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A Carbonized Septuagint Palimpsest of the *Libri sapientiales* in Biblical Majuscule, *Codex Taurinensis*, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.V.25 (Rahlfs-Ms. 3010): Its Text and Context*

INTRODUCTION

The object of the present study is the Greek palimpsest *Codex Taurinensis*, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.V.25 (Rahlfs-Ms. 3010; *Diktyon* 63893). A direct study of the fragments of the Bible that survive in this palimpsest is very problematic, as a result of its terrible fate. The palimpsest was already seriously damaged by chemical reagents used in the 19th century to decipher the lower script, when, on the night of 25th to 26th January 1904, the fire that devastated the Library and its treasures, and the water used to extinguish the flames,¹ reduced the codex to five agglutinated blocks drastically reduced in size; the structural changes were worsened by the substances used to slow down the putrefactive process, and the parchment became hard, vitreous, and extremely fragile.² The scanty remains were entrusted to Erminia Caudana, who began a masterful work of restoration in 1939.³

There have only been a few previous studies. Giuseppe Luca Pasini (Padua 1687–1770 Turin), the learned biblical scholar who became the director of the Turin University Library in 1745, published a short description in 1749: he records that the codex is *rescriptus*, has 121 folios, a dated colophon (1428), and transmits Moschopoulos' *Schediasmata Grammatica*.⁴ Two and a half centuries later, thanks to the ingeniousness of the scholar of Byzantine music Neil K. Moran,⁵ its scribe was identified as Georgios Baiophoros (further below).

Due to the condition of the manuscript, this preliminary study is based exclusively on a print copy of 42 digitally-enhanced multispectral photographs.⁶ These images are one of the most impressive results of the specialist field of photographic recovery of old scripts that are illegible on the original document, and were produced by Fotoscienifica of Parma.⁷ On behalf of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali and the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin, Daniele Broia's team⁸ photographed the palimpsest for both the

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¹ The best overview of the damaged collections is Sebastiani, *Le raccolte*, 8–13.

² In the inventory of the librarian Francesco Cosentini, the palimpsest is grouped between those 'ridotti in stato inservibili e racchiusi in casse': Sorbelli, *Inventari*, 6, 41.

³ Bersano Begey, *Il laboratorio Restauri*, 3–6; images 2–5 show samples of the codex restoration. I am indebted to Maria Letizia Sebastiani, who brought this paper to my attention. A short but excellent profile of Erminia Caudana, one of the most accomplished restorers of papyri and parchment leaves in the past century, is online: <https://www.aib.it/aib/editoria/dbbi20/caudana.htm> (accessed 28.11.2022).

⁴ *Codices manuscripti*, I 394 (Codex CCCX). Catastini, Pasini, 536–538. A useful assessment of the notable reference items in the Turin Library in the 1820s is offered by De Pasquale, *L'apparato bibliografico*, 83–136 (<https://bibliothecae.unibo.it/article/view/5713/5433>, accessed 28.11.2022). Eleuteri, *Biblioteca*, 28–39, is the indispensable concordance of the shelf marks of the Greek manuscripts of Turin.

⁵ Moran, *Palim-Moschopulea*, 85–86; this article is an addition to Moran, *Greek Music Palimpsests*, 50–72.

⁶ One of them concerns small fragments whose origin is impossible to establish.

⁷ This renowned Italian laboratory, which had been founded by Daniele Broia and Floriano Finzi in 1963, closed in 2012.

⁸ Gamillscheg, *Nachruf*, 143; Faraggiana, Daniele Broia, 319–323.

cross-disciplinary, multiannual Italian project launched by Maria Letizia Sebastiani in 2000 to commemorate the centenary of the catastrophic fire of 1904,⁹ and for the project Rinascimento virtuale (11/2001–10/2004) of the Culture 2000 programme of the European Union.¹⁰ One reproduction of Ms. C.V.25 (image nr. 13¹¹ before and after digital enhancement) was published without a description in 2002.¹² This made public for the first time a new Greek fragment of *Ecclesiastes*, written in biblical majuscule. Unfortunately, this was insufficient evidence to prove that what survived were remnants of a very old manuscript of the Old Testament, hitherto unknown.¹³ A second photograph (Ms. C.V.25, image nr. 53 before and after digital enhancement) was displayed in Rome, in the exhibition ‘L’Europa riscopre i suoi antichi libri nascosti’ (Roma Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, 29 ottobre – 16 novembre 2004) that brought Rinascimento virtuale to a close; eight further images (nr. 14, nr. 15, nr. 32, nr. 34, nr. 36, nr. 52, nr. 54, nr. fragments, before and after digital enhancement) have been published online by the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico.¹⁴

1. THE UPPER SCRIPT

The Turin codex is one of 21 palimpsest manuscripts whose upper script is from the hand of Georgios Baiophoros, a well-known scribe and restorer of manuscripts of the 15th century,¹⁵ whose activity in Constantinople, particularly in the library of the Prodromos Monastery of Petra, was identified by Ernst Gamillscheg in seminal articles.¹⁶ The palimpsest *deperditus* in the fire of 1904, C.V.24 (Pasini Nr. 153) (*Diktyon* 63599) was probably written by the same scribe, and perhaps belonged to the same codicological unit *recentior* together with C.V.25 (Pasini Nr. 310);¹⁷ unfortunately, we will never know which *textus antiquior* was copied in majuscule. Be that as it may, C.V.24 and C.V.25 are the only cases of Greek codices with *membranae rescriptae* in the Turin University Library.

All manuscripts copied by Baiophoros on palimpsested parchment transmit grammatical works of Manuel Moschopoulos (1265 ca.–1316),¹⁸ and were copied around the second and third decades of the 15th century

⁹ Sebastiani, *Il recupero*, 142–158; Sebastiani, *Libri*, 363–374. Short report of the project by Aghemo, *Il progetto*, 5–7 (<http://www.bnto.librari.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/199/incendio-del-1904>, accessed 18.11.2022).

¹⁰ Home page of the project: <http://www.rinascimentovirtuale.eu/> (accessed 28.11.2022); Giaccaria, *Nuove identificazioni*, 433.

¹¹ Each number refers to one side of a folio of the *codex antiquior*; this numbering (here preceded by #), which has been given after restoration for practical reasons, is absolutely problematic.

¹² *Rinascimento virtuale*, 12.

¹³ Paolo Eleuteri, who at the time was the director of the Ca’ Foscari University of Venice team charged with studying the fragments, surprisingly stated: ‘il frammento torinese contiene Gregorio di Nissa, quindi non credo interessi il Septuaginta-Unternehmen di Gottinga’ (I cite from his email of August 27th, 2004, answering my email of August 22nd, 2004). Therefore, Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, did not record the Turin palimpsest, nor was it known to Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, due to the fact that the Septuaginta-Unternehmen was founded in 1908, four years after the catastrophic fire of 1904.

¹⁴ ‘L’Europa riscopre i suoi antichi libri nascosti’ (Roma Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, 29 ottobre – 16 novembre 2004): <http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/rinascimentovirtuale/pannello15.shtm>; <http://palin.iccu.sbn.it>, particularly <http://palin.iccu.sbn.it/Album.aspx?Key=00002&codice=TO0265&lang=it-IT> (accessed 28.11.2022).

¹⁵ The same stock of old parchment leaves was at his disposal to produce *codices rescripti* and to restore damaged books: this is well documented by the case exemplarily studied in Bianconi and Orsini, *Libri e membra disiecta*, 20–25.

¹⁶ Gamillscheg, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung*; Gamillscheg, *Zur Geschichte*; Gamillscheg, *Zur Rekonstruktion*. Further bibliography (leaving aside publications concerning the binding of the Baiophoros manuscripts): RGK 1, Nr. 55; 2, Nr. 74; 3, Nr. 90; De Gregorio, *Manoscritti greci patristici*, 319–327; Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo codice*; Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo manoscritto*, 270–271 [repr. in Cataldi Palau, *Studies*, I 289–291], with a list of the 21 palimpsests with upper script by Baiophoros known so far (the Turin manuscript, which she however could not study, is included; in the list a further palimpsest, Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis E 235b, was not copied by Baiophoros, but by a very similar hand: *ibid.*, 270 fn. 23, and the opinion of Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann published online: http://open.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_235b.html and <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/23932>, accessed 28.11.2022); Cataldi Palau, *Mazaris*; Canart, *Additions et corrections*, 44; Grusková, *Neue Ergebnisse*; Grusková, *Untersuchungen*, 103–129 (exemplary description of the palimpsest Vind. phil. gr. 286); Turco, *Il palinsesto*; Bianconi and Orsini, *Libri e membra disiecta*, 20–22; Stefec, *Handschriften*, 179. See also the contribution of André Binggeli in this volume.

¹⁷ If this were indeed the case, Gaetano de Sanctis (1870–1957) was partially right in noting that the identification of the five charred blocks with the palimpsest Pasini 153 cannot be excluded: De Sanctis, *Frammenti pergamenacei*, 585, 586; Bersano Begey, *Il laboratorio Restauri*, 4–5. Cf. also Della Corte, *I codici cretesi*, 42.

¹⁸ This should be said with the utmost caution, because ‘there has been a tendency among cataloguers, earlier and more recent, to attribute to Moschopoulos any collection of $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\eta$ ’: Keaney, *Moschopulea*, 304. On the fortune of the $\Pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\omega\nu$ of the learned

(13 of them are dated to the years 1418–1433/34). The lower scripts of about half of them contain fragments of patristic works copied in the 10th to 12th centuries.¹⁹ One notably transmits not only folios datable to the 12th century with fragments of patristic literature, but also a substantial portion from a codex, datable to the third quarter of the 9th century, of Neoplatonic commentaries on Aristotle’s logical treatises, and two bifolia datable to the 13th century, with fragments of the same content.²⁰

The reuse of parchment leaves in Constantinople, as elsewhere, by scribes of the late Palaiologan period, is well attested.²¹ Nonetheless, the abundance of *membranae rescriptae* by Baiophoros remains significant: his exceptional production of palimpsests belongs to ‘a time when the practice must have been regarded with askance’ also in the capital; ‘it was probably not without reasons that Vaiophoros did not sign his products’.²² His activity as scribe is attested between 1402 and 1433/34. The paper manuscript London, British Library, Additional 11892–11893 (*Diktyon* 38886–38887), a two-volume luxury copy of the *Suda*, dated 15 June 1402, is the only product where Baiophoros names himself in the subscription. It was realized for a ‘Sir Andrea’, whom Annaclara Cataldi Palau, with convincing arguments, proposes to identify with Andreas Argyropoulos, a notable personality of the imperial court, οἰκεῖος of Manuel II and ἄρχων in Constantinople from 1400 until 1414. He paid, for the second volume alone, the high price of seven and a half νομίσματα.²³ At one point in his career, Baiophoros suddenly began to use palimpsests as his writing material. He had worked for at least five years (1402–1407) as a scribe of high-quality manuscripts for customers rich enough to buy expensive books, but in 1418 (or perhaps a few years earlier) he began to copy grammatical books on recycled parchment leaves.²⁴ It is noteworthy that during precisely the same period, he was involved—together with Stephanos of Medeia (Thrace), who in 1416 was σκευοφύλαξ of the Prodromos Monastery²⁵—in writing the two manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2991A (11th September 1419) (*Diktyon* 52634; Rahlfs-Ms. 606) and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1577 (*Diktyon* 9478) (probably copied at a slightly later date²⁶), which transmit the *Mazaris*, a masterpiece of Byzantine satire. Among the characters of the work (composed in 1414, or at most a few years later) it is possible to identify Andreas Argyropoulos, the addressee of the British Library manuscript that Baiophoros signed with his name.²⁷ This satirical dialogue circulated only in Constantinople and in the Despotate of the Morea, and for very few years; a thorough investigation of text and context of *Mazaris*²⁸ could probably help to explain some aspects of Baiophoros’ career.

Given the fact that all the Baiophoros copies of Moschopoulos are of similar dimensions (ca. 200 × ca. 145 mm, or a little less),²⁹ we can infer that the Turin palimpsest had probably the same size. The text is written in one column, normally with 26 lines, sometimes varying between 24 and 27.

The Pasini catalogue describes the content as follows: ‘Schediasmata Grammatica complectitur MANUELIS MOSCHOPULI, in quibus accurata traditur analysis secundum Grammatices regulas variarum precum, et complurium locorum Sacrae Scripturae, nec non prophanorum Scriptorum’. In the surviving folios, we read in fact some passages attested in Moschopoulos’ *Περὶ σχεδῶν*, a grammatical compilation of earlier works, whose *editio princeps* (1545) was published in Paris by Robert Estienne; more than two centuries later, it was fol-

scholar and teacher Manuel Moschopoulos, disciple of Maximos Planoudes and nephew of the distinguished bibliophile bishop Nikephoros Moschopoulos, see now Nousia, *The Transmission*, 1–25.

¹⁹ A detailed list is offered by De Gregorio, *Manoscritti greci patristici*, 322 fn. 15. Further data about the content of the *codices antiquiores* can be found in Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo manoscritto*, Appendice 2.

²⁰ Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo codice*, 249–274, with pl. 52–57.

²¹ A scribe and restorer of manuscripts of the 14th century is studied by Mondrain, *La réutilisation*, 119–129. See also the contribution by André Binggeli in this volume.

²² Moran, *Palim-Moschopulea*, 85.

²³ Cataldi Palau, *Mazaris*, 393.

²⁴ Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo manoscritto*, 266 [repr. in Cataldi Palau, *Studies*, 284]. It is not necessary to assume that Baiophoros obtained second-hand parchment leaves exclusively in the library of the Prodromos Monastery, because other book repositories in Constantinople could have provided him with the material he needed.

²⁵ De Gregorio, *Manoscritti greci patristici*, 324–325; Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo manoscritto*, 264; Cataldi Palau, *I colleghi*, 193–202 [repr. in Cataldi Palau, *Studies*, 305–316]; Stefec, *Handschriften*, 196.

²⁶ Gamillscheg, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung*, note 52.

²⁷ Cataldi Palau, *Mazaris*, 368–394, 397.

²⁸ See bibliography in Cataldi Palau, *Mazaris*, 368 fn. 6.

²⁹ Cataldi Palau, *Un nuovo manoscritto*, 266, 268.

lowed by the rare edition edited by Michael Papageorgiou o Siatisteus, and printed in 1773 in Vienna by the imperial printer and publisher Joseph Lorenz von Kurzböck (1736–1796).³⁰ The known copies of Moschopoulos created by Baiophoros are all written on palimpsest parchment, except for the paper manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 16 (*Diktyon* 48237).³¹

In addition to our palimpsest, the two oldest manuscripts whose folios were recycled by Baiophoros are: a codex of the Gospels written in *ogivalis inclinata* of the 9th century, and reused for producing the Moschopoulos' *Erotemata* Ambr. Q 6 sup. (*Diktyon* 43139), dated 1426;³² and a valuable exemplar of the *collectio philosophica*, which is the principal *codex antiquior* in the undertext of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2575 (*Diktyon* 52207), a copy of Moschopoulos' *Schedography* dated 28 May 1424.³³

2. THE LOWER SCRIPT

The burnt folios whose images we were able to study are the remains of an old majuscule codex of the Bible, and derive apparently from the oldest parchment stock that was used by Baiophoros. They are written in one column of ca. 30 lines; each line has 22–28 letters. The ruling is clearly visible on images nr. 15 and nr. 45. It is of the highest interest that they were washed and scraped in Constantinople in the early 15th century. The material conditions of the manuscript, and the limitations of a study confined to reading digitally-enhanced photographs, mean that it would be foolhardy to take a gamble by describing the codicological and palaeographical features of the script. With the greatest caution, we can say that the codex may be the product of more than one hand, and that the majority of the images show a biblical majuscule datable no later than the 7th century;³⁴ spiritus and accents appear very sporadically.³⁵ The most interesting palaeographical feature is a *delta* with the shape of a Latin uncial *d*, a letter that is normally known from Greek manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries produced in the East or in South Italian regions;³⁶ it is incomplete but clearly attested by image nr. 18, lin. 11 (ΕΙΛΩΝ ΥΠΙΟ):



What appears to be a later hand (9th century?) is visible on images nr. 37 and nr. 45; here, spiritus and accents are more frequent, the strokes are thicker, and a tendency emerges sometimes towards forms of the ‘ogivale diritta’. If this impression is confirmed by further photographic investigation, we have a case of restoration of lost folios of the original codex.

2.1 THE CONTENT OF THE CODEX ANTIQUIOR

We were able to read 41 of the 42 printed photographs of the Fotoscientifica at our disposal. We have faithfully retained their captions; the image with caption ‘particolari’ does not allow the identification of the five reproduced fragments.

³⁰ Παπάς, *Μιχαήλ Παπαγεωργίου* (free access online: http://www.siatistanews.gr/apo_siatista/Papageorgiou-Papas.pdf, accessed 28.11.2022), 105 and fn. 345, 106, 183; Zeman, *Der Drucker-Verleger*, 143–178.

³¹ We would like to add that a paper, unrecorded manuscript with grammatical works of Moschopoulos was sold by Christie's (Lot 7, Sale 5888, Books) on 26th November 1997: see <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-moschopoulos-manuel-fl-ca1300-erodemata-grammatika-and-301183/>, accessed 28.11.2022. The identity of the owner is unknown, provenance and date are given approximately: ‘Eastern Mediterranean, ca.1500’. We cannot exclude that this item is a new manuscript copied by Baiophoros.

³² Turco, *Il palinsesto*, 251–261, and pl. 1; Bianconi and Orsini, *Libri e membra disiecta*, 22–25.

³³ See above fn. 20.

³⁴ Cf. image nr. 53 (for this number see fn. 11) with the famous *Psalms* fragment *A* (*Diktyon* 70836) Washington, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, F 1906.273; a detailed description of the manuscript is given by Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 383–386.

³⁵ A parchment fragment of probable Egyptian origin, dated by the editor to the 5th century, and transmitting a few remnants of *Sirach* 40:25–41:10, has two circumflexes from the hand of the scribe himself: description by Donatella Limongi, in Pintaudi, *Papyri Graecae Schoynen*, Nr. 15, 49–54, precisely 49, and pl. X.

³⁶ Perria, *Vat. Palat. gr. 376*, 59–76 [repr. in Perria, *Tra Oriente e Occidente*, 47–64, at 47–48, and pl. 1, 2]. *Diktyon* 66108.

The text consists exclusively of fragments from the *libri sapientiales*, and this was probably the content of the entire codex. With the help of the invaluable text search tool of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, Irvine (Ca.), it has been possible to identify passages from Proverbs (ch. 6, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 28, 29), Ecclesiastes (ch. 2, 3), Job (ch. 14, 31, 39), Wisdom of Solomon (ch. 15, 16), and Sirach (ch. 2, 3, 16, 26, 38, 39, 43, 44). Later (in 2010), a fruitful collaboration with the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen was then embarked upon. The preliminary results of this collaboration as regards the *codex antiquior* are the subject of what follows.

In the table below, each asterisk (*) indicates a folio of the *codex antiquior*; the image numbers on the left refer to the *recto* sides, the image numbers on the right refer to the *verso* sides. Of two folios we have only the image of *recto*, of five folios only the image of *verso*. Indications of content in square brackets are provided on a codicological basis only (the text is not readable on the image). The text identification of image nr. 3 refers only to the major fragment; the minor fragment is not identified. The two fragments reproduced in image nr. 10 are sections of two different folios: nr. 10<A> (on the left in the photograph) is the verso side of nr. 19. Likewise, the two fragments reproduced in image nr. 19 are sections of two different folios: nr. 19<A> (on the left in the photograph), which is irreparably damaged by chemical reagents, is the recto side of nr. 10.

Folio	Recto		Verso	
*	nr. 3 ³⁷	Prov 22:9a.b–12a	nr. 4	[Prov 22:12b–?]
*		—	nr. 5	Prov 6:2b–8b
*		—	nr. 6	Prov 28:28–29:9 ca.
*	nr. 7	[Job?]	nr. 22	[Job?]
*	nr. 8	Job 10:17a–11:3b	nr. 21	Job 11:4a–17b ca.
*	nr. 9	Wis 16:22b–28 ca.	nr. 20	[Wis 16:29–17 ca.]
*	nr. 19<A>	Job 5:21a–25a (with additions?)	nr. 10	Job 5:25b–6:2a
*	nr. 19	Sir 23:3a–6a	nr. 10<A>	Sir 23:11
* ³⁸	nr. 11	Eccl 3:5b–10a; 3:19d–20a	nr. 18	Eccl 3:13c–18d; 3:12a–13b
*		—	nr. 12	Prov 19:10a–18b
*	nr. 16	Eccl 2:17d–24b (<i>expl.</i> IIIET]AI)	nr. 13	Eccl 2:24b–3:3
*	nr. 15	Job 39:6a–14a	nr. 14	Job 39:15a–23
*	nr. 30	Prov 20:6a–11 ca.	nr. 23	Prov 20:11a–28b
*	nr. 24	Sir 16:5–13b ca.	nr. 29	Sir 16:14b–17:1 ca. ³⁹
*	nr. 28	Wis 17:6c–15 ca.	nr. 25	Wis 17:16–19 ca.
*	nr. 26	Prov 18:8–17 ca.	nr. 27	Prov 18:18–19:4 ca.
*	nr. 32	Job 14:19b–15:5b	nr. 35	[Job 15:6–23 ca.]
*	nr. 34	[Sir 2:10–16 ca.]	nr. 33	Sir 2:17a–3:8a ⁴⁰
*	nr. 36	Job 14:1–10b ca.	nr. 31	[Job 14:11–19a]
*		—	nr. 37	Sir 26:14a–27.1b
*	nr. 38	Wis 15:15a–16:1b		—
*	nr. 39	Sir 43:28b–44:4c	nr. 40	Sir 44:5a–16b
*	nr. 45	Job 31:16a–22b		—
*		—	nr. 52	Prov 25:18b–26b
*	nr. 54	Sir 38:25d–29c	nr. 53	Sir 38:30b–39:3b

³⁷ The identification refers only to the major fragment; the minor fragment is not identified.

³⁸ In image numbers 11 and 18, two fragments are reproduced; the smaller fragment must be turned, of course, because its text, as it appears in the photograph, pertains to the opposite side of the folio.

³⁹ It is possible that Sir 16:14a has been left out, because the sheet at the top is improbably cut off; 16:15 and 16 are omitted, 16:17a–c follow, and immediately after this there is an addition.

⁴⁰ The space is not sufficient for Sir 3:1a–4 (Sir 3:4 omitted?).

3. SELECTED VARIANT READINGS

In what follows, we propose to discuss, book by book, the readings that are typical for Ms. Ra 3010,⁴¹ in contrast to the rest of the textual tradition. For Job, the Wisdom of Solomon (*Sapientia Salomonis*), and Sirach, Joseph Ziegler's editions have been used; for Ecclesiastes, Peter Gentry's edition; and for Proverbs, we have consulted the collations of the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

3.1 PROVERBS (ED. RAHLFS)⁴²

For Proverbs, three variants can be observed. Their common feature is that they all differ from the text of *Codex Vaticanus B* (*Diktyon* 67840). Moreover, the readings of Ms. Ra 3010 in these three cases are always accompanied by a small group of three minuscules, namely Ra 68, 161-248.

Ms. Ra 68 is the famous *Codex Venetus*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 5 (*Diktyon* 69476), a full Bible of the 15th century, which, in the case of the Wisdom books, must have been closely related to a Venetian manuscript which has now disappeared and which, along with *Codex Vaticanus B*, is one of the Aldina's *Vorlagen*.⁴³

Ms. Ra 248 is *Codex Vaticanus* gr. 346 (*Diktyon* 66977) from the 13th century, containing the wisdom books as well as Ezra, Esther, Tobit, and Judith.⁴⁴ This manuscript has attained some fame because it is one of the manuscripts that underlies the Complutensian Polyglot. It is characterized by numerous Hexaplaric marginal notes.⁴⁵ The text it offers is assigned by Ziegler for Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon to the Lucianic Recension.⁴⁶

Ms. Ra 161 is a witness of the wisdom books containing only Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Job.⁴⁷ It dates from the 14th century, and is now in the Russian State Archives in Moscow (*Diktyon* 44388). It used to belong under the signature A 170 to the Royal Library in Dresden (*Diktyon* 13484). The history of the manuscript is exciting, but to go into that would go beyond the scope of the present paper.⁴⁸ It originally came from the Iviron Monastery (Athos). The book of Job contains a marginal commentary and is considered a sister manuscript of the aforementioned Ms. Ra 248.⁴⁹ Ra 161 is well known for its numerous Hexaplaric marginal notes to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. The following three variants occur:

Prov 18:22b

κυρίου 3010 A etc. (*inter alia* 68 161-248 788)] θεοῦ B-S* C V-Syh 259 542 336 411 728 Rahlfs.

In *Prov 18:22b*, Ra 3010 reads in unison with, *inter alia*, the three mentioned minuscules, κυρίου instead of θεοῦ.

⁴¹ The Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen has given *Codex Taurinensis*, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.V.25, the official Rahlfs number 3010.

⁴² A textual history of the Greek Proverbs is still a *desideratum*. The article by Forti, *Proverbs*, is insufficient from a historical point of view, because it disregards the history of transmission of the text of the Greek Proverbs.

⁴³ The text of Ra 68 should be compared with the book of Job in the Aldina edition; cf. Ziegler, *Iob*, 55. In case of Sirach, Ra 68 agrees many times with the Aldina; however, Ra 744 has far more in common with the Aldina; cf. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 41. In the case of the Wisdom of Solomon, Ra 68 is a copy of *Codex Vaticanus B*; cf. Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 39.

⁴⁴ Cf. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 250.

⁴⁵ Cf. for the Hexaplaric character of Ra 248, see Ziegler, *Iob*, 153. The text offered by Ra 248, however, belongs in the book of Job neither to the Origenic nor to the Lucianic recension; Ziegler assigns Ra 248 to a separate group of minuscules to which he refers with the siglum 'b'. The book of Job shows how close Ra 248 is to Ra 68; this close connection between the two manuscripts is also encountered in the three variants to Proverbs, provided in Ra 3010.

⁴⁶ In case of Sirach, Ra 248 is 'the most important minuscule' (Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 53: 'die wichtigste Minuskel'); it is the main witness to the Lucianic recension, cf. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 65. In the case of the Wisdom of Solomon, Ra 248 belongs, with Ra 637, to the main group of the Lucianic recension, which has scarcely any characteristic features in the Wisdom of Solomon; cf. Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 56–59.

⁴⁷ Cf. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 50.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gentry and Albrecht, *The Amazing History*, on the problem of the Dresden collection, with further bibliographical information.

⁴⁹ Cf. Ziegler, *Iob*, 153.

Prov 20:13b

διάνοιξον δέ 3010 A S V-Syh etc. (*inter alia* 68 161-248 788)] διάνοιξον B 360 Rahlfs.

In Prov 20:13b, Ra 3010 has an additional δέ.

Prov 22:11b

δεκτοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν 3010 68 161-248, ex Prov 11:20b] δεκτοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι rel. (A B-S V-Syh)⁵⁰ = Rahlfs.

In the case of Prov 22:11b, after δεκτοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι, an addition is found in Ra 3010 and exclusively in the three minuscules Ra 68, 161-248, which reads ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν.⁵¹ This addition is a textual component in Prov 11:20b. There it reads: προσδεκτοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν ('but acceptable to him [*sc.* the Lord] are all who are blameless in their ways', NETS).

3.2 ECCLESIASTES (ED. GENTRY)

For Ecclesiastes (*Qohelet*), a number of variants are attested in Ra 3010. For evaluation of the evidence, we refer to Peter Gentry's edition (Gentry, *Ecclesiastes*, 2019). In individual cases, the manuscripts were also consulted. In the following, we would like to give some examples, which may illustrate the special (also orthographic) characteristics of our witness:

Ecc 3:2b, 3:12b, 3:15b

Itacistic errors occur quite often, e.g.:

Ecc 3:2b πεφητευμένον pro πεφουτευμένον 3010. Itacism υ → η.⁵²

Ecc 3:12b εἰ μί pro εἰ μή 3010. Itacism η → ι.

Ecc 3:15b ἴδη pro ἦδη 3010. Itacism η → ι.

Ecc 3:1, 3:13

Haplographies are present in two cases:

Ecc 3:1 καιρός 3010 C 534 Dam] καὶ καιρός rel. (Rahlfs Gentry).

Haplographically-induced lack of καί.

Ecc 3:13 om. ó post πᾶς 3010.

Most likely haplographic lack of *omikron* after *sigma lunatum*.

Apart from the orthographic and orthographically-caused variants, our witness offers a number of interesting readings that hint at its text-type. In the following, we wish to shed light on three verses, Ecc 2:26b, 3:5b and 3:14c-d:

Ecc 2:26b Gentry (2:26c Rahlfs)

σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην 3010] σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην A-C O B-S L C Rahlfs Gentry.

Ecc 2:26b reads in the Septuagint: 'For to the one who is good before him he [*i.e.* God] gave wisdom and knowledge and enjoyment' (NETS). The MT does indeed read 'and enjoyment' (עֲוֶדָה). Our witness, however, reads ἐπιστήμη (understanding) instead of εὐφροσύνη (enjoyment). The precise wording σοφίαν καὶ

⁵⁰ Not all other manuscripts attest δεκτοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι. A group of manuscripts reads προσδεκτοὶ instead of δεκτοὶ. Ra 788 belongs to this group, and in the cases mentioned above (Prov 18:22b and Prov 20:13b), it joins the Mss. Ra 68, 161-248. Ra 788 is to be mentioned here, as this manuscript, discovered by Reinhart Ceulemans, is a very important witness to the Hexaplaric tradition. Ceulemans is preparing an edition of the Hexaplaric marginal notes of this manuscript.

⁵¹ Mss. Ra 549 and Ra 543 provide the addition ἐν ὁδοῖς; Ms. Ra 613 provides the addition ἐν ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν.

⁵² Cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 262–263.

γνώσιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην offered by Ra 3010 is attested only in this manuscript. A look at the rest of the tradition, however, reveals that the reading ἐπιστήμη for εὐφοροσύνη derives from the Hexaplaric tradition: a total of six manuscripts testify in one way or another to the reading ἐπιστήμη:

Three manuscripts transmit ἐπιστήμη as a marginal note *ad locum* (Ra 161-248, 252).⁵³ Three others incorporate the *varia lectio* ἐπιστήμη in different ways in the text (Ra 539, 299, 733): manuscript Ra 539 juxtaposes the two readings, separated only by a colon, and reads εὐφοροσύνη: ἐπιστήμην; manuscripts Ra 299 and 733 connect both readings with καὶ and read ἐπιστήμην καὶ εὐφοροσύνην.⁵⁴

The nature of the tradition shows that the word-variant ἐπιστήμη originates from the Hexaplaric tradition: two of the manuscripts mentioned previously, namely Ra 161-248, have already been encountered in the context of Proverbs. These two witnesses are known for their Hexaplaric marginal notes. A close examination shows that the word-variant ἐπιστήμη has its origin in the Jewish recension of Symmachus. This is the conclusion of Peter Gentry, the editor of Ecclesiastes for the Göttingen Septuagint.⁵⁵ Symmachus in turn served Lucian of Antioch as one of his main sources in the creation of his (the Lucianic) recension.⁵⁶

Eccl 3:5b

περιλήματος pro περιλήματος 3010 798; περιλήματος A-C(-λέμματος)⁵⁷ L C] περιλήμψεως O B-S Rahlfs Gentry.

In case of Eccl 3:5b, the main text, supported by Origen's recension, *Codex Vaticanus B* and *Codex Sinaiticus* (*Diktyon* 57946) reads περιλήμψεως, while the Lucianic recension and the *Catena* in conjunction with *Codex Alexandrinus* (*Diktyon* 74390–74392; 39763) and *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus* (*Diktyon* 49569) attest the variant περιλήματος. Ms. Ra 3010 follows the Lucianic reading. Here, our witness differs slightly orthographically, insofar as it does not observe the double consonants and writes περιλήματος with only one *mu*. The present variation is rather interesting, because two word-variants face each other, which both derive from the same verb περιλαμβάνειν: on the one hand ἡ περιλήμψις ('the embracing'), on the other hand τὸ περίλημα ('the embraced'). This word variance is typical of the Lucianic recension, so that the Lucianic provenance of our reading may be considered certain, in particular due to the divergence of the Lucianic and Origenic recensions.

Eccl 3:14c–d

Eccl 3:14c ἐπ' αὐτῶν 3010 A-C S L C etc.] ἐπ' αὐτῷ B-68' 357 Rahlfs Gentry = MT = α' θ'; ἐπ' αὐτοῖς O cII etc.

The half-verse Eccl 3:14c reads, according to Rahlfs and Gentry, who both follow *Codex Vaticanus B*, which conforms to MT: ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν προσθεῖναι ('to it there is nothing to add', NETS). The question is how προσθεῖναι is constructed: our Ms. Ra 3010 constructs with ἐπί + genitive and thus follows the majority text, which is, *inter alia*, attested by the Lucianic recension. In contrast, Rahlfs and Gentry prefer, with *Codex Vaticanus B*, the construction with ἐπί + dative. The latter indeed corresponds to the Koine use.⁵⁸ Apart from one exception (Esth 9:27),⁵⁹ the construction of προσθεῖναι with ἐπί + genitive is not proven in the Septuagint

⁵³ Ra 161-248 read σοφίαν καὶ γνώσιν καὶ εὐφοροσύνην and transmit to εὐφοροσύνην the marginal reading ἐπιστήμη (in the nominative). Ra 252 attests for the whole verse (σοφίαν καὶ γνώσιν καὶ εὐφοροσύνην) the marginal reading ἐπιστήμην.

⁵⁴ Ra 299 reads σοφίαν καὶ γνώσιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ εὐφοροσύνην. Ra 733 reads γνώσιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ εὐφοροσύνην.

⁵⁵ The reading ἐπιστήμη is, according to Gentry, ascribed to Symmachus; Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, 530 s.v. ἐπιστήμη refer only to the fact that Symmachus uses ἐπιστήμη in Job 12:20; 21:22, namely, in cases where the Septuagint of Job reads σύνεσις.

⁵⁶ Cf. Albrecht, *Die alexandrinische Bibelübersetzung*, 241–243 (§ 4.2.1. 'Charakteristika der lukianischen Rezension'); Albrecht, *Hebraica veritas*, 113–132, esp. 126–127.

⁵⁷ For the reading of *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus*, cf. Albrecht, *Codex Ephraemi*, 277.

⁵⁸ Cf. Blaß and Debrunner, *Grammatik*, 164–165, § 202.1 with n. 7, for the construction of προσθεῖναι with ἐπί + Dat. Blaß and Debrunner, *Grammatik*, l.c., as well as Helbing, *Die Kasusyntax*, 289, underlines that *Verba composita* with πρὸς are often constructed with the dative, but in many cases the preposition (πρὸς + acc.) is repeated. For the verb προσθεῖναι, Helbing, *Die Kasusyntax*, 300–302, gives examples of both types of construction, and additionally indicates that προσθεῖναι is often constructed with ἐπί + acc.

⁵⁹ Esth 9:27 (ed. Hanhart) reads: [...] καὶ προσεδέχοντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς προσθεμιμένοις ἐπ' αὐτῶν [...] ('[...] and the Judeans accepted them for themselves and their descendants and all who had joined them [...]').

(except in later variants, as in our case). The reading of our witness may therefore be understood as a correction; and it is very likely that it has its origin in the Lucianic recension.

Eccl 3:14d καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς 3010] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ B Rahlfs Gentry = MT; καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν rel.

The half-verse Eccl 3:14d reads, according to Rahlfs and Gentry: καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφελεῖν ('and from it there is nothing to take away', NETS). Ra 3010 is singular in its reading and clearly mistaken: ἀφαιρεῖν cannot possibly be constructed with ἐπί.⁶⁰ The genesis of the variant ἐπ' for ἀπ' is easily explained by the preceding ἐπ' in direct context (ἐπ' αὐτῶν Eccl 3:14c, v. *supra*); or, perhaps the mistaken spelling ε for α produced ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.⁶¹ The alteration of αὐτοῦ to αὐτοῦς might then have been dittographically favoured by the following οὐκ (*sigma lunatum/ omikron*). However, the overall evidence (Vv. 14c–14d) suggests that the *Vorlage* of our witness agreed with the majority text and offered the plural ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

3.3 JOB (ED. ZIEGLER)

Let us now come to Job. For Job, a number of variants are attested. All the variants have in common that they go against *Codex Vaticanus* B. As a rule, our text witness agrees with the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which is the main witness of the Lucianic recension in the book of Job.

Job 5:26a

ἀπελεύση 3010 *L* (*inter alia* A) Syh^{ms} etc.] ἐλεύση B S 913 *O* etc.⁶² Ziegler.

The first variant occurs in Job 5:26a. Here, Ra 3010 attests the reading ἀπελεύση, while the main text reads ἐλεύση. The reading provided by our witness is clearly Lucianic. It is testified by the Lucianic recension. Moreover, Job 5:26a belongs to a group of five passages in which the Syrohexapla makes clear that this reading comes from a 'different edition'. Ziegler discusses these five passages in detail in his introduction and demonstrates that the Syrohexapla marked the Lucianic recension as 'another edition'.⁶³

Further variants for Job are clearly attributable to the Lucianic recension, insofar as our witness shares them—as in the previously discussed case—with the Lucianic main group, that is to say, especially with the *Codex Alexandrinus*:

Job 5:27c, 11:8b, 14:22b, 31:21a, 39:11b

Job 5:27c ἐποίησας 3010 *L*⁶³⁷ (*inter alia* A)] ἔπραξας B S C 913 *O* etc. Ziegler.

Job 11:8b ἢ βαθύτερα 3010 *L*-406-644^c (*inter alia* A)] βαθύτερα δέ B S C *O* etc. Ziegler.

Job 14:22b ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπένθησεν 3010 *L* (*inter alia* A) etc.] ἐπένθησεν B S C *O* etc.⁶⁴ Ziegler.

Job 31:21a εἰ δὲ καὶ 3010 *L* (*inter alia* A) etc.] εἰ B S C *O* etc.⁶⁵ Ziegler.

Job 39:11b καὶ ἐπαφήσεις 3010 *L* (*inter alia* A) Arm] ἐπαφήσεις δέ B S *O* etc. Ziegler.

In addition to the above-mentioned, clearly Lucianic variant εἰ δὲ καὶ instead of εἰ, another such variant is attested in Job 31:21a, which deserves to be mentioned separately: the reading χεῖρά μου instead of χεῖρα, which corresponds to the MT:

χεῖρά μου 3010 *O* 575-III-Iul etc.] χεῖράς μου V; χεῖρα B S C *L* (*inter alia* A) Ziegler = MT.

The reading χεῖρά μου, which our Ms. Ra 3010 offers, is attested by the second Lucianic sub-group III, by the commentary on Job by Julian the Arian, and by Origen's recension. Moreover, the Syrohexapla declares

NETS). The choice of the construction ἐπί + genitive may be due to the preceding construction: after προσδέχεσθαι with ἐπί + dative (*bis*) follows another, prepositional construction dependent thereon with ἐπί + dative, namely, προστιθέναι as dative participle, on which in turn ἐπί + genitive depends.

⁶⁰ Cf. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax*, 43–44, s.v. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, for the common construction of the verb with ἀπό.

⁶¹ Cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 278–282.

⁶² Divergent Ra 253: ἐλεύσουσι.

⁶³ Cf. Ziegler, *Job*, 112–113.

⁶⁴ Additionally, some *variae lectiones minores* are attested; cf. Ziegler's edition *ad locum*.

⁶⁵ Divergent Ra 644^c: εἰ δέ.

this reading to be consistent with the Hebrew and notes that it is attested by the three Jewish revisers, i.e. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Considering, furthermore, that the second Lucianic sub-group is characterized by influence from the Jewish recension of Symmachus (mediated by the Hexapla of Origen), it is clear that this reading is based on the Hexaplaric tradition.⁶⁶ A certain influence on our manuscript by Symmachus had already been noticed in the case of Ecclesiastes, namely, in the variant to Eccl 2:26b Gentry (2:26c Rahlfs).

In this case, the Lucianic main group ($L = A-V-575-637-Iul-Chr$) is divided: one part ($A-637-Chr$) goes with the majority text, while the other part ($V-575-Iul$ and 3010) differs. The second part includes, *inter alia*, the commentary on Job by Julian the Arian, who is considered to be ‘an important witness of the main Lucianic group’ (Ziegler),⁶⁷ and *Codex Venetus* ‘V’, which is the second main witness of the Lucianic recension in the book of Job, and which also attests the pronoun $\mu\omicron\nu$.

The fact that the *Codex Alexandrinus* in the present case agrees with the majority text is not surprising: the *Codex Alexandrinus* occasionally shows, as Ziegler has observed, certain deviations from the Lucianic recension.⁶⁸ The cases in which the *Codex Alexandrinus* deviates from the Job commentary by Julian the Arian are specifically discussed by Ziegler: Ziegler deals with two special cases, namely Job 33:2 and 35:11, where a part of the main Lucianic group, namely $V\ 575\ Iul\ Chr$, attests Hexaplaric additions, which are missing in the *Codex Alexandrinus* and in all other manuscripts.⁶⁹ The same applies to our passage, i.e. Job. 31:21a. Here, our Ms. Ra 3010 joins the Lucianic witnesses which attest the Hexaplaric addition. As a result, there can be no doubt that the reading $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\nu$ offered by Ra 3010 can be designated as Lucianic, even though it is not attested by the *Codex Alexandrinus*.

The Lucianic character of our witness is confirmed by further variants. In two verses (Job 11:3b and Job 15:2), Ra 3010 attests to special readings, which, however, are very similar to the readings of the Lucianic main group:

Job 11:3b

(1) $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa$ 3010] $\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $L^A-644^c\ Syh^{mg}$; $\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ A B S C O etc. Ziegler.

(2) $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 3010 $L\ Syh^{mg}$ etc.] $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ A B S C O etc.⁷⁰ Ziegler.

There are two variants in Job 11:3b. (1) The main text reads $\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, while our manuscript attests the special reading $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa$, which in turn most closely resembles the reading $\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa$ of the Lucianic recension. (2) In the case of the second variant, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ instead of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, our witness goes with the Lucianic recension, from which, however, the *Codex Alexandrinus* differs by following the majority text and Origen’s recension.

Job 15:2a

$\tilde{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 3010] $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $L-406$; $\acute{\rho}\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ B S C O etc. Ziegler.⁷¹

In Job 15:2 the main text reads $\acute{\rho}\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, while the Lucianic recension reads $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Our manuscript attests the special reading $\tilde{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, which comes very close to the Lucianic recension.

The last two variants of Ra 3010, namely Job 15:1 and 15:5b, are nonspecific. They only show that Ra 3010 goes against *Codex Vaticanus* B as usual:

⁶⁶ For the second Lucianic sub-group, cf. Ziegler, *Job*, 105–106, here esp. 106.

⁶⁷ Ziegler, *Job*, 15–16, here: 16: ‘wichtiger Zeuge der lukianischen Hauptgruppe’. For the commentary on Job by Julian the Arian cf. in detail Albrecht, *Markierte Intertextualität*, 90–93 (§ 1. ‘Die Identität des psign Interpolators’).

⁶⁸ Cf. Ziegler, *Job*, 94, who notes in context of his presentation of Julian’s commentary on Job, regarding the *Codex Alexandrinus*: ‘Iul geht aber nicht immer mit A [...]. Dies ist sehr oft zu beobachten, da A viele Sonderlesarten hat, die manchmal Verschreibungen sind’.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ziegler, *Job*, 94.

⁷⁰ Divergent Ra 644^c: $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$.

⁷¹ Divergent Ra 644^c: $\acute{\rho}\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\nu\iota\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

Job 15:1

Ἐλιφάξ 3010 S C O L (*inter alia* A)] Ἐλιφάξ or similar: B 253 etc. Ziegler.⁷²

In Job 15:1, Ra 3010 attests the reading of the majority text. In this specific case, this means that the Lucianic recension is in accordance with Origen's recension and also agrees with the *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus*.

Job 15:5b

οὐ 3010 C O etc.] καὶ οὐ L etc.; οὐδέν S; οὐδέ B' II'-336'-534' etc. Ziegler.⁷³

In Job 15:5b, Ra 3010 attests οὐ, following Origen's recension and in accordance with *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus*, while Ziegler prefers the reading of *Codex Vaticanus* B, i.e. οὐδέ.

3.4 WISDOM OF SOLOMON (ED. ZIEGLER)

The Wisdom of Solomon (*Sapientia Salomonis*) has two characteristic readings (Wis 16:22c and 16:24a). A classification of our witness in the overall tradition is more difficult, because of the narrow text base.

Wis 16:22c

φλεγόμενον 3010 A B 248 etc.] φλέγον S C V O etc.

In case of Wis 16:22c, the association of our witness with Ra 248 points to Lucianic influence. It is worth noting that Ra 3010 always goes with Ra 248 in the variants to Proverbs, which we considered earlier.

Wis 16:24a

τῷ ποιήσαντι ὑπηρετοῦσα αὐτῶν (αὐτῶν pro αὐτόν) 3010; cf. τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν C *mendose*;
τῷ ποιήσαντι τὰ πάντα ὑπηρετοῦσα 248] τῷ ποιήσαντι ὑπηρετοῦσα rel. (Ziegler).

In the case of Wis 16:24a, the verse reads in almost all manuscripts: ἡ γὰρ κτίσις σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι ὑπηρετοῦσα / ἐπιτείνεται εἰς κόλασιν ('For creation, serving you who made it, strains itself for punishment [...]?', NETS).

Our witness, however, reads: ἡ γὰρ κτίσις σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι ὑπηρετοῦσα αὐτῶν / ἐπιτείνεται εἰς κόλασιν ('For creation, serving you who made it, strains itself for punishment [...]'). The αὐτῶν, added after ὑπηρετοῦσα, is nonsensical; it is surely a misreading of αὐτόν in αὐτῶν, which is based on quantity exchange between *omikron* and *omega*. The added αὐτόν is then to be understood as a complementary object to τῷ ποιήσαντι, although the position at the end of the verse is miserable. An addition to the object can be found in two other witnesses: on the one hand, in *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus* (τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν), which, however, does not offer a meaningful text, since it omits ὑπηρετοῦσα;⁷⁴ on the other hand, in the previously mentioned Ms. Ra 248, which complements τὰ πάντα and thus reads: ἡ γὰρ κτίσις σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὰ πάντα ὑπηρετοῦσα / ἐπιτείνεται εἰς κόλασιν.⁷⁵ ('For creation, serving you who made everything, strains itself for punishment [...]').

3.5 SIRACH (ED. ZIEGLER)

Finally, we turn to the book of Sirach. The tradition of the Greek Sirach is complicated. Ziegler distinguishes two Greek translations:⁷⁶ first, the translation of Sirach's grandson, GrI, which is handed down in the Greek

⁷² For the variants in detail, cf. Ziegler's edition in the apparatus *ad locum*.

⁷³ For further *variae lectiones minores*, cf. Ziegler's edition in the apparatus *ad locum*.

⁷⁴ Ziegler notes in the apparatus *ad locum* that *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus* is probably influenced by Wis 15:11 (οὗτις ἠγγόνησεν τὸν πλάσαντα αὐτόν).

⁷⁵ Ziegler notes in the apparatus *ad locum* that Ra 248 is probably influenced by Wis 9:1 (Θεὸς πατέρων καὶ κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου).

⁷⁶ Cf. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 69–84, here esp. 83.

manuscripts; second, a later translation, GrII, which has left traces in the Origenic and Lucianic recensions. It is close to the Hebrew Sirach fragments and was, according to Thiele, the *Vorlage* of the *Vetus Latina*.⁷⁷ The importance of the *Vetus Latina* is emphasized by Ziegler in his text-historical introduction to the Greek Sirach:

‘[...] it often introduces readings that are not in any of the Greek manuscripts we know, but certainly once existed in Greek form. Perhaps a lucky find will give us at least a few fragments that form the *Vorlage* of La and deliver Greek readings that as yet are only available in Latin’.⁷⁸

In Sirach, our manuscript testifies to several significant variants, which allow some comments to be made on the value of the manuscript. In particular, the first variant would certainly have pleased Ziegler, because it is a lucky find of the kind he described:

Sir 3:1 in.

Titulus + Περὶ π[...]σαν 3010] > rel., sed cf. *Vetus Latina*

Before chapter 3, Ra 3010 transmits the remnants of a subtitle (‘Zwischentitel’). In the Greek primary tradition, there is no indication of this. The *Vetus Latina*, however, attests in parts of the tradition the subtitle ‘*de honore parentum*’.⁷⁹ This example shows the special value of the *Vetus Latina* for the book of Sirach. Our witness confirms that the reading, which was previously testified only in Latin, is based on a Greek *Vorlage*.

A study of the subtitles in the Greek Sirach shows that these occur in the manuscript tradition very irregularly, and none of the known manuscripts, let alone the recensions, provides consistent subtitles. In the first seventeen chapters of the Greek Sirach, apart from the instance mentioned in our text, only one subtitle (Περὶ ὑπομονῆς) is extant to Sir 2:1 *in.*, namely in Ms. Ra 248, which is considered the main witness of the Lucianic recension in Sirach. The *Vetus Latina*, however, has no title before Sir 2:1. This evidence reminds us to be cautious in text-historical judgments.

Sir 3:7a, Sir 26:19–27

Sir 3:7a deest 3010 B, S, A, C, V etc.] sed hab. *O L* 694-743-768.

Sir 26:19–27 desunt 3010 B S A V O etc.] sed hab. *L*-743.

A special feature of the GrII-tradition are smaller and larger additions. Such additions cannot be found in our text. This can be demonstrated in two places, namely in Sir 3 and Sir 26. The absence of the half-verse Sir 3:7a and the verses Sir 26:19–27 in our group of witnesses is an important indication that Ra 3010 belongs in fact to the GrI-tradition, because Sir 3:7a and Sir 26:19–27 are among the additions that come from GrII into the Greek tradition of Sirach, which Ziegler has included in the main text of his edition in small print.⁸⁰

Sir 3:23b

ἀνθρώπου ὑπεδόθη 3010] ἀνθρώπων ὑπεδείχθη B S A V O L Ziegler.

In Sir 3 another variant is attested, namely in v. 23b. This verse reads according to the Septuagint: πλείονα γὰρ συνέσεως ἀνθρώπων ὑπεδείχθη σοι (‘for things beyond human understanding have been shown to you’, NETS). Our witness, however, reads ἀνθρώπου ὑπεδόθη instead of the mainly-attested ἀνθρώπων ὑπεδείχθη. This reading is attested in such a manner only in Ra 3010. However, the singular ἀνθρώπου instead of the plu-

⁷⁷ Cf. VL 11/2, 101.

⁷⁸ Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 74: ‘[...] häufig bringt sie Lesarten, die in keiner der uns bekannten griech. Handschriften stehen, aber sicher einmal in griech. Form vorhanden gewesen sind. Vielleicht beschert uns ein glücklicher Fund wenigstens einige Fragmente, die die Vorlage von La bilden und griech. Lesarten überliefern, die bis jetzt nur in lat. Sprache vorliegen’.

⁷⁹ Cf. VL 11/2, 221 in the apparatus *ad locum* with reference to Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VI, 146, 1–2: ‘Ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ἐξῆς ἐστὶ λόγος περὶ τιμῆς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς. πατέρα δὲ καὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν λέγει σαφῶς. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγνόντας αὐτὸν υἱοὺς ἀναγορεύει καὶ θεοὺς. κύριος οὖν καὶ πατὴρ ὁ κτίστης πάντων, μήτηρ δὲ οὐχ, ὡς τινες, ἢ οὐσία ἐξ ἧς γεγόναμεν, οὐδ’, ὡς ἕτεροι ἐκδεδώκασιν, ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἀλλ’ ἡ θεία γνῶσις καὶ ἡ σοφία, ὡς φησι Σολομών, μητέρα δικαίων ἀνακαλῶν τὴν σοφίαν. καὶ ἔστι δι’ αὐτὴν αἰρετὴ. πᾶν τε αὐτὸ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δι’ υἱοῦ γινώσκειται. Clement of Alexandria thus combines the fifth commandment (τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα, Ex 20:12) with Sir 3.’

⁸⁰ Cf. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu*, 69.

ral ἀνθρώπων is testified by three minuscules (Ra 296-548, 336) and the *Vetus Latina*; and ὑπεδόθη instead of ὑπεδείχθη can be found elsewhere, if only in a single witness, namely in *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus*. The text at hand shows that Ra 3010 is a valuable witness to the fact that there used to be ancient traditions that have been handed down only through randomly-preserved textual witnesses such as the two palimpsest manuscripts we have mentioned (*Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus*, Ra 3010).⁸¹

Sir 16:27d

αὐτοῦ 3010 L'-672-743 728] αὐτῶν rel. (B S A V O etc.) Ziegler.

In Sir 16:27d, it can be seen that Ra 3010 agrees with the Lucianic recension against the rest of the tradition. Our witness reads αὐτοῦ instead of αὐτῶν. However, one has to say that such a reading is hardly meaningful, since this type of variance is not typical of recensions.

Sir 26:18b, 27:1a

Lastly, we come to two passages where our witness follows the majority text, though not considered original by the editors: Sir 26:18b and 27:1. It is really not surprising that Ra 3010 does not attest the text that is provided by *Codex Sinaiticus* as original reading:

26:18b στέρνοις (-νους 3010 254) B S^c A V O L etc. Rahlfs] πτέρνοις S* etc. Ziegler.
27:1a ἀδιαφόρου 3010 B S^c A V O L etc.] διαφόρου S* etc. Rahlfs Ziegler.

4. THE STICHOMETRY OF RA 3010 IN ECCLESIASTES: A CASE STUDY

After this examination of variants from Ra 3010, we would like to add a few observations about the stichometry. Here, we confine ourselves to Ecclesiastes. There is a special characteristic, namely the particular stichometry of the manuscript, which interestingly coincides with a part of the tradition that is influenced by the Hexaplaric tradition; we shall give one example.

In Ecclesiastes, the stichometry of our witness resembles to a large extent that which is offered by Ms. Ra 252, i.e. *Codex Florentinus*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 8.27 (*Diktyon* 16085) from the 10th century.⁸² The manuscript contains Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, accompanied by scholia and Hexaplaric marginal notes.

For Ecclesiastes, Ra 252 is (beside Ra 788) the oldest witness of the manuscript tradition that has preserved Hexaplaric marginal notes (Ra 161, 248, 252, 336, 411, 539, 788). According to Gentry, the carriers of the Hexaplaric marginal notes in the textual tradition of Ecclesiastes do not belong to clear groups: Ra 252 is assigned to the group of witnesses that Gentry calls the A-text (A-C-155-252-296-548-549).⁸³ According to his remarks on the characteristics of the A-text, A, C, 155, 252, and 549 all went back to a common ancestor.⁸⁴ However, the stichometric differences make it hard to believe that these manuscripts, which have a loose association with the *Codex Alexandrinus*, can be assigned to a common group or even descend from a common ancestor.

In fact, the stichometric correspondence of our witness with the oldest exponent of that lineage based on the Hexaplaric tradition, notably Ms. Ra 252, shows that the close relationship of our manuscript to the Mss. Ra 161-248, which was previously observed in the spectrum of variants, is not a random one: our witness seems to be very closely related to the Lucianic group of manuscripts, which have preserved Hexaplaric material.

⁸¹ The other palimpsest manuscripts that contain the *libri sapientiales* of the Septuagint are manuscripts Ra 600, 626, 825, 826, cf. Albrecht, *Palimpsesthandschriften*; and the palimpsest manuscripts that have been described by Martin Flashar, i.e. the Job fragments of Ra 406, and the Sirach fragments of Ra 929, cf. Rahlfs, *Palimpsest-Fragmente*.

⁸² Cf. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 67.

⁸³ Cf. Gentry, *Ecclesiastes*, 57; Gentry, *Text History*, 105–106.—In his apparatus, however, Gentry records Ra 252 under al = *alia manuscripta*.

⁸⁴ Cf. Gentry, *Ecclesiastes*, 58; Gentry, *Text History*, 106.

5. TEXTUAL HISTORY

Based on the previous observations, we would like to conclude with an attempt to classify our manuscript, which, because of its early date, can undoubtedly be counted among the group of rather important witnesses to the Greek wisdom books, the so-called *Libri sapientiales* of the Septuagint.

In the case of Proverbs, the observed tendency of our manuscript is to go against the text of *Codex Vaticanus* B and to agree with two significant minuscules that stand in the Hexaplaric tradition (Ra 161-248). A closer characterization of these textual witnesses is still pending:⁸⁵ in Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon, Ziegler has assigned the text-type of those manuscripts to the Lucianic recension. It is striking that these manuscripts supply Hexaplaric notes, and thus are clearly dependent on the Hexaplaric tradition, but without belonging to Origen's recension.⁸⁶ Origen's recension seems to be present for Proverbs in the Syrohexapla and in *Codex Venetus* 'V'. It is noteworthy that the Syrohexapla in the three cases considered here goes together with *Codex Venetus* 'V'; this indicates that both witnesses form the *O*-group, not only in Ecclesiastes, but also in Proverbs.⁸⁷ The way in which Origen's recension and the Lucianic recension are related to each other in the Greek book of Proverbs requires, of course, an in-depth investigation that is still pending.⁸⁸

For Ecclesiastes, we were able to observe, on the basis of the three noteworthy verses examined, that the readings offered by Ra 3010 can be called Lucianic. In particular, from Eccl 2:26b it became clear that Ra 3010 goes with the same group of manuscripts, which can already be found in Proverbs (Ra 161-248). In addition to this comes Ms. Ra 252, whose stichometry in the case of Ecclesiastes closely follows that of Ra 3010. The commonality of these three manuscripts is that they belong to the Lucianic group and have preserved Hexaplaric material in the form of marginal notes.

In the case of Job, our manuscript is clearly assigned to the Lucianic recension. It mostly goes with the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which largely represents that recension in the book of Job. Ra 3010 (7th century) thus takes the side of the two main old witnesses to the Lucianic recension in Job: *Codex Alexandrinus* (5th century) and *Codex Venetus* 'V' (8th century); the latter, however, starts only at Job 30:8.

For the Wisdom of Solomon, a text-historical classification is difficult, because the narrow variant base is scarcely sustainable. It is at least worth noting that the well-known Ms. Ra 248, in one of the two cases (Wisdom of Solomon 16:22c), goes with Ra 3010.

Finally, in the case of Sirach, the variants are more numerous, which in turn facilitates the classification. It is clear that our witness belongs to the GrI-tradition, that is to say, the old translation of the book, dating back to Sirach's grandson. The Lucianic influence of Ra 3010 is also unmistakable in Sirach. Most interesting is the subtitle before Sir 3:1, which is otherwise preserved only in the *Vetus Latina*. Strikingly, in the first 17 chapters of Greek Sirach, only one more subtitle is attested, namely before Sir 2:1. This can be found in Ms. Ra 248, the main witness to the Lucianic recension of Sirach.

CONCLUSION

The decipherment of the Turin fragments would have been impossible without enhanced multispectral photographs of the highest quality. Nonetheless, we are aware that the material conditions of the badly-damaged fragments require further restoration, and a subsequent new photographic campaign covering the entire bulk of fragments is desirable, which would undoubtedly make it possible to recover other portions of the Biblical text and to reconstruct the codicological structure of all the extant folios (30).

⁸⁵ Gentry, *Late Syriac Translations*, 220, mentions both witnesses, i.e. Ra 161-248, in his excellent overview of the (Syro-)Hexaplaric tradition in Job, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, without giving a text-historical classification of these two manuscripts.

⁸⁶ The same phenomenon is well attested for the prophetic books; concerning the Lucianic recension in Ezechiel, cf. Wevers, *The L Text*, 115: '[...] *L* based his work using as his parent *LXX* text an *O* ms which contained hex signs in large number [...]' and concerning Isaiah, cf. Munnich, *Le texte lucianique*.

⁸⁷ Cf. for the *O*-group in Ecclesiastes, Gentry, *Late Syriac Translations*, 222. For Proverbs, Gentry leaves the classification open, cf. *ibid.* 223: 'It will be interesting to see how the evidence for the Syro-Hexapla in Proverbs and Canticles does or does not line up with the text of the *LXX*^o group.'

⁸⁸ The article by Meade, *Proverbs* gives a first orientation.

The provisional analysis that we were able to make of the Turin palimpsest allows a cautious conclusion: the original provenance of the old parchment leaves reused by Baiophoros seems—particularly on a textual basis—not to have been Constantinople. It is quite possible, in our opinion, that the *codex antiquior* has its origin in the East of the Byzantine empire, and arrived at a later time at the Prodromos Monastery of Petra—maybe at the time of the Komnenian dynasty,⁸⁹ or in the early Palaiologan period, when George of Cyprus (from 1283 patriarch Gregory II) moved to Constantinople, where he received both the monastic tonsure and the order of the diaconate precisely in that monastery.⁹⁰

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⁸⁹ The interests of the Komnenoi in Cyprus in the 12th century may have affected Byzantine book production: Gamillscheg, *Fragen zur Lokalisierung*, 313–321.

⁹⁰ Georgius Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικὰ ἱστορία*, VII 14, ed. Failler 1999, 52–56, particularly 55 and fn. 13.

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⁹¹ Last access: 28.11.2022.