



Section 2

The Septuagint





Chapter 2

The Septuagint in Codex Sinaiticus Compared with Other Sources

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The credit for the discovery of Codex Sinaiticus goes to Tischendorf, but he also deserves the blame for some of what occurred in the aftermath of that **discovery**. (See Böttrich's article in this volume). Dispersed across four different libraries,¹ Codex Sinaiticus did not fare well until the Codex Sinaiticus Project reunited it electronically. The dispersed parts have now been combined online.

Codex Sinaiticus is the oldest manuscript containing both the Septuagint and the New Testament. Its Septuagint text was also an important source for comparing the Old Greek with the *Hexapla* in the sixth century: at the end of 2 Esdras a marginal note reads:

Collated with a very ancient manuscript of 1 Samuel to Esther corrected by the holy martyr Pamphilus. The confessor Antoninus compared it against the Hexapla of Origen and I, Pamphilus, corrected it in prison. It is not easy to find a copy the like of this one.²

In this short article, I will place Codex Sinaiticus in the historical context of the other witnesses of the Greek Bible. Our focus is the Old Testament segment of the Greek Scripture section of the Codex. A complete separation of the Old and New Testaments is neither easy nor desirable, but so far scholars have focused on either the Septuagint or the New Testament part of the Codex. At the same time, the two major monographs on the scribes and correctors of the Codex, those of Milne–Skeat and Jongkind, describe the complete book.³

THE CONTENTS OF CODEx SINAITICUS

Many scholars assume that Codex Sinaiticus was copied in the middle of the fourth century,⁴ possibly by dictation.⁵ When complete, the Codex held all the Greek books of the Septuagint including the Apocrypha, as well as the New Testament. Although important segments of the Codex have been lost, its original contents can be restored with complete certainty on the basis of the original quire numeration⁶ that may be examined in the facsimile editions by Tischendorf and Lake, and now in the online edition.⁷

There is no consensus about the place of origin of the Codex. Milne and Skeat, basing their evidence on a few determinative variants, suggest Caesarea as the place of origin,⁸ and in 1999 Skeat confirmed this opinion.⁹ Others think of southern Italy or Alexandria.¹⁰ At the end of his long study, Jongkind claims that there is no firm evidence in favour of any one view.¹¹ (See Gamble's article in this volume.)

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The following Septuagint books, listed in the sequence of their appearance in Codex Sinaiticus, are preserved in part or in full (reconstructed existence is indicated by square brackets):¹²

Genesis
[Exodus]
Leviticus
Numbers
Deuteronomy
[Joshua 1:1–12:2]
Joshua 12:2–14:4 (fragmentary portion found in St Catherine’s Monastery)
[Joshua 14:4–24:33]
Judges
[Ruth]
[1–4 Kingdoms (Samuel-Kings)]
[1 Chronicles 1:1–17:14]
1 Chronicles 17:14–18:11 (fragmentary portion found in St Catherine’s Monastery)
[1 Chronicles 18:11–2 Chronicles 36:23]
[1 Esdras–2 Esdras 9:8]
Duplicate of 1 Chronicles 9:27–19:17, followed by 2 Esdras (Ezra-Nehemiah) 9:9 in the middle of the line¹³
2 Esdras (Ezra-Nehemiah) 9:9–23:31
Esther
Tobit
Judith
1 Maccabees¹⁴
4 Maccabees
Isaiah
Jeremiah
Lamentations 1:1–2:20
[Lamentations 2:21–5:22]
[Baruch–Epistle of Jeremiah]
[Ezekiel]
[Daniel]
[Hosea, Amos, Micah]
Joel–Malachi (Greek sequence)
Psalms¹⁵
Proverbs
Ecclesiastes
Song of Songs
Wisdom of Solomon
Sirach¹⁶
Job

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CODEx SINAITICUS
AND OTHER SOURCES

The three main uncial manuscripts Codex Alexandrinus (A), Codex Vaticanus (B), and Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ) are relatively similar in their content, enabling Rahlfs to combine them into one common text with relative ease.¹⁷ In all books except Judges and Isaiah, Codex Vaticanus is usually considered the best pre-Hexaplaric text. The differences between the

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three codices that do exist are in their contents and sequence. Codex Sinaiticus differs in various ways from the other sources. These differences probably do not reflect the views of the scribes of Sinaiticus, but those of the person(s) who commissioned it.

The twenty-four books of the Hebrew canon included in the Septuagint together with the so-called Apocrypha are arranged in a different sequence from that of the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸ Whereas the books of the Hebrew canon are arranged in three sections (Torah, Prophets, Writings), reflecting their acceptance at different stages into the canon, the Greek arrangement into three, four, or five sections reflects their literary genre. The legal unit of the Torah and the historical books represent different genres, but together they may be conceived of as one large historical block including legal sections. The poetical and sapiential books likewise represent different genres, but they are bound together by common poetical features.

The Greek tradition that places the Prophets at the end of the Greek canon is found in Codex Vaticanus and in many other sources. According to Swete, this tradition reflects ‘the great majority of authorities both Eastern and Western’.¹⁹ On the other hand, the three-section division of Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and other sources reflects that of Hebrew Scripture.²⁰ The sequence of the majority Greek tradition is usually presented as a Christian arrangement, which is probably correct. According to this arrangement, the Prophets, who in Christian tradition foretell the coming of Jesus, are placed immediately before the New Testament books. Indeed, the present form of the Greek canon reflects the views of the early church.

However, what does the minority tradition of Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and others represent? It could reflect either a late approximation to the Hebrew tradition or the original Greek arrangement, since Codex Sinaiticus is the oldest extant form of the complete Greek Scripture. Fraenkel raised a third possibility, that the sequence of Codex Vaticanus and the others reflects the original Greek sequence, while the books were rearranged in Alexandrinus and Sinaiticus in order to create two continuous layout systems.²¹ In Codex Sinaiticus, the prose books were written with four columns to the page, while the next block of poetically arranged books, from Psalms onwards, was written in two columns to the page. This explanation would also pertain to the two continuous blocks of Codex Alexandrinus; prose books in a two-column arrangement of continuous writing, followed by the poetry books from Psalms onwards in an arrangement of two columns of lines and indented lines.²² On the other hand, Codex Vaticanus reflects an alternation of two types of layout: a block of prose books (Genesis–Esdras with three columns to the page) followed by a block of poetry books (Psalms–Sirach), and then again by a block of prose books (Esther–Daniel).²³

THE INTERNAL SEQUENCE OF THE MAJOR AND MINOR PROPHETS

The two groups of prophetic books are traditionally called the Major and Minor Prophets, reflecting the different sizes of these books. Even when combined, the book of the Greek Dodekapropheton is shorter than Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel, (even without Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, and Lamentations), but longer than Daniel with its additions.

The first references to the combined appearance of the Minor Prophets are in Sirach 49:10 (מֵאֵיבִנְיָה רִשְׁעֵי מִינִישׁ) and Augustine (*Prophetae Minores*).²⁴ Since the Minor Prophets constitute a separate book, there was no option to place some of them before the Major

Prophets and others after them.²⁵ Tradition thus had to decide which segment would come first. The Jewish tradition²⁶ presents the Major Prophets²⁷ first because of their prominence, in defiance of chronological considerations that would have given preference to Amos as the earliest of the writing prophets (Amos prophesied shortly after 760 BCE). The Jewish sequence is reflected already in Ben Sira, where the Minor Prophets are referred to *en bloc* in 49:10 after the Major Prophets (48:20–49:9). This tradition is also reflected in codices of the Septuagint and some, chiefly Western, Church Fathers.²⁸ However, in Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Venetus and the majority of the patristic lists, the twelve Minor Prophets precede the Major Prophets.²⁹ The reason for this internal sequence probably coincides with the placing of the Major Prophets at the end of Greek Scripture, representing the wish to place them just before the New Testament. In this important detail, the tradition of Codex Sinaiticus coincides with the Jewish tradition.

THE INTERNAL SEQUENCE OF THE BOOKS

The main organizing principle behind the *internal* sequence of the Greek Minor Prophets probably was chronological:³⁰ [Hosea, Amos, Micah,] Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi. In this matter, Codex Sinaiticus, while reconstructed for the first three books, agrees with the tradition of the other Greek sources.³¹ The last six books have the same position in the Hebrew tradition, while the first six occur in this sequence in the Masoretic Text: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah.³² If the organizing principle of the common Hebrew-Greek sequence is chronological,³³ the sequence of the Septuagint possibly reflects internal amendments in the first six books so as to arrange them by size. However, according to this logic Jonah should have preceded Obadiah.³⁴

In the arrangement of the Septuagint, including that of Codex Sinaiticus, the story of Ruth follows Judges.³⁵ This sequence is clearly secondary since the Hebrew and Greek canons contain the same forms of the deuteronomistic block of historical books from Deuteronomy until the end of 2 Kings, and there is no room in this block for Ruth, which contains a different literary genre and is not deuteronomistic. In Hebrew Scripture, Ruth appears elsewhere. It is included among the Five Scrolls likewise reflecting a secondary tradition connecting the scrolls to Jewish liturgical traditions.

In Codex Sinaiticus, Chronicles followed Samuel–Kings (in Greek: Kingdoms 1–4) as in the great majority of the Greek and Latin sources. This reconstructed sequence reflects an arrangement based on literary genre, and is clearly secondary since Chronicles repeats the story of the earlier historical books and would not ordinarily have come after Kingdoms.

In Codex Sinaiticus, as elsewhere in Greek tradition, Jeremiah is followed by the triad Baruch–Lamentations–Epistle of Jeremiah. However, the order of the triad is slightly different. Instead of the usual Septuagint sequence of Baruch–Lamentations–Epistle of Jeremiah, in Sinaiticus the triad begins with Lamentations. The identity and sequence of the next two books (presumably Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah) are unverifiable.³⁶ The three books are linked in different ways to the prophet Jeremiah. Baruch is so closely linked to Jeremiah that the same translator produced these two books in Greek (Jeremiah 1–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8) and the same reviser revised them.³⁷ Early Greek and Latin Church Fathers often quote Baruch as Jeremiah.³⁸ Lamentations and the Epistle are equally close to the prophet since according to tradition Jeremiah himself wrote these two

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books. This tradition is reflected in Babylonian Talmud Baba Batra. 14a and the Targum and Peshitta (1:1) to the book, and Lamentations is often quoted in rabbinic literature as ‘Jeremiah says’.³⁹ At the same time, a specific tradition of a Jeremiah–Lamentations sequence is not known from other Greek sources, while it appears in all early Peshitta manuscripts.⁴⁰ This sequence of Codex Sinaiticus most likely reflects a Jewish tradition.

Other books in Codex Sinaiticus are also in an unusual order. The placement of Job at the end of the Wisdom books in Sinaiticus (the Wisdom of Solomon–Sirach–Job, differs from the sequence in the other sources: Job–the Wisdom of Solomon–Sirach–the Psalms of Solomon. There seems to be no parallel for Job in this position at the end of the Wisdom books. This placement breaks up the triad of Job–Psalms–Proverbs in Jewish tradition; it may be compared with Codex Vaticanus where Job is likewise separated from the other two books (Psalms–Proverbs–Ecclesiastes–Song of Songs–Job–Wisdom–Ben Sira). 2 and 3 Maccabees are lacking in Sinaiticus. Codex Sinaiticus thus holds a middle course between Vaticanus, in which 1–4 Maccabees are lacking, and Alexandrinus, which has all four.⁴¹

THE BACKGROUND OF CODEX SINAITICUS

In the fourth century when Codex Sinaiticus was copied, the Septuagint was transmitted solely by Christian sources. It would therefore be natural to describe the differences between Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Vaticanus as internal differences between Christian traditions. At the same time, there are some indications that the aforementioned idiosyncratic features of Codex Sinaiticus may go back to Jewish sources, such as the sequence of the major scriptural sections, the placement of the Major Prophets before the Minor Prophets, and the order of the Lamentations–Baruch–Epistle of Jeremiah triad following Jeremiah, as opposed to the more common Baruch–Lamentations–Epistle of Jeremiah sequence. In addition, the Christian Odes are lacking in Codex Sinaiticus, as they are in Vaticanus. As for their Christian nature, Ode 9 contains Luke 1:46–55, 68–79, Ode 13 contains Luke 2:29–32, and Ode 14 is a Christian hymn. According to Rahlfs,⁴² all Greek manuscripts have the Odes but they were not yet included in the earliest manuscripts.

While the Christian Odes are lacking in Codex Sinaiticus, in one detail, that manuscript may well be more Christian than the other sources, such as in the identification of the supposed speakers written in the margins in the Song of Songs text of Sinaiticus and other sources. These identifications were sometimes necessary in the translations and not in the original Hebrew, in which the genders are clearly indicated.⁴³ These notes in Sinaiticus, in rubrics written with red ink, present the content of the book as an ancient drama, for example,⁴⁴ before 1:1b ‘the bride’ is added to identify the speaker; before 1:4 ΕΙΣΗΝΕΓΚΕΝ ΜΕ Sinaiticus adds, ‘The bride tells the maidens the things about the groom that he gave to her’; before 1:4 ΑΓΑΛΛΙΑΣΩΜΕΘΑ Sinaiticus reads, ‘While the bride was talking to the maidens, they said’.⁴⁵ In one case, the speaker is identified in Sinaiticus and not in the other sources as ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΥΜΦΙΟΝ ΧΝ (1:7). It is unclear whether the Christian element in this rubric derived from the scribe of Sinaiticus or should be ascribed to his source.⁴⁶

In sum, Codex Sinaiticus preserves some information about the views espoused when the Codex was written. The twenty-four books of the Hebrew canon included in Sinaiticus, together with the so-called Apocrypha, are arranged in a sequence that differs from that of the Hebrew Bible, and sometimes from the majority Greek tradition, in

both the division of the books into different sections and their internal sequence. Codex Sinaiticus may show signs of a somewhat older tradition in the sequence of the books. These data are not necessarily related to the scribes, but sometimes they reflect their *Vorlagen* and possibly the views of those who guided the scribes regarding the content of the manuscript or commissioned its writing. There are some indications that the idiosyncratic features of Codex Sinaiticus may go back to Jewish sources. At the same time, while the Christian Odes are lacking in Sinaiticus, in one detail, that manuscript may well be more ‘Christian’ than the other sources.

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Wright, R. B., 'Psalms of Solomon', in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, 1985), pp. 639–70

NOTES

- 1 For a description, see J. Bentley, *Secrets of Mount Sinai—The Story of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London, 1985; repr. as *Secrets of Mount Sinai—The Story of Finding the World's Oldest Bible—Codex Sinaiticus* (Garden City, 1986)); T. S. Pattie, *Manuscripts of the Bible* (London, 1979); S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968), p. 180.
- 2 English translation by T. S. Pattie, *Manuscripts of the Bible* (Lodon, 1979), p. 4.
- 3 Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*.
- 4 A. Rahlfs and D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, I, 1, Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2004), p. 201, mention 'the fourth century'. Several scholars assign the manuscript to 360: Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, p. 64; G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia, 2 (Firenze, 1967), pp. 56–60 and J. C. Treat, 'Lost Keys: Text and Interpretation in Old Greek Song of Songs and Its Earliest Manuscript Witnesses' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996), p. 379 (also published online as *Rubrics in Codex Sinaiticus* (1996), <<http://philae.sas.upenn.edu/~jtreat/song/sinai.html>> [accessed 18 July 2014]). For further references to opinions expressed on the date, see Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, p. 18.
- 5 The view of Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, pp. 51–60, in favour of the dictation theory is based mainly on orthographical practices. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, pp. 250–52 provides arguments against this theory.
- 6 Thus Skeat, 'Sinaiticus and Vaticanus', p. 601. See also Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, p. 32: 'In many quires, a number is visible on the top left corner of the first page. ... The second numbering, dated to roughly the eighth century, is placed in the top right corner of the first page of a quire and is visible on each quire.'
- 7 Tischendorf, *Sinaiticus* (1862); Lake, *New Testament*; Lake, *Old Testament*.
- 8 Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, pp. 66–69.
- 9 Skeat, 'Sinaiticus and Vaticanus', p. 587.
- 10 See Lake, *Old Testament*, p. xiv; S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968), p. 182.
- 11 According to Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, p. 254, the only fact that is known about the setting of the manuscript is 'that the scribes were familiar with the text of the Greek Bible. Harmonizations to parallel passages and other books take place regularly, showing that the scribes were located in a Christian setting'. This conclusion is very general.
- 12 The list follows the information in A. Rahlfs and D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, I, 1, Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 201–06; and in Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, p. 40. Both studies provide the exact page numbers in the original codex (407 pages inscribed on both sides). See also Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, pp. 94–112. Rachel Kevern and David Parker of the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing, University of Birmingham, kindly provided additional information on the reconstructed sections (April 2009).
- 13 While the text of 1 Chronicles 9:27–19:17 has been preserved, the circumstances surrounding its preservation in the midst of a sea of missing chapters is peculiar. Actually, all of 1–2 Chronicles (except one fragment from St Catherine's Monastery) as well as 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras 1:1–9:7 is missing, and this segment of 1 Chronicles is incorrectly copied into the middle of 2 Esdras (the running title '2 Esdras' appears on two of the five folios containing 1 Chronicles 9:27–19:17). A

marginal note in the manuscript by one of the correctors of Codex Sinaiticus clarifies that these pages are an intrusion in the text of Esdras. The mistake must have been made in the *Vorlage* of 8 and may have been connected with the binding of a manuscript. On the unusual sequence, see Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, pp. 1–6; R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum*, VIII, 2 (Göttingen, 1993), p. 8; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis* (2004), p. 204; Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, pp. 145–46.

14 2 and 3 Maccabees are not included in 8.

15 The Odes are not included in 8 and B.

16 R. B. Wright, ‘Psalms of Solomon’, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, 1985), pp. 639 – 70: ‘It also has been calculated that the Psalms of Solomon would have fit into the twelve missing pages of Codex Sinaiticus’ (p. 639). A modern reconstruction by D. C. Parker does not find space for this. (See Parker’s article in this volume.)

17 A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart, 1935).

18 For general background information see C. Rabin, ‘Sequence of the Books of the Bible’, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 9 vols (Jerusalem, 1950–88), v (1968), pp. 366–68.

19 H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914), p. 219.

20 Athanasius, *Epistula Festalis* 39, ed. by P.-P. Joannou, in *Discipline générale antique (ii-ix s.)*, Codification canonica orientale, Fonti, Serie I, 9, 2 vols (Rome, 1963), II, *Les canons des pères grecs*, pp. 71–76

21 Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis* (2004), p. 202.

22 *The Codex Alexandrinus (Royal MS. 1 D. v–viii) in Reduced Photographic Facsimile*, ed. by F. G. Kenyon, 5 vols (London, 1909–57).

23 *Bibliorum SS. Graecorum Codex Vaticanus 1209 (Cod. B)*, 3 vols (Mediolani, 1905–07).

24 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.29, ‘in the book of the twelve prophets, who are called minor because their discourses are short, in comparison with those who are called major’ (*in libro duodecim prophetarum, qui propterea dicuntur minores, quia sermones eorum sunt breves, in eorum comparatione, qui maiores ideo vocantur*), ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De civitate Dei libri XXII*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 47–48, 2 vols (Turnholt, 1955)

25 However, Junilius, *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* 1.4 reflects this sequence: Hosea, Isaiah, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi. See H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten* (Freiburg, 1880), p. 475.

26 Thus also Josephus and Jerome.

27 For example, the *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. B. Bat.* 14b) and all text editions of the Hebrew Bible.

28 As recorded by Swete, *Introduction* (1914), pp. 203–14.

29 As recorded by Swete, *Introduction* (1914), pp. 203–14.

30 The books lacking in Codex Sinaiticus are placed within brackets.

31 The Minor Prophets scroll from Nahal Hever, an early revision of the Old Greek, follows the Masoretic Text.

32 The principal difference between the Hebrew and Greek traditions is that the Septuagint removed Amos from the third position and Micah from the sixth position and placed them together in the second and third positions, between Hosea and Joel.

33 The first prophets belonged to the period of the zenith of Assyrian power, during the second half of the eighth century, the second group to the last third of the seventh century, and the last prophets belong to the beginning of the Persian period.

34 See the analysis of O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction, Including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of Similar Type from Qumran. The History of the Formation of the Old Testament*, trans. by P. R. Ackroyd (Oxford, 1965), p. 383.

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35 In Codex Venetus, Ruth may have preceded Judges. The placement of Ruth is in agreement with its first verse, 'And it happened in the days of the Judges ...'.

36 Lamentations 1:1–2:20 is preserved.

37 The translator and reviser of Jeremiah considered Baruch 1:1–3:8 an integral part of Jeremiah when including these chapters in the translation and, probably, revision, as shown by the Greek version of the second part of the book (Jeremiah 29–52 [according to the sequence of the Septuagint] + Baruch 1:1–3:8). See E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 8 (Missoula, 1976).

38 For references, see R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, 1985), p. 342, notes 21–22.

39 See L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols (Philadelphia, 1928), VI, 378.

40 For a list, see Beckwith, *Canon* (1985), p. 196.

41 The background of this situation is unclear to me and I have not found an attempt in the literature to explain the manuscript evidence.

42 A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis, Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum*, 2nd edn (Göttingen, 1967), p. 78.

43 See R. A. Kraft, 'Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe,' in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le Monde Antique (Mélanges M. Simon)*, ed. by A. Benoit and others (Paris, 1978), pp. 207–26 (p. 210, notes 13 and 14), also online at <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/other/journals/kraftpub/Transmission%20of%20Gk-Jewish%20Scriptures>> [accessed 18 July 2014].

44 Treat, 'Lost Keys' (1996), and idem, 'Rubrics' (1996).

45 These details were written not only after verses, or in the middle of verses, but also after groups of words, showing the scribe's involvement in the intricacies of the exegetical process, based on the Greek rather than the Hebrew text.

46 According to Treat, these notes derived from 'a non-Christian, non-allegorical narrative'. Treat investigated 'its oldest ancestor and its other relatives: the Old Latin, Jerome's two versions, and what turned out to be the oldest non-Hebrew manuscript of the Song, a translation of the Old Greek into a rare Fayyumic form of the Coptic language' (Treat, 'Lost Keys' (1996), p. xv). These rubrics occur in Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Venetus and 161, and not in Vaticanus, Ephraimi, etc. The most basic form of the rubrics is in Codex Alexandrinus where they occur as Η ΝΥΜΦΗ, Ο ΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ, while Codex Sinaiticus contains an elaborate group of *dramatis personae*, and those in Codex Venetus are even more elaborate. Comparing the rubrics in Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, Venetus, 161 and in Origen's *Homilies and Commentaries*, Treat suggested that the elaborate text of Sinaiticus is the oldest Greek witness, but it does not represent the earliest form of these rubrics. That earliest form, not preserved, must have been similar to the short text of Alexandrinus, but is not that text itself (Treat, 'Lost Keys' (1996), pp. 406–07). The form of Codex Sinaiticus is closely related to the rubrics in some early sources of the Old Latin, namely Stuttgart HB II 35 (eighth century) and Fribourg L 75 (thirteenth century), both transmitted in manuscripts of the Vulgate. According to the analysis of de Bruyne, 'Les anciennes versions latines du Cantique des Cantiques,' *Revue Bénédictine*, 38 (1926), 118–22, the tradition of the Latin sources, though translated from Greek, is closer to the original form of the rubrics ('the proto-Sinaiticus form') than to the one in Codex Sinaiticus. On the other hand, according to Treat, 'Lost Keys' (1996), pp. 481–90, the Greek form of Sinaiticus reflects the earlier tradition, though not Codex Sinaiticus in its present form, but a reconstructed source of that manuscript. The Latin rubrics then form a later development. Treat reconstructed this 'proto-Sinaiticus form' by removing from the text of Codex Sinaiticus all the details that have no parallels in the Latin tradition. In this way, interestingly enough, the Christian references among these rubrics are lacking. Thus, these rubrics were added by the scribe of Codex Sinaiticus himself. In 1:7, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΥΜΦΙΟΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ appears in the earlier text only as ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΥΜΦΙΟΝ (*ad sponsum sponsa*).

