointing results of this method, Borbone pinpointed its principal weakness: the use of the Kennicott and de Rossi collations forces the textual critic to violate the fundamental principle that manuscripts be evaluated and not counted. With the quantitative analysis method,

the medieval tradition still continues to be "counted" and not "weighed": the data that are drawn from it have general value, but it is not easy to make use of them to establish stemmata and to judge the value of a particular manuscript or group of manuscripts.²⁰

The difficulty in interpreting the results of quantitative analysis as a Lachmanian problematic had already been noted by Sacchi.²¹ It should be added that it is not only manuscripts that are counted and not weighed by this method. The same is true for the variants. The person who feeds them to the computer is entirely dependent on the excerpter's criteria for choosing them, criteria that are often not even formulated. The difference in the criteria used by Kennicott and de Rossi may be sufficient to explain the divergence between Sacchi's conclusions (based on de Rossi) and those of Borbone (based on Kennicott).

2. *Flaws in the Great Collations of the Eighteenth Century*

2.a. *De Rossi's collation*

Sacchi chose de Rossi's collation over Kennicott's (or Ginsburg's much more restricted one) because de Rossi took into consideration only the most important variants, eliminating copying errors and orthographic variants. This fact permitted the introduction, from the beginning, of a certain amount of qualitative

18. See p. 50.

19. See p. 43.

20. Borbone, *Osea*, 17 and 28. Sacchi already claimed to be loath to employ the purely quantitative method, against which he had previously expressed his views. He resigned himself to it only because the volume of data made it necessary ("Analisi," 3).

21. "Analisi," 9.

information that would compensate to an extent for the purely quantitative character of the computer's probe.

In fact, de Rossi stated that the variants he gathered were "the most worthy of attention, those based not only on the authority of the manuscripts, but also on that of the Samaritan text and the ancient versions."²² This principle of selection of variants is sufficient to explain Sacchi's very positive observation (no longer having de Rossi's principle of selection completely in mind perhaps) that

except in very rare cases [i.e., those where de Rossi had departed from his principles of selection (*D. B.*)] the variants are never without support outside of the Hebrew tradition. In other words, the medieval Hebrew variants cannot be explained as internal errors of a presumed unitary tradition.²³

Sacchi then mentions a surprising fact, which is that the variants registered by his computer are not random errors, but belong to a textual type, since even the manuscripts which are distinguished from the TR by only a single variant (and there are 64 of them!) are never alone in the attestation that they give. This shows that, for these manuscripts, the very rare differences from the TR that they present do not come from individual liberties taken by their copyists, but are the splintered fragments of a very ancient non-TR text type. But here again, we are dependent on the initial choice of de Rossi, who decided to take into account only those variants that have the support of other textual witnesses.

Finally, Sacchi believed he could constitute his group α of those manuscripts that have no variants, and this allowed him to define the TR family as "unitary."²⁴ At the same time, he recognized that "the fact that the collations of de Rossi are not global could have greater importance in this group of manuscripts than in the others." Now, this is indeed the case. To be convinced of it, Sacchi would have needed only to check Kennicott for the data concerning manuscripts K 100, 171, 203, 210, 211, 254, 302, 304, 305, 319, 323, etc., which the computer, with no variants marked by de Rossi, classified in group α .²⁵ He would have made the following observations. For his ms 203, Kennicott indicates that he collated only the Psalms.²⁶ Manuscript 302 and those following were collated only "in locis

22. Rossi, *Variae lectiones*, vol. 1, xliv.

23. Sacchi, "Analisi," 10.

24. *Ibid.*, 9.

25. De Rossi often boasts of having had in hand a good number of the manuscripts collated by Kennicott and of having improved the collation of them. But it is a simple matter to verify that he is entirely dependent on Kennicott's collations in most cases. He reproaches Kennicott for having often disregarded the distinction between the readings of the first and second hand, and he boasts of always guarding this distinction in his own collations (*Variae lectiones*, vol. 1, xlvi). It is striking to note, then, that in the Kennicott manuscripts cited by de Rossi this distinction remains rare, while it is much more frequent when he cites those manuscripts in his own collection.

26. Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis*, 88. If one follows step by step the process of collation of the Parisian manuscripts (which include K210 and K211) in Kennicott's annual reports,

selectis.”²⁷ In these cases, Kennicott asked Bruns, his collator, very specific questions²⁸ that did not always coincide with the variants that de Rossi thought to be of interest because of their support in the ancient versions. So, in Gen 1:26, Kennicott asks if the variant **וכדמותנו** is found, while de Rossi is interested in the variant **בדמותנו**, for which he finds support in the Targums, the Vulgate, and the Arabic of the polyglot. A comparison of Kennicott’s and de Rossi’s interests yields the observation that, for the entire book of Genesis, they intersect only 23 times. It is thus not at all surprising that in these 23 cases manuscripts 302, 304, 305, 319, 323, etc., do not distinguish themselves from the TR. But it can hardly be deduced from these few scattered tests that they belong to the same textual family as the TR. Bruns adds²⁹ that Kennicott would sometimes interrupt the collation of a manuscript when it appeared to follow the TR closely. Thus, it would be wise to avoid conclusions about the unitary character of the “TR family” when the very existence of that family rests on such a fragile foundation.

It may be concluded that a quantitative analysis based on the de Rossi collation must inevitably produce the results that surprised Sacchi, and that he should have taken into account the information that has just been discussed when he found himself in the dilemma which he describes:³⁰ Either the TR constitutes a coherent family over against all the other intercontaminated groups, or the manuscripts closest to the TR themselves have variants (albeit fewer) of a sort similar to those that characterize the other groups. In the latter case, a “universal contamination” of the medieval Hebrew textual tradition must be assumed. Due to the facts that (1) the variants characterizing groups β , γ , δ , etc., always had the support of extra-Masoretic witnesses, (2) no manuscript was alone in the support it offered for a variant, and that (3) a significant number of manuscripts had no variants, Sacchi thought he could decide in favor of the first alternative and thus formulated his system of two families. If he had noticed that his three arguments are the inescapable consequence of the decisions that guided de Rossi and Kennicott in their choice of variants, he would have retained the second alternative instead. What we have is a tradition that is entirely contaminated. To this conclusion should promptly be added the corollary that Sacchi was correct in stating

one discovers (Kennicott, *Accounts*, 65, 89, 97, and 159) that the Abbé Ladvoat, librarian of the Sorbonne, had his students carry out the collation of Psalms in 16 Parisian manuscripts for Kennicott. He sent Kennicott seven of these collations before he died, and the Abbé le Blond sent him six others. In the last report (of 1769), Kennicott mentions his hope of receiving something more from Paris, as the Abbé Asseline, a professor at the Sorbonne, had promised his help. Even so, he thought it safer to send Bruns to do the job. This explains why manuscripts 210 and 211, which had first been mentioned on p. 88 of the *Dissertatio Generalis* among the completely collated manuscripts, are mentioned again on 95 and 96, among the manuscripts collated by Bruns “in locis selectis.”

27. *Ibid.*, 94ff.

28. See Bruns, “Index.”

29. Bruns, “Variis Lectionibus,” 246–47.

30. Sacchi, “Analisi,” 9.

that “when the phenomenon of contamination goes beyond a certain limit, it is clear that to speak of such contamination no longer makes sense because one no longer knows which variants characterize a certain branch of the tradition and which are the contaminating variants.”³¹

2.b. Kennicott’s collation

Borbone arrived at just such a disappointing conclusion based on his quantitative analysis of the variants figuring in the critical apparatus of Kennicott for the book of Hosea. As has just been stated, it was inevitable that this method applied to these data would produce this result. But that does not mean in the least that the result is objectively founded. This will become clearer when certain deficiencies are identified in the collations carried out or directed by Kennicott.

In his quantitative analysis Borbone had the excellent idea of distinguishing the state of a manuscript as realized by the copyist of the consonantal text (the first hand) and its state after it had been revised by the vocalizer-corrector (the second hand). He believed he could rely on Kennicott’s indications concerning this, which led him to false results. Consequently, out of the 260 variants that he reports for K150, he found statements for only four of them that an emendator had eliminated them, whereas if the manuscript is consulted it can be observed that 218 of them were corrected. Thus, only 42 of these variants (and not 256, as Borbone believed) were left intact by the second hand. So Kennicott’s information on this point can absolutely not be relied on and it is necessary, as Borbone sensed, to “go beyond Kennicott and de Rossi.”³²

Borbone realized that a conclusion about the possible existence of families of manuscripts demanded that the variants registered by the computer be subjected to a qualitative analysis. Consequently, he classified all Kennicott’s variants by type. Now, the variants that have the greatest chance of not being polygenetic are those that involve a substitution of roots. If the 88 variants in this category are analyzed, it is striking that almost all are attested by a single manuscript. Only one variant is broadly distributed, and that is in Hos 2:22: כִּי אָנִי instead of אֵת. In his critical apparatus, Borbone attributes this variant to the Kennicott manuscripts 2, 17, 30, 89, 93, 95, 107, 109, 111, 149, 180, 181, 196, 246, 249, 251, and 384, as well as the first hand of 1, 177, and (according to de Rossi) 251, at the same time noting that four of them are Spanish, three Italian, and three German. He adds that this reading turns up in the Vulgate. Among the manuscripts just mentioned we were able to check 2, 89, 93, 149, and 180 directly, and 181 and 384 indirectly. The second hand made a correction to אֵת not only in manuscripts 1, 177, and 251, but also in manuscript 181;³³ in 2, the words כִּי אָנִי were not vocalized.

31. *Ibid.*, 5.

32. Borbone, *Osea*, 193.

33. According to Vogel, *Descriptio*, 110. Concerning manuscript 384, Schelling (*Descriptio*, 194) does not always point out the alterations of the second hand.

In 89, the first hand had written אַת and that was emended to כִּי־אֲנִי, which is the form in which 149 and 180 offer this reading. A fact that Kennicott could not have known is that the first hand of the St. Petersburg manuscript (dated 916) had כִּי אֲנִי, corrected by the second hand to אַת. There is a slightly expanded form of the same reading in manuscript 150, where the second hand also corrected the text to וַיִּדְעַת אַת. The first had written וַיִּדְעַתֶּם כִּי אֲנִי, in conformity with the reading of the first hand of its targum: וַתִּידְעוּן אַרִי אֲנָא (this unique reading יִי אַרִי אֲנָא was corrected by the second hand to יִי אַת, while all the other witnesses of the Targum have יִי קִדְם מִן קִדְחֵל). Kennicott also points to mixed readings: אַת כִּי in K80 and כִּי אַת אֲנִי in K145. Given the fact that ו also has “et scies quia ego Dominus,” this reading is the variant (with respect to the TR) in the book of Hosea that has the greatest chance of representing a parallel textual tradition transmitted by witnesses at least since the end of the fourth century. (It is tempting to go back even farther in view of a manuscript of the commentary by Cyril of Alexandria that has καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος as the lemma here, although all the manuscripts of Θ attest καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ τὸν κύριον. But this is one of the many cases where Cyril makes use of a Greek translation of ו.³⁴ Thus, it does not constitute an independent Greek witness.) Borbone concluded that this variant is secondary. Indeed, the expression “you will know the Lord,” which conforms perfectly to Hosea’s vocabulary, is unique in the Bible. The variant assimilates it to “you (s.) will know³⁵ that I am the Lord,” which is frequent in Ezekiel. This reading thus belongs to the category of assimilations to a more usual biblical expression. Given the fact that Hosea constitutes only one element of the book of the Twelve Prophets, the inquiry should be extended to the entire book to see if other readings of this type would permit the identification of a group of manuscripts supposed to have been transmitted from extra-Masoretic readings.

As we have stated, the most telling variants, those involving a substitution of roots, are attested by single manuscripts. The one that evidences the greatest originality is Kennicott 93 (which Borbone’s quantitative analysis placed second, after Kennicott 150, in the number of variants with respect to the TR). There will be opportunity later on to provide information on this manuscript.

Because he brought his analysis to bear only on those manuscripts that offered at least 100 variants with respect to the TR, and limited himself to Kennicott’s collation, Borbone did not have sufficient data to conclude that the whole textual tradition was contaminated. Such a conclusion requires an individualization of the manuscripts and the consideration of certain witnesses unknown to the researchers of the eighteenth century. This is what will now be demonstrated.

34. On this point, see Barthélemy, *Études*, 60–65.

35. Or even more frequently “you (pl.) will know . . .,” which is what K150 has here.

3. Data Already Obtained and Data Still Missing

Among the results obtained by those who had recourse to Kennicott's collation, Hempel, Blank, Goshen-Gottstein, Wevers, Gese, Chiesa, and Borbone³⁶ agree in recognizing that K150 presents the most variants with respect to the TR. Although many of these scholars have often lamented "the widespread practice of citing the manuscripts of Kennicott and de Rossi only by number, without other specifications,"³⁷ few of them noted, from the facts supplied by Kennicott,³⁸ that this manuscript in four volumes contains the Bible with the Targum and Masorah. In the example just mentioned concerning Hos 2:22, it could have been noted that the verse by verse alternation of the Hebrew text and the Targum is not without consequences. Moreover, Goshen-Gottstein, who is very reluctant to grant that an extra-Masoretic textual tradition might have been transmitted from antiquity up to the manuscripts of the thirteenth century, nevertheless pointed out that, for Isaiah, K150 is the only manuscript that in many cases offers readings that are in agreement with one of the ancient versions. (That fact had already been pointed out by Hempel,³⁹ who also preceded Chiesa in observing that readings of this manuscript agree with the biblical text of certain liturgical writings with Palestinian vocalization.) The manuscript in question is Berlin Or fol 1–4, which is of greater interest for its having been written indisputably by a Jew (in contrast to K93 mentioned above). It is clear that this manuscript deserves closer scrutiny. We will have the opportunity later on to characterize more precisely the three manuscripts with the most variants with respect to the TR for the prophets: K150, K93, and K96. But it will not be possible, any more than it was for Borbone,⁴⁰ to group textual families around them. The impossibility of grouping manuscripts that diverge from the TR into textual families appears to constitute another valuable point obtained by Borbone's quantitative analysis.

Does this mean that the best representatives of the TR are themselves only isolated witnesses of a splintered textual tradition? The data provided in the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi prove to be insufficient to resolve this important question. Indeed, Kennicott was interested only in consonantal variants. Yet what the copyist of a Masoretic manuscript creates in writing the consonantal text is only a frame waiting to be covered by the work of the vocalizer-Masorete who will be the principal agent in the production of the manuscript. The Masoretic manuscript is essentially the combination of a consonantal *Kethiv* and a vocalic

36. Hempel, "Chronik," 193; Blank, "Manuscript," 245; Goshen-Gottstein, "Jesaiiah-Rolle" II, 439 n. 1; Wevers, "Study," 73; Gese, "Bibelhandschriften," 68; Chiesa, *Palestinese*, 328; Borbone, *Osea*, 185.

37. Borbone, *Osea*, 19 n. 40. He himself is content to add (185) that this manuscript that contains the whole Bible is German and dates from the thirteenth century.

38. Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis*, 83.

39. Hempel, "Chronik," 193 n. 3.

40. Borbone, *Osea*, 191–92.

and accented *Qere*, accompanied by the Masorah with the traditional guarantee of authenticity that it aims to provide. If we want to study the coherence of the tradition of the received text, we must pose several preliminary questions whose answers can only be obtained by making use of consonants, vowels, accents, and Masorah.

D. Preliminary Questions

It is impossible to evaluate a text in a certain phase of its history without first taking into account the difference between the way we conceive of the tradition of the text and the way those who read it in that phase of its history conceived of it. Sacchi expresses this difference very effectively, stating that while we know today that the text of the Old Testament evolved, the Masoretes, through the editions that they produced, were seeking direct access to Sinai.⁴¹ Let us begin by seeing how medieval Jewish grammarians viewed the beginnings of vocalization and accentuation of biblical manuscripts.

1. The Origins of Pointing according to Medieval Jewish Grammarians

About two centuries after the Masoretes of Tiberias completed their work, an anonymous Rabbanite grammar edited by Derenbourg has this to say on the subject:

From the consonants (אותיות) alone without vocalization (מלכים), that is, without pointing (הנקודות), no content can be drawn; for when a man writes a note to his friend without pointing, he [his friend] doesn't know its content. For example, if he wrote the three consonants שמר, the reader cannot know its content: Is it the imperative שִׁמֵר, or the narrative tense שָׁמַר, or the personal name שְׁמֵר, or the infinitive שָׁמַר, or the active participle שֹׁמֵר, etc. But if this word has a vocalization, then he recognizes the content without difficulty and can form an opinion about it. Thanks to the pointing, he will be able to discern the consonant that closes a syllable from the one that opens one, and thanks to pointing, he will be able to spot places of conjunction and disjunction, like the *atnah* and the *saf pasuq*. And if someone says "Who invented these vocalic signs and these accent signs, and fixed their form such that we now make use of them?" he should know first of all that their form is part of what has been invented only recently. Those who invented them said: this is the form of the *qāmeṣ* and this is the form of the *pataḥ*, etc., and this is the form of the *zaqef* and this is the form of the *atnah*. And everyone agreed on this, and they made these signs to learn and to use for teaching. There are those who say that they have been written since the time of Ezra, and that they were given these forms [. . .] and there are those who say that the forms and their names as we know them date from before Ezra. But their content comes from Sinai, through Moses, as the Oral Torah. And the words of the verses were written as they were dictated without vocalic

41. Sacchi, "Edizione," 224.

or accentual signs, and they were read according to the practice, either “u” or “i” or “a,” and were pronounced in accordance with the contents, and this was passed on from one person to another. But when it was observed that, because of the diaspora, confusions were entering into the language, the initiative was taken to make signs, and they were written down, and the Pentateuch was pointed with them so that everyone could study it easily, and so that everyone’s usage of the holy tongue would be correct, in exact conformity with what had been heard from Sinai through Moses. But the consecrated *Sepher Torah* remained without pointing, as it had been given at Sinai, in the same way that it is without targum.⁴²

Thus medieval Judaism was well aware that the vocalic and accentual signs were a post-exilic invention and that their purpose was to stabilize a pronunciation whose tradition, going back to the very origins of Scripture, was in danger of being corrupted.

2. *The Origins of Pointing according to Recent Christian Scholars*

Christian scholars of the last few centuries generally have distinguished between (1) a consonantal text, whose transmission, they readily agree, was nearly stabilized toward the end of the first century A.D., and (2) a pronunciation which arises not from the text, but from interpretation of it, with the text remaining open to multiple interpretations. Thus, according to these scholars, it was through a fairly arbitrary initiative that the pointers stabilized both the vocalization and the accentuation of the text between the seventh and ninth centuries. Only rarely in the last few decades have non-Jewish exegetes engaged in advanced research into the question of the degree of conformity between the Tiberian vocalization and the older data that we have on the tradition(s) of vocalization of the proto-Masoretic consonantal text. When Kahle had access to sufficiently extensive fragments with Palestinian pointing, he concluded that “in the Masoretic pointing we have, to a large extent, to do with a considered attempt to attain an authentic pronunciation, an attempt that leaves us uncertain about when the reconstructed form had been pronounced thus, and even whether it had ever been.”⁴³ To demonstrate the reconstructive nature that he attributes to Tiberian pointing, Kahle turned to the Greek transcriptions of the *Secunda* (= the second column of Origen’s *Hexapla*) and Jerome’s Latin transcriptions for proof that the gutturals were no longer pronounced in Palestine in the second and fourth centuries.⁴⁴ The most able expert on the testimony of the *Hexapla* and Jerome concerning the vocalization of the proto-Masoretic text is Brønno, who devoted two in-depth studies to Kahle’s theories on the prehistory of Masoretic vocalization. Through a careful analysis of the rules of transcription of the *Secunda*, Brønno showed that the gut-

42. Derenbourg, “Manuel,” 361.

43. Kahle, “Aussprache,” 237.

44. Kahle, *Geniza*, 164–67.

turals were still pronounced at the beginning of the third century.⁴⁵ He devoted another work to the analysis of this question in Jerome's transcriptions, concluding that at the beginning of the fifth century Palestinian Jews still differentiated gutturals in their pronunciation.⁴⁶

3. *The Tiberian Tradition Judged by the Testimony of Origen and Jerome*

Brønno began his research with a comparison of the vocalic color and quantity attested by the *Secunda* and by ׀. He concluded that

this ancient legacy [that the *Secunda* transcriptions constitute] shows clearly that the Tiberian morphological system, in its principal essential features, has an ancient tradition behind it, even if the *Secunda*, in certain particular places, does not always attest the form that corresponds morphologically to the one that ׀ has in those places. [. . .] As for quantity, the *Secunda* agrees in a consistent and exact manner with ׀ (but, in contrast, does not agree with the system of quantity of later Jewish grammarians, who regarded the *šērê* and the *hōlem* as long everywhere). The *Secunda* demonstrates clearly that the Tiberian tradition is, in terms of the structure of the morphological system, much more trustworthy than certain scholars have believed since the discovery of the Babylonian and Palestinian systems. That a development should have taken place between the time when the *Secunda* was completed and the time when ׀ was put together is not at all surprising.⁴⁷

4. *An Undisputed Inheritance in the Midst of the Polemics*

We cannot reproduce Brønno's analyses in detail here, but retracing his steps closely suffices to show that his conclusions are well-founded. Kahle and certain of his students were mistaken to consider the Tiberian pointers as innovators. These pointers only fixed in minute detail what was, at their time, the traditional reading.⁴⁸ Corroborating this observation is the fact that the most detailed representation of the reading tradition was realized by Aaron ben Asher just before Saadya Gaon launched his great offensive against the Karaites, an offensive to which a good number of Karaites dedicated rebuttals. In view of this, it is striking that the pointing of the Bible just completed by the Masoretic school of Tiberias never furnished material for dispute for either of the two sides. This means that

45. Brønno, "Theorien," 527–31.

46. Brønno, *Aussprache*, 203.

47. Brønno, *Studien*, 462–63.

48. In a very detailed study Chiesa concluded that "[t]he main cause of the acceptance of both Tiberian text and pointing lies in the superiority of the reading tradition they reflect, a direct consequence of the purity with which the Tiberians had preserved the pronunciation of Hebrew (on this point all the sources are substantially in agreement)" (*Emergence*, 44). Chiesa recalls also that the Rabbanite Ibn Balaam and the Karaite Qirqisani agreed in interpreting the textual differences that the Babylonian tradition presents with respect to the Tiberian tradition as corruptions suffered by the Babylonian text during its transmission. Saadya Gaon regarded these differences as the product of a twofold revelation (*ibid.*, 45).

the pointers had done no more than record a way of reading the Bible that all the Jews of Palestine, Rabbanites and Karaites alike, agreed in recognizing as a traditional legacy that they held in common.

As the grammarian cited above confirms, Jewish exegetes approximately two centuries later did not believe that the tradition had changed since Moses received the Torah on Sinai, even while they recognized that the tradition had a tendency to degenerate on the lips of untutored or careless readers. Did the Masoretes view the matter in the same way? It is unlikely. Indeed, we will see that Qirqisani at the beginning of the tenth century and the copyist of the Firkovitch manuscript toward the end of the same century are perfectly aware of the particulars which had for a long time distinguished the tradition of the consonantal biblical text, depending on whether one lived in Babylon or in the land of Israel, particulars bearing often on the *Kethiv* and sometimes on the *Qere*. Although only tenuous indications of them have been preserved, it is clear that vocalic variants must have also divided these two traditions, which had long had distinct histories. For those who were familiar with them, it was difficult to imagine that these differences would have reached back to Sinai. Each tradition respected the existence of the other, but Qirqisani attests that the biblical tradition of the land of Israel enjoyed a prestige clearly greater than that of Babylon, although it was much less widespread during his time. Furthermore, Aaron ben Asher must have been well aware of the fact that the system of vocalization that he used went back only as far as his great-great-grandfather Asher the elder. However, as stated, the manner in which Aaron systematically vocalized certain types of *Qere*—a manner that his father Moshe had already begun to use, although less systematically—assumes that the readers of his manuscript were convinced that the pointing had been received at Sinai.

II. Did a “Masoretic Text” Ever Exist?

Succeeding these ancient differences between the textual tradition of the land of Israel and the Babylonian textual tradition—or to use the more common terms, the Western and the Oriental traditions—were other differences, having to do not with textual details, but with details in the use made of Tiberian vocalic and accentual signs. This concerns what Kahle mistakenly described as “Ben Naftali manuscripts” and what could more accurately be designated an unsuccessful Tiberian system. It appears that most of these details can be explained as the survival, within the Tiberian system, of certain characteristics of the Palestinian vocalization and accentuation. However, it is not possible to detect any tradition that is at all unified.

In observing the divergences that preceded and followed the height of the Tiberian Masoretic tradition, one is tempted to wonder, with Orlinsky, whether a “Masoretic Text” ever existed before the edition of Ben Hayim became the norm of a “received text” for four centuries. When we speak of the “Masoretic Text,”

are we not committing the error of unjustifiably projecting into the past the situation of monopoly that the worthy edition of Ben Hayim could exercise only because of the invention of the printing press?

A convincing response to Orlinsky's question was provided by Breuer. This response suggests that vocalization, accentuation, and the information in the Masorah parva and Masorah magna should be considered as realities that, if one means to treat the "Masoretic Text," are inseparable from the consonantal text, as they were in the estimation of the Masoretes. Indeed, the goal of the Masorahs is to produce and maintain the identity of the text, and this word "text" includes consonants, vowels, and accents. Now, it is possible to demonstrate that, throughout the ninth century and at the beginning of the tenth, Tiberias was the center where the Masorahs played this unifying role with the greatest efficacy. If the term "Masoretic Text" had a meaning in a certain place and time, it was in this environment and around this time that such was the case.

III. Traditions Other Than the Classical Tiberian Tradition

Before taking up the study of the classical Tiberian tradition, we would like briefly to situate the other medieval Hebrew textual traditions and pinpoint the cases where, in the two preceding volumes of this report and in this one, we have called on their testimony to support an emendation of the F text.

A. The Other Medieval Hebrew Traditions

1. Oriental and Western

Another traditional type of list of differences, already alluded to above, has not been exploited much: those lists that distinguish the "Oriental" manuscripts from the "Western," and whose variants are all consonantal.⁴⁹ While Qirqisani does not mention the "differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali,"⁵⁰ he reports the textual differences between the recension of the biblical text used among the Jews of Iraq and the one that the Jews of Palestine used. He begins by giving as examples two cases of words (צבאות in 2 Kgs 19:31 and ביום ההוא in Zech 14:4) that figure in the Palestinian recension but are absent in the Iraqi recension. Then he disputes the Palestinian claim that their recension is the only authentic one. Indeed, he explains that

the Iraqi recension is dispersed throughout the world, from Rakka on the Euphrates to the border of China, both in longitude and in latitude. It is widespread among most of the Jews of Djezireh, Khorasan, Fars, Kerman, Ispahan, Yamama, Bahrein, Yemen, etc. Now, if something has been lost from the text

49. Although some exegetes, like Qirqisani and Joseph Qara (cited in regard to this in *CTAF* Vol. 3, 1004:28–46), also assign certain vocalic variants to this category.

50. Qirqisani, *Kitab al-Anwar*, vol. 2, 16.

preserved by all these people, it is even more likely that a number of things would have disappeared from the text preserved by the Palestinians, who are so few in number.

Already before Qirqisani, the Palestinian Jacob ben Ephraim (whom Qirqisani cites) had tried to take a position with regard to this situation. The oldest list of differences between the “Oriental” and the “Western” traditions is that of 247 cases given in the Firkovitch manuscript, while the final Masorah of the Ben Hayim edition offers 218 cases in a list that exerted a strong influence on subsequent interpretation. The richest source of notes on these differences is the Paris BN Ms Heb. 1–3 (an early manuscript of the Jesuits of Cologne). While the lists of differences mention none for the Torah, the notes of the manuscript cite a fair number of them.⁵¹ If the data furnished by the lists are added to those offered in the marginal notes of the manuscripts, the result is data that are often contradictory. Thus it is not unusual that the manuscripts with Babylonian vocalization often have readings referred to as “Western” by these lists and the Tiberian manuscripts often have readings that these lists would describe as “Oriental.” Moreover, the lists are not at all exhaustive in listing the consonantal variants found in the Babylonian manuscripts. In light of this, the lists can be acknowledged as having only limited relevance.

2. *The Babylonian Text and Palestinian Fragments*

The mid-nineteenth-century discovery of the St. Petersburg manuscript of the Latter Prophets, dated 916/17, aroused great interest in the supralinear vocalization known as Babylonian. In a study devoted to the subject, Kahle concluded fairly quickly that, in spite of its age, the St. Petersburg manuscript was influenced by the Tiberian system from its first vocalizers and Masoretes—like the later Yemenite manuscripts—and that its mixed system of pointing was thus of little interest. Instead, Kahle focused his study on the Berlin manuscript Or. Qu. 680, whose original pointing had been purely Babylonian. He then assembled a significant number of Babylonian fragments from the Cairo Geniza,⁵² a collection later completed by Díez Macho.⁵³ Photographs of all the biblical fragments with Babylonian vocalization were published by Yeivin in 1973.⁵⁴

Another type of pointing preceded the Tiberian in Palestine.⁵⁵ Kahle, Dietrich, Revell, and Allony have published numerous fragments of it.⁵⁶ All of the biblical variants in texts with Palestinian vocalization were published by

51. See Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 199–207.

52. Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens and Bibelhandschriften*.

53. Díez Macho, *Manuscriptos*.

54. Yeivin, *Geniza*.

55. The first example of this vocalization (in a *serugin* fragment) was given by Neubauer in 1895 (*Shorthand*).

56. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 2, 1–95; Dietrich, *Bibelfragmente*; Revell, *Texts and “Studies”*; Allony, *Geniza*.

Chiesa,⁵⁷ while the Babylonian Bible is available in fascicles published by the research group for the Madrid polyglot.⁵⁸ These collections provide a wealth of information, but clearly it is not possible to reconstruct a Babylonian form, and even less a Palestinian form, of the Bible, or even of a single book. Indeed, we have no indication that there ever existed a complete manuscript of the Bible in either of these two traditions of pointing, and the exceptional success of Aaron ben Asher, supported by the authority of Maimonides, is sufficient to explain how, even within the Yemenite tradition of supralinear pointing, the Tiberian system progressively supplanted the Babylonian system.

3. The "Pseudo-Ben-Naftali" Manuscripts

From the enormous mass of medieval manuscripts collated by Kennicott and de Rossi, it is impossible to place certain ones in families. It appears rather that certain consonantal copies with varying degrees of accuracy later underwent re-cension by their vocalizers based on a given exemplar which they valued as a model and which was simply the most highly regarded of those to which they had access. The Masorahs, when there were such, often had only a rather vague relation to the text. It was as if, once Aaron ben Asher and the manuscripts dependant on his efforts had achieved their great reputation, all agreed (at least among the Sephardim) to make them the norm to follow for copies that were in use or that were being vocalized, depending on the available means. It is indeed striking that a number of important thirteenth-century manuscripts of Spanish or Italian origin⁵⁹ were still quite close to the text and Masorahs of A or F. This is also the case for the edition that Ben Hayim produced based on manuscripts of this type.

Kahle believed that a certain non-classical usage of the Tiberian vowels and accents could be attributed to Ben Naftali.⁶⁰ While recognizing characteristics in this type that accord it a certain independence, scholars who have pursued the study of the type through the numerous representatives of it from almost everywhere except Spain, have drawn different conclusions. They find that it involves an application of Tiberian signs to an originally Palestinian system,⁶¹ and that, in any case, these manuscripts have nothing to do with Ben Naftali. To indicate their distinctiveness, however, Díez Macho proposed labeling them "pseudo-Ben-Naftali."⁶²

57. Chiesa, *Palestinese*.

58. See *Biblia Babilónica* in the bibliography.

59. One of the details that comes to light in these manuscripts is that, contrary to the order given by the Talmud, the books of Chronicles are often placed between the prophets and the Psalms, as in A and F. This can be observed, for example, in the following manuscripts: London BL Harley 5710–5711 and Add 15251. Paris National Library Heb. 26 and 105. Parma, de Rossi 782, and Copenhagen 1.4,8, etc.

60. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 2, 45*–68*.

61. Morag, תיקן, 842.

62. Díez Macho, *Manuscritos*, 79–90 and 199–216.

4. *The Group of Manuscripts Collated by Kennicott and de Rossi*

In the evaluation of the quantitative analyses of Sacchi and Borbone, we discussed the medieval Tiberian manuscripts collated by Kennicott and de Rossi. For two centuries, they have been the foremost suppliers of variants used in criticism of the received Hebrew text. The texts involved are of quite diverse origin and quality. We must now consider more closely those texts that are richest in variants.

B. *Did Medieval Masoretic Manuscripts Preserve Variants?*

From a comparison between a representative of the proto-Masoretic text (= Mur) and a representative of the pre-Masoretic text (= 1QIsa^b), we will draw the conclusion⁶³ that the standardization of the consonantal text that took place between the two revolts led to an extensive consonantal stabilization. This successful standardization seems to have been accompanied by the elimination of non-conforming manuscripts through recension. Thus it constituted a bottle-neck through which it would be surprising if many real variants prior to standardization had been able to pass and survive in Biblical Hebrew manuscripts of the early Middle Ages and following periods.

We have seen an indication of this in the group of three variants analyzed in Isa 53:11–12, where it was observed that all the witnesses to \aleph agreed on the reading יְרֵאָה for 11a α , חֲטֵא רְבִים in 12b α , and וּלְפִשְׁעֵיהֶם in 12b β , while the four single textual forms at our disposal that preceded the first revolt (1QIsa^a, 4QIsa^d, 1QIsa^b, and Θ) all agree on the three readings יְרֵאָה אֹרֶר , חֲטֵאֵי רְבִים , and וּלְפִשְׁעֵיהֶם . From the isolation of \aleph in this group of three readings, we concluded that it either suffered some accidents or deliberate alterations were made. Now, it is remarkable that none of the three original readings managed to filter through the bottle-neck created by textual standardization and survive in any one of the more than 1,800 manuscripts and editions of the Hebrew Bible that Kennicott and de Rossi collated.

The United Bible Societies' committee on textual analysis began its study of 5,000 textual difficulties in the hope of recovering a certain number of original readings among the innumerable variants in the apparatuses of Kennicott and de Rossi. But the farther the work advanced, the more that initial hope retreated. Thus, out of the 334 emendations to \aleph proposed in the first three volumes of this study, only 28 could testify to the survival of original readings in certain medieval manuscripts where they had ended up via routes other than that of the classical Tiberian tradition. But recent translations most frequently make use of medieval variants that have no real textual authority whatsoever. This will be demonstrated below in a number of cases, and then we will attempt to form a

63. See below, p. 405.

judgment about the three manuscripts that offer the most variants with respect to the received text in the books of the Nevi'im.

1. Emendations Based on Non-classical Medieval Hebrew Traditions

Among the 28 emendations in the text of the Nevi'im for which the committee relied on the non-classical medieval Hebrew witnesses, let us first study the 23 cases that involve manuscripts used in the great collations of the eighteenth century. Then we will treat the four cases where support was drawn from Babylonian witnesses and another from a Palestinian witness.

1.a. Support from manuscripts collated in the eighteenth century

The following are the 23 emendations that the committee based on manuscripts in the Kennicott and de Rossi collations.

(α) Josh 19:15. Here⁶⁴ the problem involves two competing forms of a toponym, הַרְאֵלָי and הַרְאֵלָי . The form with *dalet* has the support of the classical Tiberian tradition, the recension of Ⓞ , and Ⓟ , while the form with *reš* is supported (in an indirect but characteristic way) by Ⓞ . In the Hebrew tradition, the form with *reš* (which we chose) has the support of a single manuscript of the Talmud Yerushalmi (which gives the only talmudic or midrashic citation of this passage in *Meg* 1:1), and de Rossi cites as witnesses of the reading with *reš* Kennicott manuscripts 1, 174, 180, 602, possibly 89, 93, and 176, de Rossi manuscripts 20, 210, 295, 539, 554, 576, 627, 701, and 226^a, as well as the *editio princeps* of the Prophets (Ⓜ [Soncino 1486]), that of the Bible (Ⓜ [Soncino 1488]), and that of Brescia 1494; the edition of Felice da Prato and the quarto edition of 1518 give this reading in the margin, and the reading is cited as a variant by Ben Hayim. De Rossi notes, however, that the testimony of a fair number of manuscripts is in doubt because of the similarity of *reš* and *dalet*. In favor of this reading, Ginsburg cites the London BL manuscripts Add 14760, 15252, 15451, Harley 5710, Or 2091, 4227, and manuscripts G1 and G3.

(β) Ruth 4:4. The problem here⁶⁵ is a conflict between the very difficult reading לִגְאָל (3rd pers.) and the expected reading תִּגְאָל (2nd pers.). Although all the best Jewish interpreters agree with the classical Tiberian witnesses and the Masorah (which only defends a *Qal* vocalization against a *Niphal* vocalization) in reading the 3rd person, the committee chose the 2nd person with all the ancient versions and more than 50 manuscripts.

(γ) 1 Sam 6:18. Nearly all the Hebrew witnesses (the classical Tiberian witnesses, among others) read בְּבַל here⁶⁶ with σ' , Ⓟ , and Ⓢ , whereas בְּבָל was read by Ⓞ and Ⓣ . The reading with *nun* is attributed by de Rossi to Kennicott manuscripts 96, 562, and 602^a, to which he adds a manuscript from the private library of Pius

64. See *CTAT* Vol. 1, 54.

65. *Ibid.*, 134.

66. *Ibid.*, 154.

VI (corrected in 1512, but copied from an ancient Vorlage). Ginsburg cites London BL manuscript Add 15252 as support for this reading.

(δ) 1 Sam 22:14. The vocalization וְסָר of the TR points to its interpretation as an active participle of סָר. David ben Abraham saw this (in agreement with Ⓞ and Ⓢ) as a case where שָׁר is written with *samek*, and the committee chose the vocalic variant וְסָר of the Erfurt manuscript, whose Mp proposes the interpretation of David ben Abraham.⁶⁷

(ε) 2 Sam 8:12. The classical Tiberian tradition, in agreement with Ⓟ and Ⓢ, reads מְאַרְם, whereas the committee chose מְאַרְם with Ⓞ and Ⓢ.⁶⁸ According to de Rossi, this reading with the sense of “from Edom” is read by the Kennicott manuscripts 308, 569, 201*, 309*, 490*, 601*, 614*, possibly 171, 521, and de Rossi 20 and 701.

(ζ and η) 1 Kgs 1:18, 20. The classical Tiberian tradition reads וְעַתָּה in 18b and וְאַתָּה in 20, while we reversed the two readings, with Ⓟ and the partial witness of Ⓞ.⁶⁹ According to de Rossi, this reversal is attested by Kennicott manuscripts 56, 93, 129, 149, 150, 151, 158, 170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 187, 195, 201, 212, 218, 223, 224, 225, 228, 232, 244, 246, 248, 253, 348, 365, 367, 368, 369, 384, 418, 419 mg., 442, 452, 471, 486, 488, 501, 507, 514 mg., 530, 549, 560, 562, 563, 590, 593, 594, 602, 603, 608, 611 mg., 614, 618, 622, 629, 632, 644, 102*, 130*, 154*, 249*, 250*, 309*, 322*, 355*, 420*, 542*, and de Rossi manuscripts 20, 230, 248, 266, 380, 419, 443, 476, 543, 579, 594, 614, 665, 721, 851, 2*, 21*, 187*, 211*, 226*, 262*, 335*, 345*, 656*, 679*, to which may be added the foreign manuscripts 42, 44, 1*, 43*, and 104^d. Ginsburg adds London BL manuscripts Add 9400, 15451, 19776, Arundel Or 2, Or 2091, 2696, and 4227. There is a Masorah asserting that the sequence וְעַתָּה אֶדְנִי is a hapax, but it can only rule out the variant that places וְאַתָּה in both 18b and 20. Furthermore, the ancient Masoretes were not able to determine with complete certainty which of the two opposite readings was the correct one,⁷⁰ as is shown in an ancient Masorah (attested in a Mp by the Vatican manuscript ebr 448) that counts the cases where “וְעַתָּה or וְאַתָּה” bears a *tehir* accent, a formulation demonstrating the uncertainty of the authors of this Masorah concerning the identification of the reading in some of these cases.

(θ) 1 Kgs 19:3. The classical Tiberian tradition vocalizes וְיָרָן, with Ⓢ. The committee chose to vocalize וְיָרָן, with Ⓞ, Ⓟ, and Ⓢ.⁷¹ This vocalization is read by

67. Ibid., 207.

68. Ibid., 251–52.

69. Ibid., 329–32.

70. We encountered a similar situation in Jer 5:7 concerning a Masorah that gives a list of words occurring once with *dalet* and once with *resh*. It was noted in *CTAT* Vol. 2, 495, that this Masorah, when used incorrectly, sometimes had the effect of inverting the dissymmetry that it meant to maintain, that is, (when one of the two cases was corrupt) of corrupting the other case in the opposite direction.

71. See *CTAT* Vol. 1, 371–72.

Lilienthal in Kennicott manuscript 224, and by the de Rossi manuscripts 545, 226*, and 604*. Ginsburg reports the same vocalization in London BL manuscripts Add 9400, Cambridge Add 465, and G 1.

(i) 2 Kgs 9:15. Against the classical Tiberian tradition supported by one Masorah, we added אַתְּ after יֵשׁ.⁷² The ancient versions translated as if they had read the participle, whose presence de Rossi confirms in Kennicott manuscripts 1, 96, 99, 112, 115, 145, 149, 153, 154, 158, 160, 187, 228, 601, 3*, 128*, and de Rossi manuscripts 13, 174, 187, 211, 226, 380, 554, 576, 579, 663, 667, 688, 716, 737, 210*, 604*, 679*, and 341^a. Ginsburg notes the participle in London BL manuscripts Add 9398, 11657, 15252, Harley 5710, 5721, 5722, King's 1, Or 2091, 4227, and W.

(κ) 1 Chr 4:22. Instead of וַיִּשְׁבֵי of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by one Masorah, we read וַיִּשְׁבּוּ, with the recension of Ⓞ and with ם.⁷³ According to Kennicott, the reading with the final *waw* is given in his manuscripts 89, 210, 259, 180*, and 245^a.

(λ) 1 Chr 6:43(58). This involves uncertainty between *zayin* and final *nun*, distinguishing two competing forms of a toponym, הַיְלֹז and הַיְלִן.⁷⁴ The reading with *zayin* is that of the classical Tiberian tradition and of the *editio princeps* of the Ketuvim (Naples 1483), but it has no witnesses outside of the Hebrew tradition. On the other hand, the reading with *nun* (which we chose) has the support of Ⓞ and ם. According to de Rossi, the reading with *nun* has the support of all the later editions (except for *Minḥat Shay*, since Norzi found the reading with *zayin* in “careful manuscripts”). It was the reading with *nun* that served as the base for the collations of Kennicott, de Rossi, and Ginsburg, and continued through BHK² (BHK³ and BHS opted for the reading with *zayin*, following F). If the silence of Kennicott is taken as evidence, the reading with *nun* can be attributed to two-thirds of his manuscripts.

(μ) 1 Chr 24:23. Instead of וּבְנֵי of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by two Masorahs, we read וּבְנֵי, with Ⓞ and ט.⁷⁵ The vocalization with *šerê* is attributed by Ginsburg to London BL Add 15250, 15252, 15451, Arundel Or 16, Harley 1528, and Or 2091. It has dominated almost all the editions, with the vocalization *qāmeš* having entered only the Ben Hayim edition, and then that of Baer, along with those that followed.

(ν) 2 Chr 20:25. The classical Tiberian tradition has וּפְגָרִים here, supported by ט. We read וּבְגָרִים, with ם.⁷⁶ According to de Rossi, this is the reading in Kennicott manuscripts 80, 155, 157, 178, and de Rossi manuscripts 596, 737, 789, and 554^a, and a certain number of early editions, including the Brescia Bible 1494

72. Ibid., 392.

73. Ibid., 436–37.

74. Ibid., 61–63.

75. Ibid., 465–66.

76. Ibid., 497.

and the polyglot of Alcalá. Ginsburg reads the same in London BL manuscripts Add 9402 and Or 4227.

(ξ) Neh 3:18. Whereas the classical Tiberian tradition reads כְּנִי here, the committee opted for the reading כְּנִי, which left traces in ו and ס.⁷⁷ It is attested by Kennicott manuscripts 168 and 252.

(ο) Neh 9:17. Here, where the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by the Masorah, reads כְּמִצְרַיִם with ו, the committee opted for כְּמִצְרַיִם, with ט.⁷⁸ According to de Rossi, this is the reading of Kennicott manuscripts 590, 207*, 476*, possibly 535, and de Rossi 593, 737, and 789*, as well as the *editio princeps* of the Ketuvim of Naples 1487.

(π) Isa 19:18. Instead of the toponym הַהַרְס of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by one Masorah and by ס, the committee read הַחַרְס with 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, ס', and ו.⁷⁹ This reading is attested by a citation in the Babylonian Talmud and, according to de Rossi, by Kennicott manuscripts 160, 228, 320 mg., 423, 453, 569, 99*, 180*, 571*, possibly 115, and de Rossi 20, 187*, 211*, 305*, and 579*, as well as the editions of Brescia and Münster. Ginsburg reports it in London BL manuscript Harley 5721.

(ρ) Isa 27:2. Instead of הַמָּד of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by one Masorah, by 1QIsa^a, by ו, and by ס, the committee read הַמָּד, with ט.⁸⁰ The reading with *dalet*, retained by Van der Hooght's edition, served as a collation base for Kennicott and for de Rossi. Ginsburg, who has the reading with *reš* in his text, reports the reading with *dalet* in London BL manuscript Add 14760. De Rossi states that it figures clearly only in his manuscript 174 and in the *editio princeps* of the Bible (Soncino 1488). He shows that, from the silence of Kennicott, positive conclusions cannot be drawn in its favor.

(σ) Isa 33:1. Whereas the classical Tiberian tradition reads כְּנִלְתֶּךָ here, with almost all the Hebrew witnesses, the committee opted for the reading כְּכִלְתֶּךָ, attested by 1QIsa^a as well as London BL manuscript Add 9398 reported by Ginsburg.⁸¹

(τ) Jer 38:23. Instead of תִּשְׁרֶף of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by one Masorah, the committee read תִּשְׁרֶף with ט, ס, and ט.⁸² According to Lillienthal, this vocalization is found in Kennicott manuscript 224, and according to de Rossi, in his manuscripts 4, 319, 411, 715, 186*, 187*, 380*, and 226^a. Ginsburg reports it in London BL manuscripts Add 4708, 15250, and Or 4227.

(υ) Jer 46:15. Here, where the classical Tiberian tradition reads אַבְיִירִךְ with two *yods*, the committee opted for אַבְיִירֶךְ, based on ט, ס', and ו.⁸³ The reading

77. *Ibid.*, 525–29.

78. *Ibid.*, 568.

79. See *CTAT* Vol. 2, 143–50.

80. *Ibid.*, 188–92.

81. *Ibid.*, 224–26.

82. *Ibid.*, 720–22.

83. *Ibid.*, 763f.

with a single *yod* is attested by some sixty manuscripts, according to de Rossi, as well as by the editions of Soncino 1488 and Brescia 1494. Ginsburg finds it in London BL manuscripts Add 10455, 15252, 15282, Arundel Or 2, Harley 5711, and G 3.

(φ) Jer 51:3. The first **לֹאֵל** is vocalized *səgôl* by the classical Tiberian tradition. The committee vocalized it *patah* with υ and ε .⁸⁴ According to de Rossi, this vocalization (together with **לֹאֵל** and **לֹאֵל** [the second one]) is attested by de Rossi manuscripts 3, 305, 826, and 993. According to Ginsburg it is found in London BL manuscript Add 15250. It is also attested by Kennicott manuscripts 201 and 225.

(χ) Ezek 47:13. Instead of **הָאֵל** of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by one Masorah, the committee read **הָאֵל** with \ominus , υ , and ε . According to de Rossi,⁸⁵ this reading is found in Kennicott manuscripts 30, 96^a, 149*, 249*, 337, 531, 590, 596*, and 612*, and de Rossi manuscripts 23*, 545*, 596*, and 689. It is given as the *Qere* in K351.

(ψ) Amos 8:8. Instead of **כִּאֵר** of the classical Tiberian tradition, supported by one Masorah, the committee read **כִּיאֵר** with \ominus , υ , ε , and ε .⁸⁶ According to de Rossi, this reading with *yod* is found in Kennicott manuscripts 4, 23, 30, 116, 145, 180, 206, 474, 606, 616, 632, 542*, 613*, possibly 141, 195, 249, and de Rossi manuscripts 24, 174, 346, and 408. It is read by Ginsburg in London BL manuscripts Add 9398 and Harley 5509.

1.b. Support from Babylonian manuscripts

(α) Isa 49:7. Whereas the classical Tiberian tradition vocalizes **לְבַזָּה**, the committee vocalized **לְבַזָּה** with υ and ε .⁸⁷ According to de Rossi, the vocalization with *šerê* is found in his manuscripts 514, 715, and 27*, with 319 giving **לְבַזָּה**. Alba Cecilia reports it in the Babylonian manuscript Oxford Bodl d 64.

(β) Isa 49:17. In the word **בְּנִיךְ**, practically all the witnesses of \aleph , supported by two Masorahs, vocalize the *bet* with *qāmeṣ*, with σ' and ε . The committee vocalized it with *ḥôlem*, with \ominus , θ' , α' , and υ , as well as the first hand of P (with Babylonian pointing).⁸⁸

(γ) Ezek 39:11. In the word **שִׁין**, practically all the witnesses of \aleph vocalize the *šin* with *qāmeṣ*, with α' and ε . The committee vocalized it with *šerê*, with \ominus and υ .⁸⁹ Of the two existing Babylonian manuscripts, Oxford Bodl Hcb d 64 has *qāmeṣ* and Cambridge T.-S. B 4.38 has *šerê*.

84. *Ibid.*, 839–41.

85. See *CTAT* Vol. 3, 416:15–17.

86. *Ibid.*, 686:28–29.

87. See *CTAT* Vol. 2, 358–60.

88. *Ibid.*, 364–67.

89. See *CTAT* Vol. 3, 310:26–28.

(δ) Jer 25:34. Instead of the vocalization וַתִּפְּצוּתֵיכֶם of the classical Tiberian tradition, the committee vocalized וַתִּפְּצוּתֵיכֶם, with θ', α', σ', and υ.⁹⁰ The vocalization with *šûreq* and *šērê* is attested, according to de Rossi, in 29 of his manuscripts, among which are the Sephardic 4, 27, 196, 295, 304, 341, 411, 413, 815, 841, 1092, and 26*, as well as in four Erfurt manuscripts and in the Brescia 1494 edition. Ginsburg reports it in London BL manuscripts Add 9398, 15451, 21161, Arundel Or 16, Or 2091, 4227, G 1, and G 2. It is also attested by the Babylonian vocalization of P.

I.c. Support from a Palestinian manuscript

Josh 19:28. For the toponym that the classical Tiberian tradition writes ךַּ(ו)עבֵר with *reš*, in agreement with the recension of Ⓞ, Ⓢ, and Ⓣ, the committee chose the reading with *dalet* ךַּ(ו)עבֵר, attested by σ' and indirectly by the old Ⓞ.⁹¹ This reading is also attested by Kennicott manuscripts 154, 168, 172, 174, 182, 224, 225, possibly 158, and de Rossi 2, 13, 20, 211, 226, 249, 319, 341, 440, 539, 716, and 604*. K475 gives it as a *Qere*. It is also attested by Oxford Bodl d 29 with Palestinian vocalization.

I.d. Conclusion

In all the cases where we have summoned support from witnesses outside of the classical Tiberian text, we always have the support of a version at the same time. Does this fact guarantee that these are ancient readings that figured in the Vorlage of the versions? Not always. Characteristic cases will be noted farther along⁹² where the choices of the versions intersect with the exegetical traditions expressed by Jewish interpreters of the Middle Ages who, it can be stated with certainty, had no contact with these versions. There is a strong possibility that very early Jewish exegetical traditions influenced the choices of the versions and the changes introduced into the text by certain copyists. Very often in Abulwalid is found the affirmation that a certain form takes the place of another form that, in fact, appears in the same place in a certain manuscript or in a certain version. Independent of the traditions of exegesis formulated by this or that ancient writer, the confusion of *reš/dalet* (א.אפ, c) or *kap/nun* (א.σ) or *waw/nun* (א.ξ) or *zayin/final nun* (א.λ) or *gimell/zayin* (א.χ) happens so easily that, especially with rare toponyms, the probability is high that these alternative forms will emerge in some part of a textual tradition that includes 1500 witnesses (the total number of manuscripts collated by Kennicott and de Rossi plus those which have recently become accessible). Apart from such random graphic confusions, a large part of the textual decisions just listed consists of the elimination of excessively difficult readings of the TR (א.βγ), sometimes the result of minimal alterations of a text

90. See *CTAT* Vol. 2, 658–59.

91. See *CTAT* Vol. 1, 56–57.

92. See below, pp. 553–558.

that had been corrupted long before (a.κμ). In these cases, it is not at all certain that the competing reading is the survival of an original text. There is at least as much probability that it involves a facilitating conjecture that entered into more or less broad sectors of the textual tradition. Without deriving directly from the original text, such a conjecture might very possibly have reinvented it, based on the information given by the context.⁹³ This may also be the case when a letter drops out by accident (a.οψ). The context can lend itself to numerous interpretations that propose slight vocalic variants, without the textual traditions necessarily transmitting these variants (b.β). Elsewhere, it is a matter either of variations between gutturals that are barely perceptible to the ear—*helhet* (a.π) or *'alepl/ayin* (a.ζη)—or of subtle vocalic variants that represent a tradition more exegetical than textual—*pataḥ/səgôl* (a.φ) or *pataḥ/qāmeš* (a.δ) or purely graphic variants (a.υ). It may also be a matter of theological alterations that have been enjoined in certain milieux, while in other milieux the context led vocalizers back to the authentic reading (a.θ, b.αγ). Finally, it can be noted that in different periods and in different milieux, different syntactic interpretations imposed themselves upon the copyists, under the influence of the literary Hebrew of the time (a.ι), and could entail vocalic alterations (a.τ, b.δ).

The case where it is the most probable that an original reading was transmitted alongside the classical Tiberian tradition is וּבְגָדִים (= a.υ in 2 Chr 20:25).

2. Support from Medieval Manuscripts with Weaker Authority

We can point out several cases in which textual criticism has called upon variants drawn from medieval manuscripts that offer extremely weak support. For the convenience of the reader, the cases are limited to those taken from this volume.

In Ezek 16:4 NEB makes reference to only “one MS” to conjecture כְּרֶךְ instead of כְּרֶתֶת וּ. We submit that after a visual slip, the scribe of the London BL manuscript Harley 5711 immediately corrected his error.⁹⁴

In Ezek 18:31 BHK³ invokes “2 MSS^{Kcm}” to emend בְּיָמָי to בְּיָמָי. We show that this is simply a matter of a marginal reading in the edition of Felice da Prato and of the first hand in the Reuchlin manuscript.⁹⁵

Cornill makes reference to manuscript K150 to conjecture אוֹתָהּ instead of אוֹתָהּ in Ezek 21:34(29). We show that this is in fact only the first hand of the manuscript, evidence that has little weight here where none of the versions supports the emendation of the suffix.⁹⁶

In Ezek 23:21 RSV invokes “two MSS” to emend מִמְצָרִים to מִמְצָרִים. We see that these manuscripts are K28, a manuscript without Masorah that includes an inter-

93. See the paradoxical cases that will be treated on pp. 576–579.

94. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 92:8–12.

95. *Ibid.*, 138:5–13.

96. *Ibid.*, 182:2–3.

linear Latin translation and the “Our Father” in Hebrew, and the first hand of de Rossi manuscript 737.⁹⁷

Again, RSV calls on “two mss” to read נְתַחֲיָהּ instead of רְתַחֲיָהּ in Ezek 24:5. The manuscripts involved are K128 (end of the fourteenth century) and possibly K126 (fifteenth century).⁹⁸

According to Brockington, NEB bases the decision to omit Ezek 40:30 on “several mss.” This involves, in fact, only manuscripts K30 and K115, and the first hand of R596.⁹⁹

Again, according to Brockington, NEB bases its reading on “1 ms” in adding the words $\text{כְּמִדּוֹת הָאֶלֶּה}$ to Ezek 40:36. The manuscript in question is a Babylonian manuscript, Eb 24 (Cambridge T.-S., B 4,38).¹⁰⁰ However, another Babylonian manuscript preserved here, Eb 22 (Cambridge T.-S. B 2,2), has the same text as all the Tiberian manuscripts.

According to BJ³, “quelques mss” omit the words רַחֵב הָאֶהָל in Ezek 41:1. In fact, Cornill presents them as lacking in only two manuscripts. The manuscripts involved are K195 and K224, which underwent two different haplographies.¹⁰¹

For the ending of the penultimate word in Ezek 41:15, BHK³ proposes reading מִ- with “2 mss^{Ken}.” The manuscripts in question, K4 and K154, both vocalize the ending מִ- , but specify that the *Qere* is מִי- .¹⁰²

According to Brockington, NEB bases its decision on “2 mss” when it inserts עַד- before מִי in Ezek 48:28. These manuscripts are actually K153, a manuscript of Rashi’s commentary, and the first hand of K187 from the fifteenth century.¹⁰³

For שְׁעָרֵיהֶם in Ezek 48:34, BHS claims to read וּשְׁעָרִים in one manuscript. In this manuscript, K150, the missing *he* was added by the second hand, and the word then received the classical vocalization.¹⁰⁴

According to Brockington, NEB bases its reading on “some mss” to emend אוֹפִיר to אוֹפֵז in Dan 10:5. This substitution can only be based on the first hand of manuscripts K145 and R34, the margin of K249 and the manuscript of Rashi’s commentary, K153.¹⁰⁵

In Dan 11:17 Brockington states that the NEB emendation of וְעִשָּׂה to וְעִשָּׂה is based on “1 ms” and Ⓞ . We note the negligible authority of this isolated manuscript, K449, from the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶

97. *Ibid.*, 191:32–33.

98. *Ibid.*, 203:16–17.

99. *Ibid.*, 330:38–39.

100. *Ibid.*, 332:2.

101. *Ibid.*, 346:43–47.

102. *Ibid.*, 353:5–8.

103. *Ibid.*, 433:35–41.

104. *Ibid.*, 434:28–30.

105. *Ibid.*, 473:2–4.

106. *Ibid.*, 484:43–44.

In Dan 11:22 where the received text has וַיִּשְׁכְּרוּ וְגַם, Brockington states that NEB bases an emendation to וַיִּשְׁכְּרוּ גַם on “1 MS.” This is the fragment Cambridge T.-S. 16,96 with Palestinian vocalization, a fragment that omits the final *waw* of the verb, but keeps the one that begins the following word.¹⁰⁷

In Mic 1:2 BHS bases the omission of אֲדָנִי on “2 MSS.” These are K2 and K150. In both of these manuscripts, the word was added by the second hand. The omission was the result of carelessness, as is suggested by the location of the following word, יְהוָה, at the beginning of the line in K2 and at the end of the line in K150.¹⁰⁸

In Mic 7:12, according to Brockington, NEB bases its emendation of וְעָרִי וְעָרִי on “1 MS.” The manuscript is K1; after the copyist had written the word with *dalet*, the pointer vocalized the word וְעָרִי and not וְעָרִי.¹⁰⁹

According to Brockington, NEB bases the omission of בְּקִרְבִּי שְׁנַיִם חַיִּיהוּ in Hab 3:2 on “3 MSS.” The manuscripts are K50, K211, and K212, three *Haftarot* manuscripts, whose textual authority is therefore weak. These words obviously were dropped through homeoarcton.¹¹⁰

In Hab 3:8, it was on the basis of “some MSS” that NEB omitted אִם בְּנֹהָרִים, according to Brockington. This omission can only be attributed to K72 (end of the fourteenth century), a scholarly work which has no Masoretic authority, with a Latin version occupying a column next to the Hebrew.¹¹¹

According to Brockington, with “1 MS” NEB reads אָרָם instead of אָרָם in Zech 9:1. This involves only the first hand of manuscript R24 from the fourteenth century.¹¹²

One manuscript serves as the basis for the BHS reading פְּלִשְׁתֵּי instead of פְּלִשְׁתִּים in Zech 9:6. The manuscript in question is K101 from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.¹¹³

With regard to Zech 12:6, the omission of בִּירוּשָׁלַם, attributed by BHK² to “mlt MSS,” has as its single Hebrew witness K175, which is probably fourteenth century.¹¹⁴

We conclude that it is better not to cite the “Hebrew MSS” of the Kennicott and de Rossi collations to support readings one might choose when those manuscripts have as little authority as those called on in the examples assembled above. Before evincing witnesses of this type, it is always necessary in any case to assess the different readings presented by the Hebrew witnesses and compare the authority of the witnesses to those different readings.

107. Ibid., 487:6–9.

108. Ibid., 711:35–39.

109. Ibid., 778:29–31.

110. Ibid., 861:16–17.

111. Ibid., 866:27–30.

112. Ibid., 971:20–21, 28–30.

113. Ibid., 972:42–45.

114. Ibid., 1001:32–34.

3. Mistakes Critics Have Made in Their Use of the Eighteenth-Century Collations

Here we begin with remarks made in *CTAT* Vol. 1.

First let us recall that for 2 Kgs 22:13, we saw that three “codices” of Kennicott and one of de Rossi in the end amounted to a single manuscript, since R663 was the principal source of the Soncino 1486 edition (= K257) and the Soncino 1488 edition (= K260), and K253 is a copy of the Soncino 1488 edition.¹¹⁵ Concerning the two “codices” of Kennicott (K257 and K260), which are actually editions, we also noted the error of Stade/Schwally, who, in *SBOT* for 2 Kgs 10:2, listed “two codd. of Kenn.” and “edd. Soncin. 86.88,” never suspecting that these are two different designations for the same witnesses.¹¹⁶

In 1 Chr 2:30 Brockington states that with “1 MS” NEB emends **וְאֶפְרַיִם וְאֶפְרַיִם**. And indeed, BHK³ has here “cf. 1 MS^{Ken.}” This could only be K130, to which Kennicott does not attribute this reading, but “*forte* **וְרֵאפִים**.” In fact, this manuscript (= London BL Arundel Or 16) bears the reading of the received text: the top of the *waw* is simply a little more prominent than elsewhere.¹¹⁷

Regarding 1 Chr 24:6 we noted that BHK³ was in error when it attributed to eight manuscripts the reading **אֶתְךָ** instead of the three occurrences of **אֶתְךָ** in this verse, while that reading is in fact found only in the second occurrence.¹¹⁸

For 2 Chr 26:23, Brockington represents the second occurrence of **עַם אֲבֹתָיו** as missing in six manuscripts, whereas what they omitted was the entire phrase **וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ עִם אֲבֹתָיו**, in a clear case of homeoteleuton.¹¹⁹

In Neh 11:10 BHK³ seeks to omit **בְּךָ** on the basis of “1 MS.” The manuscript in question is only the first hand of K157.¹²⁰ We might add here that very often Kennicott failed to indicate that the variants he mentions are simply careless errors on the part of the copyist, errors that were corrected by a second hand (sometimes by the copyist himself), reestablishing the reading of the received text.

From these examples we may conclude that when references to “manuscripts” are accepted from critical apparatuses without an investigation of the route they took to enter the apparatus, there is often a risk of error in the interpretation of the evidence.

4. Three Manuscripts That Are Rich in Variants: K150, K93, and K96

As Borbone noted regarding Hosea¹²¹ and as can be seen throughout all the *Nevi'im*, among the manuscripts collated by Kennicott, the three that offer the

115. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 418.

116. *Ibid.*, 394.

117. *Ibid.*, 431.

118. *Ibid.*, 463.

119. *Ibid.*, 508.

120. *Ibid.*, 569.

121. See above, p. 267.

most variants with regard to the received text are K150, K93, and K96. Let us evaluate briefly the significance of each of these.

4.a. K150

As we have noted, this is the Berlin manuscript Or fol 1–4. This huge manuscript has \aleph and \eth alternating in three columns for the entire Bible (excepting Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah). In its composition, presentation, and script, it is very close to two other equally large manuscripts, the Vatican Urbinates 1 (= K228) in one volume and Berlin Or fol 1210 and 1211 (previously Erfurt 1 = K160) in two volumes. K150 is not dated, while Urbinates 1 is from 1294 and the Erfurt manuscript is from 1343. Until the bombings of 1945,¹²² there was a fourth manuscript with comparable contents and presentation. This was Dresdensis A 46 from the Sächsische Landesbibliothek (= K598). One need only consult the Kennicott apparatuses to notice that, in spite of the similarity of presentation and of the script of the first three, which we were able to compare, these four manuscripts have very different texts.

According to Kennicott, K150 contains the most variants with regard to the TR. But what Kennicott does not indicate is that a very large proportion of these variants were eliminated by the second hand. So, for the book of Hosea, out of 256 variants in K150 that Kennicott reports without specifying that they belong to the first hand, only 42 were not eliminated by a later hand. In his *Dissertatio Generalis* Kennicott picked out 20 readings in this manuscript which appeared to him to call into question the quality of the TR.¹²³ An examination of these readings offers an excellent opportunity to form an opinion on the text of the manuscript.

4.a.i. The 20 readings selected by Kennicott

(a) Exod 4:18. Kennicott reports K150 as the only \aleph manuscript that attests the reading יתרו instead of יתר in 4:18a (as in ω). He notes that this corresponds to the spelling of the name in 3:1 and 4:18b. De Rossi adds υ , ז , \eth , and manuscript R16 as witnesses of this reading. It should be noted, first of all, that יתרו is the name of five other persons in the Bible, while this verse is the only place that the name of Moses' father-in-law takes this form (the form יתרו appears nine times). In addition, two of the other יתרו also have variant forms of their name. This is the case for the father of Amasa, who is called יתרו in 1 Kgs 2:5, 32 and 1 Chr 2:17 and יתרא in 2 Sam 17:25, and for the descendant of Asher named יתרו in 1 Chr 7:38, but יתרן in the preceding verse (7:37). Thus, the alternation in the TR of the segolate *mil'el* form יתרו and a *milra'* form of the type יתרא , יתרן , or יתרו is not at all surprising. In addition, θ adopted the form Iothop universally,

122. The bombings also damaged Berlin Or fol 1210 and 1211.

123. Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis*, 83, note b.

which corresponds to יְהוֹ rather than יְהוֹי. So it appears that, from a mixed state where the forms יְהוֹ and יְהוֹי are both encountered for the name of Moses' father-in-law, Ⓞ (or its Vorlage) universalized the form יְהוֹ, while ℳ and manuscripts K150 and R16 adopted יְהוֹי universally. The received text (= TR) is the only one to have preserved a trace of the mixed state of the text through this reading.

Because K150 and R16 both have Ⓞ as well as ℳ, it is quite possible that the reading יְהוֹי entered their texts through the intermediary of Ⓞ. In addition, the vocalizer of K150 eliminated the final *waw* and vocalized the word יְהוֹי. In support of this alteration, the Masorete noted in a Mp that the sequence אֶל-יְהוֹ occurs two times in the Bible (here and in Jer 29:1, where the same Mp is repeated).

(β) Lev 9:21. The TR says: "Aaron offered the breasts and the right thigh as an elevation offering before the Lord, as Moses had commanded (כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה)." In place of this ending, 29 Kennicott manuscripts (including K150) agree with ℳ and Ⓞ in reading כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת מֹשֶׁה. The reading of ℳ and Ⓞ intends to refer back to Exod 29:26. But in fact it is Lev 8:29 that has the function of referring to that verse, while Lev 9:21b is an ending that sums up all of Aaron's sacrificial activity on the day of investiture and refers to 9:7. Furthermore, it is difficult to see how an order from the Lord to Moses would have been altered to an order from Moses, whereas inserting the divine initiative is a completely expected facilitation. We note the same tendency in certain witnesses that emend צִוִּיתִי (8:31 and 10:18) to the passive.

The copyist of the Ⓞ for K150 had written כִּמְאֵ דפְקִיד יְיָ יֵת מֹשֶׁה. The text of ℳ thus appears to have been adapted by the copyist to that of Ⓞ. The vocalizer crossed out אֶת יְהוָה in ℳ and יֵת in Ⓞ. Confirming the correction of the vocalizer, the Masorete placed a Mm here stating that the sequence כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה occurs three times, in Exod 16:24, Lev 9:21, and 1 Chr 15:15, as well as those places where "Moses" is qualified by the phrase עֲבָד יְהוָה (i.e., Josh 8:31, 33; 11:12).

(γ) 1 Sam 11:12. After the victory of Saul's troops over the Ammonites, the people say to Samuel מִי הָאִמֵּר שְׂאוּל יִמְלֶךְ עָלֵינוּ, and then add, "Hand over the men so that we may put them to death." Before יִמְלֶךְ, the negative לֹא is inserted by manuscripts K150 and K309, while K471 adds it in the margin. Kennicott mentions that the negative also figures in Ⓞ, Ⓢ, and Ⓞ. It is not necessary to suppose an interdependence between these witnesses, since the context is sufficient motivation for this facilitating addition. ו, ¹²⁴ as well as Rashi and Radak, interprets יִמְלֶךְ in an interrogative sense.

124. According to the majority of the editions (from Stephanus to Clementine), it has "num," but, according to the San Girolamo edition and almost all the manuscripts, this should be corrected to "non."

The immediate proximity of \mathfrak{C} could have influenced the choice of the K150 copyist. It should be noted that in this case no corrector eliminated the negation, either in the text or in the \mathfrak{C} of K150.

(δ) 2 Sam 14:4. In place of וַתֹּאמֶר , with which TR begins the verse, K150 has וַתִּבְרַא , a reading that Kennicott reports in 33 other manuscripts, in \mathfrak{G} , \mathfrak{S} , and \mathfrak{V} . \mathfrak{C} also is divided between the reading וַתֹּאמֶר (= TR of \mathfrak{M}) and the reading וַתִּבְרַח that K150 and other witnesses have here. Abulwalid, Judah ibn Balaam, and Tanḥum Yerushalmi surmise that וַתֹּאמֶר is for וַתִּבְרַא .¹²⁵

Thus, there is a strong possibility that the text of K150 was influenced by its \mathfrak{C} and that the \mathfrak{C} of K150 is witness to an old tradition of interpretation suggested by the context. Neither the text of K150 nor that of its \mathfrak{C} was altered by a corrector.

(ϵ) Isa 9:2. Kennicott notes that, with a dozen other manuscripts, K150 writes the *Qere* $\text{לֹ$ in the text, in agreement with \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{C} . We treated this *Qere-Kethiv* in *CTAT* Vol. 2, 60–63.

In the \mathfrak{C} of K150, לְהֹוֹךְ is indeed the corresponding word, which is oriented toward the *Qere* reading rather than the negative. The fact that the *Qere* is written in the text is not at all surprising—that is a frequently attested result of scribal negligence. However, a second hand corrected the *waw* of לֹ to *ʿalep*. The Masorete mentioned the *Qere-Kethiv* in a Mp and endeavored to legitimate the corrector's intervention by giving the corresponding Mm which mentions 15 cases of *Qere* לֹ with *Kethiv* לֹא .

(ζ) Isa 28:12. Instead of the TR's spelling אֲבֹנִים , Kennicott notes that manuscript K150, along with 94 other manuscripts, omits the final *ʿalep*. The omission appears to be supported by all the ancient versions and by \mathfrak{C} .

This facilitating omission could have been suggested to the copyist by the reading אֲבֹנִי found in the \mathfrak{C} of K150. A corrector added a final *ʿalep* to the reading of the Hebrew text in this manuscript.

(η) Isa 36:5. Kennicott points out that K150, with 16 manuscripts, has the reading אָמַרְתָּ (identical to the parallel in 2 Kgs 18:20) instead of the TR's אָמַרְתִּי . We dealt with this variant in *CTAT* Vol. 2, 248.

\mathfrak{C} has אָמַרְתִּי here, and thus could not have motivated the copyist's omission of the final *yod* in the Hebrew text. What can be seen here is probably the influence of the easier reading in the parallel in 2 Kings. We note, in any case, that the missing *yod* was supplied by the vocalizer (who gave the form the TR vocalization). Then the Masorete justified the correction by noting in a Mp three occurrences of the form אָמַרְתִּי at the *roš pasuq* (Deut 32:26, Isa 36:5, and Qoh 2:1).

(θ) Jer 4:5. According to Kennicott, K150 inserts $\text{אֶת עַמְךָ יְהוָה הוֹשַׁע יְהוָה אֶת עַמְךָ}$ after the second וַאֲמַרְוּ . This appears to be the only witness to the insertion. However, the phrase reappears in Jer 31:7, where it is widely attested: $\text{וַאֲמַרְוּ הוֹשַׁע יְהוָה אֶת עַמְךָ}$.

125. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 268.

K150 also appears to be the only \mathfrak{C} witness to an insertion of the phrase פרוק פרוק (which, in the other witnesses, translates the phrase in Jer 31:7). In Jer 4:5, the vocalizer crossed out the extra phrase in the Hebrew and the \mathfrak{C} texts. In Jer 31:7, the Masorete supplied a Mp specifying that הוֹשַׁע has a *pataḥ* only two times (there and in Ps 86:2, where the Mp is repeated).

(i) Jer 28:8. Whereas the TR ends v. 8 with לְמַלְחָמָה וּלְרָעָה וּלְדָבָר, K150 (with 18 manuscripts, the first hand of four others and the second hand of three) writes ולרעב instead of ולרעה. We dealt with this variant in *CTAT* Vol. 2, 671–72.

The reading ולרעב could not come from the \mathfrak{C} of K150, which has the reading ולבישא, corresponding to the TR Hebrew reading ולרעה. The frequency of the sequence בְּרָעַב וּבְדָבָר (11 times in Jeremiah) is sufficient to explain how the variant could have entered 25 manuscripts. In K150, moreover, the reading was corrected to that of \mathfrak{M} by a second hand, and the Masorete specified in a Mp that the form ולרעה is a hapax (the same Mp is found in the Aleppo manuscript).

(κ) Jer 31:33. Kennicott attached great significance to the fact that K150 (with 18 other manuscripts) has a *waw* before the נתתי of \mathfrak{M} ,¹²⁶ thus giving the verb a future sense. Yet it can be seen that the preceding verb אָכַרְתָּ and the following verb אָכַתְּ בָּנָה quite naturally invite this “*waw* conversive.” Furthermore, it is the imperfect form אָתָּן in the \mathfrak{C} that corresponds here to the TR’s נתתי. In K150, the facilitating *waw* which could have been suggested to the copyist by the context or by the \mathfrak{C} was eliminated by a corrector.

(λ) Jer 45:4. In v. 4b the TR has וְאֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ הִיא. With 14 other manuscripts, the first hand of three, the second hand of nine, the 1486 Soncino editions of the Prophets, as well as the 1488 Soncino and 1494 Brescia Bibles, K150 inserts לי before היא. This addition could have been suggested in K150 by its \mathfrak{C} , which inserts דִּילִי here. The word לי was crossed out by a corrector.

(μ) Ezek 11:7. Kennicott reports that, in agreement with 37 other manuscripts, all the versions and the \mathfrak{C} , K150 reads אוציא instead of the TR’s הוציא. In our treatment of this variant, we conclude that it emanates from an early exegetical tradition.¹²⁷ K150 could have been directed toward this reading by its \mathfrak{C} , which has אָגְלִי here. The Masorete later corrected the *alep* to *he* and noted in a Mp: לִ סביר אוציא.

(ν) Ezek 14:1. In agreement with six manuscripts and all the versions, K150 has ויבאו here, instead of the TR’s ויבוא. The copyist of the Hebrew text of K150 could have been influenced by its \mathfrak{C} , which has אָתוּ here. In any case the vocalizer reestablished the TR reading and the Masorete supported the correction with a double Mp, indicating first that this is one of eight cases where ויבאו is conjectured, and second that this is one of 15 cases where the spelling of ויבוא is *plene*.

126. Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis* §66.

127. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 63–64.

(ξ) Ezek 33:21. Instead of **בַּשָּׁתִּי** of the TR, the copyist of K150 wrote **בַּעֲשֵׁתִי**, a variant also attested by seven other manuscripts. We show that, more than the four other competing readings for the date here, this one was “in the air” because of the information supplied by 2 Kgs 25:2 = Jer 52:5 and by Ezek 26:1.¹²⁸ The reading in K150 must have been suggested by these parallels, and not by its **ע**, which has **בְּתַרְתָּא** here, corresponding to the TR’s Hebrew text. The intrusive *‘ayin* in the Hebrew of K150 was crossed out by the vocalizer.

(ο) Zech 12:10. With about 40 other manuscripts, the first hand of five and the second hand of 11 more, the copyist of K150 wrote **אֲלֵי** instead of the TR’s **אֲלֵי**. This reading is invited by the context, where it is followed by two occurrences of **עֲלֵי**. It was the context, and not the **ע** of K150, that directed its copyist toward this reading, since the **ע** has **מִן קִדְמִי**, corresponding to the Hebrew of the TR. In any case, the vocalizer crossed out the added *waw*.

(π) Zech 14:5. Kennicott notes that, with 37 other manuscripts, K150 has **עֲמוּ** instead of the TR’s **עֲמֹךְ**. We deal with this variant in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 1007–8. The **ע** of K150, with its reading **עֵימִיָּה**, must have directed the copyist toward this variant of the Hebrew. Again, the vocalizer corrected the Hebrew and the **ע** of K150 to **עֵי(י)מֵךְ**.

(ρ) Ps 16:10. Kennicott reads **חֲסִידֶיךָ** (instead of **חֲסִידֶיךָ**) in K150 and in 190 other manuscripts (to which de Rossi adds 100 manuscripts, as well as the editions of Soncino 1488, Brescia 1494, the Alcala polyglot, and Felice da Prato 1518). In addition, Kennicott notes a *Qere* omitting the second *yod* in four more manuscripts. Besides these, Ben Hayim vocalized **חֲסִידֶיךָ**, with the **מ** **יֹד**. In fact, F has **חֲסִידֶיךָ** here (with the **מ** **ל**), as does Cambridge Add 1753 (the text is missing from the Aleppo manuscript). K150 has the same vocalization (which agrees, moreover, with the **ע** **חֲסִידֶיךָ**). The reading must be considered as that of the classical Tiberian text and not as a variant.

(σ) Ps 118. According to Kennicott, K150 makes Psalm 118 part of Psalm 117. In fact, in K150 these psalms are numbered in the margin in a way that corresponds to that of our Bibles, by a hand that appears not to be that of the copyist. It is true that the copyist left no space between the two psalms, but he also left no space between Psalms 116 and 117. Conversely, this same copyist did leave space before 116:12 and before 118:5. Not much can be concluded from these facts.

(τ) Lam 2:16, 17. K150 and three other manuscripts (to which de Rossi adds one) place the **ש** strophe (v. 17) before the **פ** strophe (v. 16), an order which Kennicott views as original. Yet it is certain that the order “*samek-pe-‘ayin-šade*” testifies to an early feature in Lamentations 2, 3, and 4. Other manuscripts, moreover, make the same transposition in Lamentations 3 and 4.

128. *Ibid.*, 255–58.

(v) 2 Chr 21:2. Kennicott notes that, instead of the TR's **ישראל** at the end of this verse, K150 reads **יהודה**, which he judges to be absolutely required. Twenty-seven manuscripts, the first hand of eight and the second hand of three others support this reading. We demonstrate that the TR reading is postulated by the Chronicler's system.¹²⁹

The **Ⲙ** of K150, with **דישראל**, could not have influenced the copyist in his reading **יהודה** in the Hebrew. The vocalizer of K150 left the word unvocalized, and wrote and vocalized the word **לְמַלְכֵּךְ** in the margin, with the **Ⲙⲣ** **לְמַלְכֵּךְ** **גְּדֵסְבֵּךְ** **יְהוּדָה** showing that the word should not be corrected because it was only a question of an exegetical tradition. Thus, the manuscripts with the variant have written only the *sebir*, that is, the interpretation familiar to them.

4.a.ii. Conclusion

Out of these 20 readings, ρ, σ, and τ are atypical, and cannot be retained. Among the 17 remaining, the correspondence between the variant in the Hebrew of K150 and the text of its **Ⲙ** in 12 cases is striking. This cannot be purely coincidental. Of the five other readings (η, ι, ξ, ο, υ, where K150 is associated with various manuscripts), η is the result of the parallel in Kings, ι is assimilated to a common expression, ξ and υ are intended to avoid contradicting facts that are well-established elsewhere, and ο is assimilated to the immediate context. In several cases, we have seen K150 attest a Jewish exegetical tradition known from other sources. From this we may conclude that in these 20 variants, chosen because Kennicott believed they demonstrate the value of K150 as a textual witness, there is nothing to suggest that K150 transmitted original textual readings on a parallel track to the TR.

4.b. K93

According to Borbone's study on Hosea, this manuscript comes just after K150 in the number of variants with respect to the TR. The manuscript in question is 404/625 of Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge. Donated by Caius in 1557 to the college that he had founded, this small manuscript (17 × 11 cm) does not contain the Torah and has no Masorah. It is written across the full page, with the books placed in the order of the Vulgate. The hand of the copyist is quite graceful. As we will see, he writes Hebrew well, but reads it poorly. The pointer who then intervened knew Hebrew well, and corrected numerous copying errors. He was probably a Jew, and the one responsible for the dropped letters written in an expert hand in the blanks left by the copyist for this purpose. He wrote in the vowels, the *dagešes*, and the *rafes*, but did not add *ṭeamim*.

129. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 497–98.

4.b.i. Variants pointed out by Borbone

Let us first examine the most characteristic of the variants in Hosea pointed out by Borbone:

(α) In Hos 3:3 Kennicott cites the two readings תתי (TR תְּנִי) and אלהיך (TR אֱלֹהֶיךָ). In fact, the vocalizer left these two words unvocalized and wrote the readings of the TR in the margin and vocalized them.

(β) The same applies to 4:13 with יגלה (TR יִגְלֶה) and to 4:18 with אתם (TR אַתֶּם).

(γ) In 5:13 Kennicott (and Borbone) attribute the reading מרובו to K93. This is, rather, the word מרזרו (TR מְזַרְזוּ), and the vocalizer first scratched out the over-extended downstroke of the second *res*, in the hope of vocalizing it once it was altered; but then he preferred to write and vocalize the TR reading in the margin.

(δ) In 6:8 with משם (TR מִמָּדָם), we have to do with the same sort of mistake and correction as in the previous examples.

(ε) In 7:6 the copyist wrote אפרים (TR אֲפֵרַיִם), and the corrector intervened as before.

(ζ) And last, in 10:12 where the copyist had written יהודה (TR יְהוּדָה), the vocalizer was satisfied with scratching out the initial downstroke of the final *he* and joining its top to that of the *dalet*. Then he vocalized according to the TR.

4.b.ii. Variants treated in CTAT Vol. 3

(α) In Ezek 3:15, we observed that K93 omits וְאֵשׁ הָמָה יוֹשְׁבֵימָם שָׁם through homeoarcton, which also happened in R702* and 5. The corrector did not intervene here.

(β) Either by homeoarcton or by homeoteleuton, K93 omitted Ezek 40:8 with 24 other manuscripts and the Soncino 1488 and Brescia 1494 editions. The corrector wrote the omitted verse in the margin.

(γ) As examples of simple errors, we note in Ezek 45:2 the readings אמות for the first מֵאֹת and אמות מאות for the second מֵאֹת, and in 45:4 the reading לשאת for לְשָׂרָת. These various mistakes were corrected in the margin by the vocalizer.

(δ) In Ezek 45:8, instead of נְשֵׂי־אֵי, the copyist wrote נְשֵׂי־יִשְׂרָאֵל. Then the pointer vocalized the word נְשֵׂי־אֵי, and drew a cancellation line above יִשְׂרָאֵל.

(ε) In Hos 4:18 for סְבָאָם, the copyist had written סְבָאִים, and the *yod* was scratched out by the vocalizer.

(ζ) In Amos 3:12 for וּבְדָמָשֶׁק, the copyist had written only וּבְדָמָשׁ, a reading that was corrected twice in that the vocalizer inserted the missing *qop* as well as he could and vocalized the word according to the TR, then rewrote and vocalized the word in the margin.

(η) In Amos 4:3 for הַהֲרֵמוֹנָה, the spelling הַעֲרֵמוֹנָה was also corrected twice. First, the *he* was written by the vocalizer above the *ayin* and the word was vocalized according to the TR. Then he rewrote and vocalized the word in the margin.

(θ) In Mic 1:7 for the TR's קִבְצָה, K93 has קוֹבְצָה, with the vocalizer lending his assent to the *waw* of the copyist.

(ι) In Hab 1:5 for בגוים, the copyist had omitted the *bet*, which the vocalizer then inserted interlinearly, vocalizing the word according to the TR.

(κ) In Hab 1:8 the TR has וּפְשׁוּ פְּרָשָׁיו וּפְרָשָׁיו. The copyist of K93 wrote only וּפְרָשׁוּ פְּרָשָׁיו. The corrector crossed out the *res* of the first word and added the missing third word in the margin, then vocalized it all according to the TR.

(λ) In Zeph 2:12 the copyist omitted the suffix of הרבי. The vocalizer later added it before vocalizing the word according to the TR.

(μ) In Zech 7:2 the copyist had written וּרְגַם הַמֶּלֶךְ, then the vocalizer crossed out the added *he* before vocalizing as in the TR.

We have commented on each of these variants where it occurs in the commentary. Suffice it to point out here that out of these 14 variants from the copyist, only one (in Mic 1:7) was not corrected in accord with the TR. Yet Kennicott says nothing of these corrections.

4.b.iii. The influence of *υ* on the copyist of K93, according to de Rossi

De Rossi made note of two readings in this manuscript that agree only with *υ*:

(α) In Josh 15:17, the TR reads וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ עֲתַנְיָאֵל בֶּן־קַנּוֹ אֶת־עַכְסָה וַיִּתֶּן־לוֹ אֶת־עַכְסָה בְּתוֹ לְאִשָּׁה הַקָּטָן מִמֶּנּוּ. K93 is the single known Hebrew witness to add the words הַקָּטָן מִמֶּנּוּ after בְּתוֹ לְאִשָּׁה. This addition is all the more surprising in that the vocalizer integrated it without any difficulty. In fact, it is simply a matter of a literal assimilation to the parallel in Judg 1:13. *⓪* translated the words הַקָּטָן מִמֶּנּוּ in Judg 1:13 with *ὁ νεώτερος*, an expression that most Greek witnesses inserted in Josh 15:17 as well, by assimilation to the Greek form in the parallel. *υ*, for its part, faithfully translates the Hebrew in Judg 1:13 with “minor,” whereas in Josh 15:17 it has “junior,” inspired by the addition it read in the Greek witnesses. We conclude from this that the plus of K93 in Josh 15:17 does not issue from the Latin. It is a borrowing from the Judges parallel in *Ⓜ*, though the copyist’s knowledge of *υ* may have suggested this assimilation to him.

(β) In the TR of 2 Sam 22:7, the verse ends with וְשׁוֹעֲתִי בְּאָזְנוֹי. K93 is the only known Hebrew witness to insert לְפָנָי תְּבֹא between these two words. The pointer vocalized these words with the others, but a later hand drew a somewhat hesitant cancellation line above them. We note that *υ* has “et clamor meus veniet ad aures eius.” The word “veniet” corresponds to תְּבֹא, but there is nothing to motivate the word לְפָנָי. In fact, K93 once again was assimilated to the parallel in Ps 18:7, where exactly the same two words are found. For the *υ* of 2 Sam 22:7, it sufficed to borrow only the verb from the parallel to provide what was felt to be the needed clarification here.

We conclude that in these two cases, the innovations of K93 can not be explained satisfactorily as the influence of *υ*; rather, they have the aim of completing the text by inserting pluses offered by a clear parallel.

4.b.iv. *Affinities between K93 exclusively and a state of ̄, according to Wevers*

In his study of Kings, Wevers found numerous cases where certain Kennicott manuscripts seemed to him to coincide with a reading in one of the states of ̄. Here are the three most characteristic of those cases that concern only K93.

(α) In 1 Kgs 1:52 the TR has *יִפֹּל מִשְׁעֶרְתּוֹ אֶרְצָה*, while K93 adds to the second word the phrase *מִשְׁעֶרֶת רְאִשׁוֹ*, vocalized and with no correction. Wevers sees this as agreement with manuscripts *boc₂e₂*, which have ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ θορίξ.¹³⁰ But if the Greek had influenced K93 here, one would expect *מִרְאִשׁוֹ שְׁעֶרֶה*; instead, K93 is simply an assimilation to the more complete expression *יִפֹּל מִשְׁעֶרֶת רְאִשׁוֹ אֶרְצָה*, found in 1 Sam 14:45.

(β) In 2 Kgs 8:24 the TR has *וַיִּקְבֹּר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד*, following which K93 adds *אָבִיו*, vocalized and without correction. Now, as Wevers observes,¹³¹ most ̄ witnesses also add τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. But here again, it is not necessary to assume a dependence of K93 upon ̄. Indeed, “he was buried (with his fathers) in the City of David” is a common expression that is sometimes followed by “his father” in the TR (1 Kgs 11:43; 15:24; 22:51; 2 Kgs 15:38) and sometimes not (1 Kgs 14:31; 2 Kgs 8:24; 14:20; 2 Chr 12:16; 21:1). This formula also appears sometimes without the phrase “with his fathers” (1 Kgs 11:43; 2 Chr 12:16). It is not surprising that the various wordings of this formula would have influenced each other. Apart from K93, which adds *אָבִיו* where the TR does not have it, this is the case in other manuscripts that omit the word where the TR has it: K144 and K150 in 1 Kgs 11:43, and K154 and K172 in 2 Kgs 15:38.

(γ) In 2 Kgs 9:29, the TR reading is *וּבִשְׁנַת אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה לְיִזְרָח בֶּן־אֲחָאָב מָלַךְ*: *אַחְזִיקָה עַל־יְהוּדָה*. After *מָלַךְ*, the copyist of K93 had inserted *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, which the vocalizer canceled by placing a line above it after he had already begun to vocalize the word. Wevers related this plus in K93 to ̄, which has Καὶ ἐν ἔτει ἐνδεκάτῳ Ἰωραμ βασιλεῖ Ἰσραηλ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀχορζείας ἐπὶ Ἰούδαν.¹³² If the copyist of K93 had depended on this, he should have inserted *יִשְׂרָאֵל מָלַךְ* after *מָלַךְ*. He was influenced, rather, by the parallel in 2 Kgs 8:16 (*וּבִשְׁנַת חָמֵשׁ לְיִזְרָח בֶּן־אֲחָאָב מָלַךְ* (*יִשְׂרָאֵל*)), which suggests that he interpreted the *מָלַךְ* that he had just written as a noun and not as a verb.

Once again, in these three cases, the influence of a parallel in the Hebrew Bible is thus more likely than that of a reading from ̄.

4.b.v. *Conclusion*

Almost all of these variants from K93's copyist appear to boil down to mistakes that sometimes raise doubts about his comprehension of his Vorlage. As is shown by the order in which he copied the books, this copyist was most likely a

130. Wevers, “Study,” 63.

131. *Ibid.*, 56.

132. *Ibid.*, 54.

Christian scholar. Nevertheless, he knew enough Hebrew for a misread word to suggest to him, in most cases, a form that existed in Hebrew. The only one of these variants that has clear support in extra-Masoretic traditions is that of Hos 7:6 (4.b.i.ε), where Ⓞ also read Εφραϊμ. Either there was a direct or indirect (through Jerome's commentary) influence from Ⓞ, or the copyist of K93 and the Ⓞ translator both misread the text, an error not difficult to explain in the context of a book where "Ephraim" figures 37 times. We have seen in 4.b.iii and iv that the cases of influence from ancient versions that have been supposed for K93 are not convincing. The second hypothesis for Hos 7:6 is thus more probable than the first.

4.c. K96

Goshen-Gottstein considered this manuscript, with K150, to be the most important of medieval manuscripts.¹³³ The manuscript is A.2., given by Robert Horne to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1546. It contains Nevi'im, starting with Judg 7:14, and is written in two columns, except for the last pages of certain books where the text is written across the full page. The bottom part of several pages is not pointed. It is bound so that the manuscript begins with 1 Samuel, with the extant part of Judges transferred to the end.

4.c.i. Variants mentioned in previous studies

Gathered here are readings unique to K96 that have been brought to light by the studies of Wevers, Goshen-Gottstein, Gese, and Borbone.

(α) 1 Kgs 1:1. The copyist wrote זקן דוד זקן, and the pointer did not touch the first זקן. Wevers suggested that the reading *πρεσβύτης σοφῶρα* in the Antiochene text (the other Greek witnesses have *πρεσβύτερος*) could have been an attempt to render this variant.¹³⁴ However, the Antiochene reading is, rather, an assimilation to 1:15, where all the Greek witnesses translate זקן מאד. The copyist of K96, for his part, appears first to have forgotten the word דוד, then, after adding that word, he forgot to cross out the first זקן, which had resulted from his jumping ahead.

(β) 1 Kgs 9:15. After the mention of Solomon's project of building אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה, K96 has וְאֶת־בַּיִת־הַמֶּלֶךְ instead of וְאֶת־בַּיִתוֹ. Wevers points out the agreement with the hexaplaric Ⓞ, which has *καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως*.¹³⁵ In fact, K96 and the hexaplaric Ⓞ could have, quite independently of each other, assimilated this passage to the more explicit parallels in 9:1 and 9:10 where Solomon built אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה וְאֶת־בַּיִת־הַמֶּלֶךְ.

(γ) 1 Kgs 13:3. After the word זֶה in זֶה הַמּוֹפֵת אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה, K96 inserts הַדָּבָר, which the pointer did not vocalize. Wevers notes the relation of this reading to

133. Goshen-Gottstein, "Jesaiiah-Rolle" II, 434 n. 2.

134. Wevers, *Study*, 63.

135. *Ibid.*, 62.

that of Θ : Τοῦτο τὸ ῥημᾶ ὃ ἐλάλησεν Κύριος.¹³⁶ In comparison to the TR reading, which occurs only here, the expression הָהִן הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה appears much more natural, and indeed, occurs in 2 Kgs 19:21, and in Isa 16:13 and 37:22. It would not be surprising if both Θ and the copyist of K96 had independently harmonized the noun with the verb. As in 1 Kgs 1:1, immediately after the copyist had written this word he corrected himself, but did not rub out the mistake, and the pointer was then satisfied with simply leaving it unvocalized.

(δ) 2 Kgs 2:15. Instead of the last word in the sentence וַיִּרְאוּהוּ בְנֵי-הַנְּבִיאִים וַיִּרְאוּהוּ בְנֵי-הַנְּבִיאִים, K96 has מִנְגֵד סָבִיב (the word סָבִיב has been canceled by a line above it, after having been vocalized and accented). Wevers relates this to the reading of the Antiochene text, which has καὶ εἶδον (. . .) ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀναστρέφοντα αὐτόν instead of καὶ εἶδον αὐτόν (. . .) ἐξ ἐναντίας.¹³⁷ However, it appears that the verb ἀναστρέφειν is never used to translate any expression with the adverb סָבִיב. Rather, it appears that, in αὐτόν ἐξ ἐναντίας and ἀναστρέφοντα αὐτόν, what we have is two translations of the same מִנְגֵד. Indeed, for the translation of מִנְגֵד in 2 Kgs 4:25, the textual tradition of Θ is divided between ἐρχομένην αὐτήν and ἐξ ἐναντίας. Concerning the plus in K96, it may be noted that the expression מִנְגֵד סָבִיב appears in Num 2:2, where it is said that the Israelites camped “around the tent of meeting facing it.” There the expression is fitting, since the Israelite camp surrounded the tent. But here it is out of place, since the “sons of the prophets” see Elisha coming, but do not surround him.

(ε) 2 Kgs 9:17. According to the TR, Joram gives the command קַח רֶכֶב וְשַׁלַּח לְקִרְיָתָם, that is, “Take a horseman and send [him] to meet them.” In place of קַח רֶכֶב וְשַׁלַּח, K96 has רֶכֶב הַסּוּסִים, with הַסּוּסִים remaining unaccented. Wevers relates this to the Antiochene text, which adds ἵππου to λάβε ἐπιβάτην.¹³⁸ It appears, rather, that the copyist of K96 assimilated his text to the expression רֶכֶב הַסּוּסִים, which will figure in the execution of the king’s order in v. 18a. The vocalizer then attempted to work with the copyist’s initiative, but without altering the Masoretic vocalization of רֶכֶב as a noun (instead of as a participle). The article before סוּסִים is out of place here—“a horseman” would be רֶכֶב סוּסִים—whereas it does belong in 18a, indicating that this is the horseman that has just been mentioned. The omission of וְשַׁלַּח is probably due to the fact that לְקִרְיָתָם immediately follows רֶכֶב הַסּוּסִים in 18a. In the Antiochene text, the addition of ἵππου also aims at assimilation to 18a. Such an amplifying assimilation is quite natural, so there is no room to admit of the dependence of one of the two textual forms on the other.

(ζ) 2 Kgs 13:6. In 13:2 and 13:11 the TR describes Jereboam as “the son of Nebat,” while the patronym is not given in 13:6. It is thus easy to understand how K96 might agree with certain witnesses of Θ in adding the patronym in 13:6 as well. Therefore, the agreement that Wevers points out here has nothing that

136. Ibid., 57.

137. Ibid., 65.

138. Ibid., 66.

would characterize it as arising from dependence.¹³⁹ The pointer of K96 left בן נבט unvocalized.

(η) 2 Kgs 18:26. Mentioned in 18:18 are אֱלִיאִקִים בֶּן־חֶלְקִיָּהוּ אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבַּיִת וְשִׁבְנָה הַסֹּפֵר וַיֹּאחַז בֶּן־אֶסָף הַמְּזַכֵּיר. The TR has simply אֱלִיאִקִים בֶּן־חֶלְקִיָּהוּ וְשִׁבְנָה וַיֹּאחַז in 18:26. K96 omits the patronym of Eliakim, but mentions Shebna's profession. The Antiochene text, without omitting Eliakim's patronym, mentions the professions of all three of Hezekiah's emissaries. Wevers identifies the mention of Shebna's profession in both K96 and the Antiochene text as characteristic.¹⁴⁰ By now we know enough about the fondness these two witnesses have for filling out a text from the available contextual information. They did not require contact with each other in order to introduce changes which, moreover, agree in only one detail. The plus in K96 was vocalized by the pointer.

(θ) Isa 1:23. To demonstrate that "K96 ist eine der wichtigsten Handschriften," Goshen-Gottstein cites as the reading of IQIsa^a כּוֹלֵם אוֹהֲבֵי שׁוֹחַד רוֹדְפֵי שְׁלֹמֹנִים, and notes, "so K96," adding that ⚓, ⚔, and ⚖ read the same.¹⁴¹ The reading of the TR here is כָּלֹ אֹהֲבֵי שׁוֹחַד וְרוֹדְפֵי שְׁלֹמֹנִים, whereas the copyist of K96 had written כּוֹלֵם אוֹהֲבֵי שׁוֹחַד וְרוֹדְפֵי שְׁלֹמֹנִים, which the copyist then corrected in line with the TR. That the TR's two singular participles are in the plural in all these witnesses is easily explained by the fact that the sentence is preceded by שְׂרִיף סוֹרְרִים וְחַבְרֵי גִבְרִים. The alteration was thus sufficiently "in the air," so there is no reason to assume dependence between the branches of the textual tradition where it occurs.

(ι) Isa 8:6. Whereas the TR has וּמִשׁוֹשׁ אֶת־רֵצִין וּבֶן־רַמְלֵיָּהוּ, Goshen-Gottstein notes that IQIsa^a has וְאוֹת בֶּן instead of וּבֶן, and he adds "so K96."¹⁴² This is inaccurate, since K96 actually has וְאוֹת־רַמְלֵיָּהוּ. Thus these two witnesses offer two distinct attempts to assimilate the formulation of the second complement to that of the first.

(κ) Isa 14:32. In v. 32b, the TR has כִּי יִהְיֶה יֶסֶד צִיּוֹן וְכִּהּ יִחָסוּ עַנְיֵי עַמּוֹ. Goshen-Gottstein points out that instead of וְכִּהּ IQIsa^a has וְכּוּ, and he reports this as the reading of the first hand of K96, as well as the reading of ⚖.¹⁴³ Here again, the fact that the variant is shared by these witnesses does not imply any link of dependence between them. In a facilitating shift, both copyist and translator in the diaspora preferred to have the poor of the Lord's people find refuge in the Lord, rather than in Zion.

(λ) Hos 4:6. Whereas the TR has כִּי־אַתָּה הִדְרַעַת מְאֹסֶתָ, Borbone has pointed out that K96 has אַת instead of אַתָּה.¹⁴⁴ This is probably a matter of simple haplography of the *he*, a copying error that was corrected by the second hand (a fact that

139. Ibid., 63.

140. Ibid., 67.

141. Goshen-Gottstein, "Jesaiiah-Rolle" II, 435.

142. Ibid., 435.

143. Ibid., 435.

144. Borbone, *Osea*, 214.

Kennicott does not report). Besides, the fact that the verse ends with **גַּם־אֲנִי** reinforces the use of the independent 2nd person pronoun here.

(μ) Hos 4:7. The TR ends this verse with **כְּבוֹדָם בְּקִלּוֹן אֲמִיר**: Borbone reports that K96 omits the final *reš* of the verb.¹⁴⁵ However, the presence of the *Hiphil* of **מור** is confirmed in parallels such as Jer 2:11 and Ps 106:20. Did the copyist think he recognized the same noun that ends v. 5, **אֲמִן**? Without inserting the missing *reš*, the pointer vocalized in accordance with the TR.

(ν) Hos 4:18. The TR ends this verse with **אָהָבוּ הֵבִי קִלּוֹן מְגִיָּה**: Borbone notes that K96 writes **מקלון** instead of **מגניה**.¹⁴⁶ Kennicott neglected to report that a corrector crossed out this word and reinstated the reading of the TR in the margin. It appears that the copyist, not understanding the meaning of the word (or unable to decipher the letters after the initial *mem*), chose to repeat the preceding word.

(ξ) Hos 6:7. In the TR, this verse is **וְלִמָּה כָּאָדָם עֲבָרוּ בְרִית שֵׁם בְּגָדוּ בִי**. Borbone reports that K96 has **בִי** instead of **ברית**.¹⁴⁷ The copyist was simply anticipating the complement of the following verb. Later, the TR reading was reinstated in the margin after the mistake had been crossed out, a fact that Kennicott does not mention.

(ο) Hos 11:6. Borbone reports the variant **כלה** in the place of **חלה**, without taking into account the fact that Kennicott attributes it only to the first hand of K96.¹⁴⁸ In fact, the copyist himself corrected the error, of which no clearly visible trace remains in the microfilm of the manuscript. He must have been anticipating the verb that occurs in the next line.

(π) Joel 4:1. The *Qere* of the TR ends this verse with **אָשִׁיב אֶת־שְׁבוֹת יְהוָה וְיִרוּשָׁלַם**. Gese is correct in viewing the **שב** that K96 inserts after **שְׁבוֹת** as a copying error that was not crossed out.¹⁴⁹ The word was left without vowels or accent.

(ρ) Joel 4:2. Gese considers **בהם**, which K96 has instead of **בגויים** (according to Kennicott), to be most likely the result of misreading.¹⁵⁰ Kennicott attributes this variant only to the first hand of the manuscript. Actually, it was only half-corrected, since the word was left without vocalization, after a partial scratching out of the erroneous *he*.

(σ) Joel 4:4. Gese interprets the variant **ביהודה**, which Kennicott attributes to K96 in place of the TR's **מהרה**, in the same way.¹⁵¹ In fact, the vocalizer was satisfied with linking the top of the *bet* to the following *yod*, then vocalizing the word as if he read **מְהִירָה**; in this way, it appears, he reestablished the Vorlage that had been misinterpreted by the copyist.

145. *Ibid.*, 214.

146. *Ibid.*, 215.

147. *Ibid.*, 216.

148. *Ibid.*, 223 and 206.

149. Gese, "Bibelhandschriften," 67.

150. *Ibid.*, 69.

151. *Ibid.*, 69.

(τ) Amos 6:10. Gese attributes to K96 the reading **ונשאר** in place of the TR's **ונשא**.¹⁵² This, however, is mistaken. As Kennicott attests, the copyist of K96 wrote **ונשאר**, retaining the *nun* of the TR. Without crossing out the added *reš*, the pointer vocalized the word according to the TR reading. It is clear that the reading of the first hand of K96 (read: **ונשארו**) has support from Ⓞ, which combines the two readings **ונשאר** and **ונשא** in a doublet: *καὶ ὑπολειφθήσονται (. . .) καὶ λήμψονται*. Could it have been intuition that led the rather inattentive copyist of K96 to recover the Vorlage of the first part of the Ⓞ doublet, which very likely preserves the original form of the Hebrew?

(υ) Hab 1:8. According to Kennicott, K96 has **מרוב** instead of TR's **מרחוק**. Gese views this as a variant which destroys the text.¹⁵³ The pointer of the manuscript neither corrected nor vocalized the word, which indeed makes scarcely any sense in the context.

(φ) Hab 2:15. Gese regards the K96 reading **שקר**, which replaces TR's **שכר**, as a possible variant.¹⁵⁴ It appears, rather, to be an auditory facilitation: **שקר** occurs frequently in pause, while **שכר** is a hapax. Here again, the pointer simply supplied the K96 reading with TR vocalization.

4.c.ii. Variants treated in CTAT Vol. 3

We now turn to some of the variants treated in *CTAT* Vol. 3.

(α) Ezek 13:20. We reported the absence of the word **שם** in K96 and the spelling **נפשמ** instead of TR's **נפשים**.¹⁵⁵ We should further specify that the pointer vocalized this spelling as **נפשמ**, in accord with the TR reading. Thus, in the vocalized state of the manuscript, de Rossi was wrong to interpret the word as “animam eorum.” It is nevertheless possible that this was the sense intended by the copyist.

(β) Ezek 18:10. **אח** is omitted in K96. This was not corrected by the pointer. We reported (on the basis of the Kennicott apparatus) certain peculiarities of this manuscript in the immediate context.¹⁵⁶ In 18:8 **לָקַח** is an assimilation to vv. 13 and 17, where the noun **תְּרֵבִית** is the complement of this verb; **משל** (from the first hand) is a misreading of **מעול** that could have been influenced by **משל המשל** from v. 3; the reversed order of **קָדוּ** and **יָשִׁיב** probably results from the fact that **יָשִׁיב** was interpreted in the sense of “restore,” a sense which it has in the immediate context (vv. 7 and 12). The expression **נָאֵם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה** at the end of v. 9 is characteristic of Ezekiel. K96 abbreviates it by omitting the second word, as it did in 16:8. Elsewhere (in 16:43) the copyist demonstrates his whimsical approach by

152. Ibid., 61.

153. Ibid., 64.

154. Ibid., 65.

155. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 87:41 and 88:2, respectively.

156. Ibid., 130:17–18, and footnote 470.

adding צְבָאוֹת to the expression, a word completely foreign to Ezekiel's inventory of names for the divine, but nevertheless retained by the vocalizer.

(γ) Ezek 21:7(2). The copyist of K96 could have intended the sense of "their sanctuary" when he omitted the *yod* of מִקְדָּשִׁים.¹⁵⁷ It may be noted, in addition, that the pointer did not intervene from 21:3 to 21:27.

(δ) Ezek 23:24. Here, we cited the reading of K96 according to Kennicott, where והכך replaces the TR's הִצִּין.¹⁵⁸ The pointer crossed it out, writing and pointing the TR reading in the margin.

(ε) Ezek 30:21. Here, we pointed out the whims of the copyist of K96.¹⁵⁹ The pointer did not correct them. With לְחִזְקָה immediately following, it is easy to understand how this inventive copyist might have considered לְחִבְשָׁה redundant, even more so since the verb חָבַשׁ had just been used.

(ζ) Ezek 36:5. For this verse, we mentioned five consonantal variants from the copyist of K96.¹⁶⁰ There is a sixth that Kennicott does not mention, that is, בְּנִפְשׁ (instead of TR's נִפְשׁ). The pointer left the variant אוֹתִי unpointed, and after crossing out לְמִוֹרֶשָׁה, he wrote and pointed the reading of the TR לְמַעַן מִגְרָשָׁה in the margin.

(η) Ezek 44:7. Here, we mentioned the omission of the suffix of לְחִלְלוֹ by the copyist of K96.¹⁶¹ We might add that the pointer corrected this omission, a fact that Kennicott does not mention.

(θ) Ezek 46:22. The copyist of K96 wrote לְאַרְבַּעַת הַמְקָצְעוֹת for the TR לְאַרְבַּעַתְּהֶם מְהִלְצָעוֹת.¹⁶² Then the pointer attempted, without much success, to correct this by crossing out the *he*, then vocalizing לְאַרְבַּעַת מְקָצְעוֹת, and finally placing a *he* above the line between the *mem* and the *qop*.

(ι) Ezek 47:13. Relying on Kennicott, we cited זֵה as the reading of the second hand of K96.¹⁶³ In fact, it appears that it was the copyist himself who emended גֵּה to זֵה. Afterwards, the pointer gave it the vocalization *šērê* and the accent *mah-pak*, following the TR reading גֵּה.

(κ) Mic 1:7. K96 has the spelling קֹבֶצָה.¹⁶⁴ The pointer, vocalizing *qop* with *qibbûš*, left the *waw* unvocalized.

(λ) Mic 6:9. Here, we reported the spelling יְרָאִי in K96.¹⁶⁵ We might add that the pointer appears to have first vocalized the *ʾalep* with *šērê*, then rather ineptly added a third point to make a *sěgôl* (which is the vocalization of the TR reading יְרָאֵה).

157. Ibid., 160:48–51.

158. Ibid., 194 n. 766.

159. Ibid., 250:43–44 (and n. 948).

160. Ibid., 292:24–30.

161. Ibid., 388:20–21.

162. Ibid., 409:2–3.

163. Ibid., 416:16.

164. Ibid., 714:12–13.

165. Ibid., 759:22.

4.c.iii. Conclusion

The copyist's knowledge of Hebrew cannot be called into question. However, he is the most whimsical and one of the most careless that we have seen at work in any copy of a Hebrew manuscript of the Bible. Sometimes his intuition steers him in the right direction, as appears to be the case in Amos 6:10. But more often he throws himself off course.

The pointer-corrector of K96 worked much less seriously than that of K93. Often he was content to leave unpointed words, crossing them out only partially (Joel 4:2) or not at all (so as not to spoil the manuscript?) (1 Kgs 1:1; 13:3; 2 Kgs 13:6; Ezek 36:5; Joel 4:1; Hab 1:8). He does not always insert omitted words (Ezek 18:10; 30:21). He also throws together vocalizations that are only somewhat corrective (Ezek 46:22), or vocalizes according to the TR without having sufficiently corrected the erroneous consonants or added missing ones (Ezek 13:20; 47:13; Hos 4:7; Joel 4:4; Amos 6:10; Hab 2:15). Elsewhere he adopts, vocalizes, and sometimes accents, on his own authority, the innovations of the copyist (1 Kgs 9:15; 2 Kgs 2:15; 9:17; 18:26; Isa 8:6; Ezek 16:43).

For K96 as well as K93 and K150, we have seen that Kennicott very often failed to mention that the variants he reports were later corrected according to the TR.

IV. The Central Kernel

We have seen that there is not much to be gained by pursuing the medieval Hebrew textual traditions that are the most divergent from the TR. Now we must ask whether the Aleppo manuscript constitutes the core of a group formed by other witnesses also belonging in varying degrees to the Ben Asher school, and whether this group represents "the classical Tiberian text" around which the Masoretic Text would be constructed, first by way of recension, then by way of edition (after the publication of the Masoretic Bible of Ben Hayim). In the attempt to situate the Aleppo manuscript with respect to the other great early codexes, it is useful to distinguish the work of Aaron ben Asher in that manuscript—that is, the correction of the consonantal text and the pointing, as well as the selection and copying of the Masorah—from the work of Shelomoh ben Buya'a in the copying and the arrangement of the consonantal text. We will see that these separate accomplishments deserve separate appraisals.¹⁶⁶

A. Aaron ben Asher's Work

1. The Fundamental Impasse and Abulafia's Solution

All those who have attempted an internal criticism of the "Masoretic Text" have found themselves confronted with a fundamental impasse that has blocked

166. Below, p. 330.

the research of many scholars and brought failure to the courageous few who tried to carry on in spite of it: When one attempts to use the Masorah as a basis for correcting the text, it often happens that the Masorah of a given manuscript is difficult to interpret. The text of the manuscript is then consulted in order to interpret the Masorah. In the course of consultation, the scholar often discovers that the text of the manuscript is wrong (inasmuch as it does not correspond to the most likely interpretation of the information supplied by the Masorah). At this point it is tempting to correct the text from the Masorah of this same manuscript. But the Masorah was itself copied from another manuscript, and we have no assurance that the source Masorah, too, was not corrected on the basis of other biblical texts or divergent Masorahs. Once the existence of divergent Masorahs was discovered, anyone who plunged into this chaos was destined either to abandon the task, or to sidestep the problem by trying to correct the Masorah and the text at the same time, producing an edition that is consistent, but entirely dependent on the editor's own judgment, with subjective and often incoherent criteria used to decide between the discordant voices of the sources.

Abulafia, working in Toledo around 1200, was primarily concerned with providing copyists with precise instructions concerning the consonantal text of the *Sepher Torah*. He described a method that permitted him, if not to avoid the impasse entirely, at least to obtain excellent results. Having observed that, over time, the hedge the Masorah was supposed to constitute around the Torah had been breached, he stated,

I felt it necessary to intervene, to inquire, and to scrutinize in order to discover manuscripts that had been prepared with care and great attention to detail, as well as scrupulously written Masorahs, and to account for their disagreements, attaching no importance to recent or makeshift manuscripts; but to follow those that were early and reliable, and among those, to rely on the majority, just as in the Torah's precept for resolving any disagreement (Exod 23:2). Perhaps I may succeed in restoring the fence of the Torah with regard to the defective and *plene* spellings, so that it will be possible to write a *Sepher Torah* according to a norm that is in agreement with the majority.¹⁶⁷

2. Breuer's Research

To determine more precisely the value of the Aleppo manuscript as a witness of the "Tiberian text," Breuer selected as representatives of this cluster those manuscripts that appeared to be the best candidates among surviving manuscripts: A, C, B, D, F, and Sn,¹⁶⁸ with the addition of the Ben Hayim edition (E). Kennicott and de Rossi, of course, knew nothing of any of these six manuscripts.

167. Abulafia, *מסורת*, 1–2 of the introduction.

168. That is, the Sassoon 1053 manuscript of the entire Bible. For the other sigla, see above, pp. 238–242.

2.a. Breuer's method and results

As Breuer points out, it is not a matter of selecting a manuscript on the basis of tests for majority readings, such that it could then be regarded definitively as a norm. For there would be no scientific certainty that the manuscript deserved such confidence throughout. It is rather a matter, in each case where the consonants, vowels, or accents are in doubt, of first discovering which reading is supported by the majority of the representatives of the central kernel, then checking whether all the relevant Masorahs in the selected witnesses support the majority reading (once copying errors that may have crept in have been eliminated), keeping constantly aware that the Masorahs are ordinarily more trustworthy than the manuscripts that contain them. Because of this fact, in order to settle the cases that remain in doubt, it is often helpful to call on early manuscripts belonging to a tradition other than the classical Tiberian tradition, for example, N, P, V, and Ba.

Breuer applied this method (except for the addition just stated) to the consonants, vowels,¹⁶⁹ and accents of the Torah, as well as the consonants of the Prophets. The first conclusion that he drew from his inquiry was that the selected witnesses constituted a fairly close-knit cluster, although the supporting witnesses for the majority reading varied from case to case, a fact which could allay our disquiet that this "majority" may have been obtained by the dominance of a group of "codices descripti" in contrast to variants supported by less coherent minority readings. He also concluded that the A manuscript was the one most consistently given weight by the method of assessment employed (whereas Sn, remarkably faithful in the consonants of the Torah, is decidedly less careful than the others in all other respects). He pointed out, further, that the decisions made by Lonzano¹⁷⁰ (complementing those of Abulafia and likewise concerned with the consonantal text of the *Sepher Torah*) conflict with these results in only six cases. But Breuer's most remarkable observation was that, whereas the Ashkenazi tradition is relatively uncertain and the Sephardi tradition is grouped around the classical Tiberian central kernel in a decidedly more coherent fashion, the Yemenite tradition for the Torah is rigorously faithful to the norms that emerge from the majority agreement of the early Tiberian Masorahs. One ends up with the paradox that, for the Torah, seventeenth-century Yemenite manuscripts are even better witnesses of the classical Tiberian "central kernel" than any of the surviving great codexes that issued from the very hands of the Tiberian Masoretes. However, our checks on the text of the Prophets do not confirm the superiority of the Yemenite manuscripts. The difference can be explained by the fact that misspellings are enough to render a *Sepher Torah pasul*, which is not the case for the *Haftarot* scrolls.

169. He wisely set aside the question of the *ḥātēps*, the "euphonic" *dagešes*, and the *ga'ayas*, minutia that fueled confrontations between the partisans of Ben Asher and those of Ben Naftali for such a long time.

170. In his *אור תורה* (3b–26b of the *שתי ידות* [Lonzano, *Yadot*]).

2.b. A alone against C, F, Sn, E and the Masorahs

Given that the dedicatory text of A dates one hundred years after the activity of Aaron ben Asher, one might wonder whether the Karaite community in Jerusalem was justified in focusing on this manuscript, however fine. Is it not possible that the dedication amplified the manuscript's role by singling it out, and that this in turn led Maimonides to exaggerate its value? For those plagued by this persistent doubt, it is important to point out that, in the entire Prophets, out of ±900 cases where a disagreement exists between the consonantal texts of the four manuscripts tested (A, C, F, Sn), Breuer found only four cases where the consonantal text of A, when it did not agree with the common textual witness of C, F, Sn, and E, is also contradicted by the witness of the Masorahs. By way of contrast, in cases where the other manuscripts are in turn contradicted by the Masorahs, C has 61 disagreements with A, F, Sn, and E; F has 176 disagreements with A, C, Sn, and E; and Sn has 395 disagreements with A, C, F, and E. Let us review the four cases in A:

(α) In 1 Kgs 6:29 the text of A obviously contradicts its own Masorahs. Indeed, in 6:29 A has ותמרות (without Mp).¹⁷¹ Then in 6:32a, it has ותמרת (without Mp) and in 6:32b התמרות (with the Mp כַּ מַלְּ). Finally, in 6:35 in the next column, it has ותמרות (with the Mp כַּ מַלְּ). The corresponding Mm is above the first column: (6:35) התמרות בַּ כַּת כַּן וירד על הכרובים ועל (6:32b) וקלע כרובים ותמרות התמרות. The C manuscript has no Masorah here, but its spelling corresponds exactly to the Masorah of A: ת- in 29 and 32a, but ות- in 32b and 35. The F manuscript, like A, is asymmetrical with ת- in 29, but ות- in 32a, 32b and 35, without Mp in 29 and 32a, and with the Mp כַּ כַּת כַּן in 32b and 35. The alternation of spellings characterizing A is found again in Paris BN manuscript hébr 2 (with the Mp חַסּוּ in 32a and the Mp כַּ כַּת כַּן in 32b). But this appears to be coincidental, given that the spelling of these four words is very unstable in Ashkenazi manuscripts, while the spelling in Sephardi manuscripts generally agrees with the Mm of A and the spelling of C.

(β) In Isa 10:15 Breuer, without citing any Masorah, considers מרמי as the spelling most likely intended by the vocalizer who copied the Masorah of A, and he considers the spelling erroneous, because it contrasts with מרימי, the spelling given in C, F, Sn, and E. The facsimile of A shows that the first hand definitely wrote מרימי. The word received the Mp לְ and the lower half of the downstroke of the first *yod* was scratched out.¹⁷² It is nonetheless possible to regard this either as an accident, or as an intervention subsequent to that of the vocalizer who copied the Masorah. C and P have מרימי written clearly, with the same Mp לְ (the verse did not survive in N).

171. The letters have flaked off somewhat through use and the poor quality of the skin surface of the parchment. The final *taw* has been rewritten. Nevertheless, the presence of the preceding *waw* is not in doubt.

172. The corrector/Masorete of A normally intervened much more decisively than this.

(γ) In Jer 33:26 A has אשיב, without mentioning a *Qere-Kethiv*, whereas C, F, Sn, and E write the *Kethiv* אשוב and give the *Qere* אשיב in the margin. In this same place, C has a Mm stating further that this *Qere-Kethiv* is found in three places: Joel 4:1, Jer 33:26, and Jer 49:39. A gives the same Mm in Jer 49:39 (where F also has it) and its text observes the *Qere-Kethiv* there and in Joel 4:1. The text of C and F has the *Qere-Kethiv* in all three places. N and P have the *Qere-Kethiv* in Jer 33:26 and in Joel 4:1; in Jer 49:39, N attests the *Qere-Kethiv*, while P has the *Qere* in the text. The Masoretic tradition of the three *Qere-Kethiv* in these three places is undoubtedly early, as is indicated by the style of its allusive *siman* “Judah despised Elam.”

(δ) In Nah 3:17 A is reported as the only attestation of the defective spelling וגדד, while C supports its *plene* spelling with the Mp ל ומל. Actually, A’s defective spelling is supported by P and N. The latter bases the reading on the Mp ל וחס, which directly contradicts that of C.

2.c. A in agreement with other manuscripts, against the Masorahs

To these cases we add two more where, according to Breuer, A (with the agreement of one or more other witnesses) is contradicted by the testimony of the Masorahs.

(α) In Mic 6:2, with the support of Sn, A has מוסדי against C (with the Mp ל חס), F (without Mp), N (with the Mp ל חס בנבי), and P (with the Mp כח בע); all four of these have the defective spelling. E contradicts its reading מוסדי with the Mp ל חס.

(β) In Ezek 24:24 A has the *plene* spelling בבואה, in accord with C, Sn, and E, while F has בבאה. None of these witnesses has a Masorah here. However, in Josh 15:18 (where the *plene* spelling is attested by A, C, F, and E), C, F, and E have the Mp ב מל. In Judg 1:14, E writes the form with *plene* spelling a third time, once again with the Mp ב מל. Breuer concludes from this that it is likely that the word in Ezek 24:24 should be written defectively. We note that in Judg 1:14, A, C, and F offer a *plene* spelling without Masorah. In support of Breuer’s conclusion, we see that in Ezek 24:24 P has the defective spelling. C offers the *plene* spelling three times, contradicting its own Masorah in Josh 15:18. Might it be that the copyist of A’s Masorah, aware of the difficulty, knowingly omitted the Masorah in this verse in order to avoid a contradiction with the three *plene* spellings in the text?

2.d. Categories of more complex cases

Breuer presents 49 more cases where certain Masorahs support A and another witness (or witnesses), and other Masorahs go against it and another witness (or witnesses). This is not the place to examine those cases in detail. We may simply draw the conclusion from our checking that A is not infallible, but that it seems to agree much more closely than all its rivals with the majority of Tiberian witnesses and Tiberian Masorahs. The total of 55 cases of consonantal variants

where Breuer determined A was in error, or where the situation remains doubtful because the Masorahs that would permit assessment of it disagree, fall into three categories: One (1 Kgs 20:38) involves an exchange of לָא for עָל, seven (Judg 7:13; 2 Sam 16:12; 2 Kgs 25:12; Isa 30:6; Jer 3:5; 5:8; 33:26) involve a *Qere* written in the text (and not in the margin), and 47 involve the presence or absence of a *mater lectionis*.

Thus it can be seen that the variants are of negligible textual importance.

3. The Research of Fernández Tejero and Ortega Monasterio

An important additional source of information is provided in the detailed investigations of Fernández Tejero (FT) and Ortega Monasterio (OM) into the text and Masorahs of A, C, and F for Nahum, Joel, and Habakkuk. Unlike Breuer, they did not include for comparison either Sassoon 1053 (which clearly does not belong to the classical Tiberian “central kernel”) or the Ben Hayim edition (which is an eclectic text in spite of its excellent quality). This permits a more rigorous comparison of the qualifications of A, C, and F, the three rivals competing for first place. We will now attempt to check the results of these studies with regard to A, which Breuer’s research had particularly shown to advantage.

3.a. Differences between A, C, and F in *matres lectionis*

Without claiming to arrive at “conclusions,” FT and OM gathered “data” “with the greatest possible attention to detail.”¹⁷³ It is striking that the three manuscripts are in general very close to one another. Their consonantal texts offer no variants in either Joel or Habakkuk.¹⁷⁴ It is only in Nahum that A departs from C and F in four cases (יֹשְׁבֵי instead of יֹשְׁבֵי in 1:5; פִּלְדוֹת instead of פִּלְדוֹת in 2:4; כְּלִפִּידִים instead of כְּלִפִּידִים in 2:5; וְנֹדֵד instead of וְנֹדֵד in 3:17). C departs from A and F in one case (עֹלְלִיָּה instead of עֹלְלִיָּה in 3:10), and F departs from A and C in one case (נְגוּזָה instead of נְגוּזָה in 1:12). In three out of the four cases where A stands alone against C and F, it may be helpful to push the analysis somewhat farther than FT and OM did. Like Breuer, they did not consult P or N.

- a. 1:5: Here the *plene* spelling of A is supported by N and by the second hand of P, which notes in a Mp: מֵל כֹּת. Moreover, this case in Nahum is on the list of 34 cases where יֹשְׁבֵי (with or without preformatives, omitting the numerous occurrences of לְיֹשְׁבֵי) is written *plene*.¹⁷⁵

173. Ortega and Fernández, “Nahum,” 29.

174. The variant that OM believed she had discovered in A for Hab 2:19 (Case 101: *waw* instead of *yod*) is nonexistent. Ben Buya’fa often makes the downstroke of the *yod* almost as long as that of the *waw*. However, the *yod* is distinguished from the *waw* in that it is thinner and sharper.

175. Breuer, *Aleppo*, 293–95. The presence of Nah 1:5 on this list is confirmed by the *Zikronot* concordance, in its Lyon and Munich manuscripts.

- b. 2:4: The defective spelling of A for this hapax once again has the support of N and P.
- c. 2:5: Like A, N has the *plene* spelling, while P has the defective spelling **כלפדים**, the reverse of C and F. Here, as FT and OM pointed out, the Mp of A refers back to its Mm for Judg 15:5, which links the two cases to Job 41:11. In conformity with the Mm, the three spellings are doubly *plene* in A.

Clearly, these differences in *matres lectionis* are of only negligible textual importance.

3.b. Masorahs of A that are judged to be inaccurate

The particulars that FT and OM provide concerning the Masorahs are interesting. Many Masorahs that appear to contradict each other differ only because the same facts are not articulated in the same way. For example, on **יתהוללו** of Nah 2:5, A has **ב** as a Mp, C has **ל מל**, and F brings them into agreement with **ב חד מל**. It sometimes happens that the same manuscript has Masorahs that appear to be contradictory. So in Nah 3:17, A assigns **גכ** the Mp **ב**, while in Amos 7:1 it assigns **גכ** the Mp **ל**. The second Masorah is simply incomplete. The Masorete of A should have written **ל** (as C's Masorete did), that is, unique with *patah*. Nevertheless, there are two Masorahs where OM considers A to be in error.

(α) This is the case in Hab 1:6 for the Mp **ג מל כסיפ** that A has on **ההולך**; C and P give the Mp **ל ומל**. However, the Mp in A is also found in the London BL manuscript Arundel 16 for the word **הולך** in Jonah 1:13, where it is accompanied by a Mm specifying that the three cases of *plene* spelling of this word in the book of the Twelve Prophets are Jonah 1:11, 13 and Hab 1:6. Since Jonah is missing in A, we cannot know whether it had the same Mm. The Masorah in question is therefore not wrong but incomplete. All would have been clear if our two manuscripts (C and P) had specified **בליש**, but neither of them did.

(β) OM believed she had uncovered another error in the Mp of A for Hab 1:13, where, in her opinion, A had assigned the Mp **ל** to the word **רע**. To show that the Mp is not appropriate for this word, she points out that it is found two more times in Hab 2:9. Consequently, she suggests that the Masorete may have intended **ל זק** (that is, only here with the *zaqef* accent). But this would be no more accurate, since **רע** is found in Mal 1:8, which for the Masoretes belonged to the same book, as we have just seen. If one goes back to the A manuscript at Hab 1:13, it can be seen that the word **רע** is written at the beginning of the line, with the circle placed, not above the word, but above the space that precedes the initial *resh*. So it is not the word **רע** that the Masorete meant to indicate as unique, but the sequence **רע מראות רע**. The intention was to prevent confusion with **ברע מראות ברע**, which the copyist had written in Isa 33:15, a sequence that this same Masorete also identified as unique.

These are the only two cases, it appears, where FT and OM thought they had found a Masorah of A to be in error. We have seen that it is a simple matter to clear the Masorete of the charge.

3.c. Texts implied by the Masorahs

FT and OM were also interested in other texts that were implied by the Masorahs they studied. This provides an excellent means of testing the congruity between the contents of the Masorahs and the text of the manuscript.

3.c.i. The different treatments of the defective spelling of שׁבוּ

In Joel 2:12, a Mp of A has הָ חֵם for שׁבוּ. This Mp is found again in A for the same word in Isa 21:12 and Jer 35:15. To explain the Mp, FT and OM appealed to Ginsburg's list שׁ §181.¹⁷⁶ This list was most likely taken from the London BL manuscript Arundel Or 16, which includes it at 2 Kgs 17:13 and Isa 21:12. However, it should be emphasized that this manuscript does not specify that the five cases of defective spelling (2 Kgs 17:13; Isa 21:12; Jer 35:15; Joel 2:12; Job 6:29) are located only in the Prophets and Writings. That is a point Ginsburg adds in brackets. FT and OM noted that, if one confines oneself to this Masorah, it is contradicted by the *plene* spelling that A has in Job 6:29.¹⁷⁷ It is remarkable, however, that of the numerous lists in the second part of the Halle *Okhlah* that treat the biliteral שׁב, none treats this plural imperative.

It appears that at the time A was produced, the list did not yet exist in the form cited later in the Arundel manuscript. Indeed, an earlier Mp for Gen 43:13 in the manuscript Erfurt 3 (Berlin Or fol 1213) considers the cases of 2 Kgs 17:13 and Job 6:29 as being a matter of dispute (פּלג). Actually, the list of five defective cases mentioned above was part of a larger list found in the same Arundel manuscript at Job 6:29: "All the Prophets and the Writings write שׁבוּ and וּשׁבוּ *plene*, except for five defective spellings (2 Kgs 17:13; Isa 21:12; Jer 35:15; Joel 2:12; and Job 6:29). And the entire Torah does the same [i.e., defective spellings] except for three *plene* spellings (Gen 43:13; Exod 32:27; Deut 5:30)." The first clue that we have of the existence of this fuller list is in the Mp for Deut 5:30 in the D manuscript: גַּ מְלִי בְתוֹ וְכָל נְבִיאָ וְכָתִיב דְּכֹחַ בַּר מִן הָ חֵסִי. The highlighting of the three *plene* spellings of the Torah makes sense only from the perspective of the fuller list since, in the Torah, it is the minority situation, constituted here by the two defective spellings in Gen 43:2 and 44:25, that the Masorah normally highlights. Furthermore, the heading of the fuller list is necessary to understand that it includes both שׁבוּ and וּשׁבוּ. Of the manuscripts available to us, V alone shows that it does not yet recognize this complex system, since it gives the perfectly logical Mp בַּ חֵם בְּתוֹ for Gen 43:2 and 44:25; in Gen 43:13 it has the Mp בַּ מְלִי (which does not take into account Exod 32:27 where וּשׁבוּ has the Mp לְ וּמְלִי). B, for its part, lacks Masorah in any of these cases.

Given this situation, it is quite possible that the Mp of A on Joel 2:12, Isa 21:12, and Jer 35:15, since it does not limit the count of five cases to the Prophets and Writings, was meant to refer to the five cases that are unquestionably defective: Gen 43:2; 44:25; Isa 21:12; Jer 35:15; and Joel 2:12. A variant of this Mp is

176. Ginsburg, *Massorah*, vol. 2, 609.

177. Ortega and Fernández, "Nahum," 236.

given in the form וְהָיָה by C for Jer 35:15 and by the London BL manuscript Add 21161 for Joel 2:12. The number six can be explained by the addition of one of the two “disputed” cases reported by the Masorah for Gen 43:13 in the Erfurt 3 manuscript.

3.c.ii. *The complex development of Masorahs concerning the plene spelling of בּוֹא*

There are cases, however, where the Masorahs of A and C are based on two different systems. Thus FT and OM report that, regarding the *plene* spelling of the form בּוֹא, A has Mps for Isa 2:10, Ezek 33:22, and Joel 3:4 reporting 13 occurrences of the *plene* spelling, whereas the Mps of C for Isa 2:10 and Ezek 33:22 report 14 occurrences of it. The difference of one occurrence in the total can be explained plausibly by the fact that in Josh 23:7, where C has the *plene* spelling with the Mp בּוֹ מִלֵּל בֹּט , A writes the word defectively. We note that B has Mps for Gen 43:25 and Lev 25:22 citing 13 cases, while D has Mps for Gen 24:31, 39:16, and Lev 25:22 citing 14 cases. F gives Mps with 14 cases for Gen 24:31, 39:16, 43:25, and Lev 25:22, while for Isa 2:10, Ezek 33:22, Joel 3:4, and Mal 3:23, it gives Mps with 13 cases. Clearly, an arbiter for this conflict will not be found among the witnesses of the classical Tiberian text.

F complicates the situation further by giving a Mp with 17 cases for Josh 10:27. This is not a matter of a simple error, since the Petrograd manuscript, too, gives a Mp with 17 cases for Isa 2:10. To make the matter even more vexing, V has Mps with 18 cases for Gen 39:16 and Lev 25:22, the same kind of Mp that is found in Erfurt 3 for Gen 24:31.

To bring some clarity to this confused situation, we note that Ginsburg edited, on the basis of ten lists, a Mm of 13 cases that enumerates Gen 24:31; 39:16; 43:25; Lev 25:22; Josh 10:27; 2 Kgs 16:11; Isa 2:10; 30:8; Ezek 33:22 (twice); 38:18; Mal 3:23; Joel 3:4, and then adds that “all of Samuel and the Writings are the same, except for five cases”: 2 Sam 14:32; 2 Chr 25:8; Ps 105:19; 126:6; Esth 5:14. At Gen 24:31 the Erfurt 3 manuscript records a list of 18 cases, enumerating 17: Gen 24:31; 37:10; 39:16; 43:25; Lev 25:22; Josh 10:27; all of Samuel except for 2 Sam 14:32; 2 Kgs 16:11; Ezek 33:22 (twice); 38:18; Isa 2:10; 30:8; Joel 3:4; Mal 3:23; Job 14:14; Dan 11:10; 11:13; and all of Chronicles, except for 2 Chr 25:8. It can be observed that three differences seem to have arisen, distinguishing the four types of lists, those with 13 cases, 14 cases, 17 cases, and 18 cases. The first is a fundamental difference (already mentioned): one tradition writes Josh 23:7 *plene*, and the other writes it defectively. Two differences in form may be added to this. First, the lists with 13 or 14 cases exclude all the Writings, whereas the lists with 17 or 18 cases exclude only Chronicles. Second, certain lists include the case of Gen 37:10, while others exclude it. The different decisions on this last point can be explained by the fact that בּוֹא is preceded by the interrogative particle -וְ , so that it could be associated with the cases where בּוֹא has no particle, or it could be kept distinct from them. It is interesting in this re-

gard that four cases where בּוֹא is written *plene* in the Torah are noted by Mps in V and D for Gen 43:25. These cases are listed by the Mm of V for Gen 43:25 and by that of D for Lev 25:22. The cases are Gen 24:31; 39:16; 43:25; Lev 25:22. Thus, this list of four cases does not include הִבּוֹא of Gen 37:10, which in V has the Mp “unique *plene* and *rufe*” and in D the Mp “unique and *plene*.” This does not prevent that same D from giving a Mm at Gen 24:31 with 14 cases, including Gen 37:10 in the list: Gen 24:31; 39:16; 43:25; Lev 25:22; Josh 10:27; 2 Kgs 16:11; Ezek 33:22 (twice); 38:18; Isa 2:10; 30:8; Joel 3:4; Mal 3:23; Gen 37:10; all of Samuel and the Writings except for five cases: 2 Sam 14:32; 2 Chr 25:8; Ps 105:19; 126:6; Esth 5:14. However, by placing Gen 37:10 at the end,¹⁷⁸ the list demonstrates the irregular status of that occurrence.

In addition, the list underwent a later alteration: The Erfurt 3 manuscript gives only בּוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ as a *siman* for Josh 10:27 (placing the *siman* in its proper place, however, between that of Lev 25:22 and the mention of the cases in Samuel), which explains why certain copyists mistook this passage for Exod 22:25, where the same two words are preceded by עַד (whereas they are preceded by לַעֲתָה in Joshua).

3.c.iii. Two unfounded charges

(α) OM sees a contradiction between the text and the Mp of A at 2 Kgs 4:40 where, against its Mp יֵגַ מֶלֶךְ, the manuscript supposedly offers the defective spelling לֵאכֶל.¹⁷⁹ This is mistaken. According to the facsimile that OM claims to have used, the manuscript has the *plene* spelling here.¹⁸⁰

(β) OM also presents the text of A as contrasting with that of C and F in her Case 130.¹⁸¹ This involves a defective spelling in Jer 5:24 where, in fact, A has the support of C, and where the Mm of A recognizes the defective character of the spelling.

4. The Aleppo Manuscript Comes Out of Its Isolation

The checking we have attempted with the help of the research cited above is sufficient to demonstrate that A is at the heart of what constitutes the central kernel of witnesses of the classical Tiberian text. Is there a manuscript that would be even closer to A than the C and F manuscripts? For the Torah, Breuer pointed out the exceptional quality of the traditional Yemenite text, but as mentioned above, this is not the case for those Yemenite manuscripts of the Prophets that we were able to examine. Yeivin recently represented a manuscript of the Former Prophets as being “very close” to A, while C and F are merely “close” to it.¹⁸²

178. The same peculiarity is found in the list that the St. Petersburg manuscript Firk II 17 gives for Gen 24:31.

179. Ortega and Fernández, “Nahum,” 183.

180. Ibid., 150.

181. Ibid., 184.

182. Yeivin, “כתב-יד,” כח.

The manuscript in question is a fragmentary one (144 folios) that was examined by Kahle at the Saltykov Shchedrin Library of St. Petersburg, where it is classified as Firkovitch II, 26 (= Y).¹⁸³

These two manuscripts, which appear to have been copied by the same scribe (Shelomoh ben Buya^ʿa), were copied from two different models. This explains why they differ markedly in the placement of the *petuḥot* and *setumot* (a situation where a corrector concerned with doing neat work cannot intervene¹⁸⁴). However, whereas the consonantal text of Y initially differed more from the text of A than did the texts of C and F,¹⁸⁵ the consonantal texts of Y and A, in their present state, no longer offer any variants in consonants, not even in the *matres lectionis*,¹⁸⁶ which means that their consonantal texts were altered according to the same criteria. In the domain of the copyist's work, the only four divergences that remained were two cases where Y writes proper names as one word while A divides them with a *maqṣef*, one case where the vocalizer of Y was content to point a *yod* with a *ḥôlem* without altering the *yod* to *waw*, while A has a *waw* at the same place, and one case where the copyist of Y correctly wrote נָנַר, while in A he mistakenly transposed the *dalet* and the *reš*. The vocalizer did not correct the writing of the two consonants, but simply left the first without *dageš* or *rafe* (which suffices to indicate that the *dalet* should be read as *reš*), whereas the second received *rafe* (indicating that the *reš* should be read as *dalet*). In the domain of pointing and Masorah, there are certain variants in Y with respect to A, but far fewer than the variants between A and C or F. In these areas, the systems utilized by Y and A are generally identical.¹⁸⁷ An investigation carried out on 737 Mp notations in Y showed that they lack only 20 of the notations that A offers in the same places. In contrast, for these same places, 178 of the Mp notations given by A are lacking in F and 231 of these notations are lacking in C.¹⁸⁸ This indicates a very great proximity between the corrector/pointer/Masorete of Y and that of A.

Both manuscripts are written in three columns, but a single page of A, which is written more densely, contains more than two pages of Y. A's greater density was necessitated by the endeavor to put the entire Bible into a single *mišḥaf*, whereas Y never contained anything but the Former Prophets. It appears quite probable that A and Y are two successive undertakings of the same Masorete in association with the same copyist.

183. Kahle, *Masoretan des Westens*, vol. 1, 71–74. Kahle believed that this manuscript and the one following it (Firkovitch II, 27, containing 37 folios of Latter Prophets) constituted a single work. Yeivin regards them as having different textual characteristics.

184. Yeivin. "כתב-יד," כח.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid., ד.

187. Ibid., כז.

188. Ibid., כה.

B. Shelomoh ben Buya'a's Work

For the task of producing the A manuscript, Aaron ben Asher used a consonantal text received from the hands of the copyist Shelomoh ben Buya'a. This same Shelomoh was also the copyist of manuscript 17 in the second Firkovitch collection, a Pentateuch, in which he describes himself as a student of Sa'id ben Farjoi, named Belquq,¹⁸⁹ and which was completed by the Masorete Ephraim ben Buya'a (his brother?) in 930. Ben Buya'a is also mentioned as a famous copyist in a Masorah¹⁹⁰ (on Isa 36:4) from the manuscript Chufut-Kale 10, where it is stated that the writing of "Rab-Shakch" as one word can be found בכתובת בן בויאעא תלמיד קוק.

While the Masorete performed an original work in the way that he equipped and corrected the consonantal text, interpreting the available Masorahs for that purpose, it was expected of the *sopher* that he would copy a model manuscript as accurately as possible, taking into account oral traditions concerning the arrangement of the consonantal text. To show the stability of these oral traditions, let us begin with the self-congratulations of Joseph di Bailo¹⁹¹ in 1474, after he had finished copying a Pentateuch manuscript: בחסרות ויתרות, ופתוחות וסתומות, ובתקון שמו בראש הדפין מישרות נשמרתי מאד השירות, ובאותיות ביה שמו. Thus, he concentrated his copyist attention on the following four points: (1) defective and *plene* spellings, (2) open and closed sections, (3) the arrangement of the text of songs, and (4) precise placement of the letters שמו ביה at the top of the page. The first two concerns of the copyist are relatively straightforward. Let us attempt to describe the other two more precisely, beginning with the more enigmatic last one.

1. Placement of the Letters שמו ביה at the Top of the Page

First, the sigla by which we will refer to the 44 medieval Torah manuscripts that will be used in this study:

- a1: London BL Or 2363
- a2: London BL Or 1467
- b1: New York JThS 44^a
- b2: Vatican cbr 7
- b3: Copenhagen 1
- b4: Copenhagen 3
- b5: Copenhagen 5
- b6: Copenhagen 7
- b7: Paris BN hébr 26
- b8: Vienna Nat.bibl hebr 35
- b9: Dc Rossi 782

189. On whom, see Allony, "Autograph."

190. Ben Asher (Baer and Strack), xxxvii.

191. See Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 748 n. 1.

- b10: London BL Add 15251
- b11: Cambridge Add 652
- c1: Madrid Univ 1
- c2: Copenhagen 2
- c3: Cambridge Add 468
- c4: London BL Harley 5710
- c5: London BL Harley 1528
- d1: London BL Add 15250
- d2: Oxford Bodleian Arc Seld A 47
- d3: Cambridge Add 465
- d4: Cambridge Add 469
- e1: Vatican ebr 468
- e2: London BL Add 15451
- e3: Oxford Bodleian Hunting 11
- e4: Kassel
- e5: De Rossi 2
- e6: De Rossi 7
- e7: Erfurt 3
- e8: Paris BN hébr 1
- e9: Vatican ebr 3
- e10: Vatican ebr 482
- e11: London BL Add 19776
- e12: Oxford Bodleian Digby Or 32
- e13: Cambridge Mm.5.27
- e14: Cambridge Add 466
- f1: Urbinates 1
- f2: Milan Ambros B 35 inf
- f3: Paris BN hébr 5
- f4: Hamburg hebr 4
- f5: Copenhagen 11
- f6: Berlin Or fol 1
- f7: London BL Arundel Or 2
- f8: Cambridge Add 464

The studies of Breuer, Fernández Tejero and Ortega Monasterio, and Yeivin view all the great Tiberian *miṣḥafim* and their contemporaries as representatives of the “Masoretic Text.” But it is useful to establish the differences in the characteristic ways their consonantal texts are arranged on the page, in terms of a tradition that is too rarely taken into account: the norms for copying the *Sepher Torah*. We need to bear in mind that a *miṣḥaf* of the Torah, supplied with symbols that completely describe the tradition of reading, constituted an innovation. The ancient tradition is that of the *Sepher Torah* containing only consonants, but following certain rules for arranging the text on the page. We will see that these

rules still influenced the Tiberian scribes, whereas they held little interest for the Masoretes who altered and equipped the consonantal text that they received from the scribe. We will observe¹⁹² that the aspect of the A manuscript that interested Maimonides (who was concerned with finding norms to guide the copyists of the *Sepher Torah* in the arrangement of the Song of the Sea and the Song of Moses) was not at all the same aspect that makes the manuscript of exceptional interest as a principal witness of the classical Tiberian text.

1.a. Initial words on the first pages of the songs in the Torah

If we compare the beginning of the Song of Moses (Moses) in the Aleppo manuscript and in the Firkovitch manuscript, we observe that in both manuscripts, the page on which Moses begins starts with the word $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta$ of Deut 31:28b β . Is this simply a coincidence? It appears not, because in order to begin the page with this word, each of the manuscripts had to fill up the last column of the preceding page by spacing out the words and introducing filler marks¹⁹³ between the words to prevent the large spaces from being interpreted as marking new sections. The Song of the Sea (Sea) was not preserved in A, but for Sea in F we can observe a phenomenon similar to that of Moses: The page where Sea begins starts with the word $\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\mu$ of Exod 14:28a γ . If we compare this with the B manuscript (in which Moses is not extant), we see that the same is true there. But, while B arrives there naturally without spacing out or compressing any lines on the preceding page, F placed significant fillers at the ends of lines on the preceding page, and especially in the first column of the page, in order to obtain the right page break. We have confirmation of the intentional nature of these page beginnings in model Sephardi manuscripts such as b1 (copied from the Hilleli codex in Toledo, 1241), b7 (copied in Toledo, 1272), b9 (which was Norzi's preferred manuscript, copied in Toledo, 1277), and c1 (copied in Toledo, 1280, but for which Sea is not extant). In these manuscripts we find the same words at the beginning of the first pages for Sea and for Moses. But these copyists took such care in their work that no abnormal spacing in the preceding pages such as we have seen in A and F was necessary to obtain these page beginnings. If we consult an early Yemenite manuscript such as a1 (which gives the text and the targum alternating verse by verse, and which served as the basis for the Sperber edition of the Targum Onqelos), we observe that the pages of each of the songs begin with those very same words, with the Yemenite scribes achieving the same success in the writing of the preceding pages as the scribes of Toledo.

192. Below, p. 329.

193. This type of sign is sometimes used elsewhere at the end of a line to avoid a space of one or two letters. This is the only place in the extant part of A where these filler marks take up six entire lines, one completing the next to the last column of the page and the five others alternating with normal lines toward the end of the last column before the page that begins with $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta$.

1.b. The *siman* בִּיה שְׁמוֹ

The great significance that all these manuscripts attach to beginning the two opening pages of Sea and Moses with these words is explained in a somewhat cryptic manner by the fact that the Yemenite (a1) scribe wrote the *siman* בִּיה שְׁמוֹ תְּקוּן סוֹפְרִים¹⁹⁴ in large colored characters beside הַבָּאִים and beside וְאֶעֱיֶדָה. The explanation of these two groups of three letters is given by Masorahs that are principally Sephardi and Yemenite. According to this same Yemenite manuscript, a1, the six dotted letters refer to certain words of the Torah that should come at the beginning of a page or column. The words are בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gen 1:1), יְהוּדָה (Gen 49:8),¹⁹⁵ הַבָּאִים (Exod 14:28), שְׁפִטִים (Deut 16:18), מוֹצֵא (Deut 23:24), and וְהֵעִידָה (Deut 31:28). Masorahs in the last five locations (Gen 1:1 was not preserved) repeat the explanation. For the first three key words and for the sixth, the tradition appears to be unanimous.¹⁹⁶ It is much less uniform when it comes to identifying those words that are designated by the letters *šin* and *mem*. For *šin*, the שְׁפִטִים (Deut 16:18) listed by the Yemenite Masorete has the support of another Yemenite manuscript, a2, while שְׁנֵי הַשְּׁעִירִים (Lev 16:8) is given by the manuscripts b1, b2, b3, b4, b5, b6, b7, b8, b9, b10, b11, and c5,¹⁹⁷ and שְׁמֵר וְשִׁמְעָה (Deut 12:28) is given by the manuscripts c1, c2, c3, c4, and c5.¹⁹⁸ Finally, for *mem*, the word מוֹצֵא (Deut 23:24), put forward by the Yemenite Masorete, has the support of manuscripts c1, c2, c3, and c4, while מָה טָבוֹ (Num 24:5) is given by manuscripts b1, b2, b3, b4, b5, b6, b7, b8, b9, b10, and b11. All of these manuscripts observe the page beginnings at Exod 14:28 and Deut 31:28. Most of them place the other key words of the *siman* at the beginning of the page or at least at the beginning of a column. Those that do not do this indicate that the decision of the scribes applies “to the *Sepher Torah*.” This clarification explains, moreover, why some Masorahs speak of an obligation to place these words at the beginning of the page (דף) and others of an obligation to place them at the beginning of the column (דלת). Unlike *mishafim*, scrolls do not distinguish between pages and columns, since pages are simply successive columns. The *siman* בִּיה שְׁמוֹ was reported by Abulafia,¹⁹⁹ who was in agreement with all the manuscripts in the identification of the *bet*, *yod*, *he*, and *waw*, but was undecided for *šin* between שְׁמֵר וְשִׁמְעָה in Deut 12:28 and שְׁמֵר לךְ in Exod 34:11, and for *mem* between מוֹצֵא שְׁפִתְךָ in Deut 23:24 and מָה טָבוֹ in Num 24:5. But it is Norzi who

194. The more accurate designation is not *tiqqun sopherim* but *taqqanat* (= decision) *sopherim*, a phrase this manuscript uses in its Masorah at these locations.

195. The Masorete of this manuscript attests that “some say that it refers to the *yod* of the third word (יודוך).”

196. Except for the qualification of the Yemenite Masorete about the *yod* of Gen 49:8, mentioned in the preceding note.

197. This manuscript makes note of the fact that there is disagreement on this word.

198. Again, this manuscript notes that there is disagreement on the word. It does not give any word for the *mem*.

199. Abulafia, *מסורת*, 84b.

provides the richest source of information on this *siman* and its interpretations, at the various relevant biblical passages.²⁰⁰ For the identification of the *šin*, he states that the Sephardi manuscripts have שני השעירים in Lev 16:18, while “certain manuscripts” (he specifies that this includes, among others, the מקראות of Rome) have שמר ושמעת of Deut 12:28, and that “someone” (he cites the commentary of the בעל הטורים on Gen 49:8) understands it as שמר לך in Exod 34:11. It is surprising that he does not mention those manuscripts that understand it as שפטים in Deut 16:18. For *mem*, he states that בעל הטורים understands it as מה טבו in Num 24:5, while some manuscript marginal notes see it as מוצא שפתך of Deut 23:24.

Thus we see that the arrangement of the texts of Sea and Moses lies within an ancient tradition of copying the *Sepher Torah*. But this tradition does not simply determine the first word on the opening pages of these poems. Beyond that, it states what words should begin the lines immediately preceding and immediately following Sea and Moses.

2. Arrangement of the Text of the Songs in the Torah

The traditions concerning the arrangement of Sea and Moses on the page involve two points: They determine the number and the contents of the prose lines that should precede and follow each song, and by so doing they aim to describe with precision how the one column of Sea and the two columns of Moses should be composed for presentation in the *Sepher Torah*.

2.a. The traditions of the sopherim concerning the Sepher Torah

In the Masorahs of some medieval manuscripts, as well as in the works of the great Jewish scholars Abulafia and Lonzano, can be found scattered fragments of the oral traditions that were intended to guide the copyists of the *Sepher Torah*. We will try to reconstruct these traditions before examining how they were transformed by the copyists of the *mishafim* of the Pentateuch.

2.a.i. Beginnings of lines preceding the songs

Sea was to be preceded by five lines of prose, the first beginning with הַבְּאִים (v. 28aγ), the second with בִּיבְשָׁה (v. 29a), the third with יְהִנֶּה (v. 30a), the fourth with מַת (v. 30bα), and the fifth with בְּמַצְרַיִם (v. 31aβ). Moses was to be preceded by six lines of prose, the first beginning with וְאֶעֱיֶדֶה (v. 28bβ), the second with אַחֲרַי (v. 29aα), the third with הִלְרֶדֶךָ (v. 29aβ), the fourth with בְּאַחֲרֵית (v. 29bα), the fifth with לְהַכְעִיסוֹ (v. 29bγ), and the sixth with קָהֵל (v. 30aα). These requirements are set for Sea in manuscripts b4, b11, and b8 in a Masoretic note in the margin of the five lines in question, in the form of a listing of the words, followed by the *siman* הַבְּיָמָה. For the lines preceding Moses, the rule is formulated in manuscripts

200. In מ (Minhat Shay).

b5, b10, c1, and c4. The manuscript b5 has the *siman* זָאֵה בְּלֶקֶת; c4 specifies that the requirement applies to the *Sepher Torah*; b10 states that it is a decision of the *sopherim* based on the teaching of the prophets. On the subject of the lines preceding Sea, Abulafia states the following: “by virtue of a tradition that they have inherited and that they pass on from one generation to the next, the *sopherim* are accustomed to putting five lines above the Song of the Sea,”²⁰¹ then he gives the words that begin the lines. Likewise, he gives the beginning words of the six lines preceding Moses. Lonzano, whose אור תורה possesses an undisputed authority, declares on the subject of the lines preceding Sea:

From the moment when the *sopher* begins writing the *parashah* בַּא אֶל פִּרְעָה [Exod 10:1–13:16], or at least from the beginning of the *parashah* בְּשֵׁלַח [13:17], he must keep ahead with his eyes and be careful to write close together, with the aim of having the word פִּרְעָה in v. 28 come at the end of the page, so that the word הַבָּאִים comes at the beginning of the next page, in accordance with the *halakah*, because this word is the *he* of בִּיָּה שְׁמוֹ and the beginning of the first of the five lines that precede the song, lines whose first words are הַבָּאִים, בִּיבְשָׁה, יְהוָה, מַת, and בְּמִצְרַיִם. After these lines, there is a blank line, and after that comes the song.²⁰²

Then, with regard to Moses, he recalls that “there should be six lines before the Song and all of those lines are fixed,”²⁰³ in order to prevent a *Sepher Torah* from being unusable (פסול). He gives the words that begin the six lines according to Maimonides,²⁰⁴ adding that there is no dispute about the words.

2.a.ii. Number and disposition of the lines of the songs

The numbers of 30 lines for Sea and 70 lines for Moses are fixed by the *Massekhet Sopherim*. The basic principle for the arrangement of the songs is the same for each: the stichs are separated by *setumot*, with the division into stichs carried out in such a way that none of them has more than five words or less than three (two words linked by *maqef* can count as either one or two words). The traditional arrangement of the two songs differs in that Sea has a written block above empty space and empty space above a written block, while Moses has a written block above a written block and empty space above empty space. In this way, each poetic line of Sea contains one and a half stichs, while each line of Moses contains two. Included in the 30 lines of Sea are a half-verse of prose at the beginning (15:1a) and a whole one at the end (15:19).

201. Abulafia, מסורת, 84b.

202. Lonzano, *Yadot*, 10a.

203. *Ibid.*, 25a.

204. Maimonides, *Mishneh*, “*Hilkot Sepher Torah*,” vii, 10.

2.a.iii. Beginnings of lines following the songs

Sea should be followed by five lines of prose, the first beginning with **תִּקְוָה** (Exod 15:20a), the second with **אֶחָרָיִהּ** (v. 20bα), the third with **סוּס** (v. 21bβ), the fourth with **וַיִּצְאוּ** (v. 22aβ), and the fifth with **וַיִּבְאוּ** (v. 23a). Moses should be followed by six lines of prose, the first beginning with **וַיָּבֵא** (Deut 32:44aα), the second with **הָעַם** (v. 44aβ), the third with **הַדְּבָרִים** (v. 45b), the fourth with **לְבַבְכֶם** (v. 46aα), the fifth with **אֲשֶׁר** (v. 46bα), and the sixth with **הַתּוֹרָה** (v. 46bγ). It is further specified that this last line ends with **חַיִּיכֶם** (v. 47aβ). The guide-words of the five lines following Sea are listed by the Masorahs in manuscripts d3, b1, b4, b8, b10, and b11. This last manuscript has the *siman* **וְאִסּוּ**. The guide-words of the six lines following Moses are given in the Masorahs of manuscripts b5, b10, d3, and e8. Manuscript b4, in the margin by these six words, indicates that they comply with the *halakah*, and manuscripts b4, b5, and b10 give the *siman* **וְהִהְלֵאָה**. The Masorah is striking in that the Masorete of b5 thereby polemicizes against the scribe of his own manuscript, who lengthened the lines considerably so that there are only five. The same was also done in A, F, a1, a2, c1, and c2. The five lines begin²⁰⁵ with **וַיָּבֵא** (Deut 32:44aα), **לְדַבֵּר** (v. 45aβ), **אֲשֶׁר** (v. 46aγ), **הַזֵּאת** (v. 46bγ), and **אֲשֶׁר** (v. 47bβ). The fifth line ends with the *setuma* that precedes v. 48. Manuscript d3 also has a polemical Masorah, most likely aimed at this heterodox tradition, that states: “the *siman* of the six lines at the end of the song **הַזֵּאת** is **וְהִהְלֵאָה**. There is someone who gives another *siman*. Do not heed him, and be aware that the correct ending is **חַיִּיכֶם**.”

2.b. The transition from 42-line columns to 21-line pages

Let us begin with an overview of the arrangement that these exacting traditions had in mind for each of the songs.

2.b.i. Structure of the 42-line columns containing the songs

It is the same manuscript d3 that provides the key to these complex details on the lines preceding and following the two songs in the margin of Sea. It indicates that Sea has 42 lines and that the *siman* for it is **בֵּם**. Then it states that Moses has 84 lines. This is why the *sopherim* allot one column to Sea in the *Sepher Torah* and two columns to Moses. Indeed, allowing for the two blank lines that are supposed to frame them, according to the tradition of the *sopherim*, the total number of lines of the songs and the lines that should precede and follow them amounts to $5+1+30+1+5 = 42$ for Sea, and $6+1+70+1+6 = 84$ for Moses. As to the figure 42 as the number of lines in a column of the *Sepher Torah*, it is the number that the *Massekhet Sopherim*²⁰⁶ gives first, from the number of Israel's stopping

205. We will observe later that the manuscripts which assign 67 lines to Moses are very uneven in their faithfulness to the tradition determining the words that should begin these five lines.

206. *Massekhet Sopherim*, II.11.

places in the desert. The number of 42 lines per column also has the support of the Babylonian Geonim of the Sura school in the ninth century: Sar Shalom, Natronai, Hai, and Hilai. The number was evocative of the forty days during which Moses received the Torah and the two stone tablets.²⁰⁷

2.b.ii. *From the sepher with 42 lines to the miṣḥaf with 21 lines*

Since a *miṣḥaf* does not have the height of a synagogue scroll, it cannot have 42-line columns. Thus the copyists of early *miṣḥafim* of the Torah who wanted to observe this tradition of the *sopherim* retained the width of the columns in the *Sepher Torah* on their pages and gave them a height of 21 lines. An excellent example of this is B, which offers Sea on two facing pages of 21 lines with an exact observance of the traditional arrangement of the text on the pages. We note that this copyist, in order to begin the right hand page with the word **הַבְּאִים**, managed skillfully to tighten the text in several places on the preceding pages. Yet it can be seen that for Gen 49:8, B does not observe (by a possible highlighting of **יְהוּדָה**) the tradition expressed by the *siman* **בִּיָּה שְׁמוֹ**. It is thus quite possible that the whole tradition represented in this illustrious *siman* developed after the one that fixed so precisely the arrangement of the texts of Sea and Moses. We will now see that B is not alone in its decisions concerning the arrangement of Sea.

2.b.iii. *Sephardi and Yemenite survivals of the tradition of special page layouts*

Some Sephardi manuscripts treated the arrangement of Sea and Moses in a special way. While their columns ordinarily had a much greater number of lines (from 28 to 33), they devoted two facing pages of 21 lines to Sea. This is the case in b3, b6, b7, and b10. Two of the manuscripts (b3 and b10) highlight the two pages by surrounding each one with a decorated border. The Yemenite manuscript a1 also does this, but the copyist made the pages slightly asymmetrical by putting 22 lines on the first and 20 on the second. Sea was not preserved in manuscript a2.

For Moses (not extant in B) the tradition of four pages with a special page layout is attested in the Sephardi manuscripts b3 and b7: In b3 the pages are framed and made up of 20 lines each, which is tied to the fact that Moses was copied in 67 lines in the manuscript. But this required that the sixth of the lines that are supposed to follow Moses be pushed to the next page. Encountering the same difficulty, manuscript b7 preferred to allot 21 lines to the fourth page to avoid such a result. The innovation of reducing the pages to 20 lines should apparently not be attributed to the b3 copyist. Indeed he has these two pages preceded and followed by two more framed pages that also have 20 lines. It could be that the impossibility of observing the tradition of four pages with 21 lines, when one follows the Maimonides tradition of a 67-line Moses, led the scribes of b6 and b10

207. Ibid., 41–43. On the 42-line standard, see the supplement below (pp. 583–590).

to abandon special page layouts for the song, though they had adopted the practice for Sea. The Yemenite copyists of a1 and a2 put frames around four consecutive pages. The a2 copyist retained the traditional number of 21 lines within his four frames. But, given the fact that he, too, wrote Moses in 67 lines and devoted only five long lines to the *petuḥa* that follows Moses, he still had four lines in his fourth frame to begin the targum of Moses. The targum was carried forward to the end of the Hebrew text (as the a1 copyist had already done for Sea), in accordance with the traditional arrangement of the text of the songs. The copyist of a1, who made the same decisions for Moses and the following lines, framed three pages with 23 lines and one with 22 lines. That left him 11 lines at the end of the fourth frame to continue his targum.

2.b.iv. Survival of the tradition concerning the beginnings of the lines preceding the songs

Among the manuscripts available to us that have one or both of the songs, the initial words of the five lines preceding Sea and the six preceding Moses are observed by A, F, B, b1, b2, b3, b4, b5, b6, b7, b8, b9, b10, b11, c1, c2, c3, c5, d1, d2, d3, and d4. Traces of the tradition survive in c4, e1, e2, and e3, while it is disregarded by D, e4, e5, e6, e7, e8, e9, e10, e11, e12, e13, and e14. Manuscripts that alternate the Hebrew text and targum occupy a special place. Among them, manuscripts a1 and a2 give the Hebrew of the songs separately, allowing for the *halakah* bearing on the preceding lines, whereas V, f1, f2, f3, f4, f5, f6, f7, and f8, whatever their decisions on the songs, do not show interest in the preceding lines.

2.c. Conflicts between Maimonides and the tradition concerning the arrangement of Moses

It can be observed, then, that the *sopherim* of the ninth century had inherited a precise oral tradition concerning the arrangement of the two songs in the Torah, and that clear traces of it can be discovered in the page arrangements of *mišḥafim* such as B and of Sephardi and Yemenite manuscripts, as well as in their Masorahs. It is in relation to this tradition that we should situate the decisions shared by Maimonides, A, and certain other manuscripts concerning the arrangement of Moses.

2.c.i. Conflict with the Massekhet over the lines of Moses

Let us begin by observing that, if the lines preceding the songs in the *Sepher Torah* are fixed by the scribal tradition, the same is true, with all the more reason, for the lines of the songs themselves. Here we arrive at the burning question that the preceding paragraphs aimed only to introduce. For Sea, there is no notable disagreement at the heart of the scribal tradition. But in the matter of the beginnings of the lines of Moses, the authority of Maimonides is in conflict with that of the *Massekhet Sopherim*. As stated earlier,²⁰⁸ according to the original state of

208. Above, p. 244.

the *Mishneh Torah* attested by the majority of manuscripts and the edition of Moshe ben Shealtiel, Maimonides allots 67 lines to Moses (and gives the list of words that begin each line), while the *Massekhet* allots 70 lines to it (and also gives line beginnings). Having noted the contradiction, Abulafia concluded that the tradition attested by Maimonides was in error and that the words beginning certain lines had been omitted. The *Massekhet* list is as follows:

האזינו, יערף, כשעירים, כי, הצור, אל, שחת, הליהוה, הלא, זכור, (10)
 שאל, בהנחל, יצב, כי, ימצאהו, יסובבנהו, כנשר, יפרוש, יהוה, ירכיבהו, (20)
 ויניקהו, חמאת, ואילים, ודם, שמנת, וינבל, בתועבות, אלהים, לא, ותשכת, (30)
 מכעס, אראה, בנים, כעסוני, בגוי, ותיקד, ותלהט, חצי, וקטב, עם, (40)
 ומחדרים, יונק, אשכיתה, פן, ולא, ואין, יבינו, ושנים, ויהוה, ואויבינו, (50)
 ומשדמות, אשכלות, וראש, חתום, לעת, וחש, ועל, ואפס, צור, ישחו, (60)
 יהי, ואין, מחצתי, כי, אם, אשיב, אשכיר, מדם, הרנינו, ונקם (70)

In its original state, Maimonides' list was distinguished from this one by the omission of the words שאל (11th) and יפרוש (18th), as well as by the fact that גם replaces both ומחדרים (41st) and יונק (42nd). A secondary distinction is that instead of ואילים (23rd) it has בני. Given that Maimonides also indicates the words that begin the second part of each line, in order to give better guidance to the copyists, the list shows that שאל, instead of beginning the 11th line, begins the second part of the tenth (which began with זכור) and that יפרוש, instead of beginning the 18th line, begins the second part of the 16th (which began with כנשר). For Maimonides' 39th line (beginning with גם), the second half begins with אמרת, which in the system of the *Massekhet* should begin the second half of the 42nd line (which began with יונק). Now, as Goshen-Gottstein observed,²⁰⁹ this system of division into 67 lines is reproduced exactly in A.

2.c.ii. Conflict with the tradition of the "early sefarim" over the lines following Moses

Before treating open and closed sections and the rules on the arrangement of Sea and Moses in his chapter eight, Maimonides mentioned in chapter seven that the *sopherim* passed down an oral tradition (not recorded by the Talmud) concerning the beginnings of lines that immediately precede and follow Sea and Moses. On the words beginning the lines preceding the two songs and on those beginning the lines that follow Sea, there is no divergence between Maimonides and the rest of the tradition. But there is an important divergence between Maimonides and manuscripts a1, a2, b5, and c1, on the one hand, and the old oral tradition of the *sopherim* on the beginnings of the lines that follow Moses. According to all the witnesses of the *Mishneh Torah*, these lines, numbering five, begin with ויבא (Deut 32:44aα), לרבר (v. 45ba), אשר (v. 46aγ), הזאת (v. 46bγ), and אשר (v. 47bβ).

209. Goshen-Gottstein, "Authenticity," 42.

According to Menaḥem di Lonzano,²¹⁰ Abulafia wrote from Toledo on this subject: “I wonder if this was not a copying error. For my part, in my *Sepher*, I did not write this, but wrote what is found in all the careful early Sefarim that one finds in these countries, that is: ויבא (v. 44aα), העם (v. 44aβ), הדברים (v. 45bβ), לבבכם (v. 46aα), אשר (v. 46bα), and התורה (v. 46bγ).” And Lonzano adds: “This is also the custom in all the Sephardi manuscripts and likewise in the ancient manuscript of Jerusalem already mentioned.²¹¹ And that is the principle, and the sixth line ends with the word חייכם.” Lonzano concluded that Maimonides, with his system of 67 lines, had to overload certain lines and, in order to maintain a central space between their two blocks (following the principles of the arrangement for Moses), was obliged to widen the column considerably, which forced him to lengthen significantly the lines of prose that follow Moses (as is shown by the guide-words that he lists). Recognizing his error, Maimonides then (in chapter eight) revised the number of lines to 70 and as a result of that modified the list of the beginnings and ends of lines. But he forgot also to correct, in chapter seven, the indications about the lines following Moses. Those truly responsible for the correction, modification, and oversight that Lonzano attributes to Maimonides are in reality the Ashkenazi and Italian correctors of the manuscripts of his *Mishneh Torah* who wanted to bring Maimonides into agreement with the older tradition of the *Massekhet Sopherim* where, however, they found no explicit instructions concerning the beginnings of the lines preceding and following Sea and Moses. That is why they did not interfere with the details that Maimonides furnished on the subject in his chapter seven.

2.d. Shelomoh ben Buya‘a deals with the damage

It is enough to look at the arrangement of Moses in the Aleppo manuscript to see that the copy of Shelomoh ben Buya‘a issues from a manuscript line in which the scribal tradition of the arrangement underwent three deformations and two attempts at rectification.

2.d.i. First error (α)

This manuscript line is based on an archetype in which the copyist worked from a list of guide-words for line beginnings where the 11th, 18th, 41st, and 42nd words had accidentally been omitted. The copyist thus had to write the contents of two lines (the 10th and 11th in the *Massekhet*) in his 10th line, of two others (the 17th and 18th in the *Massekhet*) in his 16th line, and the contents of three lines (the 40th, 41st, and 42nd in the *Massekhet*) in his 38th line. He managed the first two by widening the entire column layout (in order to keep the required space between the two members of the line) and by dividing the two

210. Lonzano, *Yadot*, 25b.

211. On the previous page, he says that this is a manuscript more than five hundred years old.

members at the principal disjunctive accent (the *atnah*), so that the words following these accents (שאל and פרוש), which should have been mentioned on the list as beginning lines 11 and 18, begin the second half of the 10th and 16th lines. But no amount of widening could accommodate three lines in one, so the copyist of the archetype divided the text block corresponding to the 40th, 41st, and 42nd lines of the *Massekhet* into two lines. For these three divisions (between the two members of the first line, between the first and second line, and between the two members of the second line), he relied on the three principal disjunctions that the text block offered him: the *silluq* before מרוץ (which begins v. 25), the *atnah* that divides this verse (before the first גמ) and the *silluq* that ends the verse (before אמרת). His 38th line (beginning with עמ) and 39th line (beginning with גמ) are thus each found to contain one and a half lines of the *Massekhet*. This deviation is not unique to A. It is shared by a good number of other medieval manuscripts: the Yemenite a1 and a2, as well as the Sephardi b2, b3, b4, b5, b6, b7, b8, b9, b10, c1, c2, and d2. It is interesting to note that the Yemenite manuscripts customarily write the *siman* אדניה²¹² on the inside of the blank line that precedes the word האנינו. Signifying 70, the *siman* bears witness to the ancient scribal tradition of 70 lines for Moses (against the 67 lines that it actually occupies in their text!).

2.d.ii. First adjustment (β)

Then, because the copyist had had to widen the column so much, he had difficulty with the lines that follow Moses. As Lonzano had recognized so well (though he mistakenly attributed the initiative to Maimonides), the copyist lengthened the lines without regard for the line beginnings established by the tradition. And thus was born the tradition of the five lines beginning with ויבא (Deut 32:44 α), לדר (v. 45 $\alpha\beta$), אשר (v. 46 $\alpha\gamma$), הוצאת (v. 46 $\beta\gamma$), and אשר (v. 47 $\beta\beta$), a tradition considered heterodox by the Masorete of d3. However, this minority tradition never attained the same stability as the old majority tradition of the *sopherim*: among the manuscripts belonging to the tradition attested by Maimonides, only A, a1, a2, c1, and c2 adhere to this arrangement up to the fifth line, while b5 is faithful up to the fourth line, and F only to the first three lines.

2.d.iii. Second adjustment (γ)

Since the copyist of the archetype had to widen his column significantly when he began to copy Moses, the five lines before Moses at the top of the page form a block of text that is decidedly narrower. Lonzano pointed out²¹³ that, if the beginnings of these lines are placed to the right, in line with the right margin of Moses,

212. See, for example, the reproduction of fol 151v of the London BL manuscript Or 2348 in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* XVI, Jerusalem 1972, facing p. 744. This *siman* is also very legible in a1, whereas it is almost completely obliterated, though discernible, in a2.

213. Lonzano, *Yadot*, 25a.

the empty space that would end each line would make the following line appear as a *petuḥa*. If this same block of text is placed in the middle or on the left side of the wider column, then the lines appear to be *setumot*. This is probably the reason that the copyist of A filled in those first five lines with filler marks. While the copyist of the archetype was not afraid to change the traditional guide-words at the beginnings of the lengthened lines that follow Moses, the copyist of A did not dare to do that here and found this means of filler marks to preserve the traditional guide-words. It is clear that the use of filler marks is tolerated in a *miṣḥaf*, but the sanctity of the *Sepher Torah* would not tolerate it. Here, F shows its dependence on A in that it seems to be the only other manuscript that filled in the lines preceding Moses. It even filled in the sixth line, which A did not do (because the empty space that followed this line could not influence the interpretation of the section that begins after it; that section could only be a *petuḥa*, with or without the extension of the line).

2.d.iv. Second error (δ)

The copyist of the archetype observed the general rule governing the division of lines and members of lines: The division is to be placed at a disjunctive accent that is stronger than the other disjunctives found in the member in question. The copyist of A manifested his lack of understanding of this rule with a change that may actually be simple error: While the copyist of the archetype began his 39th line with the first \aleph of v. 25, the copyist of A used the second \aleph to begin the line. This led to the unacceptable result that the preceding member ended with a disjunctive accent (*pashta*) weaker than the *atnah* that is found in the same member. In that particular error, A appears to be absolutely alone.

2.d.v. Third error (ϵ)

A similar error had taken place at an earlier date and appears to have been reproduced and corrected several times in different branches of the textual tradition, something that can easily be explained once the reason for the error is understood. Whereas the list of the *Massekhet* began its 21st line with אילים, a copyist had begun it with בני, the word immediately following. This led to the same unacceptable result that the preceding member ended with a conjunctive accent (*mahpak*) even though it contained a disjunctive accent (*geresh*).

It is easy to see how this error was produced in this place and not at another line opening. Two verses of Moses contain an odd number of stichs: v. 14 and v. 39 each contain five. To guarantee the correct division of these two verses, a Masorah found in b2, b5, b8, and e8 states that “from וישמן ישורן to האזינו the verses begin at the beginning of the line, and from וישמן ידי כי אשא אל שמים כי אשא all the verses begin at the division of the line, and from כי אשא to the end of the song they all begin at the beginning of the line.” Manuscript b11 gives this Masorah in a different form: “from the word האזינו to חמאת בקר, the verses end at the end of the line, and from חמאת בקר to ראו עתה the verses end in the middle of the line,

and from **ראו עתה** to the end of the song, the verses end at the end of the line.” These two Masorahs agree, then, that while the beginning of v. 14 (**המאת בקר**) is found at the beginning of a line, the beginning of v. 15 (**וישמך ישורן**) should be located at the beginning of the second half of a line. They also agree that, since v. 39 (**ראו עתה**) begins at the second half of a line, v. 40 (**כי אשא**) should begin at the beginning of a line. Given the length of verses 14 and 39, this means that each one should be divided into five members. The four divisions required for v. 39 and three of the four required for v. 14 are clearly indicated by the *atnah*, *zaqef*, and *rebia*⁶.

There is only one opportunity for error left, then, and that is in determining the place where segment 14aβ should be cut: **עם חלב כרים ואילים בני בשן ועתודים**. If the accents alone are followed, it is clear that it should be cut after the *geresh* of **כרים** and not after the *mahpak* of **ואילים**. But the segment in question is paraphrased by Targum Onqelos “with the wealth of their great (**עם חלב כרים**) and of their powerful (**ואילים**), the people of their country (**בני בשן**) and their possessions (**ועתודים**).” The explicit possessive in “their powerful” separates this word from the one that follows it, while the coordination “of their great and of their powerful” ties it more naturally to the preceding word. It is understandable, then, that certain *sopherim*, with this targum in mind, would have been tempted to make the cut after **ואילים**, rather than before. The manuscripts c2, c3, c5, d1, d3, d4, e1, e6, e9, e10, f2, f4, f5, and f6 avoided this incorrect division that entered the texts of D, A, a1, a2, b1, b2, b3, b4, b5, b6, b7, b8, b9, b10, e1, e4, d2, e5, e7, and e12. We have mentioned only those manuscripts that exhibit enough interest in the division of lines to allow them to be evaluated in that respect.

2.e. Intact witnesses to the tradition of *mişhafim* with 21 lines for Moses?

Regarding Sea (which unfortunately has not been preserved in A), we have noted that manuscripts B, b3, b6, b7, and b10 preserved an arrangement that conforms perfectly to the old oral tradition of the *sopherim*, once the principle is recognized that a *mişhaf* of the Torah aims to reproduce in two pages the contents of one column of the *Sepher Torah*.

2.e.i. The remnants of the tradition

For Moses (which is lacking in B), we have not found a single witness among the manuscripts accessible to us that displays the same conformity to the tradition. If we discount error (ϵ)—which, as we pointed out, seems to have been reproduced and corrected at various stages of the transmission of the text—manuscripts b3, b7, a1, and a2 are the only ones to have preserved the special layout of presenting Moses in four pages. But only b3 and b7 preserved the original disposition of two sets of facing pages, and only a2 kept the traditional number of 21 lines per page. But in all of them, the structure of these four pages is thrown off by the three incorrect divisions of lines that constitute error (α).

Among the manuscripts descending from the archetype in which error (α) took place, certain ones preserved intact the tradition of the *sopherim* concerning the six lines that follow Moses: They are b2, b3, b4, b6, b7, b8, b9, and b10. In the same group, others received, in addition, adjustment (β) replacing the six lines with five long lines. They are A, F, a1, a2, b5, c1, and c2. None of the manuscripts that escaped error (α) preserved the tradition of presenting Moses in four pages. Only manuscripts A and F add adjustment (γ) to error (α) and adjustment (β). Only A adds error (δ) on top of these others. F cannot be considered here, since it completely disregarded the tradition bearing on the beginnings of the lines of Moses.

2.e.ii. Two intact witnesses

We have seen that certain *mishafim* tried to adapt an old tradition of page arrangement defined in terms of a *Sepher Torah* with 42-line columns to their 21-line pages, in compliance with the *halakah* of the ninth-century Babylonian Geonim of the academy at Sura. It is thus in Babylonia that one has the best chance of finding an intact example of this page arrangement for Moses. But the only manuscripts with 21 lines per page appear to be manuscripts Ka 1 and Ka 13, and the Song of Moses was not preserved in either.

There remains one other possibility: The manuscript that Kahle designated as manuscript 10 of the second Firkovitch collection (Chufut-Kalc 17 and now classified as 171610), a Pentateuch that was donated to the Karaite synagogue of Old Cairo in 946.²¹⁴ This manuscript (= H), about which he states that the pages have 21 lines (as in B), thus has every chance of having been copied in the first decades of the tenth century. We are fortunate to have received photocopies of the pages of the two songs in this manuscript from the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of Jerusalem. This has permitted us to observe that it preserved intact the page arrangement of the two songs according to the oral tradition of the *sopherim*, as it is attested by the Sephardi and Yemenite Masorahs cited above. Indeed, it contains Sea in an arrangement identical to that of B (with the single difference that instead of facing each other, the two pages are recto and verso of the same folio). For Moses, it has precisely the four pages required, writing the song in 70 lines and correctly maintaining the two blank lines that frame it, as well as the words beginning the six lines before and after the song and the last word (תִּיכֶם) of the sixth line. Thus, the first page has 6+1+14 lines, the second and third (which are facing pages) have 21 lines and the fourth has 14+1+6 lines. We note only that, like most of the manuscripts, H attests error (ϵ), shifting by one word the beginning of the 21st of its 70 lines. In addition, it errs in the internal division of the 44th line, which it cuts at the *pashta* of פִּן־אִמְרוּ instead of

214. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol. 1, 60–64.

at the *atnah* that precedes that word. But this discrepancy of one word, like the one that constitutes error (ϵ), does not throw off the entire arrangement in the way that the loss of three line beginnings does (error [α]).

It was tempting, then, to check the arrangements of Sea and Moses in another *miṣḥaf* also containing only the Torah, one that offers the particular interest of having been copied by Shelomoh ben Buya'a, the copyist of A. The manuscript is number 17 of the second Firkovitch collection (Chufut-Kale 36, now classified as 26535). With Kahle assigning 20 lines to the pages of this manuscript and Beit-Arie counting 19,²¹⁵ there was reason to doubt that the page arrangement of 21 lines would be found. However, a microfilm of this manuscript (= G) furnished by the same Institute in Jerusalem, shows that the two songs observe fully the norms of the *sopherim*. For Sea, the two pages are facing (as in B). For Moses, the four pages are in two sets of facing pages. In addition, an ornamental framework surrounds the three external borders that are preserved (bottom, right, and left) on the first and second pages. In G (as in H) error (ϵ) is found, but Shelomoh ben Buya'a did not make the incorrect division of the 44th line that was noted in H.

2.e.iii. *The distribution of the major Masoretic witnesses*

From this study of the arrangement of the songs of the Torah we conclude that, on this point, A, B, D, H, G, F, and V differ considerably from each other. B (extant only for Sea) and H and G (for Sea and Moses), with their pages of 21 lines, are entirely faithful to the tradition of the songs' arrangement. D has pages of 20 lines and is faithful only to the traditions of the internal arrangements of Sea and Moses, but shows no interest in the lines that precede and follow them. The verse by verse alternation of text and targum is not interrupted in V (with 22-line pages) except to present Sea in its classical arrangement. The endeavor to include the entire Bible in a single *miṣḥaf* required the scribe of A to write 28-line pages and that of F to write 27 lines per page. This fact suffices to demonstrate that, while they continued to observe the characteristics of the lines preceding the songs, these scribes no longer made any pretense of following the old tradition for the arrangement in the *Sepher Torah*, with its 42-line columns. In any case, error (α) rendered it impossible for them to present the song in four 21-line pages. It may be noted, however, that the Yemenite manuscript a2, although participating in this error, demonstrates by its frames and by the preservation of 21 lines a clearer connection to the original decisions of B, H, and G.

2.f. *The pointers/Masorettes and the tradition of copyists of the Sepher Torah*

It should be clear by now that it is absolutely necessary to distinguish between the high quality of A as a Masoretic work and its poor quality as a representative

215. *Damascus Pentateuch*, vol. 2, (Introduction), 7 n. 1.

of the tradition of the *sopherim*. This distinction leads to the observation that Maimonides, who was essentially interested in the copying of the *Sepher Torah*,²¹⁶ unfortunately chose as a model a manuscript that had little to recommend it in that domain, since it represents a degeneration of the traditions concerning the copying and arrangement of the consonantal text, traditions that the *sopherim* transmitted orally. This did not prevent the same manuscript A from being at the summit of the Masoretes' efforts to record the reading tradition, and we would conclude that, if the term "Masoretic Text" warrants being used at all, this manuscript is the best qualified representative of it.

2.f.i. Goals and limitations of the Masorete Aaron ben Asher

It is important to bear in mind Aaron ben Asher's goals and limitations when he produced his chef-d'oeuvre. His primary goal was to write down fully (i.e., vocalization and accentuation) the reading tradition of the entire Bible in a single codex. He had little interest in the arrangement of the consonantal text of his manuscript, as he was not preoccupied with the halakic norms imposed on the *sopherim* responsible for the copying of an authentic *Sepher Torah*. The *Sepher Torah* was destined for a Rabbanite synagogue, and any failure to conform to the norms risked rendering a *Sepher* unusable (*pasul*). In the environment in which Aaron worked—in which scrolls were probably no longer used for reading the Sabbath *parashah*—the preoccupation was much more with the norms guiding the intervention of the corrector-pointer-Masorete. This preoccupation, completely unlike that of Maimonides, was shared by scholars who made use of Aaron's manuscript to correct a *miṣḥaf*—and not a *Sepher Torah*—at the time when his manuscript was kept in the Karaite synagogue in Jerusalem.

Thus, for the Masorete, it was a matter of applying (by correction and pointing) and of communicating in writing (through the Masorahs) these norms that aimed above all to stabilize an authentic reading tradition. The first task of the Masorete was, to be sure, to correct the text given him by the copyist. But, while the presence or absence of a *mater lectionis* could be easily corrected with a fairly insignificant scratching out, the modification of the arrangement of a song or of the assignments of *setumot* and *petuhot* went beyond the possibilities for intervention by a corrector concerned with creating a clean manuscript. That is why the page arrangements and the division of sections determined by the copyist Shelomoh ben Buya'a constituted precisely that aspect of the manuscript that eluded the intervention of Aaron ben Asher.

Furthermore, we have an indication that the great Masoretes of this era were not interested in the arrangement of the songs in the fact that—whatever the degree of faithfulness of the copyists of their consonantal texts in this regard—none

216. Maimonides' son Abraham reports that his father forbade the copying of the Torah in a single *miṣḥaf* with the Nevi'im and Ketuvim, for fear that some might come to prefer the latter to the former (Bacher, *Bibelexegese*, 4 n. 1).

of the many Masorahs with which they supplied their manuscripts appears to bear on the matter, unlike the numerous Masorahs that we pointed out in the much later Yemenite and Sephardi manuscripts. Thus, it appears that those medieval manuscripts inherited their knowledge of and interest in the oral traditions of the *sopherim* from a source other than the Tiberian Masoretes.

2.f.ii. The influence of Sura and Maimonides on Spain and Yemen

The tradition of 42-line columns for the *Sepher Torah* was, as we have seen, that of the Geonim of the Academy in Sura. Now, we know that Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, the powerful Jewish adviser to the Caliph of Cordoba (tenth century), had *sepharim* brought from Sura, at great cost, for the “sons of the Torah,” that is, for the Sephardi *sopherim*.²¹⁷ At the same time, by appointing the very competent Moshe ben Hanokh as rabbi of Cordoba, Ḥasdai managed to make the Jews of Spain autonomous with respect to the Babylonian academics in matters of *halakah*.

The Yemenites, for their part, had undoubtedly received this tradition directly from Babylonia, along with their supralinear vocalization, and it is known that several Yemenite manuscripts claim (in their dedicatory statements) direct dependence on the model manuscript promoted by Maimonides (i.e., A). But Goshen-Gottstein²¹⁸ appears to be correct in considering these statements as a sort of stamp used in certain scriptoria to guarantee the authenticity of these excellent representatives of the Yemenite *textus receptus*. It is, moreover, characteristic of these fifteenth-century dedications to include the phrase **הספר הידוע בספרים** **במצרים שהיה כולל ארבעה ועשרים ספרים**, which reproduces exactly a phrase of the *Mishneh Torah*.²¹⁹ Here lies the indication that the Yemenite manuscripts in question derived their mention of the manuscript from Maimonides and not from their own examination of it. Clear proof that they did not depend directly on A lies in the fact that errors (α) and (ϵ) are present, but not error (δ), which seems to be unique to A. It is thus probable that the arrangement of Moses attested by the Yemenite and Sephardi manuscripts comes from an intelligent interpretation of the list given by Maimonides: To divide v. 25b α , the copyists chose the first **גם** and not the second one, which A (the manuscript described by Maimonides' list) mistakenly chose.

217. This is the probable meaning of the two lines of Dunash ben Labrat in his poem **דעה לבי** (דעה לבי, ע, 35):

ולבני התורה / ישועה גם אורה
והוגו אל סורא / ישלח בספרים

218. Goshen-Gottstein, “Manuscripts,” 48 n. 20.

219. Maimonides, *Mishneh, Ahabah, Hilkot Sepher Torah*, viii, 4.

C. The Internal Complexity of the Witnesses to the Classical Tiberian Text

From this study of the “central kernel” of the classical Tiberian biblical manuscripts, we can see the necessity of distinguishing clearly in the same manuscript between the quality of the arrangement of the consonantal text and the quality of its Masoretic presentation, that is, its vocalization, accentuation, and Masorahs.

In the evaluation of the quality of a Masoretic manuscript, the faithfulness to the traditional arrangement of the songs could be considered unimportant. Indeed, the arrangement has little significance in the matter of the disposition of the lines that should precede and follow the song on the page of a *Sepher Torah*. However, when it is a matter of the internal divisions of the song, the authenticity of the arrangement has its value, since the authentic arrangement is rigorously based on the syntactic structure of the song. This syntactic structure, in the case of the Song of Moses, is disrupted by the various errors pointed out earlier in our analysis. In addition, the placement of the *petuḥot* and *setumot* is unquestionably related to the division of the text into sense units. The degree of authenticity of a manuscript tradition in this domain is therefore not without consequences for literary criticism of the text.²²⁰ In an in-depth investigation of the *petuḥot* and *setumot* of the Pentateuch, Perrot drew the conclusion that, in comparison to the early Palestinian systems, the system of division found in A is innovative, the culmination of an effort to simplify and refine the earlier systems.²²¹ Thus it appears that, in this respect, too, Maimonides was mistaken in choosing A as a model.

These observations lead us to conclude that an editor would do well not to choose the same manuscript as a model both for the arrangement of the consonantal text (page layout of the songs and division into sections) and for what falls in the province of the Masoretes (correction, pointing, and Masorah). The choice of an eclectic text makes sense when it is understood that, in the same manuscript, the tradition concerned with the division into sections (*petuḥot* and *setumot*) and the tradition concerned with the placement of the *te'amim* (and thus the division into verses) are distinct from each other and sometimes contradictory, as can be observed in the especially striking instances where a change of section takes place in the middle of a verse.

V. Toward the Proper Use of the Masorahs

We have already had the occasion to observe the complexity of the problems posed by proper use of the Masorahs.²²² Throughout *CTAT* Vol. 3, we have a great many occasions to call on the support that the Masorahs lend to certain

220. Oesch, *Petucha*, 365.

221. Perrot, “Petuhot,” 73.

222. Above, pp. 273–281.

readings.²²³ In this section, we would like to situate a number of cases that are of particular methodological interest. We will then introduce a valuable, but unutilized, Masoretic source. Finally, we will see how to approach the delicate question of the relatedness of the Masorahs, a matter of fundamental importance for judging the quality of the “Masoretic” manuscripts.

A. Different Types of Masorahs

1. Masorahs with Exegetical Implications

1.a. Masorahs directly related to exegesis

Almost all the Masorahs treat forms in a purely descriptive manner. There are some, however, that have direct implications for the interpretation of the text. The following examples illustrate this.

1.a.i. Masorahs that mention words with “two meanings”

The *Okhlah*²²⁴ gives, under the title אֵב מִן כָּב וְתַרְוִיהוּן תְּרִין לִישְׁנֵין, a long alphabetical list of 97 words that are used two times with two different meanings. We refer to this list for 2 Sam 22:42 in *CTAT* Vol. 1, 307; 2 Chr 26:25 in *ibid.*, 507–8; Lev 22:25 in *CTAT* Vol. 2, 392–93; Ezek 2:10 in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 18:47–48; Ezek 14:4 in *ibid.*, 90:14–15; Ezek 27:19 in *ibid.*, 231:41–42; Hos 4:15 in *ibid.*, 512:23; Hos 7:6 in *ibid.*, 540:34–35; Hos 7:16 in *ibid.*, 544:17–18; and Mal 1:3 in *ibid.*, 1016:36–38.

This Masorah is very early and well-known. In the twelfth century, it gave the great Tosafist of Ramerupt, Jacob Tam, the opportunity to demonstrate that the Masorahs were not preserved in their original state by the *Okhlah* manuscripts, but underwent later additions in that work. Indeed, he suspected²²⁵ an interpolation on the list from the “great Masorah” (*Okhlah we-Okhlah*), in the inclusion of the word כְּשָׁרִים as having two different meanings in Prov 14:30 and in Prov

223. For cases examined in *CTAT* Vol. 3, see *CTAT* Vol. 3, 84:1–6; 105:7–10; 119:29–32; 155:47 to 156:2; 160:52 to 161:2; 205:33f., 47–49; 212:12f.; 263:24–29; 266:14–19; 283:38f.; 291:24f.; 294:48–50; 312 n. 1100; 349:29f.; 354:39–42; 379:16f.; 381:12–17; 385:42f.; 396 n. 1294; 397:33; 402:33–35; 404:1f.; 430:1f.; 441:21–27; 461:19–21; 480:33f.; 501:21–25; 516:27f.; 518:2–4; 537:17f.; 551:31–39, 40–47; 560:7–9; 575:15f.; 576:28–30; 580:33f. and 582:1f.; 588:2f.; 618:30–32; 623:27–29; 624:10–12; 631:29–31; 636:18f.; 649 n. 2207; 654:18–20; 668:33–35; 685:5–9; 687:6–10; 714:8f.; 728:34–37; 732:10–12; 737:27f.; 740:32f.; 759:29–33; 762:44–763:3, 8–19; 772:5–10; 780:18–21; 787:28–31; 795:28–34; 799:23–25; 806:26f.; 813:43–814:2; 818:24f.; 821:13–16; 827:16f.; 828:38f.; 842:3–5; 845:11–16; 848:44–46; 857:38f.; 861:18f.; 866:40–42; 868:19–23; 870:17–23; 872:46–48; 878:11f.; 881:36f.; 882:35f.; 889:14–17; 898:6–10; 899:26–29; 908:3–12; 916:20–24; 921:11–13; 922:21f.; 923:41–43; 926:38–42; 930:5f.; 931:35f.; 932:50f.; 934:3; 944:48; 948:12–14; 951:35f.; 952:34f.; 956:48–50; 958:6f.; 959:5f., 49f.; 962:42–53; 964:9–13; 979:4–6; 999:18f.; 1002:25f.; 1004:50–1005:17; 1007:52; 1013:2f.; 1016:35f.; 1019:8f.; 1020:50–52; 1023:41–46; 1025:2–4; 1029:24f.; 1033:2–5; 1037:26–29.

224. *Okhlah*. Halle §60 = Paris §59.

225. Jacob Tam, *Hakra'ot*, 11.

19:10. He justified his suspicion with the following reasoning: Dunash ben Labrat reproached Menahem ben Saruq for having classified **בְּשָׂרִים** of Prov 19:10 under the entry **בְּשָׂר** (= flesh).²²⁶ Was it not therefore the disciples of Dunash who inserted this word on the list of words used two times with two different meanings? For if it had already figured on the list at the time of Dunash, it would be strange that he did not make use of it as an argument in his polemic against Menahem. Moreover, Jacob Tam continues, there is another proof of later additions to the lists of the Masorah magna in the fact that the pairs of words **זָקֵן** (Gen 24:2 and Ps 133:2) and **תִּרְשָׁתָם** (Judg 14:18 and Hos 10:13) figure both on the list of words employed two times with two different meanings and, several pages later,²²⁷ on the list of words used two times with the same meaning. From this he concludes that someone who consulted the Masorah of words used in the same sense thought that these words were missing and added them, without remembering²²⁸ that they already figured on the list of words used in two different senses. Having thus demonstrated that the lists whose titles do not have the number of cases make no claim to be exhaustive, Jacob Tam warns his reader against the temptation of drawing conclusions from the absence of certain words on either of the lists. If a word that is used only two times in the Bible does not figure on the list of words used in two different senses, it should not be concluded prematurely that in both occurrences it is used in the same sense. In his argumentation, we have fine evidence of the critical judgment of this twelfth-century rabbi from Champagne. In the particular case that occupied Jacob Tam, however, it shows hypercriticism, since the Masorete for the Aleppo manuscript a century before Dunash had already written the Mp “two times with two meanings” for **בְּשָׂרִים** in Prov 14:30. The presence of the two occurrences of **בְּשָׂרִים** on the list in the *Okhlah* thus has every chance of being original.

1.a.ii. A Masorah that mentions an interpretation contrary to the spelling

In *CTAT* Vol. 3, 238:7–29 on Ezek 28:14, we examine the methodologically interesting Masorah on the three cases where the pronoun **אָנֹכִי** is interpreted as masculine. This very old Masorah is given, among others, for Num 11:15 as a Mm in V and as a Mp in B and D, and for Ezek 28:14 in A.

1.b. Masorahs indirectly related to exegesis

This type of Masorah is very frequent. Here we highlight certain ones that have proved useful in this work.

226. Menahem ben Saruq, *Maḥberet*, 92*.3.

227. *Okhlah*. Halle §13 = Paris §70.

228. In this we have an indication that Jacob Tam was reading the *Okhlah* in a redaction of the type of the Paris manuscript (where the list of words used in the same sense is placed after that of words used in two different senses) and not of the type of the Halle manuscript (where the order is reversed).

(α) For Judg 5:8, we pointed out the mention, in the penultimate list of the Paris *Okhlah* manuscript,²²⁹ of words that are oxytones only once in the Bible, and are paroxytones in all other occurrences.²³⁰ Let us note, first of all, that although this list is absent from the Halle manuscript, it is very old, since David ben Abraham already made use of it.²³¹ In Judg 5:8 this Masorah reports the *milra*²³² accent of דָּבָר as unique, to distinguish it from the many cases where the form is paroxytone and is the pausal form of the noun דָּבָר (= bread). Following David ben Abraham and Dunash, we have concluded from this detail that it must involve a noun derived from the homographic root with the sense of “to fight.”

(β) For Isa 30:32 and Ezek 14:4, we made use of the list of 18 cases where *mappiq* is not placed in a final *he*.²³³ Ginsburg correctly concluded that this list from the *Okhlah*²³⁴ had the initial object of compiling cases where the absence of a *mappiq* is abnormal, and then, when this object was misperceived, other odd cases of final *he* were added.²³⁵ This very early list figures already in P (on Ezek 24:6), in B (on Exod 2:3; 9:18; Lev 1:15; 13:4), and in V (on Exod 2:3; 9:18). In these older manuscripts, the list is rather unstable, with B adding more cases without indicating numbers and V giving the number “19” in Exod 2:3 and offering an “alphabet” of 23 cases in Exod 9:18. Thus, as long as the list is used with caution, it offers testimony on ancient interpretations that considered some of these endings as including a 3fs pronominal suffix.

(γ) For Jer 15:11, we mentioned the list²³⁶ of the *Okhlah* that brings together words in which an *ʾalep* is not treated as consonantal.²³⁷ The existence of such a list suggests interpretations for these words that would restore the consonantal value of *ʾaleps* that had become quiescent or had disappeared. Another Masoretic tradition (itself polymorphic) assembled lists of words where an *ʾalep* is missing. These lists are very early, since B offers²³⁸ a form of one that is already no longer in its original state. Ginsburg provides a good survey of these lists;²³⁹ his study needs to be supplemented only by the lists in ancient manuscripts that have since been recovered. This is true in the case where Ginsburg stated that he was unable to find in any manuscript a particular list that has since been published by

229. §373 of *Okhlah* (Frensdorff).

230. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 80.

231. David ben Abraham, *Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary*, vol. 1, 154, 198–99.

232. When we examine the kinship of the Masorahs, we will have the opportunity to show that the Masoretes use the terms *milʿel* and *milra* in a broader sense than that of “paroxytone” and “oxytone” (see below, p. 366).

233. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 220, and Vol. 3, 90:15.

234. *Okhlah*, Halle §44 = Paris §43.

235. Ginsburg, *Massorah*, vol. 4, ¶ §37.

236. *Okhlah*, Paris §199 = second part of Halle §153.

237. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 592.

238. At Num 15:24.

239. Ginsburg, *Massorah* IV, ¶ §14.

Weil,²⁴⁰ from the Firkovitch manuscript. To this may be added a copious list in D that appears in a Mm on Deut 28:57.

(δ) For Jer 50:11, we made use of the list of 13 words that end with an *ʔalep* in place of *he*.²⁴¹ This list, added in the margin of the Halle *Okhlah*,²⁴² is clearly based on an interpretation that is considered obvious. Thus it tells us the way the Masorete understood these words.

(ε) Occasionally the Masorahs preserve traces of ancient doubts. Such is the case in the list §194 of the Paris *Okhlah* that cites five verses of the Torah where the syntactic division is uncertain. The Babylonian Talmud²⁴³ attributes this Masorah to Isi ben Judah.²⁴⁴ It involves the words *שאת* (Gen 4:7), *משוקדים* (Exod 25:34), *מחר* (Exod 17:9), *ארור* (Gen 49:7), and *וקם* (Deut 31:16), where the Masorete is not certain whether these words go with what precedes or with what follows them.

I.c. The sebirin

Even though some Masorahs enter the same facts sometimes in the category of *Qeres*, and sometimes in that of *sebirin*, it is helpful to distinguish carefully between these two categories. A *Qere* is a departure from the *Kethiv* in the *miqraʿ*, or to put it another way, something that the Masoretic tradition required to be read (= *Qere*) otherwise than is suggested by the consonantal text (= *Kethiv*) transmitted by the tradition of the *sopherim*. The *sebir* is something that is customarily interpreted (= *סבירין*) differently from what is read (= *Qere*). Some are mistaken (= *מטעין*) in reading and even writing this interpretation. Actually, the qualifications *sebirin* and *maʿin* both refer to the same phenomenon of interpretation without identifying it as correct or erroneous. The purpose of the designations *Qere*, *Kethiv*, and *sebirin* is to distinguish three domains that should not encroach on each other. The *Kethiv* is the domain of the *sopher*. The *Qere* is the domain of the reader and the *sebir* is the domain of the exegete.²⁴⁵

(α) For Josh 8:17, we dealt with the *sebir* *בְּבֵית*, corresponding four times to the *Qere* *בֵּית*.²⁴⁶

(β) For 1 Sam 19:10, we mentioned the Masoretic list grouping four instances where *בְּלִילָה הוּא* is read instead of *בְּלִילָה הָהוּא*.²⁴⁷ These cases are presented by Norzi²⁴⁸ as *sebirin*.

240. Weil, *Massorah*, §922.

241. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 824.

242. In the top margin of p. 46b.

243. *B. Yoma* 52ab.

244. From the third generation of the Tannaim (mid-second century).

245. This comes out clearly in the observations of David ben Abraham reported in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 298 n. 1072.

246. *CTAT* Vol. 1, 13.

247. *Ibid.*, 193.

248. In *Ṿ* (Minhat Shay) on Gen 30:16.

(γ) At 2 Sam 22:44 and Lam 3:14, we dealt with the Masoretic note pointing out three cases (these two and Ps 144:2) where the *sebir* עֲמִי is found, corresponding to the *Qere* עָמִי.²⁴⁹

(δ) The most confused Masoretic situation that we have encountered up to now is that of the wavering between אָתָּה and עָתָּה in 1 Kgs 1:18 and 20.²⁵⁰ The Masoretic statements on the subject are represented by Norzi as *sebirin*.

(ε) In 2 Kgs 3:24 and Hos 9:2, we encountered the two cases where the *sebirin* עָמִי are connected with the *Qere* בָּהֶן.²⁵¹ In the more extensive treatment of the second case, we noted that certain witnesses transformed this tradition into a case of *Qere-Kethiv*.

(ζ) For Isa 6:13, we stated that C cites four *sebirin* that are the inverse of the preceding ones, where the *Qere* עָמִי are interpreted as בָּהֶן, and we added that manuscript 9 of the second Firkovitch collection cites these four cases as מִטְעִין.²⁵²

(η) For Nch 12:22, we reported that the very early manuscript B enumerates ten cases at Gen 49:13 where עָל is the object of the *sebir* עָל.²⁵³

(θ) At Mic 6:10, we pointed out the *sebirin* שָׁן connected to the *Qere* שָׁן, with C citing two occurrences, while F reports three.²⁵⁴ In place of this, A prefers to give Masorahs without direct exegetical implications.

In the second of our studies on the relationship of the Masorahs,²⁵⁵ we will have the opportunity to examine another list of *sebirin* more closely.

2. Masorahs without Exegetical Implications

For textual criticism, the most interesting conclusions will be drawn from certain Masorahs that are purely descriptive. Anyone who makes a habit of consulting the Masorahs gradually acquires a sense of the degree of concern for detail present in the professional consciousness of the Masoretes for the task of transmitting and formulating the tradition of reading with which they were entrusted. The Masorah reveals to us the magnification ratio of the Masoretes' microscope in their concern for precision. But it also brings with it some surprises.

2.a. Precision of the Masoretes and negligence of certain scribes

Thus, if we examine the oldest Masoretic witnesses of Hab 2:5 (P, N, C, A, F), we can observe the following six preoccupations of the Masoretes:

249. *CIAT* Vol. 1, 308 and Vol. 2, 894.

250. Treated in *CIAT* Vol. 1, 330–31.

251. *Ibid.*, 382 and *CIAT* Vol. 3, 561:3–24.

252. *CIAT* Vol. 2, 42.

253. *CIAT* Vol. 1, 572.

254. *CIAT* Vol. 3, 763:14–19.

255. Below, pp. 353–359.

1. To prevent the initial *waw* of וַאֲרִי from being omitted (as it is in Berlin manuscript Or fol 2), a Masorah in C and N points out that six verses begin with this word (to distinguish them from the many more verses that begin with אַרְיָ).
2. To prevent בִּגְדֵי from being written *plene* (as in N and F), A mentions this occurrence as one of two where the spelling is defective. P has the defective spelling and C has it through correction.
3. To safeguard the rare form נִהִיר, whose resemblance to a verb can throw one off, P, A, and F report in a Mp that it is found twice: here and, according to A, in Prov 21:24.
4. To preserve the initial *kap* of כְּשֵׂאוֹל against corruption to a *bet*, a Mp in C, A, and F reports that this form appears three times (the form with *bet* occurs four times).
5. To prevent vocalization as an infinitive or construct state (כְּמוֹת occurs three times), a Masorah in N, P, C, and A reports three occurrences of כְּמוֹת.
6. To reinforce the vocalization of יִשְׁפַע with *qāmeṣ*, a Masorah in C, A, and F reports that the word is vocalized two times in this way, with the *zuqef* accent.

After supplying these six Masoretic notes for the first 16 words of the verse, P, C, A, and F give none for וַיֵּאָסֶף אֵלָיו כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם וַיִּקְבֹּץ אֵלָיו כָּל־הָעַמִּים, which finishes the verse. However, instead of the last word, N has הַמְּלָכֹת, simply noting that “the Western texts read העמים.” It is remarkable to see the disparity between the Masorahs’ previous attention to detail and the significance of this scribal consonantal variant, against which P, C, A, and F give no Masorah that would alert copyists to the problem. For this variant, moreover, N has no support from Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or Syriac witnesses, and it appears to be the only one to mention a tradition unique to the “Oriental texts.” N must have been influenced by ℣, which has מְלָכֹתָ here. The ℣ alternative can be explained easily by the fact that it had just translated הַגּוֹיִם with עַמְמִיָּא, and so required another suitable word to be chosen here. ℣ will find itself in the same difficulty in v. 8, where, after translating גּוֹיִם with עַמְמִיָּן, it had to choose another word to translate עַמִּים. This time, the choice was שְׂבִטָּא. ℣ has a preference for “kingdom” as a parallel to “people,” as can be observed in v. 13, where it has no problem translating לְאֻמִּים with מְלָכֹתָ, after having translated עַמִּים with עַמְמִיָּא.

This case is quite unusual. I know of no other variant of comparable scope among the ancient manuscripts with Tiberian vocalization.

2.b. Quality of early Masorahs

2.b.i. The Masorah is often better than the text

At Ezek 19:9, we demonstrated in a broad and detailed analysis that, for a vocalic variant (*hōlem* or *qāmeṣ*), the medieval manuscripts offered a much more faithful witness to the classical Tiberian text in their Masorahs than in their vocalization.²⁵⁶

256. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 144:37–147:48.

At Ezek 24:12, we noted once more a greater fidelity to the classical Tiberian text in the Masorah of Copenhagen manuscript 4 than in its text.²⁵⁷

At Ezck 26:20, we made the same observation in the case of the Masoretic Bible of Ben Hayim.²⁵⁸

2.b.ii. Analysis of the Masorahs

It is often impossible to analyze an isolated Masorah satisfactorily. This is the case, for example, at Obad 20, where we pointed out eight different spellings of the same word and three types of Masorahs dealing with it.²⁵⁹ It was necessary to assemble a considerable number of witnesses of each type of Masorah in order to identify the authentic forms and analyze their aims. To do this, the testimony of the versions²⁶⁰ and of medieval Jewish exegetes²⁶¹ offered useful confirmations. This study taught us to distrust certain alterations in Weil²⁶² and certain ill-judged choices on the part of Ginsburg.²⁶³

2.b.iii. Disagreements in the Masorahs

For הַרְבִּיתָּ in Nah 3:16, we noted in the Ashkenazi manuscripts London BL Add 21161 and Berlin Or fol 2 a disagreement between two different types of inaccurate Masorahs that would seem at first glance to support a variant offered by some witnesses of Kennicott.²⁶⁴ Here N, B, C, A, and F agree on the authentic reading of מ, but they do not support it directly with any Masorah. Nevertheless, the inaccuracy of the Masorah in the Berlin manuscript Or fol 2 (as well as the confusion from which it results) can be proven by the list in the *Okhlah* enumerating 43 cases where a final *yod* is written but not read: Nah 3:16 is not on the list. As for the Masorah of London BL Add 21161, no Tiberian Masorah exists either to support or to contradict it.

Breuer noted for 2 Sam 22:34 that the *plene* spelling בְּמוֹתַי in F goes against C, A, Sn, and E,²⁶⁵ but he did not note the disagreement between the Masorahs of C, A, and F,²⁶⁶ on the one hand, and E on the other, concerning the *plene* and defective spellings of בְּמוֹתַי.²⁶⁷

257. *Ibid.*, 208:6–8.

258. *Ibid.*, 221:2–12.

259. *Ibid.*, 703:1–35.

260. *Ibid.*, 704:2–5.

261. *Ibid.*, 704:16–24 and n. 2430.

262. *Ibid.*, 703 n. 2427.

263. *Ibid.*, 703 n. 2429.

264. *Ibid.*, 820:10–12.

265. Breuer, *Aleppo*, 103.

266. The Masorah of F on Hab 3:16 contradicts the *plene* spelling in 2 Sam 22:34. For this reason, Weil corrected it without identifying it as a correction in his edition of the Mm of F (*Massorah*, §3124).

267. Pointed out in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 879:44–50 on Hab 3:16.

At Zeph 3:8,²⁶⁸ when we consulted the Masorahs on three competing spellings of a word, we saw again that Weil had corrected the Mp of F without note, to remove the contradiction with the *Okhlah*,²⁶⁹ whose facts coincide with the text of the classical Tiberian witnesses (including that of F).

At Zech 14:5, we saw in a Masorah “from the land of Israel” and a Masorah “from Babylonia” a disagreement over the vocalization of a word, a disagreement which Qirqisani included on the traditional list of differences between the “Oriental” and the “Western” texts.²⁷⁰ This is undoubtedly our clearest evidence of such conflicts.

The assessment of this type of disagreement should not be based on the inadequate editions of the Masorah produced by Weil (who too hastily emended the Masorah in F purely by intuition) and by Ginsburg (who was unable to make use of the early Tiberian manuscripts). The Masorahs of the manuscripts need to be collated all over again. At this point, we should introduce a source mentioned by Weil that has never been seriously utilized.

B. An Unutilized Source: The Zikronot Concordance

This is a unique work that exists in three manuscript states, has never been edited, and is, moreover, uneditable, in spite of the fact that it contains a wealth of material that can be found nowhere else.

I. Levita's Project and Its Realization

From 1516 to the sack of Rome in 1527, the palace of Cardinal Gilles of Viterbo in Rome housed a collection of Jewish books of exceptional quality and Elias Levita worked there, lodged and salaried by the Cardinal. Gilles, dissatisfied with the biblical concordance that the Dominican Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher had compiled in Latin in the thirteenth century,²⁷¹ procured for himself the first concordance of the Hebrew Bible ever compiled, one that Rabbi Isaac Nathan ben Kalonymos of Provence had created under the inspiration of Hugh's concordance.²⁷² It offered the advantage over the Latin concordance of classifying words by their Hebrew roots and adding verse references to the chapter

268. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 907:29–908:23.

269. *Okhlah*, Halle §28 = Paris §27.

270. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 1004:50–1005:35.

271. According to the introduction to the Munich manuscript of the *Sepher Zikronot* (1b), Gilles of Viterbo said to Elias, “We have with us a book from one of our predecessors on all the words of the Bible called ‘Concordantia.’ It was drawn up in the Roman language by I don’t know whom.” As Weil recognized (*Lévita*, 92), this must be the work of Hugh of St. Cher.

272. Here, Weil (*Lévita*, 92) poses the question. “Can we assume that Gilles de Viterbo was unaware of Isaac Nathan’s work when he asked Levita to create one like it?” Not only was Gilles aware of it, but the single manuscript of this work to have survived (and for the first half only), Paris BN manuscript hébr 133, bears his ex libris autograph at the end. The concordance was published in 1523 in Venice.

references,²⁷³ but it went no farther than to copy all the occurrences of different derivations of the same root one after the other, in the order found in the Bible, without distinguishing between them. Elias promised the Cardinal that he would compile a concordance that would reveal the grammatical structuring of the roots and words of the Hebrew and would draw together in grammatical order all the Masoretic lists that he had gathered from numerous biblical manuscripts as well as from a copy of the *Okhlah*. We can see right away that these two commitments are not entirely compatible. Indeed, the Masorahs are generally interested only in forms and not in their grammatical analysis. Several occurrences of the same form may be found grouped in the same Masoretic list, while their grammatical analysis would require that they be placed in distinct entries. Conversely, in the same entry defined by grammatical criteria, the biblical order of the occurrences of a single grammatical form may be disturbed if that entry must integrate several Masoretic lists where the grouping of occurrences is carried out according to accentual or graphic peculiarities. The difficulty of preserving the internal coherence of the concordance constituted the principal reason that Levita's work did not yield a publishable result. Another reason was that the prolonged labor of collecting these Masoretic lists gave birth to three large manuscripts representing three states, none of them complete. If they are incomplete, it is because Levita attached much more importance to the gathering of the Masoretic lists than to the exhaustive enumeration of the different occurrences of the words. In each of the three manuscript states, the concordances occupy more than 4,000 35-line columns. As we will see, these three manuscripts contain Masoretic material of very uneven quality. But, as long as they are viewed critically, they frequently offer lists in a purer state than what was available to Ben Hayim.

2. Relationship between the Three States of the Concordance

The relationship between the three manuscripts is more complex than Weil leads one to believe. Weil makes the following claims: the Munich manuscript (Mu) is an autograph of Levita, begun in 1516 and completed in 1521. The Lyon manuscript (Ly) was copied from Mu by a Christian, before May 1527. These two works were completed in Rome. The Paris manuscript (Pa), which appears to be an autograph, was reconstructed by the author before 1536 at Venice, after the two previous copies of his work disappeared in the sack of Rome. There are, however, few differences between the Roman version (Mu and Ly) and the Venetian version (Pa) of the work.²⁷⁴

With the microfilms of these three manuscripts in front of us, certain elements of Weil's reconstruction are brought into question. Let us begin by reaffirming its

273. Dating from 1519, the manuscript of this work (cited in the previous note) is the oldest witness that we know of to have verse numbering.

274. Weil, "Archétype," 149, 151, 153, and 157; *Lévita*, 94, 122f., 289, and 295.

general thrust: It is true that Mu and Ly represent two states of the work that issue from the same Roman scriptorium and are prior to the state represented by Pa.²⁷⁵ But it is inaccurate to say that Ly is simply a copy of Mu and that there are few differences between the Roman and the Venetian versions of the work. Given the fact that the first Masoretic Bible was published at Venice in 1524 by Jacob ben Hayim at Daniel Bomberg's, for whom Levita was working, it would be surprising if Levita did not profit from that work in rewriting his own.

2.a. The Munich manuscript is often dependent on the Lyon manuscript

Close examination of a number of passages in the three manuscripts reveals conclusively that Ly could not be a copy of Mu, but that these two manuscripts are two interdependent recensions of the concordance, with the dependence of Mu on Ly more marked than dependence in the other direction. Listed below are some cases representative of the dependence of Mu on Ly. It can be seen that many of the peculiarities of Mu correspond to the intentions formulated by Elias Levita (EL) in his annotations in the margins of Ly.²⁷⁶ In each case, we have compared the readings with Pa.

(α) In the margin of "5 pairs whose second word is **איש**" in Ly I, 454b, in Levita's hand, there is a sketch for the page arrangement, the same arrangement that would be followed in Mu I, 134a. This list is missing in Pa.

(β) In the margin of the listing **אֹכֵל דְּאֹכְלָהּ**, which is placed between **אֹכֵל** and **יֹאכֵל** in Ly I, 447b, there is a notation "ponam in loco suo." A transfer was made to place it between **אֹכְלָהּ** and **אֹכֵל** in Mu I, 139a and Pa I, 62b.

(γ) In Ly I, 374b, in the margin of the listings **יְבִיאָהּ דְּ** and **יְבִיאָהּ**, EL wrote that all this should be placed after the listing **יְבִיאָם** (which he confirms at that location, on 374a). This transfer was effected in Mu I, 213a and Pa I, 135a.

(δ) In the margin of the listing **יְדֹתָ**, which is placed between **יְדִידוֹת** and **דְּ** in Ly I, 133a, EL wrote that all this should be placed "under its noun **יד**." This transfer took place in Mu I, 452a and Pa I, 388a.

(ε) In the margin of the listing **מְוֹדָהּ**, placed between **יְהוֹדוּךָ** and **יְהִתְנַדְּדָהּ** in Ly I, 132b, EL wrote that this should be placed after **הוֹדִינוּ** (which he confirms in that place, on 133a). The transfer was made in Mu I, 452a and Pa I, 388b.

(ζ) In the margin of the listing **לְחַמּוֹ**, placed between **לְחַמָּה** and **לְוַחַם** in Ly II, 570b, EL wrote that all this should be placed at the beginning of the root listing.

275. Weil noted correctly that Ly and Mu were copied on sheets of paper that have the same three alternating watermarks. But the alternation does not correspond to the passage from one part of the concordance to another. Instead, it is random.

276. Levita's many annotations in the margin of Ly confirm what a Latin hand noted at the top or bottom of the beginning or end of numerous letters of the concordance: "Emendabat Helias ad finem usque." These notations (which may be the hand of Gilles of Viterbo) have for the most part been partially trimmed off by the binder of the manuscript. However, eleven of them can still be recovered in connection with the letters **ז, ח, ט, ל, י, מ, נ, ס, ע.**

The same notation is found in the middle of a blank line in Mu I, 20b (with the explanation that they are verbal forms). The transfer took place in Pa II, 15a.

(η) In the margin of the listing מְלוּזָא כ מלאים placed after וְהַמְלֵאוֹת in Ly II, 465b, EL wrote that it should be placed after the *Hithpael* (which he confirms at that location, on 463b). The intended transfer is not indicated in Mu II, 58a (where the listing occupies the same place as in Ly), but it did take place in Pa II, 54a.

(θ) At the beginning of the listing for the root מלח in Ly II, 463a, there is a note “Desunt multae dictionis מְלַח, quaeretur post מְלִט.” In the margin at the beginning of the listing of the root מְלִט is a note “Quaere in medio sequentis columnae.” There is a corresponding note in the location mentioned, beside the beginning of the listings מְלַח, מְלַח, וּמְלַח, מְלַחִים, and מְלַחִים (which are between מְלִט and the root מלך), which says “ponam id in loco suo ante מְלִט.” The transfer was made in Mu II, 60b and Pa II, 55a.

(ι) In the margin of the four lines of מְלַכּוֹתוֹ, וּמְלַכּוֹתוֹ, and לְמַלְכּוֹתוֹ, placed between וּמְלַכּוֹתֶיךָ and מְלַכּוֹתָם in Ly II, 458a, EL wrote that these four lines should be placed with מְלַכּוֹתוֹ (which he confirms at that location, on 458b). The transfer was effected in Mu II, 66a and Pa II, 55a.

(κ) The two lines for the root נהק are inserted between נהם and וְנַהֵם in Ly II, 423a. A curved line calls for the relocation that was carried out in Mu II, 101a and Pa II, 98a.

(λ) In the margin of the listings צָמַח and צָמְחָה ד, placed between וְלִהְצַמִּיחַ and אֲצַמִּיחַ in Ly II, 220a is the note “po[. . .] suo.” The transfer was made to a location following תְּצַמִּיחַ in Mu II, 342a and Pa II, 348b.

(μ) In the margin of the listing רְבוֹת, placed between רַב מֵאֵד and a catchall listing for רַב in Ly II, 150a, EL wrote that it should be placed after רַבְתִּי on the second page (which the copyist confirms with a note in the middle of the line at the top of 148b). The transfer took place in Mu II, 416a and Pa II, 425b.

(ν) In the margin at the beginning of the listing שְׁלַחְנוּ, which follows לְהַשְׁלִיחַ in Ly II, 47a, EL wrote that this was the place for a block of listings from שְׁלוּחַ to בְּהַשְׁלִיחַ that had been inserted between וְאֲשַׁלְּחֵם and יִשְׁלַיִךְ (which he confirms in the margin of this block on 46a). The transfer was effected in Mu II, 523a, whereas Pa II, 431b to 432a has a different order.

2.b. Autographs or not?

Weil attributes Ly to a Christian who would have made the copy from Mu soon after it was completed. We have just seen that Ly is a source of Mu rather than a copy of it. Furthermore, neither one was copied start to finish. In both, each letter of the concordance begins a new fascicle. Between the entries into which the various roots are divided, and often within an entry, the redactor frequently left large spaces, with the hope of finding the Masorahs that should fill them later on. Often one has the impression of a change in manuscript hand even within the same entry. It is sometimes tempting to believe that a whole team of

copyists worked on the two manuscripts. But it should be noted that established autographs of Levita contain differences in hand-writing that do not go beyond the differences existing between the various “hands” that worked on the two manuscripts. Thus, the colophon of a cabbalistic work by Elcazar of Worms, copied by Levita,²⁷⁷ reveals a fairly calm and rounded hand, very similar to the greater part of Ly and a more limited part of Mu. At the same time, the colophon of a treatise by Al-Ghazali, also copied by Levita,²⁷⁸ reveals a hand clearly more pitched and cursive that strongly resembles the marginal glosses in Ly and the greater part of Mu.²⁷⁹ Before they were completed, Ly and Mu must have been stacks of fascicles into which Levita could introduce new Masorahs as he discovered them. Most often, it was Ly that received the first draft and Mu inherited the revised form. Sometimes, Levita followed the reverse order. The manuscript where Levita’s hand seems to appear most rarely is Pa, a fact that can be observed in a comparison of the dedication and introduction (autographs) with the rest of the manuscript. Later on, we will quote from this dedication to George de Selve, where Levita reminds the reader that it was George de Selve who paid the salaries of the copyists and the pointers hired to produce this revision, which was to be printed.

2.c. *The position of Mu and Pa in relation to Ly*

Levita copied the greater part of Mu, sometimes from independent sources, but most often relying on Ly, which he had corrected. Ly’s dependence on the Halle *Okhlah*—which Levita appears quite likely to have had on hand at the time—is ordinarily more direct than that of Mu. In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we saw a case where Ly has a Masorah intact, while Mu offers it in an inaccurate form and Pa has an abbreviated version.²⁸⁰ After recovering the original and unedited form of another Masorah in the classical Tiberian witnesses, we observed that this authentic, unedited form figures in Ly, whereas Mu gives a mangled form of it, and Pa offers an edited form in which two errors have been introduced under the influence of the Masoretic Bible of Ben Hayim.²⁸¹ Listed below are a few cases that will suffice to demonstrate that Ly is not at all a copy of Mu, and that Pa is not as close to the other two manuscripts as Weil claims.

(α) For the cases where the word קִרְיָא is not at the *rosh pasuq*, Ly enumerates 161 occurrences, whereas Mu lists only 80 and Pa only 69. Mu and Pa complete their lists by cross-references to other lists.

277. Photograph in Weil, *Lévita*, 76.

278. Photograph in *ibid.*, 39.

279. In Barthélemy, “Problèmes,” 22, I was still subscribing to Weil’s opinion that the Lyon manuscript was not in Levita’s hand. The parallels just mentioned have changed my mind on this point.

280. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 908:16–21.

281. *Ibid.*, 147:2–44.

(β) The entry כָּהֵן is quite long in Ly. It is omitted in Mu, and Pa reduced it to cross-references.

(γ) Ly gives four cases of תֹּאכַד, then five of תֹּאכֵד. Mu omits תֹּאכֵד, while Pa places them after תֹּאכַד.

(δ) For וַאֲכַדְתֶּם, Ly and Pa specify the accents *rebi'ca* and *zaqef* of Deut 11:17 and Josh 23:16, which Mu omits.

(ε) For the entry אָכַן, Ly has 52 lines of occurrences. Mu has only nine, but treats separately two occurrences of אֲכַן בְּהֵן, one of אֲכַן בְּחֵן, and six of אָכַן. Pa offers 14 cases of אָכַן and six of אָכֵן.

(ζ) The entry אָכַן in Ly has 21 lines of occurrences. Mu's entry has only five lines, which are slightly amplified in Pa.

(η) The entry אָכַן has 25 lines in Ly, while Mu and Pa devote only ten lines to it, plus cross-references.

(θ) The entry אָדָם וְבַהֲמָה in Ly is simplified in Mu and omitted in Pa.

(ι) אָדָם is treated by Ly in 85 lines, by Mu in 51 lines, and by Pa in 38, with the last two completing their entries by cross-referencing.

(κ) Ly devotes an entry to אָדָם וְבַהֲמָה, which is omitted by Mu and Pa.

(λ) אָדָם has 34 lines in Ly, 14 in Mu, and nine in Pa, with the last two completing their entries with cross-referencing.

(μ) For the form אָדָם, Ly gives 75 lines of *milra'*, then two *mil'el*. Mu gives two *mil'el*, then 34 *milra'*. Pa simply mentions the *mil'el* and gives 28 *milra'*.

3. The Fate of the Three Manuscripts

Whoever edited Pa seems to have had Ly and Mu at his disposal. Certain conjunctions between Pa and one or the other of these manuscripts have to do with errors or textual accidents that are best explained by dependence, sometimes on one, sometimes on the other. Weil oversimplifies the situation when he says that the copy of the *Zikronot* concordance that Levita kept after having returned Mu to Gilles of Viterbo had been "snatched from the author in 1527 by the Bourbon brutes." In Pa's dedication to George de Selve, French ambassador to Venice, Levita says simply of his concordance:

The devastation of Rome was the reason I did not finish it at the time and left it incomplete. And even that unfinished part was taken from me and added to the pillage. Torn and soiled, there remained of it only the small amount that I brought with me here to Venice. And I did not have the intention of returning to this book to finish it. But the Lord, wanting the work to be completed and the book published, awakened the interest of the Monseigneur (. . .). As you know, one day our conversation brought us to speak of this work. You asked me to show you the fragmented fascicles that remained. And following upon that, you were struck by the great benefit that students of the language could draw from it, and you entreated me at once to take up the task again and to finish it. You engaged for hire copyists, pointers, and all who would contribute to its completion and you kept your word.

The Ly manuscript appears to be the remnant of the unfinished concordance that Levita took with him from Rome to Venice. Indeed, Weil pointed out that, based on the condition of the first leaves of his two volumes, “it can be assumed that these works suffered the ravages of the pillaging and fires.”²⁸²

When George de Selve gave Levita the hope of having his Masoretic concordance published in Paris, Levita decided to edit a new version of it, in which he would take into account the edition of Ben Hayim,²⁸³ in spite of his denigration of this apostate’s work. It was then that Levita must have secured from Gilles the delivery of Mu to Venice. Indeed, after his departure from Rome, Levita remained in close contact with Gilles of Viterbo, who assured his living at Venice while he was editing the “Meturgeman” for him.²⁸⁴ It is thus not surprising that when he had finished this task and had sent him the work in January 1531, Levita, returning to his *Zikronot* concordance and wishing to supplement the materials in Ly with those in Mu, asked Gilles of Viterbo to lend it to him, without suspecting that the copy would remain in his hands because of the Cardinal’s death in November 1532.

The fact that Mu ended up at the Staatsbibliothek of Munich offers another indication of the fact that this manuscript must have once been in Levita’s hands. Before reaching that library, Mu was part of the library of Johannes Albert Widmanstad.²⁸⁵ When Widmanstad arrived in Rome in 1532, he was certainly in contact with Gilles of Viterbo there several months before his death, and had had a certain number of Gilles’s manuscripts copied, but it is hardly likely that it was Gilles, to whom Elias had dedicated the manuscript, who gave it to Widmanstad. Widmanstad was also in direct and friendly contact with Elias Levita, from whom he obtained a first draft manuscript of *Masoret ha-Masoret* in 1537,²⁸⁶ a manuscript which would be published in the following year. Weil reproduces a letter from Levita to Widmanstad, written in Hebrew and dated May 1543.²⁸⁷ After he states that he does not have the books that his correspondent requested of him, Levita suggests others and adds, “If you choose some of them, let me know. Out of affection and the benevolent wish to honor you, I will be eager to carry out your behests in this and in other similar services, because I am bound to you by an undying affection.” This clear desire to assist Widmanstad would support the suggestion that when Levita had completed the production of Pa and no longer had need of Mu, he sent it to Widmanstad.

282. Weil, “Archétype,” 151.

283. In his second introduction to *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* (95), Levita claims that he expended great effort with this edition to separate the enlightening Masoretic materials from those that brought confusion.

284. Weil, *Lévita*, 115.

285. This is reported by Steinschneider (*Staatsbibliothek*, vi n. 4).

286. Munich manuscript 322.

287. *Lévita*, 244–46.

As for Ly, at the time of the French Revolution it was transferred from the Dominican monastery of Notre-Dame de Comfort to the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon. Now, the great Italian Hebraist, Santes Pagnini, belonged to the Dominican monastery at Lyon and died there in 1542. There is a good chance that this manuscript had belonged to him. It is not impossible that George de Selve had served as intermediary between Levita and Pagnini to procure the manuscript²⁸⁸ when the redaction of the Paris manuscript was completed.²⁸⁹

C. *The Kinship of the Masorahs*

The antiquity and the development of the Masorahs can be analyzed by comparing various competing types of the same Masorah. We will examine seven Masorahs conceived along quite different lines, beginning with those that offer less precise information, and ending with those that deal with apparently insignificant details. These will involve (1) different types of lists that note more or less marked similarities between the beginning and end of certain verses, (2) different exegetical traditions bearing on the interpretation of various singular forms of the verb בוא as plurals, (3) various particulars, combined or not, on the infinitive absolute of צא, (4) pointings of the form נשנ that permit different grammatical values to be distinguished, (5) the distinctive vocalization of the initial *waw* in ואתנה, (6) the presence or absence of nunation in the 2mp of the *Qal* imperfect of אמר, and (7) the presence of *ḥātēp* or *šewā'* under the *het* of certain derivations of the root חסה. These studies will permit us to analyze and classify 299 Masoretic lists.

1. *Verses That Have the Same Beginning and Ending*

We begin by examining a type of Masorah that is rather unstable. With this type we are able to compare a tradition concerning the Torah alone to three others that include the entire Scriptures.

288. In a letter of June 12, 1530, Bembo asked Lazare Baif, predecessor of George de Selve in the post of ambassador of France to Venice, to have several books sent by the diplomatic courier via Lyon to Sadolet, who was exiled in Carpentras at the time. In another letter of September 30, he thanked him for the service rendered. The diplomatic mail of the French ambassador to Venice reached Turin by water, then was taken from there to Lyon on the back of a mule. It was referred to as "le grand paquet scellé du sceau du roi," but it is clear that the ambassadors had no qualms about using this secure parcel service for the benefit of their friends.

289. In Barthélemy, "Problèmes," 24. I opined that Pagnini had himself brought Ly from Rome to Avignon, and then to Lyon. The probable dependence of Pa on Ly makes it more likely, however, that Levita sent Ly to Pagnini only after finishing Pa. One difficulty remains: the Thesaurus that Pagnini published in 1529 seems to depend on Ly for the order of the forms within certain entries, as well as for some of the Masoretic notes that are used. It may be that Ly and Mu had a third sibling, no longer extant, that served along with Mu as a direct source for Pa.

First, the sigla that will be used to refer to the lists, and to the occurrences of this Masorah:

Lists

- 1** = Gen 9:3 from Chufut-Kale²⁹⁰
- 2** = 2 Sam 9:12 from Paris BN hébr 2
- 3** = Gen 9:3 from V
- 4** = Exod 26:24 from V
- 5** = Num 31:40 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 6** = Exod 32:16 from Vatican ebr 3
- 7** = Lev 23:42 from Vatican ebr 3
- 8** = Num 8:12 from Vatican ebr 3
- 9** = Num 31:40 from Vatican ebr 3
- 10** = Lev 7:19 from Vatican ebr 468
- 11** = Gen 9:3 from Vatican ebr 482
- 12** = Lev 7:19 from Vatican ebr 482
- 13** = Lev 7:19 from Berlin Or fol 1
- 14** = Gen 9:3 from Madrid Univ 1
- 15** = Num 32:1 from Madrid Univ 1
- 16** = Gen 9:3 from Milan ebr 5
- 17** = Exod 32:16 from Milan ebr 5
- 18** = Num 31:40 from Milan ebr 5
- 19** = Num 32:41 from Paris BN hébr 5
- 20** = Num 32:1 from Copenhagen 2
- 21** = Gen 9:3 from Copenhagen 3
- 22** = Num 31:40 from Copenhagen 7
- 23** = Gen 9:3 from Copenhagen 11
- 24** = Lev 23:42 from Copenhagen 11
- 25** = Esth 7:7 from London BL Harley 5711
- 26** = Exod 32:16 from London BL Or 2363
- 27** = 1 Kgs 22:48 from Ben Hayim
- 28** = Num 31:40 from New York JThS 44^a
- 29** = Lev 7:19 from Ben Hayim
- 30** = Num 3:33 from Ben Hayim
- 31** = Deut 31:3 from Paris BN hébr 1
- 32** = Isa 38:20 from Paris BN hébr 82
- 33** = Deut 31:3 from Copenhagen 2
- 34** = Isa 38:20 from Copenhagen 8
- 35** = Isa 38:20 from London BL Add 15451
- 36** = Deut 31:3 from Berlin Or fol 1
- 37** = Isa 38:20 from Berlin Or fol 2

290. Ginsburg, *Massorah*, vol. 3, 221a and 260–61.

- 38** = Deut 31:3 from Madrid Univ 1
39 = Deut 31:3 from Vatican ebr 3
40 = 1 Sam 26:23 from id.
41 = Deut 31:3 from Vatican ebr 482
42 = Deut 31:3 from F
43 = Deut 31:3 from Vatican Urbinates 1
44 = 1 Sam 26:23 from Vatican Urbinates 1
45 = Isa 38:20 from Vatican Urbinates 1
46 = Isa 38:20 from Copenhagen 1
47 = Deut 31:3 from London BL Or 1467
48 = first list from H²⁹¹
49 = second list from H²⁹²

Occurrences

- a** = Gen 9:3
b = Gen 16:16
c = Exod 26:24
d = Exod 32:16
e = Lev 7:19
f = Lev 23:42
g = Num 3:33
h = Num 8:12
i = Num 31:40
j = Num 32:1
k = Num 32:41
l = Deut 28:40
m = Deut 31:3
n = Josh 15:25
o = Judg 5:24
p = Judg 9:51
q = Judg 11:1
r = 1 Sam 26:23
s = 2 Sam 9:12
t = 2 Sam 19:8
u = 1 Kgs 7:41
v = 1 Kgs 22:48
w = 2 Kgs 23:25
x = Isa 38:20
y = Isa 53:6
z = Isa 57:1

291. *Ibid.*, 273 §23.

292. *Ibid.*, 275 §31.

aa = Ezek 10:11
bb = Ezek 34:5
cc = Zech 1:2
dd = 1 Chr 8:38
ee = 1 Chr 9:8
ff = 1 Chr 9:44
gg = 1 Chr 26:18
hh = Ps 53:3
ii = Ps 77:14
jj = Lam 2:12
kk = Esth 7:7
ll = Neh 11:21
mm = Ezek 46:7

1.a. Masorahs concerning only the Torah

1.a.i. Masorahs with ten cases

The most stable form of these Masorahs that pertain only to the Torah is the form declaring and listing ten cases, as attested by lists **10**, **11**, **12**, **15**, **19**, **22**, **24**, and **28**. It includes the occurrences **a-d-e-f-g-h-i-j-k-m** in biblical order.

The Mm **23**, though it announces ten cases, had difficulty identifying **i**, which it therefore omitted. Indeed, one can observe that, among the lists just enumerated, only **15** and **19** adequately clarify the *siman* of **i** as וּנְפֹשׁ אָדָם שֶׁשָׁה עֶשֶׂר אֱלֹהֵי, while in **10**, **11**, **12**, **22**, **24**, and **28**, the *siman* given for the case is simply וּנְפֹשׁ אָדָם. This is misleading, since these words begin three verses of the Torah: Num 31:35, 40, 46, with only v. 40 also ending with the word וּנְפֹשׁ. However, the copyist of list **23** (or its archetype) wished to supply the ten declared cases, and so mistakenly added at the end of the list the *siman* of the first of those three verses: וּנְפֹשׁ אָדָם מִן הַנְּשִׁימִים (= Num 31:35). In addition, this Masorah gives the first nine *simanim* in the order **a-d-e-f-h-m-g-j-k**.

The Mm **29** involves the same confusion as the Mm **23** (Num 31:25 instead of **i**) and gives the *simanim* in the order **a-d-e-(i)-g-m-f-j-h-k**.

Two other Mm declare ten cases, but give only eight. They are **16** (which omits **g** and **j**) and **20** (which omits **k** and **m**).

1.a.ii. Masorahs with 12 cases

Masorahs **3**, **14**, and **21** enumerate 12 cases where, in the Torah, the beginning of a verse is the same as its end. If one retains all the occurrences agreed upon by two of the three witnesses, one obtains **a-b-c-d-e-f-g-h-i-j-k-m-l**. Three remarks may be made here:

- 1. b** was rightly identified by **3** and **14**, while **21**, with the clarification אַבְרָם הוּא אַבְרָהָם, thought it recognized 1 Chr 1:27 (which should not figure on a list of occurrences in the Torah).

2. **h** was identified by **3** and **21**, but **14**, with the clarification **והלויים בתי ערי** **אחזתם גאלת עולם**, thought it recognized Lev 25:32 (which, in fact, begins with **וערי הלויים** and not with **והלויים**).
3. This majority list of occurrences has the inconvenience of giving 13 cases after having declared 12. On this point, list **21** probably preserved the original state by not listing **m**. Lists **3** and **14** probably added that occurrence under the influence of the list of ten cases, of which **m** is an authentic component. Indeed, we note that **m** figures in **3** and **14** before **l**, which would be the single lapse in the biblical order, and which confirms its intrusive nature, since the copyist of the archetype of **3** and **14** inserted it just after **k**, that is, in the place that it correctly occupies in the list with ten cases. The insertion must have been motivated by the desire to have all the cases in the list with ten cases appear on the list with 12 cases.

The original form of the list with 12 cases is probably **a-b-c-d-e-f-g-h-i-j-k-l**. With regard to the list of ten cases, then, this list is characterized by three pluses (**b**, **c**, and **l**) and one minus (**m**).

1.a.iii. Masorahs with 11 cases

Mms declaring 11 cases are given by lists **6**, **7**, **8**, **9**, **13**, **17**, and **18**.

Lists **7**, **8**, and **9** (from the same manuscript) have **a-b-d-e-f-g-h-i-j-k-m**, that is, the Masorah of ten cases with the addition of one of the occurrences characterizing the Masorah of 12 cases. Lists **17** and **18** offer a transitional form where the first hand, after reporting 11 cases, gives only ten; this then led a corrector to insert case **b**.

List **30** reverses **a** and **b**, which gives **b-a-d-e-f-g-h-i-j-k-m**.

List **6**, after reporting 11 cases, gives only ten and is distinguished from the list with ten cases only by the confusion between Num 31:35 and **i**, a confusion that we have already described above.

List **13** derives from list **23**, but differs from it in the insertion of a new *siman*, **ויהיו הכרכים פרשי כנפים** (= Exod 37:9), between **a** and **d**. This involves the incorrect clarification of a *siman* **ויהיו** (= **c**) that the copyist of the Masorah read before **d**. Here we have to do with an addition to the corrupt list **23** of one of the occurrences (**c**) characterizing the Masorah with 12 cases.

From these observations, we can draw the conclusion that the Masorahs with 11 cases are nothing other than various contaminations of the Masorah with ten cases by the Masorah with 12 cases.

1.a.iv. The corresponding Mps

Given the relative instability of these Masorahs, it was helpful to locate the Mp notations involving this type of Masorah in the various manuscripts that we consulted.

- One Mp announcing 14 cases appears once in one manuscript, for case **a** (once).

- One Mp announcing 13 cases appears twice in one manuscript, for **a** (1) and for **b** (1).
- One Mp announcing 12 cases appears three times in three manuscripts, for **a** (3).
- One Mp announcing 11 cases appears 29 times in eight manuscripts, for **a** (1), **b** (2), **c** (1), **d** (2), **e** (4), **f** (4), **g** (2), **h** (4), **i** (4), **j** (3), **k** (3), and **m** (1).
- One Mp announcing ten cases appears 34 times in 15 manuscripts, for **a** (7), **d** (4), **e** (5), **f** (2), **g** (1), **i** (6), **j** (4), **k** (6), and **m** (1).

The order of progression of the last three types of Mp confirms the order furnished by the lists of Mm, since we have three lists (**3, 14, 21**) declaring 12 cases, eight lists (**6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 17, 18, 30**) declaring 11 cases, and nine lists (**10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 22, 24, 28, 29**) declaring ten.

l.b. Masorahs pertaining to the entire Bible

These are the four early Mms **1, 2, 48, and 49** that enumerate, without any other explanation, the verses whose beginning and end are identical.

The first one, a Babylonian Masorah from Chufut-Kalc, announces 33 cases and lists 34: **a-d-e-f-h-g-j-i-k-m-o-p-q-r-s-t-u-v-w-aa-bb-y-z-x-cc-hh-ii-jj-kk-ll-dd-ff-ee-gg**. The second, given in the Paris BN manuscript hébr 1, announces and offers 22 cases, all present in the first, except for **b**: **a-d-e-f-g-h-i-j-k-m-o-s-cc-aa-b-bb-r-x-y-w-kk-gg**. The third and fourth are two lists of the final Masorah in H. In a Mp on **f** and **g**, it mentions 38 cases. In its first list, it declares and gives 26: **a-d-e-f-h-k-g-j-(i)-o-q-s-v-w-y-z-aa-bb-gg-ee-dd-ff-jj-m-r-x**. Its second list declares 37 and obtains that number by repeating **n**. As in the first list, the *siman* of **i** was incorrectly given through confusion with Num 31:35: **a-d-k-g-j-o-(i)-q-s-v-w-y-aa-z-bb-gg-ee-dd-ff-jj-c-m-r-x-n-p-u-mm-e-f-h-n-cc-hh-ii-kk-ll**.

It can be noted that the Babylonian Masorah gives the order of books according to the Babylonian Talmud, that is, Isaiah after Ezekiel and Chronicles after Nehemiah, while the two lists of the II Firkovitch manuscript 10 use the Karaite order.

l.c. Masorahs concerning verses whose beginning differs from the end by the addition of waw

There are five lists of verses beginning and ending with the same word, with the difference that at the beginning (and not at the end), the word is preceded by the conjunction *waw*.

The earliest state seems to be offered by list **4**, which declares and gives 16 cases: **c-d-h-i-j-k-q-v-w-r-s-ll-ee-kk-n-t**.

List **6** is distinguished from **4** only in the announcement of 15 cases and the omission of **t** (**c-d-h-i-j-k-q-v-w-r-s-ll-ee-kk-n**).

List **25** is distinguished from list **4** by the announcement of 15 cases and the omission of cases **c** and **q** (**d-h-i-j-k-v-w-r-s-ll-ee-kk-n-t**).

Announcing 15 cases, lists **5** and **27** nearly completely restore the biblical order of the cases attested by list **4**, omitting only **c** (**d-h-i-j-k-n-q-r-s-t-v-w-ee-ll-kk**).

I.d. Masorahs concerning the Tetragrammaton

Finally, we mention 17 Mms (**31–47**) that agree in enumerating **m**, **r**, and **x** as the three verses that begin and end with the Tetragrammaton.

I.e. A comparison of these four categories of Masorahs

The last two categories are delimited clearly enough to offer guarantees of stability.

The first two have more fluid boundaries and the choices in them are less easy to justify. For example, the cases in the Torah recorded by the list with ten cases are exactly the same as those that figure in the Masorah of Chufut-Kale. One could thus place confidence in what appears to be a fairly stable decision of the Masoretes. But, when that list is compared to the cases in the Torah recorded by the lists of “verses whose beginning differs from the end by an added *waw*,” it is not clear why the lists of ten cases, of Chufut-Kale, and of Paris 1 all include **d** (:(וְהִלָּחֵת . . . הִלָּחֵת)), **h** (:(וְהִלָּיִם . . . הִלָּיִם)), **i** (:(וְנִפְשׁ . . . נִפְשׁ)), **j** (:(וּמְקַנָּה . . . מְקַנָּה)), and **k** (:(וְצִאִיר . . . צִאִיר)), but not **c** (:(וְיִהְיוּ . . . יִהְיוּ)), which offers exactly the same similarity between its beginning and end. Neither is it clear why the Masorahs of Chufut-Kale, Paris 1, and the first list of H include cases where other particles in addition to the *waw* distinguish the beginning from the end of the verse (for example **b**, **e**, **g**, and **p**), while they omit **n**, where only a *waw* distinguishes the beginning from the end.

In these Masorahs conceived along fairly imprecise lines, only those that are limited to the Torah had any success and attained relative stability. But it is not surprising that the overly broad perspectives of these Masorahs with vague titles (when they claim to bear on all of Scripture) did not assure them any great vogue with the Tiberian Masoretes. Although we were unable to find Mms concerning all of Scripture other than **1**, **2**, **48**, and **49** in the early manuscripts, we do note, however, in our manuscripts, Mps that refer to different types of the long list: One Mp “38” is given by the Madrid Univ manuscript 1 for **y**; “37” by F for **v**; “36” by D for **d, f, g, k**; “33” by P for **bb**; “31” by the Reuchlin manuscript for **s, v, w, z, bb**; “29” by P on **y, z, aa**. A Mp for **t** of the Berlin manuscript Or fol 3 reports 23 cases in the Nevi'im and Ketuvim. This corresponds to the facts furnished by the title of the Mm of Chufut-Kale, which announces 33 cases in all of Scripture (from which the ten drawn from the Torah should be subtracted). It is curious that the same Berlin manuscript Or fol 3 at **w** reports 24 cases in the Nevi'im (omitting mention of Ketuvim through carelessness). This corresponds to the 34 cases actually listed in the Mm of Chufut-Kale.

1.f. Presence of these lists in the Zikronot concordance

The normal arrangement of the list of ten cases appears as No. 22 in the initial lists, found only in Mu, that precede the concordance. Immediately following (under No. 23) comes a list with three cases concerning the Tetragrammaton. It appears that the long list is not attested there.

2. Plural sebirin for Singular Qeres of the Root ברא

Because the *sebirin* rest on exegetical traditions, there is a chance of finding distinctly different types in their Masorahs. This is the case for the one treated in detail in *CTAT* Vol. 3 on Ezek 36:20.²⁹³ In the hope of deriving methodological conclusions from it, we will analyze the four types of presentation of this *sebir* from 31 lists of Mm.

First, the sigla used for the lists and for the occurrences that will be mentioned in this investigation:

Lists

- 1 = Isa 45:24 in C
- 2 = Ezek 20:38 in C
- 3 = Ezek 14:1 in P
- 4 = fol 69a from Halle II
- 5 = Num 13:22 from London BL Or 4445
- 6 = Num 13:22 from Erfurt 3
- 7 = Ezek 14:1 from Erfurt 3
- 8 = Num 13:22 from Paris BN hébr 1
- 9 = 1 Sam 25:27 from Paris BN hébr 1
- 10 = Isa 45:24 from de Rossi 2
- 11 = Isa 45:24 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 12 = Lev 11:34 from B
- 13 = Num 13:22 from Madrid Univ 1
- 14 = Num 13:22 from Milan hébr 5
- 15 = Num 13:22 from Paris BN hébr 5
- 16 = Jer 51:48 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 17 = Ezek 36:20 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 18 = Ezek 20:38 from Hamburg hebr 6
- 19 = Num 13:22 from Copenhagen 3
- 20 = Ezek 20:38 from Copenhagen 8
- 21 = Lev 11:34 from Copenhagen 11
- 22 = Num 13:22 from Copenhagen 11
- 23 = Num 13:22 from Copenhagen 1
- 24 = Ezek 20:38 from Copenhagen 1
- 25 = Lev 11:34 from Berlin Or fol 1

293. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 296:45–298:7.

- 26** = Num 13:22 from D
27 = Num 13:22 from London BL Harley 5710
28 = Ezek 20:38 from London BL Harley 5711
29 = Ezek 36:20 from London BL Harley 5711
30 = Num 13:22 from Vienna NB 35
31 = Ezek 36:20 from London BL Harley 5720

Occurrences

- a** = Lev 11:34
b = Num 13:22
c = Josh 6:19
d = Judg 13:12
e = 1 Sam 25:27
f = 2 Sam 3:22
g = 2 Sam 3:35
h = 2 Sam 19:9
i = 1 Kgs 12:1
j = Isa 45:24
k = Isa 66:23
l = Jer 49:36
m = Jer 51:48
n = Ezek 14:1
o = Ezek 20:38
p = Ezek 23:44
q = Ezek 36:20
r = Ezek 44:9
s = Ezek 44:25
t = Ezek 46:10
u = Ezek 47:9
v = Mic 7:12
w = Ps 55:6
x = Ps 71:18
y = Ruth 3:15

2.a. The list of six cases

This type is attested in six Mms: **1, 2, 3, 7,**²⁹⁴ **26,** and **28.**

State α (= **1, 2, 7**) cites **b, j, q, p, n, o.**

List 1: **ו סבר סגין לשון ביאה וקר חד בנגב עדיו אל הגוים כבוא אנשים וברותי**

β (= **28**) cites **b, j, q, p, o, n.**

γ (= **3**) cites **b, j, p, q, n, o.**

δ (= **26**) cites **b, j, p, n, o.**

294. This Mm announces eight cases, but belongs to this type.

This type is characterized by a mixture of cases of $\aleph(\text{ו})$ (b, q, p, n) and cases of יבוא (j, o).

2.b. *The list of eight cases*

This type is attested in 17 Mms: 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23,²⁹⁵ 24, 29, 30, and 31.

List 4:

<u>חד מן ח' דקריין לשן חד וחמיין לשן סגיא בלשניה</u>	
ויעלו כנגב ויבא עד	עד חברון
ויבא אלי אנשים	אנשים
ויבא אליה כבא	אליה
ויבא אל הגוים אשר	אל הגוים
והנה עבדי דוד	מהגדוד
וברותי מכם המורדים	אדמת
אך ביי לי אמר	ויבשו
ורננו על בבל שמים	השורים
 <u>ותריין לשן נקבה וקריין לשן זכר</u>	
ועתה הברכה הזאת	שפחתך
ויאמר הבי המטפחת	המטפחת

The added listing of the two cases of feminine forms read as masculine is attested only²⁹⁶ in states α and β .

The title of the list, according to 4, is $\text{חד מן ח' דקריין לשן חד וחמיין לשן סגיא בלשניה}$. Then, after the declared cases, a list entitled $\text{ותריין לשן נקבה וקריין לשן זכר}$ is given as an addition. The different states of the list of eight cases cite them as follows:

State α (4, 5, 6, 8, 14^a, 31) cites b, n, p, q, f, o, j, m, then adds e, y.

β (29) cites b, n, p, f, o, j, m, then adds e, y.

γ (10, 15, 19, 22) cites b, n, p, q, f, o, j, m.

δ (23) cites b, n, p, q, f, o, j, m, u.

ε (17) cites b, n, p, q, f, o, m.

ζ (30) cites b, n, p, q, f, o.

η (14^{*}) cites b, n, p, f, o, j, m.

θ (20, 24) cites b, f, j, m, o, n, p, q.

ι (13) cites b, j, m, o, n, p, q.

295. This Mm announces 11 cases, but belongs to this type. A list of 11 cases is also mentioned as a Mp in Vienna manuscript 35 on Ezek 20:38.

296. This added listing figures in an equally isolated way in 9.

This type is characterized by the grouping of the cases of אַיִב(ו)א (b, n, p, q) at the top of the list, returned to the biblical order. Because of this, case j is found at the end, where a third case of אַיִב(ו)א is added (m). Between the four cases of אַיִב(ו)א and the three cases of אַיִב(ו)א, one case of פֶּא is inserted (f).

2.c. The list of 12 cases

This type is announced in a Mp in A²⁹⁷ on Ezek 20:38. It is attested in the Mm 27.

The title of the list is יֵב סְבִירֵי וַיִּבְאוּ.

27 cites b, n, p, q, f, o, j, m, k, g, h, i, and concludes וְכָל וַיִּבְאוּ הָעָם דָּכוּ.

After the list of eight cases, this type adds four cases where a singular of the verb בוא has כל בשר (k) or כל העם (g, h, i) as subject. It should thus be seen as a development of the list of eight cases.

2.d. The list of 14 cases

This type is attested in six Mms: 11, 12, 16,²⁹⁸ 18, 21, and 25.

The title of the list, according to 11, is יֵד סְבִירֵי וַיִּבְאוּ וְקָם יִבְאוּ.

All the witnesses²⁹⁹ cite a, c, d, l, m, o, s, t, j, r, k, v, w, x.

Unlike the three preceding lists (with six, eight, and 12 cases), which include different forms of the singular of the verb בוא, this type concerns only the 14 occurrences of the same form, אַיִב(ו)א.

2.e. Comparison of the four types of lists

As stated, the list with 12 cases is derived from the list with eight cases. The list with 14 cases, in treating a single form, sets itself a different goal from that of the lists with six and eight cases, which mean to treat the לשון ביאה, that is, different forms of the verb בוא. Thus, it is important to compare these last two types a little more precisely than Ginsburg has done.³⁰⁰

2.e.i. The association of the secondary states with the two original states

For the type with six cases, the arrangement δ is a damaged form that can be derived from either α or γ. Several arguments recommend considering state α of this list as the earliest. First, the order q-p is supported by four witnesses (1, 2, 7, and 28), while the order p-q is supported by only one (3). Second, the order n-o is supported by five witnesses (1, 2, 3, 7, and 26), while the order o-n is supported by only one (28). Finally, the excellent Masorahs of the Cairo manuscript (1 and 2 here) always warrant a bias in their favor.

297. On 1 Kgs 12:1 (which is part of the list), a Mp in A announces a list of 11 cases.

298. This Mm announces eight cases, but belongs to this type.

299. 12 is the earliest witness. However, its *simanim* for m and j are corrupted.

300. Ginsburg (*Massorah*, vol. 4, כ 67) simply mentions the list with six cases as a variant of the list with eight cases.

For the type with eight cases, let us note first that the presence of the addition should precede its omission. Indeed, the addition figures in the earliest witnesses. As for the structure of the list, the only notable variant is that of states θ and ι (three witnesses), which transfer the sequence **n-p-q** to the end of the list.³⁰¹ But two arguments lead to considering the structure of states α and γ as the earliest. First, the sequence **b-n-p** in the initial position has the support of 14 witnesses. Second, the state δ can be explained as an amplification, and states β , ϵ , ζ , and η can be explained as defective forms of the structure attested by states α and γ . One can go farther and say that the list with eight cases appears to have its origin in the tradition of the *Okhlah*, as it is attested by the Halle manuscript in its second part³⁰² (our list 4). In fact, there are two details that distinguish this list, according to its earliest witnesses, from the list of six cases. First, the Mms 5, 8, 10, and 31 agree with list 4 in using the term **המייץ** (a rare synonym of **סביריץ**) in the title. Second, Mm 6 preserved a characteristic of the system of the *Okhlah* (list 4) that consists of situating each occurrence with a double reference: a *siman* composed of a characteristic word, and the three or four words that begin the verse.

2.e.ii. *The relationship between the list of six cases
and the list of eight cases*

The autonomy of the two lines of transmission (that of six and that of eight cases) appeared clearly in the distinct choices of *simanim* for four of the six cases that they have in common. They can easily be compared in this respect because each of them identifies each verse with a characteristic word. It is the earliest witnesses of each of the two lists that attest their original *simanim*: for the Masorah with six cases: 1, 2, 3, 7, and 28; and for the Masorah with eight cases: 4, 6, and 10. The copyists of the Masorah fairly quickly assimilated these Masorahs to the dominant system in the others, a system that characterizes each verse with a sequence of three or four words, usually taken from the verse beginning. For **n** the Masorah with six cases and the Masorah with eight cases agree on **אנשים**; for **q** they agree on **אל הגוים**. But they diverge for the other occurrences: the Masorah with six cases gives **בנגב** for **b**, **עדי** for **j**, **וברוחי** for **o**, and **כבוא** for **p**. The Masorah with eight cases, on the other hand, gives **חברון** for **b**, **ויבשו** for **j**, **אדמת** for **o**, and **אליה** for **p**. Among the characteristics of these two types of Masorahs, the original *simanim* thus survived for a shorter time in the course of their transmission than the identity and order of the cases in the lists.

In spite of the autonomy of their redaction and transmission, the two lists nevertheless follow from the same exegetical tradition. Indeed, the list of 14 cases shows that the idea of an interpretation of singular forms of **בא** as plural

301. The reason for this transfer could be a concern to reestablish the biblical order at the beginning of the list: Num 13:22; 2 Sam 3:22; Isa 45:24; Jer 51:48. . . . The state ι is a form of θ , defective in the omission of 2 Sam 3:22.

302. *Okhlah*, Halle, fol. 69a.

can be present for many more occurrences than the two or three contained in our lists. So it is striking that all the cases contained in the list with six cases are found in the list with eight cases.

The Cairo manuscript attests that the list with six cases existed already in 895 (date of the completion of the manuscript), while the fact that David ben Abraham (around the middle of the tenth century) cites **m** as belonging to this list shows that he knew the list with eight cases. The fact that the list with six cases is more succinct and less orderly than its rival makes it likely that it is the older of the two.

2.f. *The situation of the Ben Hayim edition and the Zikronot concordance*

Of these two rival types, the Ben Hayim edition gives only the list with eight cases (on Num 13:22), in its γ state. In addition, a certain number of the best Sephardi manuscripts and some Yemenite manuscripts appear to share with A and F a certain disdain for these lists of *sebirin*, preferring instead, in their Mps, references to the lists concerning the *plene* or defective spellings of יב(ו)א. This preference could be explained in two ways: Either they considered these exegetical traditions as too subjective and variable, or the level of precision attained by the copyists makes the exchange of a singular for a plural less likely than an error relating to the *plene* or defective nature of a spelling.

Achieving some clarity about the history of the lists of *sebirin* plurals corresponding to *Qere* singulars of the root בוא allows us to situate the three states of the *Zikronot* concordance in relation to them. We should recognize at once that the Ly manuscript—which, as we will see, is the source for Mu here—offers an unskillful combination of the lists with eight cases and 14 cases. The formulation of the title (ויבא יד דסבירי יבאו בלשנ) is already unfortunate. The list with 14 cases in fact treats יב(ו)א and not ויבא, and it is the lists with six and eight cases, not with 14, that are בלשנ (that is, they include different forms of the verb בוא). Then, Ly cites one by one and identifies different cases belonging sometimes to the list with eight cases, sometimes to the list with 14, sometimes to both: **b** (= 8), **l** (= 14), **m** (= 14), **n** (= 8), **q** (= 14 and 8), **s** (= 14), **t** (= 14), **o** (= 14 and 8), **p** (= 8), **j** (= 14 and 8), **f** (= 8). Here Levita stops, and one can well understand why. Having written for **f** ועבדי דוד (instead of והנה עבדי דוד), Levita was unable to identify this passage and so left off writing the list. Then, after leaving a blank line, he adds 'ומסורת אחר מצאתי ה' דכתיבי בלשנ' יחד וחמיין לשנ' רבי, that is, “and I found another Masorah with eight cases where a singular form is written, but is considered as a plural form.” This remark in the first hand is one that a Christian copyist (to recall Weil's opinion on the origin of Ly) would never have produced (especially taking into account the technical expression חמיין, which we have already reported as characteristic of the title of the Masorah with eight cases).

This remark is not found in Mu, a fact that can be explained entirely from Ly, at whose direction Mu makes the following modifications: While Ly announced 14 cases and gave only 11, Mu omits the final remark of Ly, taking from it the

number eight to replace the 14 in the title of Ly, preferring to speak of eight cases and give more. Further, in a partial attempt to reestablish the biblical order of the cases, Mu moves **j** between **b** and **l**. Mu adds nothing that is not found in Ly, except an error (later expunged): it places **o** in chapter 44 of Ezckiel (whereas Ly put it in its proper place, chapter 20). The dependence of Mu on Ly appears clearly in two vain attempts to eliminate errors in Ly: first, unable to identify the erroneous *siman* וַעֲבַדִּי דָוִד (for **f**) any better than Ly, Mu omits it; second, where Ly attributed **j** to chapter ten of Isaiah (instead of chapter 45), Mu simply omitted any reference to the chapter.

As for the Pa manuscript, it starts from a completely new base: it announces a list of five cases and begins by copying, with the same *simanim*, the first four cases on the list of eight given by Ben Hayim at Num 13:22. But at the point of copying case **f**, it ends the list with a blank. Was it, too, stymied by the identification of this case? In addition, it wrongly attributes case **b** to Leviticus, while Ly and Mu give the correct book of Numbers.

3. Particular Uses of אֲצִוֶּה

Let us now examine a Masorah that is particularly rich and complex, the Masorah that concerns the infinitive absolute אֲצִוֶּה. We limit our analysis to several witnesses from an early tradition, going from the simplest to the most complex.

Following are the sigla of the lists and occurrences that will be mentioned in the investigation of this Masorah:

Lists

- 1 = Gen 8:7 from Chufut-Kale³⁰³
- 2 = Jer 38:17 from P
- 3 = Num 35:26 from B
- 4 = fols. 70b–71a in Halle II
- 5 = 2 Sam 16:5 from Paris BN hébr 2
- 6 = Gen 8:7 from Erfurt 3
- 7 = Gen 8:7 from V
- 8 = Num 35:26 from V
- 9 = 2 Sam 16:5 from C
- 10 = Jer 38:17 from C
- 11 = Num 35:26 from F
- 12 = 2 Sam 16:5 from F
- 13 = Num 35:26 from New York JThS 44^a
- 14 = 2 Kgs 5:11 from the Reuchlin manuscript
- 15 = 2 Sam 16:5 from London BL Add 21161
- 16 = 2 Sam 16:5 from London BL Arundel Or 16

303. Ginsburg, *Massorah*, vol. 3, 260, 10, completed by 218b.

Occurrences

- a** = Gen 8:7
- b** = Gen 27:30
- c** = Num 35:26
- d** = 2 Sam 16:5
- e** = 2 Sam 18:2
- f** = 2 Kgs 5:11
- g** = Jer 38:17

3.a. The four kinds of Masorahs

3.a.i. The Masorah of seven cases

Certain Masorahs simply indicate seven occurrences of the infinitive absolute without adding any other details. The lists concerned are **4, 6, 8, 14,** and **15**. They all agree in enumerating the seven occurrences **a, b, c, d, e, f, g**.

3.a.ii. The Masorah of three plene and four defective spellings

Lists **9, 10,** and **11** add that three spellings are *plene* and the others are defective. Lists **1, 3, 5, 7, 12,** and **16** go on to state that the occurrences **a, d,** and **f** are *plene*. List **13** alone cites **a, b,** and **d** as *plene*.

3.a.iii. The Masorah with different vocalizations of יצא יצא

In five of the cases above (**a, b, c, d, f**) the sequence יצא יצא is found. Thus, lists **1, 2,** and **3** offer the vocalization of these forms in each of the cases, to prevent them from being misconstrued.

3.a.iv. Composite Masorahs

Masorahs integrating all these facts are offered by lists **1** and **3**. The purest form is **1**, which, after enumerating the seven cases and listing the three *plene* spellings, adds that the combination יצא יצא is found two times in Scripture, in **a** (where this sequence is preceded by *waw*) and in **f**, while **b** has יצא יצא, **c** writes יצא יצא, and **d** offers יצא יצא.

3.b. Two types of simanim

Like several of the Masorahs that we have examined, these make use of two types of *simanim*:

- Brief *simanim*, like the one found in **12**, which places the three cases of *plene* spellings first: יצוא ז ג מל וד חס הערב שמעי נעמן כלה הרצח יואב ירמיהו
- Normal *simanim*, like the one found in **5**:

יצוא ז ג מל וד חס וס
 וישלח את העורב. מל.
 ויהי כאשר כלה יחזק.
 ואם יצא יצא הרצח

ובא המלך דוד עד בחורים. מל.
 ויקצף נעמן. מל.
 ויאמ המלך אל העם יצא
 ויאמ ירמיהו אל צדקיהו

As we will observe on the subject of the Masorah concerning nunation in the imperfect 2p of the *Qal* of אמר,³⁰⁴ the list from the second part of the Halle *Okhlah* (4) brings together the two types of *simanim*:

	יצוא חד מן ז
ויערב	ויערב ויצא
יעקב	ויהי כאשר כלה יצחק
הרצח	ואם יצא יצא הרצח
שמעי	ובא המלך דוד עד
יואב	ויאמר המלך אל העם
נעמן	ויקצף נעמן וילך
ירמיהו	ויאמר ירמיהו אל צדקי

3.c. The situation of the Ben Hayim edition and the Zikronot concordance

The Ben Hayim edition offers a Mm at **a** with brief *simanim*, with a complementary *siman* עשׁׁׁ summarizing the cases of *plene* spelling (= ערב שמעי נעמן). This mnemonic aid is, as we shall see, a word-play on והבית ימלא עשן of Isa 6:4.

For **b**, it offers a list of the type found in 5.

The *Zikronot* concordance, in all three manuscripts, divides these seven occurrences into two lists, one giving the three *plene* spellings, adding the *simanim* ערב שמעי נעמן to the references, and the other giving the four defective spellings. Mu and Pa add the summary *siman* ימלא עשׁׁׁ to this.

4. Qal or Piel-Niphal of ונשא

Let us now examine a Masorah that occurs in a Babylonian form and two Tiberian forms, without any variants in the number of cases or their identity.

Following are the sigla used for the lists and occurrences for this Masorah:

Lists

- 1 = Exod 25:28 from Chufut-Kale³⁰⁵
- 2 = Exod 25:28 from V
- 3 = Amos 4:2 from Paris BN hébr 3
- 4 = Exod 25:28 from B
- 5 = Exod 25:28 from Erfurt 3
- 6 = Exod 25:28 from F
- 7 = 2 Kgs 20:17 from F
- 8 = Isa 39:6 from F

304. Below, p. 372.

305. Ginsburg, *Massorah*, vol. 3, 228a.

- 9** = Isa 2:2 from P
- 10** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from the Reuchlin manuscript
- 11** = Mic 4:1 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 12** = Isa 57:7 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 13** = Exod 25:28 from Vatican cbr 3
- 14** = Exod 25:28 from Vatican cbr 468
- 15** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Vatican ebr 468
- 16** = Isa 2:2 from Vatican ebr 468
- 17** = Amos 4:2 from Vatican ebr 468
- 18** = Exod 25:28 from Vatican ebr 482
- 19** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Vatican ebr 482
- 20** = Isa 57:7 from Vatican cbr 482
- 21** = Jer 51:9 from Vatican cbr 482
- 22** = Dan 11:12 from Vatican cbr 482
- 23** = Exod 25:28 from London BL Add 15451
- 24** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from London BL Add 15451
- 25** = Exod 25:28 from Madrid Univ 1
- 26** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Madrid Univ 1
- 27** = Isa 39:6 from C
- 28** = Jer 51:9 from C
- 29** = Exod 25:28 from Milan cbr 5
- 30** = Exod 25:28 from Paris BN hébr 26
- 31** = Jer 51:9 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 32** = Mic 4:1 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 33** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Paris BN hébr 82
- 34** = Isa 57:7 from Paris BN hébr 82
- 35** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Hamburg hebr 27
- 36** = Jer 51:9 from Hamburg hebr 27
- 37** = Isa 52:13 from Hamburg hebr 27
- 38** = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Hamburg hebr 5
- 39** = Isa 57:15 from Hamburg hebr 6
- 40** = Isa 39:6 from Copenhagen 2
- 41** = Amos 4:2 from Copenhagen 4
- 42** = Exod 25:28 from Copenhagen 1
- 43** = Isa 52:13 from Berlin Or fol 2
- 44** = Exod 25:28 from D
- 45** = Exod 25:28 from New York JThS 44^a
- 46** = Exod 25:28 from London BL Or 2363
- 47** = Isa 57:7 from Vienna NB 35
- 48** = Amos 4:2 from Vienna NB 35
- 49** = Exod 25:28 from London BL Harley 5710
- 50** = Isa 2:2 from London BL Harley 5710
- 51** = Isa 57:15 from London BL Harley 5710

- 52** = Isa 57:15 from London BL Harley 5720
53 = 2 Kgs 20:17 from London BL Arundel Or 16
54 = Isa 2:2 from London BL Arundel Or 16
55 = Amos 4:2 from London BL Arundel Or 16
56 = Mic 4:1 from London BL Arundel Or 16
57 = Jer 51:9 from London BL Or 2211
58 = Jer 51:9 from London BL Or 1474
59 = Exod 25:28 from Cambridge Add 465
60 = 2 Kgs 20:17 from Cambridge Add 465
61 = Isa 52:13 from Cambridge Add 465
62 = Jer 51:9 from Cambridge Add 465

Occurrences

- a** = Exod 25:28
b = 2 Kgs 20:17
c = Isa 2:2
d = Isa 6:1
e = Isa 39:6
f = Isa 52:13
g = Isa 57:7
h = Isa 57:15
i = Jer 51:9
j = Amos 4:2
k = Mic 4:1
l = Dan 11:12

4.a. The two original forms

It appears that this Masorah was written down in two forms based on very different principles.³⁰⁶

[1]. A form identifying two sets of six cases

The only pure witness of this form is V (= 2). It begins by stating that ונשא is found 12 times: six in Isaiah and six in the rest of Scripture (בשאר קריה). Then, it lists **a-b-k-i-j-l** as the occurrences of this word “in the rest of Scripture,” and **e-c-d-f-h-g** as the occurrences in Isaiah. This is the list:

ונשא יבו בישעו בשא קי וסי
 את השלחן.
 כל אשר בביתך דמל.
 מגבעות.
 עד שחקים.

306. So that we can refer to them more easily, we will use numbers in brackets to designate the different “states” into which the 62 lists for this Masorah can be grouped.

אתכם בצנות.
ההמון דדניאל.
הלין בשא קיה
כל אשר בביתך.
מגבעות.
בשנת מות.
הנה ישכיל עבדי.
כי כה אמר רם ונשא.
על הר גבוה ונשא שמת משכבך.
הלין ו בישעיה

[2]. A form highlighting the parallels

The purest witness of this very frequent form appears to be the Cambridge manuscript Add 465, which gives the list four times (59, 60, 61, and 62). The following is list 60:

ונשא יב וסימנהון
ונשא כם את השלחן.
ונשא כל אשר בביתך.
וחברו.
ונשא מגבעות דיש.
ונשא הוא מגבעות דתע.
ואראה את א.
הנה ישכיל עבדי.
על הר גבוה ונשא.
כי כה אמר רם ונשא
רפאנו את בבל.
ונשא אתכם בצנות.
ונשא ההמון.

The order of the occurrences is thus **a-b-e-c-k-d-f-g-h-i-j-l**.

4.b. Comparison of the two forms

It can be seen that form [2] departs from the biblical order only to group the two parallel pairs **b-e** and **c-k**. As for the form [1], its choice of presentation prohibits it both from keeping the biblical order and from highlighting the parallels. After the first two occurrences (**a** and **b**), the need to place **c** in the second group leads it to regard the internal order of the rest of both blocks as a matter of indifference.

4.c. Classification of the other states of this Masorah

4.c.i. Derivatives of the form with two sets

[3] A very coherent state from an early tradition is constituted by two Masorahs in C (27 and 28), two Masorahs in F (7 and 8), and the two Yemenite manuscripts London BL Or 1474 and 2211 (57 and 58). This group differs from form [1] by only two changes:

- It does not mention the existence of two sets of six cases.
- It maintains the classification of the occurrences in two blocks (to which it assigns the internal orders **a-b-i-k-j** and **c-d-f-e-g-h**), but moves **l** to the end of the list.

[4] A transfer of **c** before **k** (**a-b-i-c-k-j-d-f-e-g-h-l**) permits **50** to highlight one of the parallel pairs.

[5] In this last state, offered by **48**, **k** is omitted and the list breaks off after **d** (**a-b-i-c-j-d**).

4.c.ii. Derivatives of the form with parallels

In the following classification, indenting is meant to suggest a kinship between the types represented by these lists. We have not taken into account simple permutations between two juxtaposed parallels. These lists attest the typical order of form [2] (**a-b-e-c-k-d-f-g-h-i-j-l**): **12, 38, 39, 43, 46, 59, 60, 61, 62**.

[6] Breaks off the list after **d** (**a-b-e-c-k-d**): **54**.

[7] Places **f-g** after **h**, and **j** before **h** (**a-b-e-c-k-d-j-h-f-g-i-l**): **56**.

[8] Transposes **h** and **i** and moves them to the end of the list (**a-b-e-c-k-d-f-g-j-l-i-h**): **13**.

[9] Omits **k** (**a-b-e-c-d-f-g-h-i-j-l**): **11**.

[10] Omits **j** (**a-b-e-c-k-d-f-g-h-i-l**): **15, 16, 26, 33, 36, 47, 53**.

[11] Omits **j** and **k** (**a-b-e-c-d-f-g-h-i-l**): **35**.

[12] Transposes **f** and **g** and moves **h** to the end of the list (**a-b-e-c-k-d-g-f-i-j-l-h**): **14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 37**.

[13] Omits **b** (**a-e-c-k-d-g-f-i-j-l-h**): **23**.

[14] Places **b-e** between **d** and **f** (**a-c-k-d-b-e-f-g-h-i-j-l**): ? (an unattested link)

[15] Omits **k** (**a-c-d-b-e-f-g-h-i-j-l**): **42**.

[16] Places **b-e** before **i**, **f** before **d**, and transposes **g** and **h** (**a-c-f-d-h-g-b-e-i-j-l**): **51, 52**.

[17] Places **l** between **a** and **c** (**a-l-c-k-d-b-e-f-g-h-i-j**): **10, 32**.

[18] Omits **e** (**a-l-c-k-d-b-f-g-h-i-j**): **29, 31**.

[19] Transposes **i** and **j** (**a-c-k-d-b-e-f-g-h-j-i-l**): **3**.

[20] Places **h** after **e**, and **d** before **f** (**a-c-k-b-e-h-d-f-g-i-j-l**): **44**.

[21] Places **i** between **e** and **c** (**a-b-e-i-c-k-d-f-g-h-j-l**): **4, 9**.

[22] Omits **d** and **e**, and repeats **h** in place of **d** (**a-b-i-c-k-h-f-g-h-j-l**): **25**.

[23] Omits **g** and repeats **i** in its original place (**a-b-e-i-c-k-d-f-h-i-j-l**): **41**.

[24] Omits **h** (**a-b-e-i-c-k-d-f-g-j-l**): **5**.

[25] Transposes **f** and **g** (**a-b-e-i-c-k-d-g-f-h-j-l**): **1**.

[26] Places **j** between **k** and **d** (**a-b-e-i-c-k-j-d-f-g-h-l**): **6**.

[27] Transposes **f-g-h** to **h-g-f** (**a-b-e-i-c-k-j-d-h-g-f-l**): **30, 49, 55**.

[28] Omits **e** (**a-b-i-c-k-j-d-h-g-f-l**): **40**.

[29] Transfers **i** to the end of the list (**a-b-c-k-j-d-h-g-f-l-i**): **45**.

[30] Omits **h** (**a-b-e-i-c-k-j-d-g-f-l**): **34**.

4.d. Characteristics of some of these states

4.d.i. Different orders for the biblical books

Among those states that make an effort to follow biblical order, some ([2] and [6–20]) place Jeremiah after Isaiah, according to the dominant order in the classical Tiberian and Sephardi manuscripts; others ([21–30]) place Isaiah after Jeremiah, following the order given by the Babylonian Talmud.

4.d.ii. State [3]

Its witnesses are alone in designating **a** by the single word **הכדים**.

All its witnesses designate **e** by **ימין** (= **ימים**), which is found elsewhere only in **50**.

Three of its witnesses (**7**, **8**, and **27**) and **50** are alone in designating **i** by **משפטה**.

We presented this state as a derivative of [1]. An indication of this relationship is found in the fact that **28** follows its *simanim* with **וּ בישעיהו**.

4.d.iii. The Babylonian Masorah

List **1** (state [25]) offers the interest of being typically Babylonian, since it is given in the Masorah of Chufut-Kale. It is only in the transposition of **f** and **g** that it is distinguished from state [21], represented by the very early manuscripts **B** and **P** (lists **4** and **9**), the earliest state of Masorahs giving the talmudic order of the books. Lists **1** and **9** alone designate the parallels with **ודומה** (= and similarly), instead of the more usual designation **ותכירו** (= and its companion).

4.e. The situation of the Ben Hayim edition and the Zikronot concordance

For **a**, the Ben Hayim edition gives a Mm arranged according to state [12].

The Mu and Pa manuscripts of the *Zikronot* concordance give a list arranged according to state [2], while Ly transposes **j** and **l** of that state.

5. Mil^{el} and milra^{el} Vocalizations for **ואתנה**

The Masoretes used the terms *mil^{el}* and *milra^{el}* in a broader sense than is understood for the classical grammatical terms “paroxytone” and “oxytone.” The words served to distinguish forms according to whether the beginning (= *mil^{el}*) or the end (= *milra^{el}*) of the word receives the heavier vowel. We will now examine a complex Masorah whose purpose is to distinguish the occurrences of the *mil^{el}* **ואתנה** from those of the *milra^{el}* **ואתנה** (both oxytones). The form **ואתנה** (= *mil^{el}*) figures 12 times in the Bible (Num 8:19; Judg 6:9; 1 Sam 2:28; 2 Sam 12:8 (twice); Ezek 16:11; Ps 69:12; Qoh 1:17; Dan 9:3; Neh 2:1, 6, 9), while the form **ואתנה** (= *milra^{el}*) figures 15 times (Gen 17:2; 30:28; 34:12; 45:18; 47:16; Exod 24:12; Num 21:16; 1 Sam 17:44; 1 Kgs 13:7; 18:1; 21:2; 2 Kgs 18:23; Isa 36:8; 43:28; Ps 2:8). It might be expected that the Masoretes would highlight the rarer form—as they often do—with a list of the 12 occurrences of the *mil^{el}* pointing of this word. But they found a much more elegant solution in the form of

a complex differential Masorah where they simply cited—as they like to do—three verses, one from the Torah, another from the Nevi'im, and the last from the Ketuvim. To construct this Masorah, it was sufficient to note that the Torah offers seven occurrences of the *milra*^ç form, but only one *mil^çel* (Num 8:19), while the Ketuvim offer six occurrences of the *mil^çel* form, but a single *milra*^ç (Ps 2:8). The situation for the Nevi'im is more complex since it offers five occurrences of the *mil^çel* form and seven of the *milra*^ç form. But there is one book in this category (Samuel) that includes both *mil^çel* (three) and *milra*^ç (one, in 1 Sam 17:44) forms. For the other books, only *mil^çel* is encountered in Judges and Ezekiel, while Kings and Isaiah have only *milra*^ç. We will begin, then, by checking the complex case of the Nevi'im, then in a differential manner, the simpler cases of the Torah and Ketuvim. This gives the following Masorah: “In all of Judges and Samuel and Ezekiel, מִלְרָא is *mil^çel*, except once where it is *milra*^ç: 1 Sam 17:44. In all the rest of the Nevi'im and in the Torah it is similarly *milra*^ç, except for once where it is *mil^çel*: Num 8:19. In all the Ketuvim it is similarly *mil^çel*, except once where it is *milra*^ç: Ps 2:8.”

The following are the sigla for the lists and occurrences that will be mentioned in the examination of this Masorah:

Lists

- 1 = fol. 75a from Halle II
- 2 = Num 8:19 from F
- 3 = מל §24 of the final Masorah from Ben Hayim
- 4 = Num 8:19 from Ben Hayim
- 5 = Gen 17:2 from Ben Hayim
- 6 = 1 Sam 17:44 from the Reuchlin manuscript
- 7 = Num 8:19 from Paris BN hébr 1
- 8 = Num 8:19 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 9 = Ps 2:8 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 10 = Num 8:19 from London BL Add 15451
- 11 = Num 8:19 from B
- 12 = Ps 2:8 from Madrid Univ 1
- 13 = Num 8:19 from Milan ebr 5
- 14 = 1 Sam 17:44 from Paris BN hébr 105
- 15 = 1 Sam 17:44 from Erfurt 3
- 16 = Num 8:19 from Copenhagen 3
- 17 = Ps 2:8 from Copenhagen 3
- 18 = Num 8:19 from Copenhagen 11
- 19 = Num 8:19 from Copenhagen 1
- 20 = Num 8:19 from Berlin Or fol. 1
- 21 = Ps 2:8 from Berlin Or fol. 1
- 22 = Num 8:19 from D
- 23 = Num 8:19 from New York JThS 44^a

- 24** = Num 8:19 from Vienna NB 35
25 = Ps 2:8 from Vienna NB 35
26 = Ps 2:8 from London BL Arundel Or 16
27 = Num 8:19 from Cambridge Add 465
28 = Num 8:19 from Cambridge Add 468
29 = Ps 2:8 from Erfurt 3

Occurrences

- a** = Num 8:19
b = 1 Sam 17:44
c = Ps 2:8

5.a. The original form

The original form of this complex Masorah (identical to what we translated above) is given in **1**:

כל שפטים ושמואל ויחזקאל ואתנה מלעיל בר מן חד מלרע: ויאמר
 הפלשתי אל דוד לכה אלי ואתנה. וכל שאר נביאיא ואורייתא דכותיה מלרע
 בר מן חד מלעיל: ואתנה את הלויים נתנים לאהרן ולבניו. וכל כתיביא
 דכותיה מלעיל בר מן חד מלרע: שאל ממני ואתנה גויים נחלתך.

It was preserved intact in **4**, **10**, **15**, **18**, and **20**. A tear obliterated half of the lines of **11**, which certainly belongs to this group.

5.b. Derived forms that preserve the structure

5.b.i. Modernization of the terminology

3, **14**, and **19** are only distinguished from the original form in that they omitted the terms *mil^{el}* and *milra^c* and preferred to vocalize the initial *waws*.

5.b.ii. A small transposition

To this, **2**, **9**, **16**, **17**, and **25** add a transposition in the phrase וכל אורייתא ושאר נביאיא. In spite of the omission of the last 13 words, **23** and **24** belong to this group. The mention of the “rest of the Nevi'im” was omitted by **26**.

5.b.iii. A more serious mistake

However, with a modification of the same phrase, the sense of the Masorah is distorted by **22**, **27**, and **29**, which write וכל שאר אורייתא ונביאיא. The “rest of the Torah” makes scarcely any sense, since the Torah has not yet been mentioned. Indeed, it is necessary to clarify that, in what follows, it is only the “rest” of the Nevi'im that is intended, that is, those books that were not included in the previous statement.

5.c. Derived forms that modify the structure

5.c.i. The order **a-b-c**

Some copyists of the Masorah, working on the page where **a** was located, wanted to treat this case first. This led to rearrangements whose results were either unwieldy (**13**) or incoherent (**7**, **8**, and **28**).

5.c.ii. The orders **b-c-a** and **c-a-b**

Working on the page where **c** was located, the copyists of the Masorahs of **12** and **21** attempted transpositions, with unsatisfactory results.

The fact that **7**, **13**, and **21** used the terminology *mil'el* and *milra'* indicates that these attempts must be quite early. None of the modified orders was transmitted.

6 and **7** have Masorahs that are partial and inconsistent.

5.d. The situation of the Ben Hayim edition and the Zikronot concordance

3 and **4** are Masorahs of excellent quality from the Ben Hayim edition.

In the *Zikronot* concordance, an alteration in the Pa manuscript gives this Masorah:

וסימ כל שופטי ושמואל ויחזק ואתנה במא ואתנה.
 וכל נביאי ואורי' ואתנה במא ואתנה.
 וכל כתובי ואתנה במא ואתנה ודוק ותמצ'

Ly and Mu, as well as the first hand of Pa, did not take it into account. Indeed, a complex differential Masorah of this sort poorly serves the purpose of such a concordance.

6. Imperfect 2p of the Qal of אמר with and without Nunation

Let us now examine a Masorah whose two different total numbers of cases are attested in a very asymmetrical fashion, with one appearing in only two Mms attested by P, the earliest of dated manuscripts, and the other appearing in 77 Mms in 36 other witnesses.

The following are the sigla for the lists and occurrences that will be mentioned in the examination of this Masorah:

Lists

- 1** = fol. 78a from Halle II
- 2** = Isa 37:6 from P
- 3** = Jer 21:3 from P
- 4** = Gen 32:5 from Ben Hayim
- 5** = 2 Kgs 18:22 from Ben Hayim
- 6** = Gen 32:5 from F
- 7** = Isa 37:6 from F
- 8** = Jer 21:3 from F

- 9** = 1 Sam 11:9 from C
- 10** = 2 Kgs 18:22 from C
- 11** = Isa 37:6 from C
- 12** = 2 Kgs 18:22 from the Reuchlin manuscript
- 13** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from de Rossi 2
- 14** = Isa 37:6 from de Rossi 2
- 15** = Gen 32:5 from V
- 16** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Berne
- 17** = Isa 37:6 from Berne
- 18** = Gen 32:5 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 19** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 20** = Jer 21:3 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 21** = Isa 8:12 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 22** = Isa 37:6 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 23** = Gen 32:5 from Vatican ebr 3
- 24** = Gen 32:5 from Vatican ebr 468
- 25** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Vatican ebr 468
- 26** = Isa 8:12 from Vatican ebr 468
- 27** = Isa 37:6 from Vatican ebr 468
- 28** = Jer 21:3 from Vatican ebr 468
- 29** = Gen 32:5 from Vatican ebr 482
- 30** = 2 Kgs 18:22 from Vatican ebr 482
- 31** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Vatican ebr 482
- 32** = Isa 37:6 from Vatican ebr 482
- 33** = Gen 32:5 from London BL Add 15451
- 34** = Jer 21:3 from London BL Add 15451
- 35** = Isa 8:12 from London BL Add 15451
- 36** = 2 Kgs 18:22 from London BL Add 21161
- 37** = Gen 32:5 from Madrid Univ 1
- 38** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Madrid Univ 1
- 39** = Jer 21:3 from Madrid Univ 1
- 40** = Isa 37:6 from Madrid Univ 1
- 41** = Gen 32:5 from Milan ebr 5
- 42** = Gen 32:5 from Paris BN hébr 26
- 43** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Paris BN hébr 26
- 44** = Isa 37:10 from Paris BN hébr 26
- 45** = 1 Sam 11:9 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 46** = 2 Kgs 18:22 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 47** = Isa 37:6 from Paris BN hébr 6
- 48** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Paris BN hébr 82
- 49** = Jer 21:3 from Paris BN hébr 82
- 50** = Gen 32:5 from de Rossi 782
- 51** = 2 Kgs 19:6 from de Rossi 782

- 52** = Jer 21:3 from Hamburg hebr 27
53 = Isa 8:12 from Hamburg hebr 6
54 = Gen 32:5 from Copenhagen 2
55 = 1 Sam 11:9 from Copenhagen 3
56 = 2 Kgs 18:22 from Copenhagen 3
57 = Jer 21:3 from Copenhagen 5
58 = Gen 32:5 from Copenhagen 7
59 = 2 Kgs 19:16 from Copenhagen 7
60 = Isa 37:6 from Copenhagen 7
61 = Gen 32:5 from Copenhagen 11
62 = Gen 32:5 from Copenhagen 1
63 = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Copenhagen 1
64 = Isa 37:6 from Copenhagen 1
65 = 1 Sam 11:9 from Berlin Or fol. 3
66 = 2 Kgs 19:6 from Berlin Or fol. 3
67 = Gen 32:5 from D
68 = Gen 32:5 from New York JThS 44^a
69 = Gen 32:5 from London BL Or 1363
70 = 1 Sam 11:9 from New York JThS 225
71 = 2 Kgs 19:10 from London BL Harley 5710
72 = 1 Sam 11:9 from London BL Arundel Or 16
73 = Isa 8:12 from London BL Arundel Or 16
74 = Isa 37:6 from London BL Arundel Or 16
75 = Jer 21:3 from London BL Arundel Or 16
76 = 2 Kgs 19:6 from London BL Harley 5720
77 = 2 Kgs 19:10 from Cambridge Add 465
78 = Jer 21:3 from Cambridge Add 465
79 = Gen 32:5 from Cambridge Add 464

Occurrences

- a** = Gen 32:5
b = 1 Sam 11:9
c = 2 Kgs 18:22
d = 2 Kgs 19:6
e = 2 Kgs 19:10
f = Isa 8:12
g = Isa 37:6
h = Isa 37:10
i = Jer 21:3

6.a. The form with nine cases

Seventy-seven of our lists (all except **2** and **3**) derive from a form in which nine occurrences of the form with nunation (𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤍) are given in the order **a-b-**

c-d-g-e-h-f-i. The reason for the disruption of the biblical order is that the two cases in Isa 37:6 and 37:10 are inserted immediately after the cases in Kings (2 Kgs 19:6 and 19:10), to which they are parallel. A very explicit early state of this commonly attested form can be restored from lists **1** and **79**:

	תאמרון חד מן ט	
אתם לאמר כה תאמרון	ויצו	
ויאמרו למלאכים הבאים כה תאמרון	למלאכים	
וכי תאמרון אלי דמלכים	בטחנו	
ויאמר להם ישעיהו כה תאמרון	אדניכם	
ויאמר להם ישעיהו כה תאמרון	וחברו	
כה תאמרון אל חזקיהו מלך יהודה	ישיאך	
כה תאמרון אל חזקיהו מלך	וחברו	
לא תאמרון קשר לכל אשר יאמר	קשר	
ויאמר ירמיהו אלהם כה תאמרון	צדקיהו	

List **1** omitted occurrence **h** (through haplography?), while list **79** omitted some of the one-word *simanim*. This type of presentation that offers both a one-word *siman* and the beginning of the relevant verse avoids any risk of confusion.

6.a.i. Early states with brief *simanim*

A certain number of the witnesses, in general very early (**7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 36, 43, 50, 54, 62, 69**), kept only the one-word *simanim*, in the much condensed form ויצו למלאכים בטחנו אדניכם אדניכם ישיאך ישיאך קשר צדקיהו. Those that created this abbreviated form appear not to have grasped that their decision to repeat אדניכם and ישיאך (rather than to write וחברו) would give rise to confusion. We will treat that question when we examine the form with ten cases.

6.a.ii. States with normal *simanim*

Using the most frequent Masoretic method, most of the lists indicate the verses by citing a number of words from the verse beginnings, inserting clarifications to prevent confusion. The most accurate and most explicit list is 53:

תאמרון ט ח מל וא חס וסימ
 ויצו אתם לאמר כה תאמרון.
 ויאמרו למלאכים הבאים.
 וכי תאמרון אלי אל יי דמלכים.
 ויאמר להם ישעיהו דמלכים.
 וחברו: ויאמר אליהם ישעיהו דישעיהו.
 כה תאמרון אל חזקיהו דמלכים.
 וחברו: כה תאמרון אל חזקיהו דישעיהו.
 לא תאמרון קשר.
 ויאמר ירמיהו כה. ודין חס ו

According to this structure, the Masorah states that the last use of this verbal form (in **i**) is the only one to be written with a defective *waw* (תאמֶרן), and for all

the forms that are found in both Kings and Isaiah, it specifies the pertinent book, taking account of the variant between להם and אליהם that distinguishes **d** and **g**.

All the other states are distinguished from this one by one or several of the following particulars:

- absence or more succinct formulation of the mention of the defective spelling in **i**,
- corruptions of ויאמרו in **b** to ויאמר, of להם in **d** to אליהם, of ירמיהו אלהם in **i** to אלהם ירמיהו, of אלי אל יי in **c** to אל יי,
- omission of certain words in the citations,
- choice of parts of the verses other than the beginning,
- intermixing of citations,
- omission of certain citations,
- various attempts to restore the biblical order,
- mixture of normal *simanim* and brief *simanim*.

Nevertheless, it is clear that all these other states derive from a state similar to the one first presented (based on lists **1** and **79**), with the addition of the mention of the defective spelling in **i**.

6.b. The form with ten cases

6.b.i. The ambiguity of the brief *simanim*

The early state with brief *simanim* presented a serious difficulty. When it has אדניכם אדניכם without making clear that the second is meant to designate the parallel of the first (הכרו), it does not allow for the fact that the sequence (תאמרו) אל אדניכם figures three times in the Bible. This explains how some very early manuscripts of Ashkenazi origin, like the Reuchlin manuscript of the Prophets, or Add 21161 of the British Library (formerly Ebner 3 of Nürnberg), which have lists belonging to the state with brief *simanim* (**12** and **36**), could have misinterpreted this piece of information. They thought that one of the two occurrences marked in this way was Jer 27:4, where they wrote the verb with nunation and supplied the Mp “9,” and the Reuchlin manuscript does not place a Mp on this word in **g**. The BL manuscript Add 21161 was not preserved for that passage. The misunderstanding that they attest explains why Kennicott found 32 witnesses for the spelling with nunation, whereas, in each of the other places where the Masoretes require a spelling without nunation for this verbal form, the number of variant witnesses is between zero and eight. This is, then, a fairly clear case where, because of its condensing the system of marking locations, a Masorah that should have protected a certain form in the text actually had the effect of interfering with it.

6.b.ii. The system used by *P* alone

The coexistence of three cases of אל אדניכם (תאמרו) and a Masorah that mentions only two, without specifying which two are meant, probably furnishes the

reason that one of the earliest manuscripts, that of Petrograd, offers a Masorah with ten cases for תאמרון. It is the only one to attest such a Masorah and it attests the Masorah in a very consistent manner. Indeed, it mentions the ten cases in a Mp for **f**,³⁰⁷ **g**, **h**, and **i**, and in two identical Mms for **g** and **i**.

According to Strack's facsimile (whose value is in question³⁰⁸), these two identical Mms (with the interpretation as difficult as their decipherment is clear) offer as *simanim*: לאדני לאיש יבש גלעד בטחנו אדניכם לצדקיהו מלך יהודה דמיסב קלע כאשר אדניכם יחזקתו. When this Masorah is compared to those just treated, the first four occurrences can be easily identified: לאדני from **a**, לאיש יבש גלעד from **b**, בטחנו from **c**, אדניכם from **g** (in conformity with the Mp and the Mm that P gives there). But from this point on, the *simanim* are corrupt or ambiguous. The *siman* לצדקיהו must be אל-צדקיהו from **i** (in conformity with the Mp and the Mm that P gives there). The *siman* יחזקתו could be חזקתו from **h** (in conformity with the Mp of P). In this case, is מלך יהודה the phrase מלך-יהודה from **e** or מלך יהודה from 2 Kgs 22:18, or 2 Chr 34:26 where there are occurrences of תאמרו without nunation? Is the *siman* אדניכם, repeated as the penultimate occurrence, אדניכם from **d** or אדניכם from Jer 27:4 (where the first hand of P had written the word with *nun*, which a corrector then erased)? Does the *siman* כאשר mean to indicate כִּאֲשֶׁר תאמרו of Gen 34:12? It is more likely that it has to do with אֲשֶׁר or קֵשֶׁר from **f**, which is still missing from the list. There remain two uninterpreted words, דמיסב קלע, and an unlocated case: the tenth announced in the title of the two Mms and in the four Mps. The two words can only refer to קלע | מסב of 1 Kgs 6:29. Are they meant to indicate an occurrence of (תאמרון) tied to יהודה, as being situated in "the book of the Kings"?³⁰⁹ In this case, they do not permit us to decide between **e** and 2 Kgs 22:18, and they leave the mysterious tenth case unidentified. Neither Ginsburg³¹⁰ nor Strack³¹¹ provide arguments that would enable restoration of this seriously corrupted double Masorah.

6.c. The Ben Hayim edition and the Zikronot concordance

The Ben Hayim edition, in **4** and **5**, offers two rather corrupted states of the Mm with normal *simanim*. For the *Zikronot* concordance, Mu offers a Masorah of nine cases with normal *simanim* with some slight corruptions of the usual kind. Ly, instead of having the order **e-h-f**, gives **f-h-e**. However, it designates **h** as וחברו, which makes sense after **e**, but not after **f**, since there is no parallel to

307. According to the note of its editor, Strack, Ms Petrograd, 08.

308. At the beginning of his "corrigenda" (ibid., 038), Strack writes: "Operarii autem, quibus praescriptum erat ut, quae in tabulis photographiis deessent, lapidi inscriberent, linguae Hebraicae ignari neque artem quam exercebant satis didicerant neque semper ea qua par est diligentia utebantur." Emperor Alexander II permitted the facsimile to be produced "in officina, ubi tabulae geographicae in usum exercitus imperii Russici depinguntur."

309. The two books of Kings, of course, constitute one in the traditional Jewish Bible.

310. *Massorah*, vol. 4, § 906.

311. Ms Petrograd, 08.

לא תאמרון קשר (which Ly gives as a *siman* for **f**) in evidence. Pa must have taken Ly as its base. Indeed, it copied the first six cases from it: **a**, **b**, **c**, **d**, **g**, and **f**. Then it stopped, unable to identify the וּחְכְרוּ that came next. Finally, the list in Ly seems to be the only one of all the lists examined to give 2 Chr 34:26 as the ninth case, while Mu, like the other lists, gives Jer 21:3 (= **i**). Pa must have borrowed from Mu, then, this case that closes its list. As a result, Pa omitted the number in the title and listed only seven cases.

7. *Hātēp* or *šěwā*? under the *het* in the Root חסה

We will classify and analyze 35 lists of Mms that, for the derivatives of the root חסה, group cases of “*rafe*” words; in the language of the Masoretes, this means that the *het* is vocalized *hātēp* and not *šěwā*?. The designation can be understood from the “pseudo-Ben-Naftali” manuscripts, since for these words they put *dageš* in the *samek* when it follows *šěwā*?, and *rafe* over the *samek* when it follows a *hātēp*.

The following are the sigla for the lists and occurrences that will be mentioned in this examination:

Lists

- 1 = Joel 4:16 from Berlin Or fol 2
- 2 = Ps 118:9 from Berlin Or fol 2
- 3 = Ps 46:2 from London BL Add 21161
- 4 = Joel 4:16 from F
- 5 = Ps 62:9 from F
- 6 = Ps 118:8 from A
- 7 = Jer 17:17 from C
- 8 = Joel 4:16 from C
- 9 = §142 from Halle II
- 10 = Joel 4:16 from London BL Add 15451
- 11 = Joel 4:16 from Madrid Univ 1
- 12 = Ps 62:9 from Madrid Univ 1
- 13 = Joel 4:16 from Hamburg hebr 27
- 14 = Joel 4:16 from Hamburg hebr 6
- 15 = Ps 62:9 from Copenhagen 2
- 16 = Ps 73:28 from Copenhagen 2
- 17 = Joel 4:16 from Copenhagen 4
- 18 = Ps 62:9 from Copenhagen 4
- 19 = Joel 4:16 from Copenhagen 8
- 20 = Joel 4:16 from Copenhagen 1
- 21 = Joel 4:16 from Paris BN hébr 3
- 22 = Joel 4:16 from Vatican Urbinates 1
- 23 = Joel 4:16 from Vatic ebr 468
- 24 = Ps 62:9 from Vatican ebr 482

- 25** = Joel 4:16 from Paris BN hébr 26
26 = Joel 4:16 from Paris BN hébr 6
27 = Ps 46:2 from Paris BN hébr 6
28 = Joel 4:16 from Paris BN hébr 82
29 = Joel 4:16 from de Rossi 782
30 = Joel 4:16 from de Rossi 2
31 = Ps 46:2 from de Rossi 2
32 = Joel 4:16 from London BL Harley 5711
33 = Joel 4:16 from London BL Arundel Or 16
34 = Joel 4:16 from London BL Add 15251
35 = Jer 17:17 from Cambridge Add 465

Occurrences

- a** = Jer 17:17
b = Joel 4:16
c = Ps 46:2
d = Ps 57:2
e = Ps 62:9
f = Ps 71:7
g = Ps 118:8
h = Ps 118:9
i = Ruth 2:12
j = Ps 73:28

It should be noted that nothing in the titles allows the lists to be distinguished. We will begin by making a purely descriptive classification of the lists.

7.a. Lists including *c* and not *j*

7.a.i. The type announcing eight cases and not including *d*

12 Mms attest this type: **3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, 18, 24, 29, 30, 32, and 34.**

State α (= **3, 5, 7**) cites: **e, c, b, f, a, g, h, i.**

β (= **32**) cites: **e, c, b, a, f, g, h, i.**

γ (= **4**) cites: **b, a, e, c, f, g, h, i,** and explicitly excludes **d.**³¹²

δ (= **6, 24, 29, 34**) cites: **a, b, c, e, f, g, h, i,** and excludes **d.**

ϵ (= **30**) cites: **a, b, c, f, g, h, i,** and excludes **d.**

ζ (= **12**) cites: **a, b, c, f, g, h, e, i,** and excludes **d.**

η (= **15**) cites: **a, b, c, f, h, e, i,** and excludes **d.**

θ ³¹³ (= **18**) cites: **a, b, e, f, g, h, i,** and excludes **d.**

312. Here, and in all the witnesses in which it figures, this exclusion is accomplished with a note at the end of the list whose most explicit form is **וכל אחסה דכותה רפי בר מן תד דגש**, followed by the *siman* of case **d**.

313. Although this list does not contain **e**, we classify it here, since it is clearly a damaged form of the sub-type 7.a.i. δ .

7.a.ii. *The type announcing eight cases and including d*

This type, which is attested by three Mms (2, 22, and 26), cites: e, c, b, f, a, g, h, i, d.

7.a.iii. *The type announcing nine cases and including d*

Eight Mms attest this type: 8, 9, 14, 17, 21, 27, 31, and 35.

State α (= 27, 31, 35) cites: e, c, b, f, a, g, h, i, d.

β (= 14, 21) cites: e, c, b, f, a, g, h, i, d, and excludes d (!).

γ (= 17) cites: e, c, b, f, a, g, i, d.

δ (= 8) cites: e, c, b, a, f, g, h, i, d.

ε (= 9) cites: e, c, b, f, g, h, i, a, d.

7.a.iv. *The type announcing nine cases and not including d*

This type, attested by one Mm (25), cites: e, c, b, f, a, g, h, i.

7.b. *Lists (announcing eight cases) including j and neither c nor d*

Ten Mms attest this type: 1, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 28, and 33.

State α (= 1, 11, 13, 23, and 33) cites: b, j, f, g, h, i, a, e, and explicitly excludes d.

β (= 16) cites: b, a, j, f, g, h, i, e, and excludes d.

γ (= 19, 20) cites: a, b, j, f, g, h, i, e, and excludes d.

δ (= 28) cites: a, b, j, f, g, h, i, e.

ε (= 10) cites: a, b, j, f, g, h, i.

7.c. *Comparison of the lists*

In all the lists, two modes (\aleph and \beth) in the choice of the *simanim* can be discerned: Mode \aleph presents its chosen *simanim* in two forms.

(1) Two characteristics of the form \aleph^1 : The three witnesses of type 7.a.i.a give the same sequence of one-word *simanim* by case: בטחור (= e), לנו (= e), מציון (= b), כמופת (= f), למחטה (= a), טוב (= g), טוב (= h), כנפיו (= i).

(2) When it is a matter of citing the verses with several words, mode \beth and the form \aleph^2 are clearly distinguished from each other for four occurrences:

- for b: וי מציון ישאג of \beth , but ויי מציון ישאג of \aleph^2
- for f: ואתה מחסי עז of \beth , but כמופת הייתי לרבים of \aleph^2
- for i: אשר באת of \beth , but ישלם יי פעלך of \aleph^2
- for d: ובצל כנפיך אחסה of \beth , but חנני יי חנני כי כך חסיה of \aleph^2

(3) In addition, 35, which clearly belongs to mode \aleph , adds to its *simanim* an allusive *siman* in Aramaic introduced by וסכת (= וסמנים בלשון תרגום). It consists of the phrase אדם התנרב בעדן³¹⁴ דאתבר תקוף ציון דאשלימא נפשה לסגיאין

314. Written ואתבר.

could mean: “A man offered himself at the moment when the strength of Zion was shattered and was delivered up to the multitude.” These are the allusions: דאדם evokes באדם (g), התגדב evokes בגדיבים (h), בעדן evokes בקל-עת (e), דאתבר evokes למחטה (a), תקור evokes ועז (c), ציון evokes מציון (b), דאשלימא evokes ישלם (i), נפשה evokes נפשי (g), לסגיאין evokes לרבים (f).

These modes of choice and forms of presentation are fairly clearly recognizable in all the Masorahs:

- Belonging to mode \aleph in the form \aleph^1 : **3, 5, and 7** (= type 7.a.i.α).
- Belonging to mode \aleph in the form \aleph^2 : **2, 14, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 31, and 35** (= types 7.a.ii., 7.a.iii.αβγ, and 7.a.iv.).
- Belonging to mode \aleph in a mixture of its two forms: **8, 9, and 32** (= types 7.a.i.β and 7.a.iii.δε).
- Belonging to mode \beth : **1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 33, and 34** (= types 7.a.i.γδεζηθ and 7.b.).

7.c.i. First regroupings

If we accept the hypothesis that the two modes of choice permit the differentiation of two families of Masorahs (\aleph and \beth) with distinct lines of transmission, and that certain contaminations took place between these two families, we can identify the following characteristics.

The formula that excludes case **d** has its origin in the \beth family. The two members of this family that do not attest the formula are **10** and **28**, which are actually damaged witnesses of the sub-group 7.b.γ. The only two members of the \aleph family that attest this formula are **14** and **21**, which, paradoxically, just after citing **d**, conclude with the formula that excludes it. Do they mean to express doubt by adding this formula encountered in a Masorah other than the one they had just copied?

All the lists that include **j** belong to the \beth family and those that include **d** all belong to the \aleph family, as do all those that announce nine cases.

7.c.ii. The witness of the classical Tiberian text

In a comparison of the data in these lists with the text offered by our two principal witnesses of the classical Tiberian text (manuscripts A and F), complete agreement between the two witnesses can be observed on references that are entirely clear: For the eight occurrences of מחסה, A and F vocalize the *het* with *šewā*⁷ in Isa 25:4, Ps 61:4, 104:18, Prov 14:26, and Job 24:8, while they vocalize with *hātēp pataḥ* in Joel 4:16 (= **b**), Ps 46:2 (= **c**), and Ps 62:9 (= **e**). For the eight occurrences of מחסי, A and F vocalize the *het* with *šewā*⁷ in Ps 62:8, 73:28, 91:2, 9, 94:22, and 142:6, while they vocalize with *hātēp pataḥ* in Jer 17:17 (= **a**) and Ps 71:7 (= **f**). In the three occurrences of לחסות, that is, in Ps 118:8 (= **g**), 118:9 (= **h**), and Ruth 2:12 (= **i**), A and F vocalize the *het* with *hātēp pataḥ*. In the single occurrence of ולחסות (Isa 30:2), A and F vocalize the *het* with *šewā*⁷. For the four

occurrences of אַחֲסָה, A and F vocalize the *het* with *šewā'* in Ps 57:2 (= **d**), while they vocalize with *hātēp sēgôl* in 2 Sam 22:3, Ps 18:3,³¹⁵ and 61:5.

7.c.iii. Kinship of the families

What stands out in this is that the states 7.a.i.γδζ (original form of the ʔ family) are those that correspond most completely to the textual witness of the classical Tiberian manuscripts. The earliest representative of this group is **6** (= Mm of the Aleppo manuscript on **g**, confirmed by partial Mms on **a**, **b**, and **f**):

לחסרת מחסי מחסה ט בלשנ: מחסי אתה ביום רעה. ויהיה מחסה לעמור.
 אלהים לנו מחסה ועז. אלהים מחסה לנו סלה. ואתה מחסי עז. טוב.
 טוב. אשר באת. וכל אחסה דכותהון בר מן חד: ובצל כנפיו אחסה עד
 יעבר הוות.

But, because the title of **6** does not mention אַחֲסָה (but only לַחֲסוֹת, מַחֲסֵי, and מַחֲסָה), it is likely that the phrase excluding **d** was not an original element in this Masorah. Besides, the correct biblical order given in **6** (and its companions **24**, **29**, and **34**) has little chance of being original.

These two considerations oblige us to assess state 7.a.i.α (original form of the ʔ family) as more primitive. The earliest witness of this state is **7** (= Mm from the Cairo manuscript on **b**). This form offers three indications of originality:

- It does not yet mention the exclusion of **d**;
- It preserves intact the form ʔ¹ (בטחו לנו מציון כמופת למחתה טוב טוב כנפיו), of which the list of the *Okhlah* (Halle II §142 = **9**) has no more than remnants;
- It classes the cases by grammatical forms: the three מַחֲסָה first, the two מַחֲסֵי second, and the three לַחֲסוֹת third.

In each of the two families corruptions later took place:

- In the ʔ family, before Moshe ben Asher copied Masorah **8** and before the above-mentioned list of the *Okhlah* was redacted, a Masorete effected a mutation of ʔ¹ into ʔ² by the addition of **d** at the end of the list and the mention of nine occurrences (instead of eight) in the title. This initiative came from the misinterpretation of a Masorah of type **6**, which correctly cited **d** at the end of the list, but with the purpose of excluding it from the list of *rafes* and not of including it! We note that Moshe ben Asher, aware that in Ps 57:2 the *het* of אַחֲסָה has a *šewā'* (and not *hātēp sēgôl*), nevertheless wanted to make sense of the mention of **d** at the end of the list that he was in the process of copying. To this end, he gave the list the following title: חסיון ט רפ בלש מחסה ג מחסי ב: לחסות ג חסיה א וסימנ אַחֲסָה. Thus, he concluded that in Ps 57:2, it must not be a question of the word אַחֲסָה (which, in Masoretic language, is *dageš* and not *rafe*), but of the word חֲסִיָּה (which is *rafe* inasmuch as its *samek* is preceded

315. This is the only case in which the testimony of A was not preserved.

by a vowel and not by *šewā*³). This acrobatic justification demonstrates with absolute clarity the secondary character of the addition of **d** to the lists of the \aleph family.

- In the \aleph family, the exclusion of **d** and the mention of eight cases in the title were firmly maintained. But, whereas a sub-group \aleph^1 kept the list of *simanim* intact, a replacement of the *siman* of **c** by that of **j** created the sub-group \aleph^2 .

We conclude then:

- that \aleph^1 (= 3, 5, 7, 32) appears to be slightly earlier than \aleph^1 (= 4, 6, 12, 15, 18, 24, 29, 30, 34),
- that \aleph^2 (= 2, 8, 9, 14, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 31, 35) issued from a misinterpretation of \aleph^1 in a Masorah that came from \aleph^1 ,
- that \aleph^2 (= 1, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 28, 33) comes from the substitution of a *siman* in a Masorah of type \aleph^1 .

7.d. The situation of the Ben Hayim edition and the Zikronot concordance

On Ps 62:9, the Ben Hayim edition gives a paradoxical Masorah similar to that of 14 and 21. Then Ben Hayim presents as “another Masorah” the statement that **מחסה** is found three times, twice as *dageš* and once as *rafe*: Joel 4:16, Ps 46:2, and 62:9. These are, in fact, the three occurrences of this word as *rafe* out of a total of eight occurrences.

The Ly manuscript of the *Zikronot* concordance bears no trace of Masorahs concerning the *rafe* and *dageš* forms of derivatives of the root **חסה**. The first hand appears to have no interest in this detail.

- However, it gives a list of the three occurrences of **לְחַסוֹת** with *plene* spelling. One can note the erroneous vocalization of the *het* with a simple *šewā*³. The Mu manuscript, in place of this *šewā*³, writes a *ḥātēp pataḥ*, and then, between this title and the list that follows it, it inserts the note **וכל לשנ חסיה** **דגוש במ ח רפין בלשנ**³¹⁶ **ורוק**.
- A little farther on, under the title **אַחְסָה**, Ly gives the four occurrences of this word in biblical order and without vocalization. Mu, in the vocalization of the title, writes a *ḥātēp sēgôl* instead of *šewā*³, then places Ps 57:2 first on the list, clearly vocalizing it **אַחְסָה** with the note **ל דגוש**. Then it introduces the three following occurrences with **ושאר רפיל**, clearly vocalizing the first of the three **אַחְסָה**.
- Then the pointer of Mu commits the error of extending the vocalization *ḥātēp sēgôl* to the *het* in the forms **יחסה** (Ps 34:9), **תחסה** (Ps 91:4), and **יחסו** (Isa 14:32), three forms that Ly had not vocalized.

316. The imperative “and search!” means that the occurrences mentioned here will be left by Levita in their grammatical place in the entries of the concordance.

- For the titles of the next two entries, Mu replaces the *šewā'* of the *het* with *ḥātēp pataḥ* in *מחסי* and in *מחסי*, and it carefully vocalizes the *het* (which Ly had left unpointed) in all the occurrences of these words on the lists. Mu shows that it is based on a Mm of the sub-group \mathfrak{B}^2 , since it attributes a *ḥātēp pataḥ* to **j**, but not to **e**. We note here that the only indication of knowledge of the traditions concerning these *rafe* and *dageš* forms that can be detected in Ly consists of two notes by a second hand specifying that **b** and **e** are *rafe*. Thus, this addition (which must be contemporary with the vocalization of Mu) also does not attribute *ḥātēp pataḥ* to **e**.

Pa offers information close to that of Mu, with a more complete initial note: *לְחִסּוֹת גַּם מְלֵאֵי וּכְלֵהוּ רְפוּי וְחַ רְפוּיִן בְּלִישׁן וְכֹל אֲחֻסָּה דְכּוּתֵי רַפִּי בְּמֵא וְדוּקָ וְתַמְצָא*.

D. Conclusions

These investigations have permitted us to examine the special use that the Masoretes made of terms like *mil'el* and *milra'* (5), and *rafe* and *dageš* (7). We have seen some Masorahs grow by the addition of complementary information (3.a.iv., 6.a.ii., 7.c.i.), and other Masorahs degenerate because of misunderstandings (5.b.iii., 7.c.iii.), sometimes occasioned by information that was too abbreviated (1.a.i., 6.b.i.). We have had the occasion to see how almost identical traditions were redacted in different milicux (2.c.ii., 4.a., 7.c.i.) and, in the transmission of the same redaction, we have distinguished different ways of formulating the *simanim*, either in a brief form (3.b., 6.a.i.) or in a normal form (3.b., 6.a.ii.), with the very early lists of the *Okhlah* combining the two forms (3.b., 6.a.). We have pointed out that certain traditions place the *simanim* in the biblical order of the Babylonian Talmud and others in the order of the classical Tiberian and Sephardi manuscripts (1.b., 4.d.i.). We have had the occasion to admire a balance that is at the same time sober, subtle, and fragile in the complex differential Masorahs (5.a.). Finally, we have observed that it is often late and deteriorated forms of certain Masorahs that figure in the earliest manuscripts (6.b.ii., 7.c.iii.), while it also happens that the purest and probably more original forms are attested by decidedly more recent witnesses.³¹⁷ The investigations concerning pointing, the arrangement of the consonantal text, and the Masorahs oblige us to mistrust global conclusions about the quality of a given manuscript. A manuscript can be excellent in the first of these aspects, inferior in the second aspect, and average in

317. In 4.a. we noted that list **60** (= Cambridge Add 465 from the thirteenth century) offers the purest state of a form, while in 4.c.ii. we characterized list **10** (= the Reuchlin manuscript of 1105) as a derived state. In 5.a. we regarded list **10** (= London BL Add 15451 from the thirteenth century) as intact, while in 5.b.iii. we regarded list **22** (= D from the tenth century) as corrupt. In 6.a.ii. and 6.b.i., we noted that list **53** (= Hamburg hebr 6 of 1303) gives a Masorah in a purer state than that attested by lists **12** and **36** (= the Reuchlin manuscript and its contemporary, London BL Add 21161).

the third. But it is in the third aspect (that of the quality of the Masorahs) that it appears the least possible to place confidence consistently in a single witness, and it is in the same aspect that more extensive investigations are the most necessary.

Proto-, Pre-, and Extra-Masoretic

I. The Emergence of the Proto-Masoretic Text

Now that we recognize the existence of a “central kernel” of the Masoretic Text, we can attempt to situate that text in relation to the two stages that preceded it: the pre-Masoretic period and the proto-Masoretic period.

A. Consonantal Stabilization

The combined witness of manuscripts from Qumran and from the caves of the second revolt (principally those of Murabba‘at) opens interesting perspectives on the consonantal stabilization that characterizes the transition from the pre-Masoretic period to the proto-Masoretic period toward the end of the first century A.D.

1. The Phylacteries

The most characteristic witness appears to be that of the phylacteries.

1.a. The phylacteries from the second revolt

In the caves inhabited by fugitives during the second revolt, three phylacteries were found: [1] one at Murabba‘at,¹ [2] another at Naḥal Ṣeclim,² and finally, [3] one (probably from the same place) that remains unpublished.³ In these three phylacteries are found only the classic four passages: Exod 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21. The order of the passages is unknown for [2], where only two fragments have survived. In [3], the order is that of the Bible (the order that Rashi would later codify), while in [1] the *Shema*⁴ is on a separate leaf and the other three are on the same leaf (the order that Rabbenu Tam would later give).

As for the text of the passages, it is interesting to note that, for certain words that recur several times, the alternation of *plene* and defective spellings is exactly the same as in *MT*.

1. *Grottes*, DJD II, vol. 1, 80–85.

2. Aharoni, “Expedition,” 22–23.

3. Milik deals with it in a summary fashion (“Travail,” 20).

- So, in Exod 13:11, while [2] has a lacuna here, one finds in [1] the very concise spelling **יבאך** (which \aleph vocalizes **יְבֹאֵךְ**). This defective spelling is reported as unique by a Mp in Vatican ebr 448, Firkovitch, and the Damascus Pentateuch. In contrast, in Exod 13:5, [1] and [2] have the normal spelling with the *mater lectionis yod*, as in \aleph (six times).
- In Exod 13:16, [1] and [2] have the *plene* spelling **ידכה**, which a Mp at that location in \aleph (in Vatican ebr 448 and Firkovitch) reports as unique; in Exod 13:9, phylacteries [1] and [2] offer the spelling **ידך**, found 92 times in \aleph . This normal spelling is also attested by phylactery [1] in Deut 6:8, in agreement with \aleph . The verse was not preserved in [2].
- Another spelling reported as unique by a Mp in \aleph (Vatican ebr 448 and the Damascus Pentateuch) is the completely defective **לטטפת** in Deut 6:8, where it is attested by [1], although not preserved in [2]. In Exod 13:16, [1] and [2] agree with \aleph in vocalizing the first *hōlem* of this word *plene* and the second defectively. In Deut 11:18, which [2] lacks, the word is almost illegible in [1].

Furthermore, for all the texts that we were able to check closely—that is, the four complete passages in [1] and the fragmentary passages Exod 13:1–10 and Exod 13:11–16 in [2]—there is only one variant out of the 519 words preserved: **תאכלו** instead of **תאכל** in Exod 13:6, found in [2].

1.b. The Qumran phylacteries

As has been observed at Qumran,⁴ phylacteries of various models were in circulation before the first revolt. Elements of 24 of them, of varying lengths, have been published.⁵ From the point of view of pericopes selected, the widest collection included Exod 12:43–13:16; Deut 5:1–6:9; 10:12–11:21. Their order was not yet fixed. As Milik points out, one frequently finds an orthography that is “pleine à morphèmes longs”⁶ in these phylacteries, of the type that dominates the second part of 1QIsa^a. However, from the beginning of the first century A.D., phylacteries came into use which already show the outlines of the type that would predominate after the first revolt, a type that Milik describes as “Pharisaic.” That is, what can be found in the phylacteries C and DEF are only the endings, which became classic, of the larger pericopes mentioned above: Exod 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21. The case in which DEF were found had only three compartments, and never even contained the *Shema*⁶ (Deut 6:4–9), according to Milik. Among these few phylacteries that could be called pre-Masoretic, an even more defective spelling than that standardized by \aleph can sometimes be found (for

4. See Milik in *Qumrân*, DJD VI, 38–39. Phylactery N from Cave 4 appears to be alone in having (only?) the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32).

5. *Qumran*, DJD I, 72–76; *Petites grottes*, DJD III, vol. 1, 149–58; *Qumrân*, DJD VI, 33–79; Kuhn, *Phylakterien*; and Yadin, *Tefillin*.

6. *Qumrân*, DJD VI, 37 and 47.

example, in certain words in C). Of the four unique spellings pointed out earlier, **יבאך** is found in C for Exod 13:11,⁷ but F has **יביאכה**. For Exod 13:16, C gives **ידיך**, while F has a lacuna. In Deut 6:8, phylactery C writes **לטוטן**. The passage is missing in CEF.

Unlike the phylacteries from the second revolt, these “Pharisaic” phylacteries from Qumran still have numerous textual variants that distinguish them from spellings that would be standardized shortly afterwards. Thus, from among the approximately 284 words preserved in phylactery C, 61 variants can be picked out, some of them bearing on entire words. In this same phylactery, which is the best preserved representative of its category, a very interesting phenomenon can be noted which both distances it and brings it close to the text that would be stabilized shortly afterward. It involves an attempt to standardize spellings, based on principles other than those that would be used by the received text. Certain *plene* spellings with *waw* appear regularly: **כול** (against **כל**), **לאמור** (against **לאמר**), **חודש** (against **חדש**), **בחזק** (against **בחזוק**), **אותם** (against **אתם**), etc. But certain short spellings that are not isolated occurrences can also be found: **ובקמך** (against **ובקומך**) in Deut 6:7 and 11:19; **בתך** (against **ביתך**) in Deut 6:9 and 11:20; **עינך** (against **עיניך**) in Exod 13:16 and Deut 6:8; **בנכם** (against **בניכם**) in Deut 11:19 and 11:21; **הציאנו** (against **הצאנו**) in Exod 13:14 and 13:16.

From these observations, one is justified in concluding that the tendencies that would predominate decisively after the first revolt were already at work in the Jewish milieu during the preceding decades.

2. Fragments from Torah Scrolls

Standardization of the phylacteries, as it operated in Palestine between the two revolts, was clearly linked to a rigorous standardization of the text of the Torah scrolls. We have poignant testimony to this standardized text in remnants torn up by the Romans after they encountered the last resistance of insurgents hiding out in the caves of Murabba‘at. These fragments preserved 270 identifiable words. Unlike the numerous fragments of the Torah scrolls found at Qumran, not a single variant with respect to the received text can be discovered in the Murabba‘at fragments. Even more interesting is the fact that only one scribal correction can be discovered, in Gen 34:31, where the defective spelling **אחתנו** was transformed into a *plene* spelling by the addition of *waw* before the *taw*. In the Firkovitch manuscript and in the Damascus Pentateuch, it is precisely here that a Mp reports this *plene* spelling as unique.

A fragment found in the cave of Naḥal Şeelim, which would also yield the phylactery mentioned above, suffered the same fate at the hands of the Roman

7. *Qumrân*, DJD VI, 55. This defective spelling cannot be found in any other Qumran phylactery for this verse.

soldiers. The fragment has a large top margin and only eight letters from the top of two columns.⁸

In addition, among the finds from the caves of Murabba‘at and the cave of Nahal Hever, a fragment of Isaiah (25 words from Isa 1:4–14) and a fragment of the Psalms (23 words from Ps 15:1–16:1) have been published. Not a single variant with respect to the received text can be found, aside from the omission of four words at the beginning of Ps 15:3. In the Psalms fragment, it is noteworthy that the defective spelling ימר (Ps 15:4) for the *Hiphil* imperfect of the verb מור is already present. The Mp would later judge it necessary to protect this spelling by making a note of its uniqueness.

3. The Scroll of the 12 Prophets from Murabba‘at (Mur88)

A cave in the wadi Murabba‘at yielded fairly ample remnants⁹ of a scroll of The Twelve (Mur), which can be dated shortly before the second revolt. For this manuscript, whose leather has deteriorated significantly, we rely primarily on Milik’s decipherment, revised by Strugnell.¹⁰

3.a. Variants in Mur with respect to Firkovitch

We should note from the outset that, out of 3,605 more or less identifiable words, there are only 42 variants with respect to מ as edited in BHK³. This proportion is no greater than the proportion of variants offered by some witnesses of מ. Moreover, 30 of the variants are also found in manuscripts of מ. The variants can be grouped in the following categories: 24 spelling variants (13 *plene*,¹¹ eight defective,¹² and one alternate spelling,¹³ one minus and one plus of a quiescent *‘alep*¹⁴), one vocalic variant,¹⁵ four exchanges between אל and על,¹⁶ one plus and one minus of -ה,¹⁷ one plus of -ו,¹⁸ one exchange between אל and ביד,¹⁹ one exchange between אל and -ל,²⁰ one exchange between -ב and -כ,²¹ one plus of -כ,²²

8. It is reproduced, along with the phylactery, in Aharoni, “Expedition,” pl. 11.

9. Including some ten columns offering good complete texts, eight others that are rather fragmentary, and other fragments.

10. *Grottes*, DJD II, 181–205.

11. וייראו (Mic 6:4), העליתיך (Jonah 4:9), היטיב (Amos 7:17), ובנותיך (Joel 4:5), הטובים (Mic 7:17), מרכבותיך (Nah 3:6), שקרצים (Nah 2:11), ומבולקה (Nah 1:12), נגוזו (Nah 1:5), יושבי (Hab 3:8), עיללותיך (Zeph 3:11), איביך (Zeph 3:15), זבולה (Hab 3:11).

12. להיכלכם (Joel 4:5), הלך (Mic 2:7), בעלות (Mic 6:6), וגדל (Nah 1:3), יעמד (Nah 1:6), ורזנים (Hab 1:10), התקששו (Zeph 2:1), וקשו (ibid.).

13. גורתיו (instead of גרותיו in Nah 2:13).

14. נקי (Jonah 1:14) and לא (Mic 2:11).

15. מורישיהם (Obad 17).

16. Joel 4:3; Amos 7:15; Jonah 3:8; Zeph 3:9.

17. ההרים (Nah 1:5) and ארץ (Zeph 2:3).

18. Mic 7:5.

19. Hag 2:1.

20. Nah 3:13.

21. Mic 5:7.

22. Mic 7:12.

one spelling combining two words,²³ one plus of עֹד,²⁴ one minus of ים,²⁵ one anticipation of a form that follows,²⁶ one assimilation to a close parallel,²⁷ and one assimilation to a parallel in Psalms.²⁸ These variants are of no greater significance than those that distinguish medieval manuscripts of מ.

3.b. Corrections in Mur

A very interesting point to note in Mur is the presence of eleven alterations by a second hand. These have the overall effect of bringing the text of this proto-Masoretic manuscript into conformity with what was to become the classical Tiberian מ:

- a final ה added to הָהֵם in Joel 3:2;
- the addition of עֹד in Amos 7:13;
- the addition of וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּי רֶעִב בְּאַרְץ in Amos 8:11;
- a י added in הַשְׂמַד in Amos 9:8;
- the addition of בְּגוֹיִם in Obad 2;
- the ו scratched out in וְאֵל at the beginning of Obad 13;
- the addition of אַת in Mic 4:7;
- a ו added in מִבְּכַתֶּם in Mic 7:4;
- the addition of עַל in Nah 3:11;
- the addition of הַקִּיצָה in Hab 2:19;
- the addition of אַתּוּ in Hag 2:3.

The most telling of these alterations is the fourth. Indeed, a Mp in the Cairo and Firkovitch manuscripts, as well as in the Ben Hayim edition, reports the *plene* spelling הַשְׂמִיד in this location as unique. Furthermore, a significant number of manuscripts cited by Kennicott offer the defective spelling here.

3.c. Unusual spellings in Mur

In line with this observation, other typical relations between Mur and the classical Tiberian text can be noted with regard to unusual spellings.

(α) Thus, in what is preserved of Mur, the suffixed ending יִי figures 25 times as a normal *plene* spelling in מ²⁹ and three times as a defective *Kethiv*: מַעְלוֹתוֹ (Amos 9:6), שַׁעְרוֹ (Obad 11), and פְּרוֹזוֹ (Hab 3:14). Cairo, Aleppo,³⁰ and Firkovitch support the Ben Hayim edition for the three defective *Kethivs*. Now, in these three places and there alone, Mur offers the same defective *Kethiv*.

23. וְאִימֹזָה (Jonah 1:8).

24. Amos 7:16.

25. Nah 3:8.

26. הַהִיא (the first one) (Joel 4:1).

27. וְאִכְלָ כָּל יוֹשֵׁב בָּהּ (Amos 9:5) assimilating to Amos 8:8.

28. וְרַמְצוֹ מִיַּם עֲבוּרָה (Hab 3:10) assimilating to Ps 77:18.

29. Amos 7:10; 9:11; Obad 14 (twice), Jonah 1:5, 6, 8, 10, 11; 2:2; 3:6; Mic 1:4; 2:7; 3:4; Nah 1:3; 2:13 (four times); Hab 1:8 (twice); 2:6, 18, 20; 3:5.

30. For Hab 3:14 alone, since the folios containing Amos 8:12 to Mic 5:1 are missing.

(β) In Mic 1:8, the spelling אֵילָכָה is reported as a unique *plene* spelling by a Mp in the Firkovitch manuscript³¹ and in the Ben Hayim edition. Indeed, the normal spellings אֵלְכָה(ו) and אֵלְכָה(ו) figure 21 times in the Bible. Mur attests the exceptional spelling in Mic 1:8, but is not preserved in Hos 2:7, 9 and Zech 8:21, where the normal spelling is found in מ.

(γ) The first person singular *Hiphil* imperfect of בּוֹא is found twice in the Twelve Prophets: in Zeph 3:20, where all the manuscripts have the normal spelling אָבִיא, and in Mic 1:15, where the spelling אָבִי is attested by Cairo and Firkovitch³² as well as by the Ben Hayim edition, with Firkovitch reporting in a Mp that the spelling with defective *ʔalep* is found twice,³³ and Cairo stating in a Mm that the second place is 1 Kgs 21:29. In both Mic 1:15 and Zeph 3:20, Mur offers the two distinct spellings that the Masorah of the classical Tiberian text will later canonize.

(δ) Still in Mic 1:15, the same witnesses to the classical Tiberian מ have עָד הַיְרֵשׁ before the word אָבִי. The short spellings of these two words are protected by Masorahs in the Cairo manuscript, while the first is in the Ben Hayim edition and the second is in the Firkovitch manuscript. The two defective spellings are already attested by Mur.

(ε) In Nah 2:4, while the Ben Hayim edition gives the form גְּבוּרֵיהוּ, the form גְּבֻרֵיהוּ is attested by Cairo, Aleppo, and Firkovitch, with a Mp stating that it is unique. The Cairo manuscript adds that the spelling is *plene* (which refers to the *yod*). This is the same form that Mur gives here.

These agreements in Mur with the classical Tiberian מ are all the more remarkable, if the facts furnished by Kennicott on the 69 manuscripts of the Twelve Prophets that he claimed to have collated completely can be trusted. According to Kennicott's collation, there are only six (manuscripts 24, 82, 113, 246, 254, and 290) that agree with Mur and with the great classical Tiberian manuscripts on the group of rare spellings מעלותו, שערו, פרוזו, אילכה, אבי עד הירש, and גבריהו, which have just been treated.

As these various witnesses of the biblical text from the caves of the second revolt show, the consonantal stabilization that would later characterize מ had been practically achieved already at that time. A manuscript such as Mur even makes it possible to state that the great classical Tiberian manuscripts remained remarkably faithful to certain rare spellings that had already been established before the second revolt, spellings that the Masoretes were able to preserve throughout the following centuries with their notations.

The conclusion from this is that the textual type yielded by the caves of the second revolt truly merits the designation "proto-Masoretic."

31. The Cairo manuscript has the same spelling without Mp and Aleppo is missing here.

32. Aleppo is missing here, too.

33. The spelling of this grammatical form with *ʔalep* is found 22 times in the Bible.

4. The Hexaplaric Secunda

The second column of Origen's Hexapla, as it is preserved by the Mercati fragments, offers a control for the state of the Hebrew text of the Psalter at the beginning of the third century. If we limit our inquiry to the consonantal text (without taking into account *plene* or defective spellings, which the transcriptions are unable to reveal), we can observe that of 1,039 words to which they witness, these transcriptions attest ten consonantal variants:

- 18:26 and 27: ועם instead of עם
- 31:21: מריב instead of מריב
- 31:24: ומשלם instead of ומשלם
- 35:2: וקום instead of וקומה
- 35:25: בלכבם instead of בלכבם
- 36:2: לכו instead of לכו
- 46:2: עור instead of עורה
- 46:3: הארץ instead of ארץ
- 49:8: לאלהים instead of אלהים

All of these variants are of fairly limited extent. They involve one percent of the words, slightly more than the 20 comparable variants of the Murabba'at scroll of the Prophets, which concerned only 0.55 percent of the 3,605 words preserved.

II. Pre- or Extra-Masoretic?

After having situated the Masoretic and the proto-Masoretic texts, we must ask whether it is legitimate to describe certain Qumran manuscripts as "pre-Masoretic," thus distinguishing them from other witnesses that could then justifiably be described as "extra-Masoretic." Milik's observations on the "Pharisaic" phylacteries from Qumran would point toward a positive response to this question. To formulate precisely such a response, we can rely only on witnesses that have been fairly well preserved. The best candidate for the qualification "pre-Masoretic" is 1QIsa^b, where 2,951 more or less identifiable words have been preserved. We will compare it to 1QIsa^a to bring out its textual characteristics. We can then compare the characteristics thus obtained to those that were pointed out in Mur, where we have seen a typical witness of a "proto-Masoretic" text, and which is approximately the same size as 1QIsa^b.

A. Comparison of 1QIsa^b and 1QIsa^a

1. Garbini's Mathematical Demonstration

As Garbini writes,

it is a widespread and well-entrenched opinion that the second scroll of Isaiah discovered in the first cave at Qumran [. . .] preserves a text so close to the

Masoretic Text that one can reasonably posit the existence of a (pre)Masoretic text, much older than the Masoretic [Text].³⁴

His goal is then to refute this opinion by demonstrating that, in the lacunae at the bottom of the columns, a significant number of verses found in \aleph are lacking in 1QIsa^b. Eight verses from chap. 40 at the bottom of column 1; six verses from chap. 42 at the bottom of column 2; four verses from the beginning of chap. 44 at the bottom of column 3; three verses from chap. 48 at the bottom of column 5; three verses from chap. 51 or 52 at the bottom of column 7; six verses from chap. 64 or 65 at the bottom of column 12. He obtained this result by counting, first how many verses are present in the preserved sections of each column, then how many verses are missing between that end point and the beginning of the following column (taking \aleph as reference). Then, based on the number of lines in a column taken up by the existing verses, he calculates the number of lines that would be necessary to contain the missing verses of \aleph . He establishes 48 lines as the average number of lines for the columns of 1QIsa^b. He then observes that, for the columns mentioned above, the number of lines that would be necessary to contain the missing verses of \aleph exceeds this figure: for column 1, by 11 lines; for column 2, by nine lines; for column 3, by five lines; for column 5, by five lines; for column 7, by five lines, and for column 12, by six lines.

In what is preserved of 1QIsa^b, two significant homeoteleutons can be noted: one of 12 words in 38:13 and another of 15 words in 60:19–20. For a total of 301 verses in \aleph , there are 299 verses present in 1QIsa^b and two verses lacking. It would be surprising, in view of this, to have to conclude with Garbini that, for a total of 243 verses in \aleph , 213 verses were present in 1QIsa^b at the bottom of columns that are now damaged, and 30 verses were lacking. In the part of Isaiah subject to this calculation, that is, 38:12 to the end of the book, chance would have it that, for the part that was preserved, the proportion of verses lacking is 0.66 percent, whereas in the part that was destined to be fodder for rodents, the proportion would be 12 percent, according to Garbini's calculations. Such a difference is hardly probable. Garbini believed, however, that he had proceeded "in a manner that was difficult to confute [= refute] in our judgment."³⁵ I believe, however, that he committed a methodological error in choosing the verse as the unit of measure. Verses are of quite variable length. Let us look at a simple example: Taking as a basis of comparison an edition of the Hebrew Bible with the classical page arrangement, such as the Koren edition (= K), it can be observed that the 18 verses preserved in the first column of 1QIsa^b occupy 28 lines in K, while the 33 "missing" verses take up 42. This gives, for the preserved verses, an average length of 1.55 lines and for the "missing" verses an average length of 1.27 lines. To illustrate these facts more clearly, we could point to verse 39:2 in

34. Garbini, "1QIsa^b," 17.

35. *Ibid.*, 21.

the preserved portion of this column, a verse that takes up four lines in K, and in the “missing” portion, to verses 40:13, 18, 23, 25, 29, which each take up less than one line. Thus, one cannot take the verse as the unit of measure.

Let us instead choose a more certain method of calculation: the number of lines in K. We can also profit from the fact that in most of the 13 adjacent columns that are preserved, the upper portions of the columns descend at least to the middle of the columns. First, let us calculate on the basis of the K edition the number of lines that separate the beginnings of two adjacent columns in 1QIsa^b, then we will establish in K the central point of this textual block and locate it in the column of 1QIsa^b. This will permit us to observe whether the central point is found at a stable or unstable number of lines with respect to the top of the column, and it will also permit us to determine more precisely the average number of lines of the columns of 1QIsa^b. Leaving to one side the final column, which does not lend itself to this calculation since it is incomplete, let us begin with the best preserved columns, and continue in order of decreasing preservation.

(a) 35 lines are preserved in column 10. It begins at the beginning of 57:17 and ends with 58:20a, corresponding to 57 lines and two words in K. The middle of this block is נחלת in 58:14, the next to the last word in the 25th line in 1QIsa^b.

(b) 35 lines are preserved in column 11. It begins with 58:20b and ends with צדק of 62:2, which is 54.5 lines in K. The middle of this block is at the end of 60:17, the last word of the 26th line in 1QIsa^b.

(c) 34 lines are preserved in column 9. It begins with 55:2b and ends with 57:16, which is 59 lines minus two words in K. The middle of this block is וזבחייה in 56:17, the first word of the 25th line in 1QIsa^b.

(d) 33 lines are preserved in column 8. It begins with אלהיך, the last word in 52:7, and ends with 55:2a, which is 55.5 lines in K. The middle of this block is הטא in 53:12, the middle of the 25th line in 1QIsa^b.

(e) 31 lines are preserved in column 5. It begins with הנשאים in 46:3 and probably ends with 48:16a, which is 58 lines minus two words in K. The middle of this block is שחרה in 47:11, the next to the last word of the 25th line in 1QIsa^b.

(f) 28 lines are preserved in column 4. It begins with כי in 44:21 and ends with בטן in 46:3, which is 53 lines in K. The middle of this block is האתיית in 45:11, two-thirds of the way through the 25th line in 1QIsa^b.

(g) 27 lines are preserved in column 12. It begins with וכל of 62:2 and ends with הנני of 65:17, which is 81.5 lines in K. The middle of this block is משלת in 63:19, three-fourths of the way through the 26th line in 1QIsa^b.

(h) 26 lines are preserved in column 6. It begins with 48:16b and ends with מכלימות of 50:6, which is 59 lines in K. The middle of this block is יהוה in 49:13, the next to the last word of the 25th line in 1QIsa^b.

Since the remaining columns have less than 24 lines preserved, they do not permit this calculation.

However, the results of our calculation involving eight columns are clear enough, and do not at all permit us to infer notable differences in size between the contents of 1QIsa^b and \aleph . Instead, if one accepts the hypothesis that the size of these two text blocks was identical, the fact that the middle of the contents is always located at the 25th or 26th line of 1QIsa^b shows that, according to this hypothesis, the columns of 1QIsa^b must have had 50–52 lines. Variation between these two amounts would not be at all surprising. Indeed, the columns of 1QIsa^a, preserved in their entirety, vary between 28 and 32 lines. In the case of 1QIsa^b, the variation would thus be even less.

We do not claim in the least to have established that the dominant opinion, according to which 1QIsa^b can be described as pre-Masoretic, is well-founded, but only that, in the size of its text, nothing contradicts such a statement. We will now attempt to check its validity in a more detailed analysis.

2. List of Variants

Limiting the investigation first to the cases where 1QIsa^b is preserved, let us examine the relationship between \aleph and the various Isaiah manuscripts yielded by the Qumran caves. Instead of listing all the variants, as was the case for Mur, we limited the list to those variants that seemed to be sufficiently characteristic. That is, we omitted purely graphical variants, those that consist of the presence or absence of a conjunctive *waw*, and exchanges of **אל** and **על**. Here, then, in biblical order, are the variants that the Qumran witnesses offer for the portions of Isaiah preserved in 1QIsa^b. In the following list 1a = 1QIsa^a, etc.

- 1a. 7:24: ובקשתות \neq 1b + \aleph : ובקשת (Ⓢ = \aleph) [1]
 4a. 13:7: תרפיניה \neq 1ab + \aleph : תרפינה (Ⓢ ?) [2]
 1b. 13:19: ממלכתו \neq \aleph : ממלכות, 1a: ממלכת (Ⓢ ?) [3]
 1a. 16:8–9: homeoteleuton of 20 words on גפני שבמה \neq 1b + \aleph (Ⓢ \approx \aleph) [4]
 1a. 19:11: חכמיה \neq 1b + \aleph : חכמי (Ⓢ \approx \aleph) [5]
 1a. 19:23: om. (in the transition from one column to the next) \neq 1b + \aleph : מצרים (Ⓢ \approx \aleph) [6]
 1b and 4a? 22:17: גבור ויע[ט]ך \neq \aleph : גבר ועטך, 1a: גבר ועוטך (Ⓢ \rightarrow \aleph) [7]
 1a (and 1b?) and 4a. 23:2: עברו \neq \aleph : עבר (Ⓢ = var) [8]
 1a. *ibid.*: מלאכיך \neq 1b + \aleph : מלאוך (Ⓢ ?) [9]
 1b. 24:20: והתנודד \neq \aleph : והתנודדה, 1a: והתנודדא (Ⓢ ?) [10]
 1b. 26:1: השירה הזאת, 1a: השיר הזואת (4c: השיר ה[.]) \neq \aleph : השירה הזה (Ⓢ ?) [11]
 1a. 26:2: שעריך \neq 1b + \aleph : שערים (Ⓢ \approx \aleph) [12]
 1b. *ibid.*: ויבאו \neq \aleph : ויבא, 1a: ויבוא (Ⓢ \approx \aleph) [13]
 1a. 26:3: בטחו \neq 1b + 4c + \aleph : בטוח בטחו (Ⓢ \approx var) [14]
 1a. 28:16: מיסד \neq \aleph : יסד, 1b: יוסד (Ⓢ ?) [15]
 1a. 28:18: + את \neq 1b + \aleph : וכפר (Ⓢ ?) [16]
 1b. 30:13: לפתח ויבוא \neq 1a + \aleph : לפתע יבוא (Ⓢ = \aleph) [17]
 1a. 38:12: וכלה \neq 1b + \aleph : ונגלה (Ⓢ \approx \aleph) [18]

- 1b. 38:13: homeoteleuton of 12 words on תשלימיני (1a = מ) (ט ≈ מ) [19]
 1b. 38:14: יהוה חשקה ≠ מ: אדני עשקה, 1a: אדוני עושקה (ט ≈ var) [20]
 1a. 38:17: מאודה ≠ 1b + מ: מר (ט ?) [21]
 1a. 38:18: מות ≠ 1b + מ: מות (ט ≈ var) [22]
 1b. 38:19: כמוני היום ≠ 1a + מ: כמוני היום (ט ≈ מ) [23]
 1b. ibid.: אלה ≠ מ: אל = 1a¹ (1a²: אלוה) (ט ≈ מ) [24]
 4b. 39:1: כי שמע ≠ 1ab + מ: וישמע (ט = var) [25]
 1a. ibid.: ויחיה ≠ 1b + מ: ויחזק (ט ?) [26]
 1a. 41:7: אולם ≠ 1b + מ: הולם (ט ≈ מ) [27]
 1a. 41:11: om. ≠ 1b + מ: יהיו כאין ו . . . (ט ≈ מ) [28]
 1b. ibid.: ויבשו ≠ מ: ויאבדו, 1a: יבדו כול (ט ≈ 1a) [29]
 1a. 41:12: תבקשם ולא תמצאם אנשי ≠ 1b + מ: ואנשי (ט ≈ מ) [30]
 1a. 43:3: om. ≠ 1b + מ: כי (ט ≈ מ) [31]
 1a. ibid.: *: om., #: מושיעך ≠ 1b + מ: גואלך (ט = מ) [32]
 1a. ibid.: כפרך מצרים ≠ 1b + מ: מצרים כופרך (ט = מ) [33]
 1a. ibid.: וסבאים ≠ 1b and 4g + מ: וסבא (ט ?) [34]
 1b. 43:4: ואתנה ≠ מ and 1a*: ואתן, 1a#: ואתנה (ט ?) [35]
 1b. 43:6: בניך ≠ 1a + מ: בני (ט ≈ מ) [36]
 1b. ibid.: ובנתיך ≠ 1a + מ: ובנותי (ט ≈ מ) [37]
 1b. 43:10: ואחריו ≠ 1a + מ: ואחרי (ט ≈ מ) [38]
 1a. ibid.: היה ≠ 1b + מ: יהיה (ט ≈ מ) [39]
 1a. 43:23: לעולה ≠ 1b and 4g + מ: עלתיך (ט ≈ מ) [40]
 1a. 43:25: אזכור עוד ≠ 1b + מ: אזכר (ט = מ) [41]
 1b. 45:2: והדורים, 1a: והררים ≠ מ: והדורים (ט = var) [42]
 1a. ibid.: יאושר ≠ 1b + מ: אושר (ט = מ) [43]
 1a. 45:8: ויזל ≠ 1b + מ: יזלו (ט ≈ מ) [44]
 1a. ibid.: . . . ל האמר ≠ 1b + מ: תפתח (ט → מ) [45]
 1a. ibid.: om. ≠ 1b + מ: יחד אני יהוה בראתי (ט = מ) [46]
 1a. 45:9: הואמר חמר ≠ 1b + מ: הואמר (ט = מ) [47]
 1a. 45:13: om. ≠ 1b + מ: עירי (ט ≈ מ) [48]
 1a. 46:5: ונדמה ≠ 1b + מ: ונדמה (ט ?) [49]
 1a and 4c. 46:9: אני ≠ 1b + מ: אנכי (ט ?) [50]
 1a. 46:10: יעשה ≠ 1b + מ: אעשה (ט ≈ מ) [51]
 1a. 46:11: יצרתיה ≠ 1b and 4c + מ: יצרתי (ט ≈ מ) [52]
 1a. 46:13: קרובה ≠ 1b + מ: קרבתי, 4c: הקרבתי (ט ≈ מ) [53]
 1a. 47:1: על הארץ ≠ 1b + מ: לארץ (ט → מ) [54]
 1a. 47:2: שולך ≠ 1b and 4d + מ: שכל (ט ?) [55]
 1a. 47:12: תוכלי הועיל אולי תערוצי נלאית ≠ 1b + מ: ועד היום (ט → מ) [56]
 1a. 48:17: מדריכה ≠ 1b מדרכיך, 4d + מ: מדריכך (ט ?) [57]
 1a. ibid.: אשר תלך בה ≠ 1b and 4d + מ: תלך (ט ≈ var) [58]
 1a. 48:20: om. ≠ 1b and 4d + מ: הוציאנה (ט ≈ מ) [59]
 1a. 48:21: הזיב ≠ 1b and 4d + מ: הזיל (ט ≈ מ) [60]

- 1b. 49:3: התפאר ≠ 1a + מ: אתפאר (ט ≈ מ) [61]
 1a. 49:5: יוצרך ≠ 1b + מ: יצרי (ט ≈ מ) [62]
 1a. ibid.: עזרי ≠ 1b + מ: עזי (ט ≈ מ) [63]
 1b. 49:6: הנקל ≠ 1a + מ: נקל (ט ≈ מ) [64]
 1a. ibid.: ישראל ≠ 1b + מ: יעקב (ט ≈ מ) [65]
 1a. ibid.: ישראל ≠ 1b + מ: יעקוב (ט ≈ מ) [66]
 1ab. 49:7: יהוה ≠ מ: אדני יהוה (ט ≈ מ) [67]
 1a. ibid.: גואלכה ≠ 1b + מ: גאל (ט = var) [68]
 1a. ibid.: ראו ≠ 1b + מ: יראו (ט ≈ מ) [69]
 1a. 49:8: אעזרכה ≠ 1b + מ: עזרתך (ט ≈ מ) [70]
 1a. 50:11: כולם ≠ 1b + מ: כלכם (ט ≈ מ) [71]
 1a. 51:2: ואברכהו ≠ 1b + מ: ואברכה (ט ≈ מ) [72]
 1a. 51:3: + נס יגון ואנחה ≠ 1b + מ: om. (ט ≈ מ) [73]
 1a. 51:5: זרעי and אלי ≠ 1b + מ: זרועו and אליו (ט ≈ מ) [74]
 1a. 51:6: כִּישָׁמִים כַּעֲשָׂן נִמְלָחוּ וְהָאָרֶץ כִּבְגַד תְּבִלָּה: מ: וראו מי ברא את אלה + 1b
 בלה [...] (ט ≈ מ) [75]
 1b. 51:7: ומגדפתם, ומגדפתם מ: ומגדפתם: 1a*: ומגדפתם (ט ?) [76]
 1a. 52:8: קולם ≠ 1b + מ: קול (2nd) (ט ≈ מ) [77]
 1a. ibid.: + ברחמים ≠ 1b + מ: ציון (ט ≈ var) [78]
 1a. 52:9: רונה ≠ 1b + מ: רננו (ט ≈ var) [79]
 1b. 52:11: om. ≠ 1a + מ: צאו מתוכה (ט ≈ מ) [80]
 1a. 52:12: + אלוהי כול הארץ יקרא ≠ 1b + מ: om. (ט ≈ מ) [81]
 1b. 52:13: ונשא וגבה ≠ 1a + מ: ונשא וגבה (ט ?) [82]
 1a. 52:14: משחתי ≠ 1b + מ: משחת (ט ≈ מ) [83]
 1b. ibid.: ותרו ≠ מ: ותארו, 1a: ותוארו (ט ?) [84]
 1a. 52:15: אשר את אשר ≠ 1b + מ: אשר (ט ?) [85]
 1a. 53:2: הדר לר ≠ 1b + מ: הדר (ט ≈ מ) [86]
 1b. 53:3: מכאבים ≠ מ: מכאבות, 1a: מכאובות (ט ?) [87]
 1a. ibid.: ונבוזהו ≠ מ: נבזה (2nd), 1b: ונבזה (ט ≈ מ) [88]
 1b. 53:8: לקחו ≠ מ: לקח, 1a: לוקח (ט ≈ מ) [89]
 4d. 53:10: והאריך ≠ 1ab + מ: יאריך (ט ≈ מ) [90]
 1ab. and 4d. 53:11: יראה אור ≠ מ: יראה (ט ≈ var) [91]
 1ab. and 4d. 53:12: חטא ≠ מ: חטאי (ט ≈ var) [92]
 1b. and 4d. ibid.: ולפשעיהם, 1a: ולפשעיהמה ≠ מ: ולפשעים (ט ≈ var) [93]
 1ab. 54:3: יירשו ≠ מ: יירש (ט ≈ מ) [94]
 1b. 55:5: אשר [וגו] ≠ 1a + מ: וגוי (ט = var) [95]
 1a*b. ibid.: וקדוש ≠ 1a* + מ: ולקדוש (ט = var) [96]
 1b. 55:8: מחשבותי מחשבותיכם ≠ 1a + מ: מחשבותיכם (ט = מ) [97]
 1a. 55:9: כגובה ≠ 1b + מ: גבהו (1st) (ט ≈ var) [98]
 1ab. 55:11: אשר את אשר ≠ מ: אשר (3rd) (ט ?) [99]
 1b. ibid.: שלחתי ≠ 1a + מ: שלחתי (ט ≈ var) [100]
 1a. 55:12: תולכו ≠ 1b + מ: תובלון (ט ≈ מ) [101]

- 1a. 55:13: אדם \neq 1b + מ: הדם (ט \approx מ) [102]
 1a. ibid.: והיו \neq 1b + מ: והיה (ט \approx מ) [103]
 1a. ibid.: לשם לאות \neq 1b + מ: לאות ולשם (ט \approx מ) [104]
 1a. 56:1: כיא כוה \neq 1b + מ: כה (ט \approx מ) [105]
 1a. 56:5: להמה \neq 1b + מ: לו (ט \approx var) [106]
 1a. 56:6: לשרתו \neq 1b + מ: להיות לו לעבדים ולברך את שם יהוה ושומרים את שם יהוה ולאהבה את שם יהוה להיות לו לעבדים כל־שמר (ט = מ) [107]
 1a. 56:7: לרצון \neq 1b and 4h + מ: יעלו לרצון (ט = מ) [108]
 1a. 56:9: חיות (2x) \neq 1b + מ: חיתו (2x) (ט ?) [109]
 1b. 56:10: המה חוזים \neq 1b + מ: הזים (ט \approx מ) [110]
 1a. 56:12: ונקח \neq מ: אקחה, 1b אקח (ט \rightarrow var) [111]
 1a. ibid.: ויהי \neq 1b + מ: והיה (ט \rightarrow מ) [112]
 1a. 57:2: משכבותיו \neq 1b + מ: משכבותם (ט \rightarrow מ) [113]
 1a. 57:17: ואהסתר, 4d: ואסתר \neq 1b + מ: הסתר (ט = var) [114]
 1a. 57:18: om. \neq 1b + מ: ואנחהו (ט \rightarrow מ) [115]
 1a. ibid.: לוא תנחומים לוא \neq 1b + מ: נחמים לו (ט = var) [116]
 1b. 58:3: נפשתינו, 1a: נפשותינו \neq מ: נפשנו (ט = var) [117]
 1b. 58:5: ראשו \neq מ: ראשו, 1a: רואשו (ט = var) [118]
 1a and 4d. ibid.: תקראו \neq 1b + מ: תקרא (ט = var) [119]
 1a. 58:6: הצום אשר \neq 1b + מ: צום (ט \approx מ) [120]
 1a. 58:7: וכסיתו בגד \neq 1b + מ: וכסיתו (ט \approx מ) [121]
 1a. ibid.: תתעל \neq 1b + מ: תתעלם (ט \approx מ) [122]
 1a. 58:11: בצצחות \neq 1b + מ: בצחצחות (ט ?) [123]
 1b. ibid.: יחלצו, 1a: יחליצו \neq מ: יחליץ (ט = var) [124]
 1a. 58:12: וקראו \neq 1b + מ: וקרא (ט = מ) [125]
 1b. ibid.: משיב \neq מ: משכב, 1a: משובב (ט ?) [126]
 4n. 58:13: מהשבת \neq 1ab + מ: משבת (ט = var) [127]
 1a and 4n. ibid.: מעשות \neq 1b + מ: עשות (ט = var) [128]
 4n. ibid.: וכבתה \neq 1ab + מ: וכבדתו (ט ?) [129]
 1b. 58:14: והרכיבך, 1a: והרכיבכה \neq מ: והרכבתיך (ט = var) [130]
 1a. ibid.: והאכילכה \neq 1b + מ: והאכלתיך (ט = var) [131]
 1a. 59:1: כבדו אוזניו \neq 1b + מ: כבדה אוזנו (ט \approx מ) [132]
 1a. 59:3: om. \neq 1b + מ: שפתותיכם דברו־שקר (ט \approx מ) [133]
 1ab. 59:4: בטחו \neq מ: בטוח (ט = var) [134]
 1b. ibid.: דברו \neq 1a + מ: ודבר (ט = var) [135]
 1ab. ibid.: והולידו \neq מ: והוליד (ט = var) [136]
 1a. 59:21: om. \neq 1b + מ: אמר יהוה (2nd) (ט = מ) [137]
 1b. 60:4: תנשינה \neq 1a + מ: תאמנה (ט = var) [138]
 1a. 60:5: ונהר \neq 1b + מ: ונהרת ופתח (ט \rightarrow מ) [139]
 1a. 60:9: בני \neq 1b + מ: בניך (ט \approx מ) [140]
 1a. 60:13: נתן לך ואליך \neq 1b + מ: אליך (ט \approx מ) [141]
 1a. ibid.: ותהרהר \neq 1b + מ: תדהר (ט \approx מ) [142]

- 1b. 60:14: שחוח כל ≠ שחוח מ: שחוח (ט ≈ מ) [143]
 1a. 60:19: הירח בלילה ≠ 1b + מ: הירח (ט → var) [144]
 1b. 60:19–20: homeoteleuton of 15 words on לאור עולם (1a = מ) (ט ≈ מ) [145]
 1b. 60:21: om. ≠ 1a + מ: נצר (ט ≈ מ) [146]
 1a. ibid.: מטעי יהוה ≠ מטעו: מטעו, מ: מטעי, 1b: מטעיו (ט ?) [147]
 1ab. ibid.: ידי ≠ ידי: ידי (ט = var) [148]
 1a. 61:1: יהוה ≠ יהוה: אדני יהוה: אדני יהוה (ט = var) [149]
 1a. 62:2: וקראו ≠ 1b + מ: וקרא (ט = מ) [150]
 1a. 62:5: כבעול ≠ 1b + מ: יבעל (ט ≈ var) [151]
 1ab. 62:6: om. ≠ מ: תמיד (ט ≈ מ) [152]
 1b. 62:7: לו עד יכין ועד יכונן ו... ≠ מ: לו עד יכונן ו... [153]
 1b. 62:8: בימינו ≠ 1a + מ: בימינו ובזרוע (ט ≈ מ) [154]
 1b. ibid.: את־דגנך עוד ≠ מ: עוד דגנך, עוד [את ד]גנך (ט ≈ var) [155]
 1b. 62:10: מאבן ≠ 1a + מ: מאבן (ט ≈ var) [156]
 1a. ibid.: הרִימו נס על־העמים ≠ 1b + מ: הרִימו נס על־העמים [157]
 1a. 62:11: השמיעו ≠ 1b + מ: השמיע (ט = מ) [158]
 1a. 62:12: יקראו ≠ 1b + מ: יקרא (ט = מ) [159]
 1a. 63:1: בצדקה ≠ מ: בצדקה, 1b: בצדק (ט ?) [160]
 1a. 63:2: בגד ≠ 1b + מ: בגת (ט ≈ מ) [161]
 1a. 63:3: ומעמי ≠ 1b + מ: ומעמים (ט ≈ מ) [162]
 1a. ibid.: om. ≠ 1b + מ: וואדרכם באפי וארמסם בחמתי ויז נצחם על־בגדי (ט ?) [163]
 1b. 63:5: עזר ≠ מ: עזר, 1a: עוזר (ט ≈ מ) [164]
 1a. ibid.: תומך ≠ 1b + מ: סומך (ט ?) [165]
 1a. 65:18: וגילו ≠ 1b + מ: וגילו (ט → var) [166]
 1a. 65:23: ברוכי ≠ מ: ברוכי, 1b: ברכי (ט = var) [167]
 1a. 66:2: ויהיו ≠ 1b + מ: ויהיו (ט ?) [168]
 1b. 66:4: ומגורתם ≠ מ: ומגורותיהמה [ו], במגרתם (ט ≈ מ) [169]
 1a. 66:8: ראה ≠ 1b + מ: ראה (ט = מ) [170]
 1a. 66:9: ועצרת ≠ 1b + מ: ועצרת (ט → מ) [171]
 1a. 66:11: מזיז ≠ 1b + מ: מזיז (ט → מ) [172]
 1a. 66:12: תשעשעו ≠ 1b + מ: תשעשעו (ט ?) [173]
 1a. 66:16: om. ≠ 1b + מ: יהוה (2nd) (ט ≈ מ) [174]
 1a. 66:19: אותות ≠ 1b + מ: אות (ט ≈ var) [175]
 1a. 66:20: ובכרכרות ≠ 1b + מ: ובכרכרות (ט ?) [176]

3. Overall Appraisal of the 176 Variants

Out of these 176 variants, we can see that 1QIsa^b sides with מ 121 times, of which 113 are identical to מ (99 times alone and 14 times together with another Qumran witness), and eight are closer to מ than to the variant. 1QIsa^b sides with the variant 55 times (39 times as the single witness for the variant, and 16 times together with another Qumran witness).

With regard to these data, only 1QIsa^a among the Qumran witnesses can be compared to 1QIsa^b, because it alone attests all the cases. We can observe that 1QIsa^a sides with \aleph 39 times, of which 24 are identical to \aleph (19 times alone and five times together with another Qumran witness), and 15 are closer to \aleph than to the variant. 1QIsa^a sides with the variant 137 times (112 times as single witness for the variant and 25 times together with another Qumran witness).

In addition to these statistics, 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b are allied with \aleph five times against the variant, while they are together 21 times in support of a variant. But it must also be stated that, out of the 15 times where we deemed 1QIsa^a closer to \aleph than to the variant, in ten of those cases it differs from \aleph only by a variant spelling, twice it was distinguished from \aleph by the addition of a doublet, once by a correction, and twice by another slight variant. Concerning 1QIsa^b, out of the eight times where we judged it closer to \aleph than to the variant, in two cases it differs from \aleph only by a variant spelling, and in six cases by other slight variants.

If we try to situate these 176 variants with respect to Θ , we observe that in 89 cases Θ agrees with \aleph ,³⁶ in ten cases it is in approximate agreement with it,³⁷ in two cases it agrees with a witness close to \aleph ,³⁸ in 39 cases it agrees with the variant,³⁹ in four cases it is in approximate agreement with the variant,⁴⁰ and in 32 cases it cannot be situated with respect to either \aleph or the variant.⁴¹ Thus, it would be wrong to claim that the Vorlage of Θ was closer to the “Qumran manuscripts” than to \aleph .

We will now examine in detail some of the general information just furnished. We begin with the observation that 1QIsa^a sides with \aleph 39 times (and with the variant 137 times), while 1QIsa^b sides with \aleph 121 times (and with the variant 55 times), an observation that clearly situates 1QIsa^b closer to \aleph than 1QIsa^a is.

We will then attempt to classify the types of variants with respect to \aleph that are encountered in 1QIsa^a and in 1QIsa^b.

4. The 21 Variants Supported by Both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b

We begin with the 21 variants supported by both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b.

[8] In 23:2, against Sukenik, it seems clear that 1QIsa^b has $\text{ר}[\dots]$ or $\text{ר}[\dots]$ as the ending of a word that \aleph gives in the form עבר , but the two following words are indeed יִם מְלֹאֲךְ (as in \aleph). 1QIsa^a has the more coherent reading $\text{עברו יִם מְלֹאֲכִיךְ}$ for these three words. As for 4QIsa^a, we have stated elsewhere why its corrected and fragmentary text should probably be read עברו יִם מְלֹאֲךְ .⁴² The three Qumran

36. Cases marked “ $\Theta = \aleph$ ” in the list above.

37. Cases marked “ $\Theta \rightarrow \aleph$ ” in the list above.

38. Cases [28] and [149].

39. Cases marked “ $\Theta = \text{var}$ ” in the list above.

40. Cases marked “ $\Theta \rightarrow \text{var}$ ” in the list above.

41. Cases marked “ $\Theta ?$ ” in the list above.

42. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 162–63. The reasons for the decision of the textual committee can be found there.

witnesses (to the extent that they are preserved) then agree with 𐤌 in reading 𐤒𐤁𐤌𐤍 𐤕𐤁𐤌𐤍. For this unit of five words, 𐤄 offers διαπερῶντες τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν ὕδατι πολλῶ. The committee judged the reading of 1QIsa^a to be original and those of the other witnesses to derive from a haplography (𐤌𐤌𐤁𐤕𐤓 → 𐤌𐤌𐤁) that pointed interpreters of this word toward the defective spelling 𐤌𐤌𐤁, read as the third-person plural perfect of the verb 𐤌𐤌𐤁. Not knowing how to deal with this word, 𐤄 preferred to omit it. From this appraisal, we can situate 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b with respect to 𐤌. Four stages can be discerned:

- a. 1QIsa^a represents the original state of the text.
- b. in 4QIsa^a the said haplography took place,
- c. in 1QIsa^b the *plene* spelling 𐤌𐤌𐤁𐤕 was added to the haplography,
- d. 𐤌 modified this by dropping the ending (*waw* or *yod*) of the first word.

We conclude that 1QIsa^b belongs to the stage immediately preceding the consonantal standardization of 𐤌, while 1QIsa^a comes at the beginning of this textual history.

[11] In 26:1, the expression 𐤄𐤍 𐤄𐤍 𐤄𐤍 in 𐤌 constitutes a biblical hapax, while the reading of 1QIsa^b (𐤄𐤍 𐤄𐤍) is found in ten other places (Exod 15:1; Num 21:17; Deut 31:19 [2x], 21, 22, 30; 32:44; 2 Sam 22:1; Ps 18:1). 1QIsa^a offers the heterogeneous form 𐤄𐤍 𐤄𐤍, and it is very difficult to say whether it is the source of the others (where 𐤌 and 1QIsa^b each harmonized in different directions) or whether it is the first stage of a shift from the rare form attested by 𐤌 toward the usual form attested by 1QIsa^b. 4QIsa^c (... 𐤄𐤍) is only partially accessible. 𐤄 (τὸ ἕσμα τοῦτο) does not permit a statement about which of the competing forms was in its Vorlage.

[42] In 45:2, 𐤄 (καὶ ὄρη) supports the reading of 1QIsa^a (𐤌𐤌𐤌), while the reading of 1QIsa^b (𐤌𐤌𐤌) is situated halfway between it and the reading of 𐤌 (𐤌𐤌𐤌). For the following word, the support is reversed, with 𐤄 (ὄμαλιῶ) supporting 𐤌 and 1QIsa^b (𐤌𐤌), against 1QIsa^a (𐤌𐤌). Here, the reading of 𐤌 could be original, with the passive participle 𐤄𐤌 occurring again in Isa 63:1 (and only there in the Bible). 1QIsa^b would then be the result of a confusion of *reš* and *dalet*, from which 1QIsa^a (and the Vorlage of 𐤄) would have obtained an entirely coherent reading through the omission of the *mater lectionis*. However, it is more likely that the evolution occurred in the opposite direction. Indeed, 𐤌𐤌𐤌 is a high plain, and the verb 𐤌𐤌𐤌 thus suits very well, meaning the transformation of mountains into high plains. In this event, it must be supposed that from the original text (preserved by 1QIsa^a and the Vorlage of 𐤄), a confusion of *reš* and *dalet* would have engendered the (unattested) reading 𐤌𐤌𐤌, which 𐤌 erroneously supplied with a *mater lectionis* under the influence of 63:1. 1QIsa^b would have then mixed the consonants of 1QIsa^a with the vocalization of 𐤌.

[67] In 49:7, 𐤌 agrees with 𐤄 in offering a single divine name (𐤄𐤌), while 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b have 𐤄𐤌 𐤄𐤌. But this variant can not be treated in isolation. Indeed, just after this (or these) word(s), 𐤌 and 1QIsa^b have 𐤌 𐤌 𐤌, while

1QIsa^a offers גואלכה ישראל and Ⓞ has ὁ ῥησάμενός σε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ. The most restrained form, therefore, is that of Ⓜ, while the others appear to be successive and sometimes divergent amplifications of it.

[76] In 51:7, 1QIsa^b (ומגדפתם) is distinguished from Ⓜ (ומגדפתם) by the double *mem*, while the first hand of 1QIsa^a agrees with Ⓜ (although a *plene* spelling inserts *waw* before the *pe*), and its second hand (by adding a *mem*) opted for the reading in 1QIsa^b. The Vorlage of Ⓞ (καὶ τῷ φαυλισμῷ αὐτῶν) cannot be situated with respect to this variant. Outside of this passage, Biblical Hebrew knows two forms of substantives derived from גר, the singular form גרופה (Ezek 5:15, a form that Ben Yehuda mentions in no other place) and the plural form גרופים (Isa 43:28, Zeph 2:8, and four times in Qumran writings⁴³). The feminine plural form⁴⁴ גרפות in Ⓜ here appears to constitute a hapax in the Hebrew. The two *mems* in 1QIsa^b (and the second hand of 1QIsa^a) allow an interpretation of the second *mem* as the preformative of a *Piel* participle, which was standard usage (twice in the Bible and 19 times in Mishnaic Hebrew⁴⁵). However, the chiasmic parallelism with the preceding half-line points toward an abstract substantive, which Ⓞ also read here. Thus, we consider it more likely that the repetition of the *mem* in 1QIsa^b (and in the corrected reading of 1QIsa^a) was an attempt to assimilate the rare form of Ⓜ to a more common form.

[91], [92], and [93] In Isa 53:11–12, we encounter a group of variants related by the fact that Ⓜ is isolated vis-a-vis four witnesses that are closely and clearly interdependent. As such, these three variants occupy a unique position in the entire textual problematic of the book of Isaiah.

- a. [91] In 11aα, Ⓜ juxtaposes the two verbs יראה ישבע, while 1QIsa^b offers the reading ...]ראה אור יש, 4QIsa^d has .]שב[.]ראה א, 1QIsa^a has וישבע, and Ⓞ has δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλησσαι.⁴⁶
- b. [92] In 53:12bα Ⓜ has חטא רבים, while one finds י רבים in 1QIsa^b, חטאי רבים in 4QIsa^d and 1QIsa^a, and ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν in Ⓞ.
- c. [93] In 53:12bβ Ⓜ offers ולפשעים, whereas 1QIsa^b has ולפשעיהם, 4QIsa^d has .]ולפשעיה, 1QIsa^a has ולפשעיהמה, and Ⓞ has καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

Elsewhere we treated in detail problems posed by these three variants, noting that the four concurring textual forms (1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^d, and Ⓞ) could not have stemmed from a single recensional activity aimed at creating a standard textual type.⁴⁷ Consequently, we concluded that it was more likely that Ⓜ had either suffered accidental alteration or was deliberately changed.

43. According to *Materials*, 6182.

44. The feminine plural ending is confirmed by the *plene* spelling of 1QIsa^a.

45. According to *Materials*, 6182.

46. It is surprising that Ziegler prints πλάσαι here (with all the Greek witnesses) without even mentioning the conjecture πλῆσαι suggested by Grabe, which Schleusner (IV. 354) cites with approval. In fact, the verb συμπλάναι translates the verb שבע 25 times in the Bible.

47. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 403–7.

[94] In 54:3ba מ has the singular יירש corresponding to κηρονουήσει in 6, while 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b have the plural יירשו, probably an assimilation to the parallel verb in 3bβ (יזשיבו). The more difficult reading in מ is supported in the Cairo and Firkovitch manuscripts by a Mp underscoring the fact that this is the sole occurrence of the form where the syllable bearing a *zaqef qaton* is vocalized *qames* (יירש).

[96] In 60:9b one reads לשם יהוה אל(ו)היך ולקדוש ישראל כי(א) פארך in מ, 1QIsa^a,⁴⁸ and 1QIsa^b. In 55:5b מ has למען יהוה אלהיך ולקדוש ישראל כי פארך, while 1QIsa^b has למען יהוה אלהיך וקדוש ישראל כי פארך.⁴⁹ With the same *plene* spellings that are found in 60:9b, the first hand of 1QIsa^a has the reading of 1QIsa^b here, while the second hand brings it into conformity with מ. By pointing out that this form figures three times⁵⁰ in the Bible, a Mp (given in the Cairo, Aleppo,⁵¹ and Firkovitch manuscripts) protects the reading וְלִקְדוֹשׁ in 55:5. Is this reading original, or might it not rather have arisen from an assimilation to the parallel in 60:9, where it is more fitting?

[99] In 55:11 מ has כי אם עשה את אשר חפצתי והצליח אשר שלחתי, and 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b agree in inserting את before the last אשר. This appears to be a question of assimilation to the syntax of the preceding half-line. Certainly, the *Hiphil* of צלה can have either a transitive value (with the object complement expressing the endeavor in which the subject succeeds) or an intransitive value (with the endeavor that succeeds performing the function of subject). It is the latter possibility (which would make אשר the subject) that applies here. With καὶ εὐδοῶσω τὰς ὁδοὺς σου, 6 assimilates to the nine times where the *Hiphil* (in מ) has the substantive צלה as an object complement.

[117] In 58:3aβ מ reads ענינו נפשנו, while the complement is plural in 1QIsa^a (נפשתינו) and 1QIsa^b (נפשתינו). In the entire Bible, the word נפש occurs with possessive plural suffixes 27 times in the plural and 69 times in the singular. But here the proportions are reversed. Indeed, we have in Isa 58:3 the only case where נפש in the singular with a plural suffix functions as an object complement of the *Piel* of ענה. In the five other cases where it assumes this function with a plural possessive (Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7), the noun is plural. Thus it seems that the reading in 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b is an attempt at harmonization. 6 has the plural τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν here.

[124] In 58:11 מ offers ועצמתך יחליץ, while 1QIsa^b has ועצמתך יחלצו and 1QIsa^a has ועצמותיכה יחליצו. It seems clear that 1QIsa^b should be interpreted as a *Niphal* (with the sense of “to be set free,” as in Ps 60:7; 108:7; Prov 11:8, 9). This would be the original reading, with מ assimilating to והשביע in the previous line.

48. This manuscript adds the two letters that are in parentheses.

49. With several small lacunae that do not interfere with the identification of any of the words.

50. The third being Ps 89:19.

51. This manuscript gives the corresponding Mm.

1QIsa^a offers a hybrid reading with the plural (= 1QIsa^b) of the *Hiphil* (= מ). 1QIsa^b has the support of ט, which also read a *Niphal*: πανθήσεται.

[130] and [131] In 58:14aβ and βα, מ gives the two verbs והרכבתיך and והאכלתיך, while 1QIsa^b offers והרכיבך and והאכלתיך, and 1QIsa^a has והרכיבכה and והאכלכה. It is tempting to regard the asymmetrical reading of 1QIsa^b as primitive, with 1QIsa^a and מ harmonizing in opposite directions. ט however, with καὶ ἀναβιβάσσει σε and καὶ ψωμιεῖ σε, supports the reading of 1QIsa^a. Does this mean that the reading is primitive, and was then distorted by 1QIsa^b with regard to the first verb and then finally, harmonized by מ on this inferior base? Or did the process unfold in the opposite direction, beginning with the reading of מ, from which the first person was then eliminated because it was out of place in the immediate context?

[134] and [136] In 59:4b four absolute infinitives follow each other in מ: פָּטוּחַ, וְדָבַר, הָרוּ, and הוֹלִידוּ. 1QIsa^b regards these four verbs as 3mp perfects: בטחו, דברו, הרו, and הולידו. Given that the function of the absolute infinitive as the equivalent of a conjugated verb fell out of use for the most part in the Jewish period, there is a strong chance that this is a case of syntactic modernization. It seems clear that 1QIsa^a is situated on the path from מ to 1QIsa^b. Indeed, it has (as 1QIsa^b) בטחו and הולידו, but preserves ודבר (as מ) and (by way of correction) gives הרוח (instead of הרוה, the *plene* spelling of the absolute infinitive). From the third person plurals used in ט, no conclusion can be drawn about its Vorlage.

[143] In 60:14, according to מ, the verb והלכו has בני מעניך as its subject, while והשתחוו has כל מנאציק as its subject. 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b differ from this only in the insertion of כן before בני. This is an amplification that assimilates to כל מנאציק. If the word were original here, it is difficult to imagine what could have led מ to omit it.

[148] The various witnesses agree on the contents of 60:21a addressed to Zion: “Your people shall all be righteous; they shall possess the land forever.” In 21b, מ has נצר מטעו מעשה ידי להתפאר with a *Qere* מְטָעִי for the second word, while 1QIsa^a has נצר מטעי יהוה מעשי ידי להתפאר. Omitting the first word, 1QIsa^b offers מטעיו מעשה ידי להתפאר. ט translates φυλάσσω τὸ φύτευμα, ἔργα χειρῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς δόξαν.

- Thus the last three witnesses agree in reading ידי instead of the reading יי of מ.
- As for the first word (נצר), its absence in 1QIsa^b has little chance of being original. Though it did not understand the word, ט attests its presence with φυλάσσω.
- The second word also poses a difficulty. First, we note that it was understood as a plural both in the vocalization of the Masoretic *Qere* and in the readings of 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b. It was understood as a singular by ט. 1QIsa^b and the *Kethiv* of מ give the word a 3ms pronominal suffix. The reading of 1QIsa^a מטעי יהוה can be explained in two ways: Either it involves a gloss on the reading מטעיו

attested by 1QIsa^b, or it is the addition of a complement allowing the reading **מטעי** in the *Qere* of **מ** to be interpreted as a plural construct state.

These observations lead to the conclusion that the *Kethiv* of **מ** (with the uncertainty about the vocalization **מטעו** or **מטעו**) has a good chance of constituting the original state of the text. The variant [148] that concerns us here, in 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, and **Ⓞ**, would then be an assimilation of the first person suffix of **ידי** to the third person suffix of **מטע(י)**.

[152] In 62:6a^β **מ** has **כל היום וכל הלילה תמיד לא יחשו**. The word **תמיד** is attested by neither 1QIsa^a nor 1QIsa^b. However, the words *οἱ διὰ τέλους* in **Ⓞ** attest its presence. This word lends a fine rhythmic support to the following verb. So it is probably original here, but the two Qumran manuscripts omitted it, considering it superfluous after the four preceding words.

[155] 62:8b essentially involves the transposition of two words. **מ** has **את דגנך עוד**, while 1QIsa^a offers **עוד דגנך** and 1QIsa^b (taking into account the size of the segment where the ink is faded) **עוד [את דגנך]**. With *εἰ ἔτι δώσω τὸν σῖτόν σου*, **Ⓞ** also appears to have read **עוד** before **את דגנך**.

[169] In 66:4a^α, **מ** has **גם אני אבחר בתעלליהם ומגורתם אביא להם**. 1QIsa^b appears to offer a variant only for the fifth word, where it has **במגרתם**. For the fourth and fifth words, 1QIsa^a has **בתעלוליהמה ובמגורותיהמה**, while **Ⓞ** translates 4a^α *καὶ γὰρ ἐκλέξομαι τὰ ἐμπαίγματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς*. In spite of the fact that it did not understand the meaning of the fifth word, **Ⓞ** did not read **-ב** before this noun. The preposition appears to have been introduced by 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b through assimilation to the preceding word. But it disturbs the syntax of **מ**, which correctly makes “the things that they dread” the object complement of “I will bring about.”

If we now attempt to classify these 21 variants supported by both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, we can place them in the following categories:

- a. The variants that have the greatest weight are [91], [92], and [93], because they have the support of the only four witnesses to be rooted in a textual state prior to standardization: 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, 4QIsa^d, and **Ⓞ**. These three variants constitute a unique case in Isaiah: They are the only real variants attested by one or the other of these witnesses with respect to **מ** for the three consecutive verses 53:11, 53:12, and 54:1.
- b. In [8] and [42], 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b appeared to be untouched by the accident that **מ** suffered (omission of the ending in [8] and the confusion of **ב** and **ב** in [42]), and to which **מ** subsequently made adjustments.
- c. In [11], [76], [117], [134], and [136], **מ** is distinguished by its use of a rarer form, while 1QIsa^b opts for a more common form. 1QIsa^a is related to 1QIsa^b in [117], [134], and [136], but holds an intermediary position in [11], and in [76] follows **מ** in its first hand, while the second hand is related to 1QIsa^b.

- d. In [67] 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b are distinguished from מ by an amplifying addition, while in [152], they are distinguished from it by the omission of a word they regarded as superfluous.
- e. In eight cases, the variants appear to consist of assimilations to the context or to another passage. In [94], [99], [130], [143], [148], and [169], it is מ that appears to have resisted assimilation to the context, while in [124] it yielded to it, and 1QIsa^b resisted it best. In [96], probably involving assimilation to a similar passage in the same book, it is 1QIsa^b and the first hand of 1QIsa^a that resisted assimilation best, while מ and the second hand of 1QIsa^a yielded to it.
- f. Finally, in [155], which involves the transposition of two words, it is difficult to come to a decision on the direction in which the transposition took place.

We conclude that the unity of variants [91], [92], and [93] shows that 1QIsa^b is clearly situated before the proto-Masoretic textual stabilization, of which Mur (in the case of the Twelve Prophets) is a characteristic product. The other 18 variants examined fall into the category of the minor variations that can show up within a single stream of textual transmission.

5. Characteristics That Distinguish 1QIsa^b from 1QIsa^a in the List of 176 Variants

Since we have suggested that 1QIsa^a would be a good candidate for the designation “extra-Masoretic,” whereas 1QIsa^b would possibly be one for the designation “pre-Masoretic,” let us outline the characteristics that distinguish the other variants attested in 1QIsa^b from those attested in 1QIsa^a, based on the list of 176 variants. Perhaps that will permit us to clarify the meaning of these two designations.

First, we compare the pluses and minuses that they offer with respect to מ.

(a.α) Out of the 176 variants bearing on the passages where 1QIsa^b is preserved, only one plus can be found, in [95], which simply involves making the relative particle אשר explicit.

(a.β) In 1QIsa^a, 18 pluses can be noted: לוא in [22] and [116], לו in [86], את in [85], אשר in [120], כיא in [105], כול in [29], המה in [110], עוד in [41], בה . . . אשר in [58], בגד in [121], ברחמים in [78], בלילה in [144], יעלו in [108], a divine name in [147], נתן לך in [141], נס יגון ואנחה in [73], and אלוהי כול הארץ יקרא in [81].

(b.α) Among these 176 variants, 1QIsa^b offers six minuses: a homeoteleuton of 12 words in [19], one of 15 words in [145], two minuses of one word, נצר in [146] and ובזרוע in [154], one of צאר מתוכה in [80], and finally, the reading לכם instead of . . . יכין ועד יכונן ו . . . in [153].

(b.β) 1QIsa^a offers 15 minuses: a homeoteleuton of 20 words in [4], six minuses of one word: מצרים in [6], כי in [31], עירי in [48], הוציאנה in [59], ואנחהו in [115], and ופחד in [139], two divine names in [149] and [174]; then, in order of increasing extent: the second יהוה אמר in [137], . . . יהיו כאין ו . . . in [28],

תמצאם in [30], שפתותיכם דברו־שקר in [133], יחד אני יהוה בראתיו in [46], and וְאֶדְרַכְּמֶם בְּאִפֵּי וְאַרְמָסֶם בְּחִמְתִּי וְיִזְנֶחֶם עַל־בְּגָדֵי in [163].

We now go to the variants on the list that involve one or more words related to a root other than what is found in the reading offered by \mathfrak{M} . In 1QIsa^b, six variants of this type can be counted: אלה by graphic error in [24], חשקה and לפתח by a shift from ע to ח in [20] and [17], ויבשו by assimilation to the immediate context in [29], איש by assimilation to 41:28, 50:2, and 57:1 in [164], and תנשינה in [138] by assimilation to 49:22.

In the same list of 176 variants, 16 of this type can be counted for 1QIsa^a: For ten of them, notable graphic similarities can be observed: וכלה (instead of ונגלה) in [18], ויחיה (instead of ויחזק) in [26], הוי (instead of חמר) in [47], שולך (instead of שכל) in [55], הזיב (instead of הזיל) in [60], עזרי (instead of עזי) in [63], ואפרהו (instead of ואברכהו) in [72], תלכו (instead of תוכלון) in [101], בגד (instead of בגת) in [161], and תומך (instead of סומך) in [165]. In [32] גואלך (instead of מושיעך) assimilates to a verb with a similar meaning, and in [45] . . . האמר ל (instead of תפתח) assimilates to a more common expression (cf. 41:13; 44:26, 27, 28). Finally, four other variants involve larger blocks of text. They are ועד היום (instead of אולי תוכלי הועיל אולי תערוצי גלאית) in [56], then וראו מי ברא את אלה (instead of כִּי־שָׁמַיִם כַּעֲשֵׂן נִמְלָחוּ וְהָאָרֶץ כַּבְּגַד תִּבְלָה) in [75], and finally, להיות לו (instead of הרימו נס על־העמים) in [157], and לשרתו ולאהבה את שם יהוה להיות (instead of לעבדים ולברך את שם יהוה ושומרים את לו לעבדים כל־שמר) in [107].

As these results demonstrate, 1QIsa^a is clearly farther removed from what would become \mathfrak{M} than 1QIsa^b is. For this reason, 1QIsa^a can be described as extra-Masoretic and 1QIsa^b as pre-Masoretic. However, it should be pointed out that, while the difference between these two designations is fairly clear, it is nevertheless more quantitative than qualitative. The same cannot be said for proto-Masoretic texts, such as those that Murabba'at has permitted us to examine.

B. Comparison of 1QIsa^b with Mur

The difference between a proto-Masoretic text and a pre-Masoretic text hinges essentially on an event—the textual standardization that took place between the two Jewish revolts. The effects of standardization are observable. Several complementary factors will clearly distinguish the level of textual stabilization achieved by 1QIsa^b from the much higher level that Mur offers.

(1) First, there is the matter of conjunctive *waws*. In Mur, we found only one case (Mic 7:5) of a conjunctive *waw* that is absent in \mathfrak{M} , and one other case (Obad 13) where a second hand scratched out a *waw* not found in \mathfrak{M} . Now, in the domain of conjunctive *waws*, 1QIsa^b represents a state that is not yet standardized. Indeed, there are 11 *waws* in \mathfrak{M} that are absent in 1QIsa^b: in 43:12 (והשמעתי), 53:8 (וממשפט), 54:4 (ואל), 58:2 (ואותי), 58:3 (the second ולא), 58:5 (ויום and ושק), 58:6 (ושלח), 58:7 (ועניים), 58:8 (וארכתך), and 59:4 (ודבר). At the same time,

1QIsa^b offers 12 *waws* that are absent in מ: in 43:7 (ואף), 45:5 (וזולתי), 46:6 (וישכרו and ויסגרו), 53:3 (ונבוזה), 53:5 (ומדכא), 58:1 (ואל and וכנשופר), 58:4 (ולא), 58:5 (ויים), 58:8 (וכבוד), and 58:13 (ולקדוש).

(2) Another point of comparison is that of the corrections. In Mur we discovered eleven alterations that all had the effect of bringing the text into conformity with what would become מ. In the preserved part of 1QIsa^b, there are nine:

- ו added to טב in 41:7;
- a word struck out before יעזב in 55:7;
- the addition of כי before כאשר in 55:10;
- ר inserted after the ס of הספר in 55:13;
- ה added before נכר in 56:6;
- מ inserted after the כ of וכוצא in 58:11;
- ש added before להני in 61:1;
- the word והיה inserted before טרם in 65:24;
- א inserted before the נ of ה[נשים] in 66:24.

Here, as in Mur, all the corrections have the effect of making 1QIsa^b conform to מ.

In the entire 1QIsa^a manuscript, a fair number of corrections can be discovered. Kutscher⁵² identified 268 letters or words inserted above the line and marginal additions, as well as 150 erasures, corrections, and words with cancellation dots. We will restrict our observations to the three corrections that figure in our list of 176 variants with respect to מ in the places where 1QIsa^b is preserved.

- a. In 43:3, while מ and 1QIsa^b have מושיעך, which is omitted by the first hand of 1QIsa^a, the second hand inserts גואלך.
- b. In 43:4, while מ and the first hand of 1QIsa^a have ואתן, the second hand of 1QIsa^a agrees with 1QIsa^b in offering ואתנה.⁵³
- c. In 51:7, while מ and the first hand of 1QIsa^a have ומגדפ(ו)תם, the second hand of 1QIsa^a agrees with 1QIsa^b in offering וממגדפ(ו)תם.

It can be observed that these three corrections have the tendency to distance 1QIsa^a from מ rather than bring it closer. In this, they differ in a significant way from all the corrections undergone by 1QIsa^b and by Mur.

C. Evaluation of the Two Comparisons

From the four-point comparison that we established between 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, Mur, and מ, we can draw three conclusions:

52. Kutscher, *Language*, 522–36.

53. The testimony of 1QIsa^b shows that Kutscher was wrong to interpret this ה as an article intended for the following word (*ibid.*, 326).

1. As we observed from various indications, Mur is a characteristic product of the textual standardization that took place between the two revolts, and we can for this reason describe it as proto-Masoretic, and add that it reveals the excellent quality of the textual transmission that began with this type of text and ended in the great witnesses of the classical Tiberian text.
2. All the corrections made in 1QIsa^b brought it closer to מ, and most of the variants that distinguish the two are minor variations that one might expect within a single stream of textual transmission. However, the fluctuation in the presence of conjunctive waws, as well as the clustered variants [91], [92], and [93] clearly place 1QIsa^b before textual standardization, although in the line that would lead to it. It is in this sense that it can be described as pre-Masoretic.
3. This designation for 1QIsa^b is confirmed by the relation that it maintains with 1QIsa^a. The variants between 1QIsa^a and מ are numerically much greater than those between 1QIsa^b and מ. But it is especially the fact that the corrections made in 1QIsa^a do not move it toward מ that prevents our placing it in the line of transmission that results in מ. This is why it would be better to describe it as extra-Masoretic.

D. Other Comparisons

To complement the comparison established above between 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, we found it helpful to assemble other data offered by the Qumran manuscripts, though they are presented here without detailed analysis.

1. Connections of 4QIsa with 1QIsa^a and with מ Where 1QIsa^b Is Missing

The following are the variants with respect to מ offered by the fragments of 4QIsa in those places where the witness of 1QIsa^b was not preserved. The fragments are cited according to the photographs. Again, in the following list, 4f = 4QIsa^f, etc.

4f. 1:27: ישבוה ושביה (uncertain ו/י) ≠ 1a + מ: ושביה

4l. 2:2: om. ≠ 1a and 4f + מ: יהיה

4ab. 2:9: ולא ≠ מ: ואל (1a omits 12 words)

4f. 5:25: om. ≠ 1a + מ: כן

4f. 8:7: העצומים והרבים והן עצומים ≠ 1a + מ: הרבים

4c. 11:6: ירבץ ≠ 1a + מ: ירבצו

1a and 4c. 11:8: צפעוני ≠ מ: צפעונים

4c. ibid.: יהדה ≠ 1a + מ: הדדה

4c. 11:9: דעה ≠ 1a + מ: לדעה

4c. ibid.: את כבוד ≠ 1a + מ: את

4l. 12:4: ואמרתם ≠ מ: ואמרתה, 1a: ואמרת

4b. 13:7: ימס ≠ 1a + מ: ימאס

4b. 13:13: ממקוה ≠ 1a + מ: ממקומה

1a and 4i. 14:3: עבד ≠ מ: עבדו

- 4i. 14:10: om. ≠ 1a + מ: כלם
 4i. 14:11: נבלתך ≠ מ: נבליך, 1a: נבלתך
 1a and 4o. 14:31: במודעיו ≠ מ: (note spelling!)
 4a. 17:11: תשגשגי ≠ מ: תשתגשגי, 1a: תשגשגי
 4b. 18:7: מן הוא ≠ מ: מן־הוא, 1a: מהוא
 1a and 4b. 19:9: חורו ≠ מ: חורו (1b uncertain)
 4b. 19:17: עצת ≠ 1a + מ: תנופת יד
 1a and 4b. 19:18: ההרס ≠ מ: החרס
 1a and 4a. 21:7: צמד ≠ מ: איש +
 1a and 4a. 21:14: התיו ≠ מ: האתיו
 4c. 22:13: ושתו, 4a: ושתה. ≠ 1a + מ: ושתות
 4f. 22:19: יהרסך ≠ מ: והסירך, 1a: הרסך
 4c. 23:11: להרגיו ≠ 1a + מ: הרגיו
 4c. 23:15: ונשכחה ≠ מ: ונשכחה (1a omits 11 words)
 1a and 4c. 24:4: אמללו ≠ מ: אמלל
 4c. 24:5: תורת ≠ מ: תורה, 1a: תורות
 1a and 4c. 24:6: חרו ≠ מ: חורו
 4c. 24:7: גפן ≠ 1a + מ: יצהר +
 4c. 24:12: ושאה ≠ 1a + מ: ושואה
 4c. 24:15: בארים ≠ 1a + מ: ביארים בארם
 4c. 24:22: ואספו אספה ≠ מ: ואספו אספך, 1a: אספו אספה
 4c. 26:1: חומות וחל ≠ 1a + מ: חומותיה וחילה
 4b. 26:12: תשפת ≠ מ: תשפוט, 1a: תשפת
 4b. 40:25: תדמיני ≠ 1a + מ: תדמיניני
 4h. 42:6: עם ≠ 1a + מ: עולם
 1a and 4h. 42:11: ישאו ≠ מ: ישא
 4g. 42:22: ובכתי ≠ 1a + מ: ובכית
 1a and 4cd. 48:11: איחל ≠ מ: איחל
 4d. 48:12: אף ≠ 1a + מ: גם
 4d. 57:12: צדקתך ≠ 1a + מ: צדקך
 4d. 57:15: אשכון ≠ מ: ישכון, 1a: ישכון
 1a and 4c. 66:23: בשבתו ≠ מ: ב־שבתה

2. Fragments from Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve Prophets

Concluding this section is a list of all of the variants with respect to מ offered in the extant Qumran fragments of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve Prophets. Ⓞ is mentioned only when it shows a clear link to the variants of a manuscript.

2.a. Ezekiel fragments from Qumran

2.a.i. 4QEzek^a

- 10:8: יד ≠ מ: ידי
 11:9: מתוכה ≠ מ: בתוכה
 23:45: ישפטו ≠ מ: שפטתי

2.a.ii. 4QEzek^b

1:11: om. ≠ מ: איש

1:22: ודמותם ≠ מ: ודמות

2.b. Daniel fragments from Qumran

2.b.i. 1QDan^b

3:29: שים ≠ מ: שימו.

2.b.ii. 4QDan^a

2:20: + רבא (= ט) ≠ מ: אלהא (= 0')

2:23: ונהר (= ט) ≠ מ: וגבורתא (= 0')

2:28: והודע ≠ מ: והודע

2:30: + יתיר (= ט) ≠ מ: בי (0' ?)

ibid.: גלי לי ≠ מ: גלי

2:31: רב ≠ מ: לרב

2:40: (end): כל ארעא (= ט) ≠ מ: om (= 0')

2:43: הא־כדי ≠ מ: הכא די

3:2: om. ≠ מ: מלכא (1st)

8:3: + גד[ול] ≠ מ: אחד

ibid.: והקרנים ≠ מ: קרנים (2nd)

8:4: + ומזרחה ≠ מ: מנגח

2.b.iii. 4QDan^b

6:18: על־פם ≠ מ: כפם

8:3: + גדול ≠ מ: אחד

2.b.iv. 4QDan^a

11:1: עמדי ≠ מ: עמדתי

2.b.v. 6QpapDan

10:10: ותניעני ≠ מ: להניעני

10:13: מלכי ≠ מ: מלכות

10:16: בני אדם נגע ≠ מ: יד אדם נגעה

2.c. Fragments of the Twelve Prophets from Qumran

Here we set aside the evidence from 1QpHab, which will be treated below.⁵⁴2.c.i. 4QXII^a (spelling of the מ type)

Mal 2:16: כי שנתה ≠ מ: כי שנה

2:16: אלהי ישראל וכסה ≠ מ: אל ישראל יכסו

2:17: בדבריכם ≠ מ: בכבדיכם

54. Pp. 449–467.

3:2: את יום: מ: ≠ אותם
 3:11: פרי: מ: ≠ בר
 3:21: ועסותם: מ: ≠ ועוצותם

2.c.ii. 4QXII^b (spelling of the מ type)

Zeph 2:13: ויאבד: מ: ≠ ויאב

2.c.iii. 4QXII^c (spelling of the 1QIsa^a type)

Hos 13:4: [יכם... וטה שמים... אנוכי העליתיכה]. Cf. Ⓞ

Joel 1:12: om. ≠ גס־תמר ותפוח: מ: ≠

2:11: * יכמנו: †, יכלמנו: מ: ≠

2:19: †: + ושבעתם: מ: ≠ ואכלתמה

Amos 2:16: ואמיץ: מ: ≠ ומוצא

4:2: בסירות: מ: ≠ בסופיד

2.c.iv. 4QXII^d (spelling of the מ type, though rather careless)

2.c.v. 4QXII^e (tendency toward plene spelling)

Zech 1:6: לנו: מ: ≠ om.

2.c.vi. 4QXII^f (spelling of the מ type)

2.c.vii. 4QXII^g (spelling of the מ type)

Hos 7:15: זרועתם: מ: ≠ אזרועותם

Obad 4: * שים: †, תשים: מ: ≠ שים

Jonah 2:7: חיי: מ: ≠ נפשי +

The most interesting constellation appears to take shape in the book of Daniel, where 4QDan^a exhibits characteristic connections to Ⓞ in places where the Vorlage of θ' is similar to מ.

**Section Two:
The Contribution of the Versions**

1

The Ancient Greek Text

The overall problematic concerning the ancient Greek text of the Old Testament has been laid out very ably in a recent work.¹ There is no need to go over it again here. Furthermore, since a number of fundamental problems posed by the textual tradition of this text were addressed in “Devanciers d’Aquila,” the treatment here is limited, first, to some problems posed by our access to the Greek textual tradition through the available tools. Second, using selected tests from the contents of *CTAT* Vol. 3, I will attempt to state what can be expected of Ⓞ of the books covered in that volume for criticism of the Hebrew text.

Ziegler’s edition of the entire Septuagint of the major and minor prophets constitutes a tool of high caliber.² We will address a question of principle first, and then treat questions of detail.

I. The Divisions in Ⓞ

The uncials and the papyri occasionally have divisions that do not correspond to those that would naturally be suggested to someone familiar with Ⓜ. Ziegler, like many editors before him, is overly influenced by the divisions in Ⓜ, and this sometimes leads him to propose unsatisfactory syntactic groupings. As was pointed out in *CTAT* Vol. 2,³ syntactic interference of this sort goes back to editions from the sixteenth century.

A. Cases Treated in *CTAT* Vol. 3

(1) We begin with a relatively simple example touched on briefly in *CTAT* Vol. 3.⁴ In Ziegler’s edition, the passage in Ezek 16:6–7 appears as follows: καὶ

1. Dorival/Harl/Munnich. *Bible grecque*.

2. Bibliographical details listed under Ⓞ (Göttingen). See my review of the volume devoted to Ezekiel, in *RB* 60 (1953) 606–10 (published in Barthélemy, *Études*, 34–37).

3. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 119.

4. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 94:17–22.

εἶπά σοι Ἐκ τοῦ αἵματός σου ζωὴ (7) πληθύνου· καθὼς ἡ ἀνατολὴ τοῦ ἀγροῦ δέδωκά σε. The word ζωὴ carries an acute accent and is followed by a raised dot. This leaves the word πληθύνου· set off by two raised dots. Already the Sixtina had “. . . αἵματός σου ζωὴ, πληθύνου, καθὼς ἡ . . .” The format of the Vaticanus manuscript gives no information one way or the other on this point. However, Papyrus 967 furnishes interesting data, placing no punctuation before πληθύνου, but a raised dot after it. Origen,⁵ according to Jerome’s translation of his homily, also punctuates “De sanguine tuo vita adimplere.” He glosses this with “Surge de sanguine tuo et adimplere vita.” This corresponds to the option taken in the Alcalá polyglot, which furnishes ζωη with a circumflex and links it to πληθύνου. The resulting ζωῆ πληθύνου is very likely the original syntax of Θ. In this case, Θ simply introduced an exchange of functions between the imperative וְקַיֵּם and the abstract noun וְקַיֵּם, and the critics were mistaken in thinking that the Vorlage of Θ read רַבִּי instead of רַבִּי.

(2) In *CTAT* Vol. 3,⁶ we treated in more depth an error in Amos 3:12–13 found in editions from Aldine to Ziegler: ἰσραῖς is made the last word of v. 12, while it should be placed at the beginning of v. 13 as a vocative introducing ἀκούσατε. Here again, the Alcalá polyglot understood the verses correctly, as is confirmed by the clear testimony of Vaticanus, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret.

(3) At Nah 1:14–2:1, we encountered an even more characteristic case.⁷ Indeed, all the editions made ὅτι ταχεῖς the end of what precedes it, while Vaticanus, Cyril of Alexandria, Tertullien, Jerome, Augustine, and a summary from the *Vetus Latina* agree in making it the beginning of what follows.

In these three cases, the mistaken punctuation of Θ that has been transmitted from the sixteenth century right up to Ziegler is undoubtedly due to the influence of the punctuation in ℣ and in Ϟ. In my review of Ziegler’s edition of Θ of Ezekiel, I demonstrated that it was also the influence of ℣ that led to errors among the variants of Θ in the transcription of proper names. From this we can conclude that it is more helpful to treat Θ as an autonomous document and avoid drawing parallels with ℣, consciously or otherwise.

B. Other Cases Found in the Greek Witnesses

1. Unwarranted Transfers of Verse Divisions from ℣

We noted that the Alcalá polyglot (= Cpl), Papyrus 967, and the Vaticanus manuscript gave evidence of a tradition of authentic Greek punctuation that was later abandoned under the influence of the verse divisions found in ℣. Let us go through the book of Ezekiel and the Dodekapropheton to see whether Cpl and

5. Origen, *Opera*, vol. 3, 79b C.

6. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 650:43–651:9.

7. *Ibid.*, 798:19–37.

other Greek witnesses might not help to improve the punctuation in Ziegler's edition (= Z) in other places as well.

(a) Ezek 1:1–2. Z's division at the beginning of v. 2 before πέμπτη τοῦ μηνός (raised dot) is sharper than the division after it (comma), conforming to ℣. Cpl does not make a division before it and has a period after it. This corresponds to Vaticanus, which establishes the first division of the book (with a *paragraphos*) after these words. Sixtina has no division before these words, but a comma after.

(b) Ezek 1:20–21. Once again faithful to ℣, at the end of v. 20 Z's division before διότι πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἦν ἐν τοῖς τροχοῖς (comma) is weaker than the division after it (period). Cpl makes a stronger division before (period) than after (comma), which produces "Since the living breath was in the wheels, when they (= the beings) began to move, they (= the wheels) began to move." In this construction, the word "wheels" provides a clear antecedent for the pronoun "they."

(c) The transition from chapter one to chapter two is problematic. To pinpoint the difficulty, we translate the Hebrew from 1:28 to 2:2: "[1:28] As the appearance of the rainbow that is in the cloud on a day of rain, so was the appearance of brightness all around; it is the appearance [of the likeness] of the glory of YHWH. And I saw and fell on my face and heard a voice speaking. [2:1] And he said to me, "Son of man, stand on your feet and I will speak to you." [2] And a spirit came into me when he had spoken to me; and it stood me on my feet. And I heard the one who was speaking to me." According to the Aleppo manuscript, ℣ divides only after 2:2 with a *setuma*, while F has a *petuha* after 2:2 and a *setuma* after 1:28. According to the Sixtina (and Z⁸), chapter two in Ⓞ begins after "all around," while Vaticanus divides only after the Tetragrammaton, and that is also where Cpl establishes the beginning of chapter two for Ⓞ. We note, furthermore, that the 42-line Bible also places the beginning of the chapter there, faithful in this point to the manuscripts of Ⓞ at the University of Paris.

(d) Ezek 16:32–33. After a period, Z has ἡ γυνὴ ἡ μοιχωμένη ὁμοία σοι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς λαμβάνουσα μισθώματα· πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκπορνεύσασιν αὐτήν προσεδίδου μισθώματα, καὶ σὺ δέδωκας μισθώματα πᾶσι τοῖς ἔρασταίς σου. This makes a stronger division after the first μισθώματα (raised dot) than after the second (comma). With this division, Z follows the verse division of the Hebrew, while Papyrus 967 does not divide after the first, but places a raised dot after the second. Cpl places a comma after the first and a period after the second. This corresponds well to the syntax of Ⓞ, which establishes an analogy between vv. 32–33a and 33b. ℣, on the other hand, establishes a contrast between v. 33b and v. 33a.⁹

(e) Ezek 21:14–15(9–10). Z divides according to the Hebrew: Ῥομφαία Ῥομφαία, δξύνου καὶ θυμώθητι. ὅπως σφάξης σφάγια, δξύνου· ὅπως γένη εἰς στίλ-

8. Although Z follows the Sixtina in marking where chap. 2 begins, he is faithful to ℣ in his page layout, since he has a paragraph only at the chapter break in ℣.

9. Discussed in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 102:7–14.

βωσιν, ἐτοίμη εἰς παράλυσιν· σφάζε. There is a period after θυμώθητι and the principal divisions are placed after the second ὀξύνου and after παράλυσιν. Papyrus 967 and Cpl, on the other hand, do not divide after θυμώθητι or after παράλυσιν, but after σφάγια and after στίλβωσιν. In effect, Θ produces “Sword, sword, be sharpened and become incensed, so that you massacre a massacre! Be sharpened so that you become a gleam! (ready for . . .),” and the phrasing of ℣ is, “The sword, the sword, sharpened and indeed polished. In order to massacre a massacre it is sharpened, in order to throw off flashes (it is polished).”

(f) Ezek 26:10–11. Z has εἰσπορευομένου αὐτοῦ τὰς πύλας σου ὡς εἰσπορευόμενος εἰς πόλιν ἐκ πεδίου. ἐν ταῖς ὄπλαῖς τῶν ἵππων αὐτοῦ καταπατήσουσί πάσας τὰς πλατείας σου. Z places a period at the verse change in ℣, which makes the second αὐτοῦ barely intelligible. This difficulty disappears in 967 and Cpl, which do not put any punctuation at that point. Thus, according to them, the syntax of Θ is “[w]hen he enters¹⁰ your gates—as one who enters a city, returning from the countryside with the hooves of his horses—they will trample all your public places.” Because ℣ reads “he will trample” in the singular, it gives the construction “when he enters your gates as one enters a city that has been breached. With the hooves of his horses, he will trample all your streets.”

(g) Ezek 27:21–22. Z again makes the division according to ℣: καμήλοῦς καὶ κριοῦς καὶ ἄμνοῦς ἐν οἷς ἔμπορεύονται σε. ἔμποροι Σαβα καὶ Ραγμα, οὗτοι ἔμποροί σου. Z places a period after σε, whereas 967 and Cpl have no punctuation, making ἔμποροι appear clearly as the subject of the preceding verb: “The camels, the rams, and the sheep that the suppliers of Saba and Ragma were supplying to you, it is they (= Arabia and all the chiefs of Kedar) who will be your suppliers of them.” ℣ yields “(Arabia and all the chiefs of Kedar . . .) it is in sheep, rams, and goats that they are your dealers. The suppliers of Sheba and of Ragma, it is they who are your suppliers.”

(h) Ezek 27:24–25. Z is punctuated φέροντες ἔμπορίαν ὑάκινθον καὶ θησαυροῦς ἐκλεκτοῦς δεδεμένους σχοινίοις καὶ κυπαρίσσινα. πλοῖα, ἐν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνοι ἔμποροί σου. It marks the beginning of the verse in ℣ with a period, while neither Cpl nor 967 have punctuation between κυπαρίσσινα and πλοῖα, since they make the first an attribute of the second: “ships of cypress.” ℣, on the other hand, by separating the words with קַרְכַּדְוֵי , removes any temptation to interpret קַרְכַּדְוֵי as an attribute of תְּיָרֵא .

(i) Ezek 31:12–13. Z is divided according to the verses of ℣: καὶ κατέβησαν ἀπὸ τῆς σκέπης αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ λαοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἠδάφισαν αὐτόν. ἐπὶ τὴν πτωσιν αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύσαντο πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Neither 967 nor Cpl makes a division after αὐτόν, and both divide after ἐθνῶν; 967 also divides after

10. In his edition of 967 (Johnson, et al.), Johnson placed a raised dot after the first αὐτοῦ. But there is no trace of it in the excellent photograph of the papyrus, where no punctuation divides the cited passage. In contrast, a raised dot separates εἰσπορευομένου from what precedes it.

αὐτοῦ. This gives “And all the peoples of the nations went down from their shelter, and they flattened it to the ground upon its collapse. All the winged creatures of the heavens became quiet.” ¶ produces “All the people of the land left its shade and abandoned it. On its ruins all the birds of the sky settled.”

(j) Ezek 32:21–22. Again, Z is punctuated according to ¶: κατάβηθι καὶ κοιμήθητι μετὰ ἀπεριτμητῶν ἐν μέσῳ τραυματιῶν μαχαίρας. ἐκεῖ Ἀσσοῦρ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγὴ αὐτοῦ πάντες τραυματῖαι ἐκεῖ ἐδόθησαν. 967 is not divided after μαχαίρας, but after ἀπεριτμητῶν and after αὐτοῦ, which gives “go down and lie with the uncircumcised. Amid those pierced by the sword, it is there that Ashur and all his army are. All wounded, it is there that they were delivered.” ¶ produces “They went down, they lay down, the uncircumcised pierced by the sword. There Ashur is with his entire court; around him are his tombs.”

(k) Ezek 32:29–30. Z is divided according to ¶: οὗτοι μετὰ τραυματιῶν ἐκοιμήθησαν. μετὰ καταβαινόντων εἰς βόθρον. ἐκεῖ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ βορρᾶ πάντες στρατηγοὶ Ἀσσοῦρ οἱ καταβαίνοντες τραυματῖαι σὺν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτῶν. 967 does not break after βόθρον, but first after ἐκοιμήθησαν, and then after βορρᾶ, which gives “They lay down with the wounded. With those who go down in the pit, there are the leaders of the North. All the generals of Ashur, those who went down wounded with their terror. . . .”¹¹

(l) Ezek 39:26–27. Z breaks where ¶ does: ἐν τῷ κατοικισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπ’ εἰρήνης, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐκφοβῶν. ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέψαι με αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ συναγαγεῖν με αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν χωρῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν. 967 does not break after ἐκφοβῶν, which gives “. . . when they lived on their land in peace; and there will be no one to make them afraid when I bring them back from among the nations and I gather them from the territories of the nations.” ¶ produces “. . . when they lived on their land in safety and without anyone making them afraid. When I bring them back from among the peoples, I will gather them from the lands of their enemies.”

(m) Ezek 40:2–3. Z follows the division in the Hebrew verses when it writes καὶ ἔθηκε με ἐπ’ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ σφόδρα, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ οἰκοδομὴ πόλεως ἀπέναντι. καὶ εἰσήγαγέ με ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις αὐτοῦ ἦν ὡσεὶ ὄρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος. Z has a stronger division after ἀπέναντι (period) than it has after ἐκεῖ (comma), while 967 and Cpl do not break after ἀπέναντι, but place a period after ἐκεῖ. This construction makes οἰκοδομὴ πόλεως the clear antecedent of ἐκεῖ and it then establishes a pause before the appearance of the man and his description. ¶ is thus understood as “and he put me on a very high mountain, and on it there was as it were the structure of a city opposite me and he put me in it. And there was a man there. And his appearance was like the appearance of sparkling bronze.” ¶ gives “And he placed me on a very high mountain, and on it there was as it were the structure of a city on the south. So he brought me there, and there was a man whose appearance was like the appearance of bronze.” The

11. The translation of ¶ can be found in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 273:2–5.

essential difference between these two texts lies in the fact that ℣ considers אֲנִי־נִשְׁמַעְתִּיּוֹ of v. 3a as a simple repetition of the אֲנִי־נִשְׁמַעְתִּיּוֹ אֲנִי that ends v. 1, whereas Ⓞ makes its repetition the beginning of a new development, translating the verb in v. 3a with καὶ εἰσήγαγέ με, and the verb in v. 1 with καὶ ἤγαγόν με.

(n) Ezek 48:8–9. Following ℣, Z is divided: . . . καὶ ἕως τῶν πρὸς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔσται τὸ ἅγιον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν· ἀπαρχή, ἣν ἀφοριοῦσι τῷ κυρίῳ, μῆκος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες. . . . Z has a stronger break after αὐτῶν (raised dot) than it has after θάλασσαν (comma). Cpl places only a comma after αὐτῶν, but places a period after θάλασσαν. Similarly, Vaticanus, after placing paragraphoi at the beginning of the verses from v. 2 to v. 8, places one here after θάλασσαν and will wait until the beginning of v. 15 before putting in another. The punctuation of Vaticanus and of Cpl assumes that vv. 8–9 are interpreted

And from the boundaries of Judah, from those to the east to those toward the sea, will be the reserved area that was set apart, 25,000 in breadth and a length as one of the sections from the boundaries to the east to those toward the sea. And the sanctuary will be in the midst of them the section that they will set apart for the Lord. A length of 25,000 and breadth of 25,000, of these measurements will be the portion reserved for the holy places.

℣ has

And on the boundary of Judah, from the eastern side to the sea side, will be the portion that you apportion: 25,000 wide and in length as one of the parts from the eastern edge to the sea side, and the sanctuary will be in the middle of it. The portion that you apportion for the Lord will be 25,000 in length and 10,000 in breadth.

(o) Hos 6:7–8. ℣ inspired the break in Z: ἐκεῖ κατεφρόνησέ μου. Γαλααδ πόλις ἐργαζομένη μάταια, τάρσσοῦσα ὕδωρ. Jerome specifies that, according to the Septuagint, “ibi contempsit me” should be connected to what follows. Vaticanus confirms Jerome’s words by setting off the text just cited with two periods. The Barberini manuscript begins a verse with ἐκεῖ and ends it with πειρατοῦ from v. 9, a verse that constitutes a lemma for Cyril of Alexandria. One can see why the Antiochene text would separate the first three words from what follows, since, like ℣, it gives a plural form instead of κατεφρόνησε. But the textual decision of Z supports the Alexandrian punctuation, something that Jerome had understood perfectly well.

(p) Hos 6:9–10. Still following ℣, Z is divided: . . . ὅτι ἀνομίαν ἐποίησαν. ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ εἶδον φρικώδη, ἐκεῖ πορνείαν τοῦ Ἐφραϊμ. The Barberini manuscript does not break after ἐποίησαν or after φρικώδη, but before ὅτι, after Ἰσραὴλ and after Ἐφραϊμ. These are the divisions of Cpl and those inferred by the structure of the commentary by Cyril of Alexandria. This gives “Because they acted illegally in the house of Israel, I have seen horrible things there: Ephraim’s prostitution.” ℣ produces “. . . for they have committed villainy. In the house of Israel I have seen a horrible thing. It is prostitution for Ephraim there.”

(q) Hos 7:4–5. Again following ℣, Z makes the division: . . . ἀπὸ φουράσεως στέατος ἕως τοῦ ζυμωθῆναι αὐτό. αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλέων ὑμῶν,¹² ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄρχοντες θυμοῦσθαι ἐξ οἴνου, . Both Barberini and Theodore of Mopsucsta make a separate lemma from ἀπὸ to ὑμῶν. This yields “The days of your kings lasted from the kneading of the dough to its rising.” Cyril of Alexandria also ends a lemma with ὑμῶν. We give an interpretation of ℣ in *CTAT* Vol. 3.¹³

(r) Hos 7:16–8:1. Z marks the change of the Hebrew chapters with a period: οὗτος ὁ φαλισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ. Εἰς κόλπον αὐτῶν ὡς γῆ, ὡς ἀετὸς ἐπ’ οἶκον κυρίου, . There is no division after Αἰγύπτῳ in Vaticanus (which has a raised dot before οὗτος and another after γῆ) or in Barberini (with a period before οὗτος and another after the second αὐτῶν) or in Cyril of Alexandria (with the same divisions) or in Theodore of Mopsucsta (who begins a lemma before οὗτος and ends it with κυρίου). If they agree on the structure of the phrase, the commentators have great difficulty in making sense of it: “May this derision by which they make themselves guilty in the land of Egypt fall back on their bosom, as from the earth (?).” We have attempted to render ℣ in *CTAT* Vol. 3.¹⁴

(s) Hos 10:4–5. Z breaks where ℣ does: ἀνατελεῖ ὡς ἄγρωστις κρίμα ἐπὶ χέρσον ἀγροῦ. τῷ μόσχῳ τοῦ οἴκου Ων παροικήσουσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σαμάρειαν. Neither Vaticanus nor Cyril breaks after ἀγροῦ: Vaticanus places a raised dot before ἀνατελεῖ and another after Ων, a phrase that Cyril makes into a discrete lemma. This yields “Judgment will grow like couchgrass in a neglected field, for the calf of On. The inhabitants of Samaria will be refugees.” ℣ yields “And justice grows like hemlock in the furrows of the fields. For the calf of Beth-Aven the inhabitants of Samaria tremble.”

(t) Hos 11:3–4. Z is divided as ℣ is: καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἴαμαι αὐτούς. ἐν διαφθορᾷ ἀνθρώπων ἐξέτεινα αὐτούς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀγαπήσεώς μου. There is no division after αὐτούς in Vaticanus or Barberini (both of which place a period before καὶ and another after ἀνθρώπων) or Cyril, who understands “I heal them in the destruction of men” as an allusion to the destruction of the Egyptians when the Lord brought his people out of Egypt. ℣ yields “And they have not understood that I took care of them. I will pull them with human cords, with bonds of love.”

(u) Hos 11:9–10. Z again is divided according to ℣: καὶ οὐκ εἰσελεύσομαι εἰς πόλιν, ὀπίσω κυρίου πορεύσομαι. It understands the first of these phrases as the end of a verse and the second as the beginning of another. We should recognize at the outset that the copyist of Vaticanus placed a major division of his text after πόλιν by going back to the left margin. However, there is another firmly established tradition that views the cited text as a separate and coherent unit. Indeed, Cyril of Alexandria makes it a lemma and interprets this text as the firm purpose of the people to seek refuge no longer in the fortified cities when there is danger,

12. This does not take into account Ziegler’s conjecture ἡμῶν.

13. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 537:40–538:15.

14. *Ibid.*, 545:17–18 and 546:27.

but in obedience to the Lord. Jerome already attests this construal of the Septuagint: “What he said, ‘I will not enter the city,’ and what follows according to the Septuagint, ‘behind the Lord I will walk,’ some have interpreted as a response to God made by the people: (. . .) I will not enter the city of unjust men nor associate with sinners, but I will walk behind the Lord our God.” ℣ places the enigmatic “I will not enter the city” in the mouth of the Lord, then at the beginning of v. 10 it reads, “Behind the Lord they will walk.”

(v) Hos 12:15(14)–13:1. The change of chapter is punctuated in Z according to ℣: καὶ τὸν ὀνειδισμόν αὐτοῦ ἀνταποδώσει αὐτῷ κύριος. Κατὰ τὸν λόγον Ἐφραϊμ δικαιοῦματα αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραηλ. The division after κύριος is not found in Barberini (which ends a verse with Ἐφραϊμ) or Cyril of Alexandria or Theodore of Mopsuestia or Theodoret (all three of which end a lemma with Ἐφραϊμ). They understand “And the Lord will avenge his insult according to the words of Ephraim,” that is, on the scale of the blasphemies that Ephraim uttered.

(w) Hos 13:14–15. Following ℣, Z sees the end of one verse and the beginning of another in the two phrases παράκλησις κέκρυπται ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου. διότι οὗτος ἀνὰ μέσον ἀδελφῶν διαστελεῖ. But there is no division after μου according to Vaticanus (which sets off this unit by two periods) and Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret (who treat it as a separate lemma). In addition, Jerome makes vv. 14 and 15a a lemma in his commentary (both for his translation and for the Septuagint). Moreover, the 42-line Bible makes a unit of “consolatio . . . dividit,” as do the Cava and Fleury manuscripts. The most natural interpretation is to make θάνατος the antecedent of οὗτος,¹⁵ which yields “Consolation is hidden from my eyes because it (= death) will divide between brothers.”

(x) Hos 14:8–9. Z separates the verses according to ℣: καὶ ἐξανθήσει ὡς ἄμπελος τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶνος Λιβάνου. τῷ Ἐφραϊμ, τί αὐτῷ ἔτι καὶ εἰδώλους. Cyril of Alexandria does not divide after Λιβάνου, and Barberini considers the unit that goes from καὶ to Ἐφραϊμ as one verse. Cyril understands the verse as “And his memory will flourish as a vine, as the wine of Lebanon for Ephraim.” According to him, this refers to the small part of Israel (= its memory) that was converted to Christ. For Ephraim-Israel that would be as delectable as a wine of Lebanon. At the beginning of v. 9, ℣ considers “Ephraim” as a vocative.

(y) Joel 1:10–11. Following ℣, Z is divided: ἐξηράνθη οἶνος, ὀλιγόθη ἔλαιον. ἐξηράνθησαν οἱ γεωργοί· θρηνεῖτε, . This division is well-suited only for the Antiochene text, which reads (with ℣) κατησχύνθησαν instead of ἐξηράνθησαν. But for the Alexandrian text chosen by Z, ἐξηράνθησαν must be connected, as it is in Cyril, with what precedes it (summing up the two preceding statements) and οἱ γεωργοί should be made a vocative, beginning the next verse.

15. “Mors” being feminine. Jerome regards “infernus” as the antecedent required of his “ipse.”

(z) Amos 2:6–7. Still under \aleph 's influence, Z is divided: ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέδοντο ἀργυρίου δίκαιον καὶ πένητα ἕνεκεν ὑποδημάτων, τὰ πατοῦντα ἐπὶ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον εἰς κεφαλὰς πτωχῶν καὶ ὁδὸν ταπεινῶν ἐξέκλιναν. . In fact, Vaticanus and Barberini (as well as Cpl) have a period after the word γῆς, and do not divide after ὑποδημάτων. Cyril of Alexandria and Theodore of Mopsuestia both end a lemma with γῆς, and also do not divide after ὑποδημάτων. And Jerome glosses, “And it was in order to procure the most vile things—shoes used to tramp in the dust and mud—that they sold the precious soul of man.” The fact that Θ then introduced the verb καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον (corresponding to nothing in \aleph) shows that it understood \aleph as determining \aleph .¹⁶

(aa) Mic 1:15–16. Z follows \aleph in breaking the verse: κατοικοῦσα Λαχίς κληρονομία, ἕως Οδολλαμ ἥξει ἡ δόξα τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἰσραὴλ. ζύρησαι καὶ κεῖραι ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα τὰ τρυφερά σου. However, Jerome is quite clear here in breaking his lemma translated from the Hebrew after “gloria Israel,” and his lemma translated from the Greek before “gloria filiae Israel,” then in stating that the Septuagint and “the Hebrews” differ in the division of the “capitula” before or after these words. In fact, Vaticanus places a period after ἥξει and the next one at the end of v. 16. In the same way, Cyril of Alexandria ends a lemma after ἥξει. Theodoret comments on κατοικοῦσα Λαχίς κληρονομία ἕως Οδολλαμ ἥξει separately. Jerome wavers between two interpretations, one making κατοικοῦσα Λαχίς appositional to the preceding σοι, and the other seeing it as a vocative introducing the oracle: κληρονομία ἕως Οδολλαμ ἥξει. Θ , in any case, sees Ἡ δόξα τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἰσραὴλ as a vocative contrasting with the two imperatives that follow.

(bb) Mic 2:5–6. Once again, Z faithfully follows \aleph by dividing the verses: οὐκ ἔσται σοι βάλλων σχοινίον ἐν κλήρῳ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κυρίου. μὴ κλαίετε δάκρυσι. However, here again Jerome is very explicit. He states that “in coetu Domini,” which he placed at the end of the capitulum, following the Hebrew, is translated “in ecclesia Domini” according to the Septuagint, which places it at the beginning of the following capitulum. In fact, Vaticanus places a period after κλήρῳ, the preceding one being before οἱ ἄγροί (of v. 4) and the next one after ὄναιδῆ (of v. 6). With κλήρῳ, Barberini ends a paragraph that began at the beginning of v. 4, and with ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, he begins another that will end at the end of v. 8. In the same way, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret agree in ending one lemma with κλήρῳ and beginning the next with ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Θ thus clearly understood “In the assembly of the Lord do not shed tears,” whereas in \aleph the assembly of the Lord is the gathering where the apportioning of lots took place.

From these examples, we conclude that the natural syntax of Θ is much more coherent than our present editions make it appear. The *editio princeps* of Θ in the Alcalá polyglot quite often managed to respect the punctuation of the Greek

16. We deal with the meaning of \aleph in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 684:4–9.

manuscripts that it used, while subsequent editions were led more and more toward segmenting the text according to the verse divisions that Pagnini had imported, from the Hebrew, into his Latin translation of 1527. Now the division of the verses in the Hebrew has a rationale that is not at all relevant for the Greek. The reading pauses are imposed in order to prevent overloading the memory of the targumist who (in principle) must improvise his targum on the basis of the Hebrew that he has just heard being read. To transfer these breaks to the Greek splits it up needlessly, and often in the wrong way. It would be better to recognize for once that the verse is not a natural division of the text of the Greek Bible. In what follows we give a quick outline of the way in which one can gain a sense of the smallest textual units of Θ .

2. *The Small Units of Θ*

Having pointed out a number of cases where Z disrupts continuous texts in Θ by breaking them up according to \aleph , we cite by way of example two cases where the commentators on Θ could have helped Z give better shape to his text by avoiding punctuation omissions or wrong punctuation. The two examples are taken from Mic 2:8–11.

(a) In Mic 2:8 Z is punctuated καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ὁ λαός μου εἰς ἔχθραν ἀντέστη· κατέναντι τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ τὴν δорὰν αὐτοῦ ἐξέδειραν τοῦ ἀφελέσθαι ἐλπίδα συντριμμὸν πολέμου. Vaticanus and Barberini, as well as Theodore of Mopsuesta, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret, have no division after ἀντέστη, but place one after the first αὐτοῦ, which is where Theodore, Cyril, and Theodoret end a lemma. The sense is then “And before, my people opposed his peace with hostility. They stripped off his skin by taking away his hope, the destruction of war.”¹⁷

(b) In Mic 2:10–11a Z is punctuated ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σοι αὐτή ἢ ἀνάπαυσις ἕνεκεν ἀκαθαρσίας. διεφθάρητε φθορᾶ, κατεδιώχθητε οὐδενὸς διώκοντος. The Greek witnesses regard ἕνεκεν ἀκαθαρσίας διεφθάρητε φθορᾶ as a unity: Vaticanus places a period after φθορᾶ and nothing after ἀκαθαρσίας; Barberini places a period after ἀνάπαυσις and nothing after ἀκαθαρσίας; Jerome and Cyril of Alexandria both make this unit one lemma; and Theodore of Mopsuesta understands “because you have lived in great impurity, you will be handed over to be destroyed by your enemies.”¹⁸

3. *The Paragraphs in an Edition of Θ*

It would be better to approach the punctuation of Θ from the readings of its commentators. Because they often agree among themselves in the division of their lemmas, it would be wise to take these agreements into account for the arrangement of the text in Θ into paragraphs, even if it means starting a new

17. \aleph of this verse is translated in *ibid.*, 736:50–52.

18. \aleph is treated in *ibid.*, 738:42–43.

paragraph in the middle of what the Hebrew considers the same verse. Let us take three examples in Zechariah.

(a) Zech 3:5. According to \aleph , the phrase “and the angel of the Lord was standing there.” constitutes the end of v. 5. It was probably for this reason that Z placed a comma before this phrase and a period after it. Vaticanus, however, places a period before these words and nothing after them. Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuesta, and the anonymous commentator of the Barberini manuscript all agree in starting a lemma with these words and including vv. 6–7.

(b) Zech 9:2. \aleph places $\text{וְגַם־חִמָּת־תִּגְבַּל־בָּהּ}$ at the beginning of v. 2. Once again following \aleph , Z places a period before $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\text{Ἐμᾶθ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς}$ and a comma following. Didymus, Theodore of Mopsuesta, Theodoret, and the Barberini commentator agree in ending the first lemma of chap. 9 with this phrase, and thus beginning the second lemma with Τύπος .

(c) In their commentaries on Zechariah, the two exegetes from Alexandria, Didymus and Cyril, agree on certain endings and beginnings of lemmas corresponding to the middle of verses in \aleph : After $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in 9:14, after $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ in 9:15, after Χαβαανῖτιν in 11:7, after Ιουδα in 14:5, and after $\gamma\eta\nu$ in 14:9. Not only does Z not place a paragraph in any of these locations, but each of the verses is surrounded by punctuation that is stronger than the punctuation marking these locations.

4. The Pericopes in Θ

Jerome, who sometimes uses “capitulum” to designate fairly small units of text, even the size of a lemma, elsewhere seems to use this word to designate a larger unit. This is the case in Mic 6:9a, for which he says “In Hebraico alterius hoc capituli exordium est, apud Septuaginta vero interpretes, finis superioris.” As far as the Hebrew goes, it is true that Cairo, Aleppo, and Firkovitch begin a pericope with $\text{קֹל יְהוָה לְעִיר יְקָרָא וְתוֹשֵׁבֶיהָ יִרְאֶה שָׁמָּה}$. Among the manuscripts of \mathfrak{D} , Madrid Univ Centr 31 begins chap. 6 of Micah here. In Θ , Vaticanus and Barberini end pericope 5 of Micah with $\text{φωνὴ κυρίου τῇ πόλει ἐπικληθήσεται καὶ σώσει φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ}$.

Vaticanus and Barberini both divide Micah into seven pericopes: Per. 2 begins with 1:10, per. 3 with 3:5, per. 4 with 4:1, per. 5 with 6:1, per. 6 with 6:9b, and per. 7 with 7:7. Their agreement is all the more striking since these two manuscripts belong to two distinctly different textual traditions. Vaticanus is the paradigm of the Alexandrian text, while Barberini is clearly Antiochene—confirmed by the fact that most of its text serves as lemmas for a commentary by Theodoret.

But their agreement extends even farther. Both divide Jonah into three pericopes, with per. 2 beginning with 2:1 and per. 3 with 3:1. They divide Habakkuk into four pericopes, per. 2 beginning with 1:5, per. 3 with 2:1, and per. 4 with 3:1. The disproportion between the first pericope and the others makes their agree-

ment all the more striking. It should be added that Jerome, too, sees 1:1–4 as an “exordium” and locates “initium capituli” at 1:5.

Vaticanus divides Zephaniah into four pericopes, per. 2 beginning with 1:11, per. 3 with 2:5b, and per. 4 with 3:6. Barberini mentions the beginnings of pericopes 2 and 3 at the same places, but fails to mention the beginning of a fourth pericope.

Vaticanus and Barberini agree in dividing Zechariah into 18 pericopes: Per. 2 begins with 1:7, per. 3 with 3:1, per. 4 with 4:1, per. 5 with 5:1, per. 6 with 5:5, per. 7 with 6:9, per. 8 with 7:1, per. 9 with 7:8, per. 10 with 8:1, per. 11 with 8:18, per. 12 with 9:1, per. 13 with 9:9, per. 14 with 11:3, per. 15 with 11:15, per. 16 with 12:1, per. 17 with 13:7, and per. 18 with 14:1. They divide Malachi into six pericopes, per. 2 beginning with 1:6bβ, per. 3 with 2:1, per. 4 with 2:11, per. 5 with 3:7, per. 6 with 3:20(4:2).

Clearly, a study of the pericopes in Ⓞ would merit an in-depth investigation of the principal manuscripts, and would certainly yield interesting results.

5. Conclusion

This brief study of the divisions in Ⓞ provides us with tests that were sufficient to show that the division into chapters resulting from the medieval Vulgate and the division into verses found in the Hebrew Bible exerted an unfortunate influence on the edition of the Greek Bible. It is useful, to be sure, to mention the numbering of chapters and verses as a system of concordance that permits cross-referencing of the Greek Bible and sister translations. But even if one refrains from giving a unique numbering system to the Greek Bible to avoid confusion, the editors of the Greek translation of the Old Testament must closely examine the manuscripts of the text and the structure of the commentaries that were made on it, in order to free the “Septuagint” from the usurped authority that the Hebrew and Latin Bibles exercised over the arrangement and punctuation of its text.

II. How Ziegler’s Text Could Be Improved

Almost all the criticisms concerning punctuation in the Ziegler edition should be referred back to Rahlfs’s edition, so it is more proper simply to regret that Ziegler too willingly followed the decisions in Rahlfs, decisions which were often unfounded and sometimes in error. The excessive influence of Rahlfs’s edition is sometimes also felt in Ziegler’s textual decisions. While the critical apparatus offered real possibilities of critiquing certain decisions made in Rahlfs, Ziegler often left these possibilities unexploited.¹⁹ Before discussing this point, let us begin

19. In my review of his edition of Ezekiel (Barthélemy, *Études*, 36), I criticized, on the basis of his critical apparatus, a number of Ziegler’s decisions concerning the transcription of toponyms. But I did not realize at the time that almost all these transcriptions—subject to criticism, in my view—had been taken from Rahlfs.

by acknowledging the valuable contribution to the establishment of the Θ text made by certain witnesses that Ziegler either was unaware of, or simply did not mention.

A. Witnesses to Θ of Ezekiel That Are New or Unutilized by Ziegler

When Ziegler published his editions of Ezekiel (1952) and Daniel (1954), only the sections of Papyrus 967 preserved in the Chester Beatty and John H. Scheide collections had been published. From 1968 to 1977, the sections preserved at Cologne, Madrid, and Barcelona were added to those. In 1977, Detlef Fraenkel enhanced a recdition of Ezekiel with a supplement including the new material. We will demonstrate by way of several examples that the textual decisions in the edition of Θ of Ezekiel often require modification as a result of this new light shed on the textual history of the book. As we will see, this new witness will also allow us to highlight the contribution of another witness that is underutilized in current criticism, the Alcalá polyglot, the *editio princeps* of Θ .

1. Papyrus 967

(a) Ezek 40:9. An examination of the arrangement of the text in Vaticanus reveals that it was very likely that the words τῆς πύλης ἔσωθεν ἴσον τῷ καλάμῳ καὶ διεμέτρησε τὸ αἶλαμ were omitted through homeoteleuton, occasioned by the completion of a column.²⁰ Up to now, Alexandrinus (and minuscules dependent on it) appeared to be the single significant Greek witness that did not suffer this accident. The Madrid portion of 967 now confirms the testimony of Alexandrinus, and the convergence of these two witnesses is further reinforced by the testimony of the St. Gall manuscript of the Vetus Latina, which attests: “porte interiorius aequalem arundini et mensuram fecit aclam.”²¹ (The Würzburg palimpsest is even more seriously damaged than Vaticanus.²²) None of the editions of Θ published so far (outside of Grabe’s edition, whose intent was to reproduce Alexandrinus) has corrected this homeoteleuton.

(b) Ezek 40:14. In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we demonstrated how the abbreviation \bar{K} in 967 (Madrid) came to be spelled out incorrectly as εἴκοσι (through the corruption, two words earlier, of ἐξήκοντα into ἔξωθεν) instead of being understood as what it originally represented, that is, καὶ (which is still attested by Origen’s recension and by Jerome).²³ Here too, the text of Θ should be corrected.

(c) Ezek 40:31. Papyrus 967 (Madrid) lends valuable support to the only two known early witnesses of the reading τοῦ αἶλαμ (Vaticanus and the Würzburg palimpsest).²⁴ This is instead of καὶ αἶλαμμοῦ, which was preferred by Rahlfs (R).

20. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 318:11–19.

21. Dold, *Konstanzer*, 248.

22. Ranke, *Palimpsestorum*, 109.

23. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 322:11–17.

24. *Ibid.*, 332:35–37.

and then Ziegler (Z). In reality, all three offer the reading τοῦ αἰλαμ instead of καὶ αἰλαμμοθ κύκλω μῆκος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεων καὶ πλάτος πέντε πήχεων καὶ αἰλαμμο, found in the other witnesses. It does not make sense that R (and subsequently, Z) follows our three witnesses in omitting the first twelve words of this long reading (rightly seeing them as a recensional addition based on M), but then abandons them in preference for the last two words of the same reading (whose beginning R had just rejected). R fails to realize that they too issue from a recension of τοῦ αἰλαμ based on M.

(d) Ezek 40:39. We have demonstrated the significance of the plural ἐκρύσεις that 967 (Madrid) has instead of the spelling ἔκρυσις of Vaticanus.²⁵ As Field astutely noted, this plural was already attested by the Marchalianus manuscript²⁶ and was intended to translate תַּנְתְּלָשׁ in the sense of “water emissions” (مياه مرساة, as the SyroHexapla interprets it), which Field related to the well-known toponym תְּלָשׁ. The Alcalá polyglot (Cpl) already attested this plural.

(e) Ezek 42:10. Papyrus 967 (Madrid), with its reading καὶ κατὰ πρὸς νότον κατὰ πρόσωπον (for M לְפָנַי לְאֶמְרֵי הַיְיָ), helps us recognize the presence of a doublet in καὶ τὰ πρὸς νότον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ νότου κατὰ πρόσωπον, found in R (and Z).²⁷

(f) Ezek 44:28. Here it was the agreement between 967 (Cologne) and Cpl that led us to detect two assimilations to M in the text chosen by Z (and already by R).²⁸

(g) Ezek 45:8. Here Z (as R) follows Vaticanus with οἱ ἀφηγούμενοι τοῦ Ἰσραηλ τὸν λαόν μου for M וְשִׁירְיָה וְאֶלְעָזָר בְּנֵי שִׁירְיָה. Having noted that the Würzburg palimpsest has simply “duces Istrahel,” we found that 967 (Cologne) and Cpl attest οἱ ἀφηγούμενοι τὸν λαόν μου.²⁹ We can thus recognize a conflation in the reading of Vaticanus and the majority of witnesses.

(h) Ezek 47:17. Papyrus 967 (Cologne) makes it possible to correct a homeoteleuton found in all the other Θ witnesses.³⁰

These few examples, selected from the textual difficulties that were submitted to the committee, suggest that the discovery of Papyrus 967 would require that a new editor of Θ should completely revise the textual decisions made by Ziegler.

2. The Relationship between Papyrus 967 and the Alcalá Polyglot

In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we were able to recognize the close relationship between Papyrus 967 and the text given by the Alcalá polyglot, the *editio princeps* of the

25. *Ibid.*, 334 n. 1157.

26. A reading that Ziegler did not note, thinking this was a matter of a simple spelling error.

27. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 368 n. 1243.

28. *Ibid.*, 392:23–34.

29. *Ibid.*, 397:17–20.

30. *Ibid.*, 421:20–30.

Greek Bible. We have just mentioned three cases that demonstrate this relationship (Ezek 40:39, 44:28, and 45:8). Here are three others.

(a) Ezek 40:43. The only translation that Ziegler's text and apparatus give for the word יְהִי־שָׁמַיִם is $\text{καὶ (. . .) γεῖσος}$, a word that recurs in Ezek 43:13, 17 for גְּבוּל , in 1 Kgs 7:9 for פָּטַף , and in Jer 52:22 (three times) for כֹּתְרֵת .³¹ Cpl (not mentioned by Z) has $\text{καὶ (. . .) κυμάτιον}$, a word that recurs in G only in Exod 25:11, 24, 25 for גַּל . Now 967 (Madrid) also has this reading, although the critical apparatus of Fernández Galiano and of D. Fraenkel do not point out the exclusive connection with Cpl.

(b) Ezek 42:2. Papyrus 967 (Madrid) and Cpl are the only witnesses that read πηχῶν instead of ἐπὶ πήχεις , found in all the witnesses known to Z.³²

(c) Ezek 42:3. Here is another exclusive connection between 967 (Madrid) and Cpl as witnesses to the reading κατὰ στίχον (instead of ἐστιχισμέναι) for קִיָּצָא in R .³³

These exclusive connections between Papyrus 967 and the *editio princeps* of G were intriguing enough to warrant broadening the investigation, which yielded the following results.³⁴

From 40:42a β to the end of chapter 46, there are 215 readings where 967 does not have the support of any other manuscript reported in the critical apparatus in Z. Among those, 130 are exactly the same as in Cpl (=), along with eight that are close (\pm), and 77 do not figure in Cpl (\neq).

2.a. Classification of the 215 readings³⁵

2.a.i. Quantitative readings

Ninety-six of the readings can be considered quantitative; that is, they consist of pluses or minuses not attested by the MSS.³⁶ They can be subdivided in the following manner:

- (a) Out of ten cases where 967 has *only κύριος for the divine name*, while the MSS add other names,
- 8 \neq Cpl
 - a. 48:18a: λέγει κύριος, 967 \neq + ὁ θεός Cpl and rel. [1]
 - b. 44:12b: λέγει κύριος, 967 \neq + κύριος Cpl and rel. [2]

31. Ibid., 336 n. 1165.

32. Ibid., 364 n. 1234.

33. Ibid., 352 n. 1204.

34. For a more schematic presentation of these results, see Barthélemy, "Relations."

35. When the same verse contains several of the readings, they will be specified with letters according to their order of occurrence in the verse.

36. We use this designation to refer to the group of Greek manuscripts mentioned in Z's apparatus.

- c. 44:15d: λέγει κύριος. 967 ≠ + κύριος Cpl and rel. [3]
 d. 45:9c: λέγει κύριος. 967 ≠ + ὁ θεός Cpl and rel. [4]
 e. 45:15c: λέγει κύριος. 967 ≠ + ὁ θεός Cpl and rel. [5]
 f. 45:18a: λέγει κύριος. 967 ≠ + ὁ θεός Cpl and rel. [6]
 g. 46:1a: λέγει κύριος. 967 ≠ + ὁ θεός Cpl and rel. [7]
 h. 46:16a: λέγει κύριος. 967 ≠ + ὁ θεός Cpl and rel. [8]
- 2 = Cpl
 - a. 44:9a: λέγει κύριος ≠ κύριος ὁ θεός vel κύριος κύριος vel αὐτὸν κύριος rel. [9]
 - b. 44:27b: λέγει κύριος ≠ κύριος ὁ θεός vel αὐτὸν κύριος rel. [10]
- (β) Out of seven minuses of *prefixes*,
- 1 ≠ Cpl
 - 46:12a: ἡγούμενος 967 ≠ ἀφηγούμενος Cpl and rel. [11]
 - 1 ± Cpl
 - 44:24a: κρίνειν 967 ± κριῖσιν Cpl ≠ διακρίνειν vel διακριῖναι rel. [12]
 - 5 = Cpl
 - a. 40:42b: θήσουσι ≠ ἐπιθήσουσι rel. [13]
 - b. 41:9: λοιπά ≠ ἀπόλοιπα vel ὑπόλοιπα rel. [14]
 - c. 46:8: ἡγούμενον ≠ ἀφηγούμενον rel. [15]
 - d. 46:17b: ἡγουμένω ≠ ἀφηγουμένω rel. [16]
 - e. 46:18b: ἡγούμενος ≠ ἀφηγούμενος rel. [17]
- (γ) Out of four minuses resulting from *haplography of several words*,
- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 44:11a: omitted ≠ (λειτουργοῦντες) θυρωροὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οἴκου καὶ λειτουργοῦντες Cpl and ± rel. [18]
 - b. 45:1: omitted ≠ (ἅγιον) ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας μῆκος καὶ εἶκος εἴκοσι χιλιάδας· ἅγιον ± rel. and ± Cpl [19]
 - c. 46:9b: omitted ≠ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῆς πρὸς νότον, καὶ ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος (κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῆς πρὸς νότον) Cpl and ± rel. [20]
 - 1 = Cpl
 - 46:10: omitted ≠ (αὐτοῦς) εἰσελεύσεται μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι αὐτοῦς ± rel. [21]
- (δ) Out of eight *non-accidental minuses of several words*,
- 2 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 41:21b: omitted ≠ ὁ ναὸς ἀναπτυσσόμενος τετράγωνον. κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν ἁγίων Cpl. and ± rel. [22]
 - b. 46:3a: omitted ≠ τῆς γῆς Cpl and rel. [23]

- 6 = Cpl
 - a. 42:20a: omitted ≠ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) καλάμου ± rel. [24]
 - b. 42:20b: omitted ≠ αὐτὸν καὶ ± rel. [25]
 - c. 44:6: omitted ≠ οἶκον τὸν (παραπικραίνοντα) rel. [26]
 - d. 44:9d: omitted ≠ τῶν ὄντων ± rel. [27]
 - e. 45:7b: omitted ≠ (θάλασσαν) καὶ τὸ μήκος rel. [28]
 - f. 45:8: omitted ≠ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ (τὸν λαόν μου) rel. [29]

(ε) Out of four pluses of *several words*,
- 1 ≠ Cpl

44:17b: added (πύλης) τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν ≠ Cpl and rel. [30]
- 3 = Cpl
 - a. 42:13b: added (τοῦ ἁγίου) τῶν ἁγίων ≠ rel. [31]
 - b. 42:16: added (διεμέτρησε) τοῦ οἴκου τὸ ὑπόδειγμα κυκλόθεν ἐν διατάξει ≠ rel. [32]
 - c. 45:5: added (οἴκῳ) τοῦ θεοῦ ≠ rel. [33]

(ζ) Out of three pluses of a *preposition*,
- 3 = Cpl
 - a. 43:17a: added ἐπὶ (τὸ ἰλαστήριον) ≠ rel. [34]
 - b. 43:22c: added ἐξ (αἰγῶν) ≠ rel. [35]
 - c. 44:17a: added εἰς (τὰς πύλας) ≠ ± rel. [36]

(η) Out of four pluses of a *conjunction*,
- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 42:13d: added καὶ (διότι) ≠ Cpl and rel. [37]
 - b. 46:9c: added (ἐξελεύσεται [2nd]) καὶ ≠ Cpl and rel. [38]
 - c. 46:11: added καὶ (ἔσται) ≠ Cpl and rel. [39]
- 1 = Cpl

41:12a: added καὶ (πηγῶν πέντε) ≠ rel. [40]

(θ) Out of nine minuses of a *conjunction*,
- 4 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 41:6: omitted ≠ καὶ (διάστημα) Cpl and rel. [41]
 - b. 42:5a: omitted ≠ καὶ (διάστημα) Cpl (omits the passage) and rel. [42]
 - c. 42:5b: omitted ≠ καὶ (οὕτως [2nd]) Cpl (omits the passage) and rel. [43]
 - d. 42:11b: omitted ≠ (εὖρος αὐτῶν) καὶ Cpl and rel. [44]
- 5 = Cpl
 - a. 42:12a: omitted ≠ (νότον) καὶ rel. [45]
 - b. 42:12b: omitted ≠ (καλάμου) καὶ rel. [46]

- c. 44:19a: omitted ≠ καὶ (ἐν τῷ) rel. [47]
 d. 44:28c: omitted ≠ (Ἰσραηλ) ὅτι rel. [48]
 c. 45:23a: omitted ≠ καὶ (τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας) rel. [49]
- (ι) Out of 13 pluses of an *article*,
- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 40:45a: added τὸν (νότον) ≠ Cpl and rel. [50]
 - b. 41:16b: added τὸ (τοῦ) ≠ Cpl and rel. [51]
 - c. 45:17c: added τοῦ (Ἰσραηλ [2nd]) ≠ Cpl and rel. [52]
 - 10 = Cpl
 - a. 40:44c: added (τῆς πρὸς νότον) τῆς ≠ rel. [53]
 - b. 40:46b: added τοῦ (λειτουργεῖν) ≠ rel. [54]
 - c. 41:12: added τὸ (εὐρος) ≠ rel. [55]
 - d. 41:16a: added (ὑποφάσεις) τοῖς ≠ rel. [56]
 - e. 41:25c: added τὰ (ξύλα) ≠ rel. [57]
 - f. 42:15a: added τὴν (ὁδὸν) ≠ rel. [58]
 - g. 43:18b: added τῆ (ἡμέρα) ≠ rel. [59]
 - h. 43:18c: added τῆς (ποιήσεως) ≠ rel. [60]
 - i. 45:9a: added (ἐξάρατε) τὰς ≠ rel. [61]
 - j. 46:14b: added τὸ (ἕκτον) ≠ rel. [62]
- (κ) Out of ten minuses of an *article*,
- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 42:10a: omitted ≠ τὸ (φῶς) Cpl and rel. [63]
 - b. 42:10d: omitted ≠ τοῦ (διορίζοντος) Cpl and rel. [64]
 - c. 45:3c: omitted ≠ τῶν (ἀγίων) Cpl and rel. [65]
 - 7 = Cpl
 - a. 40:48c: omitted ≠ τὸ (πλάτος) rel. [66]
 - b. 40:49: omitted ≠ τὸ (εὐρος) rel. [67]
 - c. 41:20a: omitted ≠ (φατνώματος) τὰ rel. [68]
 - d. 42:18a: omitted ≠ τὸ (κατὰ) rel. [69]
 - e. 44:15b: omitted ≠ τὰς (φυλακὰς) rel. [70]
 - f. 45:23b: omitted ≠ τὰς (ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τῆς ἑορτῆς) rel. [71]
 - g. 46:18a: omitted ≠ (λάβη) ὁ rel. [72]
- (λ) Out of 11 pluses of *other types of words*,
- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 44:28a: added οὐκ (ἔσται) ≠ Cpl and rel. [73]
 - b. 46:12b: added (ὁμολογίαν) ἧ ≠ Cpl and rel. [74]
 - c. 46:21b: added γῆς (αὐλῆς [2nd]) ≠ Cpl and rel. [75]

- 8 = Cpl
 - a. 40:48a: added (διεμέτρησεν) αὐτὸ ≠ rel. [76]
 - b. 42:18b: added πηχῶν (πεντακοσίου) ≠ rel. [77]
 - c. 43:14: added (πῆχυς) εἷς ≠ rel. [78]
 - d. 43:15: added (πῆχυς) εἷς ≠ rel. [79]
 - e. 44:7: added (τοῦ) μὴ ≠ rel. [80]
 - f. 44:8b: added πᾶσι (τοῖς) ≠ rel. [81]
 - g. 44:11b: added (οἴκῳ) μου ≠ rel. [82]
 - h. 45:15b: added τάδε (λέγει) ≠ rel. [83]

(μ) Out of 13 minuses of *other types of words*,
- 7 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 42:5c: omitted ≠ οὕτως (στοαί) rel. (Cpl omits this passage) [84]
 - b. 42:11c: omitted ≠ (κατὰ) πάσας rel. (Cpl omits this passage) [85]
 - c. 44:5d: omitted ≠ σου (εἷς) Cpl and rel. [86]
 - d. 44:9b: omitted ≠ (ἁγία) μου Cpl and rel. [87]
 - e. 44:13a: omitted ≠ μοι Cpl and rel. [88]
 - f. 44:13b: omitted ≠ (προσάγειν) πρὸς Cpl and rel. [89]
 - g. 45:18b: omitted ≠ μηνὶ Cpl and rel. [90]
- 6 = Cpl
 - a. 40:44a: omitted ≠ βλεπούσης (1st) rel. [91]
 - b. 42:13a: omitted ≠ αὐταὶ rel. [92]
 - c. 44:15c: omitted ≠ θυσίαν rel. [93]
 - d. 44:19b: omitted ≠ αὐτοὶ rel. [94]
 - e. 44:26: omitted ≠ αὐτὸν rel. [95]
 - f. 45:15a: omitted ≠ εἷς (σωτηρίου) rel. [96]

2.a.ii. Qualitative readings

One hundred nineteen of these readings can be considered qualitative; that is, they consist of options different from those of the MSS. They can be subdivided in the following manner:

- (α) Out of 44 *expressions*,
- 13 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 41:1: εἰσῆλθεν ≠ εἰσήγαγέ με Cpl and rel. [97]
 - b. 41:25a: επτα ≠ omitted in Cpl ≠ ἐπὶ τὰ rel. [98]
 - c. 44:11c: (λαοῦ) μου ≠ (λαοῦ) omitted in Cpl ≠ (λαοῦ) τοῦ rel. [99]
 - d. 44:13c: αὐτῶν (Ἰσραηλ) ≠ haplography in Cpl ≠ υἱῶν (τοῦ Ἰσραηλ) ± rel. [100]
 - e. 44:14: τάξουσιν ἑαυτούς ≠ τάξω αὐτούς Cpl ≠ κατατάξουσιν αὐτούς ± rel. [101]
 - f. 44:18b: τῆς ὀσφύος ≠ τὰς ὀσφῦς Cpl ≠ τὰς ὀσφύας rel. [102]

- g. 44:30b: πάντων (ἐκ πάντων) ≠ πάντα (ἐκ πάντων) Cpl and rel. [103]
 h. 45:7a: μιᾶς ≠ μία Cpl and rel. [104]
 i. 45:13c: γομορ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέτρου ≠ οἰφι ἀπὸ τοῦ κόρου Cpl and rel. [105]
 j. 46:5c: λευειμ ≠ ἐλαίω τοῦ ἰν Cpl ≠ ἐλαίου τὸ ἰν ± rel. [106]
 k. 46:16b: εναντιον ≠ ἐνὶ τῶν Cpl ≠ ἐνὶ ἐκ τῶν ± rel. [107]
 l. 46:17c: αὐτοῦ ≠ αὐτῷ Cpl ≠ αὐτοῖς rel. [108]
 m. 46:20a: οὐχ ≠ omitted in Cpl ≠ ἐκεῖ (2nd) rel. [109]
- 6 ± Cpl
 - a. 43:16b: μῆκος μῆκος ἐπὶ ± ἐπὶ μῆκος Cpl ≠ μήκους ἐπὶ ± rel. [110]
 - b. 44:13d: πρὸς πάντα ± πρὸς πάντα τὰ Cpl ≠ πρὸς τὰ ± rel. [111]
 - c. 44:30c: ἐκ πάντων ± ἐκ τῶν Cpl ≠ ἐκ πάντων τῶν ± rel. [112]
 - d. 44:31a: ἐκ πάντων ± ἐκ πάντων τῶν Cpl ≠ ἐκ τῶν rel. [113]
 - e. 44:31b: ἐκ πάντων ± ἐκ πάντων τῶν Cpl ≠ ἐκ τῶν rel. [114]
 - f. 46:17a: καὶ ἐὰν δῆ ± καὶ ἐὰν δῶ Cpl ≠ ἐὰν δὲ δῶ ± rel. [115]
 - 25 = Cpl
 - a. 40:42a: πήχεως ≠ ἐπὶ πῆχυν rel. [116]
 - b. 42:2a: πηχῶν ≠ ἐπὶ πῆχεις rel. [117]
 - c. 42:3: κατὰ στίχον ≠ ἐστιχισμέναι ± rel. [118]
 - d. 42:7: ἔξωθεν ≠ ἔξωτέρας rel. [119]
 - e. 42:10b: φῶς τοῦτο ≠ φῶς τοῦ rel. [120]
 - f. 42:10c: καὶ κατὰ ≠ καὶ τὰ rel. [121]
 - g. 43:2: ἐν τῇ δόξῃ ≠ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης rel. [122]
 - h. 43:8: τοῖχον σύνεγγύς μου ≠ τὸν τοῖχόν μου ὡς συνεχόμενον ἐμοῦ ± rel. [123]
 - i. 43:16d: πηχέων ≠ πλάτους ± rel. [124]
 - j. 43:27: τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ≠ τὸ θυσιαστήριον rel. [125]
 - k. 44:5a: πρὸς σὲ λαλῶ ≠ λαλῶ μετὰ σοῦ rel. [126]
 - l. 44:9c: ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ≠ ἐν πασὶν υἰοῖς rel. [127]
 - m. 44:15a: οἱ ≠ οἱ τινες rel. [128]
 - n. 44:18a: τῶν κεφαλῶν ≠ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς rel. [129]
 - o. 44:24b: ἐν τοῖς ≠ τὰ (1st) rel. [130]
 - p. 44:24d: ἐν τοῖς ≠ τὰ (2nd) rel. [131]
 - q. 44:28b: κληρονομία ≠ εἰς κληρονομίαν rel. [132]
 - r. 45:2a: πεντακόσια ≠ πεντακόσιοι rel. [133]
 - s. 45:2b: πεντακόσια ≠ πεντακοσίους rel. [134]
 - t. 45:3a: ἐξ αὐτῆς ≠ ἐκ ταύτης rel. [135]
 - u. 45:3b: χιλιάδες ≠ χιλιάδας rel. [136]
 - v. 45:12: ὑμῶν ≠ ὑμῖν rel. [137]
 - w. 45:19: μόσχου ≠ ἐξίλασμοῦ ± rel. [138]
 - x. 45:24: τοῦ εἶν ≠ τὸ ἰν rel. [139]
 - y. 46:12c: σωτηρίον ≠ σωτηρίου (1st) rel. [140]

(β) Out of 15 *nouns*,

- — 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 41:13: τοίχου ≠ οἴκου Cpl and rel. [141]
 - b. 43:11b: κρίματα ≠ νόμιμα, νόμους Cpl ± νόμιμα rel. [142]
 - c. 45:20: ἀφαίρεμα ≠ ἀσυνέτου καὶ νηπίου Cpl ≠ ἀπόμοιραν rel. [143]
- 12 = Cpl
 - a. 40:43: κυμάτιον ≠ γεῖσος rel. [144]
 - b. 41:4: πυλῶν ≠ θυρῶν rel. [145]
 - c. 42:2b: εὖρος ≠ πλάτος rel. [146]
 - d. 44:5b: κρίματα ≠ νόμιμα rel. [147]
 - e. 44:22a: οἴκου ≠ σπέρματος rel. [148]
 - f. 44:24c: προστάγμασι ≠ δικαιώματα rel. [149]
 - g. 44:30a: ἀφορίσματα ≠ ἀφαιρέματα rel. [150]
 - h. 45:25: αἱ θυσίαι ≠ τὸ μαννα rel. [151]
 - i. 46:5a: θυσίαν ≠ μαννα rel. [152]
 - j. 46:14a: θυσίαν ≠ μαννα rel. [153]
 - k. 46:14c: θυσίαν ≠ μαννα rel. [154]
 - l. 46:15: τὴν θυσίαν ≠ τὸ μαννα rel. [155]

(γ) Out of seven *verbs*,

- 2 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 42:13c: στάνονται ≠ ἐσθίονται Cpl ≠ φάγονται rel. [156]
 - b. 46:21a: εἰσήγαγεν ≠ ἐξήγαγεν Cpl and rel. [157]
- 1 ± Cpl

43:24: ἐπιθήσουσιν ± ἐπιθήσονται Cpl ≠ ἐπιρρίψουσιν rel. [158]
- 4 = Cpl
 - a. 41:20c: διαγεγραμμένοι ≠ διαγεγλυμμένοι rel. [159]
 - b. 46:7: ἰσχύη ≠ ἐκποιῆ rel. [160]
 - c. 46:19a: ἀπήγαγον = ἀπήγαγεν Cpl ≠ εἰσήγαγεν rel. [161]
 - d. 46:20b: ἐψήσουσιν = ἐψοῦσιν Cpl ≠ πέψουσι rel. [162]

(δ) Out of three *adjectives*,

- 2 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 41:15: ἐσώτερον ≠ ἐξώτερον Cpl and rel. [163]
 - b. 41:25b: καλὰ ≠ κατὰ Cpl ≠ σπουδαία rel. [164]
- 1 = Cpl

46:1c: ἐργασίμας ≠ ἐνεργούς rel. [165]

(ε) Out of four *numbers*,

- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 40:48b: ἄρ ≠ πέντε Cpl and rel. [166]
 - b. 40:48d: ἄρ ≠ πέντε Cpl and rel. [167]
 - c. 43:16c: δέκα ≠ δώδεκα (2nd) Cpl and rel. [168]
- 1 = Cpl

43:16a: δύο ≠ δώδεκα (1st) rel. [169]

(ζ) Out of eight *prepositions*,

- 2 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 43:11a: ἀπό ≠ ὑπέρ Cpl ≠ περί rel. [170]
 - b. 44:4: κατεναντίον ≠ κατέναντι Cpl and rel. [171]
- 6 = Cpl
 - a. 40:44b: κατά ≠ πρός (2nd) rel. [172]
 - b. 45:17a: περί ≠ ὑπέρ (1st) rel. [173]
 - c. 45:17b: περί ≠ ὑπέρ (2nd) rel. [174]
 - d. 45:23d: περί ≠ ὑπέρ rel. [175]
 - e. 46:1b: κατά ≠ πρός rel. [176]
 - f. 46:3b: ἐνωπίον ≠ ἐναντίον rel. [177]

(η) Out of two *conjunctions*,

- 1 ≠ Cpl

42:6: ὅτι ≠ lacuna in Cpl ≠ διότι rel. [178]
- 1 = Cpl

44:3: ὅτι ≠ διότι rel. [179]

(θ) Out of eight *verbal forms*,

- 4 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 43:3: ἔπεσον ≠ ἔπεσα Cpl ≠ πίπτω rel. [180]
 - b. 43:18d: προσχεῖς ≠ προσχυθήσονται Cpl ≠ προσχέειν rel. [181]
 - c. 43:23: προσοίσεις ≠ προσοίση Cpl ≠ προσοίσουσι rel. [182]
 - d. 45:23c: ποιῆσαι ≠ ποιήσει Cpl and rel. [183]
- 4 = Cpl
 - a. 44:8a: διετάσσετε ≠ διετάξατε rel. [184]
 - b. 45:11: ἔστω ≠ ἔσται rel. [185]
 - c. 46:9a: προσκυνῆσαι ≠ προσκυνεῖν rel. [186]
 - d. 46:9d: εἰσηλθεν ≠ εἰσελήλυθεν rel. [187]

- (ι) Out of three forms of *proper names*,
- 3 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 40:46a: σακδου ≠ σαδουχ Cpl ≠ σαδδουκ rel. [188]
 - b. 41:20b: χειρουβ ≠ χειρουβειμ Cpl and rel. [189]
 - c. 45:21: φασεχ ≠ πασχα Cpl and rel. [190]
- (κ) Out of 15 *plural forms*,
- 4 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 41:21a: τὰ ἅγια ≠ ἅγιον Cpl ± τὸ ἅγιον rel. [191]
 - b. 44:5c: αὐτῶν ≠ αὐτοῦ (1st) Cpl and rel. [192]
 - c. 46:19b: ἀπήγαγον ≠ ἀπήγαγεν Cpl ± εἰσήγαγεν rel. [193]
 - d. 46:24: τῶν λαῶν ≠ τοῦ λαοῦ Cpl and rel. [194]
 - 11 = Cpl
 - a. 40:45b: τὰς φυλακὰς ≠ τὴν φυλακὴν rel. [195]
 - b. 42:11a: πρόσωπα ≠ πρόσωπον rel. [196]
 - c. 42:14: τῶν ἁγίων ≠ τοῦ ἁγίου rel. [197]
 - d. 44:5c: αὐτῶν ≠ αὐτοῦ (2nd) rel. [198]
 - e. 44:22c: ἱερέων ≠ ἱερέως rel. [199]
 - f. 44:27a: τοῖς ἁγίοις ≠ τῷ ἁγίῳ rel. [200]
 - g. 45:4: τοῖς ἁγίοις ≠ τῷ ἁγίῳ rel. [201]
 - h. 45:9b: καταδυναστείας ≠ καταδυναστείαν rel. [202]
 - i. 45:13a: τῶν πυρῶν ≠ τοῦ πυροῦ rel. [203]
 - j. 45:18c: τὰ ἅγια ≠ τὸ ἅγιον rel. [204]
 - k. 46:5b: τοῖς κριοῖς ≠ τῷ κριῶ rel. [205]
- (λ) Out of three *singular forms*,
- 3 = Cpl
 - a. 43:22a: λήμψη ≠ λήμψονται rel. [206]
 - b. 43:22b: ἔριφον (. . .) ἄμωμον ≠ ἐρίφους δύο (. . .) ἀμώμους rel. [207]
 - c. 46:17d: αὐτοῦ = αὐτῷ Cpl ≠ αὐτοῖς rel. [208]
- (μ) Out of seven *word orders* characterizing 967,
- 2 ≠ Cpl
 - a. 44:12a: μου τὴν χειρὰ ≠ 2-3-1 Cpl and rel. [209]
 - b. 45:13b: γομορ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέτρου ≠ 4-2-3-1 Cpl and ± rel. [210]
 - 5 = Cpl
 - a. 40:42c: τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα ἐκεῖ ≠ 3-1-2 rel. [211]
 - b. 42:15b: τοῦ οἴκου τὸ ὑπόδειγμα ≠ 3-4-1-2 rel. [212]
 - c. 43:17b: κυκλούμενον αὐτῷ κυκλόθεν ≠ 3-1-2 rel. [213]
 - d. 44:22b: ἔὰν γένηται χήρα ≠ 3-1-2 rel. [214]
 - e. 45:16: τῷ ἀφηγουμένῳ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ταύτην ≠ 5-6-7-1-2-3-4 rel. [215]

2.b. Characteristic agreements

Since we cannot treat all these cases systematically here, we must be content to analyze certain agreements between 967 and Cpl that appear to be characteristic of the close relationship between the earliest edition and the earliest manuscript for this part of the book of Ezekiel.

(i) In 42:15, where \aleph has $\text{וּמְדַדָּהּ סְבִיב} | \text{סְבִיב}$, Vaticanus has $\text{καὶ διεμέτρησεν τὸ ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου κυκλόθεν ἐν διατάξει}$. Ziegler, who follows Vaticanus, mentions no notable variant. 967 and Cpl both reverse the order of four words: $\text{τοῦ οἴκου τὸ ὑπόδειγμα}$. This agreement could be a coincidence, if it were isolated. But it is striking that in 16b where Vaticanus has $\text{καὶ διεμέτρησεν πεντακοσίου ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου}$, 967 is distinguished by the insertion of the words $\text{τοῦ οἴκου τὸ ὑπόδειγμα κυκλόθεν ἐν διατάξει}$ after the verb. These words appear to be no more than a mistaken repetition of 15b. Significantly, Cpl offers this same repetition here, with the same transposition of τὸ ὑπόδειγμα with respect to τοῦ οἴκου , which already characterized these two witnesses in 15b. From this double agreement it can be concluded that one of the manuscripts used by Cpl must have been closely related to 967.

(ii) In 44:9, we have the formula $\text{כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱדַנִּי יְהוָה}$, according to \aleph . It introduces the words $\text{כָּל־בְּנֵי־גֹזֵר לֵב וְעָרַל בָּשׂוֹר לֹא יְבֹא אֶל־מִקְדָּשִׁי לְכָל־בֶּן־גֹּזֵר אֶשָּׂא לְאָרְצָהּ בְּנֵי בְּתוּלָה$, to which corresponds Vaticanus (followed by Ziegler) $\text{Διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός Πᾶς υἱὸς ἀλλογενῆς ἀπερίτμητος καρδία καὶ ἀπερίτμητος σαρκὶ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ἅγια μου ἐν πᾶσιν υἱοῖς ἀλλογενῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ}$. For the section of text under examination it happens that this is the only verse for which we have a formal citation by a Greek author prior to Origen. The author is Clement of Alexandria who has $\text{Διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος Πᾶς υἱὸς ἀλλογενῆς ἀπερίτμητος καρδία καὶ ἀπερίτμητος}^{37} \text{ σαρκὶ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ἅγια ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν ἐν μέσῳ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ}$.³⁸ The four variants in this citation that contrast sharply with the readings of the MSS are:

- (ii.α) it gives only κύριος (with no other divine name) for \aleph $\text{יְהוָה אֱדַנִּי יְהוָה}$;
- (ii.β) the absence of μου after ἅγια , which nonetheless renders מִקְדָּשִׁי of \aleph ;
- (ii.γ) the words ἀπὸ τῶν instead of ἐν πᾶσιν υἱοῖς to render לְכָל־בֶּן of \aleph ;
- (ii.δ) before ἐν μέσῳ , the absence of τῶν ὄντων , which renders רָשָׁא .

On these four points, it can be seen that Clement is farther from \aleph than Vaticanus is. Now, for this verse, 967 is the single manuscript that supports the peculiarities in Clement's text, the only difference being that 967 inserts πάντων after ἀπὸ . Cpl, for its part, differs from 967 only in the insertion of μου after ἅγια . 967 and Cpl are thus the only two Greek witnesses that support the first and fourth variants of Clement entirely, and the third partially. It is probable that the presence of

37. After this word, the Clement manuscript has ἔστι , which Stählin and Früchtel consider to be a later insertion.

38. Clement, *Stromata*, Book 4, ch. 25.

πάντων after ἀπό in both of them and the presence of μου after ἅγια in Cpl represent two stages of recension based on M. In any case it is remarkable that 967 and Cpl agree with Clement of Alexandria against the MSS in the distinctive form that Clement offers for this verse.

(iii) Let us now examine a characteristic passage—the passage where the typical agreements between 967 and Cpl begin, at 40:42aβ, which involves the stone tables that were used in the preparation of the burnt offerings. The text edited by Ziegler appears on the first line and the text of 967 on the second. The variants in 967 not attested by the MSS are underlined:

- Z: καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐπιθήσουσι τὰ σκεύη, ἐν οἷς
 967: καὶ πήχεως τὸ ὕψος, ἐπ' αὐτάς θήσουσι τὰ σκεύη ἐν οἷς
- Z: σφάζουσιν ἐκεῖ τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰ θύματα. 43 καὶ παλαιστήν
 967: σφάζουσι τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ θύματα. 43 καὶ παλαιστήν
- Z: ἔξουσι γεῖσος λελαξευμένον ἔσωθεν κύκλω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας
 967: ἔξουσι κυμάτιον λελαξευμένον ἔσωθεν κύκλω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας
- Z: ἐπάνωθεν στέγας τοῦ καλύπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕτεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 967: ἐπάνωθεν στέγας τοῦ κατακαλύπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕτεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
- Z: ξηρασίας. 44 καὶ εἰσήγαγέ με εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐσωτέραν, καὶ ἰδοῦ
 967: ξηρασίας. 44 καὶ εἰσήγαγέν με εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐσωτέραν, καὶ ἰδοῦ
- Z: δύο ἐξέδραι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ, μία κατὰ νότου τῆς πύλης τῆς
 967: δύο ἐξέδραι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ, μία κατὰ νότου τῆς πύλης τῆς
- Z: βλεπούσης πρὸς βορρᾶν φέρουσα πρὸς νότον καὶ μία κατὰ νότου τῆς
 967: [. . .] πρὸς βορρᾶν φέρουσα κατὰ νότον καὶ μία κατὰ νότου τῆς
- Z: πύλης τῆς πρὸς νότον βλεπούσης δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν. 45 καὶ εἶπε
 967: πύλης τῆς πρὸς νότον τῆς βλεπούσης [. . .] πρὸς βορρᾶν. 45 καὶ εἶπε
- Z: πρὸς με Ἡ ἐξέδρα αὕτη ἢ βλέπουσα πρὸς νότον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
 967: πρὸς με Ἡ ἐξέδρα αὕτη ἢ βλέπουσα πρὸς τὸν νότον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
- Z: τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ οἴκου, 46 καὶ ἡ ἐξέδρα ἢ βλέπουσα
 967: τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ οἴκου, 46 καὶ ἡ ἐξέδρα ἢ βλέπουσα
- Z: πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.
 967: πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

We can see immediately that out of nine variants in 967 not supported by the MSS, eight are supported by Cpl (and the only one that it does not support is rather trivial, since it involves the addition of the article τὸν before νότον). Let us treat briefly the eight variants shared by 967 and Cpl.

(iii.α) In v. 42, instead of ἐπὶ πῆχυν τὸ ὕψος, 967 and Cpl have πήχεως τὸ ὕψος. A similar variant is found in 42:2 where the MSS have ἐπὶ πήχεις ἑκατὸν μῆκος, while 967 and Cpl have πηχῶν ἑκατὸν μῆκος.

(iii.β) The MSS offer the prefixed verbal form ἐπιθήσουσι, whereas 967 and Cpl both omit the prefix. We have already seen that the same is true for the majority of cases where 967 is distinguished from the MSS in the omission of a prefix. Let us recall these cases: In 41:9 only 967 and Cpl omit the prefix of τὰ ἀπολοιπά (while the MSS alternate between the prefixes ἀπο-, υπο-, and ἐπι-). In 46:8, 17, 18, the prefix of the noun ἀφηγούμενος is again omitted only by 967 and Cpl. However, in 46:12 967 omits it but Cpl attests the prefix. Finally, in 44:24, where 967 and Cpl agree with the Antiochene manuscripts in omitting the prefix of ἐπιστήσονται, 967 and Cpl are also alone in omitting the following prefix, which the Antiochene manuscripts attest in the form διακρίνειν, and the other manuscripts attest in the form διακρίναι. Actually, 967 has κρίνειν and Cpl has κρίσιν. We note finally that in the segment of text under examination, 967 has a tendency to be distinguished from the MSS by the absence of prefixes as opposed to their presence.

(iii.γ) 967 and Cpl both place the adverb ἐκεῖ (not attested by ℣) after τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα, against the MSS.

(iii.δ) In v. 43, ℣ ׀ִהֶשֶׁתָּ (which most likely refers to “the two hooks” on which the meat is hung to be cut up) has γεῖσος corresponding to it in all the Greek manuscripts (except for 130 and 147, which omit it). This word occurs again in 43:13, 17 (in 967, Cpl, and all the Greek manuscripts) to translate לְבֹבֵל, which designates the “rim” around the altar at its base. In 41:7, Vaticanus even writes γεῖσων instead of μέσων by mistake. Now 967 and Cpl both give the word κυμάτιον instead of γεῖσος in 40:43. This word, which does not recur in Ⓞ of Ezekiel, translates ℣ ׀ִ three times in Exod 25:10(11), 23(24), 24(25), where it refers to the gold moldings around the ark of the covenant, its cover, and the table for the bread offering. The two readings of Ⓞ suggest that it was influenced by ׀ִ׀ֶ׀ in rendering this difficult word.

(iii.ε) In v. 44, the first occurrence (attested by the MSS) of the adjective βλεπούσης (which has no counterpart in ℣) is absent in 967 and Cpl.

(iii.ζ) The participle φέρουσα, according to the MSS, has the complement πρὸς νότον, whereas 967 and Cpl have κατὰ νότον (a preposition that contrasts sharply to the three occurrences of πρὸς + accusative surrounding it). A similar situation is found in 46:1, where 967 and Cpl both give the complement κατὰ ἀνατολάς to the participle βλέπειν, while the MSS have πρὸς ἀνατολάς.

(iii.η) According to the MSS, the south gate is called βλεπούσης δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν, while 967 and Cpl call it τῆς βλεπούσης πρὸς βορρᾶν. A similar case can be seen in 46:17, where the MSS have εἰάν δὲ δῶ, while Cpl gives καὶ εἰάν δῶ, corrupted in 967 to καὶ εἰάν δη.

(iii.θ) In v. 45 the MSS describe a category of priests as τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ οἴκου, as they will describe another category in v. 46 as τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. In contrast, 967 and Cpl both distinguish τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ οἴκου in v. 45 from τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου in v. 46.

(iv) Let us look at three cases where lack of agreement nevertheless betrays a close kinship between Cpl and 967:

(iv.α) In 41:25, Ziegler (in accord with Vaticanus) edits as follows: καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ θυρώματα τοῦ ναοῦ χερουβὶν καὶ φοίνικες κατὰ τὴν γλυφὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σπουδαῖα ξύλα κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ αἰλαμ ἔξωθεν. 967 departs from the MSS with two variants: *επτα* instead of *επι τα* (a simple omission of a downstroke) and *καλα τα* instead of *σπουδαῖα* (choice of another equivalent adjective). In neither of these does Cpl follow 967. But it shows dependence on the second variant by writing *κατὰ τὰ* (influenced by the two occurrences of *κατὰ* + accusative on both sides of it) and it also shows its dependence on the first by omitting the “seven,” unintelligible in this context (an omission that would be unmotivated if Cpl had read *επι τα* with the MSS instead of *επτα*) and by correcting τοῦ ναοῦ to τῷ ναῷ (which gives καὶ θυρώματα τῷ ναῷ, echoing the end of v. 22 in Ⓞ).

(iv.β) In 45:2 our two witnesses 967 and Cpl are distinguished from the MSS in that they twice give the neuter form *πεντακόσια* instead of *πεντακόσιοι* or *πεντακόσιους*. At the beginning of v. 3, against *ἐκ ταύτης* in the MSS, they both have *ἐξ αὐτῆς*. Then Ziegler and Vaticanus agree on the verbal phrase *διαμετρήσεις μῆκος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας καὶ εὖρος εἴκοσι χιλιάδας*, while 967 gives a nominal phrase corrupted by homeoteleuton (occasioned by the repetition of the last two words of the first number): *διαμέτρησις μῆκος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες*. While the reading *διαμέτρησις* and the homeoteleuton are found in a number of other manuscripts, 967 departs from the MSS by putting *χιλιάδες* in the nominative. Now Cpl has *διαμετρήσεις μῆκος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας καὶ τὸ εὖρος δέκα χιλιάδες*. The fact that it finishes with *χιλιάδες* in the nominative and that it gives that case only for the second occurrence of the word, is an indication that it depended on a source identical to 967 as far as the nominative and the mutilation that caused it to occur only once are concerned. It then filled out the omission and altered *διαμέτρησις* to *διαμετρήσεις* based on another source that conformed to Ⓜ (as do certain Origenian and Antiochene manuscripts) in reading 10,000 instead of 20,000 for the width.

(iv.γ) In 46:5 only 967 has the erroneous reading *λευειμ*, whereas the Levites have nothing to do with this passage. Vaticanus has *ἐλαίου τὸ εἶν* and Cpl has *ἐλαίω τοῦ ἴν*. Jahn proposes that the reading of 967 derived from that of Vaticanus through a dictation error. But it is not likely that a *tau* would have escaped the ear of the copyist. It is more likely that the reading in 967 derives from a form without the article: *ἐλαίου εἶν*. It might be objected that none of the MSS offers a reading without the article in any of the four cases in Ezekiel (45:24, 46:5, 7, 11)

where ℣ has the expression *שָׁמַן הָיָה*. But Cpl attests it in 46:11, where 967 appears to have misread it once again by giving only *ελαιου*, without translating *הָיָה*.

One can thus observe that a number of cases where Cpl does not directly follow 967 nevertheless manifest a dependence on a source very close to 967.

(v) The following are several translational decisions that unite 967 and Cpl against the MSS:

(v.α) In 42:3, for *אֶתִּיק אֶל־פְּנֵי־אַתִּיק בְּשֵׁלֶשִׁים* in ℣, Ziegler has *ἔστιχισμέναι ἀντιπρόσωποι στοαὶ τρισσαί*, in accord with Vaticanus. This is the sole use of the verb *στιχίζω* reported by the Liddell-Scott dictionary. In the place of this word, 967 and Cpl alone offer *κατὰ στίχον*, an expression that recurs in Exod 28:20 in connection with the placement into rows of the precious stones that adorn the breastpiece of judgment.

(v.β) For 42:9 967 and Cpl, along with almost all the manuscripts, offer *καὶ αἱ θύραι τῶν ἐξεδρῶν τούτων τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἐξωτερῆς*. In 42:10, for *בְּרֹחַב | גֵּרָה הַתְּצֵר דְּרָךְ הַקְּרִים אֶל־פְּנֵי הַבְּנֵי וְאֶל־הַגְּזֵרָה*, Ziegler and Vaticanus give *κατὰ τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ περιπάτου καὶ τὰ πρὸς νότον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ νότου κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀπολοίπου καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ διορίζοντος*. Corresponding to this in 967 is *κατὰ φῶς τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ περιπάτου καὶ κατὰ πρὸς νότον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀπολοίπου κατὰ πρόσωπον διορίζοντος*. We note first that while Cpl keeps the article before *φῶς* (a word that probably translates *דָּגָל*, just as it translated *דְּרָגָל* in v. 7), it agrees with 967 against the MSS when it then gives *τοῦτο* instead of *τοῦ*. After that, Cpl reads the same as 967, *καὶ κατὰ πρὸς νότον*, before inserting *καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ νότου*, which it judged to be missing by mistake in the source that it was using, one similar to 967. In this, Cpl is probably mistaken, since *καὶ τὰ πρὸς νότον* and *κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ νότου* appear to be a doublet in Vaticanus for *דְּרָךְ הַקְּרִים*. 967 was not corrupted, but was the single witness to offer only one element of the doublet. As we shall see in the next case, the second element appears not to correspond to the customary usage of *κατὰ πρόσωπον* by Ⓞ of Ezekiel.

(v.γ) In 42:11 Ziegler and Vaticanus have the more usual expression *κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν* corresponding to *לְפָנֵיהֶם*, while 967 and Cpl alone put the noun in the plural, *κατὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν*, to account for the plural of the pronominal suffix. This agreement between 967 and Cpl is all the more indicative since all witnesses of Ⓞ of Ezekiel (including 967 and Cpl) appear elsewhere to agree in considering *κατὰ πρόσωπον* as an invariable semi-preposition. It should be pointed out, however, that we have here the single case in the book of Ezekiel where (excepting certain Greek variants of the Alexandrinus) this expression *κατὰ πρόσωπον* (or *-πα*) corresponds to the Hebrew semi-preposition *לְפָנֵי*. Indeed, to limit ourselves to the portion of text under scrutiny, *κατὰ πρόσωπον* corresponds to *אֶל־פְּנֵי* in 41:4, 12, 15, 25; 42:10 (2x), 13; 45:7 (2x), and to *פְּנֵי* in 41:14 (according to Vaticanus, 967, and Cpl). We may note in passing that, in the exterior measurements of the Temple (42:17–19) *κατὰ πρόσωπον* reappears two

or three times (depending on the witnesses) and does not have an explicit counterpart in ℣.

(v.δ) In 43:2, where the MSS render מְכַבְּדוֹ with ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης (some witnesses that have undergone recension add κυρίου or αὐτοῦ to render the pronominal suffix), 967 and Cpl alone have ἐν τῇ δόξῃ (also without translating the pronominal suffix).

(v.ε) Under the influence of the initial בְּתַתָּם in 43:8, the words וְהִקְיַר בֵּינֵי וְבִינֵיהֶם in ℣ have as a counterpart in Ziegler and Vaticanus καὶ ἔδωκαν τὸν τοῖχόν μου ὡς συνεχόμενον ἐμοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν. 967 and Cpl agree on the more sober reading καὶ ἔδωκαν τοῖχον σύνεγγός μου καὶ αὐτῶν, against the MSS.

(v.ζ) In 43:22a, ℣ has וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁנִי תִקְרִיב שְׁעִיר עִזִּים תְּמִים לְחַטָּאת, while in 22b the verbs are plural: וְחִטְּאוּ אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כְּאֲשֶׁר חִטְּאוּ בְּפָרָה. Corresponding to this in Ziegler and Vaticanus is καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ λήμψονται ἐρίφους δύο αἰγῶν ἀμόμους ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἐξιλάσσονται τὸ θυσιαστήριον καθότι ἐξιλάσαντο ἐν τῷ μόσχῳ. 967 and Cpl differ from the MSS in that they write the initial verb in the second person singular (λήμψη) and mention only one goat (ἐρίφον ἐξ αἰγῶν ἄμωμον). Observing that the reading of 967 corresponds more precisely to ℣ in these two respects, Jahn³⁹ concluded that the variant of the papyrus is probably the result of a correction based on the Hebrew. The matter is not certain. Indeed, with regard to the third person plural of the MSS (λήμψονται), it is very likely that it is an assimilation to the two occurrences of the same verb in the preceding verses, and also to the two verbs in v. 22b. As for the mention by Vaticanus of two goats instead of one, it is known that the book of Ezekiel caused considerable difficulty for the rabbis at the beginning of the common era, because it seemed to contradict the Torah on certain points.⁴⁰ Lev 16:5 says clearly of Aaron, in connection with the expiation ceremony, יִקַּח שְׁנֵי שְׁעִירֵי עִזִּים לְחַטָּאת. Thus it could be the case that the textual form of Ⓞ offered by the MSS was altered to correspond more exactly to the details in Leviticus.

(v.η) In 44:5, for ℣ כָּל-אֲשֶׁר אָנִי מַדְבֵּר אֲתָּךְ, the MSS have πάντα ὅσα ἐγὼ λαλῶ μετὰ σοῦ, whereas 967 and S both have πάντα ὅσα ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ λαλῶ. Then, while Ziegler and Vaticanus give νόμιμα to correspond to the plural תּוֹרֹת, 967 and Cpl alone give κρίματα.⁴¹ Then for the second half of v. 5 ℣ has וְשִׂמְתָּ לְבָךְ לְמַבּוֹא לְמִקְדָּשׁ הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַמִּצְאֵי הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, to which corresponds, in Ziegler and Vaticanus, καὶ τάξεις εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ οἴκου κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἐξόδους αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις. Here 967 and Cpl both give αὐτῶν instead of αὐτοῦ, against the MSS. This plural possessive for an unexpressed antecedent constitutes a *lectio difficilior* which is, however, clarified by the translation given in the *Bible de Jérusalem*.

39. Jahn, *Griechische Text*, 181.

40. *B. Šabb.* 13b.

41. In 43:11, Papyrus 967 alone has καὶ παντὰ τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ corresponding to ℣ וְכָל-צִוְיֹתָיו וְכָל-תּוֹרֹתָיו, whereas Vaticanus has καὶ παντὰ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ, to which Cpl adds καὶ πάντας τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ.

saalem for the last three words in \aleph : “(tu feras bien attention . . .) et à ceux qui sont exclus du sanctuaire”; and in the *Revised Standard Version*: “(and mark well . . .) and all those who are to be excluded from the sanctuary.” Here 967 (but not Cpl) mistakenly extended the plural of this possessive to the one ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$) that immediately precedes this phrase.

2.c. Conclusion

We can conclude from this material that the earliest editors of the Septuagint, those who produced the Alcalá polyglot, had at their disposal a (fragmentary?) manuscript of Ezekiel, no longer extant, which belonged to a text family quite clearly distinct from the one represented in Vaticanus, on which all the other extant manuscripts of this version depend fairly closely. From 1517 up to recent decades, their edition remained the single witness of the most notable characteristics of this text type for Ezek 40:42–46:24. The great antiquity of these characteristics would not have been suspected if the recent discovery of Papyrus 967 had not revealed that they existed already around A.D. 200.

The Complutensis is thus confirmed, more and more clearly, as a textual witness of great value, however enigmatic.

B. Little-Known or Poorly Understood Witnesses of the Dodekapropheton

1. The Alcalá Polyglot

To illustrate this last assertion, we would like to assemble some data offered by the Complutensis in the Dodekapropheton that Ziegler did not report or to which he did not attribute enough weight. Since we cannot treat the question fully in this introduction, our study is limited to six examples that we hope will encourage future editors of Θ to attach greater importance to the Alcalá polyglot than has been done by their predecessors.

1.a. “Salt” or “threshing floor”?

In Zeph 2:9 almost all the manuscripts and editions of Θ give ἄλωος as the equivalent of \aleph $\pi\lambda\eta\eta$.⁴² Although Ziegler was aware only of the Greek minuscules 233 and 710 and the Bohairic Coptic version for support of his reading, he emended the word to ἄλος, in the belief that he was the first editor to offer that word here. However, Jerome had already suggested that the added syllable $\omicron\nu$ (in the word $\alpha\lambda\omega\omicron\varsigma$) could be due to the proximity of the word $\theta\iota\mu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, which would lead some to look for the heaps of grains that are found on a threshing floor. Was it Jerome’s suggestion or access to an intact early manuscript that made Cpl choose the original reading ἄλος?

42. CTAT Vol. 3, 894:29–32.

I.b. “Oppress” or “make disappear”?

In Amos 8:4 Ziegler noted that Cpl used καταλύοντες against the reading καταδυναστεύοντες of all the known Greek manuscripts and all the editions that followed. But he did not point out that Montfaucon and Field had erred in attributing the reading λύοντες to θ'. To be sure, in the Barberini manuscript upon which they rely here, the marginal reading λύοντες is indeed attested. But the mark that refers it to the text is located at the syllable δυ of the word καταδυναστεύοντες, which this manuscript (like all the others) has in its text, so that the marginal reading must be combined with the prefix κατα. Thus, it happens that θ' is the only Greek witness that preserves this reading. It is certainly original, since the verb καταλύειν corresponds to the *Hiphil* of תבש, which מ has here, in six other places, something which is never the case for καταδυναστεύειν. As we have pointed out,⁴³ the other Greek witnesses fell victim to an assimilation to Amos 4:1, where מליך תהקשע had been translated αἱ καταδυναστεύουσαι πτωχούς. The reading καταλύοντες survived in the Vetus Latina (“dissolvitis”) according to the Constance manuscript.⁴⁴ Here Jerome translates the dominant reading of the Greek manuscripts with “opprimitis.”⁴⁵ In this case, it is difficult to see how Cpl would have had access to the original form of Θ except by direct knowledge of a textual form that preceded the incursion of the Vaticanus text type. Thus it appears that we have a situation similar to the one uncovered by the discovery of Papyrus 967 for Ezekiel 40–46.

I.c. “Flock” or “shepherds”?

In Zeph 2:6 Ziegler has ποιμνίων as Θ equivalent of the word מצי in מ. He notes that the translations of the Sahidic and Akhmimic versions presuppose a Vorlage with ποιμένων, but he knew of no such Greek witness. Now this is precisely the reading in Cpl, as we have noted.⁴⁶ One wonders whether ποιμνίων might not be a corruption in all the other Greek witnesses, through assimilation to προβάτων, which immediately follows.

I.d. “Your brother” or “your brothers”?

According to Ziegler all the Greek witnesses read the singular τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑμῶν in Hos 2:3(1), exactly parallel to the singular τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑμῶν immediately following.⁴⁷ However, Cpl clearly distinguishes τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑμῶν from τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑμῶν. We have pointed out that this plural is also attested by D and T, and

43. *Ibid.*, 682 n. 2353.

44. Ranke, *Fragmenta* IV, 6.

45. An error frequently committed is to consider the “septuaginta” lemmas of Jerome’s commentaries as witnesses of the Vetus Latina. In fact, he does not give evidence for a pre-existing Latin text, but supplies a personal translation of the Greek text that he had in front of him.

46. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 889:21f.

47. *Ibid.*, 498:49–50.

that Yefet ben Ely understood לְאַחֵיכֶם in this way. Was Cpl influenced by \mathfrak{D} , or does it depend here again on a Greek manuscript where this plural had not been assimilated to the singular that follows it?

I.e. “Your” or “our”?

Ziegler knew only of the Arabic version for the attestation of the possessive ἡμῶν when \mathfrak{G} translates בְּאַרְצֵנוּ and בְּאַרְמֹנֹתֵינוּ in Mic 5:4(5). However, as we have pointed out,⁴⁸ Cpl attests these two readings that Ziegler considers original. Were its editors influenced by \mathfrak{D} , or did they have, here too, an uncorrupted Greek manuscript?

I.f. “Bethlehem, house of Ephrata” or “house of Bethlehem Ephrata”?

Three verses earlier, the Washington Papyrus (W) is the single Greek witness known to Ziegler that has the reading καὶ σὺ οἶκος τοῦ βαθλεεμ τοῦ Εφραθα, while all the other Greek witnesses have the word order καὶ σὺ Βηθλεεμ οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα. Here the Sahidic and Akhmimic versions, as is often the case, were using a Vorlage identical to W. The most distinctive element of this reading is that οἶκος precedes Βηθλεεμ instead of following it. Indeed, the well-known citation of this text in Matt 2:6 understandably fixed the sequence καὶ σὺ Βηθλεεμ indelibly in the ear of Christian copyists.

The scroll of Nahal Hever (Hev), discovered since Ziegler, also attests the sequence ΚΑΙΣΥΟΙΚΟ[ΣΒΗΘΛΕΕΜΕ]ΦΡΑΘΑ.⁴⁹ Now, only the omission of the two articles can be considered as a Hebraizing recension, since it is hard to say that one order or the other would be a more faithful translation of the Hebrew בֵּית־לְחֶם וְבֵית־לְחֶם. Indeed, both of them offer a translation and a transcription of the word בֵּית. Thus it is more likely that Hev and W preserved the original order of \mathfrak{G} here, which was modified elsewhere under the influence of the Matthew citation.

It is striking that Cpl already offers exactly the same reading as W, although Ziegler does not mention it: καὶ σὺ οἶκος τοῦ Βαθλεεμ τοῦ Εφραθα.⁵⁰

2. The Nahal Hever Scroll

The fragments of this scroll have recently been edited in great detail by Emanuel Tov. We have demonstrated, and Tov’s work appears not to contradict it,⁵¹ that the originality of this new document lies chiefly in the fact that it offers a recension of \mathfrak{G} based on a pre-Masoretic text type.

48. Ibid., 750 n. 2610.

49. From the point of view of available space, filling the lacuna with ΣΤΟΥΑΡΤΟΥΕ is equally possible. In this case, Hev would have intended to eliminate the half-doublet in \mathfrak{G} with a complete translation of בֵּית־לְחֶם. But the fact that no trace of such a translation survived in either W or the Coptic versions or in the various hexaplaric versions, makes this hypothesis improbable.

50. CTAT Vol. 3, 748:22–23.

51. See the cases assembled by Tov (*Greek Minor Prophets*, DJD VIII, 148–51).

Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that this witness, very likely from before the Common Era, may have preserved elements of Ⓞ in a purer state than the one we know from Greek witnesses that are later by three or four centuries and that may have been contaminated in the course of their transmission. The case just treated is probably an example of such contamination. It is worth recalling here that we discovered two cases⁵² where Ⓞ appears to have survived only in the first hand of the Sinaiticus manuscript and in Hev, and another case⁵³ where it is known only by W and Hev. Tov assembled a number of cases in which he considers Hev to be farther from Ⓞ than is Ⓞ (as edited by Ziegler).⁵⁴ If it is accepted that the dominant tendency of Hev is to bring the text of its Vorlage in closer conformity to a Hebrew textual form closely related to Ⓞ, these cases warrant careful study. It is indeed possible, a priori, that for a number of them, the text that Ziegler edited had been assimilated to the Hebrew in the course of its transmission, probably by the intermediary of the evidence offered by the Hexapla. Since it is not possible to treat these cases at length, let us try quickly to pinpoint the problems that they pose.⁵⁵ Except in the case of explicit mention of disagreement over the reading of Hev, the text is reproduced with the dots that Tov placed there to signify uncertainty about the reading.

2.a. Consonantal variants

(α) Jonah 3:8: Ⓞ: וַיִּשְׁבוּ / Z: ἀπέστρεψαν / Hev: καίπεστ[ρεψ]εγ. Tov reconstructs וַיִּשְׁבוּ as the probable Vorlage of Hev. This verb is followed by ἕκαστος (Z) / α[νῆρ] (Hev) / אִישׁ (Ⓞ). Thus, it is possible that (1) the translation with the singular is an original liberty taken by Ⓞ, later corrected to plural at the time of a recension based on the Hebrew, or (2) the translation with the plural is original, and later (but before the beginning of the Common Era) suffered a facilitating alteration to the singular in some branches of the textual tradition. Both the singular and the plural are well attested in Ziegler's apparatus. The Coptic versions (Co) and Cpl have the singular, while W has the plural. We conclude that "non liquet." We might note that in Mic 4:4 (where the verb is also followed by ἕκαστος [Z] / ἀνῆρ [Hev] / אִישׁ [Ⓞ]), we have a reverse situation: Ⓞ: וַיִּשְׁבוּ / Z: καὶ ἀναπαύσεται / Hev: καικαθισ[ο]νται.

(β) Jonah 3:10: Ⓞ: הָאֱלֹהִים / Z: ὁ θεὸς / Hev: θεος. As I had done in my transcription,⁵⁶ Tov concluded that Hev omitted the article (which is attested by all the Greek witnesses). This conclusion is uncertain. There is an empty space the size of one letter between the initial *theta* and the *iota* that ends the preceding

52. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 185 and 189.

53. *Ibid.*, 186.

54. *Greek Minor Prophets*, DJD VIII, 151–52.

55. We omit only the three cases where the choice of text in Hev must be deduced from the size of a lacuna.

56. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 171.

verb. It can be seen on plate III that no trace remains of the first five letters of that verb. It is thus quite possible that the letter *omicron* of the article also disappeared. We note in passing a fact that escaped Ziegler: In place of μετενόησεν, Cpl already gives παρεκλήθη, a reading for which it was the single known Greek witness, and which is now attested by Hev. It is nevertheless interesting to discover that Origen (according to the translation given by Rufin), in §4 of his sixteenth homily on the book of Numbers, cites this passage in the form “. . . et paenituit, vel (ut in aliis exemplaribus legimus) deprecatus est Deus. . .” It thus appears that Origen knew the reading παρεκλήθη to be present in some witnesses of Θ .

(γ) Mic 1:1: \aleph : מְלֶכֶי / Z: βασιλέων / Hev: βασιλεωσ. The singular is also attested by a number of witnesses of Θ (including Alexandrinus). In a similar situation, the textual tradition of Θ offers the same alternation between the singular and plural of this word in Hos 1:1 (but there it involves only minuscules). It is unlikely that a shift from plural to singular (which is not favored by the context) would have taken place in the course of the textual transmission of Θ . It is more likely that in one or the other of these two titles, in the sequence יהוה מְלֶכֶי, a haplography of the *yod* took place in the Vorlage of Θ . It is thus not at all impossible that Hev would have preserved an element of Θ .

(δ) Mic 5:3(4): \aleph : לְיָגֵן / Z: μεγαλυνθήσεται / Hev: μεγαλ[υνη]σσονται. In Vaticanus, it appears that the first hand had written the reading in the singular, then a second hand corrected the letter *epsilon* to *omicron* and wrote just after and above, between lines, a *nu*. The other witnesses of the reading in the singular (W, Co and the Antiochene tradition) probably issued from a recension of the Hebrew. All the other manuscripts and derived versions have the reading in the plural. It is thus very likely that Hev preserves a detail that it read in its Greek Vorlage. It would be imprudent, however, to conclude from this that it was an element of Θ . It is more likely that Θ had translated in the singular and that the plural was introduced later through assimilation to ὑπάρξουσι, which immediately precedes.

(ε) Nah 2:9(8): \aleph : כְּבִרְכָה / Z: ὡς κολυμβήθρα / Hev: κολυμ[βη]θρα. It is certain that the initial *kappa* of this word in Hev immediately follows the final *eta* of νινευη. Before the word κολυμβήθρα, manuscript A and its related manuscript 106 have הֵן, while all the other witnesses of Θ attest ὡς. This difference makes it likely that Hev has preserved the original reading of Θ here, a reading that the majority of witnesses of Θ changed based on the Hebrew, whereas the Alexandrinus tradition glossed it in order to make it fit better with the past-tense verbs around it.

(ζ) Nah 3:11: \aleph : הָאֶ־מַּיִם (1st) / Z: καὶ σὺ / Hev: κ]αίγε. To correspond to אַיִם, Hev corrected καὶ to καί γε, in accordance with its principles. Is the omission of σὺ an accident related to this intervention? At any rate, it does not appear to be intentional since, for the second הָאֶ־מַּיִם of this verse, Hev has καίγεσθ. But it

should be noted that the two related manuscripts 130 and 311 from the Catenae group also omit the first $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, while no Greek witnesses omit the second. Is this minus an element of the original Θ , or might it not rather be an early accident introduced into one part of the Greek textual tradition? Later on, we will conclude that the absence of another $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ in Hab 2:8 is original. This makes us lean toward the first option here, too.

(η) Nah 3:16: \aleph : מְרֹבְכֵי / Z: ὑπὲρ τὰ ἄστρα / Hev: ωστουσσαστερασ. To explain this reading, it is not necessary to suppose a reading of *kap* instead of the initial *mem* of the Hebrew. Indeed, when one considers that this is the only place in the Bible where the expression “be more numerous than the stars in the heavens” occurs, it is sufficient to assume a contamination by the eight other passages where it is written “as numerous as the stars in the heavens” (Gen 22:17; 26:4; Exod 32:13; Deut 1:10; 10:22; 28:62; Neh 9:23; 1 Chr 27:23). In addition, the three occurrences of the $\text{-}ךְ$ of comparison that precede in v. 15 could also have exerted influence in this direction. The reading $\omega\varsigma$ is attested by Cpl (which Ziegler does not mention). It is what Jerome read in his Septuagint (“sicut”), unless he read it in the forms $\omega\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ or $\omega\sigma\epsilon\rho$ that some secondary witnesses of Θ attest here. Did the contamination by the parallel passages take place in the work of the translator (in this case, the reading $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ would be the result of a later recension on the Hebrew), or in an early phase of the textual transmission of Θ (in this case, the reading $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ would be original)? The testimony of Cpl (which would have been drawn rather toward $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ by υ and \aleph in the two neighboring columns) points to the first of these two possibilities.

(θ) Hab 1:15: \aleph : מְרֹבְכֵי / Z: ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρω / Hev: ἐν τῷ ἀμφιβλήστρω. According to Tov, the possessive αὐτοῦ is attested here by Ziegler, but omitted by Hev. The reverse is true, as is shown by line 12 of column 17.⁵⁷ This phantom case thus disappears from the list.

(ι) Hab 1:16: \aleph : יֶקֶלֶךָ / Z: μερίδα αὐτοῦ / Hev: αρτοσ[αυτου]. One can see why, just before this word, Hev emended ἐλίπανε of Θ to ἐλιπάνθη, to correspond more closely to \aleph . But why does it then have ἄρτος instead of Θ 's μερίδα, which could simply have been put in the nominative? The reading is all the more surprising in that it is in the nominative (and thus it could never have coexisted with the reading ἐλίπανε in Θ , whereas it makes a fairly normal subject for the passive ἐλιπάνθη). It is, nevertheless, unthinkable that this translation would have been chosen by Hev to correspond to יֶקֶלֶךָ. One is thus led to think that Hev read \aleph in its Hebrew Vorlage. This reading is perfectly acceptable in this context, as is shown by Gen 49:20, where \aleph has \aleph , and ω has ω .

(κ) Hab 1:17: \aleph : מְרֹבְכֵי / Z: τὸ ἀμφιβλήστρον αὐτοῦ / Hev: μαχαιραναυτου. We treated this problem in detail, concluding that Θ translated the reading of \aleph ,

57. *Greek Minor Prophets*, DJD VIII, 53.

whereas Hev is a recension based on a Vorlage identical to that of the lemma in 1QpHab.⁵⁸

(λ) Hab 2:6: מ: חַיִּי-עַד / Z: ἕως τίνος / Hev: omits. We concluded that the omission of these two words in Hev probably stems from inattention on the part of the recenser when he returned to copying Θ, just after having intervened to emend the words εαυτῷ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ to οὐκ αὐτῷ (for לֹא-לִי).⁵⁹

(μ) Hab 2:8: מ: הַתָּא / Z: σὺ / Hev: omits. The absence of this word has a good chance of being original in Θ. Indeed, it is also attested by Vaticanus, the first hand of Sinaiticus and one of its correctors, the Venetus manuscript, and those manuscripts of the Catenae group that omit the first σὺ in Nah 3:11.

(ν) Hab 2:8: מ: הַיְשִׁיב / Z: σκυλεύσουσί σε / Hev: καισκυλεύσουσινσε. Here again, Θ translated the reading of מ, while Hev is a recension based on a Vorlage identical to that of the lemma of 1QpHab, וישלכו.

(ξ) Zeph 1:4 (not classified in this category by Tov): מ: יוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַיִם / Z: κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλημ / Hev: κατοικουντασενιερ[ουσαλημ]; and 1:5: מ: תְּשִׁיבֵנִי (first) / Z: καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας / Hev: τ[ο]υσπροσκ[υνου]ντασ. It is clear that Hev did not have καί before these last two words. In this it agrees with manuscript 407 of Θ and with the lemma of Cyril of Alexandria. It is also related to these two witnesses (and to some Antiochene witnesses) in v. 4, with the insertion of ἐν before Ἱερουσαλημ. At the end of v. 4 and the beginning of v. 5, Cyril and 407 have καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἱερέων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων (or: ἱερῶν) τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας for וְאֵת-הַמְשִׁחָתִים עַם-הַכֹּהֲנִים : אֶת-שֵׁם הַקְּמָרִים. It is fairly certain that the text chosen by Ziegler (καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας) is the result of a homeoteleuton on τατωνιερεων. With τσνοματω[νχωμα]-ρειμμ[ετατων]ιερεωντ[ο]υσ προσκ[υνου]ντασ, Hev corrected the text of Cyril and 407 from the Hebrew: It omitted the initial καί, placed τὰ ὀνόματα in the singular, replaced the first ἱερέων with a transcription, and omitted the second καί. It only neglected to add a καί before τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας. This inattention is easily explained in the face of so many alterations. We can conclude then, that for the texts cited, the form preserved by Cyril of Alexandria and manuscript 407 very likely preserves the original state of Θ.

(ο) Zech 2:8(4): מ: פְּרִזוֹת תִּשָּׁב / Z: κατακάρπως κατοικηθήσεται / Hev: ...]?αστι[.... Tov reconstructs ἀτειχίστας τιθήσεις. The reconstruction of the first word is appealing, but the descending oblique line with which the letter preceding *alpha* ends (on the edge of the lacuna) has very little likelihood of being the arm of a *tau*. In any case, it involves a feminine plural that is intended to translate the word פְּרִזוֹת literally. In this context, a verb like τιθήσεις is very likely. Should it be concluded with Tov that Hev read תְּשִׁיב instead of תִּשָּׁב? Not necessarily. In 1 Kgs 2:24, Θ translates the *Hiphil* of יִשָּׁב with the verb τίθημι. So it could be that the correction that Hev had just made to render פְּרִזוֹת led it to read תִּשָּׁב here.

58. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 836:28–837:18.

59. *Ibid.*, 847:34–37.

(π) Zech 9:5: מ: תִּרְאֶה / Z: ὄψεται / Hev: κ[α]ι[ψ]εται. The restoration of the initial *kappa* can be considered almost certain. Some manuscripts in the Antiochene tradition attest the καί here. Is this a question of an original element of Ⓞ, or of stylistic padding that had previously entered into some witnesses of the text?

2.b. A vocalic variant

Hab 2:4: מ: הַגְּהָרִים לֹא יִשְׁרְרוּ / Z: ἐὰν ὑποστείληται οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ / Hev: ἰδ[ου]σκοτιαουκευθεια. The translation ἐὰν ὑποστείληται of Ⓞ suggests that the first two words of the Hebrew were read as הַגְּהָרִים, with the *he* shifting from the end of the first word to the beginning of the second. In fact, the only use of הַגְּ in מ of the Twelve Prophets is found in Hag 2:12, where Ⓞ gives ἐὰν as an equivalent. By its correction of ἐὰν to ἰδού, Hev shows that its Hebrew Vorlage separated the words in the same way as מ. The translation of לֹא יִשְׁרְרוּ with οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ in Ⓞ is tied to a reading of *yod* for the suffix of the subject (נפש) (just as it reads *yod* for the suffix *waw* in באמונתו). Since Hev reads the suffix as *waw* (as does מ), the “soul” in question is no longer that of God, but that of the unrighteous person. The interpretation of the two words עפלה and ישרה as adjectives (which Ⓞ interpreted as verbs, as in מ) is only a secondary incident in this considerable restructuring. It is striking that א’ preserves the translation εὐθειᾶ that Hev gives for the second of the two words. Thus it is difficult to see in these vocalic variants (הַגְּהָרִים⁶⁰ instead of הַגְּהָרִים and יִשְׁרְרוּ instead of יִשְׁרְרוּ) material original to Ⓞ.

From the study of these 17 cases where Tov considers Hev to be farther from מ than Ziegler’s Ⓞ is, we can draw several conclusions. We can first eliminate an error in Tov (Hab 1:15) and a reading that is too uncertain (Jonah 3:10).

- In six cases (Mic 1:1; Nah 2:9; 3:11; 3:16; Hab 2:8; Zeph 1:4) we determined that Hev probably allows us access to a state of Ⓞ that is earlier than the one that Ziegler edited.
- In three cases (Hab 2:4; 2:6; Zech 2:8[4]) the distancing of Hev with respect to מ appears to be a secondary event that took place in the course of an initiative aiming to bring Ⓞ closer to a Hebrew text of the מ type.
- In three cases (Hab 1:16; 1:17; 2:8) the difference with respect to מ probably stems from the fact that Hev was using a Hebrew text different from מ, whereas the translator of Ⓞ was using a Vorlage identical to מ.
- In one case (Mic 5:3[4]) the Ⓞ that Hev was using appeared to have already undergone an internal facilitation in the course of transmission.

60. In Zeph 1:15 Hev will also use σκοτία to translate הַגְּהָרִים. But it is not necessary to assume that it read *alep* in Hab 2:4 instead of an initial *ayin*. Indeed, in 2 Kgs 5:24 Ⓞ translates עֵפֶל with σκοτεινός and in Mic 4:8 א’ will translate this same word with σκοτώδης, as if they read *alep* instead of *ayin*.

- Finally, in two cases (Jonah 3:8; Zech 9:5) we were not able to determine whether Hev gives us access to a more primitive form than the one that Ziegler presented, or whether it depends on a form that underwent internal facilitations.

We would like to end this brief analysis by recalling that, out of the three cases (all in Habakkuk) where we concluded that Hev made use of a Hebrew text different from \aleph , twice we found that the aberrant text was attested also by 1QpHab. This provokes us to wonder whether, for these first two chapters of Habakkuk, we can extract from the collective testimony of \aleph , the early Θ , and 1QpHab information about an archetype common to these three textual forms. This methodologically important question is treated in the following excursus.

Excursus: A Common Archetype for \aleph , Θ , and 1QpHab?

Before treating versions that followed the era of standardization of the Hebrew text, let us take advantage of the fact that we have, for the first two chapters of Habakkuk, three textual states that took root prior to that time.

A close examination of the data furnished by these three witnesses will enable us to draw precise conclusions about certain characteristic spellings of the third-person masculine-singular suffix in the first two chapters of Habakkuk. These spellings are sufficiently distinctive to lead one to infer, almost necessarily, that they derive from a common archetype. If this is the case, such a conclusion, established from a detail, will permit us to evaluate, at least for this small portion of the Bible, the distance that separates our earliest extant textual forms from their common origin. We will then be able to attempt an assessment of the relationships of these three textual forms and their common archetype at all the points⁶¹ where they differ among themselves in the course of these two chapters.

A. Characteristic Spellings of the 3ms Suffix

1. A Characteristic Coincidence in Habakkuk 2:6

In the first part of 2:6, \aleph has עָלָיו . Θ translated $\kappa\alpha\tau' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, which appears to indicate that it did indeed read עָלָיו . At the end of the same verse, \aleph has $\text{וּמִכְּבִּיר עֲבֹטָיו}$. Here Θ has $\kappa\alpha\iota \beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\nu\omega\nu \tau\omicron\nu \kappa\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\tau\iota\beta\alpha\rho\omega\varsigma$, which Hev will then emend to $\kappa[\alpha\iota \beta]\alpha\rho\upsilon\nu\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\phi' \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma \pi\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon$. The translation $\tau\omicron\nu \kappa\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ suggests that Θ read עָלו (instead of עָלָיו in \aleph and in the Vorlage of Hev), and interpreted it as עָלו . It is striking that the lemmas of 1QpHab offer the same spellings as those spellings that the differences in translation of Θ led us to infer in its Vorlage: for the first occurrence עָלָיו , and for the second עָלו . If it were isolated, such a coincidence could be attributed to chance, but this is not the case.

61. This does not take into account the presence or absence of conjunctions when a precise textual judgment cannot be made and they appear not to change the sense of the context.

2. A Rare Occurrence of the Defective Spelling עָלִי in Habakkuk 1:11

The defective spelling עָלִי is extremely rare in the classical Tiberian text, as it occurs only once (in 1 Sam 2:10) in contrast to over 400 occurrences of עָלִי . Aside from this, מ offers one occurrence of עָלִי (2 Sam 20:8) in contrast to six cases of עָלִי . In Hab 1:11, however, we encounter a case of a rare defective spelling of this type in מ . The word is לְאֱלֹהֵי . While the spelling לְאֱלֹהֵי is found (with or without preposition) more than 65 times in מ , the short spelling of the suffix is found only here, in Hab 1:11. We have noted in the previous case that ס was unable to interpret these defective spellings of the 3ms suffix correctly. This probably explains why it read the *waw* as *yod* here ($\tau\omega\ \theta\epsilon\omega\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$). We may recall in this regard that in 2:4 ($\eta\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ and $\epsilon\kappa\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$) the ס of Habakkuk again read two other *waws* as *yod*,⁶² demonstrating that its Vorlage was as unclear on this point as the work of the copyist of 1QpHab (only more frequently).

We should point out that 1QpHab also read לְאֱלֹהֵי in Hab 1:11 (as a lemma, and reproduced with the same spelling in the commentary) with a defective spelling of the suffix (which contrasts with its *plene* spelling of the first *hōlem*). Furthermore, in this regard, in the word עָלִי of 2:6b, as in לְאֱלֹהֵי of 1:11, the defective spelling of the suffix in 1QpHab cannot be attributed to an initiative on the part of the author of the *peshet* or its copyist. Indeed, when he comments, the author of the *peshet* (followed faithfully by the copyist) normally uses the *plene* spelling, as can be observed in his usage of עֲבָדִי in II 9 and VII 5, and of אֲיִבִי in IX 10, and especially in the fact that in VIII 12 he uses עָלִי in the commentary to reference the עָלִי of 2:6b. This type of defective spelling thus appears to characterize an archetype of the Habakkuk text from which מ , ס , and 1QpHab derive.

3. The Moderate Tendency of the 1QpHab Copyist to Modernize the עָלִי Spelling

If we broaden our inquiry, we observe that the only places in the first two chapters of Habakkuk where מ offers the suffixed form as עָלִי are סֹסִי (1:8a), פְּרָשִׁי (1:8b), וּפְרָשִׁי (1:8c), אֲלִי (2:5a and 2:5b), עָלִי (2:6a, 2:6b, and 2:18), and מִפְּנֵי (2:20).⁶³ Now, six times out of the nine (1:8a, 1:8b, 1:8c, 2:5a, 2:5b, 2:6b) the 1QpHab copyist retained the defective spelling characteristic of the book in his lemmas. He modernized the spelling to *plene* only in 2:6a and 2:20. To support this assessment, we can point out that in 2:20 the modernization is conspicuous, since he writes מִלְפָּנַי , a form employed particularly in late books such as Qohelet, Esther, Daniel, and Chronicles. In addition, the copyist writes the final עָלִי once (in the second occurrence of עָלִי in 2:18) where the vocalization of מ seems to be required. Later on, we will treat the reading offered by 1QpHab in place of עָלִי of מ in 2:18.

62. We will see this phenomenon repeated in Hab 1:3b (מְדִי is read instead of מְדוֹן).

63. Of these, Mur is preserved only for 1:8a, 1:8b, 2:6a, 2:18, and 2:20. It consistently attests the *plene* spelling that characterizes מ .

4. *Misunderstandings over the Interpretation of the Defective Spellings in Habakkuk 1:8*

Here מ has וּפְשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ. For this Ⓞ gives καὶ ἐξήπασονται οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄρμησους. 1QpHab has פשו ופרשו ופרשו and Hev reads καιορμη[σου-σιν]ππεισαυτου / καιοιπ]πεισαυτου.

The simplest way to explain these divergent readings is to posit the existence of an archetype offering the reading וּפְשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ. The second and third words constitute a veritable trap, since, in this context of defective spellings, they can be interpreted as either plural nouns with a genitive pronominal 3ms suffix (vocalized וּפְ-), or as verbs in the 3p perfect (with the vocalization וּפְ-). Only מ (followed faithfully by Hev and Mur) completely retained the word order and the absence or presence of conjunctions in the archetype. But מ appears to have misvocalized the suffix-trap as וּפְ- twice, while 1QpHab (if one adopts the vocalization which has the most advocates: וּפְשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ) and Ⓞ (καὶ ἐξήπασονται οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄρμησους⁶⁴) both vocalize once as וּפְ- and once as וּפְ-, albeit making opposite choices. In this verse the reading וּפְשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ was proposed by the committee⁶⁵ as the original vocalization implied by the archetype.

5. *The Characteristic Spelling יהוּ-*

To demonstrate the conservative nature of the lemmas in 1QpHab, let us look again at the reading עליהוּ in 2:18bα. Given the frequent confusion of *waw* and *yod* in this manuscript, one might wonder whether this is not a case of an Aramaizing form וְהִי-. However, the copyist of 1QpHab offers no other Aramaizing modifications of this suffix. Consequently, it would seem preferable to read עֲלֵיהוּ. This type of suffix יהוּ- is normal after nouns, and must have the purpose here of giving weight to the suffix of the very short word על. This spelling of the suffix of this particular word never occurs in מ. But it can be found once in מ with another very short word. For the word יד, מ has יְדִיו 46 times, ידו five times (with the *Qere* יְדִי), and יְדִיהוּ once. This single time is precisely in Hab 3:10⁶⁶ where Ⓞ also read the *he* (indeed, the presence of the *he* explains the reading יְדִיהוּ = φαντασίας αὐτῆς). It is therefore quite probable that the scribe of the lemma in 1QpHab did not invent the reading עליהוּ in 2:18bα, but that it was מ that underwent a certain amount of homogenization of spelling in this book.

6. *Conclusion*

These spelling peculiarities involving the 3ms pronominal suffix thus left traces in the three earliest textual traditions: Ⓞ, 1QpHab, and מ (to which Hev and Mur belong). With this very restricted feature, one gains access to certain characteristics of an exemplar of Habakkuk from which all three traditions

64. Ⓞ appears to have read וּפְשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ.

65. See *CTAT* Vol. 3, 827:32–828:3.

66. Mur also attests this spelling here.

proceed. From the point of view of these spellings, 𐤎 is clearly more innovative than 1QpHab. Now that these cross-checks have allowed us to bring into focus our aim concerning this archetypal exemplar, let us attempt to situate the 69 most notable differences between these three traditions of the text in relation to the exemplar. Here again, we designate ⊗ in Ziegler's edition as "Z." 𐤎 is taken as the Hebrew text as it appears in BHS. "Arch" designates the common archetype. We will treat only those cases where it appears that one of the other two witnesses read something other than 𐤎.

B. Textual Relationship between the Archetype and ⊗, 1QpHab, and 𐤎

(1) 1:3a: Z: ἐπιβλέπειν / 1QpHab: טְבִיטְ. / 𐤎: תְּבִיטְ. Here Hev is not preserved and we have only uncertain traces in Mur. The 𐤎 reading is difficult: "Why do you make me see iniquity and you look upon wrong? Pillage and violence are before me." Instead of "and you look" the context calls for "and make me look." This is why the versions are divided between two dodges: 1) ⊗ and Ⓛ translated the verb with an infinitive (ἐπιβλέπειν, "videre") dependent on the preceding verb (ἔδειξάς μου, "ostendisti mihi"). 2) Ⓜ and Ⓟ translated as if they had read טְבִיטְ. It is probable that Arch = 𐤎.

(2) 1:3b: Z: καὶ ὁ κριτής / 𐤎: וְיִמְדֵן. With its Vorlage confusing *waw* and *yod*, as it frequently does, ⊗ read וְיִמְדֵן here. There is a lacuna in 1QpHab. Arch = 𐤎.

(3) 1:5a: Z: οἱ καταφρονηταί / 1QpHab: בּוּגְדִים⁶⁷ / 𐤎: בְּגוּזִים. Hev is not preserved here and Mur has וּמִגְדִים. Taking the view that the reading of ⊗ and 1QpHab involves an assimilation to 1:13, we explain in *CTAT* Vol. 3 why Arch = 𐤎.⁶⁸

(4) 1:5b: Z: καὶ ἀφανίσθητε / 𐤎: omits. The lemma of 1QpHab was not preserved either here or in 1:5c. Hev and Mur support the absence of this word in 𐤎. The reading of ⊗ is a doublet of one of the two preceding words. Thus Arch = 𐤎.

(5) 1:5c: Z: ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι / 𐤎: פְּעַל. This active participle without an explicit subject perplexes translators. For this reason the versions are again divided between two dodges: (1) ⊗ and Ⓟ supply an explicit first person pronoun, making God the subject of the participle. (2) Ⓜ, Ⓛ, and Ⓜ vocalize the word as a passive: "a work is performed." In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we demonstrate that Arch = 𐤎.⁶⁹

(6) 1:6: Z: [τοὺς Χαλδαίους] τοὺς μαχητάς / 1QpHab: אַתְּ הַכְּשָׁדַיִם / 𐤎: אַתְּ הַכְּשָׁדַיִם. Ziegler wants to eliminate τοὺς χαλδαίους (attested by all witnesses of ⊗) and retain τοὺς μαχητάς in the text, although this word is absent in most witnesses (including Vaticanus and Sinaiticus). Hev and Mur have lacunas here, but in neither is there space for more than one of these two phrases. Whether it is

67. In 1QpHab the lemma is not preserved, but this reading is repeated three times in the commentary, without any allusion to the reading of 𐤎.

68. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 824:6–15.

69. *Ibid.*, 824:16–20.

original in Θ or not, it is likely that the addition of τοὺς μαχητάς was intended to preserve the significance of this prophecy for an era when it was no longer the Chaldaeans that were the executors of the divine decrees. With the same goal in mind, 1QpHab states that this word represents the כתיאים, a term which its readers probably used to refer to the Romans. Thus Arch = \aleph , Θ , and 1QpHab.

(7) 1:8a: Z: τῆς Ἀραβίας / 1QpHab: ערב / \aleph : עֶרֶב. Θ suggests the vocalization עֶרֶב. Mur is missing here, while Hev and α' support \aleph . We conclude that Arch = \aleph in the matter of this vocalic variant.⁷⁰

(8) 1:8b: Z: καὶ ἐξίπασονται οἱ ἰππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρμήσουσι / 1QpHab: פשו פשו פשו / \aleph : ופשו פשו ופשו. We have just shown on p. 451 that Arch differs from \aleph only in vocalizing ופשו instead of ופשו.⁷¹

(9) 1:8c: Z: omits / 1QpHab: omits / \aleph : יבאו. This verb is present in Mur (although barely legible), and the size of the lacuna in Hev requires its restoration there. Moreover, it had already entered the paraphrase ומרחק יבוא that the 1QpHab commentary gives for this passage. We have demonstrated that the addition of this verb in \aleph was motivated by the fact that it misinterpreted ופשו as a noun in 1:8b.⁷² Thus Arch = Θ and 1QpHab.

(10) 1:9a: Z: ἀνθεστηκότας / 1QpHab: מגמת / \aleph : מַגְמַת. This word is attested by Mur and a lacuna in Hev implies its presence. Not knowing how to interpret it, ν omitted it; σ' renders it with ἡ πρόσωπις. We have demonstrated that Θ simply gave a free translation of the reading in \aleph , which has no rival in the textual tradition.⁷³ Thus Arch = \aleph and 1QpHab.

(11) 1:9b: Z: ἐξ ἐναντίας / 1QpHab: קדים / \aleph : קְרִימָה. Hev translates with καύσων (also in the Vorlage of the Akhmimic version) and Mur has ה[...]. Theodoret attributes ἄνεμος καύσων to σ' . In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we show that the Vorlage of Θ cannot be identified with certainty, and consider it likely that Arch = \aleph .⁷⁴ The variant קדים was probably motivated by the difficulties in interpreting the preceding word.

(12) 1:10: Z: καὶ κρατήσει αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: וילכדהו / \aleph : וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ. The masculine form of the pronominal suffix in 1QpHab can be explained by the fact that the word מְבַצֵּר ordinarily requires masculine agreement. In view of this facilitation, it is likely that Arch = \aleph . The feminine can, in fact, be easily explained if the word is understood as equivalent to עיר מְבַצֵּר.

(13) 1:11a: Z: καὶ ἐξιλιάσεται / 1QpHab: וישם / \aleph : וַאֲשֵׁם. 1QpHab probably understood its lemma in the sense of “and he made his strength his god,” which makes the demonstrative separating this verb from the word כחו superfluous. It is striking, nevertheless, that the commentator then speaks of the בֵּית אֲשֵׁמָ[ה], the

70. *Ibid.*, 825:37–50.

71. See *ibid.*, 827:32–828:3.

72. *Ibid.*, 828:3–5.

73. *Ibid.*, 829:7–10. We retrace the history of its exegesis on 829:16–832:2.

74. *Ibid.*, 829:4–6, 11–14.

“house of crime” (or rather: of expiation, that is, which is going to require expiation), and says that **כָּל רָשָׁעֵי עָמוֹ**, that is, that “all the impious among his people will do penance,” showing that he was also aware of the reading in Θ and \aleph . It would be preferable, then, to interpret the expression **וְאָשָׁם** in the sense of “he made himself culpable” as a synthesis of the nominal phrase that follows this verb: **וְזוֹ כָחוֹ לְאֱלֹהָיו**, that is, “that one, his strength is his god!” In this case it can be concluded that Arch = Θ and \aleph .

(14) 1:11b: Z: τῶ θεῶ μου / 1QpHab: לאלוהו / \aleph : לְאֱלֹהָיו. This case was treated on p. 450 as one of four (in these two chapters) where Θ read *yod* instead of *waw*. Thus Arch = 1QpHab and \aleph .

(15) 1:12a: Z: ἀποθάνωμεν / 1QpHab: ± id. / \aleph : נָמוּת. The lemma in 1QpHab is not preserved, but its paraphrase (**לֹא יִכְלֶה אֵל אֶת עָמוֹ בְּיַד הַגּוֹיִם**) suffices to show that it agrees with Θ and \aleph . We have shown that the tradition of the *tiqqun sopherim*, claiming that the text was originally **תָּמוּת**, cannot be given credence.⁷⁵ Thus Arch = Θ , 1QpHab, and \aleph .

(16) 1:12b: Z: τοῦ ἐλέγχειν / 1QpHab: לְמוֹכִיחוֹ / \aleph : לְהוֹכִיחַ. While Θ observes the absence of a complement after the infinitive, 1QpHab supplies an explicit object complement. Like Θ , 1QpHab understands this section to mean that God created the righteous to punish the heathen.⁷⁶ Here, the absence of a pronominal suffix⁷⁷ preserves a more precise and more restrained parallelism to **לְמַשְׁפֵּט**. Thus, Arch = Θ and \aleph .

(17) 1:13a: Z: πονηρά / 1QpHab: בָּרַע⁷⁸ / \aleph : רָע. In 1:3, Θ used accusatives to translate the object complements of the verbs “see” and “look upon.” In v. 13, it translates the preposition introducing the complement of the verb “look upon” with a preposition. There is every chance then, that this accusative corresponds to an accusative in its Vorlage. The fact that the complement of the following verb (**וְהִבִּיט**) is introduced by a preposition inclined 1QpHab to introduce the complement of this verb (**מִרְאוֹת**) with a preposition. Thus, Arch = Θ and \aleph .

(18) 1:13b: Z: ἐπιβλέπεις / 1QpHab: תְּבִיטוּ / \aleph : תְּבִיט. Here there is an intentional repetition of the reproach made to God in v. 3, and an intentional contrast between the statement that has just been made that the divine eyes are too pure to be able to endure the sight of misery, and the disappointing acknowledgement that God appears to be able to endure the sight of oppression quite easily. In 1QpHab the plural is understood by the commentator as a reproach addressed to the “House of Absalom,” which did not come to the aid of the Teacher of Righteousness when he was ill-treated by the Liar. The following phrase **תְּחַרְישׁ בְּבָלַע**

75. Ibid., 833:1–835:18.

76. In *ibid.*, 835:33–36, we translate the entire verse.

77. Also absent in Mur.

78. This part of the lemma occurs twice in 1QpHab. The presence of the preposition is not, therefore, due to the copyist’s inattention.

רשע צדיק ממנו is not cited by 1QpHab. It shows clearly that the singular תביט (and not the plural) is appropriate here. Thus, Arch = ⑥ and ③.

(19) 1:13c: Z: τὸν δίκαιον / ③: צדיק ממנו. In this phrase, omitted by 1QpHab,⁷⁹ it is difficult to say whether the Greek translator shortened the passage by not translating ממנו, or whether the word was not in his Vorlage. We might note, however, that at the beginning of v. 12 he had already done some trimming by not translating the possessive suffix of אלהי, which there is every reason to think was in the Vorlage, as it is in ③ (1QpHab has a lacuna there). And he abridges again in v. 15 by not translating the possessive of בהרמו, on which 1QpHab and ③ agree. It is thus probable that these three cases are the result of omission by the translator, and that Arch = ③ (and 1QpHab).

(20) 1:14: Z: τὰ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἡγούμενον / 1QpHab: לא-משל בו / ③: לא-משל בו. ⑥ is a free translation of ③. It is a commonplace of Israelite wisdom that insects have neither leaders nor kings (Prov 6:7; 30:27). It is therefore quite likely that Arch = ⑥ and ③.

(21) 1:15: Z καὶ χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ / ③: ויגיל. The lacuna in 1QpHab does not allow the insertion of לבו. Hev omitted the three words ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ. The expression χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν (or: ἑμῶν) is found again in Zech 10:7 (twice) and Isa 66:14. Here, an addition by ⑥ is more likely than an omission by ③ and 1QpHab. Thus, Arch = 1QpHab and ③.

(22) 1:15–16: ⑥ and ③ give the clauses in the order (a) “that is why he is happy and exults” (b) “that is why he sacrifices to his net” (c) “and he offers incense to his trawl” (d) “because through them his portion is fat and his nourishment abundant.” 1QpHab places them in the order (b)-(a)-(c)-(d). The fact that (b) and (c) are separated by (a) strains the intelligibility of the plural suffix of בהמה. Thus, on this point, Arch = ⑥ and ③.

(23) 1:17a: Z: διὰ τοῦτο / 1QpHab: על כן / ③: העל כן. In order to translate the -ה that was missing there, Hev inserted ei into ⑥. In our treatment of this case we clarified the significance of the question in this context.⁸⁰ Its omission by ⑥ and by 1QpHab appears to issue from an assimilation to the two occurrences of על-כן in the two preceding verses. It is therefore almost certain that Arch = ③.

(24) 1:17b: Z: τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: הרבו / ③: הרמו. We listed this case in terms of consonantal variants in Hev on p. 446 and treat it in depth in *CTAT* Vol. 3, where we conclude that Arch = 1QpHab (against the shared reading of ③ and ⑥).⁸¹

79. [This appears to be a rare misstatement by Barthélemy, since the phrase is present in 1QpHab, and thus agrees with ③. Later references to this example (at the end of the paragraph and in section C.2. below) represent 1QpHab both as agreeing with ③ and as omitting the phrase. —Ed.]

80. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 837:18–24.

81. *Ibid.*, 836:28–837:18.

(25) 1:17c: Z: καὶ διὰ παντὸς . . . οὐ / 1QpHab: ולוא . . . תמיד / מ: לא . . . ותמיד. We prefer the more difficult construction of Ⓞ and מ, and discuss its interpretation in *CTAT* Vol. 3.⁸² Arch = Ⓞ and מ.

(26) 2:1a: Z: ἐπὶ πέτρων / 1QpHab: על מצורי / מ: על-מצור. Here, the addition of a first person pronominal suffix is “in the air” (cf. Ⓞ). It is a very natural assimilation to the preceding משמרתִי. It involves a failure to recognize the expression על מצור with the sense of “go into seclusion” to wait for a divine response (as Honi ha-Me’aggel did). Concerning πέτρων in Ⓞ, either the *mem* was missing in the Vorlage, or it is simply a broad translation. In view of the two variants, Arch = מ.⁸³

(27) 2:1b: Z: ἀποκριθῶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεγχόν μου / 1QpHab: ישיב על תוכחתי / מ: אשיב על-תוכחתי. Concerning the *waw* of תוכחתי in 1QpHab, Elliger states that it is “nur verwischt, kaum absichtlich radiert.”⁸⁴ In Trever’s color reproduction,⁸⁵ the slightly more pale background of the leather appears to support this assessment. It is not impossible that the reading of מ (and Ⓞ!) with the verb in the first person stems from an early theological correction (to avoid a situation where the Lord must respond to a תוכחה of his prophet). In that case, it would be a question of a literary initiative. The reading תוכחתי in מ has the direct support of 1QpHab and the indirect support of Ⓞ, Ⓢ, and Ⓞ, which read an abstract noun here. The fact that Ⓞ and Ⓞ supply an agent is an exegetical facilitation that presupposes a first person verb. It is more likely, therefore, that Arch = 1QpHab.

(28) 2:3a: Z: καὶ ἀνατελεῖ / 1QpHab: יפיה / מ: יפֶּה. The conjunction in מ was read by Ⓞ. But Ⓞ read ויפרה (the verbs ἀνατέλλειν and פרה correspond in Hos 10:4; Lev 14:43; Ps 72:7; 92:8; Prov 11:28; and Isa 66:14). Hev and Akh understood the verb in the sense of “to appear” (as Ⓞ understood it in Ps 12:6 and Ⓞ in Ps 10:5). Against the two separate alternatives of Ⓞ and 1QpHab (bearing on two different particulars), it is probable that Arch = מ.

(29) 2:3b: Z: εἰς κενόν / 1QpHab: יכזב / מ: יכזב. Hev emended to διαψεύσεται. However, Ⓞ read nothing different from the reading of 1QpHab and מ. It simply assimilated the syntax to that of the preceding למועד and לקץ. Indeed, Ⓞ also translates כזב in Hos 12:2 with κενά. Here the state of the archetype is not in question.

(30) 2:4a: Z: ἐὰν ὑποστείληται / 1QpHab: הננה עופלה / מ: הננה עפלה. On p. 448 we demonstrated that the Vorlage of Ⓞ read הנ העפלה, and in *CTAT* Vol. 3, we show that it is this same verb עפל with the sense of “neglect, be careless” that the Greek translator read here.⁸⁶ The failure to recognize this meaning of the verb ex-

82. *Ibid.*, 837:25–838:3.

83. *Ibid.*, 840:25–30 and 840:46–841:15.

84. Elliger, *Studien*, 36.

85. *Scrolls from Qumran*, [155].

86. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 843:53–844:9.

plains the interpretation of עֲפֹלָה in Hev as σκοτία, an interpretation clarified above, in n. 60 (p. 448). Here Arch = 1QpHab and ℳ.

(31) 2:4b: Z: εὐδοκεῖ / 1QpHab: יושרה / ℳ: יִשְׁרָה. Although it resembles a *yod*, the letter added by 1QpHab must be a *waw*. This is probably a feminine participle. Ⓞ is influenced by expressions such as οὐ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν παντὶ εὐδοκεῖ (Sir 37:28), and gives εὐδοκήσω ἐν αὐτῷ in Hag 1:8 and ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς εὐδόκησεν in Mal 2:17 with the same sense. On p. 448, we treated its translation as an adjective in Hev. Here Arch = ℳ (and probably Ⓞ).

(32) 2:4c: Z: ἡ ψυχὴ μου / ℳ: יִפְשֵׁוּ. 1QpHab has a lacuna. In connection with its misunderstanding of the previous word, Ⓞ again read *yod* instead of *waw*, as we pointed out on p. 448, then Hev corrected μου to αὐτοῦ. It is therefore probable that Arch = ℳ.

(33) 2:4d: Z: ἐκ πίστεώς μου / 1QpHab: באמונתו / ℳ: בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ. Although the lemma of 1QpHab was not preserved, its commentary proves that it read a *waw* as suffix. It is stated that God will save those who practice Torah because of אִמְנַתְם בְּמִוְרָה הַצַּדִּיק. Again, Ⓞ read a *yod* instead of *waw*, but Hev corrected μου to αὐτοῦ. Arch = 1QpHab and ℳ.

(34) 2:5a: Z: ὁ δὲ κατοινωμένος / 1QpHab: וְאֵף כִּי אֵין / ℳ: וְאֵף כִּי אֵין.⁸⁷ In Ⓞ, ὁ δὲ is simply a broad translation of וְאֵף כִּי. For the following word, all the manuscripts have κατοινόμενος, which is its authentic form, while κατοινωμένος is a conjecture of Rahlfs that Ziegler attempted to bring even closer to ℳ as καὶ οἰνωμένος. 1QpHab understood וְאֵין, as its commentary shows. This spelling, if vocalized וְאֵין, is the original reading, read here by Ⓞ. Thus Arch = Ⓞ (and ± 1QpHab).

(35) 2:5b: Z: καὶ καταφρονητής / 1QpHab: יבגוד / ℳ: בִּגְדֵי. Ⓞ read ℳ here. It translates בִּגְדֵי with καταφρονεῖν in Prov 13:15 and Hos 6:7. It is difficult to reconstruct the beginning of the reading ...λος that Hev offers for this word. In any case, it is not a personal verbal form. 1QpHab is thus alone in a reading that seems to be a stylistic facilitation. As for Ⓞ, it appears that καὶ is the result of ditto-graphy (of the following κατ). Ziegler would have done better to follow the first hand of Vaticanus and the citation of Athanasius, which omit it. So Arch = Ⓞ and ℳ.

(36) 2:5c: Z: οὐδὲν μὴ περάνη / 1QpHab: וְלֹא יִנְהַ / ℳ: וְלֹא יִנְהַ. The translation of Ⓞ with περαίνειν merits two observations: (1) This verb reappears only in 1 Sam 12:21, to translate the *Hiphil* of יַעַל. However, in Hab 2:10d, the word συμπεραίνειν is found (in its single biblical occurrence) to translate קָצָה. (2) Ⓞ chose the sense that happens to be that of the second conjugation of the Arabic *nwy*: “accomplish what one has proposed to do.” The translation of σ’ is also related to this sense. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the text of the archetype was altered by any of the three witnesses.

87. We treat this fairly complex case in *ibid.*, 845:9–846:21.

(37) 2:5d: Z: καὶ ἐπισυνάξει . . . καὶ εἰσδέξεται / 1QpHab: וַיִּאֲסֹפוּ . . . וַיִּקְבְּצוּ / מ: וַיִּקְבְּצוּ . . . וַיִּאֲסֹפוּ. There is no reason to prefer the plurals of 1QpHab, which imply that the two verbs are punctuated as *Niphal*. Thus Arch = 6 and מ.

(38) 2:6a: Z: ταῦτα / 1QpHab: omits / מ: אֵלֶּה. The absence of the word in 1QpHab may have arisen from a kind of auditory haplography after הֵלֹא, which is similar in sound, or from a stylistic clision where the word did not seem necessary since the antecedent of the suffix of כָּלִם immediately following is easily identified as כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם and כָּל-הָעַמִּים at the end of the preceding verse. The omission of this word is easier to explain than its addition. Thus, it is likely that Arch = 6 and מ.

(39) 2:6b: Z: καὶ πρόβλημα εἰς διήγησιν αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: וּמְלִיצֵי חִידוֹת לוֹ / מ: וּמְלִיצֵה חִידוֹת לוֹ. The words חִידוֹת לוֹ are appositional, signifying that the maxims and words with a double meaning (מִשְׁלַל and מְלִיצָה) are “riddles concerning him.”⁸⁸ Now, what מ gives as juxtaposed nominatives was transformed by 1QpHab into a genitival construction and is clarified in 6 with a preposition. In view of these two facilitations, Arch = מ.

(40) 2:6c: Z: καὶ ἐροῦσιν / 1QpHab: וַיֹּמְרוּ / מ: וַיֹּאמְרוּ. There is a lack of finesse in 6 and 1QpHab, which assign the same subject to this verb and יִשְׂאוּ. In fact, the subject of יִשְׂאוּ is אֵלֶּה כָּלִם, which covers both “all peoples” and “all nations” mentioned in v. 5. The singular וַיֹּאמְרוּ signifies that certain members of the peoples and nations in question “will make up a saying about him, an expression with a double meaning, that is, riddles concerning him.” The subject of this verb is the public on whose lips the inventors in question placed these riddles, examples of which will be given in עֲבָטִיט (2:6), נִשְׁכִּיךְ (2:7), חֲמַתָּךְ (2:15), וְהִעָרַל (2:16), וְקִיקְלֹן (2:16), etc. Thus: “it will be said . . .” According to this interpretation, Arch = מ.

(41) 2:6d: Z: ἐαυτῷ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: לוֹ וְלוֹא לוֹ / מ: לֹא-לוֹ. Since we have to do here with the first of the riddles, the לוֹ לֹא לוֹ that 6 appears to have read in its Vorlage offers the ear a triplet rich in ambiguity, and has a good chance of being the original reading. In this case, מ would be the result of haplography (already in place in the Hebrew Vorlage of Hev) and 1QpHab then added to the shortened phrase a *waw*, which probably has an adversative function: “but not for him” or “although it does not belong to him.” Thus it is probable that Arch = 6.

(42) 2:6e: Z: καὶ βαρύνων / 1QpHab: יַכְבִּיד / מ: וּמְכַבֵּיד. 6 and מ both make this participle coordinate with הַמְרַבֵּה. The coordinating conjunction with which they precede it requires considering “until when?” as a parenthetical clause. The personal form attested by 1QpHab, on the other hand, allows a direct linking of the verb with the question. The more difficult construction attested by both 6 and מ has a good chance of being original. It is therefore very likely that Arch = 6 and מ.

88. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 847:25–31.

(43) 2:6f: Z: τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: עלו / מ: עליו. We treated this case on p. 449 and gave preference to the spelling attested by 1QpHab, a spelling that מ interpreted correctly and ט incorrectly. Thus Arch = 1QpHab (and מ).

(44) 2:7a: Z: ὅτι / 1QpHab: הלוא / מ: הלוא. ט replaced the rhetorical question read by 1QpHab and מ with a direct motivation for οὐαί (its translation of הוי in the previous verse). Thus Arch = 1QpHab and מ.

(45) 2:7b: Z: ἐξαίφνης / 1QpHab: פתאום / מ: פתע. For his study of 1QpHab Elliger did not have Trever's color reproductions.⁸⁹ As a result, on the basis of a black and white reproduction, he thought he could discern the traces of a letter between *taw* and *'alep*,⁹⁰ and therefore proposed *'ayin*,⁹¹ viewing the unusual spelling פתעאום (which he reconstructs in a supplement) as the combination of two alternative readings: פתע and פתאום. However, the color photo is clear. There is only a hole between the two letters (and no trace of ink). Millar Burrows was correct, therefore, to do no more than indicate a hole the size of a letter in his 1950 transcription.⁹² I suggest then, that either (1) the scribe, already finding this hole, was obliged to place two letters of his word פתאום before it and three after, or (2) where the hole occurs the scribe had written, then erased an *'ayin*, immediately correcting פתע to פתאום. As the words פתע and פתאום are two practically equivalent terms, and פתאום is much more frequent in the Bible than פתע, the scribe of 1QpHab replaced the rarer form with the more usual one. It is thus probable that Arch = מ (and ט?).

(46) 2:7c: Z: ἀναστήσονται / 1QpHab: ויקומו / מ: ויקמו. For ויקומו נשכיך, the first hand of 1QpHab had written ויקום ונשכיך, erroneously dividing before the final *waw* of ויקומו. The second hand corrected this by adding a *waw* to the end of ויקום (which kept its final *mem*) and erasing the initial *waw* of ונשכיך. Earlier, we defended the initial *waw* of ומכביד, viewing the witnesses that omit it as facilitating, making עד מתי a circumstantial complement of the following participle. For the same reasons, it is tempting to consider the more difficult initial *waw* of 1QpHab as original, and its omission as facilitating. This would lead us to conclude that Arch = 1QpHab*.

(47) 2:8a: Z: σύ / 1QpHab: אתה / מ: אתה. On p. 447 we regarded the absence of this word as original in the textual tradition of ט. But its attestation by 1QpHab and מ makes it very likely that its absence in ט is due to a stylistic translational elision. Thus Arch = 1QpHab and מ.

(48) 2:8b: Z: σκυλεύσουσί σε / 1QpHab: וישלוכה / מ: ישלך. The insertion of *waw* before the verb is confirmed by 1QpHab in its repetition in the lemma. Hev inserts a *καί* before the verb of ט. The mutual support given by 1QpHab and Hev

89. *Scrolls from Qumran*, [157].

90. Elliger, *Studien*, 38.

91. *Ibid.*, 53.

92. Burrows, *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

in attesting this *waw* of the apodosis makes it likely that 𐤀 omitted it as a stylistic facilitation. Thus Arch = 1QpHab.

(49) 2:10a: Z: συνεπέραντας / 1QpHab: קצוות / 𐤀: קצות. The fact that 1QpHab writes קצוות as the lemma and then repeats it as קצות shows that it understood the word in the sense of “outer limits” (= the totality of the territory). This agrees with its variant, which will be presented in the next case. 𐤄, with συνεπέραντας, sees קצות (interpreted as a second-person singular perfect) as a denominative verb from קץ or from קצק. This translation was then altered to συν εσπερα in the archetype of W and to συνέσπειρας in ε’ (attested by Akh and the corrector of W). The interpretation as an infinitive premised in the punctuation of 𐤀 is preferable, however. Thus Arch = 𐤀 (and 1QpHab?).

(50) 2:10b: Z: καὶ ἐξήμαρτεν / 1QpHab: וחוט / 𐤀: וחוטא. Here 1QpHab clearly wrote חוטי the second time (and probably the first as well); Elliger appears to be correct in recognizing a form of the noun חוט (= thread). As we have suggested, this is tied to the interpretation that 1QpHab has just given for קצות. The expression וחוטא נפשך in 𐤀 can be compared to וחוטא נפשו in Prov 20:2. The phrase קצות־עמים רבים וחוטא נפשך may be translated “In cutting off many peoples, you sin against yourself.” 𐤄 makes the reading easier by regarding נפשך as the subject of חוטא. Thus Arch = 𐤀.

(51) 2:12: Z: καὶ ἐτοιμάζων / 1QpHab: ויכונן / 𐤀: וכונן. It seems that all the versions assimilated the grammatical form of the translation for this word to the one that they used for בנה at the beginning of the verse. In 2:6 we already encountered 1QpHab making use of a personal verbal form (יכביר) where 𐤄 and 𐤀 coordinated a second participle (וימכביר) with a first one introduced by הוי. Here, the perfect in 𐤀 is intended to express the anteriority of the action represented in the *Polel* of כון, with respect to the action represented in the verb בנה. There is a good chance that the dimensionality given to the comparison was intended by the author and thus that Arch = 𐤀.

(52) 2:13a: Z: ταῦτα / 1QpHab: הנה / 𐤀: הנה. A sequence similar to that of 𐤀 is found again only in הנה הלא הנה in 2 Chr 25:26, whereas הלא is often followed by הם, הנה, or other independent pronouns. This is why 𐤄 translated the word as if it were vocalized הנה. However, in the vast majority of cases, the word הנה relates back to what precedes it; here, in contrast, this introduction surely bears on what follows. Indeed, what is presented in this way as coming from the Lord of Hosts will be the citations from Jer 51:58b and Isa 11:9b given in the rest of v. 13 and in v. 14. It is therefore probable that Arch = 𐤀.

(53) 2:13b: Z: καὶ ἐξέλιπον / 1QpHab: יגעו / 𐤀: וייגעו. The initial *waw*, attested by 𐤀 and 𐤄, comes from Jer 51:58, which is cited here. Thus Arch = 𐤄 and 𐤀.

(54) 2:13c: Z: omits / 1QpHab: בדי־ריק / 𐤀: בדי־ריק. In Habakkuk, 𐤄 translates the root ריק freely. In 1:17 it translates ריק with ἀμφιβλαεῖ. Here, it translates the three words בדי־ריק יעפו with ὀλιγοψύχησαν. The word πολλά should not be viewed as a rendering of בדי־ריק, words for which 𐤄 offers no specific transla-

tion. Indeed ἔθνη πολλά is a wordy translation of לְאֲמִים here, just as λαοὶ ἰκανοὶ has just been used to render the word עַמִּים. In spite of the reversal of the two complements בְּדִי אֶשׁ and בְּדִי רִיק, the reading in 1QpHab and 𐤀 is confirmed by Jer 51:58, which is quoted here. Furthermore, Hev, with κενὸν (set off by lacunae), attempted to correct 𐤄. Thus Arch = 1QpHab and 𐤀.

(55) 2:13d: Z: ὀλιγοψύχησαν / 1QpHab: וַיַּעֲפוּ / 𐤀: וַיַּעֲפוּ. Millar Burrows and Elliger read וַיַּעֲפוּ in 1QpHab. However, it should be noted that Jer 51:58 ends with וַיַּעֲפוּ. It would be preferable, then, to assume that this is the reading of 1QpHab, as it is of the Vorlage of 𐤄. It is quite possible that their reading does not result from the influence of Jer 51:58, since they clearly attest בְּדִי אֶשׁ and בְּדִי רִיק in the order that characterizes Hab 2:13 and not that of Jer 51:58. One might suppose, therefore, that 𐤀 omitted the conjunction to make a stylistically easier reading. So Arch = 1QpHab.

(56) 2:14: Z: αὐτούς / 1QpHab: עַל הַיָּם / 𐤀: עַל-יָם. 𐤄 read עַל־הַיָּם here, but the reading of the other witnesses is confirmed by the contents of Isa 11:9, which is the source of this oracle: כִּי-מִלְאָהּ הָאָרֶץ דַּעַה אֶת-יְהוָה כַּמַּיִם לַיָּם מִכַּסְיָם. Hev gives θαλασσο[... here, preceded and followed by lacunae. The fact that the word יָם is preceded by an article in the Isaiah text and that 𐤄 read a *he* here recommends a preference for the reading of 1QpHab. Thus Arch = 1QpHab.

(57) 2:15a: Z: τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: רַעֲיָהוּ / 𐤀: רַעְיָהוּ. Because of the *yod* of רַעֲיָהוּ in the lemma in 1QpHab, Elliger translated this word with the plural “scine Nächsten.” But the spelling רַעֲיָהוּ is found again in CD IX 17 and XVI 15 in a context that requires the singular. In a context that is just as clear, the second hand of 1QpHab inserted the characteristic *yod* of this reading in iv.12. These are the only occurrences of this spelling in writings that can be connected with Qumran. It can be regarded as certain that it is only a matter of a variant spelling in the lemma of 1QpHab. Furthermore, the *peshet* here understands this to refer to the (one) Teacher of Righteousness.

(58) 2:15b: Z: ἀνατροπή / 1QpHab: מַסְפָּח / 𐤀: מַסְפָּח. 𐤄 understood the initial *mem* as a nominal prefix (מַסְפָּח), while 𐤀 understood it as the preformative of a participle. The shift to second person that takes place in the following word supports the reading as a participle. Thus, Arch = 𐤀.

(59) 2:15c: Z: θολερῶ / 1QpHab: חַמְתּוּ / 𐤀: חַמְתְּךָ. 𐤄 did not express the pronominal suffix, whereas 1QpHab shifts it from the second to third person. These variants obviously constitute different stylistic facilitations to which 𐤀 is open in its sudden shift from the third person of רַעְיָהוּ to the second person of חַמְתְּךָ. However, in the first הוּי (beginning in v. 6), there was a similar shift of the two third-person suffixes in עֲלִי and לִי to two second-person suffixes in וְשָׂכִיחַ and מְזַעְזָעֶיךָ, and in the second הוּי (beginning with v. 9) the same shift takes place between קָנוּ and לְבִיתְךָ. In addressing himself suddenly to the subject he seemed to speak of as though absent (= apostrophe), the prophet plays on the fact that the resumptive pronoun of a participle in the vocative can be either a third person

suffix, or (undergirded by the passion of the speaker) a second person suffix. Thus Arch = ׀.

(60) 2:15d: Z: τὰ σπήλαια αὐτῶν / IQpHab: מועדיהם / ׀: מעוריהם. In IQpHab the reading מועדיהם seems to be closely related to the event recounted in the *pesher*: the intrusion of the “Wicked Priest” at the time of Yom Kippur into the Community of the Teacher of Righteousness (כקן מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים) (כיום צום שבת מנוחתם). It is quite possible that we have here a kind of *al tiqre* based on this contemporizing exegesis. In any case, IQpHab is alone in attesting this reading. It is in fact מעוריהם that is read by Hev, ε' (and Akh), α', σ', υ, ε, and ϙ (the singular is normal for this word, which is a “plurale tantum”), while ϙ vocalized it as מעוריהם. Thus Arch = ׀.

(61) 2:16a: Z: πησημονήν / IQpHab: שבעתה / ׀: שבעת. For the verb in the second person perfect, ׀ has the support of Hev. The *plene* spelling in IQpHab confirms that its copyist interpreted this form in the same way. On the other hand, ϙ appears to have erred in the vocalization of the defective spelling שבעת, which it identified as a feminine noun in the construct state. ׀ makes excellent sense: In wishing to dishonor others, the receiver of this oracle has, in reality, dishonored himself. Thus Arch = IQpHab and ׀.

(62) 2:16b: Z: ἐκ δόξης / IQpHab: מבוד / ׀: מכבוד. It is surprising that the omission of the *kap* in the lemma in IQpHab was not corrected. The repetition of the word as מכבודו in the commentary shows clearly that the spelling of the lemma is nothing more than a scribal error. Thus Arch = ϙ and ׀.

(63) 2:16c: Z: διασαλεύθητι καὶ σείσθητι / IQpHab: והרעל / ׀: והערל. This word has been the object of a long tradition of “exegesis by permutation” by the interpreters (David ben Abraham, Abraham ha-Babli, Radak, Joseph ibn Kaspi, Tanḥum Yerushalmi, and Abravanel), who clearly read ׀ here. This raises the question whether those versions that translate as if they had read והרעל did in fact have that reading in their Vorlage. The question applies to the conflated reading of ϙ, as well as to α', υ, and ε. The discovery of IQpHab might have led one to conclude that והרעל was actually read by these versions. But the commentary makes a clear reference to והערל, so that one wonders (as in the case of מועדיהם in the preceding verse) whether the word in the lemma does not constitute a sort of *al tiqre* intended to facilitate the application of this oracle to the “Wicked Priest,” who was, of course, circumcised. Whatever the case, the reading of ׀ can be regarded as well supported by the fact that the expression שְׁתָּה גַם־אֶתְּהָ וְהָעֵרְל appears clearly to assign the talion penalty for the conduct described in v. 15 (מִשְׁקָה רָעָהוּ . . . לְמַעַן הַבֵּיט עַל־מְעוֹרֵיהֶם). However, just afterwards, the words הוֹסִיב עָלֶיךָ בּוֹס יְמִין יְהוָה evoke inescapably the phrase הַתְּרַעְלָה of Isa 51:17. Thus, in the word והָעֵרְל we have once again one of those words with a double meaning characteristic of the riddle genre. Arch = ׀.

(64) 2:16d: Z: καὶ συνήχθη ἀτιμία / IQpHab: וקיקלון / ׀: וקיקלון. This word was interpreted as “and disgrace gathered” (= וַיִּקְוּ קִלּוֹן) by ϙ, and as “and a disgorging of disgrace” (= וַיִּקְיֵא קִלּוֹן) by Hev, υ, Judah ibn Qorqish, David ben Abra-

ham, Yefet ben Ely, Abulwalid, Eliezer of Beaugency, and Radak. However, it is important to note that the Masoretes did not include קִיקְלוֹן in the list of words that are written as one word but read as two. It appears certain, therefore, that they understood this word as a form of קֶלֶן , with an emphatic initial doubling, as did 1QpHab, E , C , Qirqisani, Daniel al-Qumisi, Menaḥem ben Saruq, and the glossaries. At the same time, this word, too, was selected by the prophet to convey a double meaning. Arch = 1QpHab and M .

(65) 2:17: Z: πτοήσει σε / 1QpHab: יחתה / M : יְחִיתֶן . The reading יחתה in 1QpHab is probably a copying error for יחתכה . Regarding the punctuation in M , where יְחִיתֶן is related to חתח , one would expect a *dageš* in the *taw* rather than a *yod* preceding it. But it is likely that here, as in קִיקְלוֹן (in v. 16, where the assimilation of a *lamed* would seem to require *dageš* in the second *qop*), this typical characteristic of *plene* writing (with *yod*) led the vocalizers not to add a *dageš*. However, Dunash ben Labrat concluded that “ יְחִיתֶן is for יחיתך here, because he is speaking to him.”⁹³ Moreover, it is significant that Hev did not alter E ; it should also be pointed out that in the early script, the shift from *kap* to *nun* is easily made. In addition, the syntactic construction in M is somewhat artificial, whereas the reading יְחִיתֶן creates excellent parallelism. Thus Arch = E .

(66) 2:18a: Z: $\text{ἔγλυψεν αὐτό ἔπλασεν αὐτό}$ / 1QpHab: פסל יצרו / M : פִּסְלוֹ יִצְרוֹ . 1QpHab alone omits the accusative suffix of the verb. This is probably a syntactic facilitation that allows $\text{מַסְכָּה וּמוֹרָה שְׁקָר}$ to be construed as the object complements of the verb, removing their appositive status. This same process took place in 1QpHab and E for לֹא תִדְוֹת לֹא in 2:6. For $\text{מַה־הוֹעִיל פִּסְלֵי כִּי פִּסְלוֹ יִצְרוֹ מַסְכָּה וּמוֹרָה}$ and $\text{מַה־הוֹעִיל פִּסְלֵי כִּי פִּסְלוֹ יִצְרוֹ מַסְכָּה וּמוֹרָה שְׁקָר}$ of M , it appears that 1QpHab read $\text{מַה־הוֹעִיל פִּסְלֵי כִּי פִּסְלוֹ יִצְרוֹ מַסְכָּה וּמוֹרָה שְׁקָר}$ while E seems to have construed it differently: $\text{מַה־הוֹעִיל פִּסְלֵי כִּי פִּסְלוֹ יִצְרוֹ מַסְכָּה}$. M thus has the support of 1QpHab for יִצְרוֹ and the support of E for פִּסְלוֹ . For מוֹרָה (to be treated next) it has the support of E for the form of the word, and that of 1QpHab for the presence of the *waw*. Thus, in their divergences from M , each of the other witnesses is always alone. In all the items just mentioned, M is supported by Hev and by Mur (to the extent that it is preserved). Thus Arch = M .

(67) 2:18b: Z: φαντασίαν / 1QpHab: ומרי / M : וּמוֹרָה . It is possible that 1QpHab replaced the word מוֹרָה with מְרִי because מוֹרָה has a negative significance in this context, and 1QpHab reserves that designation for the “Teacher of Righteousness” (I 13, II 2, V 10, VII 4, VIII 3, IX 9, XI 5). The expression מוֹרָה שְׁקָר is found again in Isa 9:14, where it refers to a prophet. Of the five occurrences of φαντασία in E , three are in Habakkuk: here for מוֹרָה and in 2:19 for יֹרָה , while in 3:10 φαντασίας αὐτῆς corresponds to נְרִיהוּ . This does not mean that E had a Vorlage that was different from M . Hev did not correct E here, whereas it does intervene in 2:19, replacing the noun with a verbal form which seemed to the

93. Dunash, *Teshubot* (Saadya), §150a.

emendator to correspond better to the initial *yod*, and which is implied by his syntactic correction that ties **דומם** to **הוא יורה**, as we will describe in a moment. Thus Arch = \aleph .

(68) 2:18c: Z: ὁ πλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ / 1QpHab: **יִצַר יִצְרִי עֲלֵיהוּ** / \aleph : **יִצַר עֲלָיו יִצְרוּ**. For **[כִּי בְטָח] יִצַר יִצְרוּ עֲלָיו [לַעֲשׂוֹת אֱלִילִים אֱלֻמִּים]** of \aleph , it appears that 1QpHab read **[כִּי בְטָח] יִצַר יִצְרִי עֲלֵיהוּ [לַעֲשׂוֹת אֱלִילִים אֱלֻמִּים]**. On the other hand, Θ appears to have read in its Vorlage **יִצַר עַל יִצְרוּ [לַעֲשׂוֹת אֱלִילִים אֱלֻמִּים]**. Here (where Mur, poorly preserved, appears identical to \aleph), Hev did not correct Θ 's ἐπὶ τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ (which corresponds neither to **יִצְרוּ עֲלָיו** of \aleph , nor to **יִצְרִי עֲלֵיהוּ** of 1QpHab); but it then added ἐπ' αὐτό (as if Θ had simply neglected to translate **עֲלָיו** after it had translated **יִצְרוּ** with ἐπὶ τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ). Given the support that 1QpHab and (probably) Mur lend to \aleph on this point, it is quite probable that Θ translated freely. Finally, 1QpHab is alone in using the plural of the noun **יִצְרִי**, since Θ and Hev support \aleph in its vocalization as a singular. 1QpHab probably intended to express the collective function of the singular. Thus Arch = \aleph . The spellings **יִצְרִי** and **עֲלֵיהוּ** in 1QpHab have already been addressed on pp. 450 and 451.

(69) 2:19: Z: καὶ τῷ λίθῳ ὑψώθητι / 1QpHab: **רומה בן[א]ל[?]** / \aleph : **לְאַבְן דּוּמָם**. Millar Burrows correctly read **רומה** in 1QpHab, against Elliger's reading **דומה** or **דומם**. The word **רומה** (= the imperative **רוּמָה**) corresponds well to ὑψώθητι in Θ (as is the case in its four occurrences in \aleph : Pss 21:14, 57:6, 12, 108:6). Although damaged, Mur seems to support \aleph . Tov, influenced by the *ʿeamim* of \aleph and by \mathfrak{D} , wrongly places a raised dot after $\sigma\omega\pi\tilde{\omega}\nu$ in his reconstruction of Hev. Hev understands **דומם** as a qualifier of **הוא**. Under the influence of the context where **לַעֲזֹר** was followed by an imperative, Θ and 1QpHab interpreted the word after **לְאַבְן** as an imperative, whereas this passage should be translated "he says to the woods, 'Get up, wake up' and he says of the silent stone, 'It will instruct.'" Thus Arch = \aleph .

C. Conclusions concerning the Relationship between the Archetype and the Textual States Θ , 1QpHab, and \aleph

Five cases (6, 15, 29, 36, and 57) should be eliminated from our final assessment, since supposed divergences were found not to exist. We have then 64 real divergences of varying degrees of significance.

1. The State of \aleph

The committee identified five cases where \aleph had departed from the original state of the text in these two chapters:

(8) 1:8: **וּפְרָשׁוּ** instead of **וּפְרָשׁוּ**.⁹⁴ This involved a misinterpretation by \aleph of the defective spelling that characterizes the archetype.

94. CTAT Vol. 3, 828:7–8.

- (9) 1:8: adds יבאו.⁹⁵ This involved a secondary modification intended to compensate for the preceding error, which deprived the clause of a verb.
 (24) 1:17: תרבו instead of תרבו.⁹⁶ Here מ (and ט) mistook the *bet* for a *mem*.
 (34) 2:5: היי instead of היי.⁹⁷ In this very rare term, a *waw* of the archetype was read as *yod* by מ and ט (a misreading that occurs frequently in ט).
 (65) 2:17: יחית instead of יחית.⁹⁸ Here a *kap* was read as *nun* by מ.

After the broader investigation of these 64 points of divergence, we detected six other cases. For the first of them (2:1) מ underwent a theological correction and for the second (2:6), haplography, while the four others involve only slight stylistic adjustments through the omission of a *waw* or *he*.

- (27) 2:1: ישיב instead of ישיב.
 (41) 2:6: לו לא לו instead of לו לא לו.
 (46) 2:7: יקומו instead of יקומו.
 (48) 2:8: ישלוק instead of ישלוק.
 (55) 2:13: יעפו instead of יעפו.
 (56) 2:14: עלהים instead of עלהים.

In only two cases (9 and 34) out of 11, מ is alone in its departure from the reading of the archetype. מ is by far the most intact witness of the text of the archetype, even though it systematically changes the defective spellings of the archetype.

Thus, in 53 cases מ faithfully represents the archetype. In 27 of these cases it is alone, in 13 cases it has the support of 1QpHab, and in 13 cases it has the support of ט.

2. The State of 1QpHab

We noted that 1QpHab was much more faithful than מ to the spelling peculiarities of the archetype in its lemmas. But in its text, the same is not true.

Evidence from 1QpHab is lacking in eight of these 64 points: for four of the items (2, 4, 5, and 32) there is a lacuna in the manuscript, for one item (19) there is a phrase of biblical text that is not cited as a lemma,⁹⁹ and for three items (7, 52, and 58) there are variants involving pointing. Out of the 56 points of divergence where 1QpHab offers evidence, it faithfully represents the archetype 19 times (five alone: 24, 27, 46, 48, and 55; 13 times with מ: 10, 14, 19, 21, 30, 33, 43, 44, 47, 49, 54, 61, and 64; and once with ט: 9), and we have detected 37 corruptions that can be grouped in the following categories:

95. Ibid., 828:9.

96. Ibid., 837:18.

97. Ibid., 846:18.

98. Ibid., 856:31–32.

99. It is possible that this phrase (which would have been problematic for the interpretation found in the commentary) was deliberately omitted. [See n. 79, p. 455 above. —Ed.]

Outside of purely accidental corruptions (62, 65), there are assimilations to the immediate context that took the form of modification of either one letter (11, 13, 23, 40, 50, 59) or two (69); or that took the form of the addition, omission or displacement of conjunctions (25, 28). Sometimes the assimilation is made to a less immediate context (3), or to a Psalm (20, influenced by Ps 8:7–9). The assimilations often involve forms or expressions that are more common in the Bible (12, 17), or more particularly, in the era of the commentator (45, 68). There are also syntactic facilitations (16, 39, 42, 51, 53, 66) and simple stylistic abridgement (38).

Among the interventions that have no apparent motivation,¹⁰⁰ we can mention a transposition of phrases (22), intervention involving conjunctions (8, 41), and the substitution of grammatical forms (31, 35, 37).

Sometimes the need to contemporize in the *peshet* appears to have led the commentator to modify his lemma. This is the case in 18, 34, 60, 63, and 67. This is perhaps also what led him to omit a phrase (19).¹⁰¹

At times the content of the commentary indicates that the commentator was aware of the reading of the archetype from which the lemma departed. This is the case in 13, 62, and 63.

3. The State of Θ

Out of the 64 points of divergence between the witnesses, in two cases (12 and 45) the information in Θ does not permit identification of its Vorlage. Out of the 62 cases where Θ offers evidence, we found 17 cases agreeing with the text of the archetype: three alone (34, 41, 65), 13 with \aleph (13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25, 35, 37, 38, 42, 53, 62), and once with IQpHab (9).

Out of the 47 times where it departs notably from the text of the archetype, 14 involve corruptions that can be situated in its Vorlage, corruptions shared four times with IQpHab (3, 23, 40, 69), five times with \aleph (24, 27, 46, 48, 55); five times it appears to be alone (8, 26, 28, 30, 56). Four times involve a misreading of *waw* as *yod* (2, 14, 32, 33); 27 times it is the process of translation that distances the translator of Θ from the archetype. These translational initiatives consist of the following: a doublet, once (4); a conflated reading, once (63); a gloss, once (21); division of a word into two words, once (64); vocalizations, nine times (7, 43, 49, 51, 52, 58, 60, 61, 66); broad translations, four times (31, 54, 59, 68); stylistic abridgement, twice (19, 47); and syntactic license, eight times (1, 5, 10, 11, 39, 44, 50, 67).

100. Here, the degree of certainty in the critical judgment is fairly weak. Generally, it is agreement between Θ and \aleph against IQpHab that tips the balance.

101. [See n. 79, p. 455 above. —Ed.]

4. Percentages of Correspondence to the Archetype

If we tally the data, the percentage of correspondence to the archetype that we obtain for \aleph is 83%, with 34% for IQpHab, and 27% for Θ . It is important to remember here that the degree of accuracy of the data varies considerably, according to the type of witness involved:

- \aleph , because it has vocalizations and accents, is the witness of which we have the firmest grasp.

- Θ , because it is a translation, allows us access to its Hebrew Vorlage only by indirect means. As we have pointed out, when we concluded that a variant was found in its Vorlage, it was either because we had access to the Vorlage through the intermediary of IQpHab or \aleph , or because the reconstruction of the instance was obvious. When translational changes are involved, one moves onto very uncertain ground. It could be that we have given the description “translational” to variants in the Vorlage that we do not have the means to detect with sufficient certainty. It could also be that we have to do with very early *sebirin*, that is, with exegetical traditions that do not aim to modify the transmission of the Hebrew text, but are transmitted orally. When a translator wanted to bring the Bible into the Greek language, it was expected that he would take the *sebirin* into account as much as the text. Finally, it could be that the translator in some cases produced superficial and poor-quality work, whether through linguistic incompetence or through haste. Each of the cases where Θ seems to depart from the archetype thus deserves a more detailed study than can be pursued in this introduction, a study for which too many of the necessary facts are often missing.

- IQpHab is a commentary. The text of the lemmas and the preoccupations of the commentator are closely related. The *al tiqre* (= “do not read: . . . , but read, rather: . . .”) is one of the most classic midrashic techniques. A reading close to that of the traditional text, but distinct from it, is suggested in order to arouse the listener’s curiosity and to begin a haggadic development. In doing this, the writer has no intention of emending the text. On the contrary, the statement “do not read X” recognizes that the content of the text is indeed X. But the writer is deliberately introducing a play of an association of words that will last only the length of the homily. It is quite likely that whoever wrote the *peshet* allowed into the lemmas those *al tiqres* that would orient a given oracle toward the contemporary application that the commentator intended to make. As an indication of this, we have several cases where the commentary refers to the reading of the archetype from which the lemma has departed.

From these considerations, we conclude that a version or commentary should not be exploited as a witness to the text it translates or comments on except with the use of a fine lens that can bring into focus the purpose of the translator or commentator.

Versions Subsequent to Standardization

The evidence of a version will have a very different impact on the evaluation of the Hebrew text of the Bible depending on whether that version is a daughter version of $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ or derives directly from the Hebrew text. As a matter of principle, a daughter version of $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ should never be cited in a critical apparatus of the Hebrew text; its place is in an apparatus for $\text{\textcircled{G}}$ or for intermediate versions through which it is related to $\text{\textcircled{G}}$. This principle should be complemented by statements bearing on the direct and indirect relationships. For the moment, let it suffice that we call attention to these points: they will be treated in more depth at the beginning of the next chapter, which is devoted to the question of use of the versions in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

(1) Some versions are daughters of a Greek text that has already undergone recension based on the Hebrew. We have shown¹ that this is the case for some early Coptic versions of the Dodekapropheton² (Sahidic and Akhmimic) that derive from a Greek text similar to that of the Washington papyrus, that is, influenced by the *καίτε* recension. Through this intermediary, these versions are not only witnesses to $\text{\textcircled{G}}$, but also to the Hebrew (prior to standardization) that served as the basis of the recension. A more recent Coptic version, such as the Bohairic, is in the same situation as the Origen or Antiochene recensions of $\text{\textcircled{G}}$, that is, the hebraisms that it contains can be considered *a priori* to have come either directly or indirectly from the Origen Hexapla. The same is true for the SyroHexapla, a Syriac version translated, for most of its books, from a text in the Origen tradition, that is, including the passages marked with asterisks that Origen took from other columns of his Hexapla. Thus, with regard to its text, and even more with regard to

1. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 228–38.

2. This statement does not apply in the case of a still unpublished early Coptic version belonging to the Bohairic dialect, based on the information that H. Quecke was kind enough to provide to me.

its marginal notes, the SyroHexapla is a valuable witness to a proto-Masoretic Hebrew, because of its direct relation to the hexaplaric versions.

(2) We will observe that certain versions ordinarily considered to have derived directly from the Hebrew text were very clearly influenced by Θ , either at the time of translation or shortly afterward. It is therefore essential to distinguish carefully what evidence comes from which of the two sources. This is true for the Syriac Peshitta (Ξ) to a greater extent than is ordinarily recognized. At times it offers evidence as a daughter of the Hebrew, and at other times as a niece of the Greek.

(3) Some versions, such as most of the Targums (\mathcal{T}) and the Jewish Arabic versions of the tenth century, are witnesses not so much to the text as to the Jewish exegetical traditions of their times, whether haggadic (Targums) or textual (Jewish Arabic).

(4) The Arabic of the Paris and London polyglots is for the most part unusable for criticism of the Hebrew text, since this rather late Christian version is based sometimes on a Greek text, sometimes on a Syriac text. Still other times, it is based on Saadya. Its true place will almost always be in the critical apparatus of Θ or Ξ .

From this quick overview, it can be seen that it is essential to be aware constantly of the sometimes complex genealogical extraction of a version when it is used in textual criticism. This chapter and the following one should make this statement even more evident.

I. The Hexaplaric Versions

The loss of Origen's Hexapla is one of the most regrettable for investigation of the Old Testament text. Today we possess only fragments of the hexaplaric versions. Since these fragments have quite diverse origins, it is useful to recall those origins in order to help state the contents of what we will cite, using the traditional sigla: α' , σ' , θ' , ϵ' , σ' , π' , $\omicron\lambda'$, "Sexta" and, when called for, "Septima," not to mention Ἰωσὴπιππος and the mysterious ὁ Σύρος.

A. Means of Access to the Hexaplaric Versions

1. The Editions

1.a. The notes in the Sixtina edition

The first edition of hexaplaric fragments was published in 1587, in the form of notes following various chapters of Θ in the Sixtina edition. In essence, these consist of scholia gleaned from the catenae preserved in the Vatican Library. As we have noted,³ even in 1943 Ziegler attributed this first edition of the fragments to Nobilius. In so doing, he repeats Field's error, without mentioning that Field later

3. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 658 n. 2234.

corrected his error⁴ by returning credit for the edition to the Parisian Pierre Morin. Morin described the task of preparing the Sixtina edition: "I alone was charged with going through and reading the Vatican catenae manuscripts on the Old Testament in order to extract the variants and the interpretations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, as well as of the Quinta and the Sexta, and then to transfer them into the annotations that I had begun to edit." It is unnecessary to devote a special section to the edition that was published at Arnhem in 1622, after the death of Jean Drusius, under the title *Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum V. T. Fragmenta, collecta, versa et notis illustrata a Johanne Drusio, Linguae Sanctae in illustrium Frisiae Ordinum Academia, dum viveret Professore*. Indeed, Field believes that this edition has nothing new with respect to the Sixtina edition other than its translation and annotations, which add practically nothing to what Morin had gathered. Later, Lambert Bos, in the critical apparatus of the edition of the Septuagint that he published in Francker in 1709, included the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, taking into account some of the marginal scholia in the Barberini manuscript of the prophets. But Field considered what Bos added to the scholia of the Sixtina to be of little significance.

1.b. The Montfaucon edition

According to Field,⁵ it was the Marist Bernard de Montfaucon who placed the keystone in the edifice whose foundations Morin had laid. In 1713 at Paris he published his folio edition in two volumes, under the title *Hexaplorum Originis quae supersunt, multis partibus auctiora, quam a Flaminio Nobilio & Joanne Drusio edita fuerint*. To the material gathered by Morin, Montfaucon added numerous other readings drawn mainly from Parisian manuscripts, giving relatively precise references to his sources. He also went through Jerome's commentaries much more thoroughly than his predecessors had. To this he added a Latin translation of all the readings, as well as notes and, above all, two lexicons, one Hebrew and the other Greek, which even now have far from lost their value. In 1769 and 1770 at Leipzig and Lubeck, Karl Friedrich Bahrdr published an abridged form of the Montfaucon edition in two volumes, less costly and more manageable in size. He

4. In the first paragraph of his preface, Field explains that he did not deem it necessary to oppose the "commonly held opinion" that attributed the collation of these fragments to Flaminus Nobilius, who in fact only edited a 1588 Latin translation of the Sixtina edition (*Hexaplorum* [Field], Praefatio). Field's error comes from the title (cited below) of Montfaucon's edition, and is due to the fact that Walton, in the ninth part of Volume VI of the London polyglot, presented the fragments of the hexaplaric versions (with numerous other scholia mixed in) under the title "Flaminii Nobilii notae in variantes lectiones Versionis Graecae LXX Interpretum, adjectis omnibus quae in Scholiis Romanis habentur, a Nobilio vero ommissa erant." However, Montfaucon himself, in his preface, stated that Nobilius included in his edition only what Pierre Morin had gathered from the Vatican manuscripts and a number of books (*Hexaplorum* [Montfaucon], Preface, 2).

5. *Hexaplorum* (Field), Praefatio, IV.

omitted the Latin translations and most of the Hebrew that Montfaucon had cited, and abridged the references to the manuscripts, as well as everything that he considered to be “not of interest to the reader.” As new elements, he appears to have added only rare scholia, usually anonymous, from a fragment of a Greek manuscript of the Pentateuch preserved at Leipzig. Obviously, Montfaucon’s lexicons were entirely omitted. A valuable correction and supplement to Montfaucon’s work (from Genesis to 2 Kings) was published in 1776 and in 1781 at Leipzig by J. G. Scharfenberg, in two volumes entitled *Animadversiones quibus Fragmenta Versionum Graecarum V. T. a Bern. Montefalconio collecta illustrantur emendantur*. In addition, a work on the entire Bible appeared in Leipzig in 1812, *Opuscula Critica ad Versiones Graecas V. T. pertinentia*, in which J. F. Schleusner applies all his crudition.

I.c. Field’s edition

In 1874 and 1875 at Oxford, Frederick Field published the two quarto volumes of his *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. It is striking that Field appears not to have personally consulted any ancient manuscripts. To the contents of the Montfaucon edition he added two significant elements: The fragments given by Holmes and Parsons in their monumental edition of the Septuagint (using notes taken from certain Roman manuscripts by their collaborators), and the rich yield of hexaplaric scholia offered in the SyroHexapla, for which he attempted generally successful Greek retroversions. No edition of the entire group of fragments of the hexaplaric versions has been published since Field’s. However, a number of important editions (with copious commentary) of groups of fragments should be mentioned.

I.d. Editions of other fragments

Palimpsest fragments of Aquila and the Hexapla of the Psalms from the Cairo Geniza are housed at Cambridge.

- In 1897 F. Crawford Burkitt and Charles Taylor published three folios of a manuscript from the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century containing Aquila’s version of 1 Kgs 20:7–17 and 2 Kgs 23:12–27.⁶
- In 1900 Taylor published (1) a fragment of a hexaplaric manuscript from the ninth century containing part of the columns for Psalm 22(21):15–18, 20–28;⁷ and (2) three folios of a manuscript from the end of the fifth century containing Aquila’s version of Psalms 90(89):17–92(91):10; 96(95):7–98(97):3; and 102(101):16–104(103):13.⁸

6. Burkitt, *Fragments*, 4–25.

7. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek*, 4–10.

8. *Ibid.*, 54–65.

In 1914 C. Schmidt photographed manuscripts at Sinai, one of which (Rahlfs No. 710, from the tenth century) contained abundant hexaplaric scholia on Isa 1:2–16:4. These scholia were published in 1915 by Lütke­mann and Rahlfs.⁹

In 1896 at the Ambrosian Library of Milan, G. Mercati discovered 28 folios of a Catena reused in a manuscript of the Octoechos of John Damascene. They contained a copy of the Hexapla for Psalms 18(17):26–48; 28(27):6–9; 29(28):1–3; 30(29):1–4; 31(30):1–10, 20–25; 32(31):6–11; 35(34):1–2, 13–28; 36(35):1–5; 46(45):1–12; 49(48):1–15; and 89(88):26–53. Mercati envisioned the publication of two parts: one, in two volumes, the first devoted to the edition of the fragments and the second to “Osservazioni” concerning them; the second part would include a certain number of hexaplaric fragments from an indirect tradition preserved in manuscripts that will be described below, and would end with a Hebrew index, a Greek index, and a general index. However, Mercati died in 1957, before his edition could be finished. G. Castellino published the two volumes of the first part in 1958 and 1965 from manuscripts left by Mercati.¹⁰

For the second part, Mercati left only outlines. A. Schenker continued with the task projected by Mercati of bringing out the edition of hexaplaric scholia. A first group of unpublished fragments was constituted of scholia on Psalms 78(77):30–83(82):16, attested by the manuscript catenae of Vaticanus graecus 752 (end of the eleventh century) and of Canonicianus graecus 62 (twelfth century). This collection of 132 readings was published in 1975.¹¹ Then, Mercati had envisioned a critical edition of the marginal scholia from 14 folios of a thirteenth-century manuscript of a commentary by Euthymius Zigabenus on Psalms 24–32 included in Ottobonianus graecus 398. These scholia had already been used by Holmes and Parsons and by Field, but from an inaccurate and incomplete copy, thus necessitating a critical edition. This was achieved by Schenker in 1982.¹²

To this may be added recent editions made from better witnesses of some known patristic commentaries or of parts of catenae allowing access, through more abundant citations or better textual quality, to certain passages of the hexaplaric versions. These include Ziegler’s edition of Eusebius’s commentary on Isaiah based on a manuscript from Florence,¹³ Möhle’s edition of Theodoret’s commentary on the same prophet,¹⁴ the edition by Fernández Marcos and Saenz-Badillos of Theodoret’s Questions on the Octateuch,¹⁵ and finally the editions of the Palestinian catena on Psalm 118(119) by M. Harl¹⁶ and the catenae on Gene-

9. Lütke­mann/Rahlfs, *Hexaplarische*, 19–108.

10. *Psalterii* (Mercati), vols. 1 and 2.

11. Schenker, *Hexaplarische*.

12. Schenker, *Psalmen*.

13. Eusebius, *Jesaja*.

14. Theodoret, *Jesaja*.

15. Theodoret, *Octateuchum*.

16. Harl, *Chaîne*.

sis and Exodus by F. Petit.¹⁷ The most thorough study of the Greek exegetical catenae, in ongoing publication, is the edition of G. Dorival devoted to catenae on the Psalms.¹⁸

2. *The Marginal Scholia and the Catenae*

As demonstrated by some of the editions just mentioned, the scholia of numerous biblical manuscripts and medieval catenae of different types constitute a valuable source of hexaplaric citations. Only some of these scholia and catenae have been published or are in the process of being published. With the development of the use of microfilm and microfiches, it is often preferable to have a good photographic reproduction rather than an edition. The splendid collection of photographic reproductions assembled for the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen has allowed us to make significant progress in our knowledge of hexaplaric fragments, as can be observed by comparing the readings that Field was able to give for the Pentateuch with those that are offered in the volumes of the Göttingen edition recently completed by Wevers.

However, many scholia and citations should be used only with great care. In what follows, we will point out some of the difficulties that were encountered in this volume and elsewhere.

2.a. *Ziegler's hexaplaric apparatus*

In numerous places we have learned to be wary of identifications offered in Ziegler's hexaplaric apparatus, and have noted them as follows:

- At Ezek 27:6, he does not take into account the analyses and suggestions of Schleusner and Field concerning Montfaucon's interpretation of a phrase of Theodoret.¹⁹
- At Ezek 29:3, he incorrectly interprets a remark of Jerome concerning Aquila, following Field.²⁰
- At Ezek 40:8, he conjectures, against the witness of Syh, that the translation of Symmachus suffered homeoteleuton, without discussing Field's suggestion that Symmachus's omission of this verse was probably due to his Hebrew Vorlage.²¹
- At Ezek 40:14, he incorrectly relates a reading of Aquila to a word in Symmachus to which it does not correspond.²²

17. Petit, *Catenae I and II*.

18. Dorival, *Chânes*.

19. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 223:47–224:3.

20. *Ibid.*, 239:38–43.

21. *Ibid.*, 318:20–22.

22. *Ibid.*, 322:48–50.

- At Amos 4:13, he makes the mistake of not including the preceding conjunction in the Ⓞ reading to which he relates the readings of Aquila and Symmachus.²³
- At Mic 1:14, he misinterprets the method of reference used by a witness for a reading of the “Three” that gave him difficulty; a proper understanding of that method of reference could have steered him toward the resolution of the difficulty.²⁴
- Also at Mic 1:14, he interprets a reading as an addition, whereas the Barberini manuscript shows that it is a substitution.²⁵
- At Mic 3:8, he inaccurately represents two words as having been added against the textual tradition.²⁶
- At Hab 2:5, the reading of Symmachus that he bases on Jerome’s testimony is the result of an incorrect interpretation of that testimony.²⁷
- At Zech 1:8, he misinterprets the reference of a reading of Aquila given by the Barberini manuscript.²⁸
- At Zech 4:12, he is mistaken in his attempt to restore a word not cited in the Barberini manuscript, in a reading of Symmachus.²⁹

These examples demonstrate the need to discuss difficulties that arise in interpreting three principal witnesses of the indirect tradition of the hexaplaric fragments for the books treated in *CTAT* Vol. 3.

2.b. Hexaplaric versions in scholia and in the direct tradition

Since the Cairo Geniza has provided us with portions of Aquila in a direct tradition, we can extract certain facts from it that could have affected the conclusions that Field drew based on the information at his disposal.

• 2 Kgs 23:18. Corresponding to the Hebrew עֲצַמְתִּיו עַל־מַלְטוֹ is Ⓞ καὶ ἐρύσθησαν τὰ ὀστέα αὐτοῦ. For the verb, Field attributed καὶ περιεσώθησαν to α’, retroverting אַרְבַּע־רַגְלָא, which Syh attributes to α’ here. To defend this retroversion, he appeals to the Hexapla of Prov 11:21 and 19:5 where, for two *Niphals* of the verb מַלַּט, the passive of περισώζειν is attributed to α’ in the hexaplaric notes of the Sixtina edition. However, the manuscript edited by Burkitt has περιεσώσαν here. It is significant that Coislin gr. 8 offers this in the margin as an anonymous reading. The error in Field could almost have been predicted. The two examples he gives are indeed *Niphals*, but in 2 Kgs 23:18 it is a matter of translating a *Piel*. Field was led astray by the *Eshtaphal* form found in the Syriac manuscript 5 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

23. *Ibid.*, 658 n. 2250.

24. *Ibid.*, 726:34–41.

25. *Ibid.*, 726 n. 2520.

26. *Ibid.*, 743:18–22.

27. *Ibid.*, 845:23–33.

28. *Ibid.*, 935 n. 3388.

29. *Ibid.*, 954 n. 3442.

• Ps 91(90):2. For the Hebrew אֱלֹהֵי, Eusebius's commentary attributes the reading ὁ θεός μου to α' (as well as to Θ and σ'). In place of the first two words, Field suggested the vocative θεέ for α'. The use of the vocative θεέ is, in fact, characteristic of α'. But here, the manuscript edited by Taylor clearly reads θεοσμου at the beginning of the line; it is impossible to tell whether the article ο was present since the end of the preceding line was destroyed. Actually, the context of the Hebrew (אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָם כִּי הוּא), which resumes the noun with ה- and then with הוּא, prompted α' to interpret the noun as nominative. The emendation to vocative suggested by Field is unfounded.

• Ps 91(90):3. For the Hebrew מְדַבֵּר הַיּוֹת Agellius attributed λόγον ἐπιβουλῆς to α', while Syh attributes لَوْحًا مَدِينًا to it. Field accepted neither the retroversion suggested by Syh nor the confusion of דַּבֵּר with דָּבַר attested by Agellius (whom he cites; this confusion is also found in Θ and σ'). Instead he proposed ἀπό θανάτου ἐπιβουλῆς as the reading of α'. The Taylor manuscript has απολοιμουεπιβου[λ]ησ. Indeed, the translation of דַּבֵּר with λοιμός is attested specifically for α' by Coislin gr. 1 in Deut 28:21 and by the Barberini manuscript in Amos 4:10. Given the serious corruptions suffered by the witnesses that Field used, it is understandable that he would not have proposed this translation.

• Ps 91(90):4. For the Hebrew צִנְהוּ וְסִתְּרָה אֶמְתּוֹ, Paris BN grec 164 attributes to α' the reading ὡς πανοπλία καὶ περιφορέα. ἡ ἀλήθεια. αὐτοῦ. While he reproduced this reading, Field suggested that it should rather be attributed to σ', in the belief that the ὡς, with no counterpart in the Hebrew, corresponded more closely to the practices of σ'. The Taylor manuscript has ασπισκαιπεριφε[...], with the end of the line destroyed. Here again, the reading available to Field was too corrupted for him to have ventured to emend ὡς πανοπλία to ἀσπίς. Furthermore, he was unaware of the Mercati Hexapla for Ps 35(34):2, where he would have read, corresponding to צִנְהוּ, καὶ ἀσπίδος in α' and καὶ ἐν πανοπλία in σ', confirming his intuition concerning σ'.

• Ps 91(90):6. For the Hebrew מְדַבֵּר, Eusebius's commentary attributed ἀπό ῥήματος to α'. On that authority, Field gave this as the reading of α'. But in a note he indicates that Syh attributes لَوْحًا to α'. Given that this word, among other usages, corresponds to λοιμός in Hos 7:5, he conjectured the reading ἀπό λοιμοῦ here for α'. That is precisely what the Taylor manuscript attests.

• Ps 91(90):7. For the Hebrew תִּצַּדֵּךְ, Eusebius attributed ἐκ τοῦ πλαγίου σου to α' and σ', which Field reproduces, with the notation that Theodoret and "Nobilius" attributed ἐκ πλαγίου σου to α' and σ'. This is slightly inexact, since Theodoret and the scholium in the Sixtina edition (which goes back to Theodoret via a catena) place the sigla in the reverse order: σ' and α'. Field adds that Syh attributes לַבַּיִת to α' and σ'. In fact, the Taylor manuscript has αποπλαγιουσ[ου] here. It is thus likely that it was σ' that had ἐκ τοῦ πλαγίου σου, and that the scholiasts who attached the siglum α' simply intended to say that both used πλαγίου, instead of κλίτους of Θ.

• Ps 91(90):9. For the Hebrew הָיָה מְהֵרָה , Field cites Eusebius (from Montfaucon's edition) as giving ἔθηκα κατοικητήριόν σου, or, when he repeats it later, ἔθηκα οἰκητήριόν σου. But he adds that Eusebius's *Demonstrationis* has ἔθηκας οἰκητήριόν σου,³⁰ the reading that Field then prefers. If he had checked the Coislin manuscript, the single witness of the direct tradition of Eusebius's commentary, Field could have seen that the repetition of the citation is identical in form to that given in the *Demonstrationis* (that is, it has ἔθηκας instead of ἔθηκα). And indeed, the Taylor manuscript has εθηκασουκτητηριουσου.

• Ps 91(90):11. For the Hebrew הָיָה מְהֵרָה , Field presents ἐντελείται τοῦ φυλάξαι σε as the reading of α', which is what he read in Eusebius's *Demonstrationis*.³¹ He indicates in a note that Eusebius's commentary reads σε φυλάξαι instead of τοῦ φυλάξαι σε. That is true for the Montfaucon edition, but the Coislin manuscript has ἐντελείται σε φυλάξαι σε. The Taylor manuscript has εντελιταισετουφυλαξαισε.

• Ps 91(90):12. For the Hebrew הָיָה מְהֵרָה , Field has ἀροῦσί (σε), taken from Eusebius's commentary, which omits the pronoun. The pronoun is attested in the Taylor manuscript. For הָיָה מְהֵרָה , Field has ὁ ποῦς σου, again following the commentary. Taylor omits the article.

• Ps 92(91):7. In his "Auctarium," for the Hebrew עָרַף אֵל (which Θ translated οὐ γνώσεται), Field found three hexaplaric readings in the collation of manuscript 264 (= Vatican Ottob. gr. 398), which had been sent to Parsons: first the transcription ουλα.ιαδασ (where he notes that ουλα corresponds to אֵל) and emends the final σ to ε), then the reading καὶ οὐ γνώσεται for α', and the reading οὐ γνώσεται for σ'. If he had checked this manuscript (which gives these readings in the course of its catena), he would have noticed first of all that the transcription is clearly ουλω.ιαδαε, and second, that the reading attributed to σ' is anonymous there. The Taylor manuscript has no καὶ before ουγνωσεται. Kennicott manuscripts 4, 156, and 245 attest אֵל instead of the אֵל found in the other witnesses of עָרַף אֵל . It can be assumed that whoever copied the transcription column of the Hexapla had this reading in his Hebrew Vorlage. Regarding α', it is difficult to say whether the καὶ was omitted in the course of the textual transmission that resulted in the Taylor manuscript, or whether the redactor of the Hexapla inserted this word to perfect the correspondence of his translation to the transcription column immediately preceding it.

At the end of the same verse, for the Hebrew תַּחַת תַּחַת (which Θ translated ταῦτα), Field, in his "Auctarium," found in the collation of manuscript 264 the transcription εθ ζωθ, then ταῦτα for α', and no counterpart in σ'. In fact, Vat. Ottob. gr. 398 does indeed offer this transcription, but for α' it has συνταυτη, and

30. Eusebius, *Demonstrationis*, 865.15.

31. *Ibid.*, 865.17.

for the anonymous reading that follows, it has *τοῦτο*. The Taylor manuscript has *συνταυτην*, which is typical of *α'*.

- Ps 96(95):11. For the Hebrew *יָלַתְּ אֲנִי בְּרֹחַ אֲנִי* (which *Θ* translated *σαλευθήτω ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς*), Field gives *βροντήσῃ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς* as the reading of *α'*. This reading was taken from Montfaucon, who attributes it to "mss." Eusebius's commentary is no longer extant through direct tradition, but *catena III*, according to Paris BN gr. 139, attributes *βροντήσῃ* to Eusebius, instead of *σαλευθήτω* of *Θ*. Most likely, it was from a witness of this type of *catena* and from the context of *Θ* that Montfaucon created the reading that he attributes to *α'*. In fact, the Taylor manuscript has *βροντησατω[θαλ.]ασσα-και[... here*, which shows that, under the influence of the parallel in *σ'* (*ἤχησῃ*), the citation of the *catena* changed the aorist imperative of *α'* to future, and that Montfaucon was mistaken to attribute to *α'* the articles for the following two nouns.

- Ps 102(101):22. For the Hebrew *רָפַחְתָּ* (which *Θ* translated *τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι*), Field has *τοῦ διηγεῖσθαι* as the reading of *α'*. And indeed, Vat. Ottob. gr. 398 has *α' του διηγεισθαι: σ' διηγησασθαι: θ' ομοιως τοις σ'*. However, Taylor has *τουδιηγησασθαι*.

- Ps 103(102):6. For the Hebrew *יִשְׁפְּטוּ* (which *Θ* translated *ἀδικουμένοις*), Field has *συκοφαντούμενοις* as the reading of *α'* (and *σ'*). This is his retroversion of the reading *סוֹפְרוֹתָיִם* that Syh attributes to the two. In fact, Taylor has *σε-συκοφαντημενοισ* here.

While the Taylor manuscript is at times incorrect, it is clear that it is always essential to greet data offered by the indirect tradition of the hexaplaric versions with a critical eye. In this domain, we depend almost exclusively on scholia and citations. Let us now tackle the critical examination of the testimony offered by one of the richest manuscripts for hexaplaric scholia: the Barberini manuscript of the Prophets.

B. Problems Associated with Each of the Sources

1. The Barberini Manuscript

1.a. The Huish collation

The first systematic collation of the marginal scholia in the Barberini manuscript of the Twelve Prophets was published by Alexander Huish in 1657 in Volume VI, Part II of the London polyglot. Regrettably, subsequent editors frequently reproduced Huish's readings without checking them against the manuscript. Two examples:

- In Hos 8:5 for *ἀπότριψαι* of *Θ*, Huish's collation attributes *ἀπόθησον* to *α'*, which Montfaucon then reproduces. Field simply altered the reading to *ἀπόθησαν*. It is not until Ziegler that the reading of the manuscript is reproduced correctly: *ἀπόσθησον*. But we will see that elsewhere Ziegler's readings still reflect Huish's errors.

• We have shown above³² that in Amos 8:4 an accurate interpretation of the referencing mark placed in the text of the Barberini manuscript would attribute the reading καταλύοντες and not λύοντες to θ'. Through an incorrect interpretation of this symbol, the Huish collation erroneously presented the latter form as the reading of θ', and this mistake was too trustingly reproduced by Montfaucon, Field, and Ziegler.

1.b. Interpretational difficulties in the scholia

Even when the data in the Barberini manuscript are correctly deciphered, their correct interpretation is not always obvious. In an earlier study,³³ we demonstrated that the second scholiast of this manuscript offers 35 readings under the siglum ε', from folio 8r to folio 15r, and that this siglum, although it is included among the other hexaplaric sigla, should not be interpreted as πέμπτη ἔκδοσις, but as ἔκδοσις κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους. This “edition according to the Hebrews,” also cited by Cyril of Alexandria, thus has nothing to do with the hexaplaric Quinta, but concerns a Greek adaptation of the translation and commentary of Jerome.

The difficulties in correctly interpreting the hexaplaric scholia in the Barberini manuscript can be grouped under three distinct headings.

1.b.i. Placement of the scholia

In Amos 5:26, Barberini has in its text καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ραιφαν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε. Its second scholiast offers two scholia in the left margin and two others in the right margin. Those on the left are both attributed to θ'. The first is εἰδῶλον ὑμῶν, with its referencing mark on Μολοχ. The second is καὶ ἤρατε τὴν ὄρασιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν ἀμαύρωσιν εἰδῶλων ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν, with its mark on τὸ (ἄστρον). The two in the right margin are anonymous. The first is εἰκόνας, with its mark on τὴν (σκηνὴν) and the second is αἴνεσις ὑμῶν, with its mark on Ραιφαν. It can be observed that none of the referencing appears to be correct and that, because the two readings attributed to θ' overlap, it is impossible for them both to be authentic. However, thanks to parallels in Jerome's commentary and other choices made by Theodotion, Field clearly demonstrated that the fuller of the two readings attributed to θ' by Barberini is substantially correct.

In Hag 1:10 where Ⓞ has nothing that corresponds to מִן־לְיָ, the third word of the verse, the Antiochene text adds ἐφ' ὑμᾶς at the end of the verse. The Barberini manuscript reflects this textual state and gives the reading λ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ξηρασία in its right margin. As such, this reading is unusable. Based in part on Jerome, Field reasonably conjectured that the word ξηρασία actually bears on ῥομφαίαν, the third word in v. 11. With respect to ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, this means that “the

32. P. 442.

33. Barthélemy, “Quinta ou Version selon les Hébreux?” *ThZ* 16 (1960) 342–53 = *Études*, 54–65.

others” so translate the word עֲלֵיכֶם , which Θ did not translate, but this does not mean that they have the word here at the end of the verse.

1.b.ii. Attribution of the scholia

In Ezek 21:20(15) the Antiochene text renders the word כֶּסֶף (following the word “sword”) with a doublet: εὐγε ὀξεῖα . Now the second word is attributed to α' by the Barberini manuscript. However, Syh attributes to σ' a fairly lengthy reading in which, in place of the Hebrew word כֶּסֶף , the word כַּוְּבָב figures (following $\text{כַּוְּבָב} = \text{“sword”}$). It is these words, $\text{כַּוְּבָב כַּוְּבָב}$, that are used by Syh to translate μάχαιρα ὀξεῖα in Ps 56(57):4. The freedom of translation that is suggested by this choice in Ezek 21:20(15) corresponds much better to what might be expected in σ' than to the practices of α' . Therefore the attribution offered by Barberini should be regarded as questionable, with more confidence placed in Syh.

In Ezek 24:13, Θ read הַמִּזְיָה instead of הַמִּזְיָה , and translated with καὶ τί . The Origen recension, under the impression that this word (and the preceding one) had been left untranslated, gives the transcription ζεμμα for it (with asterisk), which the Marchalianus manuscript attributes to θ' . Given the preference for transcriptions in θ' , this attribution is highly likely. It is therefore surprising to see the Barberini manuscript attribute the reading μυσερά to θ' . Ziegler simply placed the two contradictory witnesses for θ' side by side. Here again, it is the Barberini attribution that must be doubted. Indeed, the parallels in Ezek 16:58 and 23:27, 29 point toward attributing this reading to σ' in the form μυσαρία .

In Amos 7:8 Field errs in stating that the Barberini manuscript attributes the reading γάνωσιν to σ' in 8a and 8b. The reference mark pertains only to 8b. In any case, the detailed information supplied here by Jerome concerning the way in which each of the versions render the word הַגִּבְעָה recommends emending the σ' in this reference to α' .

1.b.iii. Corruptions in the scholia

Throughout *CTAT* Vol. 3, it was often necessary to correct the scholia given in the Barberini manuscript.

(α) We pointed out the corruption of σι to ετ in a scholium attributed to α' in Ezek 30:9.³⁴

(β) Regarding Hos 3:2, we reported on two scholia from the first scholiast of the Barberini manuscript that Field and Ziegler regarded as interpolations.³⁵ Indeed, for $\text{וְהָיָה שְׁעָרֵי הַגִּבְעָה שְׁעָרֵי הַגִּבְעָה}$, which the text of Barberini translates $\text{καὶ γομορ κριθῶν καὶ νεβελ οἴνου}$, the glossator places a mark on γομορ , and gives α' $\text{καὶ κόρου κριθῶν / \sigma' καὶ θύλακος κριθῶν καὶ ἀσκοῦ οἴνου / \theta' καὶ γομορ ἀλφίτων καὶ νεβελ οἴνου}$. Jerome attests that “ceteri interpretes” translate *lethec seorim*

34. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 246:23–26.

35. *Ibid.*, 505:22–26.

with ἡμίκορον *hordei*. Thus, it appears that the Barberini scholia inspire confidence only for the translation of the first two words, but not for that of the two following (where it would indeed be surprising if both θ' and σ' had left intact the οἴνου of Θ, which has no basis in the Hebrew).

(γ) We have noted that, in one scholium, the Barberini manuscript gives a reading that was a victim of itacism.³⁶ In the text, from the beginning of Hos 7:5 it has αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλέων ὑμῶν, and the siglum θ' is written three times above it: at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of this reading, with a mark above ἡμέραι. This mark corresponds to a marginal reading without a siglum: ἡμέρα βασιλέως ὑμῶν. Probably taking into account the fact that the last word of this reading could not be authentic, Huish eliminated it and Montfaucon later was to copy Huish. With the collations of Bernard Stephanopolo³⁷ and Joseph Cozza at his disposal, Field added this third word in his notes. Finally, using a photographic reproduction, Ziegler incorrectly interpreted the glossator's intentions. He concluded, in effect, that the three sigla were meant to attribute the reading in the text to θ', and that the glossator left the marginal reading anonymous. In fact, the glossator probably intended the three sigla that are placed above the text to bear on the marginal reading that has no siglum, as, indeed, the earlier collators had understood very well. It is clear, however, that this scholiast had a reading in which the original pronoun ἡμῶν had already been corrupted through itacism to ὑμῶν, whereas the scholiast of Syh, giving Ⲙⲛ, shows that he had an unaltered reading.

(δ) For Hos 8:10 we noted that the Barberini manuscript gives ἀπὸ φόβου as the counterpart of the Hebrew נִשְׁמָה, in a reading attributed to σ'.³⁸ Ziegler, following Schleusner,³⁹ emended the reading to ἀπὸ φόρου. Two words earlier, the scholiast gives βραχοι, which should be emended to βραχὺ, following Dathe. This orthographic peculiarity turns up again in the text of Barberini in Zeph 2:11, where προσκοινήσουσιν is written for προσκυνήσουσιν, and in Mal 3:5 (μάρτοις for μάρτυς). In addition, for the scholia of Hos 8:10, at the end of the reading of σ', the scholiast continues without interruption with καὶ διαλίψουσι τοῦ χρίειν, then inserts the siglum θ' and repeats exactly the same words.

(ε) For the first six of the twelve prophets, the body of the Barberini manuscript is made up of Theodoret's commentary, interspersed with his biblical lemmas. For the word הַנְּזִמְרִיָּה in Amos 4:3, Theodoret (in the body of the manuscript) says that σ' translated Ἀρμενίαν,⁴⁰ whereas the scholiast, in the margin of

36. Ibid., 537:12.

37. A collation made for Parsons.

38. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 552 nn. 1759 and 1760.

39. Whom he cites in *Sylloge*, 84. He compares this case to Fischer's recommendation (Fischer, *Schrift*, 27) to emend φόβος to φόρος in Θ of Isa 10:27.

40. This reading of σ' is confirmed by Syh. manuscript 407, and Jerome, with the preceding preposition "toward" made explicit in the translations of Syh and Jerome.

the lemma, attributes εἰς ἔρμηνίαν to σ' for this same word. Was the scholiast completely unaware that this form of the reading is no more than a corruption of the other?⁴¹

(ζ) For Mic 1:10 in the Barberini manuscript, we pointed out the corruption of ἀναγγεῖλητε into ἀναγγεῖληται in a scholium attributed to α' and σ'.⁴²

(η) For Mic 2:7, the corruption of εὐθέως into ἐνθέως was pointed out in the reading attributed to α' by a scholium in Barberini.⁴³ Here the correction is corroborated by the translation ܕܠܚܝܘܬܐ that Syh gives for α'.

(θ) For Hab 3:14, in a scholium in Barberini giving the reading of σ', we noted the omission of the final *sigma* in ἐπελθόντας.⁴⁴ We emended it on the basis of Coislin gr. 187, even though the other variants in these scholia from that manuscript are inferior to the readings in Barberini.

(ι) With Field and Ziegler, we suspect that the scholiast of Barberini omitted an article in the reading of σ' in Zeph 1:3.⁴⁵

(κ) For Zeph 2:6, we described a scholium in Barberini as corrupted.⁴⁶ For the Hebrew סִיָּה לְצִיָּה , instead of Θ Κρήτη , this scholium attributes τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς ὠραιότητος to α' and τὸ περίμετρον ἢ τὸ παράλιον to σ'. Jerome inspires more confidence when he states that "all translators," including him, give "funiculus maris" instead of the Septuagint's "Creta." Indeed, as Field suggested, the words τῆς ὠραιότητος correspond to סִיָּה , which comes immediately after. Regarding σ', τὸ περίμετρον appears to be the reading for the first word, as the parallels in Deut 3:4, 14 show. What remains then is τὸ παράλιον. Could this be the reading of θ'?

(λ) For Zech 4:7, we pointed out that an *omicron* takes the place of an *omega* in a reading attributed to α' in the scholium of Barberini.⁴⁷

I.c. Conclusion

This quick overview of the difficulties present in the interpretation of the hexaplaric scholia in the Barberini manuscript has the single object of cautioning against naivety in the use of the information furnished by this manuscript and other sources of scholia.

2. Jerome

As Gryson and Deproost pointed out with regard to the biblical citations of Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah, "the central problem lies in establishing the text of the citations."⁴⁸ This is even more clearly the case for the hexaplaric

41. See *CTAT* Vol. 3, 654:27–28.

42. *Ibid.*, 718 n. 2475.

43. *Ibid.*, 733 n. 2551.

44. *Ibid.*, 876 n. 3182.

45. *Ibid.*, 881:45–47.

46. *Ibid.*, 889:36–37.

47. *Ibid.*, 951 n. 3438.

48. Gryson and Deproost, "Tradition," 175.

readings cited in Greek by Jerome: A good number of them were seriously corrupted in the course of transmission by copyists who did not know the language. But as we have already noted at Isa 61:6, where the reading πορφυρωθήσεσθε was altered by the editors to πόρφυρα ἐνδύσεσθε, Jerome cannot be held responsible for the mistaken conjectures of his editors.⁴⁹ We can demonstrate this point more generally in Jerome's commentary on the Dodekapropheton.

2.a. *The commentary on the Dodekapropheton*

Gadolo, the first editor of Jerome's commentary,⁵⁰ knew little Hebrew or Greek, and he often had to leave blanks in his edition, being unable to interpret the mutilated remains that his manuscripts presented him. Later, for the edition that he published in Basel in 1516, Bruno Amerbachius was assisted by numerous scholars, among whom he names Johann Reuchlin, Conon de Nuremberg, Georg Reisch, and Conrad Pellican.⁵¹ They frequently made restorations of corrupted or absent readings on the basis of conjecture, and these conjectural restorations of hexaplaric fragments were often transmitted from the Sixtina edition right up to Ziegler, without any of the "editors" appearing to have the curiosity to check the putative reading in an early manuscript of Jerome's commentary. For example, in the case mentioned in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 658:10–21, the putative reading φώνημα attributed to σ' usurped the place of the authentic reading ὀμιλίαν up to and including Ziegler. In what follows, we relate through a number of examples the odysseys of some of these readings. We have made use of 33 manuscripts and five editions, with the following sigla:

- a. Paris: lat 1839: JonNahZephHag: VIII ex.
- b. Cologne: 55: MicHabZeph: VIII–IX.
- b. Cologne: 54: ObJonNah: VIII–IX.
- c. Munich: Clm 6303: [Dan]HosObMicZechMalZephHag: VIII–IX.
- d. Munich: Clm 14082: JoelMicNahMal: VIII–IX.
- e. Cologne: 52: AmZechJonMal: IX.
- f. Karlsruhe: Aug.Perg. 148 ObZechMalHabHos: IX.
- f. Karlsruhe: Aug.Perg. 226: JoelMicJonNahZephHag: IX.
- f. Karlsruhe: Aug.Perg. 257: Amos: IX.
- g. Karlsruhe: Aug.Perg. 113: Hos: IX.
- g. Karlsruhe: Aug.Perg. 212: ObZechMalHab: IX.
- g. Karlsruhe: Aug.Perg. 74: JonNahZephHag: IX.
- h. Zurich: C.41 (278): ObZechMalHab: IX.
- h. St.Gall: 119: JoelMic: IX.
- h. St.Gall: 121: Hos: IX.

49. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 422.

50. Jerome, *Commentaria*.

51. Jerome, *Omnium*.

- h. St.Gall: 122: Amos: IX.
 h. St.Gall: 123: JonNahZephHag: IX.
 i. Cambrai: 299: [Dan]HosJoelAmObJonNahMicHab: IX.
 j. Laôn: 38: JoelJonNahMicHab: IX.
 k. Paris: lat 1838: JonObZechMal: IX.
 l. Namur: 16: HosAmJonObMicZephHagZechMal: IX.
 m. Berne: 102: AmObMicNahHabZech: IX med.
 n. Paris: lat 1836: JoelHabJonZechMicMal: IX.
 n. Paris: N.A. 2248: Hos: IX–X.
 o. Le Mans: 240: MalJoelJonNah: IX–X.
 p. Le Mans: 213: HosAmJonObMicNah: IX–X.
 q. Orléans: 61(58): JoelHabJonZechMicMal: IX–X.
 r. Troyes: 126: HosJoelAmObJonMicNahHabZephHagZechMal: IX–X.
 s. Vatican: Palat lat 174: HosAmOb: X.
 t. St. Omer: 279: JoelJonNahMicHab: X.
 u. Paris: lat 1834: HosAmOb: X.
 v. Cologne: 53: HosJoelAmObJonMicNahHabZephHagZechMal: X ex.
 w. Vatican: Palat lat 173: HosJoelAmJonObMicNahZechZephHagMalHab:
 XI (1001–1015).
 x. Avranches: 69: HosJoelJonZephHagMal: XI–XII.

Abbreviations for the editions are as follows:

- Greg—De Gregoriis (Ed. Gadolo, Venice 1497).
 Amer—Amerbachius (Basel 1516).
 Mar—Martianay (Paris 1704).
 Val—Vallarsi (2nd ed. Venice 1768).
 Ad—Adriaen (Turnhout 1969–1970).

Here, then, are some typical cases where even a very limited probe of the textual tradition of Jerome's commentary allows the recovery of hexaplaric readings that are undoubtedly authentic.

2.a.i. Hosea

Hos 10:1 / III: רִקְוֹן (רִקְוֹן) / Θ: (ἄμπελος) εὐκληματοῦσα. Greg has "Pro vite frondosa Aquila interpretatus est quam nos aquosam vel ἔξυγρόν possumus dicere, eo quod vini perdat saporem." As its annotations demonstrate, Amer made use of the exemplar of Greg from the Bibliothèque Nationale of Berne. Now, in this exemplar, the blank left for the word that Gadolo was unable to decipher is filled in with ὕδατώδη, and then ἔξυγρόν is replaced with ἔνυδρον. In Amer, ἔνυδρον takes the place of the first word, while for the second it has ἔξοινον. These two Greek words were then preserved by Mar and Val. For the second word Val notes, however, "Pro ἔξοινον, quae vox proprie temulentum, vinoque madidum sonat, nostri mss. ἔξιτηλον legunt, quod omnino verius puto, ac

velim, veteri lectione expuncta, substitui. Significat enim evanescentem, elutum, sive perdentem alicujus rei saporem. Hocque ipsum est, quod Hieron. notat, dictam ab Aquila vineam aquosam, quae exolesceret, seu perderet saporem vini.” For the first word, Ad adds a breathing error, ἔνυδρον,⁵² and adopts ἔξιτηλον for the second, faithfully copying the incorrect accent of Val. As for the edition of this reading of α’, Morin undoubtedly took from Amer the “Aquila ἔνυδρος” notation, which he gives in the Sixtina edition and which, by way of Montfaucon and Field, was passed down to Ziegler’s apparatus.

Among those manuscripts that contain this passage of the commentary, **i l p s** omit this word, which is read as ΠΑΛΘΑΡΑΝ by **c f g h**, ΠΑΛΔΑΙΑΝ by **v**, ΠΑΔΔΑΡΑΝ by **x**, ΤΙΑΔΑΡΑΝ by **u**, and ΠΑΔΘΑΡΑΝ by **r**. The form πλαδαράν is easily recognizable as the source of these various corruptions, that is, as long as one has sufficient critical sense not to be swayed by the unanimity of all editors since 1516. It is an easy matter to be convinced that πλαδαρά is the authentic translation of α’ for קָרַבְּ, when it is noted that, according to Eusebius, α’ translates קָרַבְּ with καὶ πλαδαρωθήσεται in Isa 19:3.⁵³ In Jer 51(28):2 for קָרַבְּ Syh attributes קָרַבְּ to α’, while in Jer 19:7 for קָרַבְּ it attributes קָרַבְּ to α’. These two verbs could translate πλαδαροῦν, though one cannot be certain that that is the case.

Hos 11:8 / III: קָרַבְּ / ⑥: ὑπερασπιῶ. Greg has “Aquila transtulit οὐρέωσέ idest scuto te circumdabo (. . .) ex editione Symachi contrarius nobis sensus subiicitur dicentis κατανοώσε idest tradam te. Ex translatione quoque Theodotionis, non prospera sed adversaria demonstrantur: ἀφοπλίωσέ quod significat nudabo te et auferam a te ὄπλον hoc est scutum.” In the Berne exemplar the readings of α’ and σ’ were erased. In the margin of the first is written ὄπλοκυκλώσω σε, and in the margin of the second, παραδῶ σε. In Amer the reading attributed to α’ is written as three words: ὄπλω κυκλώσω σε. The reading of σ’ becomes ἐκδώσω σε, and that of θ’ remains ἀφοπλίω σε. From Amer to Ad, via Mar and Val, these readings remain intact, with Ad giving the corrupt readings of the Namur manuscript in the apparatus. In the form that they take in Amer, these readings were passed down in the hexaplaric scholia of Morin, and from there to the editions of Montfaucon, Field, and Ziegler.

None of the manuscripts that contain this passage omits these words. But the witnesses (**i p l s**) that omitted the reading πλαδαράν in Hos 10:1 fall into a group (= group B) based on characteristic readings that distinguish them from the other, earlier manuscripts (**c f g h r** = group A) that give evidence for πλαδαράν in 10:1.

52. The word is altered to ἔνυδρον in the apparatus, where Ad states only that this word is absent in the one manuscript that he used, Namur 16 (= our I).

53. Montfaucon, in his edition of the commentary, gives παραδοθήσεται (Eusebius [Montfaucon], vol. 2). It is MS Laur. XI 4 from Florence that preserves the original reading here.

• For α' , group A unites around a reading $\epsilon\Upsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\omega\epsilon$ (= **f g h r**) and group B around $\text{O}\Upsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ (= **i p s w**). Behind these two readings one can easily recognize $\theta\rho\epsilon\omega\omega\sigma\epsilon$, which underwent haplography of the $\omega\sigma$ in B, while the initial θ was corrupted to O in B and to ϵ in A.

With $\theta\rho\epsilon\omega\omega\sigma\epsilon$, we are obviously far from the $\acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\omega\ \kappa\upsilon\kappa\lambda\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omega\ \sigma\epsilon$ construed by Amer from Jerome's gloss "scuto te circumdabo." But this is undoubtedly the authentic reading for α' , as is proven by the fact that in Isa 38:6 for the Hebrew $\text{׀}׀׀׀׀׀$ that Θ translated $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\omega}$, the Barberini manuscript attributes this same $\theta\rho\epsilon\omega\omega\sigma\omega$ to α' . In Isa 31:5, for the Hebrew $\text{׀}׀׀׀$ (which Θ does not translate), Marchalianus attributes $\theta\rho\epsilon\omega\omega$ to α' .

• For σ' , group B unites around the reading $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\Delta\omega\epsilon$ (= **i p**) and group A around $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\alpha\omega\epsilon$ (= **c f g h r**). The reading of group B is the more primitive form, with the two *deltas* corrupted to *alpha* in group A. Their common archetype appears to have undergone haplography of the $\omega\sigma$, which separates them from the original reading $\epsilon\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\delta[\omega\sigma]\omega\sigma\epsilon$.

The expression $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota$ is common in Demosthenes. But in the Greek versions of the Old Testament the word $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ occurs again only once in θ' (Bel 22: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \beta\eta\lambda\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \Delta\alpha\nu\iota\eta\lambda$) and twice in σ' . For the latter, this involves Jer 44(51):30 where Θ has $\text{׀}׀\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \text{O}\upsilon\alpha\phi\eta$ for $\text{׀}׀׀׀׀׀\ \text{׀}׀׀׀׀\ \text{׀}׀׀׀׀$. For $\tau\omicron\nu\ \text{O}\upsilon\alpha\phi\eta$ the Barberini manuscript attributes $\tau\omicron\nu\ \phi\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ to σ' , with the last word confirmed in Marchalianus. In Isa 46:1, the situation is more complex, since for $(\text{׀}׀׀׀׀׀)$ $\text{׀}׀׀׀׀\ \text{׀}׀׀׀׀\ \text{׀}׀׀׀׀$, which Θ translated $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\ \theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\ (\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\eta)$, Montfaucon cites the following for σ' , according to Procopius: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\ . . .$, which Field reproduced. However, in his apparatus Ziegler attributed the following to σ' , according to Eusebius: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ (- $\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ cod.) $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$. The last two words correspond to $\text{׀}׀׀׀׀\ \text{׀}׀׀׀$, which Θ translated $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$. Was Procopius mistaken to attribute the word $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron$ to σ' , even though that word appears to be well established in its vocabulary? It was Ziegler who neglected to copy this word between $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omicron\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$, as is shown by the fact that he edited Eusebius's commentary where no witness is cited as having omitted the word. We may conclude then that there is every reason to believe that $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega\ \sigma\epsilon$ is the authentic reading of σ' in Hos 11:8.

• For θ' , group A (= **f g h**) agrees on $\alpha\phi\text{O}\text{I}\text{I}\alpha\omega\epsilon$, while group B (= **i l s w**) revolves around $\alpha\phi\text{O}\text{T}\text{T}\alpha\omega\epsilon$. While group B corrupted $\text{I}\text{I}\alpha$ to $\text{T}\text{T}\alpha$, group A kept intact the Attic future $\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\ \sigma\epsilon$, which has a good chance of being the authentic reading of θ' here.

Before leaving the book of Hosea, we might note that our witnesses agree in omitting the article in the reading $\delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\nu\eta\acute{\nu}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, which Field and Ziegler attribute to θ' (based on Jerome) in Hos 2:17(15).

2.a.ii. Joel

In Joel 2:17, for the Hebrew דָּרֹם (ḏ τῆς κρηπίδος), Greg gives as the reading of α' a word that was heavily blotted out in the Berne exemplar and replaced (in the margin) by πρόδομον , a reading adopted by Amer, Mar, Val, and Ad. In the editions of hexaplaric fragments, this reading, while absent in the Sixtina, was adopted by Montfaucon and placed in the genitive (with an article) by Field and Ziegler. This reading finds support in the fact that in 1 Kgs 7:6(43) and 7(44) Coislin 8 attributes πρόδομον to α' three times for the word דָּרֹם . But in Jerome's commentary on Joel 2:17, **d** and **f** have ΠΡΟΔΡΩΘΩΝ (from which ΠΡΟΔΡΩΘΩΝ in **h** derives), while **i j q r** have ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΝ (from which ΠΡΟΔΡΑΜΟΝ in **o x**, and ΠΡΟΔΡΕΜΟΝ in **t** derive). The second *rho* of this word is omitted only in the late manuscript **w**, which has ΠΡΟΔΟΜΟΝ . Manuscript **v** omits this reading and that of σ' .⁵⁴ Syh attributes the reading ܕܪܘܡܐ to α' , for which Field offers the retroversion τοῦ περιδρόμου . It is clear that this Syriac reading could not translate τοῦ προδόμου , but it could very well correspond to τοῦ προδρόμου . Indeed, Field bases his retroversion on Ezek 45:19 where Syh gave the same reading for σ' (for ܕܪܘܡܐ in **ll**), a reading that Field had already retroverted as τῆς περιδρομῆς. But in order to justify that retroversion, Field made reference to Ezek 43:14, where he gave τῆς περιδρομῆς as the reading of σ' for ܕܪܘܡܐ in **ll**. We should at least be curious enough to check this last attribution, especially since it claims to be based on Jerome's commentary. We observe that the reading given by Mar and Val was emended to περίβολον by F. Glorie in the Corpus Christianorum edition of the commentary,⁵⁵ with the clear support of the best manuscripts. But in Ezek 43:14, Syh does not translate this reading, and there is no proof that σ' translated the word ܕܪܘܡܐ in the same way in 43:14 and 45:19. With this single attestation of the word περιδρομή in the Bible thus fading away, it appears that in Joel 2:17 τοῦ προδρόμου is the most likely retroversion for the reading of Syh, where the root ܕܪܘܡܐ very likely corresponds to the Greek root *δρομ . Thus in the authentic reading of Jerome and in Syh we have two witnesses in favor of πρόδομον as the α' counterpart of דָּרֹם , while in 1 Kgs 7:6, 7 we have a threefold Greek attestation for πρόδομον . This should not be surprising. Indeed, with regard to an Aeschylus fragment constituting the single citation in Liddell/Scott for the word πρόδομος , we are told that the popular tradition of this fragment (in a scholium on Theocritus, *Idylles* ii.36) has πρόδρομος .⁵⁶ This shift from προδομ- to προδρομ- is again illustrated in the fact that Stephanus's Thesaurus suggests correcting προδρομίας Ἡρας to Προδομία Ἡρα in Pausanias.⁵⁷

54. All our manuscripts support the reading ΠΡΟΠΥΛΩΝ (with some isolated alterations) and none supports the form ΠΡΟΠΥΛΑΙΩΝ given by Amer, Mar, Val, Montfaucon, Field, and Ziegler (Greg has ΠΡΟΠΥΛΩΩΝ). However, Vallarsi notes the reading ΠΡΟΠΥΛΩΝ in manuscript **w**, which Field and Ziegler mention and Ad adopts.

55. Listed under Jerome (Adriaen) in the bibliography.

56. Aeschylus (Smyth), vol. 2, 499.

57. Pausanias (*Corinthe* 2, 11, 2).

2.a.iii. Amos

Apart from the hexaplaric readings bearing on Amos 4:13 that are treated in *CTAT* Vol. 3,⁵⁸ for the reading of σ' in 4:1 (not given in Greg), Amer has αἱ βόες εὐτροφοί, which was adopted by Mar, Val, and Ad, as well as by editors of the Hexapla from Morin to Ziegler. Now, all of our manuscripts include a second article, and read αἱ βόαις αἱ εὐτροφοί, with the spelling αι instead of ε (in βοαις), a frequent occurrence in Greek manuscripts. The authenticity of Jerome's reading is thus confirmed by the fact that it attests to deviations typical of a Greek textual tradition, which thus have a good chance of originating in the hexaplaric readings themselves.

2.a.iv. Habakkuk

Since we were able to examine the textual tradition of Jerome's commentary for the second chapter of Habakkuk in greater depth, we can illustrate in a more detailed way the benefits that recourse to the manuscripts of the commentary can offer our editions of the hexaplaric versions.

Hab 2:4. For הַיְיָ יִתְּנוּמִי בְּצִדְקָתִי, translated ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται by Ⓞ, Greg edits Jerome as follows: "Symachus significantius interpretans ait. Iustus autem per fidem propriam suam vivet, quod graece dicitur: ὁ δίκαιος τῆ αὐτοῦ πίστει ζήσει." This Greek reading was erased in the Berne exemplar and emended in the margin to διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν ζήσεται. However, Amer returned to the original reading of Greg (only emending αὐτοῦ to ἑαυτοῦ). Mar notes here: "Hunc locum depravatam invenies in antiquis editionibus, tam in ordine Graccorum verborum, quam in lectione contextus Hebraici. Conferat qui voluerit." And he emends the Greek of σ' to πίστει τῆ ὁ δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ ζήσει. Val repeats the reading of Amer, noting "Hanc Martianacus sententiam Graccorum traiectione verborum, dum emendare vult, depravat legens πίστει τῆ ὁ δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ ζήσει. Nos quemadmodum et ab Eusebio laudatur, et jam inde et ab Erasmi erat editione, reposuimus." Ad followed Amer and Val. In the Hexapla editions, Sixtina gives nothing here; Montfaucon, repeating that the editions are corrupted here, appeals to Eusebius's *Demonstrationis* to attribute the reading ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῆ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει to σ', θ', ε', Sexta, and Septima. Field reproduces this reading, while limiting the attribution to σ' alone, and placing δὲ in parentheses. Ziegler follows Field.

Here we should acknowledge that Martianay was correct on at least one point, and that is that the manuscripts agree in ending the reading of σ' with ἑαυτοῦ ζήσει. Indeed, this reading is clearly attested by **b m q r**. It is corrupted to ΕΑΥΤΟΝΥΖΗCΕΙ in **i j t** (and **w**, which omits the last three letters), while **f g h** separate a first element ΙΑΥΤ from a second element ΑΙ with a blank that could contain four

58. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 658:3–26.

or five letters (it thus appears that the copyists retained an awareness of the omission of OYZH).

Going back to the beginning of the reading, we find *δια* undergoing various corruptions: ΔΙ in **b**; ΛΙΑ in **f g h**; ΠΙΑ in **j w**; ΝΑΙ in **q r**; ΗΙΑ in **i**; ΗΙΑ in **t**; and ΡΙ in **m**. Between these remnants of *δια* and those of *εαυτου*, the word *πιστεως* can be recognized without difficulty in some manuscripts: ΠΙCΤHOC in **f g h**; ΗΙΕΙΩΘ in **q r**; and ΝΙ&ΕΩ in **w**. The other manuscripts also offer this word, but it is followed by extra letters: ΗΙΕΙΩΕΙΩΕ in **j**; ΗΙΕΙΩΕΙΩΕ in **i**; and ΗΙΕΩΕΙΩΕ in **t**, which all appear to be dittographies of the end of the word. However, two of our manuscripts have a more original ending: ΤΙCΤΩCΑΙAC in **b**; and ΤΙCΤΕΟCΑΙAC in **m**. The word that would fit best between *πιστεως* and *εαυτου* would be *της*. But it would be unwise to make that conjecture solely on the basis of ΔΙΑC and ΛΙΑC in these two manuscripts. We conclude that the mostly likely reconstruction of this corrupted reading of σ' is *διὰ πίστεως ἑαυτοῦ ζήσει*, and that the Greek citation in Jerome never included the word *δικαιος*.

Hab 2:5. We have demonstrated that the manuscripts of Jerome allow us to recover the reading for σ' that Barberini attributes to it, *εὐπραγήσει*, which the editions of Jerome's commentary had replaced with *εὐπορήσει*.⁵⁹ This incorrect reading had been suggested in the margin by the annotator of the Berne exemplar of Greg, and was then adopted by Amer.

Hab 2:11. As in the case of *εὐπραγήσει*, recourse to the manuscripts of Jerome enables us to emend the reading *σύνδεσμος*, attributed to θ' in the editions of Jerome, to *ἔνδεσμος*, attributed to θ' in Barberini. Indeed, this reading is clearly attested by **f g h r**. It is corrupted by the others: to ΕΝΕCΜOC in **b**, to ΕΝΘΕΜOC in **i j**, to ΕΝΑΕΜOC in **q t**, to ΕΝΗCΜOC in **m**, and to ΛΕΝΤΤΕΜOC in **w**. There is thus no argument for attributing *σύνδεσμος* to θ'. Greg had *σύνδεσμος*, with the annotator of the Berne exemplar suggesting *ἔνδεσμος*, but Amer retained the reading of Greg.

- The reading of ε' is omitted by **i j q t w**. Those MSS that have it (**b f g h m r**) do indeed give *σύνδεσμος* as in the editions, but with the difference that they add the preposition *ἐκ* between this word and *ξύλου*. Here again the annotator of the Berne exemplar of Greg had added *ἐκ*, but was not followed by Amer.
- Jerome cites the reading of the Septima in Latin, including in it a word that all editors from Greg onward read as *σκώληξ*. He repeats this reading later in the commentary, again in the same terms. However, Val (for the first occurrence) noted the reading *κολεός* in a manuscript, which Ad does not mention. Among the editors of the Hexapla, only Field and Ziegler cite this reading of the Septima and they mention only the word *σκώληξ*.

59. Ibid., 845:23–33.

For the first occurrence of this reading **j m q** have $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, **b** has $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, **f g h r** have $\kappa\theta\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, **i t** have $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\omicron$, and **w** has $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\Delta\omicron\&$. For the second occurrence (omitted by **w**) **t** has $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, **f g h** have $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, **i j** have $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, **b** has $\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (corrected to $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$), and **m** has $\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$. In two manuscripts, this word was assimilated to the Greek word given earlier by Jerome as the equivalent of the Latin “scarabacus”: $\kappa\alpha\theta\theta\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in **q**, and “cantaros” in **r**. Behind all the witnesses in these two occurrences, it is easy to recognize the word $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, which should thus replace $\sigma\kappa\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta\tilde{\xi}$ (which has no basis in the textual tradition) as the reading of the Septima.

For Hab 2:15 and 3:13, we have already corrected a number of Ziegler’s hexaplaric readings on the basis of these manuscripts.⁶⁰

2.b. Conclusion

Clearly, Jerome’s commentaries constitute a very valuable source for hexaplaric readings, provided that the information furnished in ostensibly critical editions is subjected to systematic critical scrutiny.

3. The SyroHexapla

3.a. The text

Let us begin by recalling that, in spite of its name, the SyroHexapla (Syh) is not an absolutely faithful representative of Origen’s recension of Θ . In the case of the Psalter, this fact is well known.⁶¹ But Ziegler’s introductions to the various volumes of the Göttingen Septuagint that he edited demonstrate that Syh cannot be considered a consistently dependable witness of that recension for the books of the Prophets. We have also had occasion to note that fact in *CTAT* Vol. 3.⁶² In the same vein, the abundant hexaplaric scholia of Syh also require a critical reading.

3.b. The scholia

3.b.i. Questionable attributions

Indeed, we have had occasion to observe that some of the attributions of these scholia should be regarded as doubtful. We suggested that two scholia attributed to α' have a greater chance of coming from σ' ,⁶³ that another attributed to σ' is rather from θ' ,⁶⁴ and that another attributed to θ' should probably be restored to σ' .⁶⁵ Elsewhere, Syh appears to have grouped two readings under a

60. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 216–17; *CTAT* Vol. 3, 850 n. 3065.

61. See Rahlfs’s “Prolegomena” to the Göttingen edition of the Θ Psalter, §6.1.

62. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 728:45–729:2.

63. *Ibid.*, 64:22–24 on Ezek 11:15 and 351:10–11 on Ezek 41:9.

64. *Ibid.*, 96:10–13 on Ezek 16:7.

65. *Ibid.* n. 1709.

single attribution to θ' .⁶⁶ It also appears to have reversed the sigla of two readings on at least one occasion.⁶⁷

3.b.ii. Inaccurate references

It sometimes happens that Syh refers its scholia to the text inaccurately. In Ezck 36:14 a reading of θ' is incorrectly referred to the beginning of the verse, while it actually bears on a verb at the end of the verse.⁶⁸ In Amos 7:1 we pointed out that the correct reference of a Greek word to θ' and σ' was incorrectly extended to α' .⁶⁹ In Hos 4:18 we suggested⁷⁰ that an unlikely reading of θ' would become more intelligible if the reference mark were recognized as being in the wrong place.

3.b.iii. A corrupt Greek Vorlage

At times, the Greek scholia used by the Syriac translator of Syh were in a corrupt state. This is the case in Mic 1:10, where the Vorlage probably had $\sigma\pi\omicron\delta\iota\alpha$ instead of $\sigma\pi\omicron\delta\iota\alpha$,⁷¹ and in the following verse where it appears that the Vorlage omitted the final *sigma* of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$,⁷² and again in Mic 2:7 where it appears to have $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ instead of $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$.⁷³ In Hos 12:4(3) and 5(4), it is difficult to say whether it was the Greek Vorlage or the Syriac translator that was responsible for the textual permutations that took place between two readings of α' .⁷⁴

3.b.iv. Misinterpretation of the Vorlage

The translator was sometimes a poor interpreter of the Greek that he had before him. This can be seen in Hos 3:1, where (perhaps as the result of an itacism) he understood $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ instead of $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon$,⁷⁵ or in Mic 3:8, where he translated the word $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ at the end of two scholia too literally as $\kappa\upsilon\omicron\iota$, without noticing that the biblical context makes it dependent on another genitive, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$, which would require a translation of $\kappa\upsilon\omicron\iota$ for $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$.⁷⁶

66. Ibid., 721:23–25 on Mic 1:11.

67. Those of α' and σ' in Mic 2:4. See *ibid.*, 730 n. 2534.

68. Ibid., 294 n. 1066.

69. Ibid., 674 n. 2312.

70. Ibid., 515:17–20.

71. See *ibid.*, 719:25–29. Other examples of the mistaken insertion of *nu* before *delta* in the textual tradition of the Dodekapropheton: $\omicron[\nu]\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ by the first hand of Sinaiticus in Joel 1:6; $\sigma\iota[\nu]\delta\omicron\nu$ by Venetus in Joel 4(3):4.

72. Ibid., 721:27–30.

73. Ibid., 733 n. 2552.

74. Ibid., 602 n. 1990.

75. Ibid., 504 n. 1565.

76. Ibid., 743:28–34.

3.c. Errors by the interpreters of Syh

3.c.i. Incorrect interpretations

At times it is the interpreters of the SyroHexapla who seem not to have understood the intentions of its scholiast. For Jer 19:1 we demonstrated⁷⁷ that the reading of α' offered by the Syh Codex Ambrosianus should most likely be preferred over the conjecture that Bernstein, Field, and Ziegler wanted to substitute for it. It is helpful, nevertheless, in making use of Ceriani's fine facsimile,⁷⁸ to take into account the critical notes that he adds, as we have shown for the reading of α' in Lam 1:13.⁷⁹ In Mic 1:14, interpreters from Middeldorpf to Ziegler, including Field, have been puzzled by Syh's attributing to α' , σ' , and θ' a reading $\Delta\psi$ ܠܘܢܘܕܐ , referred to the first part of $\text{ܠܘܢܘܕܐ} \Delta\delta\delta \text{ܠܘܢܘܕܐ}$ with which the verse begins. It is no longer necessary to wonder how ܠܘܢܘܕܐ could presume to correct $\Delta\delta\delta$. As we have suggested,⁸⁰ it would be better to suppose that this word corresponds to ܠܘܢܘܕܐ and that the verb $\Delta\delta\delta$ (which is not to be corrected in the text) was understood to follow but not written in the scholium, at the price of a syntactical inversion. In Hos 9:13,⁸¹ we demonstrated that, rather than imagine that Syh read $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ instead of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ as in the Barberini manuscript, it is easier to assume that the Syriac copyist simply forgot to place a diacritical above the *he* of this possessive suffix. In Hos 12:12(11) we reproached Field (and Ziegler, who copies him) for not taking the preposition *lomad* in ܠܘܢܘܕܐ into account in his retroversion of the word as an accusative.⁸² It is the preposition that distinguishes the reading of α' from those of σ' and θ' .

3.c.ii. The retroversions

In *CTAT* Vol. 3, the readings of Syh are generally cited in Syriac instead of being retroverted into Greek, as they are in Field and Ziegler. This is not intended as a criticism of Field's retroversions, which are generally judicious and which, if they are uncertain, are usually defended or discussed in precise and detailed critical notes. But retroversions are a dangerous thing when they are given in the same typographical characters⁸³ as the readings attested by the Greek witnesses, as is the case in Ziegler's apparatus. Wevers's apparatuses are more judicious, as he gives the readings attested by Syh in Latin translation only, and not in a Greek retroversion.

77. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 632.

78. See MS Ambrosianus in the bibliography.

79. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 870.

80. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 726:34–41.

81. *Ibid.*, 568 n. 1825.

82. *Ibid.*, 607:15–19.

83. Field distinguishes readings obtained through retroversion (from Latin or Syriac) from those that are directly attested in Greek by using a smaller type for retroversions.

Concerning Field's retroversions, we have pointed out⁸⁴ that the discovery of the original Greek form sometimes led him to correct the retroversions, as was the case for the reading of σ' in Jer 8:18, where the discovery of the reading of Barberini led him to correct his first proposal $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \chi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon$.⁸⁵ These retroversions could be improved significantly if a concordance of Syh were available. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the scholia were translated into Syriac by the same person that translated the text. It is therefore very important to be able to make as extensive as possible an assessment of the equivalents that the translator used. We have demonstrated this in Ezek 34:4⁸⁶ in connection with Field's attempts (again reproduced by Ziegler) to retrovert $\text{ܐܘܪܘܩܘܢ ܐܘܪܘܩܘܢ ܐܘܪܘܩܘܢ}$ (attributed by Syh to σ' for the Hebrew $\text{אֲרֻרִים אֲרֻרִים אֲרֻרִים}$) as $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ or $\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \eta\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$. We proceeded first by investigating the one place where the translation of this expression by σ' is clearly attested in Greek. That is Exod 1:13, where two good witnesses (MSS Coislin gr. 1 and Pantocratoros 24) attribute $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ to σ' . We then examined how Syh translates the verb $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}$ in its text, and observed that it gives ܐܘܪܘܩܘܢ in Isa 55:2; 57:4; Hab 1:10; and Sir 14:4 (while it uses the verb ܐܘܪܘܩܘܢ in Jer 31(38):20 and it is not known for the last two occurrences of the verb in Neh 9:25 and 4 Macc 8:8). We concluded from this examination that $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ has a better chance than $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ of being the reading of σ' in Ezek 34:4. Similar checks would surely benefit a good number of other retroversions and they would be greatly facilitated by the use of a Greek-Syriac concordance of everything we have for Syh, if such were available.

Elsewhere⁸⁷ we have shown that the information furnished by Jerome raises a question concerning the retroversion of a noun as an accusative when it is preceded by *lomad* in Syriac, and suggests that the dative should be preferred. In this introduction we have already observed—and we will again have the opportunity to demonstrate—that Jerome's commentaries are a rich source of information that is still underutilized.

3.d. Conclusion

For those who wish to make critical use of the fragments of the hexaplaric versions, the SyroHexapla, particularly as it is found in the Ambrosianus manuscript, constitutes a very rich source, provided that (1) one is wary of the Greek retroversions by which Ziegler presents his data, (2) one scrutinizes the intentions of the Greek scholiast and the Syriac translator, (3) one keeps in mind that the Syriac translator may have misinterpreted his Vorlage or that the Vorlage may have been corrupt, (4) one is aware that the Syriac scholiast sometimes errs

84. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 531.

85. In his *Auctarium (Hexaplorum)*, vol. 2, [Field].

86. *CTAT* Vol. 3, 279:18–25.

87. *Ibid.*, 607:16–19.

in the placement of reference marks, (5) one is ready to recognize that some authors' sigla were confused in Syh or in its Vorlage, and (6) one does not consider the biblical text of Syh as a consistently faithful representative of Origen's recension of Θ .

C. The Aims of the Scholiasts

To make good use of the scholia found in fragments of the hexaplaric versions, it is not enough to establish an authentic text. It is also necessary to determine the intentions of the scholiasts who extracted them from the Hexapla. Some examples will serve to demonstrate the importance of this.

1. Grouped Sigla

1.a. In Jerome

In Ezek 27:17 for פָּנָאג (פ), according to Ziegler's apparatus, Barberini has: α' : φενιγ, σ' : φαναγ, and θ' : φενεν (= φενεγ?). Jerome has: α' σ' θ' : "phanag."⁸⁸ The context in which Jerome communicates this information is as follows: "Verbum hebraicum PHANAG Aquila, Symmachus et Theodotio ita ut apud Hebracos positum est transtulerunt, pro quo Septuaginta 'unguenta,' nos 'balsamum' vertimus." From this we conclude that Jerome's aim is not to state the vocalizations used by each of the three in their transcriptions, but rather to oppose α' , σ' , and θ' , which give a simple transcription of the Hebrew (as Barberini confirms), to Θ and to his own translation, which aims to express the meaning of the word.

In Ezek 30:14 for נֹ (נ), according to Ziegler's apparatus, Barberini has: α' : βανω, σ' : εν νο (ο*), and θ' : εν νοι. Jerome has α' σ' θ' : "<in> no." Again, the context: "Pristinum nomen habet 'No,' quod Aquila, Symmachus et Theodotio sicut in Hebraco positum est transtulerunt; pro quo nescio quid volentes Septuaginta dixerunt 'Diospolim' quae Aegypti parva civitas est; nos autem pro 'No' 'Alexandriam' posuimus per anticipationem." Here again, Jerome is only contrasting the fact that α' , σ' , and θ' transcribe the Hebrew word and the fact that the translator of Θ and he himself identify this ancient toponym with a city known to their readers.

For לִצְוֹר in Hos 9:13, Barberini attributes εις πέτραν to θ' (translated ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ in Syh) and ὡς ἀκρότομον to α' and σ' (translated ⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲕⲣⲟⲧⲟⲙⲟⲛ in Syh). Jerome states that α' , σ' , and θ' all understood "petram durissimam, id est silicem."⁸⁹ Here again the context in Jerome clarifies: "Ubi nos posuimus: 'Ephraim, ut vidi, Tyrus erat.' Septuaginta interpretati sunt θήραν, id est venationem, sive capturam; Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio, petram durissimam, id est silicem, quae lingua Hebraica appellatur SUR, quod si legamus SOR Tyrus dicitur. Putantes autem septuaginta interpretes ob litterarum similitudinem 'res' et 'daleth' non esse

88. Ibid., 228:28–29.

89. Ibid., 568:13–17.

‘res’ sed ‘daleth,’ legerunt SUD.” Jerome’s intention is not to claim that all three translated with ἀκρότομον. He simply contrasts three distinct readings of the Hebrew: that of Θ, his own, and the reading represented by the translations of α’, σ’, and θ’. He even provides an oblique witness to the difference between their translations, in giving both “petram” (= θ’) and “silicem” (= α’ and σ’).

1.b. In the Barberini manuscript

In Ezek 10:12 the Origen recension inserts * καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ σάρκες αὐτῶν, which Barberini attributes to α’, σ’, and θ’, while Marchalianus (supported by manuscripts 87 and 91) attributes this reading to θ’.⁹⁰ It could be that the scholiast of the Marchalianus manuscript intended to identify θ’ as the source of this asterisked reading for the other two versions, whereas Barberini simply means that the three are in agreement, against Θ, in inserting a Greek translation of the Hebrew קָל־בְּשָׂרָה. We have suggested elsewhere that certain other groupings of sigla in Barberini should be interpreted in the same way, for example, in Ezek 23:34 and 25:9.⁹¹

1.c. In Eusebius’s Onomasticon

We have pointed out that in place of the toponym Μαχμας that Θ gives for מַחְמָה in Hos 9:6, Eusebius’s *Onomasticon* attributes the translation τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα to α’ and σ’, while Syh attributes מַחְמָה to α’ and מַחְמָה to σ’.⁹² This shows that Eusebius simply wished to indicate the Greek word that α’ and σ’ used to translate this toponym, without intending to state the case and number that they give for the word, which was the intention of Syh.

2. Complements Taken from Θ

2.a. In Barberini

In Mic 2:6–7 a scholium in Barberini gives a reading of α’ bearing essentially on v. 6: μὴ σταλάζετε σταλάζοντες οὐ σταλάζετε εἰς τούτους οὐ καταλήψῃ ἐντροπὰς ὁ λέγων. It is surprising to find attributed to α’ the word ὁ λέγων,⁹³ which surely corresponds to מְדַבֵּר at the beginning of v. 7 in Θ. The Barberini scholiast did not want to leave the clause hanging without an explicit subject (where the fragment of α’ that he used probably broke off at this point). Consequently, he took the subject that Θ gave for οὐ γὰρ ἀπόσεται ὄνειδη (which corresponded to οὐ καταλήψῃ ἐντροπὰς in α’).

90. Ibid., 59:27–31.

91. Ibid., 196 n. 776, and 214 n. 821.

92. Ibid., 564:25–27.

93. Ibid., 732 n. 2541.

2.b. In Eusebius

In Hab 3:2, Eusebius's *Demonstrationis* attributes ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὰ ἔτη ζώωσον αὐτό to α' (insisting that the implicit antecedent of the neuter pronoun is "your work"), ἐν μέσῳ ἐτῶν ζώωσον αὐτόν to θ', and ἐντος τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀναζώωσον αὐτόν to σ'.⁹⁴ He concludes from this that ζώωσον αὐτόν, included by all three, could refer neither to animals nor to a mere human. Jerome notes here: "Pro eo quod nos et Aquila et Theodotio transtulimus 'vivifica illud,' Symmachus interpretatus est 'revivifica illud.'" Syh attributes ܘܡܫܘܥ to α' and θ', and ܘܡܫܘܥ ܘܡܫܘܥ to σ'. It is therefore clear that these various witnesses focus their interest on the verb, where they see a prophecy of the resurrection of Christ, with Eusebius being the only one to highlight the difference between the neuter final pronoun in α' and the masculine final pronoun in θ' and σ'. Eusebius must have had before him the three words preceding the verb in θ' and in σ', but not in α' (which would not have translated ܢܩܪܒ ܩܢܝܫ preceding the verb ܘܢܩܪܒ, he made use of the translation that ̅ had given for the ܢܩܪܒ ܩܢܝܫ that follows the verb. Thus it can be seen that even Eusebius, who had direct access to the Hexapla versions, sometimes worked from scholia of very limited significance.

2.c. In Syh

For ܘܢܩܪܒ ܩܢܝܫ in Amos 5:16, translated εἰς εἰδότης θρηνον by ̅, Barberini attributes . . . τοὺς γινώσκοντας μέλος to σ', while Field retroverts the Syh for α' as πρὸς εἰδότης θρηνον. Let us analyze more carefully the Syh witness, which attributes ܘܢܩܪܒ ܩܢܝܫ to α'. It should be noted that Syh has ܘܢܩܪܒ ܩܢܝܫ in its text. It is therefore likely that the aim of the scholiast was simply to establish a contrast between the preposition Δ (= εἰς) of ̅ and the preposition ܘܢܩܪܒ (= πρὸς) of α'.⁹⁶ He merely copied mechanically the subsequent biblical text in his scholium in order to situate the preposition in context.

In Zech 9:13, Syh translates ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων with ܘܢܩܪܒ ܩܢܝܫ, and with a reference mark on ܘܢܩܪܒ, indicates that α' and σ' have ܘܢܩܪܒ, ܩܢܝܫ and θ' has ܘܢܩܪܒ. Field was correct to conclude from this that θ' transcribed the toponym from the Hebrew instead of translating it. But he erred in concluding that α' and σ' had used an adjective (Ἑλληνικούς or Ἑλληνικά, depending on whether one retroverts ܘܢܩܪܒ as υἱοὺς or as τέκνα) to translate the Hebrew ܩܢܝܫ. For σ' this is possible, but for α' it is as unlikely as the assumption that ܘܢܩܪܒ, which Syh attributes to both, implies the non-translation of the pronominal suffix of ܩܢܝܫ. It appears that the attention of the Syriac scholiast is focused on the omission of ܘܢܩܪܒ before ܘܢܩܪܒ for both α' and σ', and he probably wishes to indicate that these two

94. Eusebius, *Demonstrationis*, 562 (= 279).

95. *CIAT* Vol. 3, 862:32–38.

96. *Ibid.*, 664:35–37 and n. 2268.

translators did not place an article before the word they used to translate קָנָה . As for قَنَى in this scholium, it is simply a contextualizing element borrowed from the text of ق .

In conclusion, a critical approach to the fragments of the hexaplaric versions must always pose the question about the aims of the scholiast or commentator in citing a reading or in grouping several sigla together. The textual critic must be careful to interpret these readings in line with the aims of whoever cited them; otherwise, the door is open to misinterpretations and misrepresentations.

D. The Identification of the Hexaplaric Versions or Recensions

As we have seen, we have in our possession a direct tradition for only a very few fragments. As a result, our knowledge of these versions derives, in most cases, from Origen's Hexapla (hence their designation as "hexaplaric"). This fact has important consequences for the identification of the different versions or recensions. Let us leave aside here the question of the pseudo-quinta of the second scholiast of Barberini,⁹⁷ since the structure of the Hexapla is not affected by the incorrect identification of the siglum ϵ' by the editors of the hexaplaric fragments.

Scholars who used the Hexapla to extract citations or scholia relied, in general, on the order of the columns to designate the versions, under the assumption that after the Hebrew text and its transcription, the Hexapla gives the versions in the order $\alpha' - \sigma' - \sigma' - \theta' - \epsilon'$ and, when called for, Sexta and Septima. The "Quinta" (= ϵ') should, accordingly, be understood as the fifth (by column order) of the versions contained in the Hexapla. However, it sometimes happens that for certain books or parts of books, the order of the columns underwent modifications. So, for example, Mercati concluded that the column immediately following σ' in the Milan palimpsest contained not θ' but ϵ' .⁹⁸ From an analysis of the equivalents of α' for the word לִהְיוֹת , he determined that what is cited as α' for Qohelet rests on the incorrect identification of the column from which the citations are drawn.⁹⁹

As was demonstrated in *Devanciers*,¹⁰⁰ the placement of the versions and recensions in the columns of the Hexapla changes several times in the course of the books of Kings, with the column following σ' occupied by Q (as is normally the case) in sections α (= 1 Samuel), $\beta\beta$ (= 2 Sam 1:1–11:1), and $\gamma\gamma$ (= 1 Kgs 2:12–21:1), but occupied by a Palestinian recension in sections $\beta\gamma$ (= 2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11) and $\gamma\delta$ (= 1 Kgs 22:1 to the end of 2 Kings). This resulted in Q being

97. See above, p. 478.

98. *Psalterii* (Mercati), vol. 1, xix–xxxv.

99. Ibid., vol. 2, 116–120. I arrived at the same results in *Devanciers*, 26–30. Regrettably, J. Jarick ("Aquila," 139) was unaware of Mercati's demonstration when he concluded somewhat hastily about Qohelet that "there are no firm grounds for denying that Aquila was the instigator of the renderings transmitted as his."

100. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 142–43.

carried forward to the next column in sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$. It should not be surprising then, for these sections, to see it cited under the siglum θ' , since Theodotion usually occupies this column.¹⁰¹

Armin Schmitt placed the traditional attributions in even greater doubt by claiming that the "Theodotion" of Daniel is not θ' .¹⁰² But here it must not be forgotten that the "Theodotion" of Daniel is, of all the putative θ' s, the one that presents the best claim to the title, since, in order to identify it, we do not rely on the structure of the Hexapla, but have the positive statements of Origen and Jerome. It would therefore be better to place in doubt all the other attributions of texts to Theodotion instead of this one, which must remain for us the touchstone of Theodotion authenticity.¹⁰³

In these paragraphs devoted to the hexaplaric versions, it bears repeating that it is not enough to arrive at an assured reading derived from a given column of the Hexapla in order to be able to conclude, uncritically, that we have to do with a certain version or recension. Systematic doubt should also be extended to this domain.

II. The Vulgate

A. *The editio princeps*

The "42-line" Bible (= B42), published in Mainz toward the end of 1453 or the beginning of 1454,¹⁰⁴ is recognized as the first significant book to have been printed with moveable type. As such, it has long constituted the point of departure and the point of reference for all subsequent biblical editions. Forty-nine copies of this edition are known to exist today, 19 of them complete.¹⁰⁵ But the copies are not all of equal interest. Schwenke's research led him to conclude that the printing was done by six different compositors (each setting a group of pages, then breaking down the type for the next group of pages) and that the original aim was for a printing of 120 copies. It was only after four compositors had begun work that it was decided to increase the printing to 150 copies. This involved recomposing pages that had already been dismantled after printing, pages 1r to 32r and 129r to 158v of the first volume, as well as 1r to 16v and 162r of the second volume. In many copies, gatherings from the first printing (= α) alternate with gatherings from the second printing (= β). However, in some copies, all the gatherings belong to α . Two copies were used for facsimile reproductions, the

101. See *ibid.*, 135–36.

102. He concluded (Schmitt, *Stammt*, 112) that "the text said to be θ' has nothing to do with the translator known to us under the siglum θ' for his translations of other books of the Old Testament."

103. As I have pointed out in *Études*, 297–301.

104. According to Corsten, "Drucklegung."

105. According to Hubay, "Exemplare."

Berlin copy done by Insel of Leipzig in 1914 and again by Idion of Munich in 1979, and the copy of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, by Les Incunables of Paris in 1985.¹⁰⁶ The critical edition of the Vulgate produced by the Benedictines of the San Girolamo abbey of Rome (R) regularly cites B42 using the siglum a. These citations were taken from the Vatican Barberini copy,¹⁰⁷ which, for almost all those gatherings that underwent two printings, belongs to 3 (only pages 11r to 20v of the first volume and page 162r of the second belong to 2). For these same gatherings in the Berlin copy, the pages from 3 similarly outnumber pages from 2. The Mazarine copy, on the other hand, belongs entirely to 2. Given the exceptional importance of this *editio princeps*, it might be helpful to compare the Paris facsimile with the readings cited by R, in order to see what effects on the textual readings were produced by the second composition. Did it introduce corruptions or permit corrections? We use 2 to designate the first printing as we know it from the Mazarine copy, and 3 to designate the second printing as we know it from the Barberini copy cited in the San Girolamo edition.¹⁰⁸

The first gathering in the first volume, pages 1r to 10v (to “manus” in Gen 16:12):

1. Gen 1:22: (2) eis, (3) ei.
2. Gen 1:24: (2) factumque est, (3) factum est.
3. Gen 2:3: (2) benedixit diei, (3) benedixit deus diei.
4. Gen 2:7: (2) deus hominem de, (3) deus de.
5. Gen 2:9: (2) produxitque dominus, (3) produxit dominus.
6. Gen 2:15: (2) paradisum, (3) [paradiso].
7. Gen 2:17: (2) quacumque, (3) [quocumque].
8. Gen 4:1: (2) cognovit vero adam, (3) [adam vero cognovit].
9. Gen 6:11: (2) coram domino, (3) coram deo domino.
10. Gen 6:21: (2) is escam, (3) [in cibum].
11. Gen 8:18: (2) ergo noe, (3) vero noe.
12. Gen 9:22: (2) verenda patris, (3) [verenda scilicet patris].
13. Gen 9:22: (2) foris, (3) [foras].
14. Gen 9:24: (2) iunior, (3) [minor].
15. Gen 9:25: (2) chanaan puer servus, (3) [chanaan servus].
16. Gen 10:2: (2) et magog, (3) [magog].
17. Gen 10:4: (2) cechim, (3) cethim.
18. Gen 10:4: (2) dodamin, (3) [dodanim].
19. Gen 10:7: (2) eiula, (3) euila.

106. Listed under 3 (B42) in the bibliography.

107. According to Schneider. *Text.* 12–13. As Schwenke demonstrated, this is probably the Mainz University copy, which disappeared in 1793 and reappeared in 1867 in the Barberini Library before being purchased in 1902 by Leon XIII for the Vatican. See Schneider, loc. cit.

108. The readings that are not expressly mentioned in the apparatus of R and that we deduce from its silence are placed in brackets.

20. Gen 10:7 (1st): (21) regina, (23) [regma].
21. Gen 10:7: (21) sabathata, (23) sabathaca.
22. Gen 10:7 (2nd): (21) regina, (23) [regma].
23. Gen 10:13: (21) anamim, (23) ananim.
24. Gen 10:14: (21) phetusin, (23) [phetrusim].
25. Gen 10:14: (21) celluim, (23) chesluim.
26. Gen 10:19: (21) usque iasa & iesa, (23) usque iesa.
27. Gen 10:22: (21) lud, (23) [et lud].
28. Gen 10:27: (21) iazal, (23) [uzal].
29. Gen 10:29: (21) iophir, (23) [ophir].
30. Gen 10:29: (21) eiula, (23) [euila].
31. Gen 10:31: (21) isti sunt filii, (23) [isti filii].
32. Gen 11:13: (21) trecentis (et tribus), (23) quadringentis (tribus).
33. Gen 11:13: (21) (trecentis) et (tribus), (23) (quadringentis) (tribus).
34. Gen 11:13–14: (21) om., (23) [filios et filias sale . . . et genuit].
35. Gen 11:15: (21) (quadringentis) et (tribus), (23) [(quadringentis) (tribus)].
36. Gen 11:18: (21) phalech, (23) [faleg].
37. Gen 11:20: (21) triginta quinque, (23) [triginta duobus].
38. Gen 11:22: (21) autem, (23) [vero].
39. Gen 11:29: (21) abram et nachor, (23) nachor et abram.
40. Gen 12:12: (21) viderint, (23) [viderint te].
41. Gen 12:12: (21) sunt quod, (23) [sunt].
42. Gen 12:12: (21) uxor illius, (23) [uxor ipsius].
43. Gen 12:16: (21) famule, (23) famse.
44. Gen 12:18: (21) est hoc quod, (23) [est quod].
45. Gen 12:20: (21) (uxorem) eius, (23) [(uxorem) illius].
46. Gen 13:6: (21) nequibant, (23) non quiebant.
47. Gen 13:7: (21) unde facta, (23) [unde et facta].
48. Gen 13:16: (21) potest, (23) possit.
49. Gen 13:17: (21) longitudinem et in latitudinem suam, (23) [-dine et in -dine sua].
50. Gen 14:2: (21) basa, (23) [bara].
51. Gen 14:2: (21) sennaar, (23) [sennaab].
52. Gen 14:5: (21) & emim, (23) ctenim.
53. Gen 14:5: (21) in sabe, (23) in sauhe.
54. Gen 14:7: (21) mephat, (23) mesphat.
55. Gen 14:7: (21) amorreorum, (23) [amorreum].
56. Gen 14:15: (21) soba, (23) hoba.
57. Gen 14:15: (21) (soba) et phenicen, (23) [(hoba)].
58. Gen 14:20: (21) tuis traditi sunt, (23) [tuis sunt].
59. Gen 14:23: (21) filo, (23) filio.
60. Gen 15:9: (21) capram triennam, (23) [capram trimam].

61. Gen 15:12: (1) pavor, (3) [sopor].
62. Gen 15:19: (1) cethimoneos, (3) cethmoneos.
63. Gen 15:20: (1) raphaym, (3) rapaym.
64. Gen 15:21: (1) amorreos chananeos, (3) [amorreos et chananeos].
65. Gen 16:1: (1) genuerat sibi liberos, (3) [genuerat liberos].

The third gathering in the first volume, pages 21r to 30v (from “quae erant” in Gen 35:4 to “exactoibus” in Exod 5:6):

66. Gen 36:1: (1) hee autem sunt, (3) [hee sunt autem].
67. Gen 36:2: (1) enei, (3) [euei].
68. Gen 36:4: (1) bethsamath, (3) [basemath].
69. Gen 36:20: (1) isti sunt filii scyr, (3) [isti filii scyr].
70. Gen 36:20: (1) habitatoris, (3) [habitatores].
71. Gen 36:26: (1) disan amdam, (3) disan abdam.
72. Gen 36:29: (1) ecebom, (3) [scbeom].
73. Gen 37:2: (1) uxorum, (3) uxor.
74. Gen 37:10: (1) mater tua, (3) mater mea.
75. Gen 37:21: (1) hec ruben, (3) [hoc ruben].
76. Gen 38:9: (1) sibi nasci, (3) nasci sibi.
77. Gen 38:17: (1) arrabonem, (3) arroborem.
78. Gen 38:18: (1) arrabonc, (3) arrobonc.
79. Gen 38:29: (1) propter te maceria, (3) propter maceria.
80. Gen 38:30: (1) zaram, (3) [zara].
81. Gen 40:17: (1) excelsius, (3) exelus.
82. Gen 41:4: (1) quarum, (3) quas.
83. Gen 41:22: (1) pullulabant, (3) pullulabunt.
84. Gen 41:42: (1) stolam bissinam, (3) [stola bissina].
85. Gen 42:18: (1) eductis, (3) eductus.
86. Gen 43:8: (1) possimus, (3) possemus.
87. Gen 43:11: (1) scoracis, (3) storacis.
88. Gen 45:4: (1) appropinquassent, (3) [accessissent].
89. Gen 46:1: (1) israhel cum omnibus, (3) israhel omnibus.
90. Gen 46:2: (1) dicentem, (3) dicente.
91. Gen 46:17: (1) icnma, (3) icmna.
92. Gen 46:17: (1) melthiel, (3) melchiel.
93. Gen 46:21: (1) rus menfon et ofim, (3) rusmenson et ofim.
94. Gen 47:1: (1) consistunt, (3) constituit.
95. Gen 47:11: (1) ramasses, (3) ramesses.
96. Gen 47:29: (1) (mortis) eius, (3) (mortis) sue.
97. Gen 50:14: (1) reversusque est ioseph, (3) reversusque ioseph.
98. Gen 50:21: (1) et (leuiter), (3) [ac (leniter)].
99. Gen 50:21: (1) (et) leuiter, (3) [(ac) leniter].

100. Exod 1:5: (21) egressi, (23) ingressi.
101. Exod 1:13: (21) et inuidentes eis, (23) eis et inuidentes.
102. Exod 1:20: (21) dñs, (23) [deus].
103. Exod 1:21: (21) eis domos, (23) [illis domos].
104. Exod 2:19: (21) liberavit, (23) liberabit.
105. Exod 4:8: (21) crediderint, (23) ceciderint.
106. Exod 4:11: (21) ad eum, (23) ad deum.
107. Exod 4:12: (21) doceboque te quid, (23) [doceboque quid].
108. Exod 4:27: (21) dixit autem, (23) dixitque.

The first three pages of the fourth gathering in the first volume, pages 31r to 32r (to “similiter” in Exod 8:18):

109. Exod 5:12: (21) in omnem, (23) [per omnem].
110. Exod 6:15: (21) lachim, (23) iachim.
111. Exod 7:6: (21) (praeceperat) eis, (23) (praeceperat) ei.
112. Exod 7:14: (21) et non vult, (23) [non vult].
113. Exod 7:19: (21) et paludes, (23) [ac paludes].

The fourteenth gathering in the first volume, pages 129r to 138v (from 1 Sam 1:1 to “respondit ei” in 1 Sam 17:30):

114. 1 Sam 1:7: (21) cumque, (23) [cum].
115. 1 Sam 1:18: (21) non sunt, (23) non sit.
116. 1 Sam 2:9: (21) sanctorum suorum, (23) sanctorum.
117. 1 Sam 2:31: (21) praescidam, (23) praescidem.
118. 1 Sam 2:33: (21) virum penitus, (23) [penitus virum].
119. 1 Sam 5:2: (21) templum, (23) templo.
120. 1 Sam 9:26: (21) egressique, (23) egressi.
121. 1 Sam 10:25: (21) legem regni ad populum, (23) [ad populum legem regni].
122. 1 Sam 11:1: (21) amonites, (23) amonitis.
123. 1 Sam 12:23: (21) rectam et bonam, (23) [bonam et rectam].
124. 1 Sam 13:2: (21) machinas, (23) [machmas].
125. 1 Sam 13:5: (21) machinas, (23) [machmas].
126. 1 Sam 13:6: (21) arco, (23) [arto].
127. 1 Sam 13:15: (21) samuel autem surrexit, (23) [surrexit autem samuel].
128. 1 Sam 13:16: (21) machinas, (23) [machmas].
129. 1 Sam 13:23: (21) machinas, (23) [machmas].
130. 1 Sam 14:2: (21) malogranato, (23) malagranato.
131. 1 Sam 14:5: (21) machinas, (23) [machmas].
132. 1 Sam 14:21: (21) et qui erant, (23) et hiis qui erant.
133. 1 Sam 14:22: (21) viginti milia, (23) decem milia.
134. 1 Sam 14:27: (21) virgule, (23) [virgae].
135. 1 Sam 14:31: (21) machinis, (23) [machmis].

136. 1 Sam 14:34: (21) *dispergamini*, (3) [*dispergimini*].
 137. 1 Sam 14:41: (21) *iudicium*, (3) [*indicium*].
 138. 1 Sam 14:47: (21) *filius amon*, (3) [*filios amon*].
 139. 1 Sam 15:9: (21) *vile fuit*, (3) *vile fucrit*.
 140. 1 Sam 16:1: (21) *samuclcm*, (3) *sumuclcm*.
 141. 1 Sam 16:4: (21) *pacificusne*, (3) *pacificusne est*.
 142. 1 Sam 16:18: (21) *pueris ait*, (3) *pueris et ait*.
 143. 1 Sam 17:1: (21) *domin*, (3) *domim*.
 144. 1 Sam 17:10: (21) *singulare certamen mecum*, (3) [*mecum singulare certamen*].
 145. 1 Sam 17:17: (21) *polenta*, (3) [*polentae*].
 146. 1 Sam 17:27: (21) *hec dabuntur*, (3) *hec dabuntur*.

The fifteenth gathering in the first volume, pages 139r to 148v (to “*cecidit*” in 2 Sam 4:4):

147. 1 Sam 17:49: (21) *circumducens percussit*, (3) [*percussit*].
 148. 1 Sam 23:9: (21) *recisset*, (3) [*rescisset*].
 149. 1 Sam 25:6: (21) *dicetis*, (3) *diceris*.
 150. 1 Sam 25:32: (21) *misit te*, (3) *misit*.
 151. 1 Sam 25:44: (21) *falthi*, (3) *falchi*.
 152. 1 Sam 26:9: (21) *extendct*, (3) [*extendit*].
 153. 1 Sam 27:9: (21) *nec relinquebat*, (3) *ne relinquebat*.
 154. 1 Sam 28:11: (21) *suscita michi*, (3) *michi suscita*.
 155. 1 Sam 28:12: (21) *to os*, (3) [*tu es*].
 156. 1 Sam 29:2: (21) *centuriis*, (3) *centurionibus*.
 157. 1 Sam 29:4: (21) *descendat*, (3) *descendit*.
 158. 1 Sam 30:12: (21) *cariacarum*, (3) [*caricarum*].
 159. 2 Sam 2:4: (21) *regnaret*, (3) *regnavit*.
 160. 2 Sam 2:13: (21) *sarme*, (3) [*saruie*].
 161. 2 Sam 2:16: (21) *latus*, (3) *lacus*.
 162. 2 Sam 2:18: (21) *sarme*, (3) [*saruie*].
 163. 2 Sam 2:19: (21) *sive*, (3) *neque*.
 164. 2 Sam 3:2: (21) *iesrahelite*, (3) *iesrlite*.
 165. 2 Sam 3:39: (21) *sarme*, (3) [*saruie*].

The sixteenth gathering in the first volume, pages 149r to 158v (to “*arafa et*” in 2 Sam 21:20):

166. 2 Sam 5:3: (21) *et percussit*, (3) [*in hebron et percussit*].
 167. 2 Sam 6:4: (21) *praecedebat archam dei*, (3) [*praecedebat archam*].
 168. 2 Sam 7:19: (21) *lex ab adam*, (3) [*lex adam*].
 169. 2 Sam 7:29: (21) *benedic domum*, (3) [*benedic domui*].
 170. 2 Sam 11:2: (21) *viditque*, (3) *vidit*.

- 171. 2 Sam 12:8: (21) dedique, (23) deditque.
- 172. 2 Sam 13:4: (21) fili regis, (23) filii regis.
- 173. 2 Sam 16:17: (21) iuisti, (23) [isti].
- 174. 2 Sam 19:14(13): (21) faciat michi, (23) faciat.
- 175. 2 Sam 21:8: (21) armom, (23) armon.

The first gathering in the second volume, pages 1r to 10v (from Prov 1:1 to “domino” in Prov 19:25):

- 176. Prov 1:3: (21) intelligendam, (23) [intelligenda].
- 177. Prov 1:3: (21) eruditionem, (23) [eruditionem].
- 178. Prov 2:22: (21) vero de, (23) vero e*.
- 179. Prov 8:33: (21) abicere, (23) adicere.
- 180. Prov 10:6: (21) iniquitatem, (23) iniquitate.
- 181. Prov 10:20: (21) clectum, (23) clecti.
- 182. Prov 12:17: (21) index, (23) iudex.
- 183. Prov 14:3: (21) labia autem, (23) [labia].
- 184. Prov 14:7: (21) nescito, (23) nescit.
- 185. Prov 14:15: (21) suos, (23) tuos.
- 186. Prov 15:22: (21) consiliarii, (23) consilii.
- 187. Prov 19:2: (21) bouum, (23) [bonum].

Pages 11r to 14v¹⁰⁹ of the second gathering in the second volume (to “si” in Qoh 10:10):

- 188. Prov 20:30: (21) secretioribus, (23) obsecrationibus.
- 189. Prov 21:16: (21) a via, (23) in via.
- 190. Prov 21:16: (21) gigantum, (23) gigantium.
- 191. Prov 21:17: (21) pingula, (23) [pinguia].
- 192. Prov 23:1: (21) apposita, (23) [posita].
- 193. Prov 23:18: (21) praestulatio, (23) [praestolatio].
- 194. Prov 23:29: (21) suffossio, (23) confessio.
- 195. Prov 26:11: (21) canis, (23) avis.
- 196. Qoh 1:2: (21) ecclesiastes, (23) eccliastes.
- 197. Qoh 5:15: (21) inventum, (23) iumentum.
- 198. Qoh 7:3: (21) ammouctur, (23) [admonctur].
- 199. Qoh 7:13(14): (21) despexcrit, (23) despexit.
- 200. Qoh 8:10: (21) sepultos, (23) multos.
- 201. Qoh 9:1: (21) eorum in manu, (23) eorum manu.
- 202. Qoh 9:6: (21) opere, (23) tempore.

109. Two groups of folios in the second volume. folios 11–14 and folios 15–16, have had different fates in several copies.

Pages 15r to 16v of the second gathering in the second volume (to “venter” in Song 7:2):

203. Qoh 10:10: (21) *hebitatum*,¹¹⁰ (23) [*hebetatum*].
 204. Qoh 11:1: (21) *multa tempora*, (23) *tempora multa*.
 205. Qoh 11:6: (21) *magis*, (23) *maius*.

We compared these internal variants of B42 with the following early editions: Froben 1495 (= F), Gadolo 1495 (= G), the Alcala polyglot (= A1), Gobelinus Laridius 1530 (= g), Stephanus 1532 (= r), Stephanus 1540 (= E when the margin has no variant; when it does, the reading of the text = Et and the marginal reading = Em), Stephanus 1557 (= O). This comparison makes it possible to point out the following inaccuracies or deficiencies in the apparatus of R:

- 3—R attributes “*benedixit deus diei*” to B42 (+ XΣP*). In fact, g also has it.
- 6—The 1583 edition by the Louvain theologians is the only one cited by R as supporting “*paradisum*.” However, this reading is also found in FAlrEO, while “*paradiso*” is in Gg.
- 16—In its text R writes “*Magog*” without mentioning in the apparatus any witness that has “*ct*” before that word. However, this is the case in FGAlgrEO. It is thus quite likely that R simply forgot to include the conjunction in its text. Here, Weber repeated the error of R. But, having personally consulted the Clementine edition, he indicates in his apparatus that it has the conjunction. Otherwise he duplicates the silence of the R apparatus.
- 32—Since R does not cite g in its apparatus, it might be concluded that g has the reading “*trecentis*” in its text. In fact it has the variant “*quadringentis*.”
- 36—In verses 16, 17, 18, and 19, R has the spelling “*Faleg*” in its text. In verses 16, 17, and 19 it attributes the spelling “*phalech*” to B42 in the apparatus. But B42 is not mentioned in the apparatus for v. 18. It appears simply to have been forgotten.
- 70—R does not cite g for the variant “*habitoris*,” which g nevertheless has.
- 173—R does not state in its apparatus that FGAlgrEO write “*ivisti*” here instead of “*isti*.” But this fact is helpful in explaining the reading “*inisti*” that the apparatus attributes to MS B. It is thus possible that, on this point, there was no difference between the two printings of B42.
- 183—R omitted r from those witnesses that include “*autem*.”

110. The form “*hebetatum*” is more usual than “*hebitatum*.” However, it can be regarded as certain that Jerome wrote “*hebitudine*” in his letter 147.3. This reading is confirmed as a common point of departure by the different variants “*hebetudine*” and “*habitudine*.”

We mention these deficiencies in the R apparatus only as examples, to warn textual critics of \mathfrak{D} against following Schneider too confidently when he asserts that reference to B42 in the R apparatus spares those who wish to have access to B42 from having to do their own collation of its text.¹¹¹

As a result of this review, we can eliminate the variants 16, 36, and 173, whose existence is very doubtful.

The 202 remaining variants that distinguish printings \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{B} of B42 give us a graphic understanding of some of the difficulties encountered by the first printer of the Bible.

1. First, he could barely read his model. He experienced difficulty in:

- distinguishing the Gothic “c” and “t” in 17, 21, 87, 92, 126, and 151;
- distinguishing the Gothic “s” and “f” in 93;
- interpreting and counting the almost identical downstrokes of “m,” “n,” “u,” “i,” and sometimes “l” in 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 30, 52, 59, 62, 67, 81, 85, 91, 99, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 131, 135, 137, 160, 162, 165, 172, 175, 182, 187, 190, 191, 197, and 198;
- distinguishing the presence or absence of the upper line signifying “m” or “n” in 49, 80, 84, 90, 176, and 180;
- referencing or interpreting certain abbreviations in 43, 55, 139, 164, 177, 186, 196, and 199.

2. Conjunctions were added or omitted:

- enclitic “-que” in 2, 5, 114, 120, and 170;
- “quod” in 41;
- “et” in 27, 33, 35, 47, 64, 112, and 142;
- there is alternation between “et” and “ac” in 98 and 113 and between “ne,” “non,” “nec,” and “sive” in 46, 163, and 153.

3. There were substitutions, additions, or omissions:

- substitution of adverbs (like “autem,” “vero,” “ergo,” etc.) in 11, 38, and 108, as well as their addition or omission, in 183;
- substitution of pronouns (like “ille,” “is,” “hic,” “ipse,” etc.) in 42, 45, 66, 103, and 146; as well as their addition or omission, in 40, 44, 65, 79, 107, 116, 132, 150, and 174; and alternations in their number, in 1, 75, and 111, or person, in 74 and 185;
- substitution of prepositions (like “in,” “per,” “ab,” “de,” “ex”) in 109, 178, and 189; as well as their addition or omission, in 89, 168, and 201.

4. There was alternation between indicatives and subjunctives, in 48, 115, 136, 157, and 159; between the future and present or past, in 83, 104, and 152.

¹¹¹ Schneider, *Text*, 12.

5. The verb/copula “est” was omitted or added in 31, 69, 97, and 141.
6. The divine names were changed in 102, as well as added or omitted, in 3 and 9.
7. The syntax underwent permutations in 8, 39, 79, 101, 118, 121, 123, 127, 144, 154, and 204.
8. There was alternation between accusatives and ablatives of place, in 6, 13, and 119; between masculine or feminine agreement with “dies” in 7; between the attraction or non-attraction of the relative in 82; between the possessives “suus” and “eius” in 96; between verbal agreement with the accusative or the dative in 169; between a normal or comparative adjective in 205; between a noun and its diminutive in 134; between two attested forms of the same word, in 130, 193, and 203; between two synonyms, in 10, 61, and 88.
9. There was alternation in the construing of a unit of measure in 145; in the declension of an adjective in 122; and an adjective was construed with one or another noun from the context in 70.
10. There is alternation between the presence or absence of a verbal prefix in 192; and in its identification, in 100 and 179.
11. Existing Latin forms that are out of place in the context were produced by the addition of a letter in 106 and 171; by the omission of several downstrokes in 181, of a letter in 105, 148, 184, and 195, and two letters in 73; by the modification of a letter, in 138, 149, and 155; and under the influence of a more or less similar form, in 60, 94, 156, 188, 194, 200, and 202.
12. There is disagreement over certain numbers, in 32, 37, and 133.
13. Certain spellings seem to have undergone changes, in 77, 78, 86, 117, and 158; and more particularly, in Hebrew names, in 24, 25, 28, 29, 50, 53, 54, 56, 63, 68, 71, 95, and 140; this happened under the influence of a more usual form in 51 and 72.
14. And to repeat: There is a homeoteleuton in 34 and a doublet in 26, in the first printing.
15. Those changes that remain to be pointed out are additions or omissions of a word, in 4, 12, 15, 57, 147, 166, and 167.

To characterize \aleph and \beth with respect to each other, let us first treat the transcriptions of Hebrew proper names. Out of 43 cases, \beth is closer to \aleph 34 times (17–22, 24, 25, 28–30, 50, 51, 54, 56, 62, 67, 68, 72, 80, 91, 92, 95, 110, 124, 125, 128, 129, 131, 135, 143, 160, 162, 165). In six cases, \aleph is closer (23, 52, 63, 71, 151, 164). In three cases, the two are equally distant (53, 93, 175).

In the 159 other cases, if we compare the textual readings of \aleph and \beth to those retained by R as authentic, we observe that in 11 cases neither the text of \aleph nor that of \beth corresponds to the choice made by R :

9. Gen 6:11: (\aleph) coram domino, (\beth) coram deo domino \neq R : coram deo.

26. Gen 10:19: (1) usque iasa & iesa, (3) usque iesa ≠ R: usque lesa.
 46. Gen 13:6: (1) nequibant, (3) non quiebant ≠ R: non quibant.
 87. Gen 43:11: (1) scoracis, (3) storacis ≠ R: styracis.
 96. Gen 47:29: (1) (mortis) eius, (3) (mortis) sue ≠ R: (mortis).
 101. Exod 1:13: (1) et inuidentes eis, (3) eis et inuidentes ≠ R: omits.
 111. Exod 7:6: (1) (praeceperat) eis, (3) (praeceperat) ei ≠ R: (praeceperat).
 132. 1 Sam 14:21: (1) et qui erant, (3) et hiis qui erant ≠ R: qui erant.
 133. 1 Sam 14:22: (1) viginti milia, (3) decem milia ≠ R: omits the phrase.
 141. 1 Sam 16:4: (1) pacificusne, (3) pacificusne est ≠ R: pacificus.
 194. Prov 23:29: (1) suffossio, (3) confessio ≠ R: suffusio.

In the other 148 cases, R = 1 in 76 cases, and R = 3 in 72 cases. In the lists that we will give, we place between square brackets [] the sigla of the early editions that support the reading in question. After the mention of the form of the B42 reading rejected by R, we place between angled brackets <> the sigla of manuscripts from the R apparatus that support that form, if there are such. If certain of our early editions opt for a reading notably different from those given by 1 or 3, we indicate that option at the end of the item, after //. Finally, when the situation allows it, we indicate by {=1} or by {=3} the relationship of each of the readings to 1 or 3. We indicate by {=ε} the few cases where a reading shows greater proximity to ε than to 3.

These are the 76 cases where 1 = R:

1. Gen 1:22: (1) **eis** {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) ei.
2. Gen 1:24: (1) factum**que** (est) {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) factum (est).
3. Gen 2:3: (1) (benedixit) (diei) [FGAlrEO], (3) (benedixit) deus (diei) {= 13} [g] <XΦP*>.
4. Gen 2:7: (1) (deus) **hominem** (de) {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) (deus) (de).
5. Gen 2:9: (1) produxit**que** (dominus) {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) produxit (dominus) <Φ^R>.
11. Gen 8:18: (1) **ergo** (noe) [FGAlgrEO], (3) vero (noe).
32. Gen 11:13: (1) **trecentis** (et tribus) {= 3} [FGAlEt], (3) quadringentis (tribus) {= 1} [grEmO] <P²>.
39. Gen 11:29: (1) **abram et nachor** {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) nachor et abram.
43. Gen 12:16: (1) **famule** {= 13} [FAlgrEO], (3) famse // [G: familiar].
48. Gen 13:16: (1) **potest** {= 3} [FGAlgrEt], (3) possit [EmO] <multi>.
59. Gen 14:23: (1) **filo** {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) filio <C*Φ^ZP*O*Ψ^{P*}Ω^M>.
73. Gen 37:2: (1) **uxorum** {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) uxor.
74. Gen 37:10: (1) (mater) **tua** {= 13} [FGAlgrEO], (3) (mater) mea.
76. Gen 38:9: (1) **sibi nasci** {= 13} [Ggr], (3) nasci sibi [FAIEO].
77. Gen 38:17: (1) **arrabonem** [FGAlgrEO], (3) arrobone <Ψ^{P*}>.
78. Gen 38:18: (1) **arrabone** [FGAlgrEO], (3) arrobone.

79. Gen 38:29: (21) (propter) **te** (maceria) {= 𐤀𐤂} [FGAlgrEO], (23) (propter) (maceria).
81. Gen 40:17: (21) **excelsius** {= 𐤂} [FGAlgrEO], (23) excelsus.
82. Gen 41:4: (21) **quarum** [FGAlgrEO], (23) quas.
83. Gen 41:22: (21) **pullulabant** {= 𐤀𐤂} [FGAlgrEO], (23) pullulabunt.
85. Gen 42:18: (21) **eductis** [FGAlgrEO], (23) eductus <P*Ψ^D*M>.
86. Gen 43:8: (21) **possimus** [FGAlgrEO], (23) possemus.
89. Gen 46:1: (21) (israhel) **cum** (omnibus) {= 𐤀𐤂} [FGAlgrEO], (23) (israhel) (omnibus).
90. Gen 46:2: (21) **dicentem** [FGAlgrEO], (23) dicente.
94. Gen 47:1: (21) **consistunt** {= 𐤀𐤂} [FGAlgrEO], (23) constituit.
97. Gen 50:14: (21) (reversusque) **est** (ioseph) {= 𐤀𐤂} [FGAlgrEO], (23) (reversusque) (ioseph) <P*>.
100. Ex 1:5: (21) **egressi** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) ingressi [r] <G*CP*>.
104. Ex 2:19: (21) **liberavit** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) liberabit.
105. Ex 4:8: (21) **crediderint** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) ceciderint.
106. Ex 4:11: (21) **ad eum** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) ad deum.
107. Ex 4:12: (21) (doceboque) **te** (quid) {= 𐤀} [GgrEmO], (23) [(doceboque) (quid)] [FAIEt].
108. Ex 4:27: (21) **dixit autem** [EmO], (23) dixitque {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEt].
115. 1 Sam 1:18: (21) (non) **sunt** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) (non) sit.
116. 1 Sam 2:9: (21) (sanctorum) **suorum** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) (sanctorum) <Σ'>
117. 1 Sam 2:31: (21) **praescidam** [FGAlgrEO], (23) praescidem.
119. 1 Sam 5:2: (21) **templum** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) templo <Π>.
120. 1 Sam 9:26: (21) egressi**que** {= 𐤀} [GgrEO], (23) egressi [FAI].
122. 1 Sam 11:1: (21) **amonites** [FGAlgrEO], (23) amonitis <XDΩ>.
130. 1 Sam 14:2: (21) **malogranato** [FGAlgrEO], (23) malagranato.
139. 1 Sam 15:9: (21) (vile) **fuit** [FGAlgrEO], (23) (vile) fuerit <Φ^VΨ^F*>.
140. 1 Sam 16:1: (21) **samuelem** [FGAlgrEO], (23) sumuelem.
142. 1 Sam 16:18: (21) (pueris) (ait) [FGAlgrEO], (23) (pueris) et (ait).
146. 1 Sam 17:27: (21) **hec** (dabuntur) [FGAlgrEO], (23) hee (dabuntur).
149. 1 Sam 25:6: (21) **dicetis** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) diceris.
150. 1 Sam 25:32: (21) (misit) **te** (hodie) {= 𐤀} [FGAlgr], (23) (misit) (hodie) // [rEO: (misit hodie) te].
153. 1 Sam 27:9: (21) **nec** (relinquebat) {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) ne (relinquebat) <Φ^R*>.
154. 1 Sam 28:11: (21) **samuelem suscita michi** {= 𐤀} [g], (23) samuelem michi suscita [FAIEt]//[G: suscita samuelem michi].
156. 1 Sam 29:2: (21) **centuriis** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) centurionibus.
157. 1 Sam 29:4: (21) **descendat** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) descendit.
159. 2 Sam 2:4: (21) **regnaret** {= 𐤀} [FGAlgrEO], (23) regnavit.

161. 2 Sam 2:16: (21) **latus** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) lacus.
 163. 2 Sam 2:19: (21) **sive** [FGAl], (3) neque [grEO] <ΛΦEP*Ψ^FΩ>.
 170. 2 Sam 11:2: (21) vidit**que** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) vidit <Γ^{B*}>.
 171. 2 Sam 12:8: (21) **dedique** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) deditque.
 172. 2 Sam 13:4: (21) **fili** (regis) {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) filii (regis) <AΘ^{RB}>.
 174. 2 Sam 19:14(13): (21) (faciat) **michi** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) (faciat).
 178. Prov 2:22: (21) (vero) **de** [FGAlgrEO], (3) (vero) e*.
 179. Prov 8:33: (21) **abicere** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) adicere.
 180. Prov 10:6: (21) **iniquitatem** {= 𐌺} [FAI], (3) iniquitate <Σ> // [GgrEO: iniquitas] <AΓ^{A2}Ω>.
 181. Prov 10:20: (21) **electum** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) electi.
 182. Prov 12:17: (21) **index** {= 𐌺} [GgEmO], (3) iudex [FAIrtEt] <T*Ω^{MS*}>.
 184. Prov 14:7: (21) **nescito** {= 𐌺} [rEmO], (3) nescit [FAIrtEt] // [G: nescit].
 185. Prov 14:15: (21) **suos** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) tuos.
 186. Prov 15:22: (21) **consiliarii** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) consilii <XS*>.
 188. Prov 20:30: (21) **secretioribus** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) obsecrationibus.
 189. Prov 21:16: (21) **a** (via) {= 𐌺} [GgrEmO], (3) in (via) [FAIrtEt].
 190. Prov 21:16: (21) **gigantum** [GAlgrEO], (3) gigantium [Fr] <XYZ²Ψ^D>.
 195. Prov 26:11: (21) **canis** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) avis.
 196. Qoh 1:2: (21) **ecclesiastes** [FGAlgrEO], (3) eccliastes.
 197. Qoh 5:15: (21) **inventum** [F] = [GAlgrEO: in ventum] {= 𐌺}, (3) iumentum.
 199. Qoh 7:13(14): (21) **despexerit** [FAIrtEO], (3) despexit [g] // [G: respexerit].
 200. Qoh 8:10: (21) **sepultos** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) multos.
 201. Qoh 9:1: (21) (eorum) **in** (manu) {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) (eorum) (manu).
 202. Qoh 9:6: (21) **opere** {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (3) tempore.
 204. Qoh 11:1: (21) **multa tempora** {= 𐌺} [Gg], (3) tempora multa [FAIrtEO].
 205. Qoh 11:6: (21) **magis** [FGAlgrEO], (3) maius.

The following are the 72 cases where 3 = R:

6. Gen 2:15: (3) [**paradiso**] {= 𐌸} [Gg], (21) paradisum [FAIrtEO] <XΨ^{BDFM}Π^CG^C>.
 7. Gen 2:17: (3) [**quocumque**] [grEO], (21) quacumque [FGAl] <G^CΛ^{L*}HBPΩSM>.
 8. Gen 4:1: (3) [**adam vero cognovit**] {= 𐌺𐌸} [FGAlgrEO], (21) cognovit vero adam {= VL}.
 10. Gen 6:21: (3) [(in) **cibum**] [FGgr], (21) (in) escam {= VL} [AIEO] <Ω^S>.
 12. Gen 9:22: (3) [(verenda) **scilicet** (patris)] [FAIrtEO], (21) (verenda) (patris) {= 𐌺𐌸} [G].
 13. Gen 9:22: (3) [**foras**] [FAIrtEO], (21) foris <OΨ^{F*}Ω^S> // [G: omits].
 14. Gen 9:24: (3) [**minor**] {= 𐌺} [FGAlgrEO], (21) iunior {= 𐌸}.

15. Gen 9:25: (3) [(chanaan) (servus)] [= 𐌛] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (chanaan) puer (servus) [= 𐌜] <Ω^M>.
27. Gen 10:22: (3) [et (lud)] [= 𐌛𐌜] [GgEmO], (2) (lud) [FAlrEt].
31. Gen 10:31: (3) [(isti) (filii)] [= 𐌜] [gr], (2) (isti) sunt (filii) [FGAlEO] <Ψ^{FM}>.
33. Gen 11:13: (3) (quadringentis) (tribus) [= 𐌜] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (trecentis) et (tribus).
34. Gen 11:13–14: (3) [filios et filias sale quoque vixit triginta annis et genuit] [= 𐌛𐌜] [FGAlgrEO], (2) omits.
35. Gen 11:15: (3) [(quadringentis) (tribus)] [= 𐌜] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (quadringentis) et (tribus).
37. Gen 11:20: (3) a) **duobus**] [= 𐌛𐌜] [FAlgrEmO], (2) (triginta) quinque [GEt].
38. Gen 11:22: (3) [**vero**] [grEO], (2) autem [FGAl] <Σ^O>.
40. Gen 12:12: (3) [(viderint) **te**] [= 𐌛𐌜] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (viderint) <Ω^M>.
41. Gen 12:12: (3) [(sunt)] [= 𐌛] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (sunt) quod [= 𐌜] <ΣTMM²>.
42. Gen 12:12: (3) [(uxor) **ipsius**] [g], (2) (uxor) illius [= 𐌜] [FGAlrEO] <Λ^HΩSM>.
44. Gen 12:18: (3) [(est) (quod)] [Fg], (2) (est) hoc (quod) [= 𐌛𐌜] [AlrEO] <CΨ^{BD}>.
45. Gen 12:20: (3) [(uxorem) **illius**] [grEO], (2) (uxorem) eius [FGAl] <Ψ^BΩ^S>.
47. Gen 13:7: (3) [(unde) **et** (facta)] [= 𐌛𐌜] [grEmO], (2) (unde) (facta) [FGAlEt] <Θ^{AM}>.
49. Gen 13:17: (3) [**longitudine** (et in) **latitudine sua**] [FAlgrEO], (2) -dinem (et in) -dinem suam [= 𐌜] [G] <multi>.
55. Gen 14:7: (3) [**amoreum**] [= 𐌛𐌜] [Fg], (2) amorreorum [GAlrEO] <XΣ^T>.
57. Gen 14:15: (3) [(hoba)] [= 𐌛𐌜] [FAlgrEmO], (2) (soba) et phenicen [GEt] <ΛΩ^S>.
58. Gen 14:20: (3) [(tuis) (sunt)] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (tuis) traditi (sunt) [= 𐌛𐌜] <Ω^S>.
60. Gen 15:9: (3) [(capram) **trimam**] [FAlgrEO], (2) (capram) triennam <±Ψ> // [G: trinam].
61. Gen 15:12: (3) [**sopor**] [= 𐌛] [FAlgrEO], (2) pavor [= 𐌜] [G] <Λ^H>.
64. Gen 15:21: (3) [(amorreos) et (chananeos)] [= 𐌛𐌜] [FAlgrEO], (2) (amorreos) (chananeos) // [G: (amorreos) eveos et (chananeos) [= VL]].
65. Gen 16:1: (3) [(genuerat) (liberos)] [FG], (2) (genuerat) sibi (liberos) [= 𐌛𐌜] [AlgrEO] <Ω^S>.
66. Gen 36:1 (3) [**hee sunt autem**] [grEO], (2) hee autem sunt [FGAl] <Ω^S>.

69. Gen 36:20: (3) [(isti) (filii seyr)], (2) (isti) sunt (filii seyr) [= VL] [FGAlgrEO] <Ω^S>.
70. Gen 36:20: (3) [**habitatores**] [= 𐌺] [rEmO], (2) habitatoris [= 𐌸] [FGAlgrEt] <multi>.
75. Gen 37:21: (3) [**hoc** (ruben)] [GgrEO], (2) hec (ruben) [FAI].
84. Gen 41:42: (3) [**stola bissina**] [FGAlgrEO], (2) stolam bissinam <multi>.
88. Gen 45:4: (3) [**accessissent**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) appropinquassent.
98. Gen 50:21: (3) [**ac** (leniter)] [= 𐌺] [GgrEO], (2) et (leuiter) [FAI].
99. Gen 50:21: (3) [(ac) **leniter**] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (et) leuiter.
102. Exod 1:20: (3) [**deus**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) dñs <O²>.
103. Exod 1:21: (3) [**illis** (domos)] [Ggr], (2) eis (domos) [FAIEO].
109. Exod 5:12: (3) [**per** (omnem)] [GgrEmO], (2) in (omnem) [= 𐌺𐌸] [FAIEt].
112. Exod 7:14: (3) [(non vult)] [= 𐌺] [EmO], (2) et (non vult) [FGAlgrEt] <Ψ^D>.
113. Exod 7:19: (3) [**ac** (paludes)] [GgrEO], (2) et (paludes) [FAI] <GX>.
114. 1 Sam 1:7: (3) [**cum**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) cumque <Σ^MBE*Θ^{G2MP2}Γ^B>.
118. 1 Sam 2:33: (3) [**penitus virum**] [FGAlgrEO], (2) virum penitus <ΔDΦPI²Ψ>.
121. 1 Sam 10:25: (3) [**ad populum legem regni**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) legem regni ad populum.
123. 1 Sam 12:23: (3) [**bonam et rectam**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FAIgrEO], (2) rectam et bonam, [G] <Ω>.
126. 1 Sam 13:6: (3) [**arto**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FG], (2) arco // [AlrEO: arcto].
127. 1 Sam 13:15: (3) [**surrexit autem samuel**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) samuel autem surrexit.
134. 1 Sam 14:27: (3) [**virgae**] [FAIgrEO], (2) virgule [G] <multi>.
136. 1 Sam 14:34: (3) [**dispergimini**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [grEO], (2) dispergamini [FGAI] <Ω^J>.
137. 1 Sam 14:41: (3) [**iudicium**] [= 𐌸] [GgEt], (2) iudicium [FAI] <Σ^{O2}ΩSM> // [EmO: omits the passage].
138. 1 Sam 14:47: (3) [**filios amon**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) filius amon.
144. 1 Sam 17:10: (3) [**mecum singulare certamen**] [FGAlgrEO], (2) singulare certamen mecum <Ω^M>.
145. 1 Sam 17:17: (3) [**polentae**] [FGAlgrEO], (2) polenta <ΦP*Γ^BΨ^{DF}>.
147. 1 Sam 17:49: (3) [(percussit)] [= 𐌺] [grEmO], (2) circumducens (percussit) [= VL] [FGAIet] <multi>.
148. 1 Sam 23:9: (3) [**rescisset**] [FGAlgrEO], (2) rescisset.
152. 1 Sam 26:9: (3) [**extendit**] [= 𐌺] [g], (2) extendet [= 𐌸] [FGAlrEO] <multi>.
155. 1 Sam 28:12: (3) [(tu) **es**] [= 𐌺𐌸] [FGAlgrEO], (2) (tu) os.

158. 1 Sam 30:12: (3) [**caricarum**] [FGAlgrEO], (21) cariacarum.
166. 2 Sam 5:3: (3) [**in hebron** (et percussit)] [= 116] [FGAlgrEO], (21) (et percussit).
167. 2 Sam 6:4: (3) [(praecebat archam)] [= 116] [FgrEmO], (21) (praecebat archam) dei [GAlEt].
168. 2 Sam 7:19: (3) [(lex) (adam)] [= 116] [FGAlgrEO], (21) (lex) ab (adam) <Q^S>.
169. 2 Sam 7:29: (3) [(benedic) **domui**] [FAlgrEO], (21) (benedic) domum [G] <multi>.
176. Prov 1:3: (3) [**intelligenda**] [= 11] [FGAlgrEO], (21) intelligendam.
177. Prov 1:3: (3) [**eruditionem**] [FGAlgrEO], (21) eruditionem.
183. Prov 14:3: (3) [(labia)] [FGg], (21) (labia) autem [= 116] [AlrEO] <Θ>.
187. Prov 19:2: (3) [**bonum**] [FGAlgrEO], (21) bouum.
191. Prov 21:17: (3) [**pinguia**] [FGAlgrEO], (21) pingula.
192. Prov 23:1: (3) [**posita**] [Ggr], (21) apposita [FAIEO] <XMQ²ΘZ*S²>.
193. Prov 23:18: (3) [**praestolatio**] [FGAlgrEO], (21) praestulatio.
198. Qoh 7:3: (3) [**admonetur**] [GrEO], (21) ammouetur // [FAl: ammonetur] [g: admonemur].
203. Qoh 10:10: (3) [**hebetatum**] [FGAlgrEO], (21) hebitatum.

If we place confidence generally in the decisions of R, the first thing that stands out is that each of the two printings contains about the same number of errors (setting aside the transcriptions where the 21 printing is clearly superior to the 3 printing).

But, in the 76 cases where the 3 printing is in error, the erroneous reading has the support of manuscripts only 20 times, whereas, in the 72 cases where the errors are on the side of the 21 printing, its readings are supported by manuscripts 40 times. The “wrong” readings in 21 are less a matter of the inattention of the typographer than are those of 3. It is interesting to note that the “wrong” readings from the 21 printing offer the most points of contact with the manuscript of the University of Paris (Paris BN lat 15467): There are 18, six of which agree with that manuscript alone (10, 58, 65, 66, 69, 168). In contrast, there is no specific relation between the “wrong” readings of 3 and the same manuscript.

If one counts the number of times where all the early editions agree in their testimony to the “good” readings of one or the other printing, they can be seen to support 21 unanimously 58 times; in contrast, they all join with 3 only 32 times. This may simply be due to the fact that the 21 printing was much more widely circulated than the 3 printing. However, it is interesting to note the particularly close ties between a number of early editions that were unknown to R and that agree on readings not retained by R. In effect, the “wrong” readings of 21 agree 20 times with F, 22 times with G, and 26 times with Al. We must note, however, that most of these readings that R could easily have failed to recognize bear on fairly small details: the absence or presence of a conjunction, or of the copula “est.”

Only three of them are more characteristic, and also have fairly broad support in the manuscripts. They are:

70. Gen 36:20: (3) [habitatores] [rEmO], (2) **habitoris** [FGAlgEt], where the reading of 2l finds support in P^{D2}T²M²Φ^{RAGVP}Θ^{M2}Ψ^{DF}.
147. 1 Sam 17:49: (3) [(percussit)] [grEmO], (2) **circumducens** (percussit) [FGAlEt], where ΛΣBΘ^{HSAM}G³P²HΓ^AΩ support the reading of 2l.
152. 1 Sam 26:9: (3) [extendit] [g], (2) **extendet** [FGAlrEO], where 2l has the support of ΛXΣ^{OM}D²Φ^{RZGV}EΘ^{AM}PHI²Γ^BΨ^{B2F}Ω.

In none of these three cases does the variant not retained by R have the support of 2l or of any of the three early manuscripts upon which R bases its text, and in all three cases, the connection of the variant to Θ or to the Vetus Latina is obvious.

B. The Critical Editions

I. Textual Criticism of 2l prior to Stephanus

I.a. The thirteenth-century correctories

Quentin marks the beginning of textual criticism of the Vulgate in 1511 with the edition of the Dominican Albert de Castello.¹¹² As a matter of fact, a serious work of correction of the text was undertaken at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, well before the advent of the printing press. The University, in 1234, had actually already established and imposed a standard text for itself. But it quickly became clear that this text was of highly dubious quality. As a result, the two great religious orders that held an important place in Vulgate instruction set themselves the task of correcting it. Thirty “correctory” manuscripts have been preserved. The General Dominican Chapter of 1236 already mentions a correction of the Bible ordered for the province of France and ruled that all the Bibles of the order be brought into conformity with it. The most famous of the Dominican correctories were those of Hugh of St. Cher and the one prepared in 1256 at the monastery of Saint-Jacques in Paris. The Dominican correctors, all knowledgeable in Hebrew, took as their starting point Jerome’s project of translating the “veritas hebraica” into Latin. In the process of collecting the readings of early witnesses of 2l, they were not afraid of going back to the original texts and sometimes replacing Jerome’s decisions with a new translation, thus corrupting 2l instead of restoring it. Consequently, it was also at Paris that the Franciscan William de Mara from Oxford, alerted by his fellow Franciscan Roger Bacon about the methodological flaws of the Dominican correctories, established the *Correctorium Vaticanum*. Well-versed in Hebrew and Aramaic writings, he nevertheless gave preference to the evidence of very early manuscripts of the

112. Quentin, *Mémoire*, 95, the subtitle of his second chapter.

Vulgate available to him, and did not systematically eliminate from his text the passages that had no parallel in Hebrew. The name of another Franciscan corrector has been preserved, that of Gérard de Huy, who knew Greek better than Hebrew and also worked according to the principles of Roger Bacon.

Let us mention here a few cases where certain correctories had already attained a better text than that of B42.

α. Isa 12:2. Although R does not report it, B42 omits “deus” after “dominus.” The St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara reported that the early witnesses and the Hebrew agree in attesting this word.

β. Isa 33:2. B42 has “(brachium) nostrum.” However, William de Mara had reported the agreement between the Hebrew and the early manuscripts on the reading “corum.”

γ. Isa 53:12. B42 has the plural “peccata.” However, William de Mara reported the singular “peccatum” as authentic.

δ. Jer 33:16. B42 inserts “nomen” between “est” and “quod.” Hugh of St. Cher, followed by later correctories, had indicated that the Hebrew agrees with the early manuscripts in omitting that word.

ε. Ezek 32:18. B42 places the principal division of the verse after the word “egipti.” However, in accord with the division into cola found in the earliest manuscripts (a division retained by R), William de Mara called for a period between “eam” and “ipsam,” on the basis of the Hebrew.¹¹³

ζ. Ezek 44:28. B42 has a negative at the beginning of the verse. However, the St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara reported that the early witnesses and the Hebrew agree in omitting the negative.

η. Ezek 47:19. B42 inserts “hec est” between “et” and “plaga.” However, the St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara reported that these two words should not be here, even though they might be implied.

θ. Dan 2:34. While B42 gives “lapis de monte,” the St. Jacques correctory pointed out the absence of the complement in the Hebrew and the early manuscripts, adding, however, that it is attested “in quibusdam originalibus.” It is indeed attested in Amiatinus, the earliest manuscript of the entire Bible, but it is absent from the earliest witness, palimpsest 193 of the St. Gall abbey, dating from the fifth century.

ι. Joel 2:23. B42 has “sicut in principio.” But William de Mara (and the St. Jacques correctory) reported the absence of “sicut” in the Hebrew and in the early manuscripts.

κ. Amos 3:12. B42 has “et in damasci grabbato,” while the St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara made the observation that, although that reading may be smoother, the early manuscripts have “et in damasco grabbati.”

113. That is where the *atnah* is located.

λ. Amos 5:26. While B42 has the singular “tabernaculum,”¹¹⁴ the St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara had reported that the plural “tabernacula” had the support of the Hebrew and the early manuscripts.

μ. Obad 20. B42 has “(omnia) loca,” whereas the St. Jacques correctory had reported the absence of “loca” in Jerome, the Hebrew, and the early manuscripts.

ν. Mic 2:8. B42 has “et (cos).” However, the St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara reported the absence of “et” in the early manuscripts.

ξ. Mic 4:6. B42 ends the verse with “consolabor,” which the St. Jacques correctory reported as absent in Jerome, the Hebrew, and the early manuscripts.

ο. Hab 3:8. B42 has “qui (ascendes),” whereas William de Mara had reported the reading “quia” in Jerome, the Hebrew, and the early manuscripts.

π. Zeph 2:7. While B42 has “visitavit,” the St. Jacques correctory reported “visitabit” in Jerome, the Hebrew, and the early manuscripts.

l.b. Froben 1495

This small octavo edition seems to have had a wide distribution and we will see that Stephanus mentions it in his critical apparatus of 1540. However, the critical apparatus of R does not cite it and Quentin, who collated it, classes it with editions where “there is [no] hope of recovering any trace of an early or important text.”¹¹⁵ We consulted it frequently, and would like to illustrate its qualities and flaws with a few examples.

The Froben 1495 edition and its contemporary, the Gadolo edition that will be discussed immediately following this, have in common a certain number of readings (marked FG) that set them apart from B42.

- Hos 9:13. While B42 reads “ut vidit,” the reading “ut vidi” (which the St. Jacques correctory reported as corresponding to the Hebrew) appeared in the FG editions, from which it passed to all editions that followed.
- Mic 1:11. Instead of “vicine” of B42, FG gives “vicina” here, a reading that Dold discovered in the fragments of St. Gall (fifth century) and that would be adopted by the Alcalá polyglot, the Sixtina, and the Clementine.
- Hab 3:1. Instead of “pro ignorantibus” found in B42 and g, “pro ignorantibus” is found in FG and almost all subsequent editions.
- Hab 3:9, 13. At the end of each of these verses, B42 has the separate word “semper,” which is kept in g and R. FG omit it, as do the Sixtina and the Clementine. It is reintroduced by rEO in v. 13, but not v. 9.
- Hag 2:5(6). With almost all the textual witnesses, B42 read “placui.” FG have, with the Paris text, “pepigi,” which is retained in AlgrEmO and subsequent editions.

114. In the conflated reading treated in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 666:19–26.

115. Quentin, *Mémoire*, 82–83 and 94.

Occasionally, Froben 1495 is the first witness that we have encountered for certain readings that later had some success, whether they deserved it or not.

- Amos 7:1. With almost all the manuscripts, B42 gives “post tonsorem gregis.” But Nicholas of Lyra wrote: “Et ecce serotinus post tonsionem gregis. In hebreo habetur: Post tonsionem regis. Et videtur haec littera falsificata per imperitiam scriptorum, propter similitudinem dictionis, vel per imaginationem aliquorum correctorum eo quod tonsio magis dicitur de gregibus quam de regibus.” The Froben 1495 edition adopted the reading “post tonsionem regis.” The fact that no manuscript has “tonsionem” proves the direct influence of Nicholas of Lyra, and a concern for making \mathfrak{D} conform to the Hebrew.
- Mic 1:14. While Jerome used the form “domus” for the plural accusative, Froben 1495 preferred “domos” as being less ambiguous.¹¹⁶ AlgrEO were to follow suite.
- Hab 1:17. Instead of “parcet,” which is given in B42 and preserved in GEmO and R, Froben 1495 gives “cessat” and is followed by AlgrEt.
- Zech 10:11. F (followed by Al) had “transiet” instead of “transiit” of B42 or “transibit” of Gg, etc., probably due to the influence of the following “percutit.”

From these examples, which could easily be multiplied, it can be observed that the text of \mathfrak{D} did not remain static after the *editio princeps*. For example, the Froben edition made an effort to realize the purpose expressed in its title, to provide a Bible that was “accuratius recemdata.” This effort and the effort of similar editions resulted in some facilitations, but also in real textual improvements that opened the way for the more systematic efforts of the first critical editors.

I.c. Gadolo

Before he published the *editio princeps* of the complete works of Jerome in 1497,¹¹⁷ the Camaldolite Bernardin Gadolo, prior of St. Michel de Murano, produced the first combined edition of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the *Postillae* of Nicholas of Lyra. Published by Paganino of Paganinis in 1495, it was entitled *Liber vite*, with the subtitle *Biblia cum glosis ordinariis; et interlinearibus; excerptis ex omnibus ferme Ecclesie sancte doctoribus; simulque cum expositione Nicolai de lyra; et cum concordantiis in margine*.¹¹⁸ We have already introduced this edition, citing the passage from the introduction where Gadolo articulates his critical project.¹¹⁹ Deeming that “the text published by Gadolo is more or less that of Bibles printed in his era,” Quentin concluded a bit hastily that “further-

116. Indeed, the Old German had interpreted it as a singular.

117. Listed under Jerome (Gadolo) in the bibliography.

118. Listed under \mathfrak{D} (Gadolo 1495) in the bibliography.

119. Above, p. 176.

more, the glossed texts exerted so little influence on contemporary and later editions that there is no need to dwell on it further," and R did not take it into account in its apparatus.

Nevertheless, we have found it useful to refer to this edition regularly in this investigation, and that has enabled us to observe that Gadolo (= G) was often the first to apply certain corrections to the text of \mathfrak{D} , and that his corrections had a greater influence than Quentin believed. Here are a few examples:

α. Isa 66:17. According to the apparatus of R, r is the only edition before R to have corrected "post ianuam intrinsecus" to "post unam intrinsecus." If Quentin had consulted G, he would have seen that it already had the "good" reading "unam," a choice that G probably based on Nicholas of Lyra, which he (G) had edited and which explains, "Post unam intrinsecus. sic est in hebreo et in libris correctis (. . .) Post unam scilicet portam vel clausuram. Et ideo aliqui libri habent post ianuam."

β. Jer 6:15 and 8:12. These two verses begin with "confusi sunt quia abominationem fecerunt," after which Gadolo seems to be the first editor to have placed question marks.¹²⁰ This is because, in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, he had edited an extract from Jerome's commentary which says, "Depressius hic legendum est iuxta hebraicum: Et cum inquit tanta fecerint numquid confusi sunt?"

γ. Ezek 5:16. After "quando misero sagittas famis pessimas," B42 and F omit the complement "in eos." It was Gadolo who reintroduced it, followed by the other editions.

δ. Ezek 45:14. The phrase "et decem bati corum faciunt" is missing in B42 and F. Gadolo reintroduced it, and was followed by the other editions.

ε. Amos 5:26. B42 and F have a conflated reading here, influenced by the citation in Acts 7:43: "Et portastis tabernaculum molech deo vestro: et imaginem idolorum vestrorum, sidus dei vestri rempha: figuras quas fecistis vobis adorare eas." Gadolo, in exact conformity with manuscript 5 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, was the first to offer the true text of \mathfrak{D} in the form: "Et portastis tabernacula moloch regi vestro: et imaginem idolorum vestrorum, sidus dei vestri quae fecistis vobis," a reading that the subsequent editions appear to have taken from him.

ζ. Obad 20. We pointed out above that the St. Jacques correctory had recorded the absence of "loca" in Jerome, the Hebrew, and the early manuscripts. While B42 and F have this word, Gadolo omits it, and is followed by gEmO.

η. Mic 4:6. We have also cited above the St. Jacques correctory as reporting the absence of "consolabor" in Jerome, the Hebrew, and the early manuscripts. While B42 and F have the word, the Gadolo edition appears to be the first to omit it, and is followed by A1 and most subsequent editions.

120. B42 makes regular use of the question mark, but does not put it in here.

θ. Zeph 3:8. B42 and F have “super eos,” conforming to the Parisian text. Gadolo corrected this to “super eas,” followed by **g**, and then by Weber and R.

ι. Zech 3:1. B42 and F make “dominus” the explicit subject of “ostendit.” Gadolo appears to be the first editor to omit the word, followed by **grEmO**.

κ. Zech 10:11. While B42 has “transiit,” corrected by F and A1 to “transiet,” Gadolo established the reading “transibit.” which would be preserved in **g** and subsequent editions.

These examples could be multiplied, but suffice to show that the Gadolo edition merits more attention than R gave to it.

1.d. The Alcalá polyglot

The Alcalá polyglot did not have the honor of appearing in the critical apparatus of R either. Quentin simply states that, for the improvement of the text of \mathcal{D} , “the progress achieved by the Ximenes polyglot is minimal.” A few examples will demonstrate that the edition that held a place of primary importance in the Stephanus apparatus in 1540 also deserved mention in the apparatus of R.

α. Jer 34:12. While B42, followed by FG, had “et factum est verbum ad hieremiam a domino dicens,” the Alcalá polyglot inserted “domini” after “verbum,” an insertion that was adopted by **grEmO**, etc.

β. Jer 41:1. While B42, as well as FG, had “optimas,” the Alcalá polyglot established the authentic reading “optimates.”

γ. Ezek 1:10. B42, and later FG, had “et facies aquilae desuper ipsorum quatuor,” although the St. Jacques correctory and William de Mara had reported that neither the Hebrew nor the early manuscripts had “desuper.” The Alcalá polyglot appears to have been the first to omit the word, an omission that **g** did not follow. In contrast, Stephanus was to refer to it explicitly, as well as to two manuscripts of St. Denis and two of St. Germain, in omitting the word. This did not prevent the Sixtina and Clementine editions from retaining the word, and R, too, does not omit it.

δ. Ezek 32:32. B42, followed by FG, has “dedit¹²¹ terrorem suum.” Although the St. Jacques correctory had reported “eius” as the reading of the Hebrew, the Alcalá polyglot (followed by **g**) was the first to give the authentic reading of \mathcal{D} : “dedi terrorem meum.”

ε. Ezek 44:28. We indicated above the testimony of the correctories against the negative particle that B42 and FG place at the beginning of this verse. The Alcalá polyglot was the first to omit this negation, which the Sixtina and Clementine editions were to reintroduce,¹²² before R, too, included it.

121. The critical apparatus of R gives the wrong impression that B42 has “dedi.”

122. Perhaps under the influence of **g**, which notes in the margin: “Antiqui aliquot exemplaria habent: Non erit autem etc.”

ζ. Dan 2:34. The omission of the complement “de monte” followed exactly the same route as that of the negation just noted.

η. Dan 12:6. The reading “et dixi” had been adopted by B42, as well as by FG. This was the reading on which Jerome commented and which was attested by very early manuscripts such as Amiatinus and the Fleury manuscript. The Alcalá polyglot was the first to prefer “et dixit” of the Cava manuscript that R would also choose after the discovery of the St. Gall palimpsest furnished it with support dating from the fifth century. g, as well as the Sixtina and Clementine editions, returned to “et dixi.”

θ. Amos 7:7. After “ostendit mihi,” B42, followed by FG, provides an explicit subject “dominus deus.” Here again, the Alcalá polyglot was the first to omit this subject, followed by g,¹²³ then by most of the other editions.

ι. Hab 2:16. Instead of “repletus est” of B42, and preserved by FGg, the Alcalá polyglot has “repletus es,” which was adopted by the Stephanus editions, followed by the Sixtina and Clementine.

These few examples should be sufficient to establish that the contribution of the Alcalá polyglot to textual criticism of \mathfrak{D} is far from negligible.

I.e. Gobelinus Laridius

In 1530 in Cologne, editor Eucher Hirtzhorn published an edition (= g) with the rather pretentious title *Biblia iuxta divi Hieronymi Stridonensis translationem, post multas hactenus editiones, non modo ad Hebraeorum Graecorumque fontem, verumetiam multorum vetustissimorum codicum Latinorum consensum accuratissime castigata, ea quidem fide & diligentia, ut illa D. Hieronymi editio in hac plane renata videri possit*. In his foreword he claims to have consulted several very early manuscripts and to have related the textual forms found in them to their Hebrew and Greek sources. He adds that the “venerable Gobelinus Laridius,” a man well-versed in Hebrew, undertook the revision of the Old Testament, based on 15 very old volumes of the two languages. He explains that when the passages attested in the early manuscripts had no counterpart in the Hebrew or Greek sources, they were not omitted but were printed in different characters, with only those words being omitted that had no basis in the early Latin manuscripts.

Quentin was correct to point out the high quality of Laridius’s critical work. But, because he does not cite Laridius’s predecessors in the critical apparatus of R, he gives the impression that all the progress made before Robert Stephanus in this domain was due to Laridius. It is a simple matter to show that this view is incorrect. To do this, we will take up the well-constructed demonstration that Quentin attempted to give of that view. In the last eight chapters of Genesis, he

¹²³. Which R incorrectly listed with the Clementine edition as giving the explicit subject “dominus.”

discovered 62 “cases where readings in the Clementine edition have readings from the best manuscripts against them,” and where **g** agrees with these manuscripts against Clementine. We will show that Laridius is less original and, in particular, less isolated in his effort than Quentin believed.

I.f. Stephanus 1532

We introduced the 1532 Bible of Robert Stephanus as the first of his editions in which the text was the object of significant corrections based on other Latin editions and early Parisian manuscripts to make it conform more closely to the Hebrew, although the corrections had not yet been defended in a critical apparatus.¹²⁴ Quentin accurately represented the singularity of this edition in the corpus of Stephanus’s work and the apparatus of R makes regular use of it, indicated by the siglum **r**.¹²⁵

I.g. Stephanus 1540

One of the most serious criticisms that can be made of the manner in which the critical apparatus of R accounts for the early critical editions of **v** is that, for the Stephanus edition of 1540, it cites only the readings in its text (under the siglum **r**). In the discussion of this edition above,¹²⁶ it was pointed out that, in order to satisfy the censors at the Sorbonne, Stephanus had reproduced an earlier accepted edition for the text of his edition, and had reserved all his critical proposals for a marginal critical apparatus (which R does not consider at all). This is why it is essential to have three distinct sigla for citing this edition: **E** when the margin offers no variant, **Et** to designate the text when the margin counters with a variant, and **Em** for the marginal variants. For the Old Testament, the principal witnesses that Stephanus cites in his apparatus are: **Ge.o**, an oblong manuscript from St. Germain-des-Prés, which is currently Paris BN lat 11504–11505 from the ninth century; **Ge.l**, a large manuscript from St. Germain, the second half of which is Paris BN lat 11553 (the first half is lost); **Ge.p**, a small (“**p**etit”) manuscript from St. Germain, which is Paris BN lat 11937 from the ninth century. Under the siglum **Di.o** he cites an oblong manuscript from St. Denys that has not been recovered and that was written by order of Charles V; under **Di.l** he cites a large manuscript from St. Denys that must be Paris BN lat 45 and 93.¹²⁷ Using the siglum **V** he cites unspecified manuscripts from the St. Victor abbey. The abbreviation **Compl.** refers to the Alcalá polyglot, and **S** refers to the “Correctorium Sorbonicum,” one of the first Franciscan correctories, composed according to the same principles as the Dominican correctories and preserved in folios 147–253 of Paris BN lat 15554, which was in the Sorbonne library at the time of Stepha-

124. Above, p. 177.

125. Quentin, *Mémoire*, 108–9.

126. P. 178.

127. In the opinion of Louis Canet, reported by Quentin (*Mémoire*, 111).

nus. He uses B to refer to a Basel edition in small characters from 40 years earlier, probably the Froben 1495 edition. Finally, with the siglum M he cites the Schöffler 1462 edition from Mainz. We present here a few interesting cases that escaped R's attention.

α. Isa 66:17. Here, where R attributes the "wrong" reading "ianuam" to *ε*, it should be noted that Et does indeed have it, but that Em corrects it to "unam," based on Di.o.l. and Ge.o.l.p.

β. Ezek 1:10. Although R does not mention it, Et has "aquilae desuper," whereas Em omits "desuper," in line with Di.o.l., Ge.o.p., and Compl.

γ. Ezek 16:50. Et has "vidisti," while Em attributes "vidi" (which *r* has) to Ge.p.

δ. Ezek 32:32. In *r* Stephanus gives the solecism "dedi terrorem suum." In Et he has "dedit terrorem suum," and Em attributes "dedi" to Di.l., Ge.p., V, and Compl.

ε. Ezek 44:28. R attributes "non erit" to *ε*, but Em eliminates the negative, based on Compl. and Di.l.

ζ. Ezek 45:14. Et was forced to omit "et decem bati corum faciunt," which *r* had added, but Em supports the insertion of the phrase with Compl., V, Di.o.l., and Ge.o.p.

η. Dan 2:34. Em notes the absence of "de monte" in Di.l., Ge.o., and Compl.

θ. Dan 12:6. Em corrects "dixi" to "dixit," with Compl.

ι. Hos 9:13. While R attributes "vidit" to *ε*, Em corrects it to "vidi," with Di.l., Ge.p., B, and V.

κ. Hos 12:1(11:12). R attributes "fidelibus" to *ε*, but Em corrects it to "fidelis," with Di.o.l. and Ge.o.p.

λ. Amos 5:26. In the discussion of Gadolo, we cited the conflated reading influenced by the quote of this passage in Acts 7:43. In eliminating it, Em is based on Di.o.l., Ge.o.p., V, and S.

μ. Amos 7:7. After "ostendit mihi," Em eliminates "dominus deus" on the basis of Compl., Ge.o., and Di.o.

ν. Obad 20. Em bases the omission of "loca" (after "omnia") on Di.o.l., Ge.o.p., and V.

ξ. Mic 4:6. Omitting "consolabor" at the end of the verse, Em is based on Compl., Di.l., Ge.o.p., and V.

ο. Mic 6:9. While R attributes "suum" to *ε*, Em corrects it to "tuum," with Di.o.l. and Ge.o.p.

π. Nah 2:14(13). Em corrects "tuas" to "eius," with Di.l. and Ge.p.

ρ. Hab 1:17. Em corrects "cessat" (which R attributes to *ε*) to "parect," with Di.o.l., Ge.p., V, and M.

σ. Hab 3:8. Em corrects "qui ascendis" to "quia ascendes," with Di.o. and Ge.p.

τ. Zech 2:12(8). To correct “mei” to “eius,” Em claims to have the support of Compl., whereas the Alcalá polyglot actually has “sui.”

υ. Zech 3:2(1). After “ostendit mihi,” Em eliminates “dominus” on the basis of Di.l., Ge.p., and V.

φ. Zech 4:2. Em repeats “et septem,” with Ge.p.

χ. Zech 6:3. R attributes “et fortes” to ρ, but Em omits the conjunction, with Di.o. and Ge.o.p.

ψ. Mal 3:5. The absence of “et humiliant” in Di.l., Ge.o.p., and V is noted by Em.

1.h. Stephanus 1557

While Quentin claimed to have collated this edition,¹²⁸ R fails to cite it in its apparatus, since Quentin quickly determined that it reproduced the text of 1528–1534 with the new corrections and that the critical apparatus of the variants had disappeared. If we recall the 148 textual cases analyzed in our apparatus on pages 498–504, we must notice, indeed, that the sigla ρ and O support the same reading 135 times, the only exceptions being 10, 27, 31, 48, 76, 100, 103, 108, 112, 137, 182, 190, and 192. However, the link between O and E (or Em) is even more striking, since there are no exceptions. The 1557 edition can thus be characterized as reproducing the 1540 text but integrating the readings that Stephanus had been obliged, against his inclinations, to relegate to the margin. It is not surprising that Stephanus would have done this, once he had arrived in Geneva and was no longer subject to the harassment of the Sorbonne theologians. It is no wonder, then, that the critical apparatus of the variants would have disappeared. But it is worth pointing out that the demands of the Sorbonne forced Stephanus to justify the authority he recognized in readings closer to the Hebrew by listing the textual witnesses, and thus led him to develop the first text-critical apparatus for the Bible in his 1540 edition. While it might be regretted that only the 1540 edition—rare because it was forbidden and also voluminous—was equipped with such an apparatus by Stephanus, it is also regrettable that the editors of R cited neither Em nor O in their apparatus. They would have had in those editions the final stage of Stephanus’s critical efforts, whereas ρ supplies only an interim stage.

2. Assessment of the Textual Criticism of V up to Stephanus

When Quentin undertook to demonstrate¹²⁹ the remarkable quality of the critical results obtained by Gobelinus Laridius, the manuscripts upon which he based his demonstration were G (= St. Gatien de Tours, sixth-seventh century), C (= Cava, eighth-ninth century), A (= Amiatinus, seventh-eighth century), and O (= Ottobonianus, seventh-eighth century). Let us take up once again the comparison for the same eight chapters in Genesis, situating the decisions of Froben

128. *Ibid.*, 104.

129. *Ibid.*, 125–26.

1495, Gadolo, the Alcala polyglot, and Laridius in all cases where the apparatus of R reveals an opposition between the reading of the Clementine and a reading supported by the majority of the manuscripts GCAO, or by the majority of those that are available. To avoid confusion with the sigla that the R apparatus uses for these manuscripts, we refer to Gadolo as V (= Venice), Froben 1495 as F, the Alcala polyglot as P (= Polyglot), and Laridius as L, and place these four sigla inside square brackets. In each case in the following list, not taking into account the readings given in curly braces {} or in square brackets [], there are two readings separated by the sign ≠. The reading that precedes this sign is that of the Clementine edition and the reading that follows it is the reading supported by the majority of the manuscripts just mentioned. This second reading (and when applicable, the first) is followed by a colon introducing the list of supporting manuscripts. Following the sign // we give, when it is applicable, the reading(s) supported by one or another of these manuscripts that differs from the majority reading and that of the Clementine edition. The reading of B42 is underlined (or added to the beginning in parentheses if it does not coincide with any of the cited readings). Readings in bold letters are those that Stephanus retains in the most advanced stage of his critical work, i.e., his 1557 Bible, and we indicate in the notes the critical initiatives that he had already taken in his 1532 and 1540 Bibles. Finally, when appropriate, we place {=℞} or {≠ ℞} after the reading that is closest to ℞. As Quentin has done, we do not take into account certain atypical spelling variants and also set aside the spelling of proper names, which merits a separate treatment. Here, then, are all the cases that remain in question:

1. Gen 42:6: **ioseph erat** [P] ≠ ioseph: GCAO [VFL] {± ℞}
2. Gen 42:6: **princeps in terra** [PL] {± ℞} ≠ princeps: GCAO [VF]
3. Gen 42:6: **eius** [FP] ≠ illius: GCAO [VL]
4. Gen 42:8: **cognitus** [FP] ≠ agnitus¹³⁰: GCAO [VL]
5. Gen 42:9: **ait ad eos** [VFPL] {= ℞} ≠ ait: GCAO
6. Gen 42:13: **at illi** [FPL] ≠ et illi: GCAO [V] {± ℞}
7. Gen 42:16: **vera an falsa** [FPL] {± ℞} ≠ falsa an vera: GCAO [V]
8. Gen 42:17: **illos** [FPL] ≠ eos: GCAO [eis: V]
9. Gen 42:18: **quae** [VPL] ≠ quod: GCAO [F] {± ℞}
10. Gen 42:21: **ad invicem** [P] ≠ invicem: GCAO [VFL]
11. Gen 42:21: **dum** [VFPL] ≠ cum: GCAO
12. Gen 42:23: **loqueretur**: A [VPL] ≠ loquebatur: GCO [F]
13. Gen 42:25: **tollensque** [VFPL] {= ℞} ≠ tollens: GC^aAO
14. Gen 42:25: **iussit**¹³¹ [FPL] ≠ iussitque: GCAO [V] {= ℞}

130. This reading had been adopted by Stephanus in his 1532 Bible.

131. In his 1540 Bible (and already in that of 1532) Stephanus wrote "iussit" instead of "iussitque," without comment.

15. Gen 42:25: **eorum saccos**¹³² [FP] ≠ saccos eorum: GCAO [VL] {= ℳ}
16. Gen 42:25: in viam: A {= ℳ} ≠ **in via**: GCO [VFPL]
17. Gen 42:26: **asinis suis** [VP] {= ℳ} ≠ asinis: GCAO [FL]
18. Gen 42:28: **mutuo dixerunt** [VFP] ≠ dixerunt mutuo: GCAO [L] {= ℳ}
19. Gen 42:29: **in terram**¹³³ {= ℳ} ≠ in terra: GCAO [VFPL]
20. Gen 42:30: **exploratores esse** [VFP] ≠ exploratores: GCAO [L] {± ℳ}
21. Gen 42:32: **cum patre nostro** [PL] {= ℳ} ≠ cum patre: GCAO [VF]
22. Gen 42:32: **est** [P] ≠ versatur: GCAO [VFL]
23. Gen 42:34: **quae vultis emendi** [VP] ≠ emendi quae vultis: GCAO [FL]
24. Gen 42:36: **et beniamin** [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ beniamin: GCAO
25. Gen 42:36: **omnia mala** [VFPL] ≠ mala omnia: GCAO
26. Gen 42:37: **trade illum** [PL] [cum: V] {= ℳ} ≠ trade: GCAO [F]
27. Gen 42:37: **eum tibi** [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ cum: G*CAO
28. Gen 42:38: **et ipse**: A [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ ipsc: GCO [V]
29. Gen 43:2: **emite nobis**: A [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ emite: GCO [V]
30. Gen 43:3: attestatione [VP] ≠ **testificatione**¹³⁴: GCAO [FL¹³⁵]
31. Gen 43:3: iurisiurandi [VL] ≠ iurandi: G*CAO [F] [**iusiurandi**: P¹³⁶]
32. Gen 43:4: **eum mittere**: O [FPL] ≠ mittere eum: GCA [V] {± ℳ}
33. Gen 43:5: sin autem: A [L] ≠ **si autem**: GCO [VFP]
34. Gen 43:7: **fratrem vestrum vobiscum** [FPL] ≠ vobiscum fratrem vestrum: GCAO [V]
35. Gen 43:9: **reddidero** [VFP] ≠ tradidero: GCAO [L]
36. Gen 43:9: **reus in te** [FP] {= ℳ} ≠ in te reus: GCAO [VL]
37. Gen 43:11: **storacis**: A [VFPL] ≠ styracis: GCO
38. Gen 43:11: **stactes**¹³⁷ [P] ≠ et stactes: GCAO [VFL] {± ℳ}
39. Gen 43:12: **pecuniam quoque**:¹³⁸ G^a ≠ pecuniamque: CAO [VFPL] {± ℳ}
40. Gen 43:17: **quod sibi**: A [FP] ≠ **sicut**¹³⁹: G*CO [V] {= ℳ} [sicut sibi: L]
41. Gen 43:19: dispensatorem domus: A {± ℳ} ≠ **dispensatorem**: GCO [VFPL]
42. Gen 43:20: **audias nos**: A [VPL] ≠ audias: GCO [F] {± ℳ}
43. Gen 43:21: **saccos** [FP] ≠ sacculos: GCAO [VL]
44. Gen 43:21: **reportavimus**: C [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ reportamus: G^aAO [V] // portamus: G*

132. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus had already effected the permutation without comment.

133. In 1532 Stephanus kept the ablative. In 1540 he changed it to the accusative.

134. Stephanus attributes this reading to Di.o.l., Ge.o.l.p., and S.

135. With the note: “alii, attestatione supr.4.2.d.”

136. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus kept the reading of B42 without proposing any variant.

137. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus omits the conjunction without comment.

138. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus writes “quoque” without comment.

139. Stephanus attributes this reading to Di.o.l., Ge.o.l., V, and S. He had already adopted it in his 1532 Bible.

45. Gen 43:22: **quae nobis necessaria** [FPL] ≠ quae necessaria: GCAO [V]
 46. Gen 43:22: **posuerit eam** [FP] {± ℳ} ≠ eam posuerit: GCAO [VL]
 47. Gen 43:23: **saccis** [FP] ≠ sacculis: GCAO [VL]
 48. Gen 43:24: **pabulum** [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ pabula: GCAO [V]
 49. Gen 43:26: **in manibus suis** [FP] {= ℳ} ≠ in manibus: GCAO [VL]
 50. Gen 43:27: **interrogavit eos**: G^a [VFP] {± ℳ} ≠ interrogavit: G*CAO [L]
 51. Gen 43:29: **ioseph oculos** [FPL] ≠ oculos ioseph: GCO [V] [oculos suos ioseph: A]
 52. Gen 44:4: **accessito**: C [VFPL] ≠ arcessito: GAO
 53. Gen 44:4: **et persequere** [FPL] ≠ persequere: GCAO [V] {= ℳ}
 54. Gen 44:5: **scyphus**: A [VPL] ≠ scyphum: GCO [F]
 55. Gen 44:9: **erimus servi** [FP] {± ℳ} ≠ servi crimus: GCAO [VL]
 56. Gen 44:10: **dixit eis** [FPL] ≠ dixit: GCAO [V] {= ℳ}
 57. Gen 44:10: **quemcumque**: C [VFP] ≠ quem: GAO [L] {± ℳ}
 58. Gen 44:16: **iuste**: C [VFPL] ≠ iusti: GAO {± ℳ}
 59. Gen 44:18: **accedens autem**¹⁴⁰ [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ accedens: GCAO
 60. Gen 44:20: **senectute** [VFPL] ≠ senecta: GCAO
 61. Gen 44:20: **mortuus est**¹⁴¹ ≠ est mortuus: GCAO [VFPL]
 62. Gen 44:26: **descenderit**: G [VFPL] ≠ descendet: CA // discendat: O
 63. Gen 44:32: **tuus sim** [VFL] [tuus sum: P] ≠ tuus: GCAO {= ℳ}
 64. Gen 44:33: **ministerio**: A [PL] {± ℳ} [mysterio: V] ≠ ministerium: GCO [F]
 65. Gen 44:34: ad patrem meum: C {= ℳ} ≠ **ad patrem**: AO [VFPL] // ad patrem nostrum: G
 66. Gen 45:3: **non**¹⁴² [VFP] ≠ **nec**: GCAO [L] {= ℳ}
 67. Gen 45:3: **terrore** [VFPL] ≠ timore: GCAO
 68. Gen 45:4: **aegyptum**: G [VFPL] {± ℳ} ≠ aegypto: CAO
 69. Gen 45:5: **neque** [FP] ≠ nec: GCAO [VL]
 70. Gen 45:6: **est enim** [VL] {= ℳ} ≠ est: GAO [FP] // enim est: C
 71. Gen 45:6: **coepit fames esse in terra** ≠ f. e. c. i. t.: CAO // f. c. e. i. t.: G [f. c. i. t. e.: V] [c. f. i. t. e.: FP¹⁴³] [e. c. f. i. t.: L]
 72. Gen 45:9: **fecit me** [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ me fecit: GCAO [V]
 73. Gen 45:14: **similiter flente**: [VFPL] ≠ flente similiter: GCAO
 74. Gen 45:19: **ac coniugum** [P] ≠ et coniugum: GCAO [VFL]
 75. Gen 45:19: **et dicito** [VP] ≠ ac dicito: AO [FL] // hac dicito: C // ag dicito: G
 76. Gen 45:20: **nec dimittatis** [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ ne dimittatis: GCAO
 77. Gen 45:21: **feceruntque** G^aA [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ fecerunt: G*CO [V]

140. In his 1540 Bible Stephanus proposed the omission of “autem,” based on Di.o.l. and Ge.o.l. He did not carry over the omission to his 1557 Bible.

141. This permutation was made by Stephanus without comment in his 1532 and 1540 Bibles.

142. In 1532 and 1540 Stephanus had kept this reading.

143. In his 1532 Bible Stephanus wrote, as in I^aP: c. f. i. t. e.

78. Gen 45:22: **singulis quoque** [VFPL] ≠ singulisque: GCAO
 79. Gen 45:23: et asinos ≠ eis asinos: CAO [VFP] // **ei**¹⁴⁴ **asinos**: G [L] {± ℳ}
 80. Gen 45:23: **totidem asinas**: C [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ totidem asinos: GAO
 81. Gen 45:26: **ioseph filius tuus** [VFPL¹⁴⁵] ≠ **ioseph**¹⁴⁶: GCAO {= ℳ}
 82. Gen 45:26: **audito iacob** [VFPL] ≠ audito: GCAO {= ℳ}
 83. Gen 45:27: **e contra**: GC^a [VFPL] ≠ contra: C*AO
 84. Gen 46:2: noctis: A ≠ **nocte**: CGO [VFPL]
 85. Gen 46:3: descende: C^aA ≠ et descende: GO [VF][**sed descende**: P] // descendere: C* [L] {= ℳ}
 86. Gen 46:4: **manus suas** [VP] ≠ manum suam: GCAO [FL] {= ℳ}
 87. Gen 46:5: **surrexit autem**¹⁴⁷ [F] {= ℳ} ≠ **surrexit**: G*CAO [VPL] // surrexit itaque: G^a
 88. Gen 46:8: **ipse**: C* [VFPL] {± ℳ} ≠ ipsi: C^aAO
 89. Gen 46:11: **et caath**: C [VFPL] ≠ caath: AO {= ℳ}
 90. Gen 46:21: **et gera** [VFPL] ≠ gera: CAO {= ℳ}
 91. Gen 46:26: **egressae sunt** [VFP] ≠ egressae: CAO [L]
 92. Gen 46:26: **filiorum eius**: O [VFPL] {± ℳ} ≠ filiorum: CA
 93. Gen 46:27: **in aegyptum**: O [VFPL] ≠ aegyptum: CA
 94. Gen 46:28: occurreret ≠ **ille occurreret**: GCAO [VFPL]
 95. Gen 46:29: **quo**: A^aO [VFPL] ≠ quod: GCA*
 96. Gen 46:29: **patri suo**¹⁴⁸ {= ℳ} ≠ **patri**: GCAO [VFPL]
 97. Gen 46:31: **at**¹⁴⁹ **ille** [V] ≠ et ille: GCA [FPL] {± ℳ}
 98. Gen 46:31: **fratres suos** [VFP] {= ℳ} ≠ fratres: GCAO [L]
 99. Gen 47:2: **constituit** [FP] ≠ statuit:¹⁵⁰ GCAO [VL]
 100. Gen 47:6: **eos habitare** [VFPL] ≠ habitare eos¹⁵¹: GCAO
 101. Gen 47:6: **in eis esse** [FPL] ≠ esse in eis: GCAO {= ℳ} [in eis: V]
 102. Gen 47:9: meae: AO* {± ℳ} ≠ et vitae meae: GC // **vitae meae**: O^a [VFPL]
 103. Gen 47:11: **terrae loco**¹⁵² [PL] ≠ loco terrae solo: GCAO [**terre solo**: VF] {± ℳ}
 104. Gen 47:15: **emptoribus**: C [VPL] ≠ emptoris: GAO [F]
 105. Gen 47:18: **venerunt quoque** [VFPL] {± ℳ} ≠ veneruntque: GCAO

144. Stephanus attributes this singular (as he had already done in his 1532 Bible) to Di.o.l., Ge.o.l.p., V, and S.

145. In small characters: “filius tuus.”

146. Stephanus attributes the omission of “filius tuus” (which he had already implemented in his 1532 Bible) to Di.o.l., Ge.o.l., and V.

147. In his 1540 Bible Stephanus writes “autem” without comment. But in his 1532 Bible he had not yet added the word.

148. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus writes “suo” without comment.

149. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus writes “at” instead of “et” without commenting.

150. This reading had been adopted by Stephanus in his 1532 Bible.

151. This reading had been adopted by Stephanus in his 1532 Bible.

152. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus writes “loco” instead of “solo” without commenting.

106. Gen 47:18: celabimus {± ℳ} ≠ celauimus: G^aAO // celamus: G*^c [VFPL]
107. Gen 47:18: defecerunt: G^aO [VFPL] ≠ defecerint: G*^cA
108. Gen 47:19: moriemur ≠ morimur:¹⁵³ GCA [VFPL] // moriatur: O
109. Gen 47:23: cibum [VFP] ≠ cibos: CAO [L]
110. Gen 47:23: familiis [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ famulis: CAO
111. Gen 47:29: diem mortis [VFP] {± ℳ} ≠ mortis diem: CAO
112. Gen 47:29: mortis suae¹⁵⁴ [mortis eius: VFP] ≠ mortis: CAO [L] {± ℳ}
113. Gen 47:29: manum tuam: A [VFPL] {= ℳ} ≠ manum: CO
114. Gen 47:30: terra hac [FP] ≠ hac terra: CAO [VL]
115. Gen 47:30: maiorum meorum¹⁵⁵ [VFP] ≠ maiorum: CAO [L]
116. Gen 48:1: suus [VPL] ≠ eius: GCAO [F]
117. Gen 48:4: faciam te [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ faciam: GCAO [V]
118. Gen 48:5: ergo [VFPL] ≠ igitur: GCAO
119. Gen 48:9: donavit [VFPL] ≠ dedit: GCAO
120. Gen 48:10: circumplexus eos¹⁵⁶ [VP] {= ℳ} ≠ circumplexus: GCAO [FL]
121. Gen 48:11: filium suum [FP] ≠ filium: GCAO [VL]
122. Gen 48:14: minoris {= ℳ} ≠ iunioris¹⁵⁷: GCAO [VFPL]
123. Gen 48:15: benedixitque iacob [VFP] ≠ benedixitque: GCAO [L] {= ℳ}
124. Gen 48:15: filiis ioseph [filiis ioseph: VF] ≠ ioseph filio suo: GCO // filio suo ioseph: A [L] [joseph: P¹⁵⁸] {= ℳ}
125. Gen 48:16: pueris istis: G^aA [VFPL] ≠ pueris: G*^cO {= ℳ}
126. Gen 48:17: manum patris [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ patris manum: GCAO [V]
127. Gen 48:19: minor {= ℳ} ≠ iunior:¹⁵⁹ GCAO [VFPL]
128. Gen 48:19: erit illo [FPL] ≠ illo erit: GCAO [V]
129. Gen 48:20: tempore (illo) [VFPL] {± ℳ} ≠ (ipso) tempore: GCA
130. Gen 48:20: (tempore) illo [VFPL] ≠ ipso (tempore): GCAO
131. Gen 49:1: in diebus [FPL] {= ℳ} ≠ diebus: GCA [V]
132. Gen 49:3: in imperio [VFP] ≠ imperio:¹⁶⁰ GCA [L] {= ℳ}
133. Gen 49:6: non veniat: C [VFPL] ≠ ne veniat: GA {= ℳ}
134. Gen 49:7: indignatio eorum: G [FPL] ≠ indignatio illorum: CA [V]
135. Gen 49:7: dispergam eos [VFP] ≠ dispergam illos: GCA [L]
136. Gen 49:10: femore [VPL] ≠ femoribus: GCA [F] {= ℳ}
137. Gen 49:11: in vino: G* [VFP] {= ℳ} ≠ vino: G^aCA
138. Gen 49:12: sunt oculi [VFPL] ≠ oculi: GCA

153. This reading had been adopted by Stephanus in his 1532 Bible.

154. R attributes this reading to B42, which must involve the 3 printing. See above p. 497.

155. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus adds "meorum" without comment.

156. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus adds "eos" without comment.

157. This reading had been adopted by Stephanus in his 1532 Bible.

158. Stephanus attributes the omission of "filiis" (already implemented in his 1532 Bible) to Compl.

159. This reading had been adopted by Stephanus in his 1532 Bible.

160. Stephanus attributes the omission of "in" to Di.o.l., Ge.o.l., and V.

139. Gen 49:12: dentēs eius [VFPL] ≠ dentēs: GCA {= ℳ }
140. Gen 49:31: coniuge sua [VFP] {= ℳ } ≠ coniuge: GCA [L]
141. Gen 50:11: vocatum est [FP] {± ℳ } ≠ appellaverunt: GCA [VL]
142. Gen 50:13: sepelierunt eum [FP] {= ℳ } ≠ sepelierunt: GCA [VL]
143. Gen 50:15: omne malum [FPL] {= ℳ } ≠ malum omne: GCA [malum: V]
144. Gen 50:16: ei dicentes¹⁶¹ [VP] {= ℳ } ≠ ei: CA [FL] // ei fratres: G
145. Gen 50:18: proni adorantes in terram [VFP] [proni in terram adoraverunt: L] ≠ proni in terram: GCA {± ℳ }
146. Gen 50:19: resistere voluntati [VFPL] ≠ rennuere voluntatem: GCA
147. Gen 50:20: sed deus [FPL] {± ℳ } ≠ et deus: GCA [V]
148. Gen 50:21: timere [VFP] ≠ metuere: GCA [L]
149. Gen 50:23: ascendere vos [VFP] {= ℳ } ≠ ascendere: GCA [L]
150. Gen 50:24: ossa mea vobiscum: A [FPL] ≠ vobiscum ossa mea: GC [V]

Out of these 150 “cases where the Clementine edition has the readings of the best manuscripts against it,” we find, as Quentin did, 62 where *g* agrees with the manuscripts against Clementine. But it is a simple matter to show that Laridius is less original and, in particular, less isolated in his effort than Quentin believed. Indeed, out of these 62 cases, 17 must be omitted at the outset (15, 16, 19, 39, 41, 61, 65, 79, 84, 87, 94, 95, 96, 102, 106, 115, and 120), where Laridius took no initiative since he retains the reading of B42. Out of the remaining 45, we find only 17 where, according to the results of our inquiry, one can attribute to Laridius himself the initiative of having departed from the reading of B42 (the underlined reading) to adopt the majority reading of the early manuscripts (the reading after the sign ≠). These are 18, 20, 35, 50, 57, 66, 91, 98, 109, 112, 123, 124, 132, 135, 140, 148, and 149. The 28 other cases divide in the following manner: In 15 cases he follows in Gadolo’s steps (3, 4, 36, 40, 43, 46, 47, 49, 56, 69, 99, 113, 121, 141, and 142); in six cases he follows Froben (17, 23, 30, 75, 86, and 144); in five cases he follows both Gadolo and Froben (1, 10, 22, 38, and 74); and in two cases he follows Gadolo, Froben and the Alcalá polyglot (122 and 127). If we wish to situate the degree of critical initiative of the other early editions, it is Gadolo who occupies first place. We can begin by setting aside 11 cases where a critical initiative is attested by both Gadolo and Froben 1495 and cannot be assigned since the two editions are contemporaneous (1, 2, 10, 21, 22, 38, 74, 85, 108, 122, and 127). In 19 cases Froben is the first of the four editions to attest a critical initiative (9, 12, 17, 23, 26, 30, 31, 42, 54, 64, 70, 75, 86, 97, 104, 116, 120, 136, and 144). But the prize goes to Gadolo with 36 initiatives that he is the first to attest (3, 4, 6–8, 28, 29, 32, 34, 36, 43–49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 69, 72, 77, 99, 114, 117, 121, 126, 128, 131, 134, 141, 142, 147, and 150). In contrast, it is striking that we never find the Alcalá polyglot as the originator of an initiative of this type. From the standpoint of initiatives that had the effect of bringing the stan-

161. In his 1532 and 1540 Bibles Stephanus adds “dicentes” without comment.

dard text closer to that of the early manuscripts of \mathfrak{D} , our editions fall into the following order: Gadolo: 36, Froben: 19, Laridius: 17, and Alcalá: 0. Again, we do not take into account the 11 cases where it is not possible to decide between Gadolo and Froben. It can be seen, then, that Quentin clearly overrated the reputation of Laridius.

Our list of variants permits a number of related observations. The edition that remained the most faithful to the text of B42 is the Alcalá polyglot. Out of the 150 variants mentioned, it departs from it in only 15 cases. In ten of these cases (14, 15, 70, 71, 108, 115, 120, 122, 127, and 144), it follows the initiative of an earlier edition. Thus in only five cases (31, 38, 63, 103, and 124) does it appear to have taken the initiative on its own. It is interesting to note that in four of these cases where Alcalá takes a solitary path, it would be followed by Stephanus (31, 38, 103, and 124).

Out of these 150 readings, we found 29 cases where Stephanus departs from B42. In only six of these cases (19, 39, 59, 61, 96, and 100) does Stephanus appear not to have been preceded by another editor in the choice of the reading that he prefers to that of B42. In the 23 other cases, Stephanus follows close behind one or another of the editions that came before him: VFPL in 108, 122, and 127; VFP in 115; FPL in 14; VP in 120 and 144; VL in 4 and 99; FL in 30; PL in 103; FP in 15 and 71; P in 31, 38, and 124; V in 40 and 97; L in 66, 79, 81, and 132; and F in 87. It can be seen that contacts with the Alcalá polyglot are the most numerous (13), then with Laridius (12), Gadolo (10), and Froben (9). In seven cases (4, 71, 99, 100, 108, 122, and 127) where the 1532 Bible departed from the text of B42, the 1540 Bible did not propose a marginal variant to the text of B42, with the result that the 1557 Bible did not correct that text. Regarding the 1557 Bible, there is only one case (59) where it did not integrate a marginal variant of the 1540 Bible into its text.

Although Stephanus had decided to omit, in the text of his 1540 Bible, the corrections that he had made to the Parisian text in his 1532 Bible, we found that 11 of these corrections (14, 15, 38, 39, 61, 96, 97, 103, 115, 120, and 144) passed covertly from the Bible of 1532 into the text of the 1540 Bible, and then into the 1557 Bible. In two cases (19 and 87) where the 1532 Bible did not correct the text of B42, the text of the 1540 Bible corrects it covertly. In two cases (31 and 66) a correction appears only in the 1557 Bible. We have seen Stephanus devote notes of the critical apparatus to seven variants in his 1540 Bible (30, 40, 59, 79, 81, 124, and 132). Finally, out of the six corrections of the text of B42 in which Stephanus appears not to have been preceded by any other editor, there were only two (59 and 100) that brought it closer to the majority reading of the early manuscripts. But correction 100, made in the 1532 Bible, did not survive in the 1540 and 1557 Bibles. And correction 59, suggested in the critical apparatus of the 1540 Bible, is precisely the only one from that Bible that was not adopted in the 1557 Bible. From these observations we may conclude that as a critic of the text of \mathfrak{D} , Stephanus cuts a pale figure next to Gadolo, Laridius, and Froben. His

primary merit was in inventing the critical apparatus, in the hope of thereby disarming the objections of the theologians at the Sorbonne.

3. *The Clementine Edition*

The text of Clementine departs from that of B42 in only 25 cases out of the 150. In 14 of those cases (14, 15, 19, 38, 39, 61, 87, 96, 97, 103, 112, 115, 120, and 144) it adopts the reading of Stephanus's 1557 Bible. Corrections 16, 33, 41, 84, 85, and 102 are based on the Codex Amiatinus (through the intermediary Codex Caraffianus), corrections 79 and 106 on the codex Madrid BN A 2 (through the intermediary Codex Caraffianus?¹⁶²), and corrections 65 and 124 on the edition of the Louvain theologians of 1583. Correction 94 appears to rest only on the Sixtina edition. These few observations are not at all surprising when one considers that the Codex Caraffianus, the result of work by the preliminary commission for the Sixtina edition, is a copy of the 1583 edition of the Louvain theologians, with the proposals for corrections taken for the most part either from the 1557 Stephanus edition, or from the Codex Amiatinus, which the commissioners used.

4. *The San Girolamo and Weber Editions*

We have located and mentioned above several imperfections and inaccuracies in the apparatus of the edition by the San Girolamo Benedictines. Nevertheless, it constitutes one of the finest realizations of the critical editing of ancient texts. At the same time, R. Weber's manual edition (= W) quite frequently improves the textual choices made by the editors of San Girolamo (= R). Here are a few examples of improvements:

- a. Ezra 10:5. With a large majority of the manuscripts and editions, R has "aduravit principes sacerdotum et levitarum et omnem israhel." With Paris BN lat 11553 (= Stephanus's Ge.1.¹⁶³) and Milan Ambros E 53 inf, W omits the second "et," in accord with ℳ. It appears that the prevailing reading is a facilitating one.
- b. Jer 2:21. B42 has "quomodo ergo conversa es in pravum vinca aliena." With all the more recent editions, R inserts "mihi" after "es." W correctly rejects this insertion, which is based only on the manuscripts of the University of Paris, which are influenced by Jerome's commentary and by the Hebrew.
- c. Ezek 21:32(27). W has here "et hoc nunc factum est," with the earliest manuscripts. The preceding editions read, with the recension of V and in accord with the Hebrew, "non" instead of "nunc." R regarded "nunc" as an error that stemmed from the archetype, and chose "non," as attested in the lemma of

162. There is no historical evidence that this manuscript from Madrid was at the disposition of the Caraffa commission. Some of the readings inscribed in the margins of the Codex Caraffianus are, nevertheless, strikingly similar to the most characteristic decisions in the text of the manuscript.

163. Stephanus appears not to have noted down this reading in any of his editions.

Jerome's commentary. W maintains its position in the third edition. Indeed, the influence of Jerome's lemma should be minimized, since he uses a future ("et hoc non fiet"), which is not the same as D.

- d. Ezck 33:21. With all previous editions, R has the reading "decimo mense," which is based only on the manuscripts of the University of Paris and which appears to be an assimilation to the text of Jerome's commentary and the Hebrew. W appears to be correct in adopting the reading "duodecimo mense" of all the other manuscripts. This suggests the influence of S, but it is not surprising that D did not alter the *Vetus Latina* on this point.

In contrast to these improvements, there are unfortunately a few places where W appears to have corrupted the text offered by R. Here are two examples:

- a. Isa 66:5. Conforming to the majority of early manuscripts, R placed the last division of this verse between "abicientes" and "propter," in agreement with the *te'amim* in M. W incorrectly placed the division between "meum" and "glorificetur," a displacement that was a facilitation.
- b. Jer 17:4. W appears to have been mistaken in reintroducing the reading "succendisti," which comes from a facilitating assimilation to the context. The original reading of D was most likely "succendistis" (in accord with M), found in several early manuscripts and chosen by R (following Stephanus).

5. Uncertainties concerning the Text of D

The large number of extant early manuscripts of D and the interference between the textual history of D and that of Jerome's commentaries often make critical choices difficult. In the course of this research, we have sometimes had to admit uncertainty.¹⁶⁴

C. Jerome as Commentator on D

As we have seen, the medieval copyists of D were often influenced either by their knowledge of Hebrew, or by Jerome's commentary. But they often failed to recognize the fact that those who copied the lemmas in Jerome's commentary may in turn have been influenced by corruptions in the standard text of D. Only an examination of the early textual tradition of Jerome's commentary provides an exit from this vicious circle where even the most recent editors of D have sometimes been entrapped. Let us look at some examples of this:

(1) Zeph 2:7. For *וְהָיָה חֻכְלֵל לְשֹׂאֲרֵי בַּיִת יְהוּדָה*, all the editions of D up to and including Weber have had "et erit funiculus eius qui remanserit de domo Iuda." Finding the plural "remanserint" in some very early manuscripts, R conjectured "eis" instead of "eius." Here, the lemma of Jerome's commentary appears at first

164. This is the case, for example, in *CIAT* Vol. 3, 326 n. 1134; 518:11–15; 552:3–5; 722 n. 2498; 852 n. 3086; 940:42–941:7.

glance to confirm the prevailing reading of \mathfrak{V} , since all the editions have “eius qui remanserit” with manuscripts **a^a l x**. However, all the other manuscripts that we consulted have the verb in the plural, in the forms “remanserunt” (**f g w**), “remanserint” (**a* b c**), and the ambiguous “remanser” (**h r**). At the same time, none of the manuscripts has the reading “eis” instead of “eius,” but manuscripts **a* f g h r** have “his” after this word. These facts would suggest “et erit funiculus eius his qui remanserint de domo Iuda”—the reading of the lemma in the first hand of the earliest witness, Paris BN lat 1839—as the original reading of \mathfrak{V} . The accidental omission of “his” would have then led to changing the verb to singular to adapt it to the context.

(2) Zech 14:5. For $\text{וְנִסְתָּם גִּיא־הָרִי}$ all the editions of \mathfrak{V} previous to **W** have “et fugietis ad vallem montium eorum.” However, “montium meorum” is found in Jerome’s lemma “according to the Hebrew,” and in all editions prior to that of **Ad**, which corrects it to “montium eorum,” based on the editions of \mathfrak{V} and on the Namur manuscript, the single witness that **Ad** used. In fact, as **R** tells us, the reading “montium meorum,” in the textual tradition of \mathfrak{V} , was attested by the two principal manuscripts of the University of Paris (the Sorbonne and St. Jacques manuscripts) and by the manuscript of St. Isidore of Léon. But it can be observed that the textual tradition of Jerome is hardly stable, since, in the lemma according to the Hebrew, “eorum” is read by **c k l m* q v w Ad**, whereas **e f g h m^a r Greg Amer Mar Val** read “meorum.” Toward the end of the commentary, a citation has “eorum,” according to **l q v Greg Amer Mar Val Ad**, but “meorum,” according to **e f g h k m r**. The reading “eorum” thus appears to be the result of a haplography that became widespread.

Sometimes Jerome’s commentary, in justifying the authenticity of certain broad translations of \mathfrak{V} , provides an understanding of how the translator related those translations to the literal sense of the Hebrew that he had in front of him.

(1) Hos 11:6. Here \mathfrak{U} says of the sword: $\text{וְאֶכְלָה מִמַּעְצוֹתֵיהֶם}$, which \mathfrak{V} translates very freely “et comedet capita eorum.” Jerome seems to regret this overly free translation, so he paraphrases, “cumque (. . .) devoraverit vel capita vel consilia eorum.” Then he resumes, “vel vorabunt secundum consilia sua.”

(2) Hos 12:12(11). For שְׁוֹרִים זֹבָחוֹ , \mathfrak{V} translates “bubus immolantes.” In his commentary, Jerome declares, “non boves diis immolant, sed bobus offerant sacrificia, imitantes errorem Samariae,” in order to explain why he translated with a dative even though the noun is not preceded by *lamed* in the Hebrew. As we have suggested,¹⁶⁵ Jerome the translator let himself be influenced by the debatable choice of his predecessor Aquila.

(3) Mic 6:16. \mathfrak{V} translates $\text{וַיִּשְׁמַר חֻקֹת עֲמֹרִי}$ with “et custodisti praecepta Omri.” In his commentary, Jerome confirms this reading by explaining that he had translated with a verb in the second person singular “propter sermonis consequentiam.” Indeed, five successive verbs in this form occur in v. 15.

165. Ibid., 607:15–19.

(4) Zech 10:11. \mathfrak{V} broadly translates $\text{וַיַּעֲבֹר בַּיָּם צָרָה}$ with “et transibit in maris freto.” But Jerome states in his commentary that he understood “in mari angusto” as alluding to the narrow strait (“brevis freto”) of the Bosphorus.

D. Relationship between \mathfrak{V} and σ'

It is a commonplace from the pens of Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome that σ' is the clearest of translators. It is thus understandable that Jerome often takes his inspiration from that translation when he translates. In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we pointed out a good number of examples which we will simply note here:

1. Ezek 12:10. For $\text{הַנְּשִׂיאַת הַמַּשָּׂא הַזֶּה}$, \mathfrak{V} has “super ducem onus istud,” very likely inspired by $\text{περὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὸ λῆμμα τοῦτο}$, which the Barberini manuscript (with the support of Syh) attributes to σ' .
2. Ezek 13:11. For וַיִּפֹּל , \mathfrak{V} has “quod casurus sit,” which corresponds to σ' ὅτι πεσεῖται.
3. Ezek 16:30. For $\text{מִן אֲמִלְהָ לְבַתְּךָ}$, σ' (τίμι καθαριῶ τὴν καρδίαν σου) and \mathfrak{V} (“in quo mundabo cor tuum”) use the same exegesis.
4. Ezek 19:7. For $\text{וַיִּדַע אֶלְמְנוּתִי}$, θ' translated καὶ ἔγνω βάρεις αὐτοῦ, while α' had καὶ ἐκάκωσε χήρας αὐτοῦ, and σ' had ἔγνωσεν χήρας ποιεῖν. The similarity between the interpretation of σ' and that of \mathfrak{V} (“didicit viduas facere”) is striking.
5. Ezek 24:10. For הַרְקַת הַמְרֻקָה , σ' translated $\text{κωσσοθ Δεσθου κωσασ}$, the last word being confirmed by Barberini, which attributes σκευασσία to σ' . \mathfrak{V} understood the Hebrew in the same way: “et concoquetur universa compositio.”
6. Ezek 41:11. σ' and \mathfrak{V} agree in translating בְּמַלְאָךְ with εἰς προσευχὴν and “ad orationem” and $\text{מִקְוֵה הַמִּנְחָה}$ with τοῦ τόπου τῆς προσευχῆς and “loci ad orationem.”
7. Ezek 41:26. For $\text{וַיְצַלְעוּת הַבַּיִת}$, σ' and \mathfrak{V} agree in a characteristic manner on $\text{κωσασ δεσθου κωσασ}$ and “secundum latera domus.”
8. Ezek 42:12. For $\text{הַגְּדֻרַת הַגִּיּוֹת}$ of \mathfrak{N} , Syh attributes to σ' $\text{κωσασ δεσθου κωσασ}$ (= place of separation, of retreat), which seems to have inspired “vestibulum separatum” of \mathfrak{V} .
9. Hos 4:17–18. For $\text{הִנֵּה-לֹךְ סָר סְבָאִים}$, the second scholiast of the Barberini manuscript attributes ἕασον αὐτόν ἐπέκλινε τὸ συμπόσιον αὐτῶν to σ' and ϵ' . The grouping of two sigla is not at all surprising to see in this scholiast, for whom ϵ' designates a Greek translation of \mathfrak{V} with glosses taken from Jerome’s commentary. Indeed, \mathfrak{V} translates “dimitte eum / separatum est convivium eorum.”
10. Hos 8:4. According to Barberini, σ' translated הִנֵּי with ἀπεβλήθη, and \mathfrak{V} , too, interpreted this verb as a singular passive: “proiectus est.” This concurrence might have seemed hardly typical if the word had not been interpreted as an imperative by θ : ἀπότριψαι, the Antiochene recension: ἀπόρριψον, θ' : ἀπόρριψαι, and α' : ἀπόσθησον.

11. Hos 8:11. To avoid a simple repetition, σ' and ν both translated the second לְחַטָּא with a noun, whereas θ , ς , and τ implemented various translational modifications.
12. Hab 2:1. For $\text{וְאַצְפֶּה לְרֵאוֹת מִהַיְדָבָר־בִּי וּמִה אֲשִׁיב עַל־תּוֹכַחְתִּי}$, according to Jerome, σ' has: “et contemplabor ut videam quid dicatur mihi et quid respondeam et contradicam adversum arguentem me.” The reading of ν is almost identical: “et contemplabor ut videam quid dicatur mihi et quid respondeam ad arguentem me.”
13. Zech 14:5. Here Jerome explains clearly that “LXX Asael transtulerunt, Aquila ipsum verbum hebraicum posuit ASEL per E brevem litteram, Theodotio per extensam; solus Symmachus ‘proximum’ interpretatus est quem et nos secuti sumus.”

This frequent agreement between ν and σ' offers an argument for modifying the attributions of certain hexaplaric readings:

1. Ezek 11:15. The fact that ν translates גְּאֻלְתֶּךָ with “propinqui tui” recommends attributing the reading $\text{מִן־בְּרִיּוֹתֵי־הַלֵּב}$ attested by Syh to σ' rather than to α' . The Syh reading contrasts with ἀγγισθείας , which Barberini attributes to α' .
2. Ezek 16:7. Regarding בְּעֵדֵי עֲרִיִים , Jerome attributes “ad ornatum mulierum” to σ' , and “ad ornatum ornamentorum” to θ' , whereas Syh attributes $\text{לְגַבְשָׁה לְגַבְשָׁה}$ to σ' . The fact that the reading of ν (“ad mundum muliebrem”) uses the same interpretation as the one Jerome attributes to σ' recommends Jerome over against Syh in the attribution of “ad ornatum ornamentorum” (= $\text{לְגַבְשָׁה לְגַבְשָׁה}$) to θ' .
3. Ezek 41:9. Syh attributes $\text{דָּם הַיָּמִין הַבְּטֵן הַבְּטֵן הַבְּטֵן}$ to α' as the translation of $\text{וְאֲשֶׁר מִנְּחָ בֵּית צְלָעוֹת אֲשֶׁר לְבֵית}$ in ז . The freedom of this translation and the fact that ν translates “et interior domus in lateribus domus” makes it more likely that it should be attributed to σ' .

III. The Syriac Peshitta

A. The Direct Tradition

For a good number of books in ς we have an edition¹⁶⁶ (= L), thanks to the Peshitta Institute of Leiden, that is more reliable than previous ones, where one never knew exactly which witnesses were involved in establishing their texts. However, there are a few peculiarities that should not go unrecognized by those who make use of this edition. First of all, it is not a critical edition in the sense of the Göttingen edition of θ or the San Girolamo edition of ν , both of which attempt to establish a text more or less eclectically. The Leiden ς is in the line of the Larger Cambridge Septuagint or the Sperber edition of τ , which will be dis-

166. ς (Leiden) in the bibliography.

cussed below. As the editors could not hope to present a text that could be described as the original state of the Peshitta,¹⁶⁷ they decided instead to offer the text of a good manuscript: Milan Ambros B21 inf (= 7a1), with a certain number of corrections. Indeed, when the reading of 7a1 does not have the support of two manuscripts earlier than the eleventh century, the majority reading from manuscripts of that era is preferred. P. A. H. de Boer, who was in charge of L, concludes that "it seems certain that the Ambrosian manuscript cannot be considered the most important witness in view of the problem of reconstructing the original Peshitta version."¹⁶⁸ Accordingly, the text of this edition should always be used with a constant awareness of the information furnished in the apparatus. In addition, most of the diacritical and vocalic marks of 7a1 were disregarded, because in many cases it cannot be determined when or by whom they were added, and the method that governs their use seems to lack consistency. However, in cases where the meaning of a passage is in doubt, diacritical marks have been preserved or even added.

For *CTAT* Vol. 3, we used L, Part III, fasc. 3 *Ezekiel* (prepared by M. J. Mulders), published in 1985, and Part III, fasc. 4 *Dodekapropheton* (prepared by A. Gelston) and *Daniel-Bel-Draco* (prepared by T. Sprey), published in 1980.

1. Seyames and Other Pointings in the Manuscripts

In *CTAT* Vol. 3, we often point out uncertainties regarding the presence or absence of *seyame*.¹⁶⁹ Uncertainty over diacritical marks explains the confusions between the *dalet* and the *reš*.¹⁷⁰ In spite of these uncertainties, it is unfortunate that the editors did not pay more attention to the contribution of their manuscripts in the area of punctuation, the importance of which was indicated in the results of our research.¹⁷¹ Accordingly, we often cite the punctuation of 7a1 in *CTAT* Vol. 3.

2. The Editions

It is unfortunate that L does not mention the readings of previous editions. The critical work of the Leiden Institute has allowed us to see that the text of the Mossul edition¹⁷² was clearly superior to that of the Paris and London polyglots,

167. This and other information that follows is taken from the 1977 version of de Boer's preface (S [Leiden] Part 1, fasc. 1, vii-x).

168. *Ibid.*, viii.

169. This is the case in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 2:21-23; 18:35-38; 57:37-40; 135 n. 491; 154:43-44.; 202 n. 786; 259:15-16.; 332 n. 1153; 334 n. 1158; 365 n. 1236; 416:26-27.; 515 n. 1609; 719:26-27.; 778:45; and 867 n. 3151.

170. Reported in *CTAT* Vol. 1, 88; *CTAT* Vol. 2, 114; 128; *CTAT* Vol. 3, 461 n. 1445; and 790:9-10.

171. See *CTAT* Vol. 2, 37; 59; *CTAT* Vol. 3, 508:53-509:1; 568:5-11; 912:43-48; and 946 n. 3423.

172. Diettrich says of the Mossul edition that it is "the first attempt, however modest, to reconstruct the text of the undivided Syriac Church," and he regrets that this edition is almost entirely unknown to the scholarly world (*Apparatus*, xvii).

which for three centuries constituted the received text of \mathfrak{S} . We pointed this out for Ezek 1:25b; 6:14; 13:20; 43:3; Hos 7:6; 8:13; and Hab 3:14.¹⁷³

Occasionally the three texts represented in the polyglots, the Mossul edition, and the early manuscripts differ from each other. This was observed in Ezek 26:17.¹⁷⁴ At other times, it is the vocalization that Sionita used in his edition that appears to be in error, as in Hos 4:5.¹⁷⁵ The access to the manuscripts that L provides sometimes places in question the text offered by all previous editions. This is the case in Amos 5:16; 5:26; and Hab 2:15.¹⁷⁶

B. The Indirect Tradition

The apparatus of L gives no place to the indirect tradition. However, the scholia attributed to Ephraem contribute quite interesting textual data, a fact that led Diettrich to conclude that “in the places where Ephraem offers us the text of the Peshitta, he transmits a text that has remained free of many of the faults of our Peshitta manuscripts.” Here are a few examples encountered in the course of this study:

1. Judg 5:21. For the Hebrew קָרְנוּ מִים, L offers ܩܪܢܘܡܝܢ without a variant. It is clear that this reading is corrupt. Now, the lemma of Ephraem with the reading ܩܪܢܘܡܝܢ is the single witness that appears to have escaped this corruption. Indeed, Isho‘dad of Merv already attests the corrupt reading.
2. Isa 15:9. According to Diettrich, for דִּימְוֹן (1st) and דִּימְוֹן (2nd) all the editions and all the manuscripts of \mathfrak{S} have ܕܝܡܘܢ and ܕܝܡܘܢ . However, the lemma in Ephraem has ܕܝܡܘܢ and ܕܝܡܘܢ .
3. Isa 17:2. For the Hebrew עָרְעָר , according to Diettrich, all the editions and manuscripts of \mathfrak{S} have ܥܪܥܪܐ . But the lemma in Ephraem has ܥܪܥܪܐ .¹⁷⁷
4. Isa 44:5. Whereas the entire direct tradition of \mathfrak{S} has ܠܡܘܢ here, according to Diettrich, Ephraem has ܠܡܘܢ , which corresponds to the vocalization of the Hebrew as a *Niphal* by σ' .
5. Jer 46:17. While the direct witnesses of the translation of \mathfrak{S} have the doublet ܘܡܢܐ ܘܡܢܐ corresponding to the Hebrew עַם , Ephraem comments only on the second part of the doublet, showing thereby that it must have been the original translation in \mathfrak{S} .
6. Dan 5:14. Whereas all manuscripts known to L translated the word ܩܕܝܫܝܢ (omitted in σ' and ϑ), the fact that an extensive literal quotation by Ephraem omits this word raises questions about the original content of \mathfrak{S} .

173. *CTAT* Vol. 3. 15:23–28; 34:43–46; 89:40–43; 377:8–11; 540 n. 1702; 555:9–12; and 876 n. 3183, respectively.

174. *Ibid.*, 220:1–6.

175. *Ibid.*, 508:48–53.

176. *Ibid.*, 664 n. 2269; 667 n. 2288; and 850 n. 3071, respectively.

177. Diettrich mistakenly copies it as ܥܪܥܪܐ .

7. Dan 11:16. For דָּבָר in \mathfrak{M} , Ephraem has ܕܒܪܐ , whereas L is only aware of the reading ܕܒܪܐ .

At times, it is Ephraem's exegesis that attests superior vocalizations to those that Sionita supplied in the *editio princeps* of \mathfrak{S} .

1. Isa 10:27. As an equivalent for the Hebrew שֶׁמֶן , the various manuscripts and editions known to Diettrich have ܫܡܢܐ with or without *seyame*,¹⁷⁸ which signifies "heifer(s)." Ephraem wrote ܫܡܢܐ , correctly interpreting the word as "oil."
2. Isa 42:20. Here Ephraem's reading of ܕܝܢܐ as second person seems preferable to Sionita's reading of it as first person.
3. Jer 5:26. While Sionita read ܫܘܒܐ as a plural, Ephraem seems to have been correct in reading it as a singular.
4. Jer 46:17. Ephraem interprets the verb ܐܠܦ as imperative, which corresponds better to its spelling without *'alap* than Sionita's interpretation of it as a perfect.
5. Dan 8:11. In ܕܠܘܬ , the pointing as *dalut* (instead of *reš*) that L mentions only in the most recent of its witnesses finds valuable support in Ephraem.
6. Hos 4:4. For ܕܡܕܘܠܐ , Ephraem is alone in giving the vocalization that Rosenmüller had conjectured to be original.

C. Relationship to \mathfrak{G}

The majority of scholars who have devoted studies to a given book of \mathfrak{S} have felt the need to respond to what they regard as a prejudice: the assumed dependence of \mathfrak{S} on \mathfrak{G} . We should indeed recognize that \mathfrak{S} offers a good number of decisions of its own. But, in a work such as this one, which considers a large number of textual problems as such, and attempts to situate the choices of the different witnesses with respect to each other, the high frequency of characteristic decisions shared by \mathfrak{G} and \mathfrak{S} is striking. Listed below are a number of those shared decisions that have been dealt with in *CTAT* Vol. 3.

1. Ezek 12:12. For $\text{ܕܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ}$, \mathfrak{G} (καὶ διορύξει τοῦ ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸν δι' αὐτοῦ) has a conjunction before the initial verb and puts the verb in the singular. Then it translates the infinitive as if it had read a *Qal*. \mathfrak{S} ($\text{ܕܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ}$) follows \mathfrak{G} in these three characteristic alternatives to \mathfrak{M} , whereas \mathfrak{V} ("parietem perfodient ut educant cum") follows \mathfrak{M} on these points: no conjunction, plural verb, and *Hiphil* infinitive.
2. Ezek 17:22. \mathfrak{G} and \mathfrak{S} concur in not translating the verb ܕܘܪܘܢܐ . Then, for $\text{ܕܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ}$, \mathfrak{S} has $\text{ܕܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ ܕܝܘܨܝܐ}$, where the word ܕܘܪܘܢܐ has nothing corresponding to it in \mathfrak{M} . This must have been motivated by the Antiochene \mathfrak{G} : ἐκ καρδίας κορυφῆς αὐτῆς.

178. Isho'dad of Merv reads this word, without *seyame* (*Commentaire*).

3. Ezek 21:28(23). \S and Θ concur in not translating the three words $\text{שְׁבַעֵי עֵשְׂרֵת לְהָאֵל}$.
4. Ezek 22:12. Through assimilation in Θ , the verb $\text{לְקַחְתָּ$ received the same translation $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\omicron\iota$ as the preceding verb $\text{לְקַחְתָּ$. \S did the same, repeating נִסְחַח .
5. Ezek 23:37. It is surprising to see \S translate לְאֶכְלָה with καταφα here. It appears to be motivated by the reading $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\upsilon\rho\iota$, found in Papyrus 967 of Θ .
6. Ezek 26:20. Instead of וְנִתְּחִי צְבִי , Θ has $\mu\eta\delta\grave{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\eta\varsigma$. \S appears to depend on that reading, with καταφα .
7. Ezek 33:31. Corresponding to $\text{כִּי־עַנְבִים בְּפִיהֶם הֵמָּה עֲשִׂים}$, Θ has only $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omega \sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$. The same is found in \S , where it has καταφα .
8. Ezek 39:14. Θ and \S agree in omitting אֶת־הָעֵבְרִים , which they probably did not know how to interpret.
9. Ezek 42:3. \S (κατα) is probably motivated by Θ , which has $\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota$ instead of הָעֵשְׂרִים in \mathfrak{M} .
10. Ezek 42:4. For $\text{אֶל־הַפְּנִימִית דָּרְךְ אָמָה אַתָּה}$, Θ gives only $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \pi\acute{\eta}\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \tau\omicron \mu\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, which \S abridges even further to κατα .
11. Ezek 46:22. When \S renders $\text{הַצִּדְוֹת קְטָרוֹת}$ with καταφα , it is probably following $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta \mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}$ in Θ .
12. Ezek 47:2. Here where Θ had translated $\text{לְשַׁעַר הַחַיּוֹן דָּרְךְ הַפּוֹנֶה קְדִים}$ in \mathfrak{M} with $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\nu \tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, \S followed suit, translating καταφα . These two translations assimilated to 46:1, where one finds $\text{שַׁעַר הַחַיּוֹן הַפְּנִימִית הַפּוֹנֶה קְדִים}$.
13. Ezek 47:8. By assimilation to the third or last word of the verse, the second occurrence of הַיָּמָה was understood as הַיָּמִים by both Θ and \S .
14. Ezek 47:18, 20. In these two places, מִגְבּוּל was understood as a verbal form (probably מִגְבִּיל) by Θ (with διορίζει) and \S (κατα and κατα).
15. Dan 9:22. For וַיָּבֵן , Θ has $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\sigma\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon$, which stands behind κατα in \S .
16. Dan 10:1. From $\text{וַיִּצְבֵּא גְדוּל וַיִּבִּין אֶת־הַדְּבָר}$, Θ made a single phrase, apparently reading יָבִין instead of וַיִּבִּין : $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron \iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu \delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$. \S does the same, with κατα .
17. Hos 2:8(6). Instead of $\text{וַיִּגְדְּרֵתִי אֶת־גְּדֵרֶיךָ}$, Θ offers $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\sigma\omega \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$. \S does the same, with κατα .
18. Hos 4:4. Corresponding to $\text{כְּמַרְיָבִי כִהֵן}$ in \mathfrak{M} , Θ has $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \iota\epsilon\rho\upsilon\varsigma$. \S takes its inspiration from this, giving κατα .
19. Hos 4:14–15. Θ joins $\text{וְעַם לֹא־יָבִין יִלְכָּט: אִם־זֹנֶה}$, as $\kappa\alpha\iota \omicron \lambda\alpha\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\varsigma \omicron\upsilon \sigma\upsilon\nu\iota\omega\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\text{-}\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron \mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \pi\omicron\rho\nu\eta\varsigma$. \S does likewise, with κατα .
20. Hos 6:9. Instead of $\text{חָבַר כְּהַנִּים דָּרְךְ}$, where \mathfrak{M} has first a noun, then separates the last two words with a *zaqef qaton*, Θ read first a plural verb, then made the second word its subject and the third word its complement: $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\upsilon\psi\alpha\nu \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \omicron\delta\delta\omicron\nu$. \S inherited these alternatives: κατα .

21. Hos 11:2. For מִפְּנֵיהֶם in M, S has **מִפְּנֵי**. This reading is actually a shortened form of **מִפְּנֵי מוֹ**: ἐκ προσώπου μου, αὐτοί, which assumes the division מִפְּנֵי הֵם in the Hebrew.
22. Joel 2:23. Instead of פְּרֹאשׁוֹן, which requires knowledge of Holy Land meteorology in order to be understood, **Κ** (καθὼς ἔμπροσθεν) translates as if it had read פְּרֹאשׁוֹן. S, with **מִפְּנֵי לֵב**, was clearly motivated by **Κ**.
23. Mic 2:8. Instead of שְׁלֵמָה in M, **Κ** offers τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ, as if it had read שְׁלֵמָה. With **מִפְּנֵי**, S follows the same alternative. Immediately afterwards, for אֶרֶץ, **Κ** makes a possessive explicit, with τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ, as S will do with **מִפְּנֵי**. In the second part of the verse, instead of מְעַבְרִים in M, **Κ** has τοῦ ἀφελέσθαι, as if it had read מְעַבְרִים. S does the same, with **מִפְּנֵי**.
24. Nah 1:12. For אֶם שְׁלֵמִים in M, **Κ** has κατάρχων ὑδάτων, suggesting a different word division: **אֶם שְׁלֵמִים**. S, for its part, has **מִפְּנֵי**, which suggests that, in reading the Greek *scriptio continua*, it divided the words κατ' ἀρχῶν ὑδάτων.
25. Zeph 2:2. Instead of the Hebrew לָקַח, **Κ** has γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς. S is influenced by this when it reads **מִפְּנֵי**. Then, neither **Κ** nor S translates the first **יָוֵם**.
26. Zeph 2:6. It is striking that S has a conflated reading in which **יָוֵם** is translated twice: once from the Hebrew with **מִפְּנֵי**, and a second time from **Κ**, when it translates Κρήτη νομή (where νομή renders **יָוֵם** and Κρήτη corresponds to the following **כְּרֵת**) with **מִפְּנֵי**, retaining the transposition in **Κ**.
27. Zeph 3:9–11. In v. 9, for the words אֶחָד שְׁכָם, S offers **מִפְּנֵי**, which is motivated by ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἕνα in **Κ**. In v. 10, the absence of a translation of עֲתָרִי בַת־פּוֹצִי by S confirms the fact that **Κ** had not translated these words. In v. 11, for מִקְרָבָךְ in M, S has **מִפְּנֵי**, which translates the words ἀπὸ σοῦ in **Κ**.
28. Zeph 3:18. For נוֹגֵי מְמוֹעֵד in M, **Κ** offers ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς, which motivates S, with **מִפְּנֵי**. Both versions understand this phrase as the ending of the previous verse.
29. Hag 2:6. The words מְעַט הָיָא are translated by neither **Κ** nor S.

The dependence of S on **Κ**, such as it has been detected in the course of our study, is often indisputable and it is almost constant. Is it an original feature or does it involve secondary contamination? The earliest witness of S is Aphrahat,¹⁷⁹ and it is interesting to check the four points where his biblical citations match up with the points of contact that we have just found between **Κ** and S. In Dan 9:22, 10:1, and Hag 2:6, he already attests the “Septuagintalisms” of S.¹⁸⁰ In contrast, in Hos 11:2 the citation in Aphrahat is more free, departing from both **Κ**

179. Aphraates (Parisot).

180. Ibid., vol. 1, Dem XIX 9, Dem XIX 13, and Dem XIX 6, respectively.

and \aleph more than the received text of \aleph does.¹⁸¹ In our limited probe, we did not encounter a single case where Aphrahat presented a text that one could call untouched by the influences from \mathfrak{G} that we pointed out above.

The same is true for Ephraem, the other witness that provides access to a textual state earlier than that of our manuscripts. Indeed, in all the places where the extant fragments of his commentary intersect with the selected passages influenced by \mathfrak{G} —that is, in Ezek 17:22; 47:8; Hos 4:4; 4:14–15; 6:9; 11:2; Mic 2:8; Nah 1:12; Zeph 2:2; 3:9–10; 3:18; and Hag 2:6—Ephraem exhibits the same influences.¹⁸² From the various cases that have been treated up to this point, it can thus be concluded that, as far back as we can go, \aleph is revealed as translating a text very close to \aleph while keeping an eye on \mathfrak{G} . That is, for the textual criticism of \aleph , it has very limited significance.

IV. The Targum

A. The Sperber Edition

The lack of a truly critical edition is most sorely felt in the case of \mathfrak{C} . Sperber's edition scarcely merits that title. The textual tradition of \mathfrak{C} is certainly too complex to allow one to reproduce the text of a Yemenite manuscript, in some ways a poor choice,¹⁸³ and then to claim to have found "the Targum" in it. For this reason we have always supplemented the information furnished by Sperber with other information taken from various witnesses, a number of which are not found in his apparatus, which furthermore does not reproduce any Tiberian vocalization. For a critical look at the Sperber edition, the index of authors cited in *CTAT* Vol. 1 and *CTAT* Vol. 2 refers the reader to places where it is discussed.

In the course of our study we have found a certain number of inaccurate data in the Sperber apparatus.¹⁸⁴ We have also found a good number of cases where the manuscript London BL Or 2211 (= v) whose text Sperber reproduces for the Latter Prophets¹⁸⁵ appears to be completely isolated in the reading it offers.¹⁸⁶ Independently of those cases where Sperber's textual choice is particularly questionable, there are numerous other cases where both the limited choice of wit-

181. *Ibid.*, Dem XVII 4.

182. See Ephraem, *Hymni*, and Ephraim (Benedictus).

183. As is known, Sperber claims to find in this Yemenite manuscript a \mathfrak{C} from the Babylonian tradition. In *CTAT* Vol. 3, 1005 n. 3584, we found evidence that its Hebrew text is more "Western" than "Oriental." In *CTAT* Vol. 2, 840, we saw that it disagreed with an authentic Babylonian manuscript.

184. This is the case in *CTAT* Vol. 2, 695; *CTAT* Vol. 3, 221:23–25 and n. 844; 550:28–30; 648:34; 717:29–30; 913:10 and n. 3321; and 1029:31–32 and n. 3665.

185. He claims to depart from it only when a scribe has committed an obvious error.

186. In this regard, see *CTAT* Vol. 2, 777; 813; 833; *CTAT* Vol. 3, 81:6 and n. 215; 274:7–12; 588:8 and n. 1920; 614:26 and n. 2039; 642:41–42; 747:4 and n. 2595; 762:40 and n. 2654; 852:37–38 and n. 3087; and 856:15 and n. 3110.

nesses cited in the critical apparatus and the bias of not offering any Tiberian vocalization make it impossible for the user of his edition to obtain an accurate representation of the complexity of the textual situation.¹⁸⁷

It is understandable, then, that in this deplorable situation of the edition of Targum Jonathan, we have not limited ourselves to reproducing the text edited by Sperber. We have checked almost all the witnesses that he cites (with the Montefiore manuscript being the only one of these witnesses to which we did not have direct access). We have added two manuscripts to these:¹⁸⁸ Vatican Urbinate 1 and Berlin Or fol 1–4, as well as two editions: the Walton polyglot (London) and the *Miqraot Gedolot* (Levensohn). We have then attempted to make an independent choice. When this choice had consequences for the relationship between \mathfrak{C} and \mathfrak{M} , we have tried to trace the motivation for the choice. But, many times, we have had to abandon explaining the motivation when the extent of the reasoning would have created an imbalance in our treatment of the textual witnesses. Indeed, in most cases, \mathfrak{C} testifies to an early Jewish exegesis rather than to an independent Hebrew Vorlage.

B. Yemenite and Tiberian Targums

It was in the book of Lamentations that we were able to point out significant differences between the Yemenite readings and the Tiberian readings, two textual forms that are clearly distinct and fairly well defined.¹⁸⁹ In *CTAT* Vol. 3 we sometimes found—although in a less clearcut way—traces of a distinction between two traditions that could have a similar origin.¹⁹⁰

187. This can be observed in *CTAT* Vol. 1, 54; 66–67; 377; 391; *CTAT* Vol. 2, 65; 364–65; 551; 553; 561; 587; 611; 647; 681; 695; 704; 709; 774; 810; 829; 840; 845; 847–48; *CTAT* Vol. 3, 27:34–38; 287:30–39 and nn. 1049 and 1050; 368:47–49; 378:21–24; 379:28–33; 509:2 and n. 1577; 532:17–18 and n. 1672; 607:6 and n. 2010; 638:19–22; 640:8 and n. 2167; 642:38–43; 645:22–28; 648:32–37; 664:39 and n. 2270; 667:5 and n. 2289; 682:18 and n. 2351 and 2352; 717:29–34; 718:43–46 and n. 2476; 730:18–23 and nn. 2530–2533; 738:18–27; 740:38–40; 747:4 and n. 2596; 752:13 and n. 2620; 758:3–6; 759:46 and nn. 2636 and 2637; 806:32 and nn. 2857–2860; 814:4–5 and n. 2894; 817:5 and n. 2912; 822:8 and n. 2930; 827:29 and nn. 2940 and 2941; 836:24–25 and nn. 2992–2998; 839:19 and n. 3015; 848:36–38; 850:20–21 and nn. 3072–3075; 852:37–38 and n. 3087; 856:15 and n. 3111; 870:35–36 and nn. 3162–3165; 876:14–17 and n. 3184; 878:30–33 and nn. 3195 and 3196; 889:28 and n. 3228; 892:50 and n. 3241; 894:37 and n. 3245; 895:49 and n. 3247; 912:49 and n. 3320; 913:8–11; 926:48–49; 935:42 and n. 3389; 945:1–4; 963:6–9; 980:40–42; 991:9–14; 1002:33 and n. 3578; 1019:14–16 and n. 3633; 1021:2 and n. 3635; and 1029:30–36.

188. For Isaiah we have also referred to the triglot manuscript Paris BN hébr 1325. For Lamentations we added the manuscripts Milan Ambros B35 inf, Parma Palat 3218 (= de Rossi 7), Hamburg hebr 4, and Copenhagen hebr 11.

189. *CTAT* Vol. 2, 863; 865; 868–69; 876; 886; 888; 891; 896; 898; 903–4; 908; 910; and 913.

190. For Ezek 12:12 (78:18–21); 16:36 (103:16–17); 16:43 (105:15–16); 17:9 (121:14–15); 21:21(16) (173:47–48); 30:17 (248:28–33); Hos 4:17 (513:41–42); 7:15 (542:43 and n. 1716);

V. The Arabic Versions

The critical apparatuses of BHK^{2,3} and BHS have customarily mentioned the “versio arabica,” referring to the version with that title in the Walton polyglot.

A. *The Arabic in the Polyglot*

In its first four volumes, the Paris polyglot presented the OT texts and versions that constitute the Antwerp polyglot. It then took the initiative of adding other textual states of these books, accompanied by their translations into Latin, in volumes six to nine: a Syriac translation (which was the *editio princeps* of the Peshitta) and an Arabic translation. For the Pentateuch, the Samaritan text and a Samaritan targum were added to this. The Walton polyglot was confined to reproducing the Arabic versions of the Paris edition, filling them in here and there where they were lacking, as we will describe.

The Arabic versions of the entire Bible (minus the first book of Maccabees) were edited from 1635 to 1645 by Gabriel Sionita and Jean Hesronita (responsible for the vocalization of the Arabic and for the Latin translation) on the basis of Paris BN arab 1. This manuscript was brought from the Orient by François Savary de Brèves, French ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1591 to 1606. He had probably purchased it early in 1606 in Cairo where he was in contact with the priest Fadilallâh, who copied some books there (Proverbs, among others). The copy of the Prophets had been completed there in December 1584 by ‘Abd Rabihi b. Mohammed . . . as-Sa‘râni al Anşâri. In the colophon, he states that the 16 prophets that he copied had been translated by the priest El ‘Alam of Alexandria from an ancient Greek manuscript written in *scriptio continua*.¹⁹¹ The manuscript Vatican arab 445, copied in 1583 by Faḍilallâh, contains only the 16 prophets translated by the same priest El ‘Alam of Alexandria. It is stated there that the archetype for it was a manuscript deposited in the library of the church of Notre-Dame Martamariam in the Zuwailat al Kubra Quarter of Cairo, a manuscript produced from the original of the translation by George, the son of the priest Abu’l Mufaḍḍal, in 1356. Another manuscript, London BL Or 1326, contains Ezekiel, Daniel, and the New Testament. The copy of the Old Testament was completed in 1585 by the priest Fadilallâh.

10:12 (584:29–30 and n. 1906); Amos 3:5 (646:33 and nn. 2188–2191); 3:11 (649:15–21); 4:3 (654:2–5, 11–14, 30–42); 8:11 (687:11–15); 9:11 (695:26–27 and n. 2406); Obad 20 (702:36–37); 21 (705:40–41); Mic 1:11 (722:32 and n. 2499); 4:6 (745:27–33); Hab 3:8 (867:4–7); 3:13 (873:26 and n. 3176); Zeph 3:7 (906:11 and n. 3293); and Zech 3:5 (946:20–23).

191. The colophon was reproduced by Eichhorn (*Einleitung*, vol. 1, 534–35) and his interpretation of it was corrected by Vaccari (“Versioni,” first article). For Isa 44:20–45:10, while the manuscripts that we will discuss do indeed have the translation made from Ⓞ, the Paris manuscript—and therefore the polyglots—have a translation in which a Hebrew base can be discerned, with influences from Ⓢ and the glosses.

Finally, one last manuscript contributes valuable supplementary information on the origins of this Arabic version of the 16 prophets. London BL Or 1314 contains the Twelve Prophets and Daniel in Coptic and Arabic. Its colophon states that the Arabic copy was completed January 5, 1374, on the basis of an exemplar from the hand of the patriarch Anba Younis (يونس). The Arabic translator of the Greek was Father El 'Alam of Alexandria. For most of the Coptic patriarchs the name "John" was written يوحنا. Among those for whom it was written يونس, the one that is most likely meant here is Younis the Damascene,¹⁹² who occupied the patriarchal throne from January 31, 1363, to July 13, 1369. Through this London manuscript and the Vatican manuscript, we thus have knowledge of two archetypes of the translation of the prophets by the priest El 'Alam, one of them copied from the original in 1356 and the other probably copied around the same time (before Younis became patriarch) and certainly before 1374.

All this enables us to situate the work of the translator El 'Alam around 1350. In any case, there is no reason to push it back to the tenth century, as Vaccari conjectured without any clear argument.¹⁹³ Indeed, it would be hard to explain how there was not a word breathed about this translation for 400 years, while several copyists suddenly became interested in it in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The facts just related furnish us with quite specific information on the origin and era of the translation of the 16 prophets.

In the eighth treatise included in Volume VI of the Walton polyglot, Edward Pocock demonstrated that the Arabic version of the Pentateuch included in the polyglots is Saadya's, but that it received interpolations before entering into the Paris manuscript. These facts are confirmed by a preface to the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch that is included in the Paris manuscript, but was not published in the polyglot. The translator explains precisely how he proceeded:

I studied the translation of Sheikh Sa'îd, the rabbi of Fayyum, letting myself be guided by his words, since he is the most celebrated of translators and the most insightful of interpreters among the men of his religion. . . . Thus I made the copy that follows this preface from his version. . . . And I relied on a very competent Jew. . . . He had with him a Hebrew exemplar from which he read in Arabic, at the same time that I had in hand the copy I had made of the version of the Fayyumite. I also had before me various Arabic versions, one of which was made from the Hebrew by some very erudite Samaritans, and the others from the Greek.

At the end of the Arabic translation of Joshua, the following colophon appears in the polyglot: "End of the book of Joshua translated from the Hebrew into

192. This is according to the appendix to the *Chronicon Orientale* of Ibn Rahib (Rahib, *Chronicon*, text, 143 and translation, 153). Indeed, the previous one would have been Younis Abu'l Madjd, patriarch from 1207 to 1225.

193. "Versioni," first article, 410–12.

Arabic.” At the end of Job the colophon reads: “The author of the exemplar from which this was copied mentioned that this book was translated from the Syriac into Arabic.”

Outside of the Pentateuch and Joshua, there may have been contacts with the Hebrew text, but the Arabic version is essentially dependent on Ⓞ or on Ⓢ. According to Nestle,¹⁹⁴ the following sections are dependent on Ⓢ: Judges, Ruth, Samuel, 1 Kgs 1–11 (with 1 Kgs 12–2 Kgs 12:16 translated from the Hebrew), 2 Kgs 12:17 to the end, Chronicles, Nehemiah 9:28 to the end (the beginning of this book being translated from the Hebrew, a fact that Rudolph disputes), and Job. The Prophets (apart from certain sections of Ezekiel that we will discuss) and the other poetic books would have been translated from Ⓞ.

B. The Translation of Pethion ibn Ayyub al-Sahhar

The earliest translator of the Bible into Arabic for whom we have a significant portion of his work is the Nestorian Pethion ibn Ayyub al-Sahhar, who translated from Ⓢ. Among the translations that are expressly attributed to him, we can cite one of Jeremiah appearing in Milan Ambros C58 inf (copied in 1226) where the attribution is the most explicit, London BL Or 5918 (thirteenth or fourteenth century), and Oxford Bodl Seld Arch A 67 (1458), as well as a translation of Job in London BL Or 1326. There he is described as “the translator” (الترجمان). Pethion ibn Ayyub is also mentioned by Abulfaraj Muhammad an-Nadīm (tenth century) in his *Fihrist*, in the list of those who translated works written in a foreign language into Arabic; there he describes him as being “the most accurate in interpretation and the most elegant in expression.”¹⁹⁵ In addition to the translation of Jeremiah and Job, he can probably be credited with the translations of Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, as well as a translation of Ben Sira. It is unfortunate that only samples of Pethion’s work have been published up to now.¹⁹⁶

It was from the Oxford manuscript of Pethion’s translation that the Walton polyglot supplemented the Arabic version of the Paris polyglot. This happened in one passage where the Arabic in the Paris manuscript had a lacuna (Ezek 24:6–27), and in other passages absent in Ⓞ that served as the base for El ‘Alam’s translation (Isa 2:22; 23:13; 38:15; 44:2; 65:13; Jer 7:1;¹⁹⁷ 8:10–12; 10:6–8, 10; 11:7–8; 17:1–4; 25:7, 13; 26:26; 28:45–48; 31:45–47; 32:14; 34:1, 7, 13–14, 19; 35:5; 36:14, 16–20; 37:10–11, 22; 40:14–26; 46:4–13; 52:2–3, 28–30; Lam 3:22–24, 29, 55–57; Ezek 11:12; 13:4; 27:32; 42:17, 19).

194. “Arabische,” 94.

195. Abulfaraj (al-Nadīm), *Fihrist*, 24,5.

196. The first six chapters of Jeremiah, published by R. M. Frank (“Jeremias”).

197. For Jeremiah, we give the Ⓞ chapter and verse, since the Walton polyglot presents the Arabic text in the order of the Greek text.

C. Use of the Arabic Versions in BHK^{2,3} and BHS

Textual critics of the last three centuries have displayed most clearly either their passivity or their caprice in the way the Arabic versions have been used. We recounted above by what circuitous routes the Arabic versions made their way into the Paris polyglot, versions made for the most part around the middle of the fourteenth century and based on a Greek of the Alexandrian type, and for a more limited portion, toward the end of the ninth century from the Syriac. For fear of omitting something, Walton integrated them (and supplemented them) in the London polyglot, so that from the middle of the seventeenth century, textual critics have habitually cited “the Arabic version” as one of the textual witnesses from which they were fond of garnering support.

What follows are approximate (some references may have escaped our quick survey of the apparatuses) but instructive data on the use of the Arabic in BHK^{2,3} and BHS.

References in *italics* = BHK² alone; underlined = BHK³ alone; **bold** = BHK^{2,3}; **large bold** = BHK^{2,3} and BHS; *large italic* = BHK² and BHS; large underlined = BHK³ and BHS; SMALL CAPS = BHS alone.

Gen 4:**15**; 18:**21**; 28:**22**; 29:**2, 3**; 31:**30, 32**; 39:*15*; 43:**8**; 46:**5**; Judg 1:**11**; 5:**17, 21, 23**; 1 Sam 27:**2**; 1 Kgs 10:**13**; 11:**25**; Isa 19:**18**; 35:**9**; Jer 2:2, 7, 9, *18* (2x), 27, 29, 31; 3:4, *16*; 4:3, 4 (2x), **10, 19**; 5:**13, 17, 25** (3x), 26; 6:4, **15**; 7:**4, 20** (3x); 8:**10**; 9:3, 11, 19, 25; 10:2; 11:*15*; 12:5; 13:5, *12*; 14:*17* (2x); 15:1, 12; 16:4, 9; 17:1, 2 (2x), 3, 20; 18:12; 20:3, 12; 21:**9, 12, 13**; 22:**15, 21**; 23:**6, 10, 11, 17, 19, 29**; 24:**1, 8**; 26:10, **18**; 27:1, 6 (2x), *15*; 29:**7, 13** (2x), *14*; 30:**15**; 31:5, **12, 19, 21, 23** (2x), *24, 37* (2x); 32:3, **5** (2x), 6, *14, 36*; 33:7, 8, 9, *21*; 35:**4, 11**; 36:2, **12** (2x), **17**; 38:1, 27; 41:2, **5**; 42:8, *17, 20*; 44:**20, 21, 28**; 48:1, **17**; 49:2, **8, 27, 30**; 51:5, **11, 23, 34, 59, 64**; 52:29; Ezek 1:3, 7, **13, 15, 17, 23** (2x); 2:2, **5, 8, 10** (2x); 3:**1, 13, 14, 15**; 4:8; 5:**14, 15**; 6:3, *11*; 7:5, 15, 24; 8:*12, 15*; 9:1, 3 (2x), **6, 7, 9**; 10:1, **4, 8**; 11:7, **15, 17, 20**; 14:**15**; 16:*11, 30*; 17:**22**; 18:23, **24** (2x), 26, **29, 30**; 19:1, 2, **7, 11**; 20:*12, 22, 31, 36*; 21:3, *10, 20, 21*; 22:24; 23:49; 25:3, 7 (2x), 8, 11; 26:8:**17** (3x); 27:3, 12, 27 (2x); 28:2, **14, 22** (3x), **23** (2x), 25; 29:**4, 11, 14, 20**; 30:2, 3, 12; 31:**3, 5, 14** (2x); 32:*14, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29*; 33:5, 6, *11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 26, 28*; 34:**2, 17, 31**; 35:3, 8, *14*; 36:4, 5, 9; 38:5, *11*; 39:7, **10, 13, 17**; 40:3; 45:1; 47:8; Prov 1:**16**; Job 9:*11*; 14:*12*; Dan 1:11, 15; 2:24; 5:**14**; 7:25; 9:*13, 16, 20, 23, 26*; 10:**12, 13, 16**; 11:1, 45; Ezra 2:46, 50; 4:2; 5:17; 6:2, **22**; 8:28; 10:1, 6; Neh 2:**8**; 3:**20** (2x); 4:10; 5:7; 6:3, 7, 14; 8:**14**; 9:**8**, 18 (2x), 22, **35**; 10:**2**; 12:35, **46** (2x); 13:9, **15, 16, 18, 29**; 1 Chr 1:17 (2x), 36, 42, 50; 2:6, 15, 16, 18, 29; 3:1, 12, 19, 21; 4:29, 41; 5:1, **4** (2x), 7, **14**, 23, 41; 6:13 (2x), 29, 39, 49, 54; 7:1, 3, 4, 6 (2x), 20, 23; 8:4, 5, 31, 33, 37; 9:2, 5, 15 (2x), 17, 24, 41; 10:3; 11:10, 14 (2x), 37, 40; 12:33, 34; 13:7; 14:1, 11, 13, 16; 15:12; 16:13, 27 (2x), 30, 33, 38; 17:11; 18:3, 8, 10, 13, 16; 19:15, 16, 17; 20:2, 5; 21:26; 22:2 (2x); 24:15; 25:3; 26:1, 2; 28:2; 29:4, 22; 2 Chr 1:5; 2:9; 3:2, 3 (2x), 4 (2x), 6; 6:**5–6**, 28, 32; 7:9, 21; 8:8, 15; 9:24; 10:4, 16, 18; 13:2 (2x), 23; 14:6 (2x), 8; 15:16; 16:**6**, 8; 17:7 (2x), 8; 18:14 (2x), 30; 19:11; 20:17; 21:2; 22:2,

5, 9, **12**; 23:14; 24:7, 27; 25:8, 15; 26:**5**, 23; 27:**5**; 28:**1**; 30:**18**, 27 (2X); 31:3, **13** (2X); 32:4, 28, 32; 33:16; 34:6; 35:3, 4, 12; 36:6, 9, 17. —In a list of *addenda* to BHK²: Gen 28:15.

It can be seen that, among the contributors to BHK^{1,2}, it was Rothstein (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) who made the greatest use of the “Arabic version.” Then came Kittel himself (Genesis, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Chronicles) and, in isolated cases, Beer (Proverbs, Job) and Löhr (Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah). In contrast, those who appear to have made no use of it are Ryssel, S. R. Driver, Nowack, Buhl, and Dalman.

In BHK³, Rothstein was succeeded by Rudolph (in Jeremiah) and Beyer (in Ezekiel). Rudolph eliminated 55 references to the Arabic, kept 39, and added 25 new ones. Beyer eliminated 34, kept 60, and added 31 new ones. It is striking that Rudolph, who inherited Numbers in BHK³ from Ryssel (who, in BHK^{1,2}, made no use of the Arabic), did not make use of it either, even though Saadya’s version (which here is a fairly direct source of the Arabic in the polyglots) would have furnished a much more direct contact with the Hebrew. In BHK³ Kittel retained responsibility for Genesis, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Isaiah. For these books he kept 16 of the 20 references that he made to the Arabic, and appears not to have added any new ones. Beer retained the reference that he made to the Arabic in Prov 1:16, but eliminated the two that he had made in Job 9:11 and 14:12. The book of Daniel went from Löhr to Baumgartner, who retained six of Löhr’s ten references to the Arabic and added five new ones. Löhr’s single mention of the Arabic in Ezra (6:22) was eliminated by Schaefer-Begrich in BHK³, but (in the only such case!) would be reintroduced by Rudolph in BHS, while in Nehemiah and Chronicles, Begrich retained the 28 references of Löhr and Kittel, without adding any new ones.

The case of BHS is very interesting. One notes a general decline in the influence exerted by the “Arabic version”: Eissfeldt retained only four of Kittel’s references in Genesis, and appears not to have added any. Of those that Kittel made in Judges, Meyer retained only one, and Winton Thomas did the same in Isaiah, while de Boer and Jepsen omitted those in Samuel and Kings. In Ezekiel, Elliger eliminated all those that Beyer had offered, but he introduced a new one in 25:11. In Proverbs, the reference that Beer had retained was omitted by Fichtner. In Daniel, Baumgartner retained only three of the 11 references that he had offered in BHK³. Rudolph retained only 15 of the 64 mentions of the Arabic that he had offered for Jeremiah in BHK³, adding one new one. But the most interesting phenomenon is the initiative that he took in the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. Although he had concluded in 1949, regarding Ezra and Nehemiah, that “interesting as the study of the Arabic version may be, what one extracts from it to gain access to the original Masoretic Text is very limited,”¹⁹⁸ he added

198. Rudolph, *Ezra*, XXI.

17 new references to the Arabic for these two books in BHS in 1976. And in 1955, regarding the books of Chronicles, he noted that “because it was a late achievement, the Arabic contributes almost nothing to the reconstruction of the Masoretic Text,”¹⁹⁹ an observation that did not prevent him in 1975 from adding 143 new references to the Arabic version of Chronicles in BHS. One is forced to conclude that these initiatives point to a conception of the critical apparatuses as more decorative than argumentative.

D. The Jewish Versions of the Tenth Century

As we have seen, the Arabic version of the Torah realized by Saadya Gaon was known in Western exegesis from the time that it became part of the Paris polyglot. However, another Arabic version of the Torah had already been published at Leiden by T. Erpenius in 1622, from a North African manuscript in Arabic characters in the Scaliger collection.²⁰⁰ As Eichhorn concluded on the basis of the characteristics of this ultra-literal translation, it has a good chance of having been produced only shortly before it came into Scaliger’s hands.

Oddly, it was not until the publication of a sample of the Psalms commentary of Yefet ben Ely in 1846 by L. Bargès, and then of his entire translation of the Psalms in 1861,²⁰¹ that Western exegetes discovered that other Jewish translators besides Saadya had, only shortly after him in the second half of the tenth century, translated almost all of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic and provided commentary, also in that language. Since they were earlier and made directly from the Hebrew, the translations and commentaries of Saadya Gaon, Salmon ben Yeruham, and Yefet ben Ely should have aroused more interest on the part of critics of the Hebrew Bible than did the Arabic translations of the Paris and London polyglots. For this reason, we have devoted considerable attention to them in our research.

199. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, VII.

200. *Turatu Musá* (Erpenius).

201. Yefet (Bargès 1846) and Yefet (Bargès 1861).

Relationships between the Versions and the Text

Before offering a critique on the use of the versions by recent textual criticism of the Hebrew text of the Bible, we would like to bring together a number of cases treated in the first three volumes of our research.¹ They involve, first of all, cases where an attempt to retrace the history of the interpretation of מ led us to conclude that certain peculiarities of ancient versions in which it once seemed possible to detect the presence of variants in their Hebrew Vorlage, should rather be understood as the early emergence of traditional interpretations that medieval Jewish interpreters would take up later. Then, there are several cases where we have concluded that these interpretational traditions very likely reflect textual accidents. Finally, we present other cases where the interpretation in question is so strongly suggested by the context that the pressure exerted by the context on interpreters, translators, and even copyists is sufficient to explain how the same interpretations surface with translators and exegetes in different milieux and different eras, and at times even enter manuscripts less carefully prepared than the great representatives of the classical Tiberian text.

I. Versions That Give Evidence of an Interpretational Tradition

A. Jerome Explaining His Translation

Recent exegetes sometimes attribute to ו a Vorlage different from מ, when Jerome himself explains that he had the reading of מ but in his translation followed the interpretation given to that text by an earlier translator.

- Ezek 1:14. Regarding הַבִּזָּק, BHK³ calls for הַבְּרִק with ט and ו, and BHS reports that the reading בַּרְקָא in ט shows that it read הַבְּרִק, as did ס' and ו. In fact, in his commentary Jerome states that he read BEZEC in the Hebrew and

1. For most of these cases, the argumentation is more detailed and the references are more explicit in the specific treatment of each of them *in loco*.

that, when he put the word “fulgur” in his translation, it was motivated by σ’, which translated “quasi species radii fulguris.” Regarding ט, Radak states that בזק has the sense of ברק, and that is why ט translated with בקקא.

- Isa 33:7. מ has אַרְאֵלִים here. BHS refers to ו (“videntes”) for its suggested reading אַרְאֵלִים. But here Jerome states expressly that he read ARELLAM in the Hebrew and that, according to the Jews, this word signified “angels” (“angelos”). In fact, in a poem that Bar Qappara recited on the occasion of the death of R. Judah ha-Nasi (beginning of the third century), אַרְאֵלִים is used twice in the sense of “angel.” Jerome thus turns to this exegetical tradition of a Hebrew text that he nevertheless vocalizes in conformity with the reading in מ. Under the influence of this tradition, however, the reading אַרְאֵלִים entered several manuscripts of מ.

B. The Talmud Assures the Transmission

As we have just seen, the Tannaim or the Amoraim sometimes assure the transmission of an exegetical tradition between the translators of the ancient versions (with whose work they have had no contact) and the textual exegetes of the Middle Ages.

- 1 Sam 25:11. BHK² calls for reading יַיִן with Θ (οἶνον μου) instead of מִיַּיִן in מ. However, at the beginning of the fourth century, R. Aibo asserted that in mentioning water, Scripture made use of a euphemism to avoid mentioning wine, and Abulwalid also concluded that Scripture probably meant וַאֲתַיִן here.

- Dan 9:17. Instead of לְמַעַן אֲדַנִּי, BHK³ suggests reading לְמַעַן אֲדַנִּי with θ’. It is true that θ’ has ἐνεκέν σου, κύριε here. Later, at the beginning of the third century, Rab stated that one would expect לְמַעַן instead of לְמַעַן.² Then Saadya (followed by Moshe ibn Gikatilla) in turn explained that “it says לְמַעַן אֲדַנִּי in the sense of לְמַעַן אֲדַנִּי.” And Yefet ben Ely translated in the same way: لاجل اسمك يا رب العالمين. Here again, θ’ simply appears to be the first known witness of a tradition of interpretation that was to continue vigorously.

II. Interpretations that Give Evidence of Early Textual Accidents

There are cases where the traditions of interpretation transmitted in this way preserved traces of actual textual accidents.

- 1 Chr 2:24. Instead of בְּכָלֵב in מ, Θ has ἦλθεν Χαλεβ, and ו has “ingressus est Caleb.” In the second half of the third century, Resh Laqish paraphrased בְּכָלֵב of מ as בא כלב, then Yefet ben Ely translated it “Caleb came.” It seems that here a trace of the accidental dropping of an *’alep* was preserved by Jewish exegesis.

- In 1 Sam 21:3(2), Abraham ha-Babli attests a tradition of interpreting יוֹרְעָתִי as יוֹעֲדָתִי by metathesis. This tradition appears to have kept a trace of an early

2. B. Berakot 7b.

textual accident, since Ⓞ (διαμεμαρτύρησαι), Ⓢ (συνεταξάμην), Ⓟ (“condixi”), and Ⓠ (כֹּסֶם) give evidence of a form in which the *‘ayin* precedes the *dalet*.

• In Mic 3:3 Ⓜ (and already the Murabba‘at manuscript) has כְּאֶשֶׁר בְּסִיר וּכְבֶּשֶׂת בְּתוֹךְ קִלְחָת. Ⓞ translated the first two words with ὡς σάρκας εἰς λέβητα, the word σάρκας being the one with which Ⓞ had just translated שָׂאָר twice (in 2b and 3a). Now, Qirqisani deemed that “כְּבֶשֶׂת בְּסִיר has the sense of כֶּבֶשׂ. It is like כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּבֶשׂ³ as is shown in what follows: וּכְבֶּשֶׂת בְּתוֹךְ קִלְחָת. The words שָׂאָר and בֶּשֶׂת amount to the same meaning, ‘meat.’” On the one hand, כְּבֶשֶׂת offers an excellent parallel to וּכְבֶּשֶׂת, which כְּאֶשֶׁר does not at all, and, on the other hand, כְּאֶשֶׁר is distinguished from כֶּבֶשׂ only by a simple metathesis. Thus, in this passage, where such a parallel is called for in the context (בְּסִיר and קִלְחָת), it does appear that the reading that Qirqisani obtained by conjecture and that corresponds exactly to the most likely Vorlage of Ⓞ constitutes the original text, from which Ⓜ differs only because of an accidental metathesis.

III. Versions and Manuscripts Interpret Spontaneously

Given the limits of the human imagination, it can also happen that, in the face of certain difficult words, a limited number of hypotheses are “in the air.” These turn up again and again in different centuries—without being transmitted by any tradition—in the minds of different interpreters and translators, some of them probably thinking they were the first to formulate them. Some of these facilitating interpretations are so strongly suggested by the context that they have even penetrated a fairly large number of Hebrew manuscripts, through the intermediary of innovating copyists.

1. 2 Sam 14:4. In place of the initial וַתֹּאמֶר in Ⓜ, BHK³ calls for reading וַתִּבְאֵר with numerous manuscripts and the versions. However, it is striking that Abulwalid, Judah ibn Balaam, and Tanhum Yerushalmi also conclude that this וַתֹּאמֶר is for וַתִּבְאֵר. The fact that a marginal portion of the textual traditions of Ⓜ and Ⓢ concur with Ⓞ, Ⓟ, and Ⓠ, as well as with these three medieval Jewish exegetes, shows that this interpretation was in the air and that, because of this, it influenced the initiatives of translators and even some copyists.
2. 1 Kgs 18:26. Instead of עֲשֵׂה in Ⓜ, BHK^{2,3} and BHS call for reading עֲשֵׂו, with a *sebir*, 23 manuscripts, and the versions. Abulwalid also asserts that עֲשֵׂה is for עֲשֵׂו. The tradition of the *sebir* is intended to protect the singular (which the Masoretes regarded as authentic) in the face of the facilitating plural that was in the air.
3. 2 Kgs 10:1. Here, where the Antiochene text (καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τιθηνοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἀχάβ) is the best representative of Ⓞ, BHK² appeals to it in its call for אָתְּבִינִי to be inserted between הָאֲמָנִים and אֶתְּאָב. But Rashi, Joseph Qara,

3. Qirqisani means that a simple transposition of consonants is involved.

- Radak, and Abravanel agree on the fact that these words are implied here. The immediately preceding context suggests these words clearly enough so that they can be said to be in the air, and there is no need to posit either a textual variant, or transmission of an exegetical tradition.
4. 2 Chr 1:13. While מ has לְבַמָּה, BHK^{2,3} call for מִהֶבְמָה, with Ⓞ and Ⓢ. Yefet ben Ely, Abulwalid, and Isaac Duran already called for interpreting מ in the same way. This conjecture comes to mind so naturally that it should be mistrusted, and it is quite probable that the readings in the ancient versions are already a result of it.
 5. 2 Chr 8:16. Instead of עַד־הַיּוֹם in מ, BHK^{2,3} call for מַיּוֹם, with Ⓞ, Ⓢ, and Ⓢ. This was also the interpretation of מ proposed by a disciple of Saadya, the pseudo-Rashi, Abulwalid, Judah ibn Balaam, and Radak. It is very likely that the versions simply heeded a suggestion that was in the air.
 6. Ezra 10:14. While מ has עַד לְדָבָר הַזֶּה, BHK^{2,3} and BHS call for עַל הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, with the versions and two manuscripts. The existence of these two manuscripts could lead one to believe that this was, in fact, the reading that the versions had in their Vorlage. However, it is striking that, while citing מ in its classic form, Abulwalid states that the *lamed* takes the place of a *he*, and he adds that עַד performs the function of עַל. It is thus quite possible that the versions in question already attest this interpretation that comes so naturally to mind.
 7. Isa 32:6. Instead of יַעֲשֶׂה־ in מ, BHK^{2,3} attribute the reading יִחַשְׁב־ to Ⓞ and Ⓢ. It was thought that a confirmation of this could be found in IQIsa^a, with חושב. But it is striking that (1) the versions in question make use of equivalents other than those they ordinarily use to render the root חשב, and (2) Rashi and Radak also gloss מ making use of the root חשב. This is a question of an interpretation, then, that is naturally suggested by the immediate context.
 8. Isa 43:13. For מַיּוֹם, which מ offers here, BHK^{2,3} attribute a Vorlage of מַעוֹלָם to Ⓞ (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς), Ⓢ (מעלמא), and Ⓢ ("ab initio"). This fails to appreciate the fact that Rashi and Aaron ben Joseph understand the reading of מ as "from the moment there was a day," while Abulwalid, Judah ibn Balaam, and Radak interpret it as "before there was a day." These proposals with their converging meanings point to an interpretation that was in the air.
 9. Jer 3:8. While מ begins this verse with וְאָרָא, BHK³ and BHS call for emendation to וְתָרָא, with one manuscript, Ⓢ, and some witnesses of Ⓞ. Abulwalid already wrote that וְאָרָא was possibly in place of וְתָרָא. Indeed, this variant comes naturally to mind, as is shown by the fact that it emerges in different marginal sectors of the textual tradition.
 10. Jer 32:12. While מ has דְרִי, BHK^{2,3} and BHS call for בְּן־דְרִי, with a dozen or so manuscripts, Ⓞ, and Ⓢ. It is striking that Radak also notes that דְרִי has the force of בְּן־דְרִי here. The context (vv. 7–9) exerts such pressure on the interpretation that there is no need to posit the transmission of a tradition in order

to explain the reappearance of the same addition in several translations or interpretations and even its penetration into a certain number of manuscripts.

11. 2 Sam 3:18 and Ezek 11:7. In 2 Sam 3:18, \aleph has הוֹשִׁיעַ , where BHK^{2,3} call for אֲוֹשִׁיעַ , with about 35 manuscripts and the versions. In Ezek 11:7, \aleph has הוֹצִיא , where BHK^{2,3} and BHS call for אֲוֹצִיא , with numerous manuscripts, editions, and the versions. We have seen that certain textual exegetes (Abraham ha-Babli, David ben Abraham, Abulwalid, Tanhum Yerushalmi) discuss the possibility of interpreting these two infinitives absolute as first person imperfects, an interpretation that comes naturally to mind.⁴ Saadya already, at the beginning of the tenth century, believed that \aleph had written the initial *he* to take the place of an ^ʿ*alep*.⁵ In 2 Sam 3:18, there is a tradition of a *sebir* הוֹשִׁיעַ , where a Masorah protects the *lectio difficilior* with *he* against the facilitating alteration to ^ʿ*alep* that entered a good number of less carefully prepared manuscripts, as it also did in Ezek 11:7. We have concluded, with Yefet ben Ely and Radak, that the use of the infinitive absolute in these two places adds the force of decisiveness or purpose to what would be expressed in the simple first person imperfect: “I mean to deliver” and “I am resolved to bring out.” In these two cases which support each other, the discussions of the medieval exegetes demonstrate that the ancient versions, like the aberrant manuscripts of \aleph , are actually witnesses to a prevalent interpretation that was substantially correct.
12. Ezek 13:18. In place of יָדָי in \aleph , BHK^{2,3} call for reading either יָדַי with several manuscripts, ס , and ט , or יָדָי with ז . It appears that the versions were simply attempting to give the most plausible interpretations of the form in \aleph , since the Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages were divided between the same two interpretations: Yefet ben Ely opted for a singular, while David ben Abraham, Judah Hayyuj, and most of their successors opted for the dual. Here again, the *lectio difficilior* of \aleph is protected by a Masorah against its alteration to יָדַי by several anomalous manuscripts.
13. Regarding הַפְּלֵה in Hab 2:4, it is striking to note the perpetual rebirth of certain options with certain exegetes who were apparently not in contact: (1) the substitution of ^ʿ*alep* for ^ʿ*ayin* was proposed here in the recension of ז found in the caves of Nahal Hever, by the mysterious “Christian” cited by Judah ibn Balaam, then by Abravanel, and finally by Ehrlich;⁶ (2) the transposition of *pe* and *lamed*, occurring in two manuscripts of \aleph , was later proposed by the second exegete cited in Tanhum Yerushalmi, and later again by Grotius, Kennicott, Marti, etc.; (3) the weakening of *pe* to *waw* was put forward by ס , before Wellhausen and his disciples did the same.

4. In *CTAT* Vol. 1, 234 and *CTAT* Vol. 3, 63:34–45.

5. In his commentary on Ps 142:5 (Saadya, *Tehillim*).

6. Ehrlich, *Randglossen*.

IV. Other Typical Links between Versions and Traditions

The following are a number of other cases where it is useful to have an awareness of the link between three points: the ancient versions, Jewish textual exegetes of the Middle Ages, and recent text critics.

1. Josh 24:32. While \aleph has וַיִּהְיֶיךָ , BHK^{2,3} attribute a Vorlage of וַיִּהְיֶיךָ to \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{V} . But it should be noted that Tanhum Yerushalmi, which certainly read \aleph , states that the plural verb in \aleph holds the place of a singular verb here, because the subject of this verb is either Shechem or the field. There is thus a good chance that \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{V} are simply the first two known witnesses to the tradition of this interpretation.
2. Judg 5:28. For וַתִּבְטַח in \aleph , BHK^{2,3} attribute a Vorlage of וַתִּבְטַח to \mathfrak{C} (ומדיקא), and BHS concludes that \mathfrak{G} (καὶ κατεμάνθανεν) read the same Vorlage. These two versions are, rather, early witnesses to a tradition that interprets the verb in \aleph as “and she looked,” a tradition that reappears in Rashi’s exegesis and in glossaries ABDF.
3. Ruth 1:21. \aleph has עָנָה בִּי , while \mathfrak{G} offers ἐταπεινώσέ με , \mathfrak{V} has “quam (. . .) humiliavit,” and \mathfrak{S} has مُحَبَّب . BHK^{2,3} concluded from this that these three versions read עָנָה . However, Ibn Ezra is aware of “some” who interpret \aleph in this way.
4. 1 Sam 12:15. Where \aleph has וּבְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם , \mathfrak{G} has $\text{καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν}$. This is very likely an exegetical tradition that was to reemerge a thousand years later with Abulwalid, when he states that “and on your fathers” means “and on your kings,” because the relationship of men to the king and his dynasty is the same as their relationship to the ancestors. This interpretation was later adopted by Judah ibn Balaam, Radak, and Tanhum Yerushalmi.
5. 1 Sam 22:4. Instead of וַיִּנְחָלֵם in \aleph , BHK^{2,3} call for וַיִּנְיָחֵם , reading with α' (καὶ ἔθετο), \mathfrak{C} (וּאֲשֵׁרִינוּן), \mathfrak{S} (مُحَبَّب), and \mathfrak{V} (“et reliquit eos”). However, this is not proof that these versions vocalized the Hebrew differently from \aleph , since David ben Abraham, distinguishing the different meanings of the biliteral root נח , recognizes the sense of “establish, install” here, and Abulwalid recognizes the root נחה as having the force of the root נח .
6. 1 Sam 25:6. According to BHK^{2,3}, instead of לְחַיֵּי in \aleph , \mathfrak{V} (“fratribus meis”) read לְאָחָי . Given that Isaiah of Trani, who undoubtedly read \aleph , interprets this word as “to my brothers,” assuming a defective *ʿalep*, it is highly likely that \mathfrak{V} already gives evidence of this interpretation.
7. 2 Kgs 23:13. Instead of $\text{לְהַר־הַמְּשָׁחִית}$ in \aleph , BHK² founds its suggested emendation to לְהַר־הַמְּשָׁחָה on the reading לְטוֹר וַיִּתְיֵא in \mathfrak{C} . In fact, Rashi, the glossaries, Joseph Qara, and Radak give evidence (as does \mathfrak{C}) of a tradition of interpretation according to which the reading הַמְּשָׁחִית in \aleph is an intentional dysphemism for לְהַר־הַמְּשָׁחָה , which at the time of the Mishnah designated the Mount of Olives.

8. Ezra 6:4. Instead of the Aramaic תַּחַד, BHK^{2.3} call for תַּחַד, reading with Ⓞ (εἶς). But Yefet ben Ely, David ben Abraham, and Benjamin ben Judah (who read מ) give this word the sense of “one.” Ⓞ is thus no doubt located early in the tradition of this same interpretation.
9. Isa 1:17. מ has תַּמּוּץ; BHK^{2.3} attribute the reading תַּמּוּץ to Ⓞ, ט, ס, and ו. It cannot be stated with certainty how these versions vocalized the Hebrew, but Judah ibn Qoreish, glossaries ABCDEF, and Rashi (who certainly read it with the Masoretic vocalization) are witnesses to an interpretation of מ in the sense of the passive participle: “tolu” (that is, “wronged”), according to the glossaries. Isaiah of Trani even asserts that *šûreq* was transformed into *hôlem* here.
10. Isa 2:6. Regarding מִקְדָּם in מ, BHK³ attributes the reading כַּמְקָדָם to ס, Ⓞ, and ו. Rather than a variant, it appears that we have to do with a tradition of interpretation that will reappear with Isaiah of Trani, who states that “מִקְדָּם means כַּמְקָדָם, that is, in accordance with the actions of the Amorites.”
11. Isa 14:19. For כַּנְפֹּץ in מ, BHK^{2.3} refer to ס' and ט to propose the reading כַּנְפֹּל. But the sense of “aborted fetus” does not necessarily require a different Hebrew root, since it is the interpretation that R. Eleazer (beginning of the fourth century) gives for נִצְוִרִי (*Kethiv*: נִצִּירִי) in Isa 49:6. It is also the interpretation that Saadya gives.
12. Isa 33:1. Instead of מ בְּגִלְתֶּךָ, BHS suggests that ס' (ὅταν κοπιάσῃς), ט (כַּד תִּלְאִי), and ו (“cum fatigatus desieris”) all read כַּנְלֹאֲתֶךָ. It should be noted, however, that David ben Abraham prefers the interpretation of מ that relates it to the root לֹאֵה. Thus ס' (on which ו depends) and ט were probably already of the same opinion.
13. Isa 38:17. BHK^{2.3} call for מ חִשְׁקָה to be emended to חִשְׁכָּה, a reading that they attribute to Ⓞ (εἴλου) and ו (“cruisti”). In fact, Saadya gives the verb in מ the sense of “you detained, you prevented,” and Judah ibn Balaam, citing this interpretation, remarks that “it is as if he had said חִשְׁכָּה, substituting *kap* for *qop*.” The versions probably are already evidence of this Jewish tradition of interpretation.
14. Isa 43:14. For the word בְּרִיחִים in מ, three different interpretations of the ancient versions have survived in medieval Jewish exegesis. (1) ס', to whom Jerome attributes the translation “fortes,” opens the way that will be taken by David ben Abraham, Yefet ben Ely, and Eliczer of Beaugency, who interpret it as “nobles.” (2) ו understands it as “vectes” (= bolts), which will later be the interpretation of Joseph Qara, Ibn Ezra, Aaron ben Joseph, and Abrahanel. (3) ט understands “with the oars,” followed by Rashi and glossaries ABCDEF.
15. Isa 48:1. BHK^{2.3} refer to the translation וּמְזִרְעִית in ט when they call for reading וּמְזִרְעִי instead of מ וּמְזִי. However, Rashi interprets מ in the same way, referring to the parallel in Num 24:7 (“water overflows from his two buckets”).

16. Isa 61:8. For **בְּעוֹלָהּ** in **מ**, BHK² and BHS call for **בְּעוֹלָהּ**, reading with several manuscripts, **⓪**, **Ⓢ**, and **Ⓣ**. However, Saadya (who undoubtedly read the Tiberian **Ⓢ**) also understood it as “with his transgression.” De Dieu believed that this interpretation did not presuppose an alteration in the vocalization of **מ**.⁷ However, in response to the pressure of the interpretational tradition several manuscripts did alter it, in a facilitating emendation against which the Masorah is meant to guard.
17. Jer 2:36. Instead of **תִּזְלִי** of **מ**, BHK^{2,3} direct one to read **תִּזְלִי**, with **⓪** (κατεφρόνησας), **Ⓣ** (אשכך), and **Ⓞ** (“vilis es facta”). These same interpretations are also found in the medieval interpreters, who read the vocalization of **מ** as a transitive form (“you will despise”) in glossaries ACF, as an intransitive form (“you will count for little”) in Rashi and glossaries BDE, and as a reflexive form (“you despise yourself”) in Joseph Qara.
18. Jer 15:11. While **מ** has **שְׂרִיתְךָ** (*Kethiv*: שרותך), BHK^{2,3} and BHS conclude that **⓪** (τὸ ὑπολειμμά σου), **Ⓢ** (אשכך), and **Ⓞ** (“reliquiae tuae”) read **שְׂאֲרֵיתְךָ**. However, it is not very likely that these versions read a Vorlage distinct from **מ**, since an interpretation of **מ** as a verbal or nominal defective spelling of the root **שאר** in the sense of “remain” is found with Menahem ben Saruq, Abraham ha-Babli, David ben Abraham, Rashi, glossaries ABCDEF, Joseph Qara, Jacob Tam, Ibn Ezra, Joseph ibn Nahmias, Radak, Isaiah of Trani, and Abravanel.
19. Jer 18:17. Instead of **אֶרְאֶם** of **מ**, BHK^{2,3} and BHS call for **אֶרְאֶם**, reading with the “Oriental” manuscripts.⁸ **⓪** (δείξω αὐτοῖς), **Ⓣ** (أرأهم), and **Ⓞ** (“ostendam eis”). But Radak’s commentary reveals that the reading of **מ** has the sense of “I will make them see, I will present to them.” It is thus probable that the versions simply offer the first appearance of this same interpretation.
20. Jer 22:14. **מ** has **חִלּוֹנִי**, and BHK² calls for **חִלּוֹנִים**, reading with **⓪** (θυρίαι). However, the suffix in **מ** was interpreted as equivalent to **חִלּוֹנִים** by Hayyuj, Menahem of Posquières, and Judah ibn Balaam.
21. Jer 39:8. While **מ** has **בֵּית הַעֵם**, BHK^{2,3} call for the plural **בְּתֵי הָעָם**, reading with **Ⓣ** (בית העם). But Radak and Joseph ibn Nahmias recognize a collective import in the singular, which **Ⓣ** may well have done already (following the Antiochene **⓪**: τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ λαοῦ).
22. Jer 48:9. Instead of **אֶצְרָה אֶצְרָה** in **מ**, **⓪** has ἄφη ἀναφθήσεται. It is surprising to discover that “anprenant anpranra” (= “inflaming it will inflame”) is proposed by glossaries A and F as a second meaning.

7. Dieu, *Critica*.

8. In *CTAT* Vol. 2, 626, we demonstrated that this reference to an “Oriental” reading is without foundation here.

23. Jer 49:10. In place of וְנִחַבְהָ of מ, BHK^{2,3} call for וְנִחַבְהָ, reading with Ⓞ (κρυβῆναι) and Ⓟ (“et celari”). But it is probable that these versions simply interpreted the vocalization of מ as an infinitive, as was done later by Abulwalid, Moshe ibn Gikatilla, Menahem of Posquières, Judah ibn Balaam, Radak, and Tanhum Yerushalmi.
24. Jer 49:25. Where מ has מְשׁוֹשׂ, BHK^{2,3} call for reading מְשׁוֹשׂ, with α', σ', θ', Ⓢ, Ⓞ, and Ⓟ. Later, Yefet ben Ely would also regard the final *yod* of this word as extraneous. So it could well be that the versions held the same opinion, and thus did not feel it necessary to translate the suffix.
25. Lam 3:22. Instead of תִּמְנוּ of מ, BHK^{2,3} and BHS call for reading תִּמְנוּ, with one manuscript, Ⓞ, and Ⓢ. These versions do indeed translate the verb as a third person plural. But Abulwalid, Radak, Parhon, and Duran also adopted an interpretation of מ as third person plural. There is thus a good chance that Ⓞ and Ⓢ had already done the same thing.
26. Ezek 6:6. מ has וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ, but BHK^{2,3} conclude that σ', Ⓞ, Ⓢ, and Ⓟ read וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ (BHK²), or וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ (BHK³). The more cautious BHS simply refers to the four versions to show that the reading of מ is the equivalent of וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ. This last solution is preferable: David ben Abraham noted that the verb אָשַׁם can mean “suffer punishment for a wrong that one has done.” Menahem of Posquières adds to this that in Ezek 6:6 each of the two forms וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ and וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ is preceded by a form of the verb חָרַב, indicating that, although these two forms should not be related to the root שָׁמַם, they have the same sense as that root. Indeed, Ezekiel is quite ready to use the root חָרַב followed by the root שָׁמַם, as is the case in 29:10, 12 and in 36:35. It may thus be concluded that the context entails a deliberate shift toward the meaning of שָׁמַם (a verb that is linked to altars in 6:4).
27. Ezek 6:9. Instead of וְשַׁבְּרֵתִי, BHK^{2,3} and BHS refer to α', σ', θ', Ⓞ, and Ⓟ (which translate the verb as an active form) in their call for an emendation to וְשַׁבְּרֵתִי (Ⓡ). However, Ⓞ translates with ὀμώμωκα, as if it had read וְשַׁבְּרֵתִי, an alternative that indicates it did in fact read *num* at the beginning of the word, before the *šin* and the *bet*, as in מ. We have shown⁹ that all the medieval Jewish interpreters raised questions about the meaning of this *Niphal*, which appears where one would expect to see an active transitive form. Most of them assign a transitive value to the *Niphal*. This interpretation was undoubtedly transmitted from the time of the authors of the versions in question, to “a grammarian” cited by Yefet ben Ely, and then to Jacob ben Reuben, Hayyuj, Abulwalid (according to his *Mustalḥaq*), Joseph Qara, Eliezer of Beaugency, Moshe ben Sheshet, and Tanhum Yerushalmi.
28. Ezek 8:12. While מ has בְּחִזְרֵי, BHK³ calls for בְּחִזְרֵי, reading with Ⓞ, Ⓢ, Ⓞ, and Ⓟ (which translate the noun in the singular). In fact, the use of this plural

9. In *CTAT* Vol. 3, 31:28–33,10.

is a Hebrew idiom, as is shown in the expression **חֲדָרֵי־בֵּטֶן** (Prov 18:8; 20:27, 30; 26:22), which surely is not meant to suggest a plurality of chambers. In other places, the singular construct state **בְּחֶדֶר** is found, used practically interchangeably (Exod 7:28; 2 Sam 4:7; 2 Kgs 6:12; 11:2; 2 Chr 22:11). A decisive indication that the translation with a singular in Ezek 8:12 is merely an intelligent interpretation of this idiom can be found in the fact that in Qoh 10:20, where the text of **ℳ** has **וּבְחֲדָרַי מִשְׁכְּבֵיךָ**, two Kennicott manuscripts, as well as the first hand of a de Rossi manuscript and the second hand of two others, read the singular **וּבְחֶדֶר** for the first word, in accord with **℣**, **℥**, and **Ⓢ**, while **Ⓣ** (probably = α') faithfully translates the plural of its Vorlage (= **ℳ**).

29. Ezek 19:9. While **ℳ** has **בְּמִצְרוֹת**, BHK³ calls for **בְּמִצְרוֹת**, reading with **Ⓣ** and **℣**. In fact **Ⓣ** has $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ φυλακήν and **℣** has “in carcerem.” But Radak understands **ℳ** in the sense of “fortresses for imprisonment,” which recalls the imprisonment of John the Baptist at Machacrus and corresponds well to the translations of **Ⓣ** and **℣**.
30. Ezek 29:7 and Hab 2:16. In Ezek 29:7, **ℳ** has **וְהָעִמְרֹתָ**, where BHK³ calls for **וְהָמְעֵדָתָ**, with **℥**. In Hab 2:16, **ℳ** has **וְהָעֵרְלָה**, where BHS calls for **וְהָרַעַל**, with 1QpHab and **Ⓣ**. For Ezek 29:7, Abraham ha-Babli, glossaries BCE, Joseph Qimhi, Tanhum Yerushalmi, and Isaiah of Trani arrive at an interpretation of **ℳ** through metathesis of the *‘ayin* and the *mem*. For Hab 2:16, Abraham ha-Babli, the third interpretation of David ben Abraham, Radak, Joseph ibn Kaspi, and Abravanel interpret the word by reversing the *‘ayin* and the *res*. 1QpHab, which reads **וְהָרַעַל** in its lemma, alludes to **וְהָעֵרְלָה** in the commentary. This shows that exegesis by metathesis, for these roots that begin with *‘ayin*, was already widespread in the era from which the versions date. Likewise, when the Hebrew of Sira 16:18 has **עִמְרִים**, and **Ⓣ** translates as if it read the root **מַעַר**, this does not necessarily imply a different Vorlage. It could mean that **Ⓣ** already made use of metathesis as an interpretational key.
31. Ezek 32:5. Instead of **רְמוֹתָיָהּ** in **ℳ**, BHK³ calls for **רְמֹתָיָהּ**, reading with σ' , **℥**, and **℣**. In fact, Yefet ben Ely and Jacob ben Reuben state that this word has the sense of **רְמָה** here, and Rashi is aware of “some” who recognize that sense here. It is likely that the versions mentioned do not attest a Vorlage different from **ℳ**, but are the earliest known witnesses to this tradition of interpretation.
32. Ezek 46:22. With **Ⓣ** and **℥**, Grätz wishes to emend **קְטָרוֹת** of **ℳ** to **קְצָרוֹת**. It is true that these two versions understand the qualifier in the sense of “small,” but Jacob ben Reuben also asserts that he interprets **קְטָרוֹת** as **קְצָרוֹת**. Here again, the two versions are most likely his predecessors in the tradition of this interpretation.
33. Amos 1:11. Regarding **וַיִּטְרַף** in **ℳ**, BHK^{2,3} call for reading **וַיִּטַר**, with **℥** and **℣**. It would indeed be tempting to attribute that Vorlage to **Ⓢ** (**Ⓢ**) and **℣**

(“et tenuerit”) if one were not aware that the earliest known Judeo-Arabic exegete, Judah ibn Qoreish, understands this verb in the sense of “hold on to what has been captured” (امسك الممسك) and that the earliest known Ashkenazi exegete, Rashi, also comments on וַיִּטְרֶף לְעַד אֲפֹ with הַחֲזִיק בָּהּ וְלֹא הִנְיָחָה (= “he grasped it firmly and did not let it go”). The translators of \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{U} thus give early evidence of a tradition that will serve as a point of departure for medieval textual exegesis.

34. Nah 2:4(3). Instead of פִּלְרֹת of \mathfrak{M} , BHK² suggests that \mathfrak{S} read לְפָדָת.¹⁰ \mathfrak{S} does indeed have لَمَسَّ، and \mathfrak{U} has λαμπάδων. In medieval exegesis there is a solid tradition of interpretation by metathesis in Abraham ha-Babli, David ben Abraham, Yefet ben Ely, Abulwalid, Judah ibn Balaam, glossaries ABD*F, Joseph Qara, Ibn Ezra, Parhon, Radak, Tanhum Yerushalmi, and Abravanel. Thus, \mathfrak{U} and \mathfrak{S} are probably merely the first two known witnesses of this tradition.

V. The Case of Hosea

In the course of the committee’s work, it became increasingly difficult to retain the goal, for an “edition” of certain biblical books, of reconstructing a text that would be located at the origin of divergences between \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{U} . During our work on Proverbs, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel confirmation of this was impressed upon us. But in retrospect we have seen that this is true for almost all the books of the Old Testament. \mathfrak{U} and \mathfrak{M} were both the object of different redactional endeavors undertaken after the textual lines that they attest were separated from each other. They must each therefore be the object of an independent reconstructive textual criticism (RTC) before both are able to contribute to a genetic textual analysis (GTA) of the specific and shared facts of their origin.

Borbone’s recently published “edizione critica del testo ebraico” of Hosea makes it possible to test these statements. First of all, we assume, with Borbone, that the original of the book of Hosea as such can probably be situated between the sixth and second centuries B.C. We also grant that there are corruptions that are common to both \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{U} . This fact offers proof that they come from the same archetype. But the existence of a common archetype is not sufficient to prove that the same literary tradition is involved.

A. Two Distinct Literary Traditions

Indeed, we have demonstrated above¹¹ that the Murabba‘at manuscript of the Twelve Prophets attests the presence, at the beginning of the second century A.D., of a consonantal textual tradition substantially identical to that of the classical

10. According to the addenda and corrigenda.

11. Pp. 386–388.

Tiberian text, while the earliest witnesses of the LXX of the Twelve Prophets date from the fourth century.

We have also shown¹² that for Isaiah, Θ is much farther from \aleph and Q than \aleph and Q are from each other. The same is true for the book of Hosea (see appendix on pp. 566–567).

But what is the significance of this greater distance separating LXX from the related group constituted by \aleph and the Qumran fragments? It can be interpreted in two ways: Either Θ had a Vorlage that was removed from Q (to which \aleph is ordinarily closer); or the Vorlage of Θ , \aleph , and Q were more or less equally distant from each other, but the gap between Θ and the two Hebrew forms becomes wider because Θ translated its Vorlage fairly freely. If one chooses the second interpretation (which seems more likely), one should not then appeal to Θ to infer variants in its Vorlage when it could simply be a matter of (1) a broad translation: for example, the presence or absence of a conjunction, a word in the plural or singular, a syntactic assimilation to the immediate context; or of (2) the translator's use of an exegetical tradition similar to those that medieval Jewish interpreters would later expound. To these observations could be added two statements that highlight certain essential characteristics of the two textual traditions of \aleph and Θ .

(1) It is a characteristic of the Hebrew tradition of the transmission of the Bible that, during the first seven centuries A.D., a written consonantal tradition coexisted with an oral tradition of vocalization and accentuation that was quite stable. Thus, it could be said that it was only with the Tiberian tradition toward the end of the ninth century that the Hebrew Bible achieved a state that was entirely "written." If one attempts to push back the date, the Hebrew book of Hosea can only be inferred by relating the consonantal text attested by manuscripts such as Q or Mur to reading traditions of which we no longer have completely adequate knowledge.

(2) The LXX is the result of a cultural transfer. Faced with certain difficulties in the text of their Vorlage, its translators were to recreate a text, in Greek, that rapidly gained the status of an independent text for Greek-speaking Jews and later for Christians, even if, in the course of the first two centuries A.D., Hebrew-speaking Palestinian Judaism attempted with moderate success to regain a hold on this textual form that had escaped its grasp.

B. Hosea in Θ and \aleph

As we have stated, the quantitative differences between \aleph and Θ are minimal in Hosea. The qualitative differences are much more striking. In treating those differences, we will also mention the quantitative differences, which by themselves are insufficient to establish two independent traditions for Hosea in \aleph and Θ .

12. P. 396.

1. Characteristic Features of Hosea in ⊕

Let us begin with the longest plus in ⊕. The passage in question is 13:4a, where Ⓜ offers **וְאֲנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם**. ⊕ has ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου στερεῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὗ αἱ χεῖρες ἔκτισαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐ παρέδειξά σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. We point out in the appendix (pp. 566–567) that this plus originates in the Vorlage of ⊕.

- It is the single passage in this book where God appears as creator of the universe, in a language that evokes the ⊕ of Isaiah (for στερεῶν οὐρανὸν, cf. Isa 45:12, 48:13, and 51:6) and that of Jeremiah (for πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, cf. Jer 8:2 and 19:13). The expression πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω + genitive in the sense of “become the devotee of a divinity” is well-rooted in the book of Hosea (cf. 2:7[5], 15[13], 5:11, 11:10). In addition, the expression στερεῶν X καὶ κτίζων Y is found again only in Amos 4:13.

- The presence of καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγόν σε before the words **וְאֲנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם** should be noted in this same plus. This is a limited plus typical of ⊕. It is found again in 12:10a(9a) (which in Ⓜ is identical to 13:4a): ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ἀνήγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. In these two places in ⊕, the influence of 12:14a(13a) can be recognized: **וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הָעֵלָה יְהוָה אֱתֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם** (= καὶ ἐν προφητῇ ἀνήγαγεν κύριος τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς¹³ Αἰγύπτου). In 12:10a(9a) as in 13:4a, we note the difference between Ⓜ: “I have been the Lord your God since the land of Egypt” and ⊕: “I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt.” Here Ⓜ recalls 11:1: **כִּי נָעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶאֱהָבָהוּ וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבָנִי** (“When Israel was a child, I was possessed with love for him, and I called my son out of Egypt”) and the three verses that follow where the Lord describes the early childhood of Israel as taking place in Egypt and where he adds that it was at that time and in that place that he was possessed by love for him and called to him in teaching him to walk. None of this exists in ⊕, which has in 11:1: Διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκόλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. Here, it is no longer the child Israel that is called to leave Egypt. At the time of the exodus from Egypt, Israel is grown, since it is Israel’s children that are called to leave Egypt. Indeed, according to both Ⓜ and ⊕, in 12:13(12) “Israel” and “Jacob” are used as synonyms. Now, Jacob-Israel knew God well, because he had struggled with God (in 12:4[3]). In this context, it is impossible for the translator to allow that Israel-Jacob in Egypt was still only an infant and that the Lord had been Israel’s God only “since the land of Egypt.” Hence the alterations that have been noted. In addition, in 13:5 where, according to Ⓜ, the Lord will remind Israel: “I knew you (יָדַעְתִּיךָ) in the desert,” ⊕ prefers to say “I took you to pasture” (ἐποίμανόν σε).

13. The word γῆς, characteristic of the formula in ⊕ and attested by almost all the witnesses (including Vaticanus) was omitted here by Ziegler, based on several witnesses that had been assimilated to Ⓜ.

Regarding the insistence of Ⓞ on repeating that the Lord brought his people up out of Egypt, we note that Ⓜ of Hosea mentions the eventuality of a return to Egypt three times: 8:13: הָמָּהּ מְצַרִּים יָשׁוּבוּ; 9:3: וְיָשׁוּב אֶפְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם;¹⁴ 11:5: לֹא יָשׁוּב לֹא אֶל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם. But it appears that the translator of Ⓞ did not wish to mention that. He situates his interpretation in the framework of the unsuccessful steps Israel takes to gain the support of Egypt, as they are recalled in 7:11, 16 and 12:1. It is in this context that he gives αὐτοὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέστρεψαν (“They will turn back toward Egypt”) for הָמָּהּ מְצַרִּים יָשׁוּבוּ (“They will return to Egypt”). According to Theodore of Mopsuesta, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret, this refers to the unproductive diplomatic initiatives just mentioned. Indeed, this phrase strikingly evokes ἀπεστράφησαν εἰς οὐθέν (. . .) οὗτος ὁ φαλισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ in 7:16 (“They turned away toward emptiness (. . .) thus were they turned around in ridicule in the land of Egypt”). In 9:3 Ⓞ has οὐ κατώκησαν ἐν τῇ γῆ τοῦ κυρίου· κατώκησεν Ἐφραϊμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται (“They did not dwell in the land of the Lord. Ephraim dwelt in the land of Egypt; and they will eat unclean food among the Assyrians”). This corresponds to לֹא יָשׁוּב בְּאֶרֶץ Ⓜ (“They will not dwell in the land of the Lord, but Ephraim will return to Egypt, and in Assyria they will eat unclean food”). We see that the translator (or his Vorlage) emphasizes the link that he sees between 9:3 and 8:13 by repeating the ending of 9:3 καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται at the end of 8:13. The translator connects 11:5 to 9:3 when he translates κατώκησεν Ἐφραϊμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Ἀσσυρὸς αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐπιστρέψαι (“Ephraim dwelt in Egypt, and Assyria is his king, because they refused to return”) for לֹא יָשׁוּב אֶל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְאַשּׁוּר הוּא מַלְכוּתוֹ כִּי מָאֲנוּ לָשׁוּב (“He will not return to the land of Egypt, and it is Assyria that is his king, for they refused to return”). It can be seen that the translator inserted the name Ephraim (which occurred in 9:3), omitted the negative,¹⁵ and, in these two places, translated a future form of שׁוּב with a past form of κατοικεῖν. Thus he translated as if he read the verb יָשׁוּב and not שׁוּב. This is not a question of an error, since in the numerous cases where שׁוּב is used in a context of conversion (as at the end of 11:5) the translator faithfully renders it ἐπιστρέφειν. In this case, instead of dealing with the eventuality of a future return of the people to Egypt, as Ⓜ does, Ⓞ deals with two past unhappy events: a sojourn in Egypt (which, as we will see, involves the descent of Jacob and his family to Egypt), and the more recent and fruitless diplomatic attempts to obtain the aid of the Egyptians.

It is interesting that the Ⓞ of the Dodekapropheton makes use of the verb ταπεινοῦν (active and passive) five times: four times in Hosea (2:17[15]; 5:5; 7:10; 14:9) and once in Malachi (2:12). In those places the verb always translates the *Qal* of עָנָה, whereas out of 161 other occurrences of ταπεινοῦν in the Old

14. The fact that this verb is between two imperfects clearly indicates that it is a perfect with *waw*-consecutive.

15. He interpreted לֹא as לָ, relating it to what precedes.

Testament of Θ , this equivalence is found only three times: in Ps 116:10(115:1), Ps 119(118):67, and Ruth 1:21. The translation in the Θ of Hosea appears to be related to that of the Θ of Isaiah. In Hos 5:5 and 7:10, for the same Vorlage $\text{וַעֲנֶה יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּפָנָיו}$ (“And Israel’s pride will testify against him”), one finds the same translation $\text{καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται ἡ ὕβρις (τοῦ) Ἰσραηλ εἰς πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ}$ (“And Israel’s arrogance will be humbled before his very eyes”). This translation is very likely inspired by the expressions $\text{καὶ ὕβριν ὑπερηφάνων ταπεινώσω}$ (Isa 13:11: “And I will humble the arrogance of the proud”) and $\text{καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ}$ (Isa 25:11: “And he will humble his arrogance”), which correspond to $\text{וְגִאֲוֹת עֲרִיצִים אֲשַׁפֵּיל}$ (“And I will humble the pride of tyrants”) and to $\text{וְהִשְׁפִּיל גִּאֲוָתוֹ}$ (“And he will humble his pride”), respectively. In Isaiah, these two translations correspond to the Hebrew very well, but this is not the case in Hosea, where the translator mistakenly thought that he recognized the formula familiar to him from the Θ of Isaiah. And, once he had thus established an equivalence between ענה and ταπεινοῦν , the Greek translator of Hosea extended it to two other uses of the *Qal* of ענה . In 14:9(8), $\text{אָנִי עֲנִיתִי וְאֲשַׁרְוֶנּוּ}$ (“I have answered, and I will watch over him”) becomes $\text{ἐγὼ ἐταπεινώσα αὐτον, καὶ ἐγὼ κατισχύσω αὐτόν}$ (“I have humbled him and I will comfort him”); in 2:16–17(14–15), after having said $\text{וְהִלַּכְתִּיהָ הַמִּדְבָּר}$ (“And I will lead her into the desert”), the Lord adds $\text{וְעֲנָתָה שָׁמָּה כִּימֵי נְעוּרֶיהָ}$ (“and she will answer there, as in the days of her youth”). In Θ , these two phrases become καὶ τάξω^{16} αὐτήν ὡς ἔρημον (“And I will make a desert of her”), and $\text{καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας νηπιότητος αὐτῆς}$ (“and she will be humbled there, as in the days of her childhood”). In these two verses, Θ was influenced by its understanding of ענה in Hos 5:5 and 7:10, on the one hand, and on the other hand it saw a return of the theme in 2:5(3). There it had translated $\text{פֶּן־אֶפְשִׁיטָנָה עֲרֹמָה וְהִצַּגְתִּיהָ כִּיּוֹם הַיְלֻדָּה וְשַׁמְתִּיהָ כַּמִּדְבָּר וְשַׁתְּרָהּ בְּפָנָי צִיָּה כִּאֲרֵץ צִיָּה}$ (“lest I strip her naked and bring her to the state she was in on the day of her birth, and transform her into a desert and make her an arid land”) with $\text{ὅπως ἂν ἐκδύσω αὐτήν γυμνήν καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτήν καθὼς ἡμέρα γενέσεως αὐτῆς· καὶ θήσομαι αὐτήν ὡς ἔρημον καὶ τάξω αὐτήν ὡς γῆν ἄνυδρον}$ (“so that I undress her naked and return her to the state she was in on the day of her birth; and I will transform her into a desert and I will make her an arid land”). In this way, the inappropriate association of ענה with ταπεινοῦν seriously darkened the mood of the new engagement of 2:16–17(14–15).

Another characteristic of the Greek of Hosea is that it translated the verb אָשַׁם (“acknowledge guilt”) with ἀφανίζειν (“disappear”) three times (5:15; 10:2; 14:1), confusing it with שָׁמַשׁ . Elsewhere in Θ this correspondence is found only in Joel 1:18 and Prov 30:10(24:33).

16. We retain the text of all the witnesses, which corresponds well to the atmosphere of punishment in which Θ situates this passage. Ziegler unnecessarily conjectures καὶ κατὰξω .

Regarding the several pluses in Ⓞ, we can point to a tendency to complete the trio of (1) wild animals, (2) birds, and (3) reptiles. So in 2:20(18) Ⓜ and Ⓞ agree in presenting the complete trio, but in 2:14(12) where Ⓜ mentions only (1), Ⓞ has all three, and in 4:3 where Ⓜ has only (1) and (2), Ⓞ again has the complete trio.

One of the characteristics of the style of Hosea consists of sudden and brief shifts from the third to the second person. Ⓞ disregards these interruptions and maintains the third person.

- a. So, in 2:7–9a(5–7a), Ⓜ says “Yes, their mother became a prostitute, she who had conceived them covered herself with shame, for she said ‘I will go after my lovers, who give me bread and water, wool and linen, oil and drink.’ Therefore I block your road with brambles, and I will put up a barrier against her and she will not find her paths. She will pursue her lovers but not reach them, she will search for them but not find them.” Ⓞ has “for their mother became a prostitute, she who had borne them covered herself with shame, for she said ‘I will go after my lovers, who give me my bread and my water, and my clothes and my linens, my oil and everything I need.’ Therefore I block her road with posts and I will wall off the roads, and she will not find her way. And she will pursue her lovers but not reach them, she will search for them but not find them.”
- b. In 2:17b–19(15b–17) Ⓜ says “And she will answer there, as in the days of her youth and as in the days when she came up out of the land of Egypt. And it will happen in that day, says the Lord, that you will call me ‘my husband’ and you will no longer call me ‘my master.’ And I will remove the names of the Baals from her mouth, and they will no longer be mentioned by their names.” Ⓞ has “And she will be humbled there, as in the days of her childhood and as in the days when she came up out of the land of Egypt. And it will happen in that day, says the Lord, that she will call me ‘my husband’ and she will no longer call me ‘Baalim.’ And I will remove the names of the Baalim from her mouth, and they will no longer remember their names.”
- c. In 5:3–4a Ⓜ says “I know Ephraim, and Israel is not hidden from me, for now that you have prostituted yourself Ephraim, Israel has been defiled. Their actions do not permit them to return to their God.” Ⓞ has “I have known Ephraim, and Israel has not been far from me. Because now Ephraim has prostituted himself, Israel has been defiled. They have not devoted their efforts to returning to their God.”
- d. In 7:16–8:1 Ⓜ says “Their princes will fall by the sword because of the stammering of their tongue, their babble in the land of Egypt. ‘Put a horn to your mouth! A kind of vulture is over the house of the Lord because they have transgressed my covenant and rebelled against my Torah.’” Ⓞ says “Their princes will fall by the sword because of the inexperience of their tongue. For that reason they were turned around in ridicule in the land of Egypt. Toward

their lap it is like the earth, like an eagle on the house of the Lord, because they have transgressed my covenant and they have profaned my law.”

In these passages, the shift to the second person in \aleph is always motivated by an emotional content that \ominus failed to recognize. In 2:8(6) it is the shift from the indictment to the verdict, in 2:18(16) it is the prophecy of a new intimacy between the Lord and his people-wife. In 5:3 it is a sudden reproach addressed to Ephraim. In 8:1 it is an unexpected alarm. In 11:3 we will see a shift in \aleph from the first to the third person that is just as sudden and just as brief, giving the impression of an interjection by a thoughtful and admiring chorus. Again, \ominus fails to recognize it as such. We will also note, however, an abrupt shift to the second person in the \ominus of 6:9a. But there it is simply a matter of a misinterpretation of the consonants וְכַחֲכִי.

2. Differences in Tone between \aleph and \ominus of Hosea

The following are a few examples of differences in literary coloring between \aleph and \ominus that we do not class under any particular heading.

- a. In 4:17–18 \aleph says “Ephraim is allied with idols. Leave him alone! Their drunkenness has worn off, they have exhausted their prostitution, his defenders burn with love for debasement!” \ominus has “In communing with idols, Ephraim has made for himself a stumbling block, he has chosen in favor of the Canaanites. They have pushed their prostitutions to the limit, they have loved the dishonor that comes from its exaltation.”
- b. In 5:1–2 \aleph says, “You have been (. . .) and a net spread over Tabor; the faithless have deepened perdition.” \ominus has “You have been (. . .) and like a net spread over Tabor that those who hunt game have secured.”
- c. In 6:7b–9a \aleph has “It is there that they betrayed me: Gilead, a city of evildoers, imprinted with blood. And like bandits who wait for a man, a band of priests commits murder on the road to Shechem.” \ominus says “It is there that Gilead scorned me, a city that produces vanities, that stirs the water, and your force is that of a gangster. Priests have hidden the road, they have massacred Sikima.”
- d. In 7:1b–2a \aleph has “And a robber enters while outside the band is raiding. Now, they do not think. . . .” \ominus says, “And a robber entered his house, a brigand who pillages on his way, so that they sing together as if they were singing with their hearts.”
- e. In 9:12b–13a \aleph says, “Woe to them indeed when I turn away from them! Ephraim, when I discovered him, seemed destined to be a palm planted in an oasis.” \ominus has “Since a curse is upon them, my flesh comes from them, Ephraim. From what I can see, they offer their children like game.”
- f. In 10:11b–13a \aleph says, “I will hitch up Ephraim, Judah will labor, Jacob will do his harrowing. Sow according to righteousness, reap in proportion to love, prepare land for yourselves. And it is time to seek the Lord until he comes and

makes righteousness rain down for you. You have worked evil, you have reaped injustice.” ⑥ has “I will harness Ephraim, I will not intervene regarding Judah, Jacob will find strength through him. Sow for righteousness, reap for the fruit of life, light for yourselves a lamp of knowledge, seek the Lord until the fruits of righteousness come to you. Why did you not intervene against impiety and why did you reap injustices from it?”

- g. In 11:3–5a ① says, “It is I who taught Ephraim to walk. —He took them in his arms.— But they have not understood that I cared for them. With human ropes I will pull them, with bonds of love. And I was for them as those that lift the yoke off their jaw and I gave them food. They would not return to the land of Egypt.” ⑥ has “I bound Ephraim, I took him in my arm and they did not know that I took care of them. In the corruption of men, I pulled them with the bonds of my love, and I was for them as a man who gives slaps on their cheeks, and I will take care of him and I will make him submit to me. Ephraim sojourned in Egypt.”
- h. In 11:6–8a ① has “The sword will rage in his villages and it will destroy his locks, it will devour because of their plots. My people cling to turning against me; they are called upward, and they all agree that no one will rise. How shall I deal with you, Ephraim, or deliver you up, Israel?” ⑥ says “And he was weak with the sword in his cities and he rested on his hands, and they will eat the fruit of their plots. And his people cling to their dwelling-place and God will be angry over his precious things and he will not raise him up. How shall I deal with you, Ephraim, or protect you, Israel?”
- i. In 12:1–2a ① says, “They have surrounded me with lies, the people of Ephraim, and with deceit, the house of Israel. As for Judah, he still wanders from God and from the side of the Holy One who is faithful. Ephraim feeds on wind.” ⑥ has “Ephraim has surrounded me with lies and the houses of Israel and Judah with impiety. Now God has acknowledged them and he will be called the holy people of God. Ephraim is of an evil spirit.”

These examples suffice to show that the difficulties of translation led ⑥ to construct a book of Hosea that is literarily distinct from the one offered by the nearly stabilized Hebrew text that was in use at the time.

Appendix

A. Borbone (*Osea*, 27) concludes that “what Qumran did not transmit to us of Hosea would have been closer to LXX than to MT,” and he bases this suggestion on two contacts between LXX and 4QpHos^a in 2:11 and between LXX and 4QpHos^b in 8:7:

1. In 2:11 it concerns the reading מלכסות that 4QpHos^a offers in place of לכסות in מ. The reading of the *pesher* does indeed correspond better to τοῦ μὴ καλύπτειν of Θ. To this he adds מועדיה of 4QpHos^a in 2:13 as support for Θ (τὰς πανηγύρεις αὐτῆς) against מועדה of מ.
2. In 8:7 his apparatus indicates nothing. But in 8:6, he reports the reading שובבים of 4QpHos^b as supporting Θ πλανῶν against שובבים in מ. He could have added that היה in 4QpHos^b then supports ἦν of Θ better than יהיה of מ.

B. But let us now examine the other representative cases that have a bearing on the relationship between the two *pesharim*, Θ, and מ.

1. In 2:8 4QpHos^a reads the plural (ונתיבותיה) of מ against the singular (καὶ τὴν τρίβον αὐτῆς) of Θ.
2. In 2:11 Θ (ἐπλήθυνα αὐτῆ) agrees with מ (הרביתי לה), whereas 4QpHos^a omits the complement הַל.
3. Immediately following, Θ differs from both מ and 4QpHos^a with its plus of αὐτὴ δὲ ἄργυρᾶ.
4. In 2:13, מ has the support of 4QpHos^a for its defective spelling והשבתי (which implies the vocalization וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי) against the reading καὶ ἀποστρέψω in Θ, for which 4QpHos^a would have written והשבתי as is shown by its spelling והשמתי at the beginning of 2:14.
5. Immediately following, מ has the support of 4QpHos^a for its singular מושה against the plural (τὰς εὐφροσύνας αὐτῆς) of Θ.
6. In 2:14, מ has the support of 4QpHos^a for ליער against Θ (εἰς μαρτύριον), which appears to have read לעד.
7. In 5:16 מ has the support of 4QpHos^b for the *ʾalep* in its reading יאשמו against ἀφανισθῶσι in Θ, which suggests a Vorlage ישמו.
8. In 6:7 מ has the support of 4QpHos^b for the plural עברו against the singular παραβαίνων of Θ.
9. In ending its lemma with ישראל, 4QpHos^b agrees with מ, whereas Θ adds καὶ Ἰουδας here, which מ places at the beginning of the following verse.
10. In 6:11 (according to Strugnell, “Notes,” 202 and pl. IIIb) מ has the support of 4QpHos^b for the spelling קציר against the spelling קצר or קצור that is implied by the translation τραγῶν of Θ.
11. In 8:7 the conjunction of מ (וסופתה) has the support of Θ (καὶ ἡ καταστροφή) against 4QpHos^b (סופותיה).

For these two *pesharim*, we have, then, out of 15 comparisons, nine where Q = M ≠ S, four where S = Q ≠ M, and two where S = M ≠ Q.

C. It is possible to expand the verification of Borbone's statement by examining the collection of fragments of Hosca that were preserved in Cave Four at Qumran. These fragments are 4QXII^c, 4QXII^d, and 4QXII^e. I follow the order of the biblical text to extract from these fragments everything that disagrees with either M or S:

1. In 2:5 4QXII^d supports M with פן, while S offers ὅπως ἂν (= למען?).
2. In 2:14 4QXII^c supports M with ותאנתה, while S offers καὶ τὰς συκᾶς αὐτῆς (= ותאניה).
3. In 3:2 4QXII^c supports M with ולתך, while S offers καὶ νεβελ (= ונבל).
4. In 4:3 4QXII^c supports S (τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν) with יושבי, against M יושב בה.
5. In 4:4 4QXII^c supports M with ועמכה, while S has ὁ δὲ λαός μου (= ועמי).
6. In 4:15a 4QXII^c supports M with יהודה, while S has καὶ Ἰουδα (= ויהודה).
7. In 4:15b M (ואל) supports S (καὶ μὴ) against 4QXII^c אל.
8. In 6:14aa 4QXII^e (בלבכם) supports M (בלבם), while S offers αἱ καρδία αὐτῶν (= לבם or לבכם).
9. Immediately following, 4QXII^e (כי) supports M, while S has ἀλλ' ἦ (= אם כי).
10. In 7:15 4QXII^e (יסרת) supports M against S, which does not have this word.
11. In 10:10 4QXII^e (בארסרם) supports M, whereas S offers ἐν τῷ παιδεύεσθαι αὐτούς (= בהוסרם).
12. In 11:4 4QXII^e (= לחיהם) supports M, while S has σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ (= לחיו).
13. In 13:4 4QXII^c offers גוטה שמים, which has echoes of στερεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν in the plus of S. This impression is confirmed by the fact that after ± 60 characters and/or spaces, it has אנוכי העליתיכה on the following line, which corresponds to καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγόν σε, the ending of the plus in S. Borbone thus is perfectly correct to conclude that, although it involves a secondary addition that M has escaped, the addition does have a Hebrew Vorlage (179).
14. In 14:3 4QXII^c (פרים) supports M, while S offers καρπὸν (= פרי).
15. In 14:4 4QXII^c (ירחם) supports the vocalization of M (ירחם), while S offers ἐλεήσει (= ירחם).
16. In 14:6 M (ויך) supports S (καὶ βαλεῖ) against S in 4QXII^c.

For these three manuscripts, we have, then, out of 16 comparisons, 12 where Q = M ≠ S, two where S = Q ≠ M, and two where S = M ≠ Q.

Conclusion

I. Structure of the Critical Apparatuses

Let us begin by recalling the fundamental distinction made at the beginning of this introduction between reconstructive textual criticism (RTC) and genetic textual analysis (GTA).

RTC, using several exemplars from the same tradition of a given text, aims to establish the most authentic form of that tradition, based on direct witnesses (manuscripts in the same language) or indirect ones (translations, citations).

GTA takes as its point of departure several textual traditions that depend on the same archetype (whether those traditions be stabilized and circulating in editions, or surviving only in isolated witnesses). On the basis of these textual traditions, GTA will attempt to infer the textual accidents and redactional innovations to which they have been subject in the course of their independent paths of transmission. GTA aims to analyze the textual forms, and it may present hypotheses of limited scope and variable probabilities on this or that peculiarity of an archetype or hyper-archetype. But it does not endeavor to establish a text, as RTC does.

Where a biblical book is involved, we must therefore first apply the methods of RTC to the different canonical editions that have represented that book in the faith communities for whom it had the function of Holy Scripture, with the richest cultural proliferation. Once this work has been accomplished—and we are not yet to that point—we can attempt, on the basis of the information about the reconstructed textual traditions, to proceed to a GTA that will shed light on their origins.

Let us see what norms emerge from this distinction and from what we have said about the various textual witnesses in the course of this introduction.

The aim of RTC of the classical Tiberian ¶

Since (1) the various canonical editions in which a biblical book has exercised its function as Holy Scripture must each be the object of reconstructive textual criticism, and (2) the classical Tiberian ¶ has obtained the greatest authority as a canonical edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible, and (3) our research is focused

on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, we will attempt to state exactly what a critical edition of \aleph should provide.

1. *The Content of the Critical Edition*

In the course of this introduction, a comparison between several witnesses of Isaiah and the twelve prophets allowed us to formulate a number of conclusions¹ that should guide the RTC of \aleph . (1) We were led to recognize the existence of a proto-Masoretic text from the beginning of the second century. This text demonstrates the excellent quality of the textual transmission that progressed from this type of text (immediately following textual standardization) and ended in the great witnesses of the classical Tiberian text. (2) We gave the name “pre-Masoretic” to a textual type that clearly precedes textual standardization in its noticeable uncertainty in the presence of conjunctive *waw*'s and in its possessing certain groups of variants. It was observed that all the corrections made on this textual type bring it closer to \aleph , and that most of the variants that distinguish it from \aleph are the limited variations that one would expect within the same stream of textual transmission. (3) The name “extra-Masoretic” describes a third textual type whose variants with respect to \aleph are numerically much greater than those that distinguish \aleph from the pre-Masoretic text. In particular, the fact that the corrections to which it was subject do not orient it toward \aleph prevents it from being placed in the line of transmission that resulted in \aleph .

We have observed² that the Tiberian pointers in the ninth century limited themselves to recording a mode of reading the Bible in which all Jews in Palestine, whether Rabbanite or Karaite, together recognized a shared legacy of the best traditional quality.

As to what most directly concerns the aim of a critical edition of \aleph , we concluded³ that an editor would do well not to choose the same manuscript as a model for the arrangement of the consonantal text (i.e., layout of poetry and section divisions) on the one hand, and for Masoretic work (correction, pointing, Masorah) on the other. Indeed, we were led to be wary of blanket conclusions⁴ that one might be tempted to make concerning the quality of a given manuscript. A manuscript can be excellent in terms of its pointing, defective in terms of the layout of its consonantal text, and average in terms of its Masorah.

The monolithic appearance of the classical Tiberian text is thus not impervious to detailed criticism. This is to say that it should be the object of an RTC that endeavors to establish the most authoritative form of the different aspects—the consonantal text, its division into sections, its vocalization, *te'amim*, and Masorahs. It is important to choose a base manuscript selected for the quality of its

1. P. 405 and following.

2. P. 271 and following.

3. P. 328 and following.

4. P. 381.

second hand—that is, the work of its corrector-vocalizer-accentuator. This is precisely the domain where the efforts of the Tiberian Masoretes are concentrated. Now, just as we recognize that the work of the scribe who copied the consonantal text of Leningrad B 19^A is open to criticism, it is also clear that the work of its corrector-vocalizer-accentuator is of high quality. Given that it is the earliest complete manuscript in the classical Tiberian tradition, it is important to keep it as the foundation of a critical edition, at the expense of alterations in the few cases where it is too isolated in certain of its choices, or where obvious errors have not been corrected.

The two domains where it is especially in need of correction are: (1) the layout of its pages, an aspect that completely escapes the intervention of the corrector-Masorete and merits a critical analysis, and (2) its Masorahs, which are not always coherent and which fairly frequently contradict the text.

(1) In the phrase “page layout” we mean to include two aspects: (a) the division into open and closed sections (*petuhot* and *setumot*), and (b) line division in (α) the Songs, (β) certain traditional lists, and (γ) the three books with poetic accents. In these areas it must be determined what the best tradition is behind the great Tiberian *mishafim*, and in all events, it is essential to avoid the fabricated page layouts in BHK^{1,2,3} and BHS, which often have the goal of steering the reader toward corrections suggested in the critical apparatus.

(2) An edition of the Masorahs parva and magna is the usual complement of an edition of the Masoretic Text. Is it imperative to give both the text and the Masorahs of the base manuscript that has been selected, as the Hebrew University project has decided to do? Or is it necessary, as in BHK³, simply to give the Masorah parva of the chosen manuscript as it is, or, as Weil did in BHS, give a completed and corrected Masorah parva with references to a critical edition of the Masorah magna? I would suggest, rather, giving the uncorrected Masorah parva of the Firkovitch manuscript in the margin, as in BHK³, adding references to a critical edition of the Masorah magna, as in BHS. Indeed, there is a reason not to edit the Masorah magna of the chosen manuscript in the same volume as the text, since the Masorah magna of the Firkovitch manuscript, as we have observed, is inferior in quality to that of several other manuscripts, both contemporary with Firkovitch and earlier. In a separate volume Weil edited the lists of Masorah magna in Firkovitch, after having corrected them. Unfortunately, he never published the volume of commentary justifying the corrections. The work of Ginsburg should be redone, to include the many early manuscripts that were unknown to him. For that, it would be essential to take the greatest possible advantage of the numerous unedited treasures in the second Firkovitch collection. The earliest states of the lists that are retained and the commentary on them should then be placed alongside each other. Indeed, this critical edition of the Masorah magna should include different states of each of the most important lists. This is the very type of work that could be published on CD-ROM, adding amplifications and al-

terations as the work progressed. Each reedition of the critical edition of the classical Tiberian \aleph would incorporate new references to the most recent states of the critical edition of the Masorah magna (linked to the corresponding Masorah parva or to the words in the text).

2. *The Various Critical Apparatuses*

Let us now attempt to specify the manner in which the apparatuses of the critical edition of the classical Tiberian \aleph should be presented. First, it is essential to distinguish two types of critical apparatus that should complement each other: an RTC apparatus, whose goal is (1) to justify the critical choices that determined the establishment of the text, and (2) to situate the chosen text in relation to the relevant evidence concerning other texts in the same category or in other contemporaneous competing categories; and one or several GTA apparatuses, whose goal is (1) to situate the textual category in question (i.e., the classical Tiberian \aleph) in relation to earlier states that resulted in the stabilization of this canonical edition, and (2) to situate these earlier states with respect to other divergent traditions that originated in the same source.

2.a. *The RTC apparatus*

This apparatus, which aims to establish the most authentic form of the classical Tiberian text, must, as we have just stated, bring to bear two types of information. Both types of information may be placed in the same set of notes, provided they are distinguished from each other typographically.

2.a.i. *Justification of changes*

The first function of the RTC apparatus is to justify the changes that the published text brings to the “text” of the manuscript chosen as a base for the edition. By “text” we mean (1) the page layout (division into sections and separation of lines), (2) the consonantal copy, and (3) its pointing (vowels and *teamim*). As we have stated, emendations in the pointing of the manuscript will only take place in the edition of the text in the few cases where the base manuscript is too isolated in its choices (with respect to the group of manuscripts that can be characterized as “classical Tiberian” or with respect to readings attested in both Ben Asher and Ben Naftali), or in cases where obvious errors have not been corrected. In contrast, emendations to the consonantal text and especially to the page layout will aim to bring it into conformity with the best available proto-Masoretic tradition.

2.a.ii. *Situating the chosen witness within the classical Tiberian \aleph tradition*

Also of concern in the RTC apparatus is information that aims not to justify the decisions made in the establishment of the published text, but to allow one to situate the published text as precisely as possible in the context of the canonical edition whose most authentic form one is attempting to establish: i.e., the classical Tiberian \aleph . This information, as stated, consists of (1) relevant evidence

concerning other texts belonging to the category of classical Tiberian \aleph , or (2) other contemporaneous and competing categories. Included may be factors explaining the differences between the various textual alternatives represented. Optimally, these various data will appear in the same textual note. Indeed, while certain sources are clearly located inside the same classical Tiberian domain (Aleppo, Cairo, and Firkovitch, as well as the readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali or the lemmas and examples of interpreters, lexicographers, and Palestinian Judeo-Arab grammarians of the tenth century) and others are clearly located outside this domain (manuscripts such as those of Petrograd, New York JThS Lutzki 232, "Oriental" readings, or fragments of Babylonian or Palestinian traditions), there are others that are more difficult to situate (the Ben Hayim edition, the evidence from Norzi, certain Sephardic and Yemenite manuscripts).

2.b. *The GTA apparatuses*

The evidence bearing on comparisons located in two distinct and successive levels should be allocated to two distinct apparatuses.

2.b.i. *The recent level*

For a GTA of the classical Tiberian \aleph , the recent level (which one can characterize as "proto-Masoretic") will be made up of the comparative data illuminating the development of the textual forms that arose from the standardization of the consonantal text (around A.D. 100) prior to the fixing of the classical Tiberian tradition in the *mishafim* that include consonantal text, vowels, and *teamim*. Essentially, these data will come from the manuscripts from the caves of the second revolt (for example, the Murabba'at scroll of the Twelve Prophets), the hexaplaric versions (α' , θ' , σ' , and ϵ'), ν (depending both on the hexaplaric versions and on Jewish interpretational traditions gathered by Jerome), ξ (to the extent that it escapes the influence of θ), and τ (which gives evidence of a Jewish exegetical tradition more often than of a Vorlage distinct from \aleph).

2.b.ii. *The early level*

The early level of the GTA will group data that illustrate a comparison of the standardized text with other forms contemporaneous with standardization or prior to it (forms that we have characterized as "pre-Masoretic" or "extra-Masoretic"). Here, the Qumran manuscripts stand in the foreground as witnesses in the Hebrew language (although they are too often fragmentary and belong to diverse literary and textual traditions). For the Torah, the Samaritan text occupies the place of a canonical edition that fragments from Qumran have shown to have very early roots. The "Septuagint," for its part, is difficult to use, because, almost since the time of its translation, it has been the object of recensional activity based on a Hebrew different from that of its Vorlage. Also, in several of its branches (at least the Origenian and the Antiochene), it was subject to the influence of the proto-Masoretic Text through the intermediary of the versions gathered in Origen's

Hexapla. Furthermore, in certain of its transmissional lines, it underwent redactional developments and in others, changes toward Attic Greek. These difficulties underscore the necessity of an independent RTC of the Greek textual tradition, but they still do not change the fact that Ⓞ (accessed through its multiple and frequently divergent witnesses), because of its widespread and powerful presence, will always constitute the principal representative of the proto-Masoretic and pre-Masoretic textual types.

3. *Presentation of the Relevant Evidence?*

At its best, a critical apparatus will give all of the evidence relevant to the textual item in question in as complete, balanced, clear, and restrained a fashion as possible. This implies that it fills a number of conditions.

3.a. *The relevant witnesses*

There are two categories of evidence that may well not be relevant, although this does not mean that they should be systematically excluded from critical apparatuses.

3.a.i. *The offspring of collateral texts*

Let us look at several examples of this type of non-relevant evidence with regard to the different types of apparatus.

- For the RTC apparatus directed at the classical Tiberian Ⓜ, it is usually unnecessary to refer to the “Kennicott manuscripts.” For the most part, they constitute the illegitimate progeny of transmission lines that should be considered collateral in relation to the early witnesses to the classical Tiberian text. To gain access to these collateral textual forms, it is usually sufficient to refer to the evidence in a few of the important early manuscripts, such as Reuchlin or the former Ebner 2 of Nürnberg,⁵ or the former Erfurt 3.⁶ When we stated that evidence of doubtful relevance should not be excluded systematically from the apparatus, we were thinking of “offspring of collateral texts” that are of exceptional interest, such as Paris BN hébr 1–3, which belonged to the Jesuits of Cologne until the end of the eighteenth century, or Arundel Or 16 of the British Library, whose Masorahs are particularly rich. Finally, let us recall that the Yemenite tradition constitutes a separate case, since its testimony, while of superior quality, is generally accessible only in very recent witnesses. These are no longer children, but grandchildren, of the collateral texts.

- In the GTA apparatus for the recent level, one should take into account those Greek, Syriac, and Coptic witnesses that attest a text that has undergone recension either directly or indirectly based on the pre-Masoretic or proto-Masoretic Hebrew text. In contrast, one must be very conservative in the use of biblical

5. Now called Add 21161, in the British Library.

6. Now called Berlin Or fol 1213.

citations drawn from the talmudic and midrashic literature. Indeed, it is usually difficult to determine the degree of literality of the allusions in question, and the editions of the Talmuds and the Midrashim many times have assimilated their contents to the received text, so that it is necessary to go back to a textual tradition of these writings that often has little coherence. These citations and allusions can thus be considered the offspring of proto-Masoretic texts of a popular type—that is, collaterals of the textual line that ended in \mathfrak{M} .

• In the GTA apparatus that deals with the Hebrew text at the early level, it is unnecessary to cite the witnesses that permit one to establish the primitive state of \mathfrak{G} . The place of these witnesses would be in the RTC apparatus of an edition of \mathfrak{G} , and not in an apparatus concerning the Hebrew text. Thus, one avoids citing side by side, as the apparatuses of BHK^{1,2,3} and BHS do too often, all or part of the sigla $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{A}$. Indeed, the siglum \mathfrak{L} (= *Vetus Latina*) should only intervene as a witness in the establishment of the text of \mathfrak{G} , and thus does not constitute a witness apart from \mathfrak{G} , since it depends on it exclusively, according to what we know up to this point. As for \mathfrak{A} (= *Ethiopic*), its somewhat incoherent textual tradition is attested by quite recent witnesses. Like \mathfrak{A} (= *Arabic*), it is essentially dependent on certain late stages of the textual traditions of \mathfrak{G} or \mathfrak{S} . \mathfrak{K} (= *Coptic*) is a daughter of \mathfrak{G} and as such, has no place in an apparatus bearing on the Hebrew text when it attests the same reading as \mathfrak{G} . On the other hand, it sometimes happens that one or several of the different states of \mathfrak{K} (*Sahidic*, *Akhmimic*, *Bohairic*, *Fayyumite*) break away from \mathfrak{G} because they underwent recension based either directly or indirectly⁷ on the Hebrew. \mathfrak{S} (= \mathfrak{S} = *Peshitta*), as we have shown, often depends on \mathfrak{G} . In a case where one is tempted to add the siglum \mathfrak{S} to the siglum \mathfrak{G} , the former can be dispensed with, since there is every likelihood that it is one of the many cases of dependence, and two sigla would be redundant. The daughter versions of \mathfrak{G} constitute for the pre-Masoretic Hebrew text the progeny of a collateral text (\mathfrak{G}). As such, they have no voice in the matter of the GTA at the early level. But these same versions do recover a voice in the GTA at the recent level, to the extent that they retain the traces of a recension on a Hebrew text more recent than the *Vorlage* of \mathfrak{G} . This is the case for certain branches of \mathfrak{G} that are recensions based on the Hebrew either directly (for example, the *καίγῃ* recension or the direct traditions of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*), or indirectly (the *Origen* or *Antiochene* recensions, which depend on the so-called “*hexaplaric*” versions, by way of the evidence of the *Hexapla*).

3.a.ii. *Traditional exegetical alternatives*

Earlier,⁸ we demonstrated that the versions maintain close ties with traditional lines of interpretation, with the result that many “variants” are much more likely

7. Through a Greek witness that underwent recension itself, like the *Washington papyrus* in the case of the *Twelve Prophets*.

8. Pp. 548–552.

to be interpretations. Should these “pseudo-variants” be excluded from the apparatus? When they involve readings from some of the important witnesses like Θ , the hexaplaric versions, or \mathfrak{D} , it seems preferable to include them in the apparatus, clearly marked as exegeses, even if this entails explaining the connections that link them to Jewish traditions of interpretation. Indeed, if they are not included, readers who are accustomed to seeing them cited as textual variants may think that those readings were not taken into consideration. What we have just said for readings that arise from an interpretational tradition also holds true for readings where certain options continually reappear, being “in the air” because the immediate context or well-known parallels suggest them to the copyist’s hand or the translator’s mind. They, too, should figure in the apparatus, but should be described appropriately.

3.b. A complete and balanced presentation

The apparatuses of BHK^{1,2,3} and BHS almost always have the goal of supporting a proposed emendation. Consequently, they usually let the witnesses that support \aleph go unmentioned, and only present those that support the proposed emendation, that is, only a portion of those that are regarded as departing from \aleph . A complete and balanced presentation of the witnesses would require that those that support the chosen text and those that depart from it be listed in an equally detailed way, distributing the latter in as many sub-categories as there are distinct textual alternatives represented. The remarks just made concerning the relevance of evidence should give an idea of how we understand the adjective “complete.” It is not a matter of citing the greatest number of witnesses possible. Indeed, when the witnesses most likely depend on each other, listing all their sigla creates an imbalance in the apparatus.

3.c. A clear and restrained presentation

There will always be conflict between the two requirements of clarity and restraint. Indeed, for an apparatus to be clear, it must include explanations and justifications. For it to be restrained, it must provide this information in the form of abbreviated factors of alternatives whose interpretation will often be ambiguous. Consequently, it is difficult to avoid the necessity of accompanying the edition with a commentary explaining the significance of these abbreviated factors. Here, we insist on the same necessity that we encountered increasingly in the course of our research: at the level of the commentary, the textual difficulties should be treated in a sufficiently large context (one or several verses, taking account of the relevant literary parallels), while at the level of the apparatus, it is necessary to proceed word by word if one hopes to be able to compare the different witnesses in a sufficiently precise way.

4. Ambiguity in the Critical Apparatus

Several times in the course of our research, we found ourselves faced with a paradoxical situation. The following are four examples of this.

4.a. *The disappearing horses and mules*

The census of the exiles who returned to Jerusalem is given in two parallel states in Ezra 2:1–70 and Neh 7:6–72. After the mention of the singers (Ezra 2:65 counts 200 of them while Neh 7:67 counts 245), the list of Ezra adds: 736 horses, 245 mules, 435 camels, and 6,720 asses; Nehemiah's list, however, mentions neither the horses nor the mules, although it does give the same number of camels and asses. It is practically certain that there was an omission of the seven words *מאתים סוסיהם שבע מאות שלשים וששה פרדיהם*, because of a homeoarchton turning on *מאתים*. Thus, skipping from *מאתים* (= the number of singers) to *מאתים וחמשה* (= the number of mules), \aleph of Nehemiah attributed the number of mules to the number of singers, omitting the mention of the mules and the horses that came before them. The witnesses that agree in omitting the horses and mules in Nehemiah are the classical Tiberian \aleph , all the manuscripts of ν , and ξ . Flavius Josephus also mentions 245 singers, but neither horses nor mules.⁹ Indeed, the Θ translation that is Ezra A (in 5:41–42) is entirely in agreement with the original \aleph of Nehemiah in that it counts 245 singers, which it immediately follows with 435 camels, although most of its witnesses inserted the horses and mules (after the camels!). As for the Θ of Nehemiah, it mentions 245 singers, as in \aleph , and then its textual tradition splits up, with the majority of the witnesses omitting horses and mules, while some (including Vaticanus) also omit the camels (by a secondary homeoteleuton), and still others reintroduce the horses and mules (in various places). And finally, a good number of manuscripts of \aleph , as well as standard editions of \aleph (before that of Baer) and all those of ν (before San Girolamo) also mentioned the horses and mules in Nehemiah. But the fact that all the amplified forms of Nehemiah agree on the number 245 for the singers proves irrefutably that all these forms (as well as Ezra A for 5:41–42) derive from a textual form that had been subject to homeoarchton, then was reamplified through borrowing from Ezra 2:65–66.¹⁰ Here is a case where, for Neh 7:67–68, an apparatus of reconstructive textual criticism based on witnesses, in its search for the earliest attested textual state, should prefer a textual form that was deformed by a very early accident over forms that have been re-enriched by more recent insertions. This case also shows that RTC based on witnesses must absolutely be complemented by a GTA that will situate the genesis of the corrupt form through an analysis of the facts that allow reconstruction of the accident that produced it.

9. Josephus. Vol. 8 (*Jewish Antiquities*. Book XI, §72)

10. See *CTAT* Vol. 1, 564–65.

4.b. Did the bagpipes fall silent?

Daniel 3:5, 7, 10, 15 all list the horn, flute, zither, harp, lute, bagpipe, and all sorts of instruments, with the single difference that the bagpipe (סומפֿנֿיה) is missing in the second list, according to \aleph . Indeed, one can easily show that the presence of the word in about 15 manuscripts of \aleph constitutes a secondary addition in this second list, since the Masorah of \aleph regards the absence of the word in v. 7 as a fact so clearly established that it pays no attention except to point out the differences in the spelling and pointing of the instrument names in their various manifestations, including the three (never four) occurrences of the “sumponia.” However, in a fourfold parallel where the symmetry is so strongly supported, one can hardly accept as intentional the absence of one of the instruments in the second list.¹¹ But here Θ offers no help, since it only attests the complete list in its first occurrence (in v. 5), and shortens it in the three subsequent occurrences to “the trumpet and all musical sounds.” As for θ' , none of its early witnesses mentions συμφωνίας in all four lists, and none of them omits it in all four lists. If we limit our inquiry to those witnesses that attest the list of instruments four times, it can be seen that only the latest witnesses (certain manuscripts of \aleph , the late manuscripts of θ' , ν , and ξ) generalize the presence of the “sumponia” to all four occurrences of the list. In his commentary, Jerome gives evidence of the slight interest he attached to this list by the manner in which he abridges it in v. 7 and omits it in vv. 10 and 15. The earlier traditions (earlier witnesses of θ' , hexaplaric additions, and early Tiberian witnesses of \aleph) attest the omission of this word in one or several occurrences of the list, without providing in their testimony any certain indication about the original location of the omission. We must therefore regard the original state as lost, where all the names must have figured in all the lists, since it is only by virtue of secondary additions that certain late witnesses offer a complete state of all the occurrences in the list. RTC of \aleph must respect the absence of the “sumponia” in v. 7, while a GTA commentary will easily show the secondary character of the absence.

4.c. One or several women?

While Ezekiel frequently uses the normal plural נָשִׁים for the word אִשָּׁה, 23:44 is the one place in the book (and in fact in the entire \aleph) where he gives the form תָּשָׁא as the plural. The presence of this form is confirmed in the best witnesses of \aleph by a Mp לְ וְהָאֵלֶּיךָ, recognizing in the form the same value as that of אִשׁוֹת, which appears several times in the pluses of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In Ezek 23:44, the plural vocalization תָּשָׁא has the support of α' , ν , and ξ , while the witnesses of ζ are divided between the plural and the singular. Indeed, a vocalization תָּשָׁא appears in several manuscripts of \aleph , one of them (Urbinates I) going so far as to give the singular vocalization alongside the Mp that contradicts it. Here, the

11. See *CTAT* Vol. 3, 441:47–50.

evidence in Θ is important. Probably reading the vocalization תִּשָּׂא , but thrown off by it, it translates with $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$, making use of the common expression תִּשָּׂאֲלֵךְ as an interpretational key. Given that the form תִּשָּׂא , although solidly confirmed by the Masorah and by α' , is a unique vocalization in Biblical Hebrew and that it is the source of the translation of Θ on the one hand, and the vocalization as singular in facilitating manuscripts of \aleph on the other, via different lines of transmission, we concluded that the reading תִּשָּׂא is the earliest state our witnesses allow us to recover. The authentic vocalization תִּשָּׂא is recovered by several manuscripts only through assimilation to the usual vocalization of these consonants. Here again, an apparatus of RTC should give preference to the incorrect vocalization as the earliest form that the witnesses allow us to recover. However, a commentary of GTA should explain the reasons for this incorrect vocalization as a plural.¹²

4.d. A king changes his identity

In 2 Chr 22:6 all the editions and the large majority of medieval manuscripts of \aleph agree with Aleppo and Firkovitch, as well as with Berlin Or qu 680 (the only Babylonian manuscript known here), in having “Azaryahu,” son of Jehoram king of Judah, go down to Jezreel to visit Joram, son of Ahab, who had been wounded. The historical and literary context (22:7), as well as the parallel in 2 Kgs 8:29, show that the Chronicler or one of his first copyists was in error, and that “Ahazyahu” is the authentic reading. Furthermore, all the witnesses of Θ have Οχοζείας here. However, we have shown that on this point Θ should not be trusted;¹³ with the same transcription Οχοζείας already in 21:17, it assimilated the form אֲחַזְיָהוּ , present in the narrative that is the Chronicler’s alone, to the prevailing form אֲחַזְיָא . The most likely explanation is that under the pressure of the context and the parallel, it had all the more reason to write the name that was “in the air.” Here Σ does not merit being cited separately, since it depends on Θ . The case of \mathcal{D} is of interest. It is not until the San Girolamo edition that one reads “Azarias,” which is its authentic reading, whereas the previous editions, with the majority of manuscripts, have “Ochazias,” bowing to the same pressures of context and the parallel. Thanks to the traditional lists of *hillufim*, the textual tradition of \aleph , as one might expect, more successfully resisted the infiltration of this facilitating and assimilating reading. Given the state of the witnesses, it seems quite unlikely that any of them would have preserved the original reading “Ahazyahu.” It is much more likely that the different pressures exerted by this reading allowed it to penetrate the least resistant segments of the textual tradition. Here then is a case where it appears that an honestly conducted textual criticism must come to the conclusion that the authentic Hebrew reading, although attested by numerous

12. As we have done in *CTAT* Vol. 3, 200:52–201:11.

13. In *CTAT* Vol. 1, 501.

witnesses, escapes the grasp of textual criticism, because it is not attested by them as an original reading, but as an assimilation to the context or to a parallel. Here again, it is essential to distinguish between the two distinct standards of RTC and GTA.

These four cases are paradoxical because numerous witnesses sensed or reconstructed through various processes a text that had been accidentally mutilated (4a and probably 4b), a form that had been improperly put in the plural (4c), and two royal names that had been confused (4d). But these cases allow us to distinguish clearly (1) the task of reconstructive textual criticism, which must be content to establish the earliest form accessible through the witnesses, and (2) the task of genetic textual analysis, which goes back beyond the textual corruption in question. In cases where the earliest attested text is clearly corrupt, the best solution for the translator would probably be to translate the original text as it is reconstructed, indicating in a note how it was obtained. We will expand on these questions in the introduction to the fourth volume of *CTAT*. Here we have simply attempted to demonstrate that the mention of textual witnesses in a critical apparatus must always be accompanied by adequate qualification.

II. Desiderata for Critical Editions

We would not want to end an introduction in which we have examined the problems posed by the different textual witnesses of the Old Testament without formulating a few desiderata concerning what could facilitate access to the most important versions of the Old Testament. A first desideratum that applies to the majority of critical editions is the following: when the variants involving a word or group of words require citing a number of important witnesses to support them, it would be very useful to have a clear and complete list of the relevant witnesses (that is, ones that are very likely independent of one another) that support the text that has been chosen. Indeed, given the difficulty in interpreting the argument from silence, on the one hand, and the difficulty in making an accurate and exhaustive list of witnesses not mentioned in a list of variants that is often highly ramified, on the other, one is often uncertain about which witnesses support the text put forward by the editor.

A second desideratum for many editions bears on the divisions of the text. Each version has its own traditions in this domain, and editors generally allow themselves to be overly influenced by the verse division of \mathfrak{N} and the chapter divisions in \mathfrak{D} , according to the standardized text that was edited in the thirteenth century at the University of Paris. We will indicate more precisely the manner in which this question is posed for each of the versions, to which we now devote a few words in conclusion.

1. Septuagint

The Göttingen edition of Θ is a remarkable success, especially in its more recent volumes. But we have pointed out through a fair number of examples that it could be improved considerably in the domain of text divisions.¹⁴ In this regard, we have seen what benefits can be drawn from the readings of Θ in the Greek fathers, who commented on it and frequently divided it and understood it differently from the way we do. The annotated translation of the “Septuagint” by the team of *La Bible d’Alexandrie* will contribute valuable data in this domain.

We have pointed out how certain editions produced by Ziegler several decades ago deserve to be reissued, with the addition of an account of witnesses that were unknown to Ziegler (the scroll of Nahal Hever),¹⁵ or only partially known to him (Papyrus 967),¹⁶ or to which he attached too little significance (the text of the Complutensis).¹⁷

Finally, the textual tradition of the “Septuagint” is so complex that one can only greet with enthusiasm the undertaking of N. Fernández Marcos and J.-R. Busto Saiz to edit *El Texto Antioqueño de la Biblia Griega*¹⁸ on more sound foundations than those used by Lagarde for his edition.

2. The Hexaplaric Versions

Field’s edition is excellent,¹⁹ but the fact that he worked almost entirely second-hand and that many new sources of hexaplaric fragments have become accessible since then, necessitates that his work be redone, using new bases. We will not repeat here references made in this introduction to particular problems linked to the use of each source of hexaplaric fragments with which we dealt: Barberini,²⁰ Jerome,²¹ the SyroHexapla,²² and the marginal scholia in manuscripts of Θ .²³

When these sources are used indiscriminately, the result is aberrations such as the Aquila index in Reider and Turner, from which some scholars believe they can derive authentic readings of α' with assurance. In the present state of the edition of the hexaplaric versions, any attribution of a fragment to one of the versions must have a well-reasoned critical judgment behind it.

14. See above, pp. 412–423.

15. See above, pp. 443–449.

16. See above, p. 424 and following.

17. See above, pp. 425–443.

18. Fernández Marcos, *Texto*.

19. *Hexaplorum* (Field).

20. See above, pp. 477–481.

21. See above, pp. 481–489.

22. See above, pp. 489–493.

23. See above, pp. 493–496.

3. *Vulgate*

The San Girolamo edition represented a giant step forward in our knowledge of \mathfrak{V} . But, for \mathfrak{V} , as for the hexaplaric versions, the absence of a truly critical edition of Jerome's commentaries is sorely felt. His lemmas and explanations, which could contribute a great deal to a critical assessment of his activity as a translator, were often altered based on the standard forms of \mathfrak{V} .

Moreover, it would be useful, here as for \mathfrak{G} , to devote more careful study to the syntax of \mathfrak{V} , which in almost all our editions has been adapted artificially to the verse divisions resulting from the pointing tradition of the Hebrew text. It is essential to examine more closely the often uncertain traces of Jerome's division of his text into "cola et commata," as well as the often very elegant textual divisions of certain Latin manuscripts and certain editions prior to the division of \mathfrak{V} into verses.

We might also recall here, in the area of the history of critical editions of \mathfrak{V} , the serious deficiencies that were pointed out in two decisions taken in Dom Quentin: (1) the one that led it to overvalue Laridius (and cite him regularly), while it undervalued (and did not cite) Gadolo; and (2) the decision to cite readings that Robert Stephanus placed in the text of his 1540 Bible out of fear of Sorbonne theologians, and not those that he had placed in the margin, in the first critical apparatus ever compiled for \mathfrak{V} .

4. *Syriac*

The Leiden edition confirms what had elsewhere already been intuited: that the text of \mathfrak{S} was much more unified than that of the other versions. But further steps are still possible to acquire a better knowledge of it.

It is unfortunate that the Peshitta Institute did not undertake to give more complete information on the *seyames* and other diacritical marks that accompany the text in the Estrangelo manuscripts. Even if one must maintain a very critical stance in this domain, an awareness of the facts is totally lacking, but could surely provide some enlightenment.

It is also unfortunate that the Leiden edition mentions neither prior editions nor the indirect textual tradition. The Mossul edition could furnish information that would not be without interest, and the same is probably true for the Urmia edition. Probes into Ephraem's commentaries also demonstrated that the early indirect tradition could complement the data from the manuscripts in a very useful way.

5. *Targum*

It is undoubtedly in the domain of \mathfrak{C} that the most regrettable deficiencies can be felt. Throughout our study, we demonstrated that the Sperber edition offers only a very narrow, and sometimes inaccurate, view of the textual tradition of \mathfrak{C} .

It is based on a Yemenite manuscript in the British Library and goes through only two or three others comprehensively in its apparatus. While we do not deny the importance of these manuscripts, they represent only one of the numerous courses along which the textual tradition of C wound its way through the centuries. A good number of early manuscripts with Tiberian vocalization need to be added to the edition, whereas Sperber drew only a few consonantal variants from some of them, not touching witnesses of primary importance, such as Vatican ebr 448 for Onqelos or Urbinates 1 and Berlin Or fol 1–4 for the entire Bible, and not truly utilizing the numerous fragments of the Cairo Geniza.

A further puzzle lies in the fact that Sperber entitled Volume IV A *The Hagiographa*, when it contains only the C of Chronicles²⁴ and the Megillot (and without apparatus!).²⁵ R. Le Déaut and J. Robert have since recedited the C of Chronicles from Urbinates 1. But no edition has yet made use of Berlin Or fol 1–4, which also contains this targum.²⁶ As for the very rich targums of Job and Psalms and the targum of Proverbs exhibiting such bizarre ties with S , Sperber appears to have been unaware of them.

Clearly, scholars who give themselves to the very laudable task of providing good critical editions of the different canonical forms of the Old Testament still have a great deal on their plate.

24. Where he reproduces Lagarde's edition, claiming that it is a "single manuscript," while Lagarde claims to have consulted three manuscripts for his edition.

25. Drawn from the Ben Hayim edition for Ruth, and from a single manuscript in the British Library for the other four scrolls.

26. Lagarde, aware of the Erfurt manuscript (= Berlin Or fol 1210 and 1211), mistakenly believed that "the other Berlin manuscript" containing this targum was Kennicott 607 (= Berlin Or fol 5–7), which does not, in fact, contain it, while Berlin Or fol 1–4 (= Kennicott 150) does.

Supplement

Norms concerning the Height of Columns in the *Sepher Torah*

We have seen²⁷ that the tradition of the *sopherim* assigned one column to the Song of the Sea and two columns to the Song of Moses in the *Sepher Torah*. Counting the two blank lines that, according to the tradition, should enclose them, the total number of lines of the two Songs and the lines that should precede and follow them adds up to $5 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 5 = 42$ for the first, and $6 + 1 + 70 + 1 + 6 = 84$ for the second. This calculation assumes that the *Sepher Torah* was written in 42-line columns. But it appears that this was not the case.

1. The Views of Maimonides and His Successors

Let us take the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides as a point of departure. There we read: “There are other things that are not stated in the Gemara, but concerning which the *sopherim* have traditional practices that they transmit from one to the next. For example, they count as the number of lines for each page not less than 48 and not more than 60.”²⁸ A little farther, Maimonides relates that the *Sepher Torah* that he wrote had 51 lines per page.²⁹ It appears that all the textual witnesses of the *Mishneh Torah* agree on these numbers. The commentary הגהות מיימוניות explains:

In fact, in the *Massekhet Sopherim*, it is a matter either of 48 lines, conforming to the number of stages (מסעות) of the sojourn in the wilderness, as it is said [Num 33:2]: וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה אֶת־מוֹצְאֵיהֶם לְמַסְעֵיהֶם, or of 60 lines, which corresponds to the number of ten-thousands of Israelites, as it is said [Exod 34:27]: כָּתַבְתָּ לָּךְ אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, or of 72 lines, conforming to the number of elders, according to what Scripture says [Num 11:16]: אֶסְפְּה־לִּי שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ, up to [Num 11:26]: הַמָּה בְּכַתְּבִים, or 98 lines, which corresponds to the curses that

27. Above, p. 319.

28. הלכות ספר תורה, ספר אהבה, VII, 10.

29. Ibid., IX, 10. Influenced by Maimonides, the Yemenites kept 51 as the standard number of lines in their *Sepher Torah*.

are in Deuteronomy, as it is said [Deut 28:58]: אִם-לֹא תִשְׁמֹר לְעֲשׂוֹת [ibid.]: הַכְּתוּבִים בְּסֵפֶר הַזֶּה.³⁰

Moshe of Coucy, in his *Semag*, states: “The number of lines contained in one column, according to the *Massekhet Sopherim*, is either 60 or 48.”³¹ Mordecai ben Hillel Ashkenazi repeats these same facts.³²

2. Traces of a Dissenting Tradition

This series of witnesses appears to depend on a textual state of the *Massekhet Sopherim* in which 48 was reported as the minimum number of lines on a page of the *Sepher Torah*. However, another line of informants seems to possess a different tradition. Indeed, Moshe Isserles,³³ in his commentary on the halakic compendium *Shulhan Arukh*,³⁴ states that the *sopherim* had the practice of writing the pages with “not less than 48 lines (and some say 42) and not more than 60.” The insertion “some say 42” would later be clarified by Jacob ben Asher, Baal ha-Turim:³⁵ “The *sopherim* also have the practice, concerning the number of lines, that there should not be less than 48 and not more than 60. And it is written thus in the *Massekhet Sopherim*. But R. Judah Barceloni³⁶ wrote 42 and gives as a *siman* [Ps 68:18]: אֲדַנִּי כֶּם סִינֵי בְּקִדָּשׁ.”

Jacob draws all of this information from the commentary of his father Asher ben Yehiel on the *Halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi, where Asher writes: “Number of lines: the *sopherim* had the practice, according to the *Massekhet Sopherim*, of making 48 or 42.³⁷ Thus Rambam [= Maimonides] wrote that, according to the practice of the *sopherim*, there should be no less than 48 and not more than 60. But, speaking for the Geonim, R. Judah Barceloni wrote 42 and gives as a *siman* [Ps 68:18]: אֲדַנִּי כֶּם סִינֵי בְּקִדָּשׁ.”³⁸

It can be seen that Jacob condensed the information furnished by his father. Indeed, he borrowed the phrase “not less than 48 and not more than 60” from Asher’s quotation of Maimonides, and attributed it to the *Massekhet Sopherim*.

30. Maimonides, *Mishneh*, Jerusalem 1963 edition. This commentary on the *Mishneh Torah* was compiled by Meir Kohen, from around 1300.

31. הלכות ספר תורה, 25th commandment. The *Semag* (= *Sepher Mitsvot Gadol*) was completed in 1250. The *editio princeps* does not offer any variants for these numbers. See Moshe of Coucy, *Mitsvot*.

32. In Alfasi, *Hilkhot*, הלכות קטנות, 21b. Mordecai died in 1298.

33. Died in 1573.

34. *Shulhan Arukh*, הלכות ספר תורה, טור יורה דעה, §275.

35. Son of Asher ben Yehiel, he died around 1340. The same references as for the *Shulhan Arukh* (in Jacob ben Asher, *Arbaah Turim*).

36. Died 1067.

37. Literally, “forty and eight or two.” This is the reading of the *editio princeps* edited in 1509 at Constantinople: ארבעים ושמונה או שנים, whereas later editions write ששים instead of שנים, which gives “forty and eight or sixty.”

38. In Alfasi, *Hilkhot*, הלכות קטנות, end of the הלכות ספר תורה. Asher ben Yehiel died in 1327.

Asher mentioned hesitation between the reading 48 and the reading 42 for the text of the *Massekhet Sopherim*, and his intention was to rule on the disagreement between the reading 42 and the minimum 48 retained by Rambam by noting that Judah Barcloni based the number 42 on the Geonim. As for Jacob ben Asher, because of the improper attribution of Rambam's reading to the *Massekhet Sopherim*, he no longer mentions a number lower than 48 for that work. The celebrity of the work of Jacob ben Asher could have been the cause of the alteration of 42 to 60 that occurred in most of the witnesses of the textual tradition of his father's work, as well as the cause of the mistaken tradition that then circulated among Ashkenazi writers concerning the number of lines of the Song of Moses in the *Massekhet*.

3. The *Massekhet Sopherim*

In any case, all the textual witnesses of the *Massekhet Sopherim* known today agree in saying:

But, concerning the lines, the *sopherim* were of the opinion that, because of the stages [of the sojourn] (מסעות), there would be 42, and because of the ten-thousands of Israelites, 60, and because of the old men, 72, and because of the punishments in Deuteronomy, 98. All this according to Scripture: [42] because of the stages (מסעות), for it is said [Num 33:2]: וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה אֶת־מוֹצְאֵיהֶם לְמַסְעֵיהֶם; 60, because of the ten-thousands of Israelites, for it is said [Exod 34:27]: כָּתַב־לְךָ אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה כִּי־עַל־פִּי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה כָּתַבְתִּי אֶתְךָ בְּרִית וְאֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵם־לֹא תִשְׁמַר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־דְּבָרַי; as Israel counts 60 ten-thousands, so the lines of the Torah are 60 in number; because of the old men, 72 are counted, for it is said [Num 11:16]: אֶסְפְּה־לִּי שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ; and [Num 11:26]: בְּמַחֲנֶה | וַיִּשְׁאַרוּ שְׁנַי־אָנָשִׁים | בְּמַחֲנֶה, and because of the punishments, 98, for it is said [Deut 28:58]: אִם־לֹא תִשְׁמַר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־דְּבָרַי הַזֶּה הַזֹּאת הַכְּתוּבִים.³⁹

According to its textual witnesses, the *Massekhet Sopherim* thus counts 42 stops of Israel in the wilderness, whereas it counted 48 according to Meir Kohen's and Moshe de Coucy's citations from it.

It is absolutely certain that the number 48 or 42 is tied in the *Massekhet Sopherim* to the stops Israel made between Egypt and the Holy Land. Now, on the number of these מסעות, it is clear that, from Num 33:3 to 33:48, וַיִּסְעוּ occurs 42 times. This corresponds to Rashi's calculation at the beginning of the *parasha* מִסְעֵי, where he states אֵין כַּאן אֵלֵא אַרְבַּעִים וּשְׁתַּיִם מַסְעוֹת. Joel Müller⁴⁰ suggested that those who relate the number 48 to the מסעות omit Ramses, which is simply the place of departure, but include the seven stops mentioned in Num 21:12–20. To this it should be objected that (1) these seven toponyms are not linked, as are

39. In translating this text, we relied on Müller's edition, II,6, and Higger's critical edition, II,11.

40. *Massekhet Sopherim* (Müller), 37.

the 42 others, to the characteristic use of the verb **למד**, and (2) no ancient interpreter presents this system.

Rather than appealing to far-fetched reasoning to link 48 to the number of **מסעות**, it makes sense to conclude, with Yom Tov Heller, that reference to the 48 Levitical cities would be more natural.⁴¹ Indeed, for these cities the number 48 is mentioned very explicitly in Num 35:7 and in Josh 21:41. Heller adds that the connection between these cities and the lines of the *Sepher Torah* could have easily been made through Deut 33:10: "They will teach your commandments to Jacob and your Torah to Israel."

But it is unnecessary to search for a scriptural basis for the number 48, which very simply results from an adaptation of the system with a scriptural base offered by the *Massekhet Sopherim* to the minimum number of lines required by Maimonides.

As for the number of the 60 ten-thousands of Israel on which the number of 60 lines is supposedly based, it does not have a strictly biblical origin, but can be traced to a midrashic tradition.⁴² The number 72, as in the case of the 72 Greek translators,⁴³ is based on the number of the 70 elders plus the two who remained in camp, as the explicit reference in Num 11:16, 26 indicates. Finally, the number of the 98 punishments corresponds to one of the possible reckonings of the total punishments listed in Deut 28:16–57, but this number, whose supporters are unknown, does not seem to be rooted in any particular tradition.

4. *The Views of the Babylonian Geonim*

We can see that, among the numbers of lines that have been proposed up to this point, 42 is the only one that introduces two explicit scriptural justifications, since, in addition to the justification by the number of **מסעות** of Israel, there is, according to Asher ben Yehiel and his son Jacob, a justification based on the **כב** (= 42) in Ps 68:18, as proposed by Judah Barceloni. There is a third scriptural justification for this same number, which is offered by Hai Gaon, according to a *responsa* that is formulated as follows: "As to what you have asked: How many lines does each page contain: 42, the number 40 corresponding to the 40 days during which the Torah was given and the number two corresponding to the two tablets."⁴⁴

Now, the number 42 was also highlighted by an anonymous author who probably lived in the first half of the eleventh century.⁴⁵ What follows is the testimony in question:

41. In his commentary **מפרש** on Asher ben Yehiel in *Talmud Babli* (Vilna). Heller died in 1654.

42. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, vol. 5, 357 n. 305.

43. On this point, see Dorival, "Bible," 58–60.

44. *Responsa* cited by Müller (*Massekhet Sopherim*, 37.)

45. In manuscript 222 in the E. N. Adler collection, 14. Adler believed this writing could be attributed to Judah Barceloni, with whom it is most likely contemporaneous (Adler, "Eleventh

Concerning the number of lines that are on each page, I found written in the name of Mar Rab Jehudai Gaon—may his memory be blessed—that he stated: “60 lines according to the 60 myriads of Israel.” But I, in all modesty, I do not believe that it is this way, but that, as it is said in the *Boraita de-Sepharim*, “it is ruled with 42 lines.” And I myself found an argument for it in certain copies of the midrash of R. Tanhuma, for the *parasha* *מסעי* *וְאֵלֶּה מִסְעֵי*, where it is stated: “in the tablets that Moses brought down from Sinai, there were 42 lines corresponding to the 42 *מִסְעוֹת*.” And Mar Rab Qimoi Gaon—may his memory be blessed—stated: “the number of lines must conform on each page to the practice of the ancients who specified in their remarks: 42.” But some add to this, and I have already written the opinion of one who adds to it. Now, Mar Asaf also decided in this way: 42 lines. Likewise, Mar Rab Hilai Gaon said 42 lines. And thus it was proclaimed by our teacher Hananeel, the great teacher, the last and most subtle—may his memory be blessed. And we have a Masorah according to which there should be 42 lines.

To underscore the importance of this very detailed information, we should point out that Jehudai was a Gaon of Sura in the eighth century, and his great fame lies principally in the fact that he appears to have been the first Babylonian Gaon to violate the prohibition against writing down the *halakah*. The *Halakhot Pesuqot* attributed to this blind teacher are the first kernel of what would become the *Halakhot Gedolot*, in a form developed by Simon Qayyara.

It was in order to argue against a written position attributed to Jehudai Gaon (according to whom the pages of the *Sepher Torah* must have 60 lines) that our anonymous author assembled numerous testimonies in favor of the number 42 (which would permit the use of smaller, and thus less costly, skins). The most authoritative of the testimonies, in his eyes, was that of the *Boraita de-Sepharim*, a book that we no longer possess in the state that he cites it, but in which he perceived the expression of an ancient, authoritative and anonymous tradition. Then comes the excerpt from one of the many forms of the midrash *Tanhuma* on the 42 lines traced on the tablets received by Moses from the very hands of God. This haggadic tradition is present in the *Midrash ha-Gadol*, in the place indicated by our author. Then comes a *responsa* given by Rab Qimoi Gaon, presenting the 42 lines as a decision that he attributes to the “ancients.” There were two Qimoi Gaons. According to L. Ginzberg, this one is not Qimoi bar Ahai Gaon, who was the Gaon of Pumbedita from 898 to 906, but Qimoi bar Ashi, who was Gaon of Sura from 829 to 832.⁴⁶

Here our anonymous author recalls that some, like Jehudai, ruled more than 42 lines. Consequently, he adds three names of advocates of the number 42. First,

Century,” 679–80). The author appears to cite Hananeel ben Hushiel and Nissim ben Jacob as being very near to him. However, the fact that the work does not mention the scriptural justification attributed to Barceloni is one reason to doubt that he was its author. This explicit evidence is thus not to be identified as his, but adds to it.

46. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, vol. 1, 104 n. 1.

Mar Asaf, whom Ginzberg suggests was Rosh ha-Seder under Rabbenu Hai Gaon of Pumbedita from 998 to 1038; Ginzberg goes on to say that our anonymous author probably received this bit of information orally from Mar Asaf.⁴⁷ As for Rab Hilai Gaon, at Sura there were three teachers of this name who carried out the duties of the Gaon: one, Hilai bar Mari, from 792 to 801, another, Hilai bar Hananiah, from 825 to 829, and the third, Hilai bar Natronai Gaon, from 896 to 904. Before mentioning a Masorah, probably of the type found in manuscript d3, which was discussed earlier, our author cites as the last witness for 42 lines the first commentator of the Babylonian Talmud, R. Hananeel ben Hushiel of Kairwan.

5. *Babylonians, Palestinians, and Maimonides*

Our author is clearly situated in a Babylonian context, since he constantly juxtaposes “the *gemara* of the **בְּנֵי מְעַרְבָא**” (= the Jerusalem Talmud) and “ours” (= the Babylonian Talmud), whereas the *Massekhet Sopherim* appears to have come from a Palestinian milieu. These two documents give evidence of the two different ways of considering the question of the number of lines per page in the *Sepher Torah*.

For the anonymous author, it was essential to agree on a single number. As a result he constructed an entire argument to determine that the norm was not 60 lines (as the great authority of the eighth century, Jehudai Gaon, claimed), but 42, a figure that he supports with the testimony of several leaders in the two great Babylonian schools, testimonies that are spread from the beginning of the ninth to the beginning of the eleventh centuries, the time at which our author composed his defense. The facts that he furnishes are, moreover, confirmed by Rabbenu Hai Gaon himself, slightly earlier than our author, in a *responsa* cited above, as well as by Rab Sar Shalom bar Boaz, Gaon of Sura from 849 to 853,⁴⁸ and Rab Natronai bar Hilai bar Mari, who succeeded him from 853 to 856. The number of 42 lines per page in the *Sepher Torah* thus has four Geonim of Sura as defenders (Qimoi, Hilai, Sar Shalom, and Natronai), spread out through the ninth century, at a time when (1) the domination of this academy over the entire Jewish world was uncontested and (2) the work of the Tiberian Masoretes was in full swing. Then our author attests that at the beginning of the eleventh century this position was still that of the two most authoritative teachers: Rabbenu Hai Gaon of Pumbedita (for whom his colleague Mar Asaf gives evidence) and Rabbenu Hananeel ben Hushiel of Kairwan. Finally, let us recall that Judah Barceloni, of the same era, relied on this tradition.

It can thus be concluded that the norm of 42 lines that was imposed at Sura in the course of the ninth century had been adopted at Pumbedita and as far away as

47. *Ibid.*, 8, note, based on a document published by A. S. Kamenetzky (“Deux lettres”).

48. These last two Geonim are mentioned by Higger (*Massekhet Sopherim*, 42) as advocates of 42 lines.

Kairwan and Barcelona at the beginning of the eleventh century. The extended reign of this tradition would explain how it was the only one that could appeal to three different scriptural justifications conceived by different teachers who inherited the same *halakah*.

And what about in Palestine? The authority of the Babylonian academies was such that the *Massekhet Sopherim* could not resist it, so it cites first the number 42, but it mentions immediately afterwards (with its characteristic midrashic explanation) the number 60, which the great Jehudai Gaon had advocated earlier. Then, it could be that this treatise simply intends to excite the imagination of its readers when it goes on to mention the numbers 72 and 98, implying that one need only find a scriptural (or midrashic) explanation to be able to choose another number.

Maimonides, 50 years after our anonymous author, opts for the same liberty as the Palestinians by settling on two outside numbers. In order to escape the tyranny of the *sopherim*, he eliminates the number 42 by fixing 48 as the minimum number. However, he did not succeed in eliminating columns of 42 lines from the practice of the copyists of the *Sepher Torah*, a practice that continues to be the most widely used layout in the West even today.⁴⁹

6. *The Antiquity of the Tradition of 42 Lines*

Advocates of 42 lines per column whom our author invokes against the 60-line columns championed by Jehudai Gaon were certainly not innovators. We can observe this in the best-known and most outstanding Samaritan manuscript to have been preserved, the Barberini triglot. This manuscript most often has 42 lines per page in its early sections, with an occasional 44 as a maximum.

Does this tradition go back, then, to a date prior to the separation of the Jewish and Samaritan traditions? It is tempting to think so when one analyzes the characteristics of the only scroll from Qumran in the old script to have been the object of a complete publication up to now, the Leviticus scroll from Cave 11. Although this scroll was preserved only with a maximum height of ten lines per column, it offers a sequence of columns that make up a continuous strip of more than a meter. This makes it possible to extrapolate precise information on the layout of the scroll at the time it was copied. The editors express their conclusions in these terms: "The column height as noted above, is conjectural, but our calculations suggest an average column height of 25–26 cm, containing about forty-two lines of text."⁵⁰

In fact, at Qumran, as with the Samaritans, fewer lines in the columns are seen most frequently. This is probably due to the difficulty of procuring sufficiently wide skins. But it does appear that 42 lines corresponds to what both Jews and Samaritans hoped to realize in the layout of a high quality *Sepher Torah*.

49. Manuscript c4 (fol. 135b) writes "42" instead of Maimonides' minimum "48."

50. Freedman and Mathews, *Paleo*, 8.

The number of 42 lines per column did not apply to the *Sepher Torah* alone. Indeed, according to E. Tov's analyses, it also characterizes the most important and earliest part of the Greek scroll of the Dodekapropheton found in a cave of Nahal Hever.⁵¹ This scroll contains a recension intended to bring Ⓞ into conformity with a textual form of the pre-Masoretic type. It is therefore not surprising that, in its oldest part—and thus the part closest to the author of the recension—we find a page layout that was traditional in the milieu of the *sopherim* where Ⓞ would acquire its stabilized page layout. For all that, it should not be concluded that the scrolls containing the prophetic books always had 42 lines per column after textual standardization. Indeed, the most frequent number in Mur is 39. However, the various early occurrences of 42 lines that we have reported do not seem at all to be the result of chance.

51. *Greek Minor Prophets*, DJD VIII, 5, table 5.

CTAT Preface¹

The tasks of the committee whose final report is published in *CTAT* Vols. 1–4 are discussed on pp. 83–97 of this volume.² Also discussed there are the provisional criteria the committee established to guide its decisions, and the subsequent modification of some of those criteria.

In this preface, we would like first of all to highlight some aspects of the committee's work, and then provide an explanation of the sigla that the reader will encounter in the report.

Aspects of the Committee's Work

1. The textual difficulties treated by the committee are situated at many different levels. Sometimes, it is a matter of choosing between textual forms that are almost literarily independent. At other times, in contrast, the difficulty involves only minute details, for example, the point distinguishing *šin* from *sin* or the presence of a *meteg*.

We have attempted to differentiate clearly between these different types of cases and to handle them with different methods, placing certain cases of the first type unambiguously within the domain of literary or redaction criticism, while appealing to the data provided in the Masorah to discuss cases of the second type. The independent lists of Masorah (the *Okhlah* or the Babylonian Masorahs of Chufut-Kale) and the lists in the margins of Tiberian and certain other ancient manuscripts sometimes allow us to identify an established tradition of pointing, and to resolve differences between various Tiberian MSS or even to choose a pointing other than the one established in the classical Tiberian text.

2. It was often instructive to trace the history of the textual problems. In fact, it often became evident that the same problem had sustained a series of interpretive initiatives over the course of time: glossing, then free and often diverging translations, then literal interpretations, and finally textual emendation.

1. This Preface is included to give the reader an understanding of the structure of the discussion of individual textual problems in the *CTAT* volumes. It is a combination of the three "Avant-Propos" from *CTAT* Vols. 1–3. A small number of the details that follow will therefore be applicable only to one or another of the volumes. All of the footnotes are editorial.

2. = *CTAT* Vol. 1, *66–*78.

Retracing this history frequently leads to the recognition of the extreme antiquity of some of the textual difficulties. For example, a phrase may have been deemed unintelligible or shocking already in an era that preceded the last burst of redactional development. We often find ourselves quite incapable of diagnosing the causes of these difficulties. Are they early accidents suffered by the text? Or might it not sometimes be a matter of syntactic constructions that elude us today? Or again, are there semantic nuances that we are unable to tease out with comparative lexicography?

These considerations led the committee to make emendations only with the greatest caution. The farther we advanced in our work, the more we were aware of the wide margin of error in our decisions. To come to terms with this uncertainty, we began to split up into groups to present to one another the various options that appeared as more or less likely, considering the weight of their respective evidence.

When one traces the history of the textual problems, one cannot help but notice that critical corrections, and especially conjectures, often have the effect of stifling research. That is, over the span of centuries, a textual difficulty might have started a kind of itch or irritation with exegetes, forcing them to search, to discuss, to attempt new interpretations. Then one day one of those exegetes decides to emend the text . . . and everyone follows the lead, delighted that this surgical intervention has eradicated the difficulty that had previously caused such discomfort. And if the proffered solution appears over-wrought, fitting poorly with the context, then it is time to look for another one. But only rarely does an exegete have the courage to stand once more before the old problem, a problem which, all this time, may be rich with lessons that one day will be accessible to someone, providing that it has not stopped preoccupying the imaginations of scholars.

Certainly, comparative philology has tried, often with success, to shed new light on textual difficulties. In the eighteenth century, Schultens opened up the resources of the Arabic thesaurus; in the nineteenth, Friedrich Delitzsch projected the light of Akkadian onto Hebrew words; in the twentieth, the discovery of Ugaritic stimulated new research to which the names of G. R. Driver and M. Dahood lent distinction; and even now, it remains to be seen what Ebla will contribute.

Many words in the text—sometimes syntactical constructions as well—were thus associated with possible parallels that were hitherto unknown. But these bits of linguistic evidence remain rare and scattered, while thousands of others—often linguistically or chronologically closer to the problem being treated—are silenced forever. Moreover, our grasp of recently discovered languages is often itself dependent on our knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. It thus seemed to the committee that the risks of misapprehension, anachronism, and *petitio principii* [begging the question] demand the most circumspect use of comparative philology in the interpretation of Biblical Hebrew.

Meanwhile, before we resign ourselves to declaring a text unintelligible, we have at our disposal a number of resources that are still underutilized in textual analysis, resources that we will endeavor to put to good use in this report.

1. In the domain of contextual analysis, syntax and style are branches of Hebrew grammar that are still under-researched. The work of E. König, dating from the end of the nineteenth century, remains pioneering in this area. Scholars still have not taken advantage of that work to the extent it deserves. We lack a syntactic concordance of the Bible, and perhaps will do so for a long time to come, given the difficulties of producing a satisfying result. Such a concordance should, moreover, take into account (at least as a point of information) the often undervalued contribution of the Masoretic *teamim* to our understanding of the syntax. A deeper knowledge of the entire textual fabric still has much to offer to exegesis.

2. In the history of Jewish interpretation, there are two groups of sources of the greatest import to which we will frequently turn, resources that have lain fallow up to this point due to their limited publication.

a. First are the commentaries of those literal interpreters who are both contemporaries and compatriots of the Masoretes to whom we owe the model codexes of Cairo, Aleppo, and Leningrad. These include the commentaries of Daniel al-Qumisi and Saadya Gaon, which have survived only in fragments, and those of Salmon ben Yeruhim, which bear directly only on Psalms, Qohelet, and Lamentations. But the most valuable for us are those of Yefet ben Ely, dispersed among the libraries of Leningrad, Berlin, Paris, London, Oxford, Cambridge, and New York, and the collection of David Z. Lichaa (Cairo). Between 950 and 1000, Yefet, who lived in Palestine, wrote a commentary in Arabic on all of Scripture except for Lamentations, and almost the entire work has been preserved. Furthermore, his copious commentary testifies to a number of exegetical traditions that preceded him. It is thus likely one of the best witnesses of literal exegesis that would have vividly in mind those who fixed the vocalization and accents of the classical Tiberian text.

b. There is a second category of sources whose invaluable evidence allows us to go quite far back in the tradition of literal exegesis of the Jews of Northern Europe, and that is the glossaries of Biblical Hebrew-Old French which often convey traditions prior to Rashi. Made up of many fragments, there are six glossaries of this type, one of them having been published in its entirety (MS Basel Univ A III 39) and another partially (MS Paris BN heb 302), while the other four (MSS Paris bn heb 301, Parma Palat 2780 and 2924, Leipzig Univ heb 102) are unpublished. These glossaries follow the biblical text word by word, treating each of the words that the *poterim* (commentators) of the twelfth century deemed worthy of mention in their lessons. For each of the words treated, the glossary first gives the *la'az*, that is, the translation in Old French (transliterated in vocalized Hebrew script), then, most often, the semantic category to which the word belongs (introduced by *lēšōn*); finally, it refers to another instance where the same root is used

in a similar way (introduced by the word *kěmô*). We have here clear evidence of a consistent and very literal exegetical tradition which is quite independent of the one found in the Judco-Arabic sources from Palestine and Omayyid Spain.

In the final reports, we have often been more preoccupied with following the history of a difficulty through the centuries than with resolving that difficulty. Among the various exegetical or textual solutions, we have, however, always endeavored to indicate those that seemed the most plausible.

In the realm of textual solutions, it was helpful to trace the beginnings of the history of OT textual criticism up to the end of the eighteenth century, in order to establish the framework in which we situate the first attempts at emendation that were presented for most of the difficulties treated by the committee. Indeed, the emendations offered in the past hundred years or so often turn out to be simply reiterations of earlier attempts. Given the orientation of the committee's work and the fact that it extended to the entire Bible, there is no doubt that many recent proposals escaped our attention.

Structure and Terminology for the Analysis of Cases

I. The Selection of Cases

The Committee for the United Bible Societies' Hebrew Old Testament Textual Project functioned from 1969 to 1979, and it dealt with cases where translation teams had difficulty understanding the reasons the Masoretic Text was abandoned by one or more of the five translations most commonly used by the teams: RSV, BJ, RL, NEB, and TOB.

The criteria for selection of textual cases treated in the final report were not fully identical to those employed in the selection of cases treated in the *Preliminary Report*.³ The cases selected for the final report differ in three aspects:

1. The final report omits cases where the "new and completely revised and expanded edition" of the Bible de Jérusalem (BJ³) no longer emends the Masoretic Text where earlier editions of BJ had been the only one of our four translations (RSV, NEB, BJ, RL) to do so.
2. The final report omits cases that consist solely of a conjecture proposed by one of our four translations where the entire textual tradition offers consistent evidence in favor of the Masoretic Text.
3. The final report treats a certain number of cases selected and examined by the committee, even though our four translations show no sign of treating them. For *CTAT* Vol. 1, these are cases raised by variants found in the Samuel fragments from Cave IV at Qumran. These cases did not figure in the *Preliminary Report*.

3. The five volumes are listed under *Preliminary Report* in the bibliography.

For the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, the United Bible Societies drew on the RSV, BJ^{1,2,3}, RL, and NEB for a list of cases where one or several of the translations emended \aleph . Of these cases, the committee retained 685 where the emendation appeared to have significant exegetical consequences. The committee's decisions on these cases make up the contents of volume four of the *Preliminary Report (The Prophetic Books, I)*. *CTAT* Vol. 2 of the final report treats 800 cases. This increase was caused mainly by taking into consideration certain emendations attested in the notes of the TOB, a translation the committee had included only for cases that were already found in one of the four translations mentioned above. When a case was not treated by the committee, this is stated at the end of the section "textual choice" and no note is given in the critical apparatus.

As some reviewers have been critical of the committee's tendency not to attach enough importance to conjectures, *CTAT* Vol. 2—unlike the first volume—has retained most of the cases that consist only of a conjecture proposed by a single translation where the entire textual tradition offers consistent evidence in favor of \aleph .

The five translations whose textual choices the committee undertook to evaluate are representative of the diffusion of text-critical knowledge from the past 100 years into translations (or revisions) that have a wide readership in English, French, and German published between 1950 and 1975. As such, they retain a permanent interest for those who, like the members of the committee, are interested in questions of method concerning criticism and analysis of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. It is for this reason that we have tried to expand on this aspect in the final reports.

Since some of these translations have recently undergone revision (NRSV, REB), some will regret that the new decisions were not taken into account here. The preparation of the final reports was unfortunately too far advanced by the time the revisions were published to allow that.⁴

The various cases are treated in the traditional order of Christian Bibles. When there is a benefit in grouping different cases together based on their similarity, a cross-reference guides the reader to the location where the displaced cases are treated.

II. Structure of the Critical Apparatuses

For the majority of cases, a critical apparatus begins by articulating in a systematic way the various facts that will be discussed in the treatment of the case, with the exception of conjectures for which no specific textual argument has been

4. *CTAT* Vol. 4 takes into account some of the decisions of NRSV, REB, and later editions of the Bible de Jérusalem.

put forward. What follows is a brief explanation of the structure of the critical apparatuses.⁵

We should set aside, to begin with, those apparatuses with double entries where the committee was evenly divided in a vote between two solutions. This can be seen, for example, in 2 Kgs 10:1B; 15:10; 24:3 (Vol. 1); Isa 2:12; 15:9C; 33:3; 34:5A; 43:19; 44:11–12A; 66:17, 19B; Jer 16:7AB; 22:23; 23:18; 49:30C; 50:21A; 51:3C; Lam 2:13A (Vol. 2); and Ezek 8:2; 21:27(22)B; 26:20B; 27:16; 29:7; 36:13; 41:22A; 41:22B; 47:15–16; 47:17B; 47:18D; 47:19; 48:11; Dan 8:11A (Vol. 3).

1. Order of Items

The normal apparatuses, that is, those with a single entry, are composed of the following sections, in the order listed:

a. The biblical reference

When versification differs between versions, that of the Masoretic Text (according to BHS) is listed first. Other versification (that of the Greek, Vulgate, or English Bible) is given in parentheses. The designations “a” and “b” following the verse number indicate the part of the verse that precedes or follows the main division of the verse according to the accent. An additional Greek letter (α , β , or γ) indicates the first, second, or third part of the half verse. Upper case A, B, etc., distinguish between different problems treated within one verse.

b. Cor (correction)

This label occurs in cases where the committee preferred a reading other than that of the reference text (that is, the *Qere* of MS Leningrad/Firkovitch).

c. The reading

This is the reading that the committee selected as the most likely to be original (according to the considerations set forth on pp. 139–141⁶). A dash interrupting the reading indicates that the words that fall in the interval are included. When the reading is interrupted by ellipses, the words that come in the interval are not included. When the apparatus bears on a verse or half-verse, the text is not printed at the beginning of the apparatus, but only at the beginning of the first discussion section (*Options de nos traductions*) for the treatment of the case.

d. The rating

The committee’s rating of the reading follows (between brackets [] in vols. 1–2, and braces { } in vol. 3): A = very highly probable; B = highly probable, but

5. Some modifications take place from one volume to the next, particularly from *CTAT* Vol. 1 to *CTAT* Vol. 2.

6. = *CTAT* Vol. 1, *113–*114.

with some degree of doubt; C = probable, with a considerable margin of doubt; and D = possible, but very uncertain. Where there is no rating, the case was not put to a vote, as is stated in the section *Choix textuel*, where the details of the committee's votes are discussed.

e. The sigla for the witnesses

Next are listed the sigla for witnesses that support the reading (the sigla are explained below, under III. The Textual Witnesses): They may be replaced by *bas* (base), in a case where, with no direct support from the witnesses, the reading is attested only indirectly as the base from which the other readings diverged (for example, Ezek 22:16; Hos 4:19; Hab 1:8B); *crrp* (corrupted) is used to indicate that a textual form that was already corrupted is all that can be recovered by the chosen reading (for example, Ezek 16:30; 23:44; 40:31; 40:34; Dan 3:7).

f. Symbols separating readings

Two forward slashes (*//*) separate the selected reading from other attested readings that depend on it—these readings are separated from each other by a single forward slash. An arrow indicates that one reading derives from another.

g. The factors

The presentation of each reading or group of readings begins with a notation of the “alteration factor” that characterizes the relation of that reading or group of readings to the reading that the committee considered most likely original.⁷ The factor is followed by a colon.

h. The supporting witnesses

After the colon are listed the sigla for the witnesses that support the reading. They are separated by commas when their evidence, though the result of the same alteration factor, diverges slightly.

i. Characterization

Finally, where deemed advisable for purposes of clarity, the reading is characterized. In such a case, a minority form of the Masoretic Text would be cited as is. A reading from one of the versions would either be described or cited in the language of the version in which it is attested, and may be accompanied by the notation *clav* (clavis) with the Hebrew form that may lie behind the translation. This does not intend to claim that the translator actually had that text.

7. These factors are described in the next section.

2. Factors Used to Characterize the Variants

These include, first of all, notations that indicate the limited significance of certain evidence:

- *lacun* (lacuna) indicates that the passage in question and its context are lacking in the witnesses listed;
- *abst* (abstention) indicates that the witnesses listed are of no use in resolving the difficulty (for example, the Qumran MSS for the vocalization of a defective spelling, the Latin versions for the presence or absence of an article, or the Latin and Greek for the masculine or feminine gender of a verbal form);
- *incert* (uncertain) indicates that the interpretation of the support of the witnesses remains uncertain;
- *lit* (literary) indicates that a reading diverges from the others at a level that is literary rather than textual (glosses [*glos*] fall into this category);
- *transf* (transferred) indicates that a passage was transferred elsewhere by a copyist or translator.

On pages 89–92⁸ is a description of the alteration factors defined by the committee at the outset of its work to characterize the readings. The more specific factors used in this report are related to these broadly defined factors as follows.

a. External situation

The first three factors assess the variants externally as to the value of their evidence.

Factor 1 (narrow basis for a textual variant) considers giving less weight to a variant that is encountered in only one tradition of the biblical text, for example in the Targum, Syriac, or Vulgate alone. None of the specific factors used in this report is directly related to this one. In no case was the decision of the committee motivated solely by this fact. The reasons for alteration of the text (factors 4–13) were always taken into strict consideration. We should add, moreover, that the committee was led to consider the Targum more as the witness to a traditional exegesis of the proto-Masoretic text than as representing an independent textual base. The Vulgate could be characterized in a similar way, with the added comment that it often mixes exegesis with a witness to the Greek (via the Old Latin from which it is not entirely free). The Syriac is the result of influences that are too diverse (proto-Masoretic text, Old Greek, Antiochene recension, and numerous internal corruptions) to have much weight attached to its evidence when it is isolated. The Introduction to *CTAT* Vol. 3 (Part Three in this volume) describes in detail the contribution of each type of witness to textual criticism of the Hebrew, providing a fuller notion of their respective weight.

8. = *CTAT* Vol. 1, *71–*74.

secondary tradition of the Masoretic Text), S (= the Syriac Peshitta), and C (= Targum Jonathan), in Ezek 11:19A, assimilated to the Masoretic Text of Ezek 18:31 and Ezek 36:26 when they copied or translated as if they had read $\text{W}\text{ר}\text{ר}$ in their Vorlage instead of $\text{ר}\text{ר}\text{ר}$ (the reading selected by the committee, with the Greek, instead of $\text{ר}\text{ר}\text{ר}$, which is the reading of BHS). The type of assimilation may be specified (*assim-graph* = graphic).

2. *assim-usu* (assimilation to a more common form) indicates an assimilation to a form that more readily came to mind because it was the more common one.
 3. *assim-ctext* (assimilation to the context) suggests a general assimilation to various facts furnished by the context.
 4. *assim-graph* (graphic assimilation) indicates assimilation to a similar graphic form.
 5. *assim-int* (internal assimilation) indicates an assimilation that took place within the textual tradition represented by the witness in question.
 6. *assim-synt* (syntactic assimilation) points to an assimilation to a syntactic structure that for some reason the copyist or translator had in mind.
- *harm* (harmonization) indicates a reciprocal influence exerted in order to alleviate the risk of contradiction between two dissonant passages or between a passage and its context. The specific type of harmonization may be noted (*harm-synt* = syntactic; *harm-ctext* = contextual). Also classified under this factor are *homon* (homonym) and *asson* (assonance) to indicate when a translator, unable to understand a word in the Vorlage, used a homonym in his own language or a word that sounded similar.

Factor 6 (textual alterations required by the translation) is expressed in this report in four forms:

- *transl* (translational) designates a modification imposed or suggested by the structure of the receptor language;
- *lic* (license) designates a liberty taken with the text in the translation process, for which no reason can be detected (the specific area in which the liberty was taken is often noted, e.g., *lic-synt* = syntactic license);
- *paraphr* (paraphrase) when this license is expressed by a literary development;
- *transcr* (transcription) for modifications due to the transcription of a proper name from one language to another. This modification may be further characterized as *transcr-harm* (harmonizing transcription).

Factor 7 (modification of the text for exegetical reasons) assumes various forms in the final report, the most common and generic being:

- *exeg* (exegesis), indicating that the variant is simply an interpretation of the reading to which it is related (the particular prompt for the interpretation may be further specified, e.g., *exeg-ctext* = according to the context);

- *expl* (explanation or clarification), indicating that the interpreter was making a loaded expression explicit (this may be further specified, e.g., *expl-graph* = clarification of a spelling thought to be defective);
- *abr* (abbreviation or abridgment), indicating that the interpreter abridged the text, whether by a defective spelling (*abr-graph*), or with the goal of either condensing the expression (*abr-styl* = stylistic) or eliminating an element that is causing difficulty (*abr-elus* = elusive or evasive), or a more succinct expression was chosen during translation (*abr-transl*);
- *ampl* (amplification), indicating that the interpreter amplified the text by expanding on it in some way, whether graphically (*ampl-graph*) or stylistically (*ampl-styl*);
- *emph* (emphasis), indicating that the interpreter used an emphatic expression to give more color to the text;
- *attenu* (attenuation), indicating the reverse, that the interpreter played down an element to soften its impact or remove it from focus;
- *modern* (modernization), indicating that the interpreter updated certain elements that appeared outmoded; the particular type of modernization may be specified (e.g., *modern-graph* = graphic, or *modern-lex* = lexical);
- *midr* (midrash), indicating that the interpreter took his inspiration from midrashic traditions;
- *euphem* (euphemism), indicating that the interpreter intended to make the mode of expression more socially acceptable;
- *theol* (theology), indicating that the interpreter was conforming to theological norms.

Factor 8 (poor understanding of linguistic facts) is expressed in a general way in this report as *ign-ling* (lacking linguistic knowledge) or *ign-exeg* (unable to interpret) when the interpreter was unable to analyze the form, and more specifically as:

- *ign-lexic* (lacking lexical knowledge);
- *ign-gram* (lacking knowledge of the grammar);
- *ign-synt* (lacking knowledge of syntax);
- *ign-styl* (lacking stylistic knowledge); and
- *ign-vocal* (lacking knowledge of vocalization).

Factor 9 (poor understanding of historical facts) is specified by six factors:

- *ign-hist* (lacking historical knowledge);
- *ign-geogr* (lacking geographical knowledge);
- *ign-jur* (lacking legal knowledge);
- *ign-cult* (lacking cultural knowledge);
- *ign-real* (lacking knowledge of realia), that is, ignorant of other cultural elements from the author's environment and time—sociological, architectural, legal, technical, etc.;

- *anachr* (anachronism).

Factor 10 (accidental omission of similar letters, syllables, or words) is divided into:

- *hapl(ogr)* (haplography);
- *hom* (homcoarcton or homcoteleuton);
- *homarc* (homeoarcton);
- *homtel* (homeoteleuton).

Factor 11 (accidental repetition of an identical sequence) is expressed as *dittogr* (dittography).

Factor 12 (other scribal errors) is expressed in a general way by *err* (error), and more specifically by:

- *deform* (deformation) and more particularly *def(orm)-int* (internal deformation) for a deformation within a particular textual tradition;
- *err-aud* (auditory error);
- *err-graph* (graphic error);
- *err-synt* (syntactic error), for a misinterpretation of the syntax;
- *err-transcr* (transcription error) in transcribing a proper name from one alphabet to another;
- *err-divis* (division error) for errors in word division;
- *err-voc(al)* (vocalization error);
- *err-ponct* (punctuation error);
- *perm* (permutation) for permutation of elements of a sequence;
- *meta* (metathesis) when two adjacent letters or words are reversed in order;
- *interv* (interversion) when two non-adjacent letters in the same word exchange places.

Factor 13 (conflated readings or doublets) includes the categories:

- *dbl* (doublet), a reading including two treatments of the same text;
- *confl(at)* (conflatio), a conflated reading, that is, a reading that juxtaposes two attested readings or mixes elements of them;
- *mixt* (mixture), a reading that mixes the elements of two attested readings.⁹

To this may be added *glos* (glosses).

Other textual initiatives, for lack of a better understanding of their motivation, were described as:

9. In *CTAT* Vol. 1, *confl* and *mixt* are separate categories (juxtaposition of two readings and mixing of elements of two readings, respectively). In later volumes, *confl* covered both types of alteration.

- *substit* (substitution), which can be divided into *substit-graph* (graphical), *substit-synt* (syntactic), *substit-lexic* (lexical), *substit-styl* (stylistic), and *substit-vocal* (vocalic).

Some of these textual initiatives aimed to restore a text that was considered corrupted. These may consist of *dissim* (dissimilation), where a copyist or translator tried to correct a text that appeared to be an assimilation, or they may constitute a

- *rest* (restoration), when a witness attempted to restore a text that it considered corrupt (the nature of the restoration may be specified, e.g., as *restor-vocal* = vocalic);
- *constr* (construction), when a copyist or translator attempted to give a new sense to a word or an entire passage by rewriting it using elements of what he viewed as a damaged text. In these various categories of initiatives, literary creativity becomes increasingly evident.

Finally, there are two qualifiers that are associated with many of these factors:

- *int* (internal) indicates that an event was produced within a particular textual tradition;
- *elus* (elusive/evasive) indicates that a textual initiative had the aim of avoiding a difficulty.

III. The Textual Witnesses

The textual witnesses are notated in the final report in the following ways:

“M” in the apparatus and *M in the text (Ⲙ for both in *CTAT* Vol. 3) refer to the tradition of the Masoretic Text that we consider authentic, while “m” (in the apparatus) refers to its secondary traditions. “MK” (ⲘK) indicates a Masoretic *Ketib* and “MQ” (ⲘQ) a *Qere*. “Mbab” refers to a textual form in the Babylonian tradition and “Mtib” (Ⲙtib) to a form in the Tiberian tradition. ⲘKbab or ⲘQbab designates a Babylonian tradition of the *Ketib* or *Qere*. ⲘK-or designates a *Ketib* considered “Oriental” (or Eastern) by the traditional lists. “*M” (Ⲙ), without further specification, designates the *Qere* of the Ms Leningrad/Firkovitch.

“G” in the apparatus and “*G” in the text (Ⲅ for both in *CTAT* Vol. 3) refer to the tradition of the Old Greek that we consider authentic, while “g” (in the apparatus) refers to its secondary traditions. The same is true for “V”, “*V”, and “v” for the Vulgate (Ⲟ in *CTAT* Vol. 3), “S”, “*S”, and “s” for the Syriac Peshitta (Ⲥ in *CTAT* Vol. 3), and “T”, “Ⲥ”, and “t” for the Targum (Ⲥ in *CTAT* Vol. 3). “Tyer” refers to the Targum Yerushalmi.

In the apparatus and the text, an asterisk following the siglum for a witness indicates the reading of the first hand. A later hand is notated as “(correct)” attached to the version’s siglum (Ⲛ in vol. 3). A question mark between parentheses “(?)” after the siglum of a witness indicates uncertainty on the part of the committee as to whether the reading represents the authentic text of the witness.

A question mark without parentheses “?” after the siglum of a witness indicates uncertainty on the part of the committee as to whether the witness actually functions in the way indicated in the apparatus.

The numbers 1, 2, and 3 accompanying a witness refer to the different elements of a doublet.

The chapter and verse numbers of Ⓞ for Jeremiah follow the Göttingen edition.

The hexaplaric versions are indicated in the final report by their traditional sigla: σ' α' α'^1 α'^2 θ' σ' ε' whereas in the apparatus (except for CTAT Vol. 3), the forms “Sept”, “Aq”, “Th”, “Sym”, and “Quin” are used, written separately from each other when the readings of these versions are independent of each other (for example, Aq Sym), and written together (for example, “AqSym”) when a single reading is attributed to several versions at the same time. In view of the uncertainties involved, the Syriac readings from the SyroHexapla are not retroverted to Greek.

The apparatus retains the designations $\alpha\lambda\lambda$ ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\pi$ ($\omicron\iota$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\iota$), $\omicron\iota$ γ' (= the three), $\varepsilon\beta\rho$ ($\tau\omicron$ $\varepsilon\beta\rho\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}$), and π' ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$) by which these versions (or others) are mentioned in certain scholia.

The Qumran fragments are cited according to their usual sigla, except for the fragments of the three Samuel MSS from Cave 4. Because of their frequent mention in the treatment of cases in CTAT Vol. 1, they are cited simply as Qa, Qb, and Qc. Similarly, in the treatment of problems for a given book, the abbreviation of the book is not noted after Q. Thus, in CTAT Vol. 2, on pp. 1–465, 4Q-b = 4QIs^b, while on pp. 466–862, 4Q-b = 4QJer^b.

“Jos-Ant” refers to the text read by Flavius Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities*, *in loco*.

“bTalm” and “yTalm” refer to the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, respectively, with the specific references given in the text following the apparatus.

“Mm” indicates a *masora magna* and “Mp” a *masora parva*. “The Masorah,” with no other qualifier, refers to the Ben Hayim Masorah, *in loco*.

For convenience, the Syriac is transcribed in Hebrew characters, unless the Syriac script itself plays a decisive role in the issue. The same goes for Arabic, for which we use the norms of transliteration in editions of Judeo-Arabic texts.

IV. Authors Cited

All quotations of and references to published works are taken directly from those sources, except for those mentioned as “cited by” or “cited according to” another author. The quotations of and references to manuscripts derive from a reading of microfilms or facsimiles, except for those MSS that are cited according to the sigla of the editions of \aleph by Kennicott and de Rossi, those of Ⓞ which are given according to the sigla of the Göttingen edition and the “Larger Cambridge Septuagint” (Ⓞ [Brooke/McLean]), and those of the υ MSS cited according to the San Girolamo edition. For the Syriac, the only MSS consulted directly were the

SyroHexapla and \mathfrak{S} Ambrosianus (with the punctuation of \mathfrak{S} often being added when the Leiden edition omits it). For \mathfrak{C} , the only witness cited according to Sperber is the Montefiore ms. All others were consulted directly before the choice of the reading that we retained.

When an author is read in Latin and the citation of his name in the common language could cause confusion (for example, Le Clerc for Clericus), his name is cited according to the Latin form. On the other hand, the forms Le Fèvre d'Étapes and Estienne are used (and not Faber Stapulensis or Stephanus) whether they are read in French or in Latin. However, Castalio and Châteillon are distinguished when they are read in Latin or in French, respectively.

The complete forms of the titles of works as well as the edition cited are given in the bibliography. The editions of commentaries consulted are specified in the bibliography. When several editions were consulted, the one cited is indicated by its number attached to the name of the author (for example, Duhm5 = the 5th edition of Duhm's commentary) or to the siglum for the work (for example, J13 = the 1st and 3rd editions of the Bible de Jérusalem, according to the numbering in the bibliography). Outside of the biblical references, a simple Arabic numeral separated from a preceding number by a comma without a space refers to a line number. Figures referring to paragraphs are always preceded by §.

An attempt was made to respect the original spelling of documents cited when it was easily intelligible. For the Luther Bible, the orthography is that of one of the editions published in his lifetime.

V. Indexes

Of the indexes that follow the reports, it should be kept in mind that the first two are selective rather than exhaustive.

Omitted from the index of biblical references are all references to passages that do not receive any particular illumination from being cited in the report. For those passages that are listed in the index, numbers in parentheses refer to pages where the biblical passage in question is formally treated by the committee as a case, and numbers not in parentheses refer to pages where the passage is mentioned one or several times in the context of another case. When the same page number is listed both with and without parentheses, it means that the biblical passage is treated as a case and mentioned one or more times on the same page in the context of another case.

Omitted from the author index are all references to authors who simply followed the opinion of another author mentioned as the originator of the opinion. This explains why many recent authors figure in the index more rarely than earlier ones who—at least as far as we know—were the first to put forward certain opinions, or who enabled the tracing of the early history of textual criticism. For authors earlier than the end of the seventeenth century, the selection was more liberal, since they are mentioned less frequently in modern commentaries.

The index of factors mentioned is intended to be exhaustive.

VI. Bibliography

The bibliographies in the final reports are meant to include—in strict alphabetical order of the short phrases or sigla used in the reports to refer to them—all the works, manuscripts (under “Ms”), and editions referred to in the body of the reports. The bibliography for this volume includes only those works referred to in the introductions. In the introductions published in the *CTAT* volumes, the bibliographical information is given in the body of the text.

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