THE RUBRICATION OF THE PSALMS
IN CODEX SINAITICUS

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Summary

This article examines the use of red ink ('rubrication') in the Psalms of Codex Sinaiticus. Building on Dirk Jongkind's important study, Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus, *I offer an overview of the ancient practice of rubrication, a careful description of the scribal habits displayed in the rubrication in the Psalms of Sinaiticus, and a catalogue of probable scribal errors that occur in the rubrication. I offer three corrections or additions to Jongkind's study: 1) scribe D's omission of ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ in the title of Psalm 87 was probably not a copying error, despite being a singular reading; 2) scribe A squeezed three lines of the text of the title to Psalm 100 into two because he forgot that he had left himself a third line at the bottom of the previous column; and 3) the ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ at Psalm 139:9 was probably omitted by scribe A and added by a later hand, perhaps scribe D. This implies that A's rubrication was checked and corrected.*

1. Introduction

The recent completion of the digital edition of the Codex Sinaiticus[1] provides new opportunities for scholars to examine this important manuscript in detail. Sinaiticus is noteworthy for its use of red ink ('rubrication') particularly in the Psalms, the Song of Songs, and for the rubrics of the Eusebian apparatus. While the classic study by Milne and Skeat[2] and the recent thorough study by Dirk Jongkind[3] both give

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[1] Codex Sinaiticus, accessed 13 July 2013, http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en.
[2] H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938).

extensive consideration to the Eusebian apparatus, neither gives much treatment to the Old Testament rubrication. In what follows, I analyse the rubrication in the book of Psalms of Codex Sinaiticus. After providing some background information on Sinaiticus and on the ancient use of red ink, I offer a careful description of the scribal habits displayed in the rubrication and a catalogue of probable scribal errors. I conclude with three observations about scribal errors misidentified or neglected by Jongkind.

1.1 Sinaiticus

A few preliminary remarks about the codex are in order.[4] Codex Sinaiticus is a large pandect, originally containing the entire LXX except 2 and 3 Maccabees[5] and the entire New Testament along with Barnabas and Hermas. The manuscript was probably written in the second half of the 4th c. AD, and it reflects the rapid social and institutional gains made by the church after Constantine. If early Christians adopted the codex for its convenience and practical value,[6] this grand and enormous codex reflects a context in which the Christian scriptural codex was becoming an object of reverence in its own right.[7] A codex this large could not easily be moved. Its unusual 8 column format (4 columns on each page) might have given the impression of a Torah scroll when set open.[8] It is written in a clean and regular bookhand, with striking red rubrication. This book was designed to be seen and admired.

Because of its size, the codex probably had an institutional home — in a church, monastery, or scholarly library.[9] The latter is not *a priori* impossible; we know that far larger works like Origen's *Hexapla*,

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[3]   Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007).

[4]   For more details, see the introductions to Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors* and Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*; and D. C. Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus: the Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (London: British Library, 2010).

[5]   Cf. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits,* 42-44.

[6]   Cf. Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: a History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), chapter 2.

[7]   Gamble, *Books and Readers,* 79-80. For a discussion of the Jewish background for this shift, see Martin Goodman, 'Texts, Scribes, and Power in Roman Judea', in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 99-108.

[8]   As suggested by Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus*, 19.

[9]   On ancient libraries, cf. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, chapter 4.

which may have filled nearly forty large codices, sat for centuries in the library of Caesarea.[10]

A certain scholarly concern is also indicated by the colophons to 2 Esdras and Esther, copied from the *Vorlage*. These colophons trace Sinaiticus' text back to the *Hexapla* itself and name two scribes, Antoninus and Pamphilus, who contributed to its correction.

But for various reasons it is likely that Sinaiticus was intended less for scholarly use (private reading) than for liturgical use (public reading).[11] This is, in part, because of the frequent inattention to textual details documented by Jongkind. Moreover, the most explicitly scholarly aspect of the text, its Eusebian apparatus, is incomplete and full of problems that were never corrected.[12] However we explain the fact that the apparatus was never completed,[13] it surely suggests that it was not often used. These factors give reason to suppose that Sinaiticus was first and foremost a liturgical bible for public reading.

1.2 Rubrication

The use of red ink — more precisely, red paint made from either cinnabar (κιννάβαρι) or minium (μίλτος) — was not uncommon in the ancient world, and it was put to a great variety of uses.[14] For example, it was used in many types of Egyptian texts for textual divisions or emphasis,[15] and it was common in Greco-Roman military documents

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[10] It consisted of roughly 'forty codices of 400 leaves (800 pages) each', according to Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2008), 105.

[11] On the distinction between private and public reading, see Gamble, *Books and Readers*, chapter 5.

[12] With one exception: although half of the Lucan apparatus is missing, a later scribe added the canon and section numbers for Luke 21:24 (folio 79.4, verso).

[13] According to Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 36, the apparatus was an abortive attempt by scribe A to embellish the manuscript.

[14] Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: an Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 17. The rest of this paragraph is drawn from J. C. Treat, 'Lost Keys: Text and Interpretation in Old Greek Song of Songs and its Earliest Manuscript Witnesses' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 422-30, and Marjo Christina Annette Korpel, 'Introduction to the Series Pericope', in *Delimitation Criticism*, ed. Marjo Christina Annette Korpel and Josef M. Oesch (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000), 1-50, esp. 6-7.

[15] J. Assman, 'Die Rubren in der Überlieferung der Sinuhe-Erzählung', in *Fontes atque pontes: Eine Festgabe für H. Brunner*, ed. Manfred Görg, AAT 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), 18-41.

and used for the titles of Roman laws. In the Jewish context, *m. Gittin* 19a rules that a bill of divorce is valid even if written in red.

Where Scriptural manuscripts are concerned, there is evidence of three main functions for red ink, functions which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. First, as in some of the secular texts noted above, red ink could be used to indicate divisions or emphasis in the text, often for liturgical use. The earliest scriptural examples of this occur in two Qumran texts.[16] In 2QPs, the first lines of Psalm 103 are in red, while in 4QNum[b] the first verse or line of ten paragraphs is in red, though other paragraphs begin with black ink.[17] In his careful study of 4QNum[b], Jastram argues persuasively that the function of the rubrication was probably liturgical, indicating the beginning of liturgical sections longer than single paragraphs.[18] In both of these cases, red ink was used for the text of Scripture itself.[19]

Second, rubrics could be used for giving scholarly information to private readers. In his innovations in the production of scholarly texts,[20] Eusebius in particular made good use of red ink. This may have been the case with his chronological canon: in a 5th c. manuscript of the Eusebian chronological canon, the scribe aids the reader in distinguishing different columns of information by writing the columns alternately in red and black ink.[21] We are on firmer ground when it comes to the Eusebian gospel canons; indeed, the only explicit discussions of red ink in patristic sources of which I am aware concern

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[16] Emmanuel Tov, 'Sense Divisions in the Qumran Texts, the Masoretic Text, and Ancient Translations of the Bible', in *The Interpretation of the Bible: the International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. Jože Krašovec, JSOTSup 289 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 121-46, esp. 128-29. There is also red ink in 4QD[e] frg. 3 i, line 18 and a fragmentary 4Q481d, where in both cases its function is less clear.

[17] Cf. Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi, 'The Red Ink of the Dead Sea Scrolls', *Archaeometry* 38:1 (1996), 97-102, and N. Jastram, '4QNum[b]', in *Qumran Cave 4.7: Genesis to Numbers*, DJD 12 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 205-67.

[18] Jastram, '4QNum[b]', 210.

[19] With the exception of the Psalm titles, this is not the case in Sinaiticus, but later Christian codices, such as the 5th. c. codices Alexandrinus and Washingtonensis, increasingly used rubrics for the first lines of books or sections in prose texts as well. Cf. Korpel, 'Introduction', 6.

[20] Cf. Grafton and Williams, *Transformation of the Book*, 199-200.

[21] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronological canon* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, Auct. T.2.26 [5th c.]), fols. 50v-51r. Cf. Martin Wallraff, 'The Canon Tables of the Psalms: An Unknown Work of Eusebius of Caesarea', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013), 1-14, esp. 2.

their innovative scholarly use in the Eusebian gospel canons.[22] In his letter explaining the use of his canon tables, Eusebius specifies that the table numbers should be written in red ink (κινναβάρεως), implying that the section numbers are written in black.[23] Jerome's instructions are more specific, specifying both that the canon number should be red (*ex minio*) and that the section number should be in black.[24] (In Sinaiticus, both are written in red ink.) Eusebius goes on to say that the purpose of these rubrics is to help a reader find passages in other gospels similar to the one he is reading.[25] Presumably we should envision a private or scholarly reader at leisure to flip through a codex. Jerome echoes this and adds an auxiliary function: restraining scribes from corrupting the texts of the gospels by revising one gospel in favour of a parallel passage in another.[26] In both cases, the imagined reader is a private one, whether scholar or scribe.

Third, red ink could have an aesthetic function. This is especially evident in the colophons of Sinaiticus. According to Milne and Skeat, the coronis in particular 'amounts to [the scribe's] signature, so distinctive is the design (or designs) adopted by each and so restricted the range of individual variation'.[27] Scribe D (colophon to Mark) and especially scribe A (colophons to Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Revelation, and Barnabas[28]) used red ink to embellish their designs, and their use is restrained compared to the more ornate designs in

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[22] On Eusebius's innovative use of formatting in his scholarship, see Grafton and Williams, *Transformation of the Book*, chapters 3 and 4.

[23] Eusebius, *Epistle to Carpianus*, in Harold H. Oliver, 'The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus: Textual Tradition and Translation', *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 3, fasc. 1/2 (January 1959), 138-45.

[24] Jerome, 'Praefatio Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri in Evangelio', in *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem II*, ed. B. Fischer and R. Weber (Stuttgart: Württember-gische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

[25] Cf. Harvey K. McArthur, 'Eusebian sections and canons', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27.3 (July 1965), 250-56. McArthur shows that the canons often function more like scholarly cross-references to similar passages rather than being simply a table of parallels for the purpose of harmonization. Cf. more recently, Matthew R. Crawford, 'Ammonius of Alexander, Eusebius of Caesarea and the Origins of Gospel Scholarship', *New Testament Studies* 61 (2014), 1-29.

[26] The number of errors in the Eusebian apparatus in Sinaiticus suggests that these scribes were not very active users of it; in their case, at least, Jerome's hopes were probably in vain.

[27] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors,* 27.

[28] On my own examination of the online edition of the colophons of Revelation (folio 91.2 recto) and Barnabas (Folio 92.2 verso), I could not confirm that red ink was used because the ink is faded.

Vaticanus and especially Alexandrinus.[29] The use of red ink here is evidently aesthetic.

2. Scribal Habits of the Psalm Rubrics

In Codex Sinaiticus, the Psalms, like the other poetic books (Psalms to Job, excepting the prose introduction to Sirach), are written in two columns roughly 27 letters wide. The text is broken up into sense lines, each new phrase beginning on a new line. If a sense line is too long for the column, the scribes indent the next line 4-5 letters, making sure to leave a reasonable amount of text on the next line.[30] (By contrast, prose books are written in four columns of about 13 letters, broken as convenient.) Scribe A's occasional tendency to omit entire lines suggests that their exemplar was most likely already formatted in this way.[31]

The book of Psalms was written by two scribes: scribe D wrote both text and rubrics through the end of folio 62:3 recto (to Psalm 97:3), after which scribe A wrote both to the end. By all accounts D is the more able scribe; it may be that he insisted on writing the bulk of the Psalms due to its more involved formatting, and/or that he wrote the first portion of the book as a model for A to follow.[32] Another scribe has traced over A's rubrication. Milne and Skeat claim that, on the basis of the orthography of the tracing, it is possible to identify the second as D.[33] Jongkind is less sanguine.[34] Milne and Skeat also argue that the red text must have been inserted as the scribe went along, because of the difficulty of calculating in advance and leaving blank the space required for the red text.[35] Jongkind has shown that this must be incorrect, however, since many of the errors we will consider below are best explained by a scribe leaving blank spaces in the main text and then returning to add red ink later.[36]

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[29] Compare plates 1-9 and 10-43 in Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*.
[30] Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 36-37.
[31] Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 201.
[32] For a fascinating reconstruction of the complex interactions between the scribes, see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, chapter 2.
[33] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 35.
[34] Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 38; see my discussion of this issue below.
[35] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 35.
[36] Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 38-39.

Besides the colophon, there are three main categories of rubrication in the Psalms: 1) the numbering; 2) the titles; and 3) the word ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ[37] in the text of certain psalms.

2.1 Titles and Numbers

Our first concern is with the titles and numbers. Scribe D's typical work can be seen in Figure 1, the transition between psalms 2 and 3.

As a rule, he marks the beginning of the last verse of each psalm with an ornate red *paragraphos* (horizontal line). He then puts the title of the next psalm in red, indented 4-5 letters. If the final verse carries over to the second line, as here, the psalm title is aligned with the indented black text. He then puts the number of the next psalm in red in the left margin beside the first line of black text, set off with lines above and below. This format is consistently followed. It makes the title and number unmistakable, besides being aesthetically impressive.

One consequence of this layout is that the number of each psalm is always below that psalm's title. One might have expected the number to be written beside the title. This happens, for example, in Song of Songs where the scribe has put a section number beside verse 1:1, which is also the title of the book.[38] The consistent placement of a psalm's number *below* its title instead may indicate that the scribes did not conceive the psalm title as part of the psalm itself.

Besides the errors noted below, the only significant exception to these patterns is the transition between the first two psalms: see Figure 2. In Sinaiticus's text of the LXX, only the first two psalms lack a superscript, and so the transition between them is unique.[39] Scribe D uses a *paragraphos* between the last line of Psalm 1 and the first line of Psalm 2, which requires him to move the number B further to the left than usual. He also apparently decided on this pass through the text that the leading vowel of the first word INA could be ambiguous, and so he marked it with a red diaeresis. Although diaereses are fairly common in Sinaiticus, it is unusual to see them in red ink.

Scribe A's typical work can be seen in the transition between psalms 138 and 139, as in Figure 3.

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[37] This includes the *hapax* ΩΔΗ ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑΤΟΣ at 9:17, which also occurs in red.
[38] Folio 66.5 recto; both, however, are in black ink.
[39] The Hexaplaric text tradition, by contrast, follows the MT in having 19 untitled Psalms. Cf. Wallraff, 'The Canon Tables', 11.

Scribe A sometimes, like D, marks the beginning of the last verse of each psalm with a *paragraphos,* but as in this example, they have not usually been traced over and are quite faded. In most cases, there is no *paragraphos* at all. Like D, A puts the red superscript of each psalm after the last line of the previous psalm, indented 4-5 letters, and he puts the psalm's number in the left margin. Presumably he was intending to continue the pattern established by D in his portion of the Psalter.

In summary: both scribes consistently use red ink and indentation to make the number and title of each psalm unmistakable. The visual effect is also quite impressive, particularly where scribe D has added his elegant *paragraphoi*.

2.2 *Diapsalma*

The word ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ[40] appears 68 times in scribe D's section of the Psalms. With one slight exception considered below, he always indents it in line with the overflow indentation in the main text.[41] He very consistently marks the first line of the preceding verse with a short red underline. The only exception to this is in folio 59:1 verso, where Psalm 4:5 is interrupted by a page break and then immediately followed by a *diapsalma,* as in Figure 4. D has put the red line under the *indented* line of black text. In the similar case at Psalm 67:20 (61:2 recto), he follows his usual practice, marking the first line of the *stichos,* even though it is at the bottom of the previous column.

On three occasions (20:3, 43:9, 86:6), the *diapsalma* is marked with a more ornate *paragraphos*, akin to those at the end of each psalm. I can find no rationale for the difference. 9:17 also has a more ornate *paragraphos,* presumably to mark the *hapax* ΩΔΗ ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑΤΟΣ.

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[40] The word δίαψαλμα like the Hebrew word סלה (*selah*), of which it is the LXX's stereotyped translation, is notoriously difficult to translate. It may signify a section break or a musical interlude, as many 4th c. church fathers thought. Theodoret canvasses a representative range of patristic views in 'Interpretatio in Psalmos', in Migne, *PG* 80:857-1997, esp. 864B-865B. For a modern study, cf. R. Stieb, 'Die Versdubletten des Psalters', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 57 (1939), 102-10.

[41] Other early manuscripts use indentation without red ink to set apart δίαψαλμα, for example the early 4th c. Duke Papyrus 740 recto, viewable online (accessed 15 September 2015, http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/images/ 150dpi/740r-at150.gif).

Scribe D overlines the word ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ inconsistently. About half the time (35/68 times[42]) the *diapsalma* has no overlines at all. 17 times[43] it has an overline at both the beginning and the end of the word. 12 times[44] it has an overline only at the beginning of the word, and 4 times[45] only at the end.[46] This contrasts with his consistent use of *paragraphoi* to mark the line preceding the *diapsalma,* which suggests that scribe D viewed the latter as more essential than the former.

Scribe A has only four *diapsalmata* in his section (Psalm 139:4, 6, 9 and 142:6). Three of these cases (139:4, 6 and 142:6) he handles similarly. Like D, he indents the *diapsalma*, but as with the psalm titles, here too A does not mark the preceding verse with a *paragraphos*. Instead, he consistently uses red overlines (and sometimes underlines) around the *diapsalma,* as in Figures 4 and 5.

The *diapsalma* at the end of 139:9, however, entirely lacks these lines above and below. I would suggest that this *diapsalma* was omitted by scribe A and inserted by a later scribe, perhaps the scribe tracing A's rubrics. Besides the inconsistent overlining, we may observe the following indications. First, the ink is noticeably darker. Second, the handwriting appears different. Compare Figures 5 and 6: the bottom of the Δ in Figure 6 forms a much more perfect triangle than do those of scribe A, which typically extend out or down. The tops of Δ, Α, and Λ in Figure 6 lean consistently right while scribe A's tend to lean more to the left. The vertical stroke of the Ψ in Figure 6 is also longer than is typical for scribe A. The letters are also further apart. Moreover, the *diapsalma* in Figure 6 is on the first line of a new page, where scribal errors are especially frequent in Sinaiticus.[47]

These considerations give reason to believe that this *diapsalma* was added by the scribe tracing A's work, perhaps scribe D, since the taller Ψ is a distinguishing mark of D's handwriting (compare Figure 6 with the *diapsalma* in Figure 4). This in turn confirms Milne and Skeat's

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[42] Psalm 2:2; 3:3, 5; 4:3, 5; 7:6; 9:17, 21; 19:4; 20:3; 33:11; 43:9; 46:5; 47:9; 48:14; 49:6, 15; 51:5, 7; 61:9; 65:4, 7, 15; 66:2, 5; 67:8, 20, 33; 75:4; 81:2; 83:5, 9; 88:38, 46, 49.

[43] Psalm 23:6; 31:4, 5, 7; 38:6, 12; 48:16; 56:4; 58:14; 60:5; 74:4; 76:10, 16; 79:8; 80:8; 87:8; 88:5.

[44] Psalm 54:8, 20; 56:7; 59:6; 61:5; 67:14; 75:10; 76:4; 82:9; 86:3; 86:6; 93:15.

[45] Psalm 45:8; 53:5; 58:6; 84:3.

[46] I have not made an exact count of the overlines in the psalm titles, but the results would be similarly inconsistent.

[47] Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 250.

contention that the scribe who traced A's rubrication was D.[48] It also shows that Jongkind is wrong to claim that the text of the Psalm rubrics was never checked,[49] although he is still surely correct that the presence of glaring errors (see my discussion below) evinces a textual carelessness that probably indicates that the scribes were more concerned with aesthetics than with textual precision.[50]

In sum: both scribes indent ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ and write it in red. Scribe D was careful to indicate the beginning of a verse that would end with a *diapsalma,* but he was not particularly consistent in his use of lines designating the *diapsalma* itself. Scribe A did not use *paragraphoi* at all, and probably omitted one of his four *diapsalmas*.

2.3 Errors

There are a number of errors in the Psalm rubrication. Beginning with scribe D, Jongkind notes one formatting oddity that indicates a scribal error:[51]

1) The *diapsalma* in Psalm 3:5 (59:1 recto) is not on its own line, but is instead placed beside a partial line of black text. This is one of the clearest indications that the red ink was added after the black: D forgot to leave a space for the *diapsalma* while writing the main text.

Jongkind also identifies the following singular readings in the rubrication, suggesting that these too are scribal errors:[52]

2) On the title to Psalm 29, D writes and then corrects an extra T after the word ΨΑΛΜΟΣ. Probably he was going to write ΨΑΛΜΟΣ ΤΩ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ. Jongkind identifies this as a harmonisation to general usage, a common error for D that indicates his familiarity with these texts.[53]

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[48]   Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, 35, *contra* Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 38.

[49]   Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 201.

[50]   Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 201, 249.

[51]   Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 38.

[52]   On the methodological use of singular readings to isolate the habits of an individual scribe, see E. C. Colwell, 'Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text', in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship,* ed. J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1965), 370-89. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, does not give the rubrication separate treatment, but I have culled these singular readings from his tables in chapter 4.

[53]   Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 254. If we may generalize from D, though the 4th c. scribes of Sinaiticus are more professionally trained than most Christian scribes in the first three centuries AD, they were also users of the texts they were producing. See Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of*

3) On the title to Psalm 56, D omits the word ΤΩ before ΔΑΥΕΙΔ.

4) On the title to Psalm 85, D writes ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ instead of ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΤΩ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ like all other manuscripts. This is presumably a memory variant.[54]

5) On the title to Psalm 87, D omits the phrase ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ after the words ΤΟΙΣ ΥΙΟΙΣ ΚΟΡΕ. Jongkind does not observe, however, that the title could not possibly have fit into the three lines D has left blank, had these words been included. As it is, D has to squeeze the last few letters. Although it is a singular reading, the fact that D did not leave sufficient space for the longer title suggests that the text of D's exemplar also lacked the phrase ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Scribe A's errors are generally more substantial than those of scribe D, although he has fewer singular readings. He makes the following formatting errors, of which Jongkind mentions only the third:

1) In folio 62:3 column 2, a blank line follows Psalm 99, so that the whole column is only 47 lines, one short of the usual 48. Meanwhile, the superscript to Psalm 100 at the beginning of column 3 has been squeezed to fit onto two lines. A apparently left himself three lines for the superscript but later forgot that the first of these lines was the bottom of a column. Instead, he attempted to compress three lines' worth of superscript into the two lines remaining at the top of the next column.

2) As we saw above, he probably omitted the ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ at Psalm 139:9, which was then inserted by the hand that later traced A's rubrication, perhaps D.

3) The superscription to Psalm 151 is six lines long, but inconsistently spaced: the last three lines are only one or two words

long. This strongly suggests that A left too much space between psalms 150 and 151, and therefore had to stretch the superscription.[55]

He also has two singular readings, noted by Jongkind:

4) On the title to Psalm 104, he wrote ΤΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ for ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ, and then corrected it.

5) Psalm 149 is missing its number and superscription (it should have read ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ). Since he left one blank line between psalms 148 and 149, this is another indication that his practice was to add red ink on a separate pass. This is a surprisingly careless omission.

In summary: the pattern of errors confirms Jongkind's finding that scribe D is generally more consistent, although inclined to errors that reveal his familiarity with these texts. Scribe A was a good deal more careless. The hand that traced A's work probably corrected at least one mistake, although he too missed the glaring omission of Psalm 149's title and number.

3. Conclusion

Both scribes use red ink to distinguish the psalm numbers and titles along with the *diapsalmas.* Both put the number below the title, further suggesting that they saw some kind of distinction between the title and the psalm itself. The scribes evince more concern for the aesthetic function of rubrication than with scholarly uses that would depend on greater textual precision.

I have offered several new observations about the habits of these scribes that confirm the general picture of D as the more expert scribe. Two concerned errors by A that were not identified by Jongkind. First, I showed that the superscript to Psalm 100 has been squeezed because A forgot that he had left a third line at the bottom of the previous column. More significantly, I argued that the ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ at Psalm 139:9 was probably omitted by A and added by a later hand. This shows, *contra* Jongkind, that the rubrication was given at least some kind of check. On the basis of the handwriting I suggested that this was done by D. This hypothesis would also help account for the presence of numerous uncorrected errors remaining in D's portion of the text: one can imagine D retracing A's rubrication and checking his work without deeming it necessary to further correct his own, whereas it is difficult

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[55] Cf. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, 39.

to see why a later corrector would not go over the whole book. That the corrector still missed the omitted title to Psalm 149, which occurs on the last page of the Psalms, might be attributable to exhaustion or the carelessness that can attend the imminent completion of a large undertaking.

I also showed that the omission of ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ in the title to Psalm 87, though a singular reading, was probably the reading of scribe D's exemplar because D did not leave space for a longer reading. This serves as a reminder that the use of singular readings to isolate scribal errors must be complemented by a careful examination of physical features of the manuscript itself, and hence of the importance of developing resources like the digital Codex Sinaiticus that make this kind of examination possible.
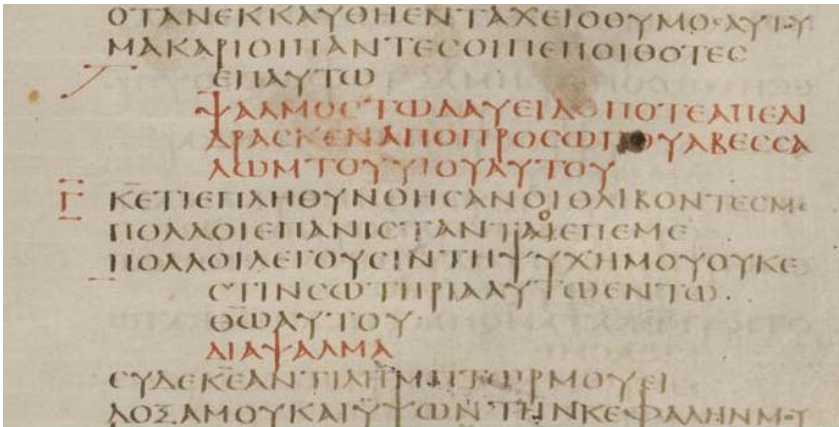

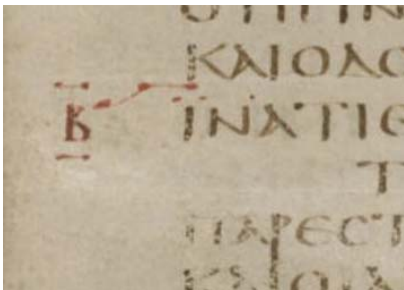*Figure 1: Scribe D's transition between psalms 2 and 3 (59:1 recto). © The British Library Board, Add. MS 43725.*

Figure 2: Scribe D's transition between psalms 1 and 2 (59:1 recto). © The British Library Board, Add. MS 43725.

Figure 3: Scribe A's transition between psalms 138 and 139 (63:6 verso). © The British Library Board, Add. MS 43725.
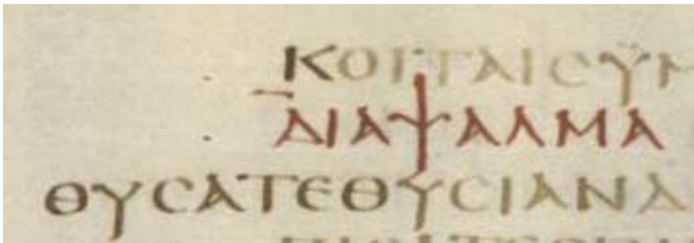

Figure 4: Psalm 4:5 (59:1 verso).
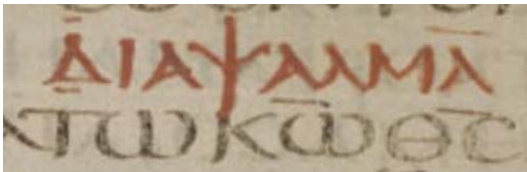*© The British Library Board, Add. MS 43725.*

Figure 5: Scribe A's ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ in Psalm 139:6 (63:6 verso).
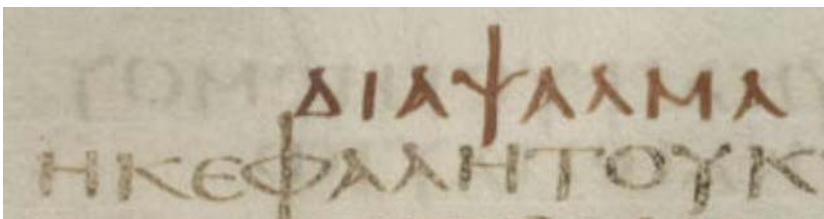*© The British Library Board, Add. MS 43725.*

Figure 6: ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ in Psalm 139:9 (63:7 recto).
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