

# A Neglected Text-Critical *Siglum* in Codex Vaticanus and Its Import for the Matthean Text<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This paper concerns a little-known text-critical *siglum* used by the scribes of Codex Vaticanus 1209. It is a short, s-shaped sign placed within the text and repeated in the margin, beneath which the scribe (in the vast majority of the cases in which it is used) wrote an alternative reading. Where it is used as such, as in the Gospel of Matthew, it almost certainly implies the use of a second exemplar. This paper introduces the *siglum* and its use in Vaticanus (and possibly elsewhere), catalogues its New Testament occurrences, and explores what these readings might tell us about the assumed second exemplar of Matthew. Finally, it offers recommendations for future critical editions of the text of Matthew.

## 1. Text-Critical *Sigla* Used by the Scribes and Correctors of B

The scribes and correctors of Codex Vaticanus (B[03]; Vat.gr. 1209) used a number of procedures for perfecting the text of the codex,<sup>2</sup> some of which involved the use of specialized *sigla*. For restoring (usually short) haplographies, the scribes sometimes simply added the omitted text in the margin or between the lines with no accompanying *siglum*. More often, to mark short omissions and their restorations the scribes or correctors used the dotted obelus (÷), or *obelos periestigmene*, also known as *lemniskos*. Mainly for longer restorations, the scribes used the *ancorae* signs ↑↓, one placed in the side margin near the omission, its partner then placed in the top or bottom margin, followed by the restored text (see Figure 1).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An early version of this paper was read at the 2018 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. My thanks to Greg Lanier and Moses Han, who read earlier drafts.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these are known from classical scholarship. See, e.g., Franco Montanari, “*Ekdosis*: A Product of the Ancient Scholarship,” in *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, vol. 2, *Between Theory and Practice*, ed. Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015, 641–72.

<sup>3</sup> Kathleen McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1992), 12, points out, “Interestingly, although the sign may strike the eye as having the shape of an arrow, its ‘business end’—the directional pointer—was normally the open part of its central shaft. Thus the ∟ typically served as a pointer upward, ↯ down.”

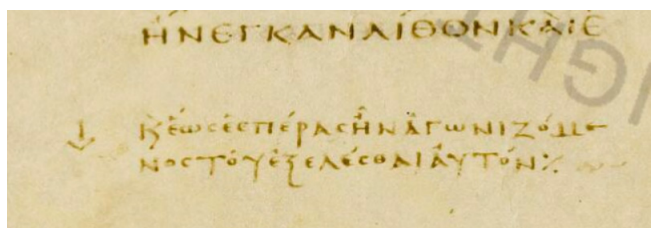


Figure 1. Codex Vaticanus p. 1222, Daniel, *ancora* and *lemniskos* (*obelus periestigmene*)<sup>4</sup>

The scribes of Vaticanus also seem to have used three modes of *deleting* surplus text, most often due to dittography. They used superlinear deletion or cancellation dots placed above the letters or sometimes inserted small, round hooks or parentheses around the unwanted text (or used these two methods in combination, as in Figure 2). We also find the occasional use of short, oblique lines striking through a letter or letters (see Figure 4).

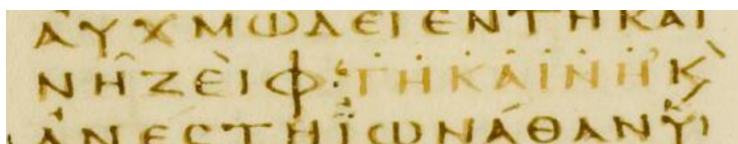


Figure 2. Codex Vaticanus p. 341, 1 Kgdms 23:15, deletion dots and parentheses

## 2. The *Varia Lectio Siglum* <sup>s</sup> in Vaticanus

This paper concerns a set of scribal interventions in Vaticanus that have gone almost unnoticed, at least for the past 135 years or so, lack of careful attention to which has sometimes produced confusion among editors. These interventions too employ a *siglum*, or better, a set of reciprocating *sigla*, or *signes-de-renvoi*,<sup>5</sup> which I shall argue were used by the scribes mainly, though not quite exclusively, for marking short, variant readings. The *siglum* in question is a small, wavy vertical line (an elongated “s” shape: <sup>s</sup>) placed directly above a word or words in the text, and repeated above a word or words written in the margin. For example, on page 1157 at Ezekiel 16:8 the scribe has written *ωμοσα σοι* (I pledged to you) in the text block, and *ωμολογησα σοι* (I confessed/declared to you) in the margin (see Figure 3)

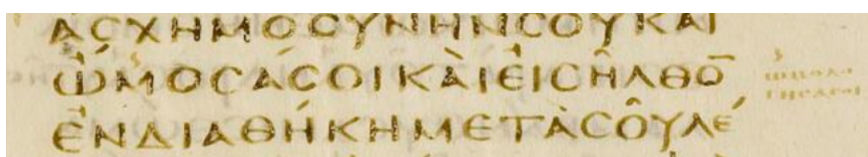


Figure 3. Codex Vaticanus p. 1157, Ezek 16:8, *ωμολογησα σοι* for *ωμοσα σοι*

I chose this example because it is clear and because the restorer(s), who reinked the faded text centuries later, in this case reinforced the textual reading, not the marginal one, leaving us with an example of the original handwriting. In this case it is the same Biblical Majuscule as the text, though much compacted, and in apparently the same ink as the text.

<sup>4</sup> All reproductions of Codex Vaticanus and  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  in this paper are reproduced from the Vatican Library website <https://vatlib.it>.

<sup>5</sup> As defined by Benjamin Neudorf and Yin Liu at Arch Book ([http://drc.usask.ca/projects/arch-book/signes\\_de\\_renvoi.php](http://drc.usask.ca/projects/arch-book/signes_de_renvoi.php)), *signes-de-renvoi* are “bi-directional linking devices, requiring the reader to leave and return to the main text, and thus guiding the reader from text to margin and back again.” Our most common modern analogy might be the footnote.

## 2.1 Part of the Original Production of the Codex

The only scholar I have seen address this group of variations as a set is Tischendorf in his edition of the New Testament of Vaticanus published in 1867, and he only treated the NT examples.<sup>6</sup> As already indicated, however, the phenomenon appears in many OT books as well,<sup>7</sup> and in the work of both scribes. The one pictured from Ezekiel is one of nine that appear in that book. Though a few OT instances of the *varia lectionis* convention appear to have been added later by a different hand, nearly all of them appear to have been placed by the same scribe who penned the text or by a corrector in the scriptorium.<sup>8</sup> This was the conclusion of Tischendorf, who thought that the kind of activity represented by this procedure was inherently more likely that of the copyist himself than that of a corrector or later reader. Tischendorf also observed that both the letter forms and the ink of the marginal readings (in Matthew and Luke) are those of the scribe. Thus he concluded that with scarcely any doubt it was the copyist himself who penned these marginal readings.<sup>9</sup> After this paper was virtually complete, I learned of Pietro Versace's remarkable new book on the marginalia of Vaticanus.<sup>10</sup> In the course of documenting the entire corpus of marginal markings of the codex, Versace has located and listed all 159 occurrences of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, or similar signs placed horizontally (on which see below) in the codex. He too finds that they are original to the codex's production, the work of two scribes, one of whom was a copyist of the text, the other a corrector of the text working in the scriptorium.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A. F. C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1867). Westcott and Hort noted them as well, though they were clearly dependent on the work of Tischendorf (B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek, with Notes on Selected Readings* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988, reprint of 1882 edition], 270 [par. 354]).

<sup>7</sup> There appear to be none in the few remaining pages of Genesis. Possibly the first example occurs on p. 76A, in Exod 23, but here the use is not quite the same. The word in the text (υμων) is given deletion dots above the letters, and the substitute word (σου) is written between the lines, not in the margin, and thus has no accompanying *siglum*. This may reflect the use of another exemplar, but is perhaps more likely just a correction of the scribe's mental mistake. Another possible first use comes on p. 80C at Ex. 27:4, where there is επι in the margin for υπο in the text. Here the *siglum*, however, is almost on its side and may be the work of a later scribe. (This one, Pietro Versace, *I Marginalia del Codex Vaticanus*, Studi e Testi 528 [Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018], 137, credits to his hand B<sup>3</sup>.) The first "standard" use in the work of Scribe A (to adopt the nomenclature of H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus, Including Contributions by Douglas Cockerell* [London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1938], Appendix I: Scribes of the Codex Vaticanus, 87–90) probably comes on p. 144 at Num 4:25 (credited to the text scribe, B<sup>1</sup>, by Versace). Six pages into the work of Scribe B is found the first example in his text, at 1 Kgdms 22:15 (p. 340), μου in the margin for αυτου in the text (also credited to B<sup>3</sup> by Versace).

<sup>8</sup> As mentioned, Versace, *I Marginalia* 83–89; 137, assigns 159 instances of either the <sup>s</sup> sign or similar signs placed horizontally (on which see below), to the work of the original textual scribes (whom he designates B<sup>1</sup>) and 18 instances of the <sup>s</sup> sign to one of the original correctors of the manuscript (whom he designates B<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> Tischendorf, *NTV*, xxiv. Westcott and Hort assented to Tischendorf's judgment: "Some few of the early corrections perceptible in the MS appear to have been made by the original scribe himself; and to his hand Tischendorf refers seven alternative readings placed in the margin ..." (*Introduction*, 270 [par. 354]). The seven mentioned are the five that Tischendorf recognized in Matthew and the two in Luke.

<sup>10</sup> Versace, *I Marginalia*.

<sup>11</sup> In his nomenclature, the scribe of the text is called B<sup>1</sup>, and the scriptorium corrector is B<sup>3</sup>.

I agree with both scholars that these markings are (in the vast majority of cases) the work of the original scribes and an original corrector. One example, I believe, is particularly illustrative in this regard. The first of nine examples in the text of Ezekiel occurs on p. 1147 at Ezekiel 4:14. Here the adjective  $\epsilon\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$  (“day old, stale”) in the text, is paired with  $\beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  (“worldly, profane”) in the margin.<sup>12</sup>

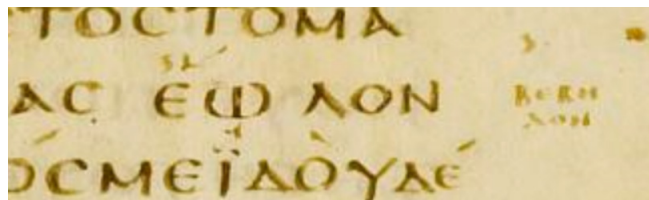


Figure 4. Codex Vaticanus p. 1147, Ezek 4:14

However,  $\epsilon\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$  in the text is written oddly, with an unnecessary space before it, and another separating the *omega* and the *lambda*. Versace speculates that perhaps  $\beta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  had been written first in the text but was erased and  $\epsilon\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$  written over the erasure.<sup>13</sup> But there is no evidence of erasure here<sup>14</sup> and there are no traces of any earlier letters in the spaces. It appears instead that the scribe left spaces in the textual reading to be filled in (with only one letter needing to be erased), in case he later changed his mind and decided to write the longer word  $\beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  in the space! This would seem to demonstrate that, in this case at least, it was the scribe of the text himself who placed the marginal reading and thus that both readings were available to the scribe *as he was inscribing the text*.<sup>15</sup> But where did the alternative reading come from?

## 2.2 The Marginal Readings Come from a Second Exemplar

The marginal readings marked in this way by the scribes of Vaticanus do not appear to be, strictly speaking, “corrections” of scribal errors, such as haplography or dittography or nonsense readings. They are apparently not even “substitutions,” but real alternative readings, apparently, as Tischendorf also believed,<sup>16</sup> preserving the readings of a second exemplar used by the scribes.

The primary reason for saying this is because both readings were left to stand by the scribes. The scribes, as we have seen, had regular procedures for *correction*, which would cancel out the incorrect reading by deletion dots, parentheses,<sup>17</sup> or strikethroughs. As another example, one might cite the real correction at Luke 13:7 (p. 1330) where two words ( $\tau\omicron\nu\nu\ \tau\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$ ) are marked with strikethrough lines and the correction ( $\tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu$ ) is written between the lines and was reinked by the restorer (see Figure 5).

<sup>12</sup>  $\beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  is used elsewhere in Ezekiel at 21:30; 22:26; 44:23. This particular marginal reading,  $\beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  at 4:14, is also read by Codex Marchalianus (Q, p. 580).

<sup>13</sup> Versace, *I Marginalia*, 88, n.57. This is apparently how Rahlfs understood it as well, who curiously has  $\beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  as both the original reading and the marginal one, with  $\epsilon\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$  as a correction (*Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, edited by Alfred Rahlfs, two vols. in one (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935, 1979), II.776).

<sup>14</sup> For an example of an erasure, see §4.7 below.

<sup>15</sup> More evidence for this same conclusion comes from the example at Matt. 11:19 (treated below), where the chapter number  $\omicron\Gamma$  is displaced from its normal position because the correction is already there. If one believes (as I do) that the chapter numeration was part of the original production, this too would indicate that the marginal variants are original.

<sup>16</sup> Tischendorf, *NTV*, xxiv. At Luke 3:1 (p. 1308).

<sup>17</sup> For an example in Matthew of parentheses, see p. 1262C at Matt 22:4; for dots see p. 1263B at Matt 21.18.



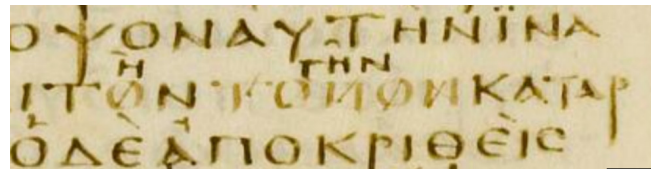


Figure 5. Codex Vaticanus p. 1330, Luke 13:7, strikethroughs with replacement text

But in the cases we are considering, the scribes left *no indication* that the textual reading be replaced. It is true that one reading makes it into the text and the other is literally “marginalized,” but both are left to stand, and the marginal reading is in fact the last one penned by the scribe. Displaying the openness of the scribal construction is the inconsistency of the later attempts to restore the text.<sup>18</sup> Sometimes the restorer reinked the textual reading, sometimes the marginal, and sometimes both.

Further, we are not dealing with merely one, two, or a handful, of exceptional cases in which we might simply imagine the textual reading was left and not deleted due to scribal oversight. Instead, we see a pattern repeated well over a hundred times, a recognizable procedure that shows signs of being virtually standardized by the scribes of this codex.<sup>19</sup> Pairing the unobstructed textual and marginal readings is a *siglum* which, though it may not have been invented for this purpose and though it occasionally may serve some other purpose(s) in Codex Vaticanus, appears regularly in this particular scribal pattern in the codex.

Finally, we may point to the character of the marginal readings in the books in which this procedure is repeatedly used. There are two occurrences, in the same verse, of what looks like the same scribal procedure in Luke, but the words on the margin are most likely glosses, not alternative readings (see Appendix below). But, as we shall see, the marginal readings in Matthew and at least the great majority in other books in the codex (a full study waits to be made), are not glosses, i.e., explanations or definitions of rare or difficult words. Instead, they consistently show themselves to be real alternatives to the textual readings and, in fact, in every Matthean instance are witnessed elsewhere in other manuscripts as alternate readings.

<sup>18</sup> It is immediately obvious that the text of the codex was retraced at a time when the ink had faded. This effort has usually been attributed to a restorer of the tenth or eleventh century (e.g., Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* [London: Duckworth, 1912, third impression 1930], 20). But recently Versace, *I Marginalia*, has argued that there were in fact two separate restorations, one in a light ochre ink, done in the tenth or eleventh century, the other in a much darker ink, done probably in the sixteenth. This makes a good deal of sense to me, though it does not appear to me that the first restoration was a reinking of the entire text, as the later one undoubtedly was. This is perhaps the place to mention the much-discussed “distigmai” found occasionally in the margins of B’s NT text. Whereas these may well mark places where the person responsible knew of variant readings from other manuscripts, they should not be considered a part of the original apparatus of the codex but the work of a much later hand or hands. Versace (68–70), in fact, dates them to the 16th c., probably by the person who supplied the Vulgate chapter numbers in Arabic numerals, noting, e.g., the occurrence of *distigme* on p. 1519A on a replacement page supplied in the 15th c. In particular, the recent, detailed argument by P. Payne about *distigmai* with *obeli* representing added text (Philip B. Payne, “Vaticanus Distigme-obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14.34–5,” *NTS* 63 [2017], 604–25) is invalid on two further counts. First, the bars in question are not *obeli* (a mark with text-critical significance) but simply *paragraphoi*, and second, what Payne so precisely measures and from which he draws conclusions are not the original *paragraphoi* of the original scribe but the dark, overwritten strokes of the much later restorer!

<sup>19</sup> It is the other uses which are exceptional in B. A few times the procedure may be used for substitutions, twice (in Luke 3:1) apparently for a marginal textual gloss (see Appendix), and at least once (p. 1066) the *siglum* was used to mark a Septuagintal addition in Jeremiah.

In this paper I shall focus on the eight examples of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum*-plus-marginal-reading phenomenon in Matthew. Outside of Matthew the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* is found only twice in Luke, and twice in John,<sup>20</sup> and the two in Luke appear instead to be glosses, and the two in John were never completed. The Lukan and Johannine examples are treated separately in the Appendix.

### 3. The Origin of the <sup>s</sup> *Siglum* and Its Use Elsewhere

Before examining the instances of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* in Matthew, it may be of interest to consider briefly the question of its origin and to ask whether this *siglum*, or this use of it, is distinctive to B, or whether it is found in other manuscripts.

Most of the tools of early Christian scholarship, including the use of critical signs in manuscripts, were derived in one way or another from the broader world of Hellenistic scholarship in which it grew up. The *obelus* and *asterisk*, adapted from Homeric scholarship by Origen for use on the Greek OT text,<sup>21</sup> as well as other signs and methods we have mentioned (*ancorae*, deletion dots, strikethroughs, sponging) can be traced to the Alexandrian grammarians and their successors. This does not appear to be the case, however, with the sign we are dealing with. No critical *siglum* with the s-shape, whether vertically or horizontally oriented, is listed among the Aristarchean signs, nor is one found in any of the ancient or medieval catalogues, such as Isidore of Seville's section on critical signs (*De notis sententiarum*) in his *Etymologies*,<sup>22</sup> the *Anecdota Romanum*,<sup>23</sup> or the *Anecdota Parisinum*.<sup>24</sup> As the signs normally have taken their names based on their shapes, as described in historical sources, rather than their functions, this absence of evidence leaves us in some quandary as to what to call our s-shaped *siglum*. In this paper I shall refer to it simply as the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* or <sup>s</sup> sign.

It might be possible to consider this sign to be a late adaptation of the Aristarchean *antisigma*, which Aristarchus invented for use in the margin, paired with a *stigma* (dot) used next to the line concerned, to mark places where a Homeric text had been transposed from its original position.<sup>25</sup> But if so, it has changed both its form and its original significance a good deal.

<sup>20</sup> Versace, *I Marginalia*, 89, also lists an instance on p. 1397 at Acts 10:37 at a point where a correction seems to have been made by the textual scribe. But here the *siglum* in the text is questionable, and in any case there is no corresponding *siglum* in the margin, the correction being made by erasure and rewriting.

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Francesca Schironi, "The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical σημεία from Zenodotus to Origen," in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, edited by Maren R. Niehoff (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 87–112.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Gabriel Nocchi Macedo, "Textes sur les signes: les sources Latines," *Signes dans les textes, textes sur les signes. Érudition, lecture et écriture dans le monde gréco-romain. Actes du colloque international* (Liège, 6–7 septembre 2013), ed. Gabriel Nocchi Macedo and Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, Collection Papyriologico Leodinensia 6 (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 203–28. For an English translation of the *Etymologies* Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I.xxi, 50–51.

<sup>23</sup> Said to be "definitely the most important among the lists of Homeric critical signs" (Schironi, "Ambiguity," 89, n.5) and preserved in a 10th-century manuscript, *Cod. Rom. Bibl. Naz. Gr. 6*.

<sup>24</sup> *Cod. Par. Lat. 7530*, fol. 28r–29r (780 C.E.). A transcription of this manuscript, along with Isidore's list, and Beyerisch Staatsbibliothek Clm 14429, fol. 122r–122v, are given in an Appendix in Macedo, "Textes sur les signes."

<sup>25</sup> Peter J. Gentry, "The Aristarchian Signs in the Textual Tradition of LXX Ecclesiastes," in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in The Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin de Troyer, T. Michael Law, and Marketta Liljeström (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters,

Every source I have seen describes the antisigma simply as the form of a lunate *sigma* written backwards (⊖).<sup>26</sup> According to the *Anecdotum Romanum*, “the *antisigma* by itself [is used] with reference to passages which have been transposed and are at variance [with the context].”<sup>27</sup> While it is true that most of the early critical *sigla*, as Francesca Schironi says, “perform multiple tasks,” and that the “*antisigma* + *stigmai* system” was probably never consistent and did not last long,<sup>28</sup> no ancient or medieval source states that the *antisigma* was used to mark substitutions or variant readings.

The suggestion could find support, however, from *P.Hawara* (Bodleian Library *Gr.class.* a. 1 [P]), a second-century, luxury edition of Book 2 of the *Illiad*. Picking up on a comment of Sayce’s,<sup>29</sup> Schironi states that the *antisigma* is sometimes used in the right hand margins to indicate a variant reading,<sup>30</sup> though, from what I can tell from the online photographs she refers to,<sup>31</sup> at times the symbol looks more like a cross than an *antisigma*. Schironi also notes that while these signs are placed in the right hand margin, there is no corresponding *stigma* in the left hand margin of the line concerned, as was the Aristarchean practice.<sup>32</sup> Apart from the *Hawara Homer*, Schironi finds no other examples of the *antisigma* used for variant readings.

The origins of the <sup>s</sup> sign, then, are still quite obscure. In manuscripts arguably earlier than Codex Vaticanus (Codex Sinaiticus, treated below, I consider to be most likely slightly later) I have found only one or two examples. In what is left of  $\Psi^{75}$  (third century), the scribe used it once, at Luke 9:22 (p. 1A11r),<sup>33</sup> to rectify an omission, marking the point in the text where the word  $\etaμερα$  was skipped. The missing word was then supplied in the right hand margin and presumably had the *siglum* above it, though this is no longer visible due to damage to the page (see Figure 6).

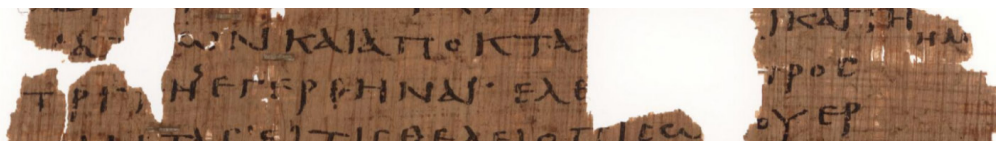


Figure 6.  $\Psi^{75}$ , p. 1A11r, Luke 9:22

2014), 463–78 at 473 suggests this for the possibly related ~ sign used in the Syro-Hexapla, and in a personal conversation raised the same possibility for the <sup>s</sup> sign.

<sup>26</sup> Gentry, “The Aristarchian Signs,” 472, n. 8, suggests this is the “earliest form of the sign” and states that the later “s” form, which is turned on its side in the Syro-Hexapla, “is based on the later minuscule sigma”. But I do not believe this minuscule form of the *sigma* was in use in the fourth century.

<sup>27</sup> τὸ δὲ ἀντισίγμα καθ’ἑαυτό, πρὸς τοὺς ἐνηλλαγμένους τόπους καὶ ἀπ’ἀδοντας. Translation of Francesca Schironi, “Tautologies and Transpositions: Aristarchus’ Less Known Critical Signs,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 57 (2017): 607–30 at 610, n. 12). The single article governing both ἐνηλλαγμένους and ἀπ’ἀδοντας makes “transposed and are at variance [with the context]” a better translation than “misplaced texts and variants,” and so this source says nothing about true, alternative readings such as we are dealing with.

<sup>28</sup> Schironi, “Tautologies and Transpositions,” 629.

<sup>29</sup> A. H. Sayce, “The Greek Papyri,” in *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, ed. W. M. Flinders Petrie (London: Field & Tuer etc., 1889), 24.

<sup>30</sup> She cites lines 397, 665, 682, 694, 707, 769, 856 (Schironi, “Tautologies and Transpositions,” 624).

<sup>31</sup> <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=Pack&vVol=&v-Num=616>.

<sup>32</sup> Schironi, “Tautologies and Transpositions,” 624. Here she reiterates that “introducing marginal variants is not the function of the Aristarchean *antisigma*.”

<sup>33</sup> Now viewable at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Pap.Hanna.1\(Mater.Verbi\)](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Hanna.1(Mater.Verbi)).

There is also one unusual use of the *siglum* in  $\Psi^{72}$  from the late third or fourth century. At 2 Pet 2:22 (p. 32) it appears above the word in the text, but its partner in the margin is reversed (see Figure 7).<sup>34</sup>

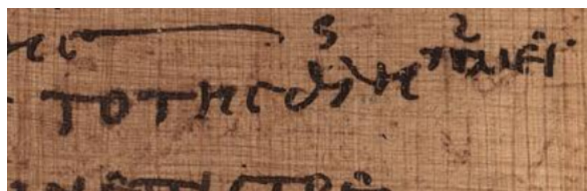


Figure 7.  $\Psi^{72}$ , p. 32 (ΛB), 1 Pet 2:22

The textual reading here is αληθινου in the phrase της αληθινου(ς) παρυμειας (*sic.*, for παροιμίας), and in the margin is a word that appears to be πμεϊ, an abnormal form of the Coptic πμε (if Sahidic) or φμε (if Bohairic or Fayyumic), meaning “the true one.”<sup>35</sup> Thus, this example of a translational gloss offers no precedent for the use of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* to denote alternative readings.

In the work of the correctors of Codex Sinaiticus we also find the <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, along with a similar wavy line, though horizontally oriented, like a tilde ~<sup>36</sup> (see Figure 8).<sup>37</sup>

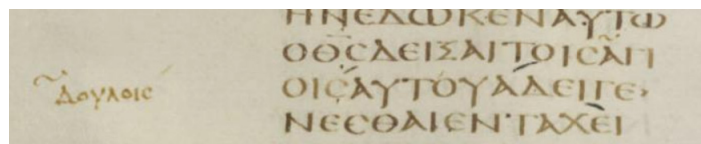


Figure 8. Codex Sinaiticus, p. 90.1v, Rev 1:1, Scribe C<sup>a</sup>

Kathleen McNamee has recently noted,

A new sign that appears with some frequency in late antiquity is an undulating line formed like a tilde (~), which commonly serves as a *signe de renvoi* for corrections, variants, and marginal notes. In a Callimachus papyrus<sup>38</sup> the sign ~ above ὕλην indicates the presence of the marginal gloss πεύκην, written at the right in darker ink. The sign had the same function in the 4th century *codex Sinaiticus* ..., often with modulations in form (J, J) in order to help the reader distinguish the passages to which each note on a given page refers. In the Syriac version of Origen's *Hexapla* the sign ~ is said to have represented the *obelus*, which Origen, like Aristarchus in Homeric texts, used for marking doubtful passages of the Septuagint. In the eastern version,

<sup>34</sup> Now viewable at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Pap.Bodmer.VIII](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap.Bodmer.VIII). In form, then, this is exactly like the sign for *transpositions* adopted in the Nestle/Aland editions, though they place both members of the pair within the text. There is at least one instance of this mirror-image usage in Vaticanus on p. 478 (4 Kgdms 22:19), though it is clearly from a hand much later than the original scribes and may date from a later restoration.

<sup>35</sup> This was the view of Michael Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII-XI* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1959), 33, n.1; see also Tommy Wasserman, “Papyrus 72 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex,” *NTS* 51 (2005): 137–54 at 138–39; James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 549 n.34.

<sup>36</sup> At first glance this might seem to be the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* placed on its side. But it is actually reversed and placed on its side (~).

<sup>37</sup> Photo from [www.codexsinaiticus.org](http://www.codexsinaiticus.org).

<sup>38</sup> This is P.Oxy. VII 1011 (MP3 211.1) from the fourth century, so, roughly contemporary with B and  $\aleph$ . Kathleen McNamee, “Sigla in Late Greek Literary Papyri,” in *Signes dans les textes*, 127–41 at 134, n. 39, also notes the use of this sign for introducing a marginal note in two other manuscripts: P.Ryl. III 474 (MP3 2974) *Digesta* (4th c.), and P.Ant. III 152 (MP3 2979.1), a juridical text (5th–6th c.).



as in the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the ~ siglum was also sometimes varied by the addition of dots ... or cross-strokes for the sake of clarity.<sup>39</sup>

McNamee seems to consider the horizontal form (~) to be the original and basic one and the vertical or upright form to be a modification. However, if indeed the two are to be considered varying forms of the same sign, the presence of the upright <sup>s</sup> form in  $\Psi^{75}$ ,  $\Psi^{72}$ , and B would call this into question. In *Sinaiticus*, as far as I have been able to tell (I cannot claim exhaustive research on this), all of the <sup>s</sup> and ~ *sigla*, including their dotted forms, come from the group of “C” correctors that Milne and Skeat do not associate with work of the scriptorium which produced the original manuscript.<sup>40</sup> The corrector Milne and Skeat called C<sup>a</sup> used apparently only the horizontal, tilde form (~) both in the text and in the margin, for both additions and substitutions.<sup>41</sup> The only corrector I have been able to locate who uses the upright <sup>s</sup> form is Milne and Skeat’s C<sup>b2</sup>, who used it with and without accompanying dots.<sup>42</sup> Both correctors, however, used these signs for additions or restorations (as in  $\Psi^{75}$ ), and for substitutions. Many of the latter (such as the one in Figure 8 above) may, of course, represent alternative readings in another manuscript. But often a scribe has already marked out the textual reading for deletion, so it seems best to classify these as substitutions, even if they did originate from another manuscript.<sup>44</sup> In any case, we can say that neither corrector of  $\aleph$  uses the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* distinctively or predominantly for variant readings.

As mentioned by McNamee, the horizontal ~ sign is also used in the Syro Hexapla (7th c.). She reports that it has been linked (source not provided) to Origen’s obelus, which he used to mark text in the LXX version that was not present in the Hebrew.<sup>45</sup> Gentry, however, believes that the four occurrences of this horizontal form in Syh *Ecclesiastes* can be classified as misplaced texts, that is, points at which it was known that a word appeared in a different place in another manuscript.<sup>46</sup> If so, this would reflect its essential Aristarchean use.

This horizontal form is even found in several places in *Vaticanus*,<sup>47</sup> though it often appears to be the work of a later hand and not one of the original scribes or correctors, and when it is used it is not always easy to tell whether its purpose is the same or different from that of the vertical form.

<sup>39</sup> McNamee, “Sigla,” 134. She does not mention our *siglum* in *Vaticanus*.

<sup>40</sup> Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 40, mention only the work of correctors A and B as belonging to the scriptorium.

<sup>41</sup> Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 46.

<sup>42</sup> Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 48. Typically the first use was the undotted form, the second use in a given context was dotted. This corrector also used a form with an oblique line through the middle, as well as forms of the *lemniskos*.

<sup>43</sup> As used for restoring omissions, it seems to be used as the equivalent of the *lemniskos*, and possibly is simply a variation of it.

<sup>44</sup> Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 48. C<sup>b2</sup> clearly uses the <sup>s</sup> at the beginning of a deletion and at the end (see Milne and Skeat Figures 16 [O.T. 82<sup>b</sup>] and 17 [O.T. 72<sup>b</sup>; 129, 73]), in many places where earlier correctors had already placed deletion dots or hooks. C<sup>a</sup> uses the ~ for substitutions or variants, e.g., at NT 90.1v at Rev 1:1, δουλοῖς in the margin for αἰοῖς in the text (Figure 8); NT 90.2r at Rev 3:3 γρηγορησῆς in the margin for μετανοησῆς in the text. The horizontal ~ form would be easier to fit between the lines of text, which are a bit closer in  $\aleph$  than in B.

<sup>45</sup> McNamee, “Sigla,” 134.

<sup>46</sup> Gentry says, “Descriptions and discussions of the use of this sign in the Syro-Hexapla by Gardthausen, Field, Rahlfs, Ziegler, Munnich and Wevers demonstrate that scholars are entirely unclear and uncertain about the identity and purpose of this critical sign” (Gentry, “The Aristarchian Signs,” 472).

<sup>47</sup> E.g. p. 157 (Num 13:15); p. 179 (Num 28:16); 238 (Josh 1:6); p. 360 (3 Kgdms 4:11).

The foregoing may not constitute an exhaustive list of possible precursors, but is enough, I believe, to sustain the following conclusion. While the use of this <sup>s</sup> *siglum* for text-critical purposes was not unknown to scribes contemporary with or just prior to the appearance of Codex Vaticanus, its specific use for introducing and preserving variant readings is either rare or unknown outside of Codex Vaticanus. The scribes of B appear to have co-opted a pre-existing, non-dedicated, multi-purpose *siglum* and adapted it predominantly—though not quite exclusively—to serve a new purpose, the preservation of alternative readings.

## 4. The Eight Occurrences of the <sup>s</sup> *Siglum* in Matthew<sup>48</sup>

Tischendorf named five instances in Matthew, 13:52; 14:5; 16:4; 22:10; 27:4, but missed occurrences at 11:19, 16:20, and 25:41. In seven of the eight Matthean examples, the later restorer(s) chose to reinforce the marginal reading, as if it were a real substitution, and left the textual reading in its faded condition.<sup>49</sup>

### 4.1. Matthew 11:19

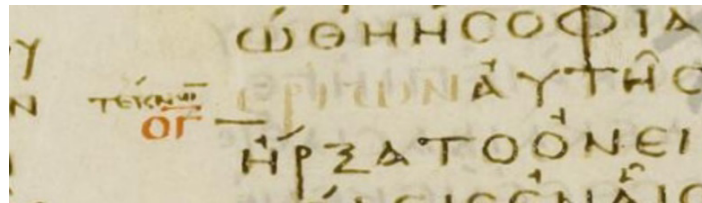


Figure 9. Codex Vaticanus p. 1248, Matt 11:19

The first occurrence of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* in Matthew comes at 11:19 (Figure 9). Tischendorf did not note this one, probably simply because the original ink of the *siglum* here is very light and barely visible. Here the scribe wrote ἐργῶν in the text and τέκνων in the margin, rendering either “Wisdom is justified from her works” (text) or “from her children” (margin). Τέκνων, of course, brings Matthew 11:19 into conformity with Luke 7:35 and therefore is usually considered a harmonization.<sup>50</sup> Thus, despite the fact that τέκνων is the reading of the great majority of all manuscripts of Matthew,<sup>51</sup> modern editions have rejected it in favor of the unharmonious ἐργῶν.

NA<sup>28</sup> lists the marginal τέκνων as the work of the corrector it calls B<sup>2</sup>, whom it assigns to the 6th/7th c.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The occurrences at Luke 3:1; John 4:42; 20:22 will be examined in the Appendix.

<sup>49</sup> In the eighth case, at 25:41, the restorer or someone else apparently tried to erase the marginal reading. See below.

<sup>50</sup> The τέκνων at Luke 7:35 is quite stable; only  $\aleph$  reads ἐργῶν, though Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.6 noted that many Greek copies had “works” (Amy Donaldson, “Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers,” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2 vols. [December 2009], II.413–14)).

<sup>51</sup> The only Greek *mss* to join B<sup>txt</sup> in reading ἐργῶν are  $\aleph$  and W, along with *f*<sup>13</sup>, which adds παντων, in harmony with Luke 7:35. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 11:19, too, used a copy reading *a filiis* though he noted that some copies read *ab operibus* (Donaldson, “Explicit References,” 365–6).

<sup>52</sup> Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce Metzger, and Holger Strutwolf, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), 59\*. Again, the displacement of the section number  $\Omega$ , which is slightly lower than usual, was apparently caused by the presence of the marginal reading.

## 4.2. Matthew 13:52

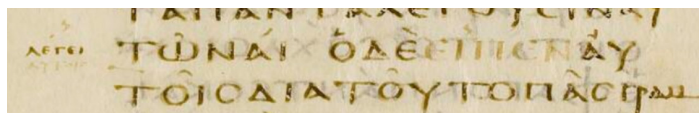


Figure 10. Codex Vaticanus p. 1253, Matt 13:52

Five pages away, on p. 1253 at Matthew 13:52, is another short variant, the first one Tischendorf noted, *λεγει αυτοις* for *ειπεν αυτοις* in the text (Figure 10). This one is simply a present for an aorist in the introductory statement, “And he said—or says—to them.” Because the second word in each case is the same, the restorer chose to reink only the first word of the variant, leaving the second word, *αυτοις*, in the barely visible, faded brown ink.

This marginal reading NA<sup>28</sup> attributes to the corrector B<sup>1</sup>, who, it says, is “roughly contemporaneous with B.”<sup>53</sup> Yet these two corrections (Matt 11:19 and 13:52) are done by the same method and use the same <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, placed both in the text and above the marginal alternative, and written in the same faded ink as the text block.

This time the marginal reading is far *less* common than the textual one, and the modern editions stay with the text—UBS<sup>5</sup> does not even mention the variant. Marginal *λεγει* is witnessed elsewhere only in D 892 1424 lat [i.e., the Vulgate and part of OL] sy<sup>p</sup>, and B’s precise reading *ο δε λεγει* is reflected only by f, a 6th c. Old Latin manuscript (the rest lack *ο δε*).<sup>54</sup> Also, at the beginning of 13:51 the majority of mss insert a preliminary *Λεγει αυτοις ο Ις*. The only Greek manuscripts to lack these introductory words are B and D, plus lat sy<sup>s</sup> sa bo, on the strength of which NA<sup>28</sup> accepts the shorter text. But this longer text at 13:51 would furnish a possible explanation for a change from *ειπεν* to *λεγει* in 13:52. In the longer reading of 13:51 Jesus’ speech is in the present tense (*λεγει*), and the disciples’ response (in all manuscripts) is in the present (*λεγουσιν*). Thus either by intentional or by unconscious harmonization to the immediate context, Jesus’ speech in 13:52 was also put into the present.

## 4.3. Matthew 14:5

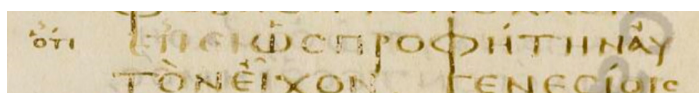


Figure 11. Codex Vaticanus p. 1253, Matt 14:5

There is another instance of this scribal procedure using the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* on the same page, p. 1253, at Matthew 14:5 (Figure 11). Here *οτι* (reinforced) in the margin is an alternative for *επει* in the text (Herod feared the crowd either “because” or “since” they held John to be a prophet). The textual *επει* in the original hand of B is not recorded either by UBS<sup>5</sup> or by NA<sup>28</sup>. According to Swanson’s presentation,<sup>55</sup> the only other manuscript that reads *επει* is 700 (BL Egerton 2610)

<sup>53</sup> NA<sup>28</sup>, 59\*. Here the substitution *λεγει* is witnessed elsewhere only in D 892 1424 lat sy<sup>p</sup>. (Only D and 1424 are included in Reuben J. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus. Matthew* [Sheffield/Pasadena: Sheffield Academic Press/William Carey International University Press, 1995], 131).

<sup>54</sup> It is probably not possible to be sure whether the second exemplar would have read *ο δε λεγει* or simply *λεγει* in 13:52.

<sup>55</sup> Swanson, *Matthew*, 134.

from the 11th c., which probably suggests coincidental agreement, though N reads ἐπίδη.<sup>56</sup> Here one might think that perhaps ἐπει was simply a mental error, and that οτι in the margin is a correction. And this could be the case. But the textual reading is not defaced by hatches, cancellation dots, or parentheses and has therefore the same form as the other variant readings notations in Matthew.

#### 4.4. Matthew 16:4

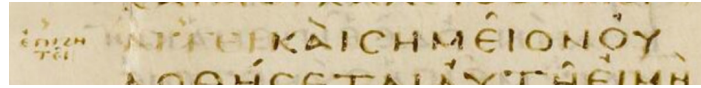


Figure 12. Codex Vaticanus p. 1256, Matt 16:4

The next example comes on p. 1256 at Matt 16:4 (Figure 12), the one-word alternative, ἐπιζητει in the margin (reinforced) for αἰτει in the text (unreinforced). Does the wicked and adulterous generation “ask for” a sign or “seek for/crave” one? According to the apparatus in NA<sup>28</sup> and Swanson,<sup>57</sup> αἰτει in B<sup>txt</sup> is a singular reading, and once again, UBS<sup>5</sup> does not list it.<sup>58</sup> Thus, even though ἐπιζητει of B<sup>mss</sup> could be considered a harmonization to the wording of Jesus’ saying recorded earlier in Matthew 12:39, and the uncompounded ζητει, read by D b c e D<sup>c</sup> Θ could be considered a harmonization to the form in Luke 11:29,<sup>59</sup> αἰτει of B<sup>txt</sup> is rejected because it is singular.

Here, since NA<sup>28</sup> only lists exceptions to its accepted reading, it does not specify whether the marginal corrector was B<sup>1</sup> or B<sup>2</sup>.

In this case we have an interesting situation with the parallel passage at Mark 8:12, where all witnesses except one have either ζητει σημειον<sup>60</sup> or σημειον επιζητε. The lone exception reads σημειον αἰτει, just like the singular B<sup>txt</sup> in Matt. 16:4. That lone manuscript is P<sup>45</sup>. Some have considered that the singular σημειον αἰτει in P<sup>45</sup> at Mark 8:12 may be a distant harmonization to 1 Cor. 1:22, “Jews ask for signs (σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν) and Greeks seek wisdom.”<sup>61</sup> But, if we were to suppose the scribe of P<sup>45</sup> Mark had a copy of Matthew 16:4 with the reading of B<sup>txt</sup> (unfortunately, P<sup>45</sup> itself is not extant at Matt. 16:4), a harmonization to this form of the Matthean text would be much easier to imagine.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ἐπει occurs 26 times in the NA text of the NT, 9 times in Hebrews alone, 11 in the Pauline corpus (only Rom, 1 Cor, and 2 Cor), twice each in Matthew and John and once each in Luke (one more time in the Byz text at 7:1, ἐπει δέ, where NA has ἐπειδή) and Mark.

<sup>57</sup> Swanson, *Matthew*, 153.

<sup>58</sup> In his *Commentary on Matthew* 12.3, Origen cites the verse (according to E. Klostermann, *Origenes Matthäuserklärung*, Band 1, *Die griechisch erhaltenen Tomoi*, GCS 40, *Origenes Werke* 10 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935]) with ἐπιζητεῖ.

<sup>59</sup> D originally had ζητει σημειον, which was changed to σημειον ζητει. D, however, is alone in omitting the immediately preceding words και μοιχαλις.

<sup>60</sup> Which NA<sup>28</sup> adopts, siding with B D and others.

<sup>61</sup> Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 187.

<sup>62</sup> Nor is P<sup>45</sup> extant at any of the other variation units in Matthew we are considering.

<sup>63</sup> For a consideration of the textual quality and transmission quality of P<sup>45</sup>, see Tommy Wasserman, “The Early Text of Matthew, in C. E. Hill and M. J. Kruger, eds., *The Early Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [paperback 2014]), 83–107 at 91–94.



## 4.5. Matthew 16:20

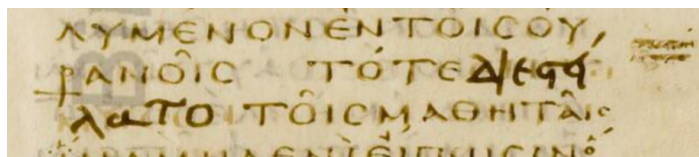


Figure 13. Codex Vaticanus p. 1257, Matt 16:20

Tischendorf missed the occurrence at Matt 16:20 (Figure 13) perhaps because a late hand wrote over the otherwise unreinforced reading of the text block, and the marginal reading has all but been obliterated by a possible attempt to erase or smudge it out. The <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, however, is still visible over the marginal reading. This variant concerns the question whether Jesus “warned” (επετειμησεν) or “charged” (διεστειλατο) his disciples not to say he was the Christ. Επετειμησεν is the reading in the text. Apparently διεστειλατο was written in the margin, though it is now very hard to make out and could conceivably be another, unattested reading. The restorer again reinked the marginal reading and left the textual reading to fade. But a later hand, for whatever reason, wrote διεστείλατο over the textual reading.

Apparently on the strength of its presence in B\* and D and a part of the Syriac tradition, Westcott and Hort adopted ἐπιτίμησεν (eliminating B’s *epsilon*). All other modern editions decide for the marginal διεστειλατο, following the great majority of the manuscripts.<sup>64</sup> Though επετ(ε)ιμησεν (B<sup>txt</sup>) is hardly represented in known witnesses today,<sup>65</sup> it existed at least by the early third century, as Origen in Caesarea signified the circulation of both readings in extant copies when he wrote his commentary on Matthew ca. 244–48 (*Comm. Matt.* 12.15).<sup>66</sup> Ἐπετειμησεν (B<sup>txt</sup>) is the reading of the parallels in Mark 8:30; Luke 9:21, so, its occurrence in B’s Matthew is usually considered a scribal harmonization to one of these. On the other hand, if we suppose that the author of Matthew was using Mark, he would be expected to write ἐπιτ(ε)ιμησεν. Also, if marginal διεστειλατο is original, this would be the only time Matthew used the word διαστέλλομαι (nor does Luke use this word), while he used ἐπιτιμάω six more times, including at 12:16 for Jesus’ earlier charge to the disciples not to make him known. Mark, on the other hand, uses both words: διαστέλλομαι five times, ἐπιτιμάω nine times.<sup>67</sup> Thus, counterbalancing the possibility of ἐπιτ(ε)ιμησεν being a harmonization, the intrinsic evidence could be claimed as supporting its priority.

Here again, NA<sup>28</sup> attributes the reading διεστειλατο in B to its B<sup>2</sup> (6th or 7th c.). But, assuming it is the reading in the margin, it should surely be B<sup>1</sup> or, as I would suggest, simply B<sup>mg</sup> or B<sup>alt</sup> (see §7. Recommendations below).

<sup>64</sup> Again, UBS<sup>5</sup> does not include the variant.

<sup>65</sup> Appearing only D e (5th c.) sy<sup>c</sup>, according to NA<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 12.15, ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματθαῖος πεποίκε κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὸ τότε διεστείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς ... ἰστέον μέντοι ὅτι τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἔχει τὸ ἐπιτίμησεν (Klostermann).

<sup>67</sup> Three of Mark’s five uses of διαστέλλομαι (no variants recorded) and one of his nine uses of ἐπιτιμάω (3:12) are other charges of silence to the apostles.

#### 4.6. Matthew 22:10

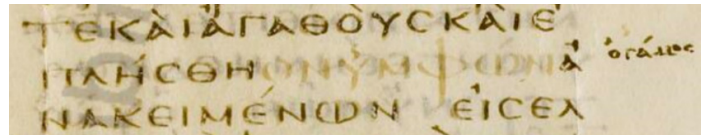


Figure 14. Codex Vaticanus p. 1265, Matt 22:10

On p. 1265 the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* is very clear and is used to record ο γαμος in the margin (reinforced) as a variant for ο νυμφων in the text (unreinforced) of Matt 22:10, where either “the wedding” or “the wedding hall” was filled with guests (Figure 14). This time NA<sup>28</sup> attributes the marginal ο γαμος to B<sup>1</sup> (“roughly contemporaneous with B”), though we have the same method and the same ink we have seen before.

Again, the marginal reading, ο γαμος, is the reading of the great majority of manuscripts.<sup>68</sup> Preserving the textual νυμφων are only  $\aleph$  L 0102 892 sy<sup>hmg</sup>. Westcott and Hort adopted the ο νυμφων of  $\aleph$  and B<sup>\*</sup> but NA<sup>28</sup> and UBS<sup>5</sup> dissent and accept ο γαμος as the *Ausgangstext*.<sup>69</sup> According to Metzger, the editors supposed ο νυμφων to be “an Alexandrian correction introduced in the place of ο γαμος, which may have seemed to be somewhat inappropriate with the verb ‘filled.’”

#### 4.7. Matthew 25:41

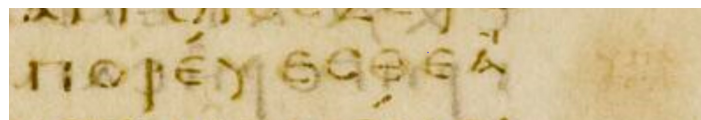


Figure 15. Codex Vaticanus p. 1271, Matt 25:41

The next example is on p. 1271 at Matt 25:41. Tischendorf also missed this one, as did I until I saw it in Versace’s list. The marginal variant is now barely visible because, as Versace says, it appears that someone erased it.<sup>70</sup> This textual issue concerns the word used in the Son of Man’s command to those on his left to “depart” from him, either πορευεσθε in the text (reinforced), or the synonym υπαγετε in the margin (unreinforced). Though neither NA<sup>28</sup> nor UBS<sup>5</sup> lists a variant for πορευεσθε, the marginal υπαγετε is also the reading of  $\aleph$  and 1424.<sup>71</sup> Its earliest attestation is probably Justin, *Dial.* 76.5, who uses υπαγετε in what appears to be a conflation of Matt 25:30 and 41 (Υπάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατὴρ τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ).<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> D K W Δ Θ 085. 0161<sup>vid</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 33. 565. 579. 700. 1241. 1424. l 844  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; Ir<sup>lat</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 47.

<sup>70</sup> Versace, *I Marginalia*, 89, n. 60.

<sup>71</sup> Swanson, *Matthew*, 253.

<sup>72</sup> The text of Miroslav Marcovich, *Iustini Martyris Dialogue cum Tryphone*, PTS 47 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997).

#### 4.8. Matthew 27:4

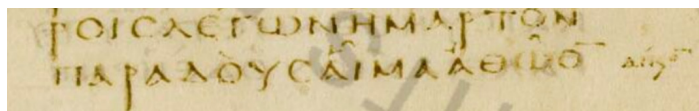


Figure 16. Codex Vaticanus p. 1274, Matt 27:4

The last occurrence of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* in Matthew, barely visible, comes on p. 1274 at Matt 27:4 (Figure 16). Here it is used for the one-word variant δίκαιον for ἄθῳον, in Judas' confession, "I have sinned, betraying *innocent* or *righteous* blood." Note that the marginal δίκαιον is written with the κ compendium,<sup>73</sup> and that the restorer, oddly, appears to have reinked both readings.

Marginal δίκαιον is also found in L Θ l 844 latt (sy<sup>s</sup>) sa<sup>mss</sup> mae bo, as well as in three of Origen's four Greek citations (and one in Latin translation), and in Cyprian and other Latin fathers (note that D is lacking at this point). Ἀθῳον of the text is read by all others, including one out of four citations in Origen, and in Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and other Greek fathers.<sup>74</sup> This time Westcott and Hort accepted the marginal δίκαιον, while NA<sup>28</sup> chose the textual ἄθῳον.

This marginal reading NA<sup>28</sup> attributes to B<sup>1</sup>. This means that NA<sup>28</sup> attributes three of the eight marginal readings to B<sup>1</sup>, two to B<sup>2</sup>, and three it does not identify.

### 5. The Textual Complexion of B<sup>mg</sup>

This group of eight marginal readings in Vaticanus' Matthew share the same graphic elements: in each case the scribe leaves both a textual and a marginal reading open to the reader and links them by the <sup>s</sup> *siglum*. The marginal readings as a group show themselves to be not mere scribal slips (misspellings, transpositions, other mental blunders), and not explanatory glosses, but actual variant readings that most likely would come from another manuscript. The fact that in every case the marginal reading is known from other (later) manuscripts would seem to establish this. These eight readings seem to be good evidence that the scribe, at the time of copying, had (at least) one other manuscript of Matthew at hand. It is of course possible that these variant readings were already present in the margins of the main exemplar, but even in this case it is not unlikely that they had been placed there by the scribe of B in the process of preparing the exemplar for copying. In any case, these readings ultimately must have come from a second exemplar, and thus they allow us a peek, albeit a very limited one, at another manuscript of Matthew, one that existed prior to the copying of B.

Three of the eight preserved readings from this other manuscript were preferred to B's textual reading by Westcott and Hort; four are preferred by the critical editions of NA<sup>28</sup> and UBS<sup>5</sup>.<sup>75</sup> Any information we can gain about this manuscript, then, would certainly seem to

<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the scribe used the κ compendium in a marginal correction (of an omission) at p. 1251C for the word δικ(αι)οι.

<sup>74</sup> Note that *Protev. Jas.* 14:3 appears to know this reading when it has Joseph fearing to be found παραδιδούς ἄθῳον εἰς κρίμα θανάτου (text of R. F. Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas* [Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1995], which is based on the fourth-century P. Bodmer V).

<sup>75</sup> Agreeing with NA<sup>28</sup> and UBS<sup>5</sup> in all eight Matthean instances are both *The Greek New Testament. SBL Edition*, edited by Michael W. Holmes (Atlanta/Bellingham WA: Society of Biblical Literature/Logos Bible Software, 2010) and *The Greek New Testament Produced at Tyndale House Cambridge*, edited by Dirk Jongkind, associate editor Peter J. Williams, assistant editors Peter M. Head, Patrick James (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017). The Byzantine Textform published in *The New Testament in the Original Greek. Byzantine Textform 2005*, compiled and arranged by Mau-

be of prime interest. But our limitations are severe. There are only eight, and we cannot be completely certain that all eight even derive from the same source, though the difficulty of a scribe handling more than two exemplars at a time would at least make the assumption of a single secondary manuscript inherently much more likely. Perhaps more problematically, can we even be sure that in each of these eight instances the text represents the main exemplar and the margin represents the reading of the secondary one? Could they have been confused at any point? In fact, might we not be looking at the phenomenon backwards? One could imagine, for instance, that the scribe, at points where he was going to break with his main exemplar and put an alternative reading into the new copy, might not have felt comfortable abandoning altogether the reading of his main exemplar, and so decided to preserve its reading in the margin. Aware of these limitations and open questions, we may still describe and further analyze the readings, in the hopes that this might help to answer these and other questions.

What can we say about the character of these variant readings taken as a group? In each instance we are dealing with a minor, one-word, synonymic, “substitution” that barely affects the sense.<sup>76</sup> One marginal variant (at 11:19)<sup>77</sup> is a cross-Gospel harmonization, and another (13:52) appears to be a harmonization to the context. If we judge from the general character of the Gospel text of Vaticanus, which shows relatively little harmonization, this might be seen as confirmation that the marginal readings do not come from the main exemplar, though in one case (16:4), it is the textual reading that has been supposed to be a scribal harmonization (but see the discussion above). In five of the eight instances<sup>78</sup> B<sup>mg</sup> provides a variant that agrees with the later majority of manuscripts of all textual complexions (including Alexandrian, Western, and Byzantine) against a minority reading in B<sup>txt</sup>.<sup>79</sup> In three readings (13:52; 25:41; 27:4) it is B<sup>txt</sup> that agrees with the majority and B<sup>mg</sup> that reads with a minority. One could theorize, then, that in the three minority readings the scribe has changed his procedure and placed the reading of his main exemplar in the margin, replacing it in the text with the reading of his secondary manuscript. In such a scenario, all the readings of the secondary manuscript would agree with the later majority (of all types).

It is quite possible, however, to suppose that the scribe was consistent in his procedure, preserving the reading of his main exemplar in the text, and placing the alternative in the margin. If all eight marginal readings come from the secondary exemplar (a manuscript we may style B<sup>alt</sup>), the five places where B<sup>alt</sup> reads with the later majority may not seem to help us very much in attempting to describe its textual character. This focuses attention on the three minority readings.

In the first of these, at Matt. 13:52, λέγει in the margin for εἶπεν in the text, B<sup>alt</sup> agrees only with D 892 1424 lat (i.e., Vulgate plus part of OL) sy<sup>p</sup> (note that Old Latin *f* reflects ο δε λεγει,

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rice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (Southborough, MA: Chilton, 2005) (RP) on the other hand agrees with the *marginal* readings in the five places where they agree with the majority, that is, RP agrees with B<sup>txt</sup> at 13:52; 25:41; and 27:4.

<sup>76</sup> Only one could possibly be considered to have a theological motivation, if we suppose a change from εργων to τεκνων at 11:19 was motivated by the desire to avoid the expression “is justified by her works” as a posing problem for the Pauline doctrine of justification. But in this case, the variant τεκνων is better explained by a more commonly occurring scribal tendency, cross-Gospel harmonization.

<sup>77</sup> As mentioned above, επιζητει at Matt 16:4 could possibly have been considered a harmonization to an earlier portion of Matthew, had not the textual αιτει been a singular reading.

<sup>78</sup> Matt 11:19; 14:5; 16:4; 16:20; 22:10.

<sup>79</sup> In two of these five (14:5; 16:4) B<sup>txt</sup> is either singular or subsingular.



with B; the others lack the introductory words ο δε).<sup>80</sup> In the second instance, at 25:41, υπαγετε in the margin for πορευεσθε in the text, B<sup>alt</sup> agrees only with N and 1424. In the third instance, at 27:4, δικαιοιν in the margin for αθωον in the text, D is not extant,<sup>81</sup> but among other Greek mss δικαιοιν occurs only in L (8th c.) Θ (9th c.), and lectionary 844 (9th c.). This reading is well represented, however, in the versions, including the entire Latin tradition (latt: *iustum*), and (sy<sup>s</sup>). So, whereas it could be maintained that B<sup>alt</sup> is simply another Alexandrian/Neutral text, because each of the three minority readings of B<sup>alt</sup> can be found in some member of the Alexandrian/Neutral constellation (892 at 13:52; N at 25:41; L at 27:4), the source of its deviations from B<sup>txt</sup> could be regarded as “Western,” as more support in each case comes from Western tradents. In five of the seven cases where D is extant,<sup>82</sup> B<sup>alt</sup> agrees with D. Even more impressive is that in seven of the eight cases B<sup>alt</sup> agrees with 1424,<sup>83</sup> a ninth- or tenth-century minuscule which contains the entire New Testament with marginal commentary. In one instance (25:41), only N and 1424 agree with B<sup>alt</sup>. 1424 belongs to von Soden’s I<sup>o</sup> group, which Streeter renamed family 1424, and which he believed was a tertiary representative of the Caesarean text.<sup>84</sup> And in the one place (27:4) where B<sup>alt</sup> does not find support in 1424, it has support from Θ (Codex Koridethi),<sup>85</sup> which Streeter and others (rightly or wrongly) considered a chief representative of the Caesarean text.

The idea of a “Caesarean text,” at least as a deliberate recension of the text, has fallen on hard times, and the connection of 1424 to such a text may remain somewhat in question.<sup>86</sup> But the original conception of this type of text as the text of the Gospels used by Origen after his move to Caesarea, a text which already showed “mixture” from Western sources, would at least not be contradicted by the coherence of B<sup>alt</sup> with Origen, with Latin witnesses (and D), and with 1424. Five of the eight marginal readings in B are attested in Origen’s citations; the others come at points not cited in his *Comm. Matt.* or apparently elsewhere. Origen, however, knows both readings at 27:4 (though three of four times he agrees with B<sup>alt</sup>) and specifically mentions that he has seen both readings at 16:20 in existing manuscripts (perhaps one a manuscript brought from Alexandria?).<sup>87</sup> In addition, at one of the places not attested in Origen’s commentary (25:41), the reading of B<sup>alt</sup> (υπαγετε) is apparently known to Justin in Rome.

<sup>80</sup> Note also that 892 1424 and f, with most mss, have the longer reading in 13:51 which has Jesus speaking in the present tense λέγει, to which 13:52 was possibly harmonized in B<sup>mg</sup> and its allies mentioned above in §4.2.

<sup>81</sup> It may be noted as well that most of the text of Matthew in A, said to be the earliest representative of the Byzantine text in the Gospels, is not extant except for the last instance, 27:4, where it agrees with B<sup>txt</sup> and the majority.

<sup>82</sup> Matt. 16:20 and 25:41 are the exceptions; D is not extant at 27:4.

<sup>83</sup> The only exception is the last reading, at 27:4, δικαιοιν for textual αθωον.

<sup>84</sup> Bruce Metzger, “The Caesarean Text of the Gospels,” *JBL* 64 (1945), 457–89, at 462–63. For problems in Streeter’s method, however, see Stephen Carlson, “The Origin(s) of the Caesarean Text,” paper presented at the 2004 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1–22, available online at <http://hypotyposeis.org/weblog/2004/11/sbl-paper-on-caesarean-text-now-ready.html> (last accessed 2/2/19).

<sup>85</sup> Θ agrees with B<sup>mg</sup> in six of the eight instances, failing to do so only at 13:52 and 25:41, two of the three places where B<sup>txt</sup> also agrees with the majority.

<sup>86</sup> Carlson’s research indicates that at least in Mark 6:45–8:26, 1424 is simply a “divergent Byzantine” manuscript, and Θ in this portion of Mark is a “rather impure representative” of the Caesarean text that “has been considerably assimilated to a Bezan-type text” (Carlson, “The Origin(s),” 21 and 3, respectively). More research is needed on 1424 Matthew.

<sup>87</sup> On Origen’s Matthew text see Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels. Family 1 in Matthew*, NTTS 32 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 75. Anderson, 70, concludes that family 1 has a close association with Origen’s Matthew text that he used in Caesarea. B<sup>alt</sup> agrees with f in all five places where it also agrees with the majority of all mss of Matthew but disagrees at the three minority readings.

Perhaps the most we can say, then, is that the aggregated readings of the margin of B in Matthew, so far as they can take us, allow a textually plausible picture of a single, early manuscript (B<sup>alt</sup>) that could well have been known to the creators of Codex Vaticanus. While no earlier papyrus of Matthew now exists at any of these eight points, the connections of these marginal readings to a text used by Origen, and in one place to a text apparently known to Justin, secure its chronological feasibility.<sup>88</sup>

Yet while this manuscript preserved some early readings, known to be early from other sources, the creators of B clearly rejected this manuscript as the base exemplar for the text of Matthew in favor of a copy they believed was superior (and no doubt, more primitive). For whatever reasons, in only these eight places did the scribe see fit to preserve the alternative readings of the second manuscript in the new copy of Matthew—at least from what we can now tell visually. For, it could of course be that B<sup>alt</sup> has affected the text in other places that are now impossible to trace. In at least two places the scribe's preservation of an alternative may seem particularly justified, namely, where B<sup>txt</sup> has (what today are) singular or subsingular readings (14:5; 16:4), usually considered by modern textual critics likely indicators of the secondary nature of such readings.<sup>89</sup> Here and in two other places (16:20; 22:10) the NA and UBS editors agreed with the wisdom of the scribe.

## 6. Summary Conclusions

6.1. These eight cases in Matthew, like numerous examples in the Greek OT text of Vaticanus, reveal a consistent set of scribal actions that included the use of a distinctive s-shaped *siglum* to indicate the existence of a textual variant.

6.2. In each of the eight Matthean instances the marginal reading is known from other (later) manuscripts. In at least four places,<sup>90</sup> Codex Vaticanus is the earliest extant, *material* representative of the readings it carries. If B is earlier than  $\aleph$ , then it is the earliest in all eight places. The strong literary attestation in Origen and the probable attestation of one reading in Justin, however, demonstrate the historical plausibility of the fourth-century scribes of B possessing a manuscript with these readings.

6.3. Tischendorf thought these readings were taken from a single alternative manuscript, and while this cannot be proved, it seems by far the best conclusion. Taken together, these eight readings create a credible profile of a manuscript (B<sup>alt</sup>) which, when it differs from the textual reading in B, tends to agree with what will later become the majority readings of the tradition, preserved in all three of the traditional textual clusters. In the three places where B<sup>alt</sup> stands apart from the later majority (13:52; 25:41; 27:4), its reading is either supported by the Vulgate and at least part of the OL tradition (13:52 and 27:4) or is preserved in minuscule 1424 (13:52; 25:41), with which manuscript it agrees in seven of the eight variants. Its admittedly few preserved readings could suggest a manuscript with textual characteristics similar to one that was used by Origen in Caesarea.

<sup>88</sup> If the strong, but limited in extent, connections to Origen's Caesarea are valid, does this have any implications for the question of where Codex Vaticanus was prepared? Probably not, as, again, the scribes chose a main exemplar with a different type of text, and a manuscript prepared in Caesarea, or derived from one prepared there, could have made its way to Alexandria or elsewhere.

<sup>89</sup> Of course, the situation may have been different for the scribe of B; still, the lack of survival in our witnesses today is likely to be the result of a paucity of witnesses known to the fourth-century scribe.

<sup>90</sup> Matt 11:19  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\nu\omega\nu$ ; 13:52  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ; 22:10  $\omicron\ \gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ; 27:4  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ .

6.4. It is possible that the scribes elsewhere may have incorporated a reading from this manuscript into the text, leaving no evidence to mark it. Given the apparent conservatism of their editorial policies and the general consistency of the text they produced, which shows relatively low levels of harmonized, conflated, and obviously secondary readings, unmarked interventions from this second exemplar would presumably not be common, if they occur at all. Still, the evidence cited here could possibly support suggestions made on other grounds that certain elements of the text or paratext in B could have come from the second exemplar.<sup>91</sup>

Table 1. Variant readings in Codex Vaticanus' Matthew, with their attributions in NA<sup>28</sup>

#### Key

W&H Westcott and Hort

NA NA<sup>28</sup> (also UBS<sup>5</sup>; SBL; THGNT)

B<sup>1</sup> NA's first corrector of B, "roughly contemporaneous with B."

B<sup>2</sup> N's second corrector of B, dated 6th/7th c.

Loc.	Text	Support for Text	Margin	Support for Margin	WH NA
11:19	εργων	ⲛ W sy <sup>p,h</sup> sa <sup>ms</sup> bo; Hier <sup>mss</sup> (παντων τ. ε. f <sup>13</sup> (k))	τεκνων <sup>92</sup>	p) C D K L N Γ Δ Θ f <sup>1</sup> 33. 565. 579. 700. 892. 1424 Ⲙ lat sy <sup>s,c,h</sup> mg sa <sup>mss</sup> mae Or	txt txt B <sup>2</sup>
13:52	ειπεν αυτοις	rell	λεγει αυτοις	f / D 892. 1424. lat sy <sup>p</sup>	txt txt B <sup>1</sup>
14:5	επει	700 (subsingular)	οτι	rell	mg mg --
16:4	αιτει	(singular)	επιζητει	rell (p) / ζητει D b c e D <sup>c</sup> Θ Or	mg mg --
16:20	επετειμησεν	D e sy <sup>c</sup> ; Or <sup>mss</sup>	διεστειλατο	rell (incl. Or <sup>mss</sup> )	txt mg B <sup>2</sup>
22:10	ο νυμφων	ⲛ L o10 2. 892 sy <sup>hmg</sup>	ο γαμος <sup>93</sup>	D K W Δ Θ o85. o161 <sup>vid</sup> f <sup>1,13</sup> 33. 565. 579. 700. 1241. 1424. l 844 Ⲙ; Ir <sup>lat</sup> Or	txt mg B <sup>1</sup>
25:41	πορευεσθε	rell	υπαγετε	ⲛ 1424 Justin?	txt -- txt
27:4	αθων	rell (Or <sup>gr 1/4</sup> )	δικαιον <sup>94</sup>	L Θ l 844 latt (sy <sup>s</sup> ) sa <sup>mss</sup> mae bo; Or <sup>gr 3/4, lat</sup> Cyp (D not extant)	mg B <sup>1</sup> txt

## 7. Recommendations

7.1. Future editions of NA and UBS should consolidate their treatments of these eight "corrections," or rather, variant readings in B's text of Matthew. At the very least, those NA attributed to B<sup>2</sup> should be reassigned to B<sup>1</sup>.

7.2. But since both readings apparently come from the hand of the original scribe, B\* as a designation of the original hand becomes problematic. B<sup>txt</sup> (B text) might seem an obvious choice for designating the textual reading. For the reading in the margin, B<sup>mg</sup> (B margin) would serve as a neutral, purely descriptive designation. B<sup>v.l.</sup> (B *varia lectio*) would designate the nature

<sup>91</sup> One is reminded of Westcott and Hort's theory that in Paul B has been affected by a Western influence. I also have in mind the fact that in B Matthew could be considered to evince two systems of chapter/section divisions, one with chapter numbers and another with ekthesis.

<sup>92</sup> At 11:19 UBS<sup>5</sup> adds, besides a number of minuscules, it<sup>a, aur, c, d, f, ff<sup>1</sup>, g<sup>1</sup>, h, l, q</sup> arm (eth) geo slav<sup>mss</sup> Origen Epiphanius Chrysostom; Hilary Ambrose Jerome Augustine.

<sup>93</sup> At 22:10 UBS<sup>5</sup> adds, besides a number of minuscules, it<sup>a, aur, b, c, d, e, f, ff<sup>1</sup>, g<sup>1</sup>, h, l, q, r<sup>1</sup></sup> vg arm geo slav Origen; Lucifer Chromatius Augustine.

<sup>94</sup> At 27:4 UBS<sup>5</sup> adds, syr<sup>pal</sup> cop<sup>sa<sup>mss</sup>, meg, bo</sup> arm eth<sup>pp, TH</sup> geo Diatessaron<sup>arm</sup> Origen<sup>gr 3/4, lat</sup>, Cyprian Ambrosiaster Lucifer Ambrose Jerome Augustine.

of the reading. And if we accept the idea that these readings represent the reading of another manuscript, B<sup>alt</sup> (B alternative) might be appropriate to designate the continuous text, the manuscript which was the physical repository of these readings.

7.3. Editors might possibly even consider replacing the “diamond of doubt” ♦ with a form of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, now an attested, ancient *siglum* for undecided variants.

7.4. A great deal more work on the variant readings in Vaticanus marked by this *siglum* needs to be done, as they occur in many of the books of the Old Testament. Particularly for those books (like Josh; 2–4 Kgdms; 2 Chr) whose margins preserve a relatively large number of variants, an exploration of the textual affiliations they might have holds some promise for determining the characteristics of the manuscripts the scribes of B had collected for their monumental work.

## Appendix: The <sup>s</sup> *Siglum* in Luke and John

Here we take a brief look at the uses of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* in the NT outside of Matthew. For whatever reason, it does not appear in the NT besides in Matthew, Luke, and John.<sup>95</sup> As mentioned above, Tischendorf thought the two at Luke 3:1 (p. 1308) were manifestly commentary, or else came from an apocryphal source. Neither of these marginal readings is listed by NA<sup>28</sup> or by Swanson as a variant reading in any other manuscript of Matthew. Each one is marked with the same <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, each is unreinforced and apparently in the hand of Scribe B, the scribe of the text.

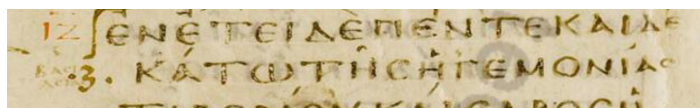


Figure 17. Codex Vaticanus p. 1308, Luke 3:1 βασιλειας

The first, a faint βασιλειας (Figure 17), is paired to the textual reading ηγεμονιας; the hegemony or kingdom of Tiberius. Βασιλεία is of course a very common word, while ἡγεμονία occurs only here in the New Testament. In the Greek OT it is used at Gen 23:30; Num 1:52; 2:17; 4 Macc 6:33; 13:4; Sir 7:4; 10:1, interestingly, all books in Vaticanus that were copied not by Scribe B, who copied Luke, but by Scribe A (except 4 Macc, which is not contained in Vaticanus at all). Βασιλειας, then, could easily be imagined as either a variant reading, intended by the scribe of B or by a predecessor as substitution of a more common synonym, or simply as an explanatory gloss for uncommon word. But since ηγεμονιας is unattested in any other manuscript of Luke, it is probably best to consider βασιλειας as an explanatory gloss.

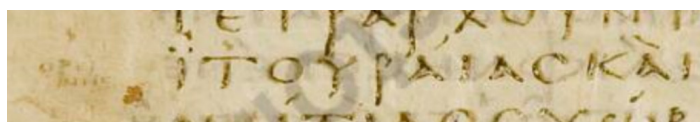


Figure 17. Codex Vaticanus p. 1308, Luke 3:1 ορεινης

The second occurrence at Luke 3:1 (Figure 17) is again a single word, ορεινης (mountain district, hill country), a word used by Luke at 1:39, 65 for the hill country of Judea, paired with

<sup>95</sup> There is a questionable example at Acts 10:37 on p. 1397, col. C (noted by Versace, *I Marginalia*, 89), but if this is a <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, it marks only a correction by erasure made by the textual scribe, with no corresponding *siglum* in the margin.



ιτουρπαιας (Ituraea) in the text. Herod the Great gave the region of Ituraea to his son Philip (Josephus, *Antiq.* 15.10.3) and after passing through other administrative hands it was incorporated into the province of Syria in 49 CE (Tacitus, *Annals* 12.23).<sup>96</sup> No other manuscript reads ορεινης here.<sup>97</sup> The word ορεινης in B<sup>mg</sup> is likely intended not to specify a geographical region (as if to locate it on a map as identical to the Judean “hill country” of 1:39, 65), but as an interpretation of the name ιτουρπαιας. This is shown in that the entry *Ituraeae* is given this meaning by Jerome in his *Interpretation of Hebrew Names: Itureae, montanae. Syrum est*;<sup>98</sup> “Iturea: mountainous; it is Aramaic,”<sup>99</sup> indicating that this may have been a fairly common interpretation (perhaps from Philo’s lost work?).

Thus, while it is not impossible that these two instances of the <sup>s</sup> *siglum* in Luke 3:1 might mark variant readings in another, now unknown, manuscript, it seems much more likely, both from their character and from their lack of attestation elsewhere, that they are used here for interpretative glosses that the scribe of B, or possibly the scribe of his exemplar, gave to words of uncertain meaning. In both of these ways do these instances in Luke differ from the ones in Matthew. The Matthean examples are not gloss-like, that is, they are not explanations of unfamiliar terms (nobody would think to clarify the word “works” with “children” or “said” with “says” or “asks” with “seeks” or “innocent” with “just”). They are also, in every case, known from other manuscripts, and together they form a plausible textual picture.

Tischendorf did not note the two occurrences of the *siglum* in John.<sup>100</sup> These two are interesting because they are “empty” or “ghost” occurrences, that is, despite the sign being written as normal both in the text above the word or words concerned and again in the margin, no variant is written in the margins. This is something that happens in the OT as well (e.g., 14 times in 1–4 Kgdms). It is an open question just what these empty uses signify. Was the scribe about to write a variant or a gloss in the margin and for some reason did not carry it out? Could these instances mark places where a second exemplar (or the first) had skipped a word, so that the empty place in the margin signifies a real omission of a word? Or do these examples of the *siglum* represent something else? Here I shall simply note the text-critical possibilities as we now know them.

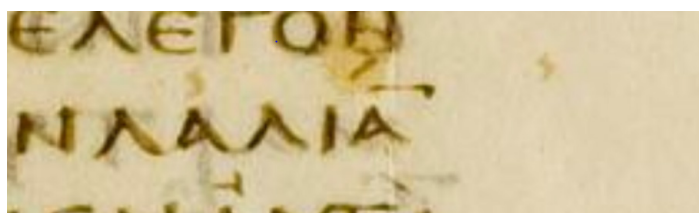


Figure 19. Codex Vaticanus p. 1355, John 4:42, empty *sigla*

<sup>96</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia, “Iturea (Ιτουρπαια),” online at <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8348-iturea>).

<sup>97</sup> It appears that the scribe of D originally wrote ιουδαιας by mistake then sponged it out and wrote the correct word in its place.

<sup>98</sup> Migne, PL 23: col. 888. Eusebius in his *Onomasticon*, based on Luke 3:1, associated Iturea with the region of Trachonidas.

<sup>99</sup> On the linguistic and etymological interests of Jerome in this work, and for the translation of *Syrum est* as “it is Aramaic,” see Eyal Poleg, “The Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Theory and Practice,” in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 217–36 at 219 (online at [https://www.academia.edu/3596451/The\\_Interpretations\\_of\\_Hebrew\\_Names\\_in\\_Theory\\_and\\_Practice](https://www.academia.edu/3596451/The_Interpretations_of_Hebrew_Names_in_Theory_and_Practice)).

<sup>100</sup> There were first brought to my attention by my student Moses Han. They are also recorded by Versace, *I Marginalia*, 89.

The first instance occurs on p. 1355 at John 4:42 (Figure 19), where B shares the reading λαλια(ν) σου only with  $\Psi^{75}$  among manuscripts treated in NA<sup>28</sup> or Swanson, though Origen also attests it. All remaining manuscripts read σην λαλιαν, except  $\aleph^*$  D b l r<sup>1</sup>, which read σην μαρτυριαν. The latter is likely a conscious or unconscious harmonization to the context (the woman's testifying is mentioned in 4:39). Because B has very much a minority reading, it is plausible to imagine that the scribe had initially intended to write a variant in the margin under the <sup>s</sup> sign but for some reason did not fulfil his intention. If so, the other reading he knew would most likely have been one that did not involve the word λαλιαν.

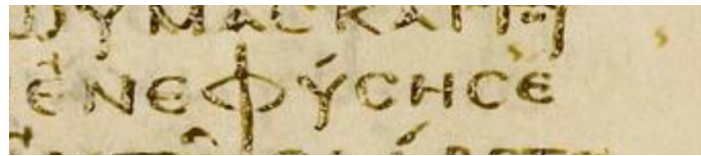


Figure 20. Codex Vaticanus p. 1380, John 20:22

The second example in John is on p. 1380, at John 20:22 (Figure 20) where the *siglum* appears between the *sigma* and *epsilon* in ἐνεφύσησε(ν), near the end of the line, and its unaccompanied twin appears close by in the right hand margin. Here neither NA<sup>28</sup> nor UBS<sup>5</sup> lists a variant. But a check of the other early majuscules shows that D inserts αυτοις after ἐνεφύσησε and W has a different order for the words, ενεφύσησεν αυτοις και λεγει. So, we have

- B ενεφύσησε και λεγει αυτοις
- W ενεφύσησεν αυτοις και λεγει
- D ενεφύσησεν αυτοις και λεγει αυτοις

This too renders it at least possible that the scribe of B might have initially intended to inscribe a variant at 20:22, either the addition of the word αυτοις to form a reading like D or the transposition of words as in W. But another explanation is possible. It is clear that the scribe placed no horizontal suspension line here where there should be and normally would be one to stand for a final *nun* in ενεφύσησεν. If the scribe's exemplar for some reason lacked either the *nun* or the suspension line, and he simply copied what was before him, he might have wished to show he was aware of the oddity and that it was indeed the reading of his exemplar. In this case he might be using the <sup>s</sup> *siglum*, much as we would use *sic*.

In both Johannine instances, then, the existence of a variant reading in a second exemplar is possible as an explanation for these empty *sigla*. But why at only these two places in the entire text of John the scribe would be "tempted" to record a variant is a mystery. Perhaps just as likely, particularly since there are no other indications that the scribe is using a second exemplar while copying John, he is calling attention to what he knew or suspected was an oddity in his exemplar.