Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus A Layered Approach to the Delimiters in B(03)*

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Abstract: In this article, I am concerned with the various delimitation markers found in Codex Vaticanus. While some scholars have assumed an overall coherence between these markers, I argue that they must first be examined on their own to determine their function and relation to one another. This is done first by understanding textual delimitation as a part of transmission and scribal habit. After examining the spacing, *ektheses*, *paragraphoi*, and Greek section numerals, I conclude: (1) only the spacing and *ektheses* are original to the work of the scribes; (2) the *paragraphoi* were later additions for the purpose of reading, and sometimes correct the original divisions of the scribes; and (3) finally, the later additions of Greek section numerals were for ease of reference and can both agree and disagree with previous division markers. The data presented below has implications for any further conclusions about the purpose and relationship of these divisions to the larger textual tradition.

One issue that has arisen from recent studies on Codex Vaticanus (B[03]) is the competing claims made by scholars regarding the complex divisional layers present in the codex. With various understandings of these markers, it is improbable that we will agree on how these layers relate, both internally and with other manuscripts. However, through an analysis of the form and function of these layers, it is possible to find clarity in both how and why the assorted division markers were added. In addition, some scholars have asserted the presence of an early established system of textual division. From such claims, one might wonder how systematic these divisions truly are and to what end these divisions are a part of textual transmission, or simply scribal habit. In fact, B(03) evinces not only one attempt at dividing scripture, but its own history of delimitation, layered with both agreement and variation. This study, therefore, seeks to give a comprehensive overview of the various forms of unit delimitation in the manuscript and subsequently to provide clarity as to how these markers do, or do not, collaborate with one another.

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1. Preliminary Considerations: Function, Layout, Transmission, and Scribes

1.1. Function

While a study like this might very well be interested in proposing the interpretive context of the scribes,[1] my primary focus is on the markers themselves, their function, and their relationships to the scribes. Elsewhere, scholars, such as Greg Goswell, have suggested probable interpretive functions of these textual divisions.[2] While a chasm between interpretive and scribal functions should not be forced, we are primarily concerned, here, with the practice of textual delimitation in scribal transmission. Thus, a more practical function will be explored—divisions as a visual reference point for copying and reading.[3]

1.2 Layout

It should also be noted that the physical layout of a manuscript influences and constrains scribes to a particular way of dividing the text. Dirk Jongkind has shown that the width of columns can affect whether or not scribes decide to start a section on a fresh line. Both B(03), with three columns, and Alexandrinus (A[02]), with two, tend to conserve space by starting a new section with mid-line spacing, while Sinaiticus (א[01]), with four columns, can afford beginning sections on new lines.[4] This does not hinder B(03) or A(02) from occasionally leaving most of a line blank to begin sections on a new line, but it is evidence of the general way scribes were influenced by the physical layout of a manuscript. This is especially true when considering the transmission between manuscripts of different codicological formats.

1.3 Transmission

In considering textual divisions as a part of transmission, we also confront the issue of dictation theory in manuscript production. How might a scribe reproduce the divisions of a manuscript if he or she is not looking at it? While T. C. Skeat produced a thorough history and

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[1]   While my thesis dealt with the topic of *Unit Delimitation*, it is beyond the scope of the current article. For examples, consult the multiple volumes produced by the Pericope Group—a gathering of biblical scholars intent on collecting and publishing data on ancient delimitation and its influence on interpretation (http://www.pericope.net/index.htm).

[2]   Greg Goswell, "The Divisions of the Book of Daniel," in *The Impact of Unit Delimitation on Exegesis*, ed. M. C. A. Korpel, S. E. Porter, and Raymond de Hoop, Pericope 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 89–91.

[3]   William Johnson makes a similar proposal for the use of *paragraphoi* in Greek bookrolls. Although it does not seem as probable at the level of the Greek numerals, Skeat unconvincingly argued that the younger numbers may have been used for primitive collation purposes. William A. Johnson, "The Function of the Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts," *ZFPE* 100 (1994): 65–68. T. C. Skeat, "The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125.

[4]   א(01) can omit half a line and only miss around six–seven letters, while the same would take up to ten letters from B(03) and fourteen–sixteen from A(02). Often the spacing in B(03) is accompanied by a *paragraphos*, and in A(02), the first letter of the next line starts with a capitalized letter protruding into the margin. Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, Texts and Studies 5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), 96.

defence of dictation theory, it has rightly been critiqued in recent studies.[5] In any case, his primary argument based on phonetic errors in ℵ(01) does not stand true in B(03).

More conclusive is the nuanced system of orthographic variation, which the scribes of B(03) maintain, often giving ει for the long ι.[6] This consistency is not well accounted for by dictation theory. The same conclusion is given by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, who says "l'orthographe de B est satisfaisante. B a été copié, non dicté."[7] However, it is important to note the warning of David Parker—that what seems impossible to us was not necessarily the case for ancient scribes.[8] But in spite of this caution, visual copying, in the case of B(03) and ℵ(01), best explains a scribe's ability to both replicate or restructure the *mise-en-page* from its exemplar.[9] Because the divisions of B(03) represent an early and relatively unique tradition, we must, therefore, look to scribal habits as a possible method of distinguishing paragraphing as inherited from that which is introduced by the scribe.

1.4. Scribes and Scribal Habit

Ezra Abbot comments that "in respect both to the frequency of the paragraphs, and to the manner of indicating them, much appears to have depended upon the fancy of the copyist."[10] If this is the case, we might wonder what kind of scribes wrote B(03) and what factors influenced them to mark the divisions how and where they did. Of course, it should also be said that frequency and manner of delimitation are not necessarily caused by the same reasons. This is complicated further by David Trobisch's argument that "structural markers are introduced at different stages of text production. … They originate with author, scribe, editor, publisher,

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[5]   T. C. Skeat, "The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production," in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 3–32; Dirk Jongkind, "One Codex, Three Scribes, and Many Books: Struggles with Space in Codex Sinaiticus," in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 121–36; James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 85ff.; Zachary J. Cole, "An Unseen Paleographical Problem with Milne and Skeat's Dictation Theory of Codex Sinaiticus," *JBL* 135 (2016): 103–7.

[6]   This orthographic sophistication has been analyzed most recently in the Tyndale House edition of the Greek New Testament. See also, Martini's analysis of the significant agreements in orthographic spelling of ει for ι between 𝔓75 and B(03). This strong relationship points away from dictation as the cause of variation. Friedrich Wilhelm Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 13 §23; Carlo M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1966), 103–12; Dirk Jongkind and Peter J. Williams, eds., *The Greek New Testament, Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017), 509–10.

[7]   Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le «Vaticanus», Athanase et Alexandrie," in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209): Introduction au fac-similé; Actes du Colloque de Genève (11 juin 2001); Contributions supplémentaires*, ed. Patrick Andrist, HTB 7 (Lausanne: Zèbre, 2009), 137.

[8]   David C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157.

[9]   Although Alphonse Dain was critiqued by Skeat for being ambiguous as to which period of manuscripts he was discussing (mostly medieval), the effort put into organising B(03) and ℵ(01) represent exceptions to many other ancient manuscripts that Skeat may have had in mind. Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Collection d'Études Anciennes (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), 22.

[10] Ezra Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts of the Greek Bible," *JAOS* 10 (1872): 192–93.

and reader.”[11] With this in mind, I maintain the term *scribal habits* in reference to the earliest discernible stage of textual division (i.e., *ekthesis* and intralinear space). From this point, we must decide how the use of *paragraphoi* and other features fit into this staggered production of divisions.

It is also important to note the wide-spread use of delimitation markers by scribes of all proficiencies. Alan Mugridge has recently shown that in early Christian texts, both trained and untrained scribes were capable of using *paragraphoi* and *ekthesis* in their writing.[12] Still, it does not seem likely that a project the size and cost of B(03) would be left to untrained scribes. Indeed, J. C. O'Neill has proposed a rather fanciful account of the production of B(03), by two so-called scholarly scribes.[13] While his narrative reconstruction is unconvincing, he rightly concludes that the manuscript's layout was "unlikely to [have been] done without thought and without guidance."[14] Thus the question remains: how did the scribes of B(03) use section markers, and are we able to distinguish scribal habit from transmission?

In his research on scribal practices in the Judean Desert texts, Emmanuel Tov summarizes his findings saying that "as a rule, scribes copied the divisions between section units from their *Vorlagen*, but they sometimes deviated from them, and it is difficult to determine under which conditions they did so."[15] However, when scribes did deviate he notes that "they must have made their decisions *ad hoc*, guided mainly by their general understanding of the content."[16] While this cannot be assumed in B(03), the following discussion provides a description of each divisional layer throughout the codex and explains the evidence as a verification of both scribal preference and transmission. Although the manner of delimitation seems to be, as Abbot suggested, dependent "upon the fancy of the copyist," the frequency of these divisions was often dependent upon the exemplar of B(03).

2. The Divisions throughout the Codex

A codex the size of B(03) creates problems for anyone who wishes to give a holistic summary of divisions from a study of only one book in the manuscript. For this reason, many of the studies that describe the delimiting features of B ought to be considered preliminary—a fact which some have already recognized. Similarly, this article will not be able to provide full discussion of all delimiters throughout the manuscript, nor would such a study prove anything

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[11]   Although some have argued that manuscript paragraphing is wholly artificial, Peter Williams has convincingly argued that it is "highly unlikely that any authorial or community or early copy of the Fourth Gospel existed without" paragraph markings. This is not necessarily to promote a new venture to return to the "original paragraphing," but to recognize that paragraphing played an important role in the world of *scriptum continuum*. David Trobisch, "Structural Markers in New Testament Manuscripts: With Special Attention to Observations in Codex Boernerianus (G 012) and Papyrus 46 of the Letters of Paul," in *Layout Markers in Biblical Manuscripts and Ugaritic Tablets*, ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch, Pericope 5 (Assen: Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2005), 179; Peter J. Williams, "Not the Prologue of John," *JSNT* 33 (2011): 376.

[12]   See Mugridge for a helpful chart of all early Christian manuscripts containing these forms of textual division. He even identifies small amulets which use methods of division. Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*, WUNT 362 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 77–78.

[13]   John C. O'Neill, "The Rules Followed by the Editors of the Text Found in the Codex Vaticanus," *NTS* 35 (1989): 219–28.

[14]   O'Neill, "Rules Followed by the Editors," 221.

[15]   Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 140.

[16]   Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 140.

but redundant in many cases. However, the ensuing discussion is given in light of a full examination of features throughout B(03) and subsequently highlights loci of interest. Primary interest is given to the following factors: (1) differences between scribes A and B, chiefly at points of scribal interchange; (2) internal inconsistences found within single books or genres; and (3) discrepancies between layers of delimitation (e.g., spacing and *paragraphoi*, old numerals and younger numerals, etc.). Allowing for some speculation, the various layers of division give insight into their own functions—whether production, reader, or reference oriented.

2.1. Spacing and Ekthesis

We begin with an examination of intralinear spacing and *ekthesis*, both of which are inherent in the work of the copying scribes.[17] Charles Hill has argued that the presence of these delimiters indicates "some measure of pre-planning … and the sustained attention of the copying scribe."[18] On the other hand, Tov's argument that scribes occasionally made delimiters *ad hoc*[19] challenges us to examine these markers for signs of intentionality and the premeditated work of the scribes. From this investigation, some have proposed that *ekthesis* and intralinear spacing were used to indicate major and minor sections in a passage.[20]

2.1.1. Spacing

The delimiter that marks the shortest unit in B(03) is the space. Of the various ways a space can be used, the most common is located mid-line, between the final word of the previous section and the first of the new unit. While this space is generally one–two letters wide, this can range from less than half of a letter to three–four letters.[21] Because consistency is hard to identify in B(03), there is often little reason to think that size is indicative of importance.[22] Stanley Porter has identified the challenge arising from such inconsistency, namely, "whether the spacing is intentional or accidental."[23] This, however, is no reason to avoid analysis of these

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[17]   Rosario Pierri, "Accentazione delle ossitone in rapporto ai segni di divisione nei vangeli in B (03)," *LA* 64 (2014): 141.

[18]   Charles E. Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word: Uncovering an Early Template for Textual Division in John's Gospel," in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster, NTTSD 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 235.

[19]   This echoes Abbot's opinion on the scribes of B(03). Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 140.

[20]   This was proposed by Jongkind for the Gospel of Matthew and has since been followed in studies of B(03), particularly in the Septuagint Commentary Series on Vaticanus. My own examination of Matthew has drawn similar results. See Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 96.

[21]   For a similar calculation, see Georg Walser, *Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3.

[22]   Marjo Korpel has proposed that the narrow spaces were intentionally added, with a second hand adding the high-stop, to mark the division of cola. de Bruin correctly critiques this, noting that they are apparently from distinct projects, on account of their high inconsistency. Marjo C. A. Korpel, "Introduction to the Series Pericope," in *Delimitation Criticism: A New Tool in Biblical Scholarship*, ed. M.C.A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch, Pericope 1 (Assen: Uitgeverij Van Gorcum, 2000), 14; Wim de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters: The Complexity of Text Delimitation in Four Major Septuagint Manuscripts," in *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*, ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch, Pericope 3 (Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2002), 69 fn. 7.

[23]   Stanley E. Porter, "Pericope Markers in Some Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts," in *Layout Markers in Biblical Manuscripts and Ugaritic Tablets*, ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch, Pericope 5 (Assen: Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2005), 161.

spaces. Indeed, this hesitation of Porter and others also elucidates the inconsistency found in the placement of *paragraphoi*, after the text had been written.

Intralinear spacing holds particular importance for scribe B, since, outside of the prophets, the scribe does not use *ekthesis* with much frequency. By the time scribe B reached 2 Esdras, the use of intralinear spacing had nearly vanished, leaving much of the book as continuous blocks of text, in which you might only find one space on an entire page (e.g., pp. 601–2). Many of the sections in 2 Esdras are only made noticeable by the later addition of high-stops (e.g., fig. 1). Scribe B uses spacing with more frequency in the New Testament, predominantly after the Gospel of Luke, when *ekthesis* is rarely present. This method of delimitation is not isolated to scribe B however. Scribe A also uses intralinear spacing, although with less frequency. Tov identifies a similar feature in the Judean Desert texts, in which these mid-line breaks represent Masoretic "closed sections"—small "thematically related" units.[24] In most instances, the same case can be made in B(03).
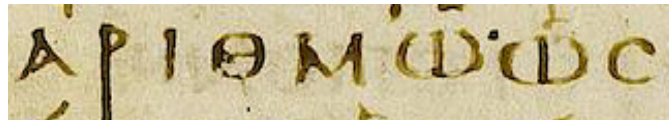

Figure 1. High-stop

Larger sections, on the other hand, can be recognized when the scribe intentionally leaves the rest of a line blank to start the new section on a fresh line. Tov has also acknowledged this in the Hebrew tradition as an "open section," which creates the necessary distinction between units of thematically related "closed sections."[25] This method is most used by scribe A and is regularly accompanied by *ekthesis*.[26] The amount of space left on the previous line ranges from a fraction of a letter to fourteen letters; sometimes with no space left at all. Although a scribe may pinch letters together to ensure the start of a new section on the next line, there is no evidence to suggest that a scribe was intentional in the amount of space left on the previous line. This spacing is also found in the work of scribe B, although its use often fades out as the copying progressed.[27]

A third form of spacing is used in B(03) to indicated lists and genealogies, where each entry is often given a fresh line. Below is a working table of lists and genealogies, which are marked off by either unique spacing or *ekthesis*:

Lists
    The Twelve Patriarchs (Gen 49:3–27)
    The Ten Commandments (Exod 20:2–17)
    The Nations that God Will Blot Out (Exod 23:23)

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[24] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 136.

[25] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 136.

[26] In scribe A, it is not uncommon to find the scribe leaving a portion of the line blank, without protruding the first letter on the next line. Sometimes it is accompanied by the later *paragraphos*, while in other instances it is left unmarked (e.g. Exod 9:7). Without assuming a flawless execution by the scribe, it is hard to tell whether these instances represent scribal hesitation or simply unintentional error.

[27] Jongkind identifies this habit in Matthew, while de Bruin's analysis of Isa 1–12 evidences a similar case. Although Isa 1:1–7:1 is delimited by ekthesis and space on the previous line, this method is abandoned for intralinear spaces to mark both major and minor sections. Because de Bruin's analyzes is only in the first twelve chapters, he does not note the return to ekthesis in the subsequent chapters. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 96; de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters," 75.

The Helpers from the Twelve Tribes (Num 1:5–15)
The Camps of Israel after Leaving Egypt (Num 33:5–48)
The Unclean Birds (Deut 14:12–18)
The Nations that Gathered against Joshua (Josh 9:1)[28]
Five Kings of the Amorites (Josh 10:5)
Defeated Kings of Joshua (Josh 12:10b–22)
Five Rulers of the Philistines (Josh 13:3)
Pasturelands of Aaron's Descendants (Josh 21:14–16)
The Golden Seat Offerings (1 Saml 6:17)
The Chiefs of Edom (1 Chr 1:51–54)
Blessings to the Lord (Dan 3:52–90 LXX)
Beatitudes (Matt 5:3–11)
Greetings to the Romans (Rom 16:3–23)

Genealogies
The Genealogy of Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:14–26)[29]
The Genealogy of David (Ruth 4:18–22)
Matthew's Genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:1–17)
Luke's Genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:23–28)

Table 1. Lists and Genealogies

The practice of placing each member of a list on a new line does not always begin with the first, but often the second item to be listed. However, a few instances indicate that the scribe may not have decided how he or she was going to copy a list or genealogy, resulting in a mixture of formats. The genealogy in Ruth 4:18–22 begins with an *ekthesis* and the continuous copying of verses 18–20a, with space between each generation. However, after the birth of Ναασσων (v. 20a), scribe A lists the subsequent generations, each on a new line.

Ruth 4:18–22 (p. 309A):
και αυται αι γενεσεις
φαρες__ φαρες εγεννη
σεν τον εσρων__ εσρων
δε εγεννησεν τον αρραν__
και αρραν εγεννησεν
τον αμειναδαβ__ και α
μειναδαβ εγεννησεν
τον νααссων,
και νααссων εγεννη
σεν τον σαλμαν,
και σαλμαν εγεννησεν
τον βοος,
και βοος εγεννησεν
τον ωβηδ,
και ωβηδ εγεννησεν
τον ιεссαι,

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[28]   The lists present in Joshua have been already identified by A. Graeme Auld. See A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua: Jesus, Son of Nauē, in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2005), x.

[29]   Rather than listed like the genealogies of Ruth, Matthew, and Luke, this genealogy is organized under the head of each house (i.e., Reuben, Simeon, Levi, etc.).

κ.αι ιεccαι εγεννηcεν
τον δαυιδ.

Figure 2. Ruth's Genealogy

Thus, while many of the lists and genealogies of B(03) appear to be well thought out, others do not represent such careful preparation.[30]

2.1.2. Ekthesis

The more visually striking marker—the *ekthesis*—is present throughout much of B(03), but it is highly influenced by the work of the individual scribe. In his discussion of the paragraphing in B(03), Abbot argued for a change of scribe (A to B) at 1 Sam 19:11 (p. 335).[31] Although he also makes an argument from the use of line fillers, Abbot's main conclusion comes from the discovery that 1441 *ektheses* are found "in the first 294 pages" (Gen 46:28–1 Sam 19:11) of B(03), while in the following 290 pages (1 Sam 19:11–2 Esdras) "there are but two clear examples."[32] This dramatic but consistent shift should not be explained by a change in exemplar, nor is it explainable on the basis of genre, since both portions are dominated by narrative prose. The book of Ruth, with only four chapters, contains 47 examples of *ekthesis*. The first twenty-six pages of 1 Samuel contain at least 119 occurrences, most frequently with the phrase καὶ εἶπεν, while the final nineteen pages contain only 1 occurrence (p. 343); the same phrase is only indicated with intralinear spacing, if at all. Therefore, scribe A is recognized as using protrusion significantly more than scribe B. This variation in use points to the hand of the scribe rather than to the *paradosis* and/or exemplars.

While the use of *ekthesis* is reserved for identifying new sections in a text, it is interesting to note that individual books or letters do not begin with this protrusion. Of course, this was not needed since other features such as the colophons of the previous book and the title of the new were indicative of the new section. Yet, an *ekthesis* was added later into the margin, usually by erasing the first letter and adding a large ornamented letter to the beginning of each book. In some manuscripts such as A(02), the enlargement of the protruded letter was common practice.[33] However, in B(03) an *ekthesis* maintains regular letter size, and protrudes a half-letter to a full letter into the left margin of the column. Although easily spotted, *ektheses* are even more recognisable on pages where the marginal lining is clearly seen. It should also be noted that while the poetic books may often appear as having large five-letter *ektheses*, new psalms or sections are indicated rather by indentation. This inversion of *ekthesis* in poetry is guided by an inner pair of column linings (fig. 3). However, psalm endings are also indented, confusing the break between psalms, for which *paragraphoi* were later added to distinguish. This form of indentation occurs occasionally within the prophetic books as well. However, Georg Walser has argued against these instances being indications of text to be read poetically.[34] Indentation, then, should be recognized more simply as another form of delimitation, which often, though

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[30]   Might this be influenced by a lack of such formatting in the exemplar?

[31]   Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity," 194.

[32]   Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity."

[33]   Since *ekthesis* is the standard way of marking division in A(02), Smith notes that it is not necessary for the extruded letter to be the first letter of a word, nor from the first word of the section. To avoid leaving large empty spaces on a line, the codex uses the same intralinear spacing, while being accompanied by ekthesis on the next line. W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*, NTTS 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 205.

[34]   That is unless there is intrinsic reasons to read them as such. Walser, *Jeremiah*, 3.

not always, indicates poetic passages. This is made clearer by the later addition of two *paragraphoi* types (see figs. 4 and 5).[35]
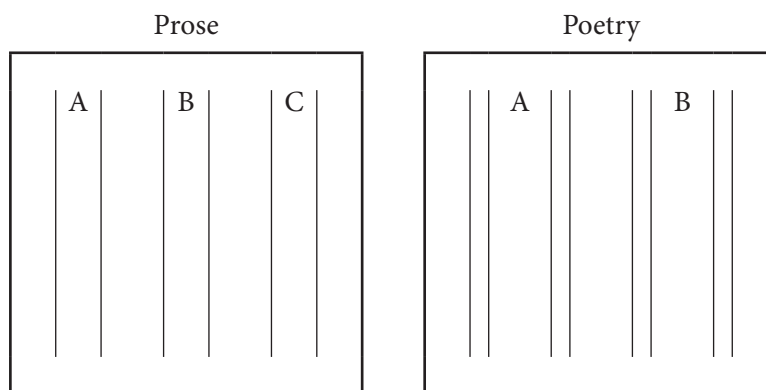

Figure 3. Column Lining

Although reserved in the use of *ekthesis*, scribe B, in the prophetic books, quite consistently marked major sections with these protruding letters, particularly in the Book of the Twelve.[36] Likely due to the size of the major prophets, there tends to be more variation between the use of *ekthesis* and intralinear spacing. Moving from Hosea into the New Testament, scribe B continues the use of *ekthesis* through the gospels with fading frequency and consistency, leaving John with no examples of such delimitation. After the gospels, there is only faint evidence of *ekthesis* by the hand of scribe B (table 2). The rest of the New Testament is dominated by the use of intralinear spacing to mark various points of textual division.

Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	Acts	James	Romans
56	7	15	0	5	1	1

Table 2. Ekthesis in the New Testament by Scribe B

While much more could be said on spacing and *ekthesis* in B(03), I have shown that the earliest form of delimitation, done by the hand of the copying scribes, is largely influenced by the individuals themselves. In this case, the evidence is seen largely in the inconsistency of scribe B to use *ekthesis* or not. This variation between the scribes makes it difficult to identify a singular meaning behind every occurrence of either intralinear spacing or the protruded letters, and it is therefore important to examine cases of these delimiters based on the convention within related portions of the codex.

2.2. Paragraphoi

Although it is easy to discuss the use of *ekthesis* and intralinear spacing as the work of the copying scribe, it is far more difficult to assume the same of the *paragraphos* marker. This has not, however, hindered scholars from identifying *paragraphoi* as a part of the original copying

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[35]   More detailed charts, with variations of these two main forms are given in Paul Canart, "Notice paléographique et codicologique," in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*, 31.

[36]   Here, I use the title *Book of the Twelve* primarily because B(03) has the titles of each prophet marked 1-12 ($\overline{\alpha}$–$\overline{\alpha\beta}$). Glenny counts twenty-one paragraphs marked by *ekthesis* in Hosea. W. Edward Glenny, *Hosea: A Commentary Based on Hosea in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 25.

process, uniting them with the intralinear spaces.[37] Thus, we must approach this issue by looking first to the whole of the manuscript and then make our conclusion on the relationship of the *paragraphoi* to the original copying. It will be shown that the overall inconsistency in form and frequency points to their addition at a stage after copying,[38] though we should not assume all were added at the same time. Accordingly, we must also examine the function(s) of these markers, permitting some uncertainty.

2.2.1. Definition and Functions

Eleanor Dickey defines *paragraphos* as a "marginal sign indicating change of speaker in drama, corresponding sections in a chorus, or a division for other reasons between sections of text."[39] At its simplest form, this marginal sign is written as a horizontal stroke that extends into the left margin. Although the markers appear in between the last and first lines of two sections, it is clear that they indicate the end of the previous section, rather than the start of the new.[40] It is primarily noticeable when a section breaks at the end of a column. Instead of placing the *paragraphos* with the new section on the following column, it is located at the end of the previous section under the last column.[41] However, the use of the *paragraphos* may go beyond marking a section's termination.

Dickey's definition highlights the various functions and their dependence upon genre. In lyrical poetry, Hephaestion the Grammarian's *De signis* asserts that *paragraphoi* ought to be placed after the strophe and antistrophe (ἡ παράγραφος ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ τέλει τῆς τε στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστρόφου), while a coronis should be placed at the end of the epode (ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἐπῳδῷ ἡ κορωνίς) (*De signis* 2).[42] Tom Phillips has helpfully recognized that Hephaestion's method is not concerned with the way a scribe wrote the *paragraphos* but is interested in the visual function they play for the reader.[43] This lack of interest in appearance may also explain the variation of *paragraphoi* forms in B(03).

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[37]   Along with other markers, Porter argues that *paragraphoi* were "a part of how the manuscript itself was written, rather than being a later editorial addition." Milne and Skeat also include the use of *paragraphoi* as the work of scribes A and B. Porter, "Pericope Markers in Some Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts," 163–64; H. J. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938), 88; Jean Duplacy, "Les Divisions du Texte de l'Épître de Jacques dans B (03) du Nouveau Testament (Vatic. Gr. 1209)," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 126.

[38]   Scrivener also considers the originality of the *paragraphoi* as doubtful. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction*, 1:108.

[39]   Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, American Philological Association Classical Resources Series 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 250.

[40]   Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, eds., *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 20; Canart, "Notice Paléographique et Codicologique," 25 n. 20.

[41]   Andrew Smith has also acknowledged this in A(02). Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 211.

[42]   Max Consbruch, *Hephaestionis Enchiridion Cum Commentariis Veteribus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), 73–74.

[43]   In lyrical poetry, *paragraphoi* become visual representations of stage movement as the choir is directed to move from one side to the other, according to the progression of the poem. Tom Phillips, *Pindar's Library: Performance Poetry and Material Texts*, OCM (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 107.

Unfortunately, as William Johnson has noted, "The remains of the Greek grammarians contain no discussion of the use of the paragraphus [sic] in prose texts."[44] Therefore, we cannot necessarily assume one particular function behind their occurrences in prose material. Although it is possible that *paragraphoi* distinguish half stops from full stops, or that they clarify in locations where intralinear spacing is absent, Johnson argues that their primary function is to assist public reading.[45] Pointing to the variation in frequency and shape of the *paragraphoi* in the Judean Desert texts, Tov argues that some, if not all, were later additions made by "users, in order to draw attention to certain sections and topics."[46] While the same conclusion should not be assumed for B(03), strikingly similar patterns are found in the codex.[47] Following this, it seems that the *paragraphoi* were added for both the assistance and the attention of the reader.[48] Whether or not this addition was made by the original scribes still needs to be analyzed.

2.2.2. Types of Paragraphoi in B(03)

As I have already alluded, the *paragraphoi* of B(03) are presented in a variety of forms. From my examination I have identified five types throughout the codex, although two of which are simply variations of another: (1) with (2); (3) with (4) (see fig. 4). (1) The most common, by far, is the straight *paragraphos*. This type is present in every book, except for the Sirach Prologue and the book of Judith. (2) The next form, while also being straight, is distinguished by the red ink with which it is written. These are only present in Isaiah through the gospels and are comparable to the red ink of the gospel section numbers. While it could be argued that the straight *paragraphos* was covered by this red ink, this seems unlikely from their few occurrences (e.g., 12 of 414 in Matthew), the occasional lack of intralinear spacing, and the presence of red numerals at every instance. (3) The third type of *paragraphos* is forked,[49] with a diagonal

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44 Johnson, "The Function of the Paragraphus in Greek Literary Prose Texts," 67.

45 Common in both the rolls, which Johnson has analyzed, and in B(03) is a redundancy in the use of the *paragraphos*. There are many occurrences of paragraphoi with ekthesis already being present. Some have tried to argue that this is evidence for long and short breaks in reading. However, it is too inconsistent to be conclusive. Johnson's primary evidence in favor of reading aids is found in Dionysius, who discusses punctuation not only as grammatically important, but as an aid for reading. Johnson, "The Function of the Paragraphus," 67–68.

46 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 139.

47 On the value of comparison across book cultures, see Marilena Maniaci et al., eds., "Codicology," in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015), 69ff*.

48 Philip Payne has suggested a unique function for those *paragraphoi* that agree with *distigmai*. He considers these to be separate symbols, called "bar-umlauts" or, most recently, "distigme-obeloi." For Payne, these sigla function to mark textual variation. Much ink has been spilt in critiquing and defending Payne's arguments. For this reason, I leave the reader to decide how the following discussion affects the argument for the "distigme-obelos." cf. Philip B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor 14.34–5," *NTS* 41 (1995): 240–62; Payne, "The Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34–35: A Response to J Edward Miller," *JSNT* 27 (2004): 105–12; Payne, "Vaticanus Distigme-Obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14.34–5," *NTS* 63 (2017): 604–25; Curt Niccum, "The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: The External Evidence for 1 Cor 14:34–35," *NTS* 43 (1997): 242–55; J. Edward Miller, "Some Observations on the Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14.34–35," *JSNT* 26 (2003): 217–36; Edward D. Gravely, "The Text Critical Sigla in Codex Vaticanus" (PhD diss., Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009).

49 Although Turner and Parsons give this shape (>—) as the forked *paragraphos*, the *diplê obelismenê*, they also note the shape found in B(03) under the same category. E. G. Turner and P. J.

stroke extending down from the middle of the horizontal line. Although primarily found in the poetic books, this forked *paragraphos* is similar to that which accompanies the coronis at the end of certain books. (4) A variation of this type is infrequently sighted in B(03), with the end of the horizontal line hooked upwards. (5) The final type is the sloped *paragraphos*. This too is infrequent, but in the case of Judith it is the only *paragraphos* present in the entire work. While a scribe is capable of copying more than one type of *paragraphos* (cf. Psalms), the variation in use urges a reconsideration of the originality of these markings.

(1)   (2)   (3)

(4)   (5)

Figure 4. Five Paragraphos Types

Other marks found in B(03), which have similar functions are the dicolon (:)[50] and the high stop (·). The high stop is used quite often throughout B(03), while the dicolon is sometimes marked in its place. These can accompany *paragraphoi*, but their extensive use ensures that many occur alone. The main challenge with classifying these markings as the work of the scribes is their inconsistency. While the majority of stops coincide with spaces, there are plenty of spaces lacking these markings, and many stops placed where there is no spacing (see fig. 1). These last examples point to the work of a later hand who has identified breaks in the text that were not marked by the original scribes.

2.2.3. Presence throughout the Codex

Now that we have identified the variation of *paragraphoi* types, it is important to examine their variation in frequency throughout B(03). Milne and Skeat argue that scribe "A in prose makes no use of this sign, but employs it in the Poetical books to mark divisions of various sorts."[51] However, in Exodus there are over twenty examples of *paragraphoi* being used. It is unclear whether the authors recognized these but did not consider them to be original to scribe A, or if the infrequent appearances slipped their attention. Indeed, they acknowledged the *paragraphoi* in the poetic books as the contribution of scribe A. In the case of scribe B, Milne and Skeat note that a *paragraphos* "normally accompanies a new paragraph … unless when the first letter projects into the margin."[52] While this is normally the case, it is not uncommon to find *paragraphoi* accompanying *ekthesis* in the work of both scribes. These instances are quite redundant, and it remains difficult to understand why a scribe would add them on divisions they already marked with protruding letters.

Returning to Exodus, I have noted the presence of a few *paragraphoi* throughout the book. The relatively few markers correspond almost entirely with Greek section numbers, apart from three instances (Exod 21:15; 25:22, 31), two of which are sloped *paragraphoi*. Eleven of these

Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. rev. and enl., Bulletin Supplement 46 (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 12 n. 60.

[50] The dicolon can be used in the place of *paragraphoi* also to mark the change of speaker. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4.

[51] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, 88.

[52] Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, 88.

paragraphoi mark places with no internal indication of spacing made by scribe A (i.e., *ekthesis* or intralinear spacing). Another eleven *paragraphoi* are redundantly written over *ektheses*. Thus, while the main scribal pattern is often identified as intralinear spacing with a *paragraphos*, this combination does not even make up half the *paragraphos* occurrences in Exodus. There is less agreement between *paragraphoi* and the section numerals in Numbers. However, the very few incidences of the marker leave significantly more intralinear spaces unmarked than marked. If we look a little farther to the book of Ruth, we find only five *paragraphoi*, all of which accompany one of the preexistent forty-seven *ektheses*. Therefore, there are no examples in Ruth of a *paragraphos* being marked with intralinear spacing.

Much of this same pattern is found throughout the work of scribe A. However, once we arrive at the poetic books, also written by scribe A, there is a high frequency of *paragraphoi*. At one point in Proverbs, there is a marker on every other line (cf. p. 725). The Psalter contains both the forked and the straight *paragraphoi* quite consistently: the former being placed under the last flush line, before the indentation, while the latter is used to distinguish the last indented line from the indented incipit of the new psalm (fig. 5). It is difficult to know whether or not scribe A was responsible for these *paragraphoi*, but the dramatic change in use may also be explained from their addition by a later scribe or reader.
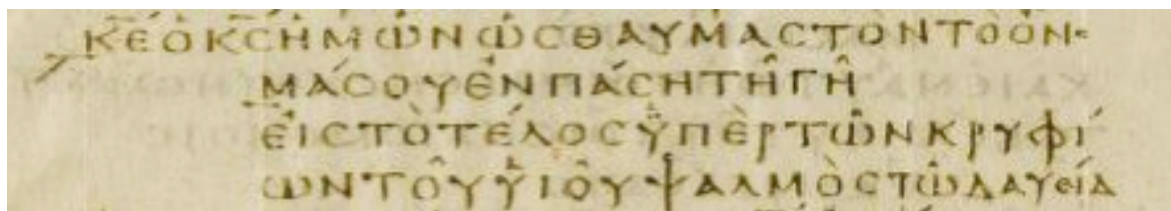

Figure 5. Psalter Paragraphoi

On the other hand, the work of scribe B is littered with *paragraphoi*. To some extent this is influenced by the faint use of *ekthesis* and primary reliance upon intralinear spacing. Or, to put it differently, the more unclear the delimitation is, the more a later division marker may be needed. However, both the high frequency of spacing without *paragraphoi*, and the presence of *paragraphoi* without spacing, makes the originality of these markers suspicious.[53] Thus, the irregular frequency, discrepancies, and difference in function, from *ekthesis* and intralinear spacing, makes it difficult to consider the *paragraphoi* as included in the manuscript's copying process. However, the possibility that some *paragraphoi* were added further along in the process of manuscript production cannot be entirely rejected. If this were the case, the addition of those *paragraphoi* would still represent a supplement that does not fully align with the principle divisional layer. Yet, we have also observed that other *paragraphoi* were copied along with the next divisional layer—the Greek section numerals.

2.3. Greek Section Numerals

The final set of divisions to be examined is the Greek numeral layer, composed of an older and younger collection of numbers (for a complete table, see appendix). While the addition of these unit delimiters is separated by centuries, they both represent an important supplement to the codex, namely a system that could be used for reference. How these numbers were used in an ecclesiastical context is not of primary importance here. However, the purpose of the

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[53]   Although Gravely does not fully come to this conclusion, he seems sceptical. Gravely, "The Text Critical Sigla in Codex Vaticanus," 16; John W. Olley, *Ezekiel: A Commentary Based on Iezekiēl in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 41.

Greek numerals was presumably ease of reference,[54] while the previously discussed division markers often benefited the reader.

2.3.1. Two Hands of the Old Greek Numerals

The first of these numeral divisions, found uniquely within B(03), has been identified as "the oldest system which is known to us."[55] In the New Testament these are distinct from the "Old Greek Divisions," Ammonian numbers, and Eusebian Canon,[56] and while comparable to the Euthalian apparatus, they are still unique.[57] This exclusivity lead James Edwards to deny the significance of B(03)'s divisions, in favor of those found in A(02) and the succeeding tradition.[58] However, it is this same obscurity that highlights the early nature of B(03)'s divisions as an emerging interest in textual delimitation. While the numerals found in the codex may not have been standardized for use, it will be seen that B(03) is itself an inheritor of a numeral tradition.[59]

When these numerals were inscribed into the codex is significant for how we are able to compare them to B(03)'s earlier division markers. In a 2015 SBL paper, Charles Hill makes the argument that the combination of numerals and *paragraphoi* mark major sections, while isolated *paragraphoi* indicate minor units.[60] Such conclusions assume both the originality of these numerals in the copying process and a precise agreement of this form of delimitation with the

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[54] Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*, ed. Edward Miller, vol. 1, 4th ed. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), 56.

[55] Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 40; cf. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction*, 1:56.

[56] L. A. Zaccagni recognized this difference early, before the eighteenth century. The term "Old Greek Divisions" was used by McArthur to refer to the divisions, found first in A(02), which became the main system of capitulation. Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni, *Collectanea monumentorum veterum Ecclesiae graecae, ac latinae, quae hactenus in Vaticana bibliotheca delituerunt* (Rome: Typis Sacra Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1698), lxi; H. K. McArthur, "The Earliest Divisions of the Gospels," in *Studia Evangelica*, ed. F. L. Cross, vol. 3.2, Papers Presented to the Second International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1961 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1964), 266–72.

[57] While similarities can be found in other Septuagint manuscripts, it is generally accepted that the only manuscript with matching numerals to B(03) is Codex Zacynthius (Ξ[040]). Many scholars have followed the assumption that GA 579 also contains these numbers. However, Hill has correctly denied this conclusion by recognising the numbers in 579 as "Ammonian sections without Eusebian canon numbers." Hort, on the other hand, sought to connect these numerals to the Latin tradition. This too has been critiqued recently by Hugh Houghton in his examination of Latin *capitula lists*. Attempts to find parallels with the New Testament numerals of B(03) continue to prove its uniqueness. Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity," 190; Fenton John Anthony Hort and Brooke Foss Westcott, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction; Appendix,* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1896), 266; Hugh A. G. Houghton, "Chapter Divisions, Capitula Lists, and the Old Latin Versions of John," *RB* 121 (2011): 326; Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word," 224.

[58] James R. Edwards, "The Hermeneutical Significance of Chapter Divisions in Ancient Gospel Manuscripts," *NTS* 56 (2010): 415 n. 6.

[59] Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 351.

[60] Charles E. Hill, "Textual Division in Early Gospel Manuscripts Part II Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with Some Further Reflections on the Numbering System in Vaticanus" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA, 2015), 2.

other markers throughout.[61] From this paper and one from 2014, Hill later published a chapter in a collected volume, in which he omits this hierarchy. Nevertheless, identifying the numerals' relationship(s)[62] to the copying of the manuscript and its internal divisions is important for the rest of our examination. Adding to Hill's investigation,[63] the table below shows the disagreement, among scholars, on the originality of these older numerals (table 3).

Original[64]	Contemporary[65]	Fourth–Fifth Century[66]
Swete (1900), Duplacy (1976), Amphoux (1997), Olley (2009), Hill (2015)	Abbot (1872), Ropes? (1926), Bogaert (1999)	Westcott and Hort (1896), Martini (1968), Skeat (1999), Pisano (1999), Auld (2005), Goswell (2011), Glenny (2013)

Table 3. The Originality of Early Numerals

Those who claim the numbers to be the original work of the copyists rarely give evidence for such a suggestion, but rather suggest its probability. On the contrary, there are two main critiques which imply that these numbers, although possibly contemporary, were most likely added in the late fourth or fifth century.

The first argument is based on *inconsistency*. Abbot first noted this, saying that the numerals were "not made by the original scribe, but by one who preferred in some places a different division into paragraphs."[67] While in some cases, such as Hosea, these numbers agree completely

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[61]   While Hill simply states the various opinions on the originality of these numerals, without his own conclusion, he seems to assume it when he states, "The scribes of Vaticanus placed 170 numbered section markers in Matthew" and more in the other gospels. Here he notes that two scribes were involved in copying the numbers, however he does not clarify that these "scribes of Vaticanus" were any other than the two copyists of the text itself. Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word," 223–24. Although Hill identifies the high agreement of *paragraphoi* with the section numbers in John, we must decide whether or not this agreement is simply influenced by intrinsic divisions in the narrative itself.

[62]   We must also recognize that various portions of B(03) may have a closer relationship to the copying process than others. While some collections, such as the Pauline corpus (see below), were copied from a preexisting numeration, others may have been created specifically for the codex.

[63]   Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word," 223.

[64]   Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 351; Duplacy, "Les Divisions," 129; Christian-Bernard Amphoux, "La Division du texte grec des Évangiles dans l'Antiquité," in *Titres et articulations du texte dans les oeuvres antiques: Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly 13–15 décembre 1994* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 302; Olley, *Ezekiel: A Commentary Based on Iezekiēl in Codex Vaticanus*, 41.

[65]   Ropes states that they could be either contemporary or just as likely later. Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity," 109; James Hardy Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I, The Acts of the Apostles; Vol. III, The Text of Acts*, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1926), xli; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le Vaticanus graecus 1209 témoin du texte grec de l'Ancien Testament," in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*, 51.

[66]   Hort and Westcott, Introduction; *Appendix*, 266 n. 349. Carlo M. Martini, ed., *Introductio ad Novum Testamentum e Codice Vaticano graeco 1209 (Codex B) tertia vice phototypice expressum in Civitate Vaticana* (Vatican: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1968), xiii; T. C. Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine," in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 212; Auld, Joshua, x–xi; Stephen Pisano, "The Text of the New Testament," in *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*, 78; Greg Goswell, "An Early Commentary on the Pauline Corpus: The Capitulation of Codex Vaticanus," *JGRCJ* 8 (2011): 51; Glenny, *Hosea*, 26.

[67]   Here Abbot is mostly focused on the red numbers present in the gospels, although his conclusion is over the manuscript as a whole. See Abbot, "On the Comparative Antiquity," 190; cf. Auld, *Joshua*, xi.

with the preexisting divisions,[68] this is not always the case. We must also consider that agreement with *paragraphoi* does not necessarily indicate originality, since these markers are themselves questionable in relation to the copying of the manuscript. In Matthew, we find twelve instances where the *paragraphoi* are written in the same red ink along with the numerals (the shade matches closest to its paired numeral); in four of those occurrences there are no in-text divisions. These examples designate places where the hand(s) that wrote these numerals thought it necessary to add a *paragraphos* at a point which was not already divided in the text.[69]

The argument from inconsistency can also be made by the absence of section numerals in Genesis–Numbers and the Old Testament ἀναγινωσκόμενα.[70] If a part of the production, this lack shows an incompleteness to the effort of the scribe. However, it can be explained that as the manuscript was used, it eventually gained numbers for reference. Thus, it was the decision of later scribes not to add section numbers here, potentially because there was not a similar need in the ἀναγινωσκόμενα. This, of course, is only speculation. The omission of section numbering in Genesis–Numbers is perplexing, regardless of when these divisions were added. Nonetheless, the effort of the original scribes to produce an elaborate format, matching the rest of the codex, demands the question why they would have left these books unnumbered.

The second argument is *palaeographic*. Skeat proposed this argument against their originality, when he analyzed the numerals found in the Pauline epistles. Unlike the section numbers at the beginning of the gospels, Skeat describes these numerals as "semi-cursive" with "no attempt to reproduce uncial forms." The letters of specific interest for Skeat are the small *theta* and *omicron*, as well as the slightly sloped *kappa*.[71] While these numerals do not match those found at the beginning of the New Testament, Skeat recognizes them also in John.[72] This certainly is the case, since Hill correctly identifies a change of numeral hand at Luke 22 on p. 1345,[73] and while he does not look beyond the gospels, it seems that the hand continues through the rest of the codex. For Skeat, with this palaeographic variation, "it immediately becomes obvious that they are *not* the work of either of the two scribes of the manuscript."[74] Finally, in relation to how these numbers were written, there is at least one instance of a numeral being spaced to avoid obscuring a prewritten *diple*, with one letter of the number on each side (p. 1252C; ν̄ > η̄ written for ν̄η).

The *palaeographic* argument and the aforementioned change in numeral hands, identified by Hill, encourages further examination of the hands involved in writing these older numerals. Upon examination, it is possible to identify two main hands which worked through the manuscript, starting in Deuteronomy. It also seems likely that a third hand was involved in adding numerals, not as section dividers, but for marking lists and places of interest. This hand numbers the twelve patriarchs (Gen 49:3–27), the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:2–17);

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68   Of course, there are only ten numbers (not including Ā) present in Hosea, making the agreement with the possible twenty one paragraphs less surprising. Glenny, *Hosea*, 26.

69   Although Duplacy supports the probability that these numerals are original, he also notes the challenge of identifying the relationship between the *paragraphoi* and numbers: "Se sont-elles 'superposées,' pour ainsi dire, à la division établie par les *paragraphoi* ou font-elles partie d'un même système originel? Il est bien difficile de répondre." Duplacy, "Les Divisions," 130.

70   According to Athanasius: The Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, Esther (Greek), Judith, and Tobit. B(03) does not include the New Testament ἀναγινωσκόμενα: The Didache and the Shepherd of Hermas (Athanasius, *Ep*. 39. 7).

71   Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine," 212.

72   Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine," 212.

73   The change in ink color does not require the work of a different scribe (see below for discussion on numeral hands). Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word," 224 n. 34.

74   Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine," 212.

around forty-two places of dialogue between God and Moses in Exodus–Leviticus;[75] and a list of four small, but wise, animals (Prov 30:25–28). This hand stands out for its inconsistency on whether to place the number in the right or left margin and is unusual in not marking units of text. It should also be noted that Genesis–Numbers, where these markings are mostly found, do not contain any of the early section numbers of either hands (table 4).

Genesis–1 Kgs 19:11	1 Kgs 19:11–2 Esd.	Psalms–Tobit		Hosea–New Testament	
Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe A		Scribe B	

Genesis–Numbers	Deuteronomy–Ps 11		Ps 11–Ps 150	Proverbs–Isa 44	Isa 45–Luke 22	Luke 22–Hebrews
—	H1	H1 & H2	H2	H1	H2	H1

Table 4. Scribes and Numeral Hands (H = Old-NumH)

Old-Numeral Hand 1 (Old-NumH1) inscribed numerals from Deuteronomy–Ps 11,[76] where the numbers fade out. Because ᾱ is not seen at the start of new books, some have argued that they were not written, but were assumed.[77] However, Deuteronomy, Ruth, and 1 Esdras provide evidence that the ᾱ was present, but was obscured by the later addition of ornamental letters that introduce the first word of a book. The clearest example is found in the Epistle of Jeremiah, where the incipit and the ornamented letter have been indented, leaving the opening numeral untouched (see fig. 6). The last visible numeral in Ps 11 is $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ (28), after which another scribe (Old-Numeral Hand 2?) restarted the enumeration, marking out 150 psalms.

Beginning again in Proverbs, Old-NumH1 marks through Isa 44 (p. 1044), when a clear change in hands is visible at Isa 45:1 on the next page. This is recognized with a change from the apricot colored ink[78] to the red ink found through the rest of the Greek Old Testament and the gospels. It is not entirely possible to know whether or not this change took place on the previous page, since many of the old numerals have been covered by the younger and bigger ones. However, $\overline{\mu\alpha}$ (Isa 42:1; p. 1041) can be seen behind the large number, bearing the characteristic *mu* and *alpha* of Old-NumH1. Faint evidence can also be seen at $\overline{\mu\delta}$ (Isa 43:22; p. 1043; see fig. 7). Old-NumH1 returned to copying the numerals at Luke 22:66 (p. 1345), and most likely copied the rest of the New Testament, at least through Hebrews. While the red ink was used from Isa 45 onward, it is reserved only for the gospels in the New Testament and is used by both scribes. It is often noted that the numbers marked by Old-NumH1 in the Pauline epistles set Hebrews between Galatians and Ephesians. This is the most obvious evidence, at least for the epistles, that the section numbers were not created for B(03).[79]

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[75] The first number in Leviticus is marked at Lev 1:1 as $\overline{\lambda\eta}$ (38).

[76] See the Appendix for a complete table of the old and young numerals. For book–by–book discussions of the numerals, see also Bogaert, "Le Vaticanus graecus 1209 témoin du texte grec de l'Ancien Testament"; Pisano, "The Text of the New Testament."

[77] Glenny, *Hosea*, 26.

[78] After doing a color analysis of the *distigme* in B(03), Payne and Canart describe the color of the unreinforced text as "apricot." Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart, "The Originality of Text-Critical Symbols in Codex Vaticanus," *NT* 42 (2000), 105–13.

[79] This is in contrast to Olley, who views the numerals as *prima manu*. Olley argues that disagreement between numerals and in-text divisions is evidence that the paragraphing "pre-dates the scribe of B." While there are other reasons to agree with this conclusion, the evidence from the Pauline corpus shows that the numerals likely pre-date the scribe as well. Cf. Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word"; Olley, *Ezekiel: A Commentary Based on Iezekiēl in Codex Vaticanus*, 41.

Numeral Hand 2 (Old-NumH2) represents an attempt to "reproduce uncial forms" as Skeat had noticed at the beginning of the gospels.[80] The main work of Old-NumH2 begins at Isa 45:1 (p. 1045) with $\overline{\mu\zeta}$ and continues into Luke 22 (p. 1344), with the last numeral ($\overline{\rho\lambda\eta}$) at verse 47. Unlike Old-NumH1, who uses both red and apricot ink, Old-NumH2 only uses red ink in these books. The exception to this is the possible association of Old-NumH2 with the rewritten numerals in the Psalter, marked in apricot. While it is possible that Old-NumH1 restarted the enumeration of the Psalms after a somewhat sloppy first attempt, the change in letter shape is difficult to explain. Particularly noticeable are the *alphas*, *deltas*, and *rhos*, which better match the hand of Old-NumH2. In the work of Old-NumH1, a *rho* is typically written straight vertically and accompanied by an ink blot at the base (see Luke 22 in fig. 7). On the other hand, a *rho* in the Psalter is often written with a slight tilt and small tail at the base, like those found in the work of Old-NumH2 (see Luke 19 in fig. 7). It should be said that a *mu* in the Psalter is closer to that of Old-NumH1, although there is often a distinct curl to the left leg, which is closer to that found in in Old-NumH2. In the end it is difficult to judge with certainty who should be credited with the remarking of the Psalter.
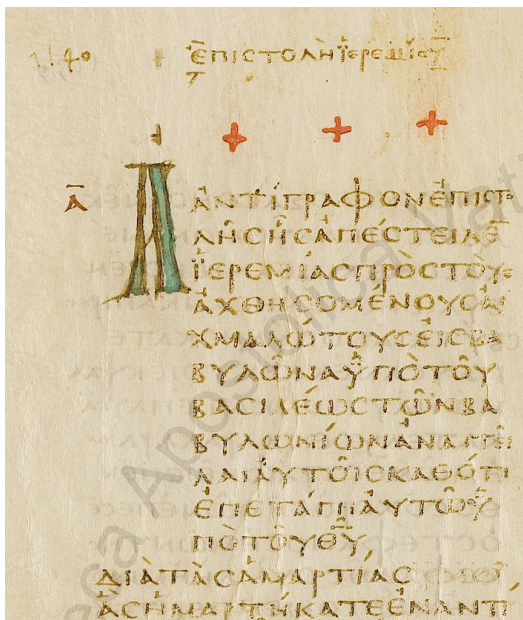

Figure 6. Epistle of Jeremiah

Old-NumH1

(Deut 8)

(Isa 42)

Old-NumH1 = undertext

(Luke 22)

Old-NumH2

(Matt 7)

(Isa 45)

(Luke 19)

Figure 7. Characteristic *mu/alpha*

Before moving on, we should finish by noting the discrepancies between the work of the scribes and the numeral hands. While one scribe was responsible for the copying of Isaiah and Luke, two different numeral hands are found in both. This, again, is evidence against the likelihood that the numerals were original to the production; rather it points to their addition in the fourth–fifth century.[81] Indeed, more could be said of these early numbers. They do, however, become relevant again for our examination of the numerals from centuries later.

2.3.2. Young Numerals

There is less to be said of the younger numerals (Young-NumH1) that were added around the seventh to ninth centuries.[82] However, Skeat places these numbers quite a bit later. Instead, he wished to locate the addition of these numbers to the time of restoration in the fifteenth centu-

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[80]   Skeat, "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine," 212.
[81]   Martini, *Introductio*, xiii.
[82]   Pisano, "The Text of the New Testament," 78.

ry. The markers, he says, were added before the supplementary leaves because they cannot be found on the fresh pages.[83] Placing Young-NumH1 this late seems inaccurate for three reasons. (1) Because we do not have Young-NumH1 in the supplementary pages, it seems unlikely that the scribes added these numerals and yet ignored them in their reproduction of the missing portions. That the numbers had already been present before the leaves were destroyed or lost is a better argument. Accordingly, when producing the supplementary leaves, they did not possess an example of capitulation that matched those present at the end of Genesis, in B(03).[84] (2) It is clear that these numbers have been reinforced. The manuscript's re-inking most likely happened around the ninth to the tenth century,[85] suggesting that the addition of these numbers was before this point. (3) In a few instances, we are able to see the remains of an erased $\bar{\alpha}$ beneath the capitalized letter; not the work of Old-NumH1, but of Young-NumH1 (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:1, p. 395). The second phase of restoration, proposed by Skeat, was the ornamentation added at the beginning of each book. It is far less likely, then, that a scribe would add these numerals to then be erased in the following phase of restoration. Thus, the more common dating of the seventh to ninth centuries remains best suited.[86]

The relationship between the two numbering systems continues to interest scholars. While not all books of B(03) contain both sets of numerals (e.g., 1–2 Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, gospels, etc.), the books that do include them have varying levels of agreement between the two. For example: while both sets in the book of Ruth contain numbers 1–10, there are only two instances of agreement—the first and most obvious at Ruth 1:1 and the second at Ruth 2:1. However, the agreement at Ruth 2:1 is only in location and not in number, with the older numeral reading $\bar{\epsilon}$ and the younger $\bar{\varsigma}$. On the other hand, we may examine the section numbers in the prophetic literature and find nearly complete agreement between the sets.[87] It is common practice of this later scribe,[88] to copy over smaller numerals that correspond in location. When the markings agree in numeration it is left as such, and when they disagree the scribe often rewrote the smaller numeral next to it. It is not uncommon, however, for the later scribe to copy the large numeral next to the earlier, so as to avoid obscuring the original unit marker. This range of variation cautions our assumptions about the relationship between the numerals. Each book or section must be considered individually to make conclusions.

Finally, we shall consider the difference in frequency between both sets of numerals. For Hill, one of the potential benefits of studying textual divisions is an insight into dating manuscripts. Thus, he proposes that as time progressed, texts moved from being less to more delim-

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[83]   Skeat, "The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century," 457.

[84]   The first number found in Genesis (p. 41) is $\overline{\lambda\gamma}$ (31).

[85]   This is the probable date given by Keith Elliott. Of course, others may well push this to the eleventh or twelfth century. J. K. Elliott, "T.C. Skeat on the Dating and Origin of Codex Vaticanus," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles*, NovTSup 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 71.

[86]   Skeat also strangely proposed that the younger numerals may have been used for "a primitive form of collation." If they were used for reference as the older numbers, Skeat questions why they would not have simply used the "Old Greek Divisions" that were being used in other manuscripts of the time. Skeat, "The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century," 456.

[87]   While Bogaert correctly recognizes this uniformity in the prophetic books, he is incorrect in his conclusion on Jeremiah. While he notes one hundred sections in the book, he remarks "la série ancienne ne paraît pas avoir le n° 100." On the contrary, it is the older set which contains the numeral $\bar{\rho}$ (100), while the younger set is missing the numerals $\overline{\varsigma\theta}$ (99) and $\bar{\rho}$ (100). The numbers become desynchronized at $\overline{\varsigma\gamma}$, with the absence of the larger numeral. Bogaert, "Le Vaticanus Graecus," 53.

[88]   As far as I am aware, these later numerals were the work of one scribe.

ited.[89] However, in B(03) the later numerals occur as frequently or far less frequently than the earlier. The only exception to this is found in Acts, where the latter delimiters outnumber the former 69 to 36. This instance may well be explained by both sets' potential relationship to the Euthalian tradition.[90] Of course, Hill's main concern is the development from early divisions in the papyri to a more established system in the major codices. It is still important to note, in the case of B(03), that this trajectory towards increased delimitation is not found. This again reveals the need to examine these additions with attention to both their agreements and disagreements against the previous layers of delimitation.

3. Conclusion

Any attempt to discuss unit delimitation in B(03) involves plenty of complex issues. Because of its intricacy, many studies of B(03)'s divisions have resorted to clustering the various textual layers together. This oversimplification has ignored the distinct functions of each form of division, and thus have been taken to represent a shared stream of thought. The aim of this study has been to clear this clutter, and, consequently, to identify the earliest layer of the codex's textual divisions. Therefore, scholars interested in the transmission and interpretive context of the scribes of B(03), must isolate their study to the use of intralinear spacing and *ekthesis*. This does not neutralize the importance of the other delimitation markers. Rather, they remain important evidence for the manuscript's use through history, and further research on their relationship to the larger manuscript tradition may prove insightful.

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[89]   Hill, "Rightly Dividing the Word," 235.

[90]   For discussions on the Euthalian tradition and the possible relationship to B(03), see Zaccagni, *Collectanea monumentorum veterum Ecclesiae graecae, ac latinae, quae hactenus in Vaticana bibliotheca delituerunt*, 403–74; J. Armitage Robinson, *Euthaliana, Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, and the Armenian Version*, Texts and Studies 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), 37; Hermann F. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902), 441; Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, xli; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 121–22; Louis Charles Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*, ANTF 41 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 51; Vemund Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions: Text, Translation and Commentary*, TUGAL 170 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 17.

4. Appendix

Old Testament	Old Numerals	Young Numerals
Genesis	—	35
Exodus	—	47
Leviticus	—	61
Numbers	—	61
Deuteronomy	150	96
Joshua	48	55
Judges	46	64
Ruth	10	10[91]
1 Kingdoms	1–70<	80
2 Kingdoms	<77–128	76
3 Kingdoms	129–199	60
4 Kingdoms	200–250	48
1 Paralipomenon	1–40	—
2 Paralipomenon	41–93	—
1 Esdras	1–12	—
2 Esdras	12–23	—
Psalms	150 (28*)[92]	—
Proverbs	25	16
Ecclesiastes	25	8
Song of Songs	40	5
Job	—	38
Wisdom of Solomon	—	—
Sirach	—	—
Esther (Greek)	—	—
Judith	—	—
Tobit	—	—
Hosea	11	11
Amos	6	6
Micah	7	7
Joel	3	3
Obadiah	1	1
Jonah	3	3
Nahum	3	3
Habakkuk	4	4
Zephaniah	5	5
Haggai	3	3
Zachariah	18	18
Malachi	6	6
Isaiah	74	74
Jeremiah	100	98
Baruch	9	9
Lamentations	85	14*[93]
Ep. Jeremiah	6	—
Ezekiel	56	—
Daniel	21	21

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[91]   Although both old and young numerals amount to ten, they do not agree in every place.

[92]   A set of numerals from one to twenty-eight are found in the first eleven psalms.

[93]   The young numerals are in agreement with the old, from one to fourteen. Presumably, the later scribe did not think it necessary to copy the remaining numbers, on account of their agreement.

New Testament	Old Numerals	Young Numerals
Matthew	170 (167)[94]	—
Mark	62 (61)	—
Luke	152 (149)	—
John	80 (79)	—
Acts	36	69
James	9	5
1 Peter	8	3
2 Peter	1?	2
1 John	11	3
2 John	1?	2
3 John	1?	1
Jude	2	—
Romans	1–21	8
1 Corinthians	22–42	1–11
2 Corinthians	43–53	12–19
Galatians	54–58	4
Ephesians	70–75	3
Philippians	76–79	2
Colossians	80–85	3
1 Thessalonians	86–89	2
2 Thessalonians	90–93	2
Hebrews	59–64 (69)[95]	5<

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[94] The parentheses with the gospels represent the actual amount of numbers present, on account of missing numerals. These are examples of what Smith calls the "cascading error." Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus,* 4; cf. 144; See also, Carlo M. Martini, "Introducción al Códice Vaticano Griego el Nuevo Testamento," *RevistB* 44 (1982): 71 n. 11.

[95] While the extant numbers run only to sixty-four, the continuous system in Paul allows us to identify five more numerals in the book. Ephesians picks up the numbers at seventy.