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# The Masorah of Elijah ha-Naqdan. An Edition of Ashkenazic Micrographical Notes

Elodie Attia

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Elodie Attia  
**The Masorah of Elijah ha-Naqdan**

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# Materialle Textkulturen

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**Band 11**

Élodie Attia

# The Masorah of Elijah ha-Naqdan

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An Edition of Ashkenazic Micrographical Notes

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À Clémentine, dont le sourire illumine mes jours et mes nuits.



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# Prologue

The present book is an edition of micrographical Masoretic notes. I started work on this project during the first phase of the project on “Material Text Cultures” at the Collaborative Research Centre 933 of the Heidelberg University.<sup>1</sup> The main purpose of the Center is to promote textual anthropology in the study of material artefacts in non-typographic societies.<sup>2</sup> This rigorous theoretical and practical approach focuses on various material artefacts that display written texts, and seeks to understand not only the written texts themselves (as with textual philology), but also the significance of the textification and textualization<sup>3</sup> produced by the context of their production, as well as their meaning and practical reception in the specific social and cultural backgrounds that produced the artefacts.<sup>4</sup> There is therefore an active relationship between the texts (considered as philological units), the artefacts (the material objects on which the texts are written and which are operative within the social space), the producers of the textartefact (*Textproduzent*), and the recipients of the text (*Textrezipient*).<sup>5</sup> Within this framework, the meaning of a written text is never “immanent”. Instead, it is the result of various human practices of reception, as when we “annotate, read, memorize, quote, extract, dramatize, illustrate, copy, comment, interpret, hide, [and] react to” a text.<sup>6</sup>

The focus of the Subproject B04 (“Scholarly Knowledge, Drollery or Esotericism? The Masorah of the Hebrew Bible in its Various Material Properties”) of the CRC 933

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1 The *Sonderforschungsbereich 933 – Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften* is being financed by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) between 2011 and 2015. <http://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/> (seen 14.7.2014).

2 Hilgert 2010; Meier et al. 2015.

3 See Oesterreicher’s terminological distinction between *Verschriftung* (textification) and *Verschriftlichung* (textualization): “the former applying to the shift in medium and the latter to the gradual change in conception of a discourse or discourse tradition, whereby ‘writeness’ plays an increasingly important role in its transmission and reception”; See Bakker 1999, 32 note 5 and Oesterreicher 1993.

4 Metzeltin 2013, 446: “La socialisation et la sociabilité des êtres humains sont basées sur la communication verbale. Celle-ci se réalise par la textification de descriptions, d’argumentations et de narrations. Les textifications stables ont besoin de supports matériels. On ne peut les comprendre que dans des contextes de production et de réception. Dans ce sens, l’anthropologie textuelle de Metzeltin et This, avec leur focalisation sur la structuration significative des textes, et l’anthropologie des textes de Hilgert, avec sa focalisation sur la contextualisation des textifications, fournissent des instruments élaborés de travail pour l’analyse et la compréhension des textifications des systèmes de connaissance.”

5 For H. Jauß, the ‘Author-Text-Reader’ relationship is essential to understanding a text. The Reader socializes the text. The text must be read, in order to enter history and have a socio-cultural function. Consequently, we seek to discover what a text meant for its readers a given time and what constituted their horizon of expectations (*Erwartungshorizont*); Jauß 1978, 12.

6 Hilgert 2010, 90 and 97.

is on the material properties of an important textual tradition that accompanies the biblical text. In this project, we approach the reception practices associated with the Hebrew Bible through the ‘textualization’ of Masoretic knowledge in the Middle Ages. The Masorah of the Ashkenazim often takes specific ornamental or figurative micrographical forms,<sup>7</sup> which have yet to be analyzed within the context of ‘Masoretic studies’, an area of research which focuses on the transmission of the biblical text.<sup>8</sup> Our project seeks to clarify whether the relationship between the Masorah included in biblical manuscripts and Masoretic traditions a) remained constant throughout the textual tradition conserved in biblical artefacts; and b) whether its reception varied when we consider an expanded field of applications, especially rabbinical commentaries.<sup>9</sup> This general framework allows for different approaches. While one of my colleagues seeks to discover how much Masoretic knowledge rabbinical commentaries exhibit,<sup>10</sup> I analyze the philological content of micrographical drawings in Hebrew Bibles. This has led me to focus on a specific Ashkenazic manuscript (MS Vat. Ebr. 14) and to prepare the critical edition of micrographical Masoretic notes presented in this book. On another level, the results of this philological analysis have also led me to evaluate the relationships between texts and images in the micrographic Masorah and its concrete functions in light of the reception practices associated with such biblical manuscripts, a question illuminated at an international conference organized in Heidelberg in November 2013.<sup>11</sup> The results of my analysis of the relationship between texts and images in the micrographic Masorah can be found in a separate article.<sup>12</sup>

The Masorah (or *massoreh*) is, in a broad sense, a compilation of information which preserves the biblical text from corruption: it includes details on the vocalization and accentuation of the consonantal text, as well as Masoretic notes and handbooks.<sup>13</sup> Strictly speaking, the Masorah “denotes an apparatus of instructions for

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<sup>7</sup> See the Introduction for further definitions.

<sup>8</sup> Martín-Conteras 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Liss, on-line MTK presentation.

<sup>10</sup> I am referring to the PhD of my colleague Kay I. Petzold, *Die Idee des einen Textes. Die frühe Masorah der Hebräischen Bibel bei den mittelalterlichen jüdischen Bibelkommentatoren. Untersuchung schrifttragender Artefakte der Masorah und ihres Verhältnisses zur Rezeptionspraxis der Hebräischen Bibel anhand ihrer Benutzung und Kommentierung durch Rav Shlomo Yitzchaki (Rashi)* conducted within the framework of Subproject B04.

<sup>11</sup> SFB 933 International Conference, Subproject B04: *Text-Image Relationship and Visual Elements in Written Hebrew Sources from the Middle Ages to Early Modern Period*, Heidelberg, 10–12 November 2013.

<sup>12</sup> See Altia 2015.

<sup>13</sup> For an exhaustive presentation of the Masoretic System, see Dotan 2007 [1977]: Tov 1992, 72–76; Martín-Conteras/Seljas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 37–49; Golimets 2012; Khan 2012. For an example of a Masoretic compilation, see the *Sefer Okhla we-Okhla*, edited in Frensdorff 1864; Graetz 1887; Diaz Esteban 1975; Ognibeni 1992 and 1995; Dotan 1967; Tov 1992, 74–75.

the writing of the biblical text and its reading [...] to ensure that special care would be exercised in the transmission of the text".<sup>14</sup> This textual apparatus includes the *Masora Parva* (the 'small Masorah' located on the side margins),<sup>15</sup> the *Masora Magna* (the 'great Masorah', written on the upper and lower margins, as well as the 'collative Masorah'), and the *Masora Finalis* (notes placed at the end of the book or codex).<sup>16</sup> Each of these types of Masorah serves a specific function in the transmission of the biblical text. The *Masora Parva* (hereafter MP) plays a central role in this tradition: it is composed of an abbreviated note which is placed directly adjacent to the word or expression concerned in the biblical text (called a *lemma*). It points to specific problems: it clarifies spellings (defective or *plene*), accents, or vocalizations, and explains whether a term is a *hapax legomenon* (?), whether something should be read into the text even though it is not written down (*qere-we la-ktiv*), or conversely whether the reader should omit to read something that is written on the page (*ktiv we-la-qere*). It also states how many times this problem occurs in the biblical text. The *Masora Magna* (hereafter MM) is commonly composed of two to four ruled lines of text located on the upper and lower margins of the folios. Its function is to expound on the MP's notes, which it repeats before giving a detailed list of the *simaneton* (i.e., a list of all the instances of a particular lemma). The 'collative Masorah' provides the reader with collected lists of specific phenomena, such as different types of *hapax* forms. Among other things, the *Masora Finalis* gives information about the number of verses in each book.

Masoretes are known to have been committed to writing down vowels, accents, and Masoretic notes prior to the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> However, the vocalizations, accentuations, and Masoretic notes (MP and MM) they transmitted in these early manuscripts<sup>18</sup> did not necessarily concord.<sup>19</sup> There are no extant written sources before the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, these early manuscripts attest to the prevalence of the Tiberian (Ben Asher and Ben Nafali) tradition, even if "the Tiberian Masoretic tradition had not fixed on the school of one particular Masorete" at the close of the Masoretic period.<sup>20</sup> In his *Mishne Torah* compiled between 1170 and 1180, Maimonides, who was against

<sup>14</sup> Tov 1992, 72.

<sup>15</sup> "On two sides of the columns of the text in the eastern and Spanish codices, and on the side corresponding to the external margin of the page in the Ashkenazi Bible" (Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 31).

<sup>16</sup> According to Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 31, Masoretic notes were probably being inserted on the margins of Tiberian biblical codices by the ninth century. Cairo Genizah fragments suggest that before that, they were gathered in separate booklets.

<sup>17</sup> Dotan 2007, 613.

<sup>18</sup> Diaz Esteban 1954.

<sup>19</sup> Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 46. Scholars frequently find notes contradicting the main text and *vice versa* (see in this Edition, Case 5, note ii; Case 8, note vi; Case 12, note viii). Thus, while the consonantal text of the Masoretic Bible tended to have been standardized, the Masoretic apparatus seems to have remained rather heterogeneous.

<sup>20</sup> Khan 2012, 5. The two known schools are the Ben Asher and the Ben Nafali's traditions.

the influence of the Karaites,<sup>21</sup> declared a Ben Asher codex (the ‘popular in Egypt’) to be an authoritative reference work for those wishing to copy other Torah Scrolls.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, he asserted that this codex had been used as a model codex in Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, the Ben Asher Tiberian manuscript version(s) of the Hebrew Bible gradually did become predominant.<sup>24</sup> This means that the Masoretic tradition developed in one of the two following ways: either the standard Ben Asher Tiberian and non-standard (expanded) Tiberian traditions (such as the tradition which appeared in the Codex Reuchlinianus) both reached Europe at the same time,<sup>25</sup> but the expanded Tiberian tradition eventually fell out of use and the standard Tiberian tradition alone survived; or else, the expanded (non-standard) Tiberian tradition is the older one and was in circulation in Europe long before the advent of the standard Ben Asher Tiberian tradition. These two hypotheses frame my reflections on the tradition of Ashkenaz, which developed sometime between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Today, the standard Tiberian tradition is widely attested and studied in manuscripts which in some cases predate the 12<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>26</sup> but the significance of the differences that exist between medieval manuscripts is still a matter for debate, especially in the case of late medieval sources, as their variants are less studied.<sup>27</sup> Some

<sup>21</sup> The Karaites, defended by Judah Hādassi (writing in *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, in 1149), considered that everything in the biblical text was holy, including every detail of its vocalization and accentuation. See Dotan 2007, 2.2.4.

<sup>22</sup> Mishne Torah, *Sefer Ahavah, Hilkhot Sefer Torah*, 8:5: “The book/codex (*sefer*) on which I base myself for these matters [copy of the Scrolls] is a book/codex (*sefer*) which is popular in Egypt, which includes twenty-four books and which was in Jerusalem for some years, where it served as a model for correcting books/codices (*sefarim*). Everyone used to rely on it for Ben Asher had corrected and studied it for years, correcting it many times as he copied it. I used it for the liturgical scroll (*Sefer Torah*) that I copied according to it.”

<sup>23</sup> ר' וספר' סעמנע עליו ברברים אלו, הוא הספר הידוע במערייט, שהוא כולל ארבעה ועשרים ספרים, שהוא בירושלים מנבחה שנים להגיה מננו הספרים; ועליו, היו הכל סומכין, לפי שהגיהו בו אשר ידקדק בו והגיהו פעמים רבות כמו שהעתיקו, ועליו, סמכתי בספר תורה שהתבתי בהלכות.

<sup>24</sup> An exemplar or model codex is a good quality Masoretic codex dedicated to the preservation of the entire biblical tradition, including both its written and reading traditions. It was used as a model for copying and revising liturgical Scrolls and codices. See Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 28; Khan 2012, 7–8. Maimonides does not conclude that all model codices should be Ben Asher codices, but just that the codex which he used for Torah scrolls was Ben Asher's, which was popular in Egypt. Some scholars argue that this codex is what is known today as the Aleppo Codex. On the spread of the Mishne Torah in Ashkenaz, see Soloveichik 2009; Wolf 2005.

<sup>25</sup> According to Martín-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 33–34, the Ben Asher tradition became prevalent everywhere during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>26</sup> For example, the Codex Reuchlinianus (dated 1105/6) shows an ‘extended infralinear Tiberian graphic system’ that allows us to trace its pronunciation back to the supralinear system of vocalization which was used until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Morag 1959.

<sup>27</sup> Tov 1992, 35; Francisco 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Cohen 1980; Cohen 1986; Tov 1992, 37.

scholars have pointed out that later Ashkenazic manuscripts may have stemmed from a specific cultural background with its own ancient traditions, and suggested that these traditions may have resisted the process of Masoretic standardization. In other words, the fact that Askenazic traditions seem not to be authoritative (from a standard Ben Asher point of view) does not mean that their story should not be told or that they escape the scope of scholarly enquiry today. Furthermore, in the case of the tradition of Ashkenaz, biblical manuscripts often feature a wealth of ornamental and figurative micrographical Masorah which have not been properly examined up until now. The following edition seeks to plug these gaps by engaging with the difficult questions raised by the transmission of the Masoretic tradition in non-Sephardic and non-Eastern areas.





## Introduction

There can be no doubt that the great scholar Elijah Levita had access to a great number of medieval manuscripts. Regarding his methodical preparations to gather Masoretic information for the *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, the biblical and Masoretic concordance he compiled before publishing his *Massoret ha-Massoret* in 1538, he explained:

How I labored therein, neither resting nor being satisfied, and searched the correct and excellent book, giving my mind hereunto! Now I swear, [...], that more than once or twice I performed a day or two day's journey to a place, which I either knew myself or of which I had been informed, that there is to be found therein a reliable index of the Masorah. When I examined [the Masorah], and found it and corrected it, I selected from it the choice and correct articles, as roses from among thorns. Indeed, *most of the correct Codices I found to be Spanish*, and it is upon these that I relied, and it is their method that I followed. [...] I found the *Book Ochia Ve-Ochia* [...]. There is no other book which so thoroughly treats on the Masoretic rules, excepting the scattered glosses around the margin in the Codices which, however, contain numberless errors. For the scribes have perverted them, as they did not care for the Masorah, but only thought to ornament their writing, and to make even lines so as not to alter the appearance [of the codex].<sup>1</sup>

Levita claims in these lines that Sephardic sources are the most accurate, by which he means that they are more closely related to the standard version of the biblical text (i.e., the so-called Ben Asher Tiberian tradition).<sup>2</sup> This assertion implies that Levita rejects other Western-European (Ashkenazic or Italian) manuscripts as sources of valid biblical or Masoretic knowledge. Secondly, he claims that the Masorah that is found within the annotated and ornamented manuscripts is greatly defective. This is not so far from what Jacob ben Hayim Adonyah announced in his introduction to the *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venice: Bomberg, 1524–1525):

Moreover, most of these [Masoretic remarks] are written in a contracted form and with ornaments, so much so that they cannot at all be deciphered, as the desire of the writer was only to embellish his writing and not to examine or to understand the sense [of the Masorah].<sup>3</sup>

Adonyah and Levita considered the Masorah to be the primary principle of biblical exegesis and wanted to understand it in order to restore the keys to the Torah.<sup>4</sup> They believed, in line with the Renaissance mentality,<sup>5</sup> that this knowledge had been utterly neglected, and could only be rediscovered through an edition of the 'original' Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, accompanied by a sort of *Urmassorah*.

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<sup>1</sup> Levita, *Massoret ha-Massoret*, 1538, Venice, Introduction II, see Ginsburg 1867b, 93–94.

<sup>2</sup> Ginsburg 1897, 906; Pérez Castro 1977; Fernández Tejero 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Ginsburg 1867a, 78–79.

<sup>4</sup> Ginsburg 1867b, 103 and ff.; Ginsburg 1867a, 44–78, esp. Rashi's commentary, 59–65.

<sup>5</sup> See Atia 2012, Chapter VIII.

## Masoretic Contents versus Masoretic Layout?

Modern scholarship does not consider an original biblical text to have ever existed.<sup>6</sup> The transmission of the biblical and Masoretic knowledge of the East to other areas of the Jewish World<sup>7</sup> is difficult to trace, as dated Hebrew sources are scarce or fragmentary prior to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> The oldest Hebrew biblical codices known today are dated or estimated to be dated no earlier than between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among them, six eastern manuscripts are generally held as the most prominent ones: the Aleppo Codex (910–930 by Aron ben Moshe Ben Asher)—which may have been the codex referred to in the above mentioned quotation as the one which Maimonides described and used—, the Cairo Codex (dated 894/5), MS BL Or. 4445 (10<sup>th</sup> century?), the Leningrad Codex (dated 1008/9), the Damascus Pentateuch (JNUL 24<sup>o</sup>5702 or Sassoon 507) and MS Sassoon 1053.<sup>9</sup> There is a second gap of c. 200 years between these eastern sources and the oldest remaining European Hebrew sources. The first Hebrew manuscripts produced in Europe most likely originated in Italy in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> Although the first Bible of its kind surfaced in 1105/6 (Codex Reuchlinianus),<sup>11</sup> the oldest Ashkenazic manuscripts are dated later, from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This leaves us without material sources on the versions that were in circulation in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, at the lifetime of the main Jewish exegete Rashi (R. Shlomo Bar Isaac of Troyes).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Tov 1992, 8–9, 11.

<sup>7</sup> In terms of their geographical origins, Hebrew manuscripts usually come from the East (Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Persia), Sephardic areas (the Iberian Peninsula, the Maghreb, Sicilia, southern France, the Ottoman Empire after 1492), Ashkenazic areas (France, Germany, England, northern Italy and Eastern Europe), and the Byzantine region (Crimea, Greece, southern Italy). Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 32–33.

<sup>8</sup> The Database of Hebrew dated or documented manuscripts (Sfardata) which was started in 1965 only has records for 3139 dated and documented items (i.e., 47% of the items of the Database), and among them only 12 codicological units are dated from before 1000—all of them are from Yemen, the Orient or Sephardic areas. See Beit-Arié 1991 and 1992. <http://sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/home.aspx> (seen 01.07.2014).

<sup>9</sup> According to Yeivin 1980, 15–22; Yeivin 2011 [2003], 6–27. See also Beit-Arié 1993a on the sixteen dated manuscripts which predate 1028.

<sup>10</sup> Ancient Italian Hebrew manuscripts are still systematically studied. See MS. Vat. Ebr. 31, dated 1072/3 (MPMA II, Ms. 38) and the Ms. London, BL, Add. 27214 (which contains seven codicological units, dated 1090/1, MPMA III, 43).

<sup>11</sup> The first European Bible is probably the Ms. Karlsruhe, BL, Cod. Reuchlin 3 (dated 1106, Prophets Hagigrafa, cf. MPMA III, Ms. 48). It was initially described as a ‘pre-Masoretic’ Bible. However, Morag argues that the phonetic system reflected by its vocalization system is fuller than in the standard Tiberian traditions, which is Palestinian and post-Masoretic, see Morag 1959, 229.

<sup>12</sup> Only four dated Ashkenazic manuscripts predate 1200, among them two Bibles: 1177, Bologna, Bib Naz. II-1-7 (Talmud Bavli, see MPMA IV, Ms. 71); 1188/9, London, BL, Ar. Or. 51 (Grammatical Dictionary of Saruq, see MPMA IV, Ms. 84); 1189, London, Valmadonna Trust Library 1 (PMH, see afterwards);

In addition to this lack of information, Ashkenazic Bibles are still described in the same terms as those used by Levita. Whereas Sephardic manuscripts are considered to transmit a standard Tiberian consonantal text (and, by extension, an accurate Masorah), the vocalized and accentuated biblical text transmitted within Ashkenazic manuscripts is thought to have an “infinitely” greater number of discrepancies from the Ben Asher Tiberian text.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, despite the fact that there are no philological studies or editions of late medieval Ashkenazic Masoretic notes, it is commonly asserted that medieval Ashkenazic communities were unfamiliar with Masorah. Indeed, the mere presence of ornamental and figurative Masorah in their manuscripts is often presented as evidence of this lack of understanding.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, to neglect Ashkenazic manuscripts solely on the basis of their existing ornamental or figurative micrographical elements is to preemptively eliminate the possibility that these manuscripts may had been produced in the context of specific reception practices associated with the Bible in the Middle Ages.

### What is a Figurative Masorah (Masora Figurata)?

Thus far, the only scholars to have studied the phenomenon of using diminutive letters to draw decorative patterns are art historians. They consider it to be a specifically Jewish art of illumination.<sup>15</sup> Its origin remains unclear, but it appears for the first time in the earliest eastern biblical codices.<sup>16</sup> Scholars are yet to agree on a common terminology to describe this phenomenon.<sup>17</sup> The term *Micrography* designates the art

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1193, Bologna, Bib Univ 2208–9 (Propheets, Hagiographa, see MPMA IV, Ms. 91). Nine dated Bibles predate 1240: 1215, Vatican City; Vat. Ebr. 466, La Rochelle (complete Bible); 1215–6, Vatican City; Vat Ebr. 482, from La Rochelle (complete Bible); 1215–1216, London, BL, Ar Or 2 (PMH); 1233, Berlin, SB, Or. Quart. 9 (PMH); 1236, Milan, Ambrosiana, Ms 30Inf–32Inf (complete Bible); 1237–38, Breslau, Univ. Lib. M 1106 (PMH); 1239, Vatican City, Vat. Ebr. 14 (PMH); 1240, Parma, BP, 2345 (Hagiographa).

13 See Pérez Castro 1977, 161. This conclusion is based on variants of the consonantal text found in the Leningrad Codex, Or. 4445 and Cairo Codex, with two Sepharadic manuscripts, M1 of the Complutense University Library of Madrid, JTS Ms. 44a (Hilleli), and two Ashkenazic manuscripts Paris BnF Hébr. 1–3, G-1-1 of the Escorial (Chersin? 1306).

14 See Dotan 2007, § 3.3.5.4., Ornamentation of the text. Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 39–40 writes: “The micrographic Masorah took on an aesthetic function rather than that of an aid to the study of the biblical text: the small size of the characters, their varying alignments, and the increasing disregard for the correspondence between the biblical text and the masoretic notes show that the Masorah was scarcely even understood”. Strat 2002, 50–51 estimates that the Masorah written in micrography was never meant to be read.

15 Metzger 1974; Ferber 1976–77; Stral/Avrin 1981; Gutmann 1983; Metzger 1986; Kogman-Appel 2004; Shalev-Eyni 2010; Halperin 2013.

16 On the origins of micrography, see Halperin 2013, esp. 5–21.

17 For instance, Ferber 1976–77 establishes a distinction between the device (micrography) and its form, which is decorative when it is either abstract or illustrative (when figurative). Gutmann 1983, 52

of writing in minute letters as well as the drawing itself, which can sometimes create confusion. Moreover, these types of micrographical forms and their contents have generally not been inventoried, whether in Hebrew manuscripts or more specifically in Ashkenazic biblical manuscripts.<sup>18</sup>

Hebrew paleography considers that there are no minuscules or majuscules in Hebrew. Instead, several styles of script (square, semi-cursive, cursive) are found within each type of script (Oriental/Eastern, Italian, Byzantine, Sephardic, Ashkenazic).<sup>19</sup> The size of the letters can be very small. Ornamental (non-representational, abstract) forms created with letters written in a small size are called ‘*ornamental micrographic forms*’ (see Appendixe, Scheme 1). I shall call figurative (i.e. somehow recognizable) forms made of very small-sized minuscule letters ‘*figurative micrographic forms*’. The ‘alphabetical’ (i.e. scriptural) Masorah uses Masoretic notes to write another text in the shape of a word.<sup>20</sup> With regard to its layout, a micrographical form can be confined to a margin, cover an entire carpet page, or be located in an initial-word panel (often at the beginning of a book), or colophons.<sup>21</sup>

When a biblical Hebrew manuscript contains micrographic elements, the layout of the Masorah is altered.<sup>22</sup> If the textual content of the micrographic element does correspond to Masoretic notes, we talk about an ornamental (micrographic) Masorah or figurative (micrographic) Masorah. In other words, a figurative Masorah (also translated as *Masora Figurata*) combines the art of writing with figurative patterns and a Masoretic content.

Ornamental and figurative Masorah became a special attribute of Ashkenazic and Sephardic manuscripts in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> This scribal practice was widespread enough during Juda he-Hassid’s (1150–1217) lifetime to incur his condemnation.<sup>24</sup> Yet, the figurative or ornamental Masorah found in Sephardic manuscripts

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defines the term *Masora Figurata* as “the practice of having the minute letters form the shape of subjects (which are not necessarily related to text)”. Metzger 1986 designates *micrography* as nothing more than a very small minuscule script (i.e. a technique). Halperin 2013, 5 speaks of micrography when the contours of a text written in minuscule script evokes various visual designs.

18 Fronda 2013, 46.

19 Beif-Arté 2003, 68–69.

20 See Case 1 and 13 of my edition. I thank the participants of the Conference held in Heidelberg on “Text-Image Relationship and Visual Elements in Written Hebrew Sources” for having shared their thoughts with me about how to address this phenomenon. The reader will note that Ginsburg uses the expression “alphabetical Masorah” to designate the “alphabetical *Masora Finalis*” that Adonyah compiled in alphabetical order at the end of his edition, see Ginsburg 1897, 194 and 969.

21 See for instance the colophon of MS Vat. Ebr. 14 (Appendix 2).

22 See Prologue.

23 Garel 1978; Metzger 1986.

24 Gutmann 1983, 49.

did not obscure their philological Masoretic content.<sup>25</sup> In the case of Ashkenazic manuscripts, however, the matter seems more complex.<sup>26</sup>

## Why Edit Figurative Masorah?

This book aims to answer the two following questions: a) what is the philological link between Masorah produced in Ashkenaz and the Masorah (understood as an apparatus) of the eastern standard Tiberian codices, which was written according to the oldest available sources, and b), do the ornamental and figurative micrographic elements produced in the Ashkenazic context point to a loss of Masoretic knowledge, or can they be seen to constitute accurate and comprehensive Masoretic notes? Did their form distort their semantic content?

Not only has Hebrew micrography not been inventoried,<sup>27</sup> but there are no typologies of medieval biblical manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> This means that it is not possible to assess whether micrographic forms really constituted an impediment to the transmission of the biblical Masorah in Ashkenazic communities. This critical edition is the first significant step taken to address this issue. This book provides an edition of figurative micrographic Masorah from one of the oldest Ashkenazic manuscripts, i.e., the MS Vat. Ebr. 14 copied by Elijah ben Berechiah ha-Nagdan in 1239. This edition should be considered as an experimental case study, a trial in itself. To this day, no one has edited figurative Masorah. Even C. Ginsburg in his monumental Masorah has never elaborated on the lists coming from Ashkenazic, Sephardic, Yemenite and eastern manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> It is only very recently, that D. Halperin edited micrographical carpet pages from the Catalan Mahzor and called for further research in this field.<sup>30</sup> The biblical manuscript I have chosen to work on is the MS Vat. Ebr. 14 (hereafter Vat14). Elijah ha-Nagdan copied this Pentateuch with Five Scrolls and Haftarah in 1239, in an unknown region of northern France.<sup>31</sup> The manuscript is dedicated to a patron, R. Asher, unlike the MS Or. Quart. 9 (hereafter B), which was also copied by Elijah. Vat14 is a medium-sized codex. It is one of the oldest preserved Ashkenazic manuscripts to

<sup>25</sup> See for instance the edition of the MS M1 at the Complutense University Library of Madrid, which contains several instances of ornamental and figurative Masorah.

<sup>26</sup> An Ashkenazic codex of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (MS Erfurt J) prompted one scholar to speak of ‘semantische Verfremdung’, Liss 2012, 22.

<sup>27</sup> See above.

<sup>28</sup> Goshen-Gottstein 1963; Stern 2012, Khan 2012, 7–8; Kogel 2014.

<sup>29</sup> See his lists of manuscripts, Ginsburg 1897, 1029. C. Ginsburg’s monumental work does not mention the exact provenance of each list he edits and if some of them were edited from micrographical forms.

<sup>30</sup> Halperin 2013. The contents of the micrographical carpets in this Mahzor are not Masoretic.

<sup>31</sup> For the practical use of Vat14, see Atia 2015.

be explicitly dated,<sup>32</sup> and the oldest to present an extensive series of sixty-four figurative Masorah, including the representation of human beings.<sup>33</sup> My recent codicological and paleographical analysis of these two manuscripts<sup>34</sup> confirmed that both of these codices show evidence of professional thirteenth-century handwork in a northern French ‘Gothic’ script, which was possibly related to the Anglo-Norman type.<sup>35</sup> Although both codices only include the Pentateuch, Five Scrolls and Haftara<sup>36</sup> their philological features are not exactly the same, which is a sign that they may have been copied from different sources and for different purposes.<sup>37</sup>

The scribe’s cultural context can therefore then be identified as either Anglo-Norman or northern French with lingering Anglo-Norman influences.<sup>38</sup> Little is known of Elijah himself other than the fact that he copied, vocalized, and added the Masorah to two manuscripts (B and Vat14), producing B in 1233 in RDWM<sup>39</sup> (possibly Rouen)<sup>40</sup> and Vat14 in 1239.<sup>41</sup> His father, Berechiah ben Netronai ha-Nagdan, was identified as a prolific scholar who travelled between Normandy and England during the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and had knowledge of Abraham Ibn Ezra’s works.<sup>42</sup> There is

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<sup>32</sup> See above.

<sup>33</sup> See the list of figurative forms, Appendix 2.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendices 2 and 3, Hebrew script.

<sup>35</sup> There is a definition of the Ashkenazic type of script in Sirat 1976. However, work still needs to be done on the specific local paleographical features of Ashkenazic manuscripts produced in France, England and Germany. Most of the oldest dated sources we have are from northern France, see Sirat 1973–1974, Sirat 1991; Sed-Rajna 1997. The English type of script persisted until the expulsion of the Jews from England (1290), and looks rather similar to the thirteenth-century Norman type (esp. MS Vat. Ebr. 468 and MS Vat. Ebr. 14), see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, esp. 117–118, 126–128. See also Engel 2010 and 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Although these Bibles seem liturgical because of their contents, it is worth remembering that no typology of biblical manuscripts has been established (see above n. 28). The Haftara are additional parts of the Prophets and the Five Scrolls that were read on various festive occasions: the Song of Songs was read in Public on Pesach, the Book of Ruth on Shavuot, the Book of Ecclesiastes on Sukkot, the Book of Esther on Purim and Lamentations on the ninth of Av.

<sup>37</sup> See Attia (forthcoming).

<sup>38</sup> The two cultures cannot really be differentiated before 1066, when Normandy Jews went to England, following in the footsteps of William the Conqueror. Normandy and England were part of the same kingdom until 1204, Roth 1941, 1–5; Nahon 1975; Nahon 2011, 31.

<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>40</sup> The identification of RDWM has long been a matter for debate, most recently between Golb 1998, 326–327 and Werner 2002, 22–23. N. Golb argues that Rouen stands for RDWM. G. Nahon reassessed this interpretation and formulated the hypothesis that it stood for Dormans (in the Marne), see Nahon 2011, 36. Nevertheless, not everyone agrees that the Jewish scribe never called a town by its Latin name. See Jacobs 1893, 263; Olszowy-Schlanger 2014a, 118, on the name of Moses of Lyon (משה מליון רמקש).

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>42</sup> Jacobs 1893, 263. Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) is considered to have been in England circa 1158, and to have met R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) and the Tossafist, R. J. Tam during an earlier journey to northern France.

also a scholarly reference to Berechiah ha-Naqdan in the *Sefer Ha-Shoham*, by Moshe ben Isaac ha-Nessiyah, a thirteenth-century English grammarian.<sup>43</sup> In several of his colophons, Elijah evokes the contributions his father made to the fields of grammar, biblical exegesis,<sup>44</sup> Hebrew translation (Fox Fables called *Mishlei Shuraim*), ethics and science (he paraphrased Adelaar of Bath's *Questiones Naturales*, wrote a book on Physics and Philosophy, and translated a lapidarium into Hebrew).<sup>45</sup> Born to an aged Berechiah,<sup>46</sup> Elijah was arguably a talented professional scribe and a learned scholar in his own right.

### Critical Editions of Masoretic Notes

It has been demonstrated elsewhere that there are many factors preventing the production of a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>47</sup> As such editions concentrate on the consonantal biblical text, the notes compiled in the Masorah are generally not in the focus of critical editions.<sup>48</sup>

Six major biblical editions include an edited Masorah. Adonyah's edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica* (Venice: Bomberg, 1524–1525) was the first of its kind to provide a consonantal text and a Masoretic apparatus (MP, MM and MF), which became a *textus receptus*.<sup>49</sup> The second edition was the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), where the consonantal text of the Leningrad Codex (hereafter L) is edited and where G. Weil provides a “fully corrected and normalized realization of the Masorah”, which means a clear reconstruction.<sup>50</sup> The third one was the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (BHQ): contrary to the BHS, it reproduces the *Masora Parva* and *Magna* of L, but without providing any critical apparatus.<sup>51</sup> This diplomatic edition recognizes that L's Masoretic notes have their “deficiencies” while nevertheless refusing to correct them.<sup>52</sup> The fourth one was the *Hebrew University Bible*, which provides a descriptive edition. It includes the biblical text of the Aleppo Codex (or what remains of it) with four apparatuses, bearing

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43 Roth 1949, 45, 48–50; Golb 1998, 334.

44 Preserved in fragments and for instance in Ms. Cambridge, CUL, Dd. 8.53 (see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 300).

45 See Steinschneider 1873; Jacobs 1890a, 1890b, 1893, 1890c; Neubauer 1890a, 1890b; Golb 1998, 324–347; Serfaty 1997, 48; Freudenthal 2009, 106 and ff. The Fox Fables have been edited by Haberman 1946. On his two ethical treatises, see Gollancz 1902.

46 See the mention “son of his old age” in the colophons, Appendix 2.

47 Schenker/Hugo 2005, 22–27.

48 See the monumental work of Ginsburg 1880.

49 Penkower 1983.

50 BHQ, Introduction, vol. 18, XI.

Only the MP is published in the BHS, whereas the MM has been compiled in Weil 1961.

51 A critical apparatus for the Masorah would have required more than one volume.

52 BHQ, Introduction, vol. 18, XI.



witness to the diversity of the biblical text, and a Masorah without an apparatus which is comprised of the MP and MM of the Aleppo Codex.<sup>53</sup> The fifth, and probably the finest, is the Cairo Prophets' Codex edition.<sup>54</sup> This edition presents the MP alongside the biblical text (*rafim* included), and includes separate volumes with the MM, the *hapax legomena* and an analytical index on the MP.<sup>55</sup> In addition, D. Lyons has published a facsimile critical edition of the cumulative Masorah in the same codex.<sup>56</sup> Lastly, the sixth one is the M1's edition, which only includes the *lemmas* (unvocalized and unaccented) and their Masoretic notes (MP/MM).<sup>57</sup> The critical notes to this edition only call attention to the text's most significant deviations from the eastern Tiberian manuscripts. However, there are very few such differences, as M1 is considered to be a good representative of the standard Tiberian Masorah.

Within a field of research where many late medieval manuscripts still remain unedited, the construction of critical apparatuses may contribute "to bear out our conclusions pertaining to the study of the Bible text".<sup>58</sup> That is why a complete edition of the vocalized consonantal biblical text of Vat. Ebr. 14 (Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Hafarot, i.e. 292 folios), together with its vocalized Targum<sup>59</sup> and all its Masoretic notes, as well as a critical apparatus, was originally planned. Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to undertake the vast amount of work this would have required in the time allotted to this project. As a result, this book only provides an edition of the micrographical Masorah found in thirteen folios from the Book of Exodus. I shall publish the rest of the manuscript in the future.

## Structure of the Edition

I have chosen to focus this edition on all the folios from the Book of Exodus that include at least one figurative Masorah (13 folios). My main reason for focusing my philological analysis on the Masoretic notes to Exodus which are found in Vat14,

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<sup>53</sup> Schenker/Hugo 2005, 17.

<sup>54</sup> Dotan 1986. One of the best solutions for editing Masoretic texts is to "reproduce one single manuscript with complete fidelity to the original including vocalization and punctuation", see Ortega Monasterio/Gomez Aranda 2002, 231–232.

<sup>55</sup> Pérez Castro 1980; Dotan 1986; Ortega Monasterio 1995; Fernández Tejero 1995; Azcárraga Servet 1997.

<sup>56</sup> Lyons 1999.

<sup>57</sup> See Azcárraga Servet 2001; Ortega Monasterio 2002; Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2002; Martín-Contreras 2004; Fernández Tejero 2004; Azcárraga Servet 2004.

<sup>58</sup> See Goshen-Gottstein 1995, xii. What is true for editions of early Oriental codices is also true for editions of late medieval codices.

<sup>59</sup> I thank my colleague Johanna Tania for letting me know that no extensive work has been done on the Targum Onqelos provided by Ashkenazic manuscripts.

rather than on the Book of Genesis, where there are more cases of figurative Masorah, is that this offers the possibility of comparing Vat14 with three major eastern Tiberian codices (O, D, L), whereas Genesis would only allow a comparison with L. The selected folios always include a regular Masorah in the upper margin and a figurative Masorah in the lower margin. Instead of only editing the figurative parts of the Masorah, I chose to work on the folio as a whole, in order to understand the behavior of the scribe.<sup>60</sup> Another reason for this choice is that some regular Masoretic notes begin in the upper margin and continue in the lower margin, where the figurative section of the Masorah is located.

The fact that the Ashkenazic Masorah has not yet been fully studied and is not well understood makes it difficult to trace a potential Ashkenazic Masoretic tradition. Although Ashkenazic Masoretic notes may have been copied from different sources than the consonantal texts, I consider them to belong to the same Ashkenazic Masoretic tradition and deal with both. This edition reduces the biblical text to a word (the *lemma*) and to the notes that accompany it. In other words, my critical apparatus focuses on both biblical lemmas and Masoretic notes, in order to see if they tally with each other. However, the eastern standard Tiberian sources remaining rather incomplete (L is the only very old complete Bible preserved with all its components), and it was only possible to compare the Masoretic notes from identical biblical passages.<sup>61</sup> Although I am in the process of testing and comparing the entirety of the notes in each manuscript, in this edition, I only focus on selected passages.

Finally, I chose to present the lemmas and their notes according to the order of the Hebrew verses rather than according to the order in which they appeared on the page.

## Editorial Steps for Masoretic Micrographical Notes

Micrographical figurative Masorah have never been edited before, I devised a specific methodology inspired by the work of D. Halperin.<sup>62</sup>

Here is the methodology I followed:

1. Identify the figurative Masorah located inside Vat14, which contains vast ornamental micrographic elements.

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<sup>60</sup> For example, I wanted to know if Elijah's additions of figurative Masorah modified the content of the Masorah.

<sup>61</sup> In other words, I checked the 13 folios of Vat14 against the corresponding folios in O, D, L, M, V, R and B (i.e. in 91 folios).

<sup>62</sup> Halperin 2013, esp. 5–21.

The resulting inventory shows that Vat14 includes 64 figurative micrographical elements and 11 simple drawings. The figurative Masorah are distributed as follows: 21 in Genesis, 12 in Exodus, 4 in Leviticus, 8 in Numbers, and 19 in Deuteronomy.<sup>63</sup>

2. Localize the lemma through the *circellus* (if available) and its relevant MP, or attribute each MP note to one lemma.

While manuscripts O, D, L, M, V and R are consistent on this matter, the manuscripts of ha-Nagdan are less consistent, which can make it difficult to attribute the Masoretic notes to a lemma.

3. Transcribe the lemma and its MP.

Because a MP note always originally refers to a lemma, I have decided to reproduce each lemma as it appears in Vat14—i.e., fully vocalized and fully accented (including the *circellus* and the *rafim*, even if these elements are rather inconsistent).<sup>64</sup>

4. Localize the relevant MM while deciphering and transcribing the textual elements of each figurative form.<sup>65</sup>

As is generally the case, the MM is connected to a MP or a lemma from the central text. B contains some figurative forms; however, their location and text do not match those of Vat14 (see Appendix 3). There are a few small-scale instances of legible ornamental Masorah to be found in V. R offers some isolated figurative forms and an alphabetical Masorah (which forms the colophon) at the end.<sup>66</sup> L, O, and D do not contain ornamental or figurative forms in Exodus.<sup>67</sup> O (and to a lesser degree D) presents a regular cumulative Masorah in its margins, and the MM is confined to the lower margins.<sup>68</sup> M1 does have some ornamental and figurative Masorah, which according to F. Contreras-Martín, were used to elaborate the abundant Masoretic material.<sup>69</sup>

5. Mark each segment of a Masoretic list located inside a visual figurative form with arrows and captions (1, 2, 3, etc.) according to the biblical verse order.<sup>70</sup> The captions (I, II, III, etc.) refer to illegible or unidentified material.

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<sup>63</sup> See Appendix, Description I.

<sup>64</sup> Only the Cairo Prophets edition proposes to edit the *rafim*. Rather than editing this diacritical mark, the other current editions simply omit it, which requires further research. On the inconsistency of the *rafim*, see Yeivin 1980, 286–287. For example, in Vat14, on  $\text{וְהָיָה}^{\text{a}}$  (Ex. 13 :16), this apparatus would be = D V ~ O  $\text{וְהָיָה}^{\text{b}}$  L  $\text{וְהָיָה}^{\text{c}}$  B  $\text{וְהָיָה}^{\text{d}}$  where the *rafe* on the *heh* is a contra-*mappiq* and the *rafe* on the *daleth* or *khaf* is a contra-*dagesh*. In view of this, our apparatus on the lemmas does not include variants of the *rafim* and *circellus*.

<sup>65</sup> The software I used to perform these tasks was *Adobe Pro*. I thank Sebastian Seemann for his help.

<sup>66</sup> See f. 555r; and Strat 1994, 30–31 (fig. 12). For ‘alphabetical Masorah’ expression, see above n. 20.

<sup>67</sup> For ornamental Masorah in L, see MPMA I, Ms. 17.

<sup>68</sup> The cumulative Masorah is composed of lists of *hapax* and pairs of words. See for example D. Lyons 1999.

<sup>69</sup> See M1, ff. 22r, 24r, 33v; Ortega-Monasterio 2002, 229–231; Elvira Contreras-Martín’s lecture on “The Image to the Service of the Text: Ornamental Masorah in the Manuscript 118-Z-42 (M1) from the Complutense University Library” at the X<sup>th</sup> EANS Congress, Paris, 22d July 2014.

<sup>70</sup> The software I used for this was *Adobe Illustrator*.

Some figurative forms contain several notes on different lemmas, without following the order of the lemmas and the biblical text. In order to indicate this material construction, I have used arrows to highlight decipherable lists<sup>71</sup> and to show how to read the notes located inside the ornamental or figurative Masorah.<sup>72</sup>

6. Edit the lemma, the MP and the MM or textual elements using editorial software.<sup>73</sup> Each note in the MP or MM has been transcribed as it appears in the manuscript Vat14 and connected with the biblical term to which it belongs (the lemma). The MP or MM note generally begins with a short codified explanation of the Masoretic problem.<sup>74</sup> These parts are sometimes translated into English at the end of the section when they are complex. In the MM, the *simanim* have been systematically identified.
7. Compare the notes with those of other manuscripts or with other sources if the note is unknown.
  - a) Each lemma, MP or MM note was systematically compared with:
    - available Ben Asher eastern Tiberian sources on Exodus. G. Weil's edition of the *Masora Magna* was used to perform this task, as it was a guiding tool for identifying some of the Masoretic notes.
    - b) those found in other Ashkenazic manuscripts on Exodus.
 When there was no record in any of the manuscripts included in my apparatus of a note found in Vat14, I tried to identify it in the lists found in *Sefer Okhlah*,<sup>75</sup> Frensdorff's *Die Massora Magna*,<sup>76</sup> and Ginsburg's edition of the Masorah.<sup>77</sup>
  8. Edit the above-mentioned comparisons in the critical apparatus located in footnotes.
- Circellus* and *rafin* variants are not reported in the critical apparatus. Neither are slight changes in the order or wording of the *simanim*. Each entry has three notes corresponding to the lemma in the central text of Vat14, its MP, and its MM. Some comments and translations are provided in the footnotes to each section.
9. Review and proofread the edition.

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<sup>71</sup> In this edition, see Other Texts, Illegible Text. These sections may also constitute unidentified material.

<sup>72</sup> See Remarks to the Reader.

<sup>73</sup> On account of technical difficulties, *Classical Text Editor* was not used.

<sup>74</sup> Hyvernat 1902; Elliger/Rudolph 1977; Martín-Conteras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 243 and ff.

<sup>75</sup> Frensdorff 1864; Diaz Esteban 1975; Ognibeni 1992 and 1995.

<sup>76</sup> Frensdorff 1876.

<sup>77</sup> Ginsburg 1880.

## The Manuscripts of the Critical Apparatus

The philological perspective adopted in this edition explores the function of textualization in the figurative forms of Ashkenazic Masorah. The apparatus was built from a comparison between a few important eastern Tiberian Codices (MS Or. 4445, the Leningrad Codex, the Damascus Pentateuch, MS M1)<sup>78</sup> and the later Ashkenazic tradition, as represented by Vat14<sup>79</sup> especially, but also MS Or. Quart. 9<sup>80</sup> (the other manuscript copied by Elijah ha-Nagdan), MS Valmadonna 1<sup>81</sup> (the oldest Ashkenazic Bible with links to the same cultural area than the two I have just mentioned) and the MS Vat. Ebr. 482 (the second La Rochelle Bible). The Hebrew text of O, D and L was used in recent editions.<sup>82</sup> The Hebrew text of Vat. Ebr. 482 has only been used in G. B. Kennicott's purely consonantal edition at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the Targum of Vat. Ebr. 14 was used by A. Berliner in 1884.<sup>83</sup> Although we are aware that these philological comparisons are based on remnant manuscripts which are most likely of a different nature (model codex, popular Bible, or liturgical Bible),<sup>84</sup> the variants that could emerge from these comparisons may help to differentiate them and build a typology of Bibles in a second phase of research.

### A/ Standard Tiberian Sources: O, D, L and M

In terms of the eastern sources, I examined the four eastern codices that define the standard Tiberian tradition:<sup>85</sup> the Leningrad Codex, Cairo Codex,<sup>86</sup> Aleppo Codex,<sup>87</sup> and MS BL Or. 4445. Only two of these manuscripts display available folios on the Book of Exodus: the Leningrad Codex and Or. 4445. I had access to digitized images and facsimile editions of these manuscripts.<sup>88</sup> In addition to this corpus, I examined

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<sup>78</sup> For practical reasons, we were unable to include the other biblical manuscripts kept at the Russian National Library. See Beit-Arié 1993a, 111–128, esp. 111–112 and BHQ, vol. 18, lxxviii.

<sup>79</sup> High definition (300 dpi) images provided by the Vatican Library.

<sup>80</sup> High definition (600 dpi) images provided by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

<sup>81</sup> Images provided by the IHMH Jerusalem, courtesy of the Valmadonna Trust.

<sup>82</sup> See above. MS Or. 4445 was also used in Ginsburg's edition, see Ginsburg 1897, 1029.

<sup>83</sup> See Cod. 242, 486 and 611 in Kennicott 2003 [1776–1780], 90, 102, 107. De Rossi's edition focuses on most of the Kennicott manuscripts that present variants; see De Rossi 1784–1788 (–1798); Richler 2014 [1992], Appendix 1, No. 22, 265–282. For the Targum of Vat14, see Berliner 1884, 250.

<sup>84</sup> Further codicological and paleographical studies are needed, as well as a typology of Hebrew codices in the Middle Ages.

<sup>85</sup> Martin-Contreras/Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa 2010, 23–24, 32–33; Dotan 1993, 39.

<sup>86</sup> On the Cairo Codex: MPMAI, MS No. 1. Dotan 1986.

<sup>87</sup> On the Aleppo Codex: MPMAI, MS No. 6.

<sup>88</sup> Beck et al. 1998. Images of Or. 4445 were provided by the British Library.

the Damascus Pentateuch (hereafter D)<sup>89</sup> as well as M1 of the Complutense University Library,<sup>90</sup> a Sephardic manuscript which is considered to be a good representative of the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition and was contemporary to Vatt14.<sup>91</sup> Here is a brief description of each one of these eastern sources:

- *MS St. Petersburg, National Library, Evr I B19<sup>a</sup>, from the first collection of Firkovich [Leningrad Codex], (L)*

This is the most well-known and complete ancient manuscript of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>92</sup> It was copied in the East/Orient and its colophon is dated 1008/9. Contemporary biblical editions of the Bible (the BHS and BHQ, for example) are based on this manuscript. Recently, a complete description of this document was made available.<sup>93</sup> It is one of the most popular and widely-used biblical codices today, along with the Aleppo Codex.<sup>94</sup>

- *MS London, British Library, Or. 4445, (O)*

The manuscript is missing its original beginning and ending, as well as a few isolated folios.<sup>95</sup> Only the text from Gen 39:20 to Deut 1:33 has been preserved. Its Oriental script suggests it may have been written in Persia in the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century. According to Aron Dotan, the scribe was Nissi ben Daniel ha-Cohen.<sup>96</sup> The codex contains well-known annotations quoting a living R. Ben Asher (“*melamed ha-gadol Ben Asher*”) who has been identified as Aaron Ben Asher.<sup>97</sup> The dates of the consonantal text and one of the Masoretic apparatuses are currently being debated. Some scholars agree with D. Ginsburg that the consonantal text could predate the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>98</sup> while its Masorah could have been written a century later, at the time of Aaron ben Asher.<sup>99</sup> However, following in the footsteps of P. Kahle and I. Yeivin, Dotan argues that the annotations mentioning Ben Asher’s name postdate the Masorah. This unedited codex allows us to “peep into the early stages of Masoretic practice”<sup>100</sup> and 20% of its

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<sup>89</sup> Löwinger 1978. One of the earliest Masoretic codices, see below.

<sup>90</sup> Ortega Monasterio 2002. A few chapters from the Book of Exodus are nevertheless missing from M (9:34 to 24:7).

<sup>91</sup> Ginsburg 1897, 906; Fernández Tejero 2000 and 2004, XVIII–XIX.

<sup>92</sup> Beck et al. 1998.

<sup>93</sup> Beit-Arié et al. 1997, Ms No. 17, 114–131.

<sup>94</sup> Goshen-Gottstein 1963, esp. 101–102. According to Israeli researchers, the Aleppo Codex was considered to be the original ‘model’ codex to which Maimonides refers in *Mishne Torah*. See Goshen-Gottstein 1960.

<sup>95</sup> Dukan 2006, 296. The lost folios were replaced by a Yemenite scribe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>96</sup> Dotan 1993, esp. 48–50. Ofer 2015.

<sup>97</sup> Dotan 1993, esp. 41, 43–44. Dotan argues that the mentions of Ben Asher’s name constitute later additions.

<sup>98</sup> Some of its codicological features are very ancient: there is no double dot at the end of the verses, for example.

<sup>99</sup> Dukan 2006, 296–297.

<sup>100</sup> Dotan 1993, 41.

Masoretic notes are from the school of Ben Naftali.<sup>101</sup> There are a few sample studies of this manuscript<sup>102</sup> and an edition is being planned.<sup>103</sup> It is used in the BHQ (as M<sup>B</sup>) for variants of the consonantal text.

- *MS Jerusalem, JNUL 24<sup>o</sup>7202 [or MS Sassoon 507, called the Damascus Pentateuch], (D)*

According to M. Beif-Arié,<sup>104</sup> it dates from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. I. Yevin established a comparison between the Masorahs found in D and the Aleppo Codex, and this led him to suggest that some of D's Masoretic notes were vocalized and accentuated according to the Babylonian system.<sup>105</sup> This unedited manuscript is quoted in the BHO's apparatus (as M<sup>S5</sup>) and remains of great interest.<sup>106</sup> Although O and D have not been edited as such, they were used along with L to prepare the edition of the BHS (especially its Masorah), even if there is no clear mention of these manuscripts in this edition.<sup>107</sup>

- *MS Madrid, Complutense University Library, 118-Z-42 [MI], (M)*

M is kept at the Library of the Complutense University of Madrid. This Sephardic Hebrew manuscript from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century is generally attributed to the Toledo School. Several codicological descriptions are available, but its origins remain unclear.<sup>108</sup> The codex was the property of Cardinal Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros and was used to prepare the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* printed in 1520. The BHO refers to it as M<sup>M</sup> in its apparatus. Spanish scholars are currently editing its entire Masorah.<sup>109</sup>

## B/ Ashkenazic Sources Compared with Vat14: V, R and B

The three Ashkenazic manuscripts to be compared with Vat14 in the critical apparatus are the MSS Or. Quart. 9 (B), Valmadonna 1 (V) and the Var. Ebr. 482 (R). The reader will find a detailed description of Vat14 in the Appendix.<sup>110</sup> Here is a brief description of all the manuscripts used in the critical apparatus:

<sup>101</sup> Wurtthwein/Fischer 2014, 42.

<sup>102</sup> Ramirez 1929, 1930 and 1933; Goshen-Gottstein 1963, 689.

<sup>103</sup> See Dotan 1993.

<sup>104</sup> Beif-Arié 1993a; Sassoon 1932, 22–23, n. 507; see also the Introduction to the facsimile by Löwinger 1978, 9.

<sup>105</sup> Yevin 1968, esp. 321–322.

<sup>106</sup> I thank A. Dotan for having approved the use of D in the present work.  
<sup>107</sup> Some of the notes which Weil records in the BHS are only recorded in O and D. See also Kelley et al. 1998.

<sup>108</sup> Ginsburg 1897, 771–776. del Barco 2003, Ms. 1, 109–112. I thank Javier del Barco for suggesting that the codex may possibly have originated in Aragon and Catalonia instead of Toledo, in Castile.

<sup>109</sup> See *infra*, footnote 57. The manuscript is available on-line.

<sup>110</sup> See Appendix 2.

- *MS London, Valmadonna Trust 1, (V)*

The oldest Ashkenazic manuscript included in the critical apparatus is the MS London, Valmadonna Trust 1. This important manuscript is the oldest Bible identified as coming from northern Europe and Ashkenaz.<sup>111</sup> It was produced in 1189, either in England or in Normandy.<sup>112</sup> Like Vat14, this very large parchment manuscript<sup>113</sup> is comprised of a Pentateuch with the Aramaic translation following the Hebrew verse by verse and Masoretic notes (MP and MM). It has sustained severe damage, and the text has been only partially preserved and is sometimes illegible.<sup>114</sup> The upper margin of the manuscript was trimmed, and some lines of the *Masora Magna* have been lost as a result: however, it seems that these Masoretic notes were reduced to one or two lines of text, instead of spreading over two or three lines as in other manuscripts.<sup>115</sup> Despite the paleographical and codicological importance of this manuscript, which contains the first traces of the biblical tradition in northern Europe, its Masorah has not yet been edited or studied.

- *MS Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 482, (R)*

This manuscript is a very large parchment codex, which contains the Pentateuch with the Targum in its external margins, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, including in each case their vocalization, accentuation and Masorah.<sup>116</sup> Hayim ben Isaac copied it in La Rochelle in 1216,<sup>117</sup> according to a later Latin annotation which mentions the Jewish year 975.<sup>118</sup> The same scribe had already completed another manuscript—the MS Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ebr. 468—for his master Solomon ben Joseph ha-Kohen on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Tishri 4976 [1215] in La Rochelle.<sup>119</sup> Unlike Vat. Ebr. 468, Vat. Ebr. 482 was not lavishly decorated by a later hand, and its Masorah remains legible.

- *MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Quart. 9, (B)*

B is very closely related to Vat14 from a codicological and paleographical point of view,<sup>120</sup> as both were written by the scribe. B is a very small parchment Bible,<sup>121</sup> copied by Elijah ha-Naqdan in Rouen (RDWM) in 1233. It contains the Pentateuch, Five Scrolls and Haftarah, accompanied by the Targum.<sup>122</sup> Some of the figurative forms

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111 MPMA IV, MS No. 85; Beit-Arie 1993b, 238–242; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 238–242; Schrijver 1989.

112 Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 238.

113 Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 71.

114 Available text: Gen 45:13–47:5 and Gen 50:6 to Num 31:3; see MPMA IV, MS No. 82.

115 This idea of a ‘reduced’ *Masora Magna* seems to be attested by the presence of graphic signs used to fill the blank space left in some lines.

116 Strat 1994, III, 12–30; Richler 2008, 417–418; Attia 2014.

117 See f. 555r, the name of the town La Rochelle is written in the alphabetical Masorah (סלרורחלל).

118 See f. 555v.

119 Mortrara Ottolenghi 1985; Richler 2008, 406.

120 See Introduction; Steinschneider 1878, 22–23; Werner 2002; Also Appendices 2 and 3.

121 See Appendix 3. The letter size is 2 mm in the (square) main text, and less than 2 mm in the micrographical elements.

122 See Appendix 3; Attia 2014.



in the manuscript are very small. There are 12 such minute designs in Genesis and 16 in Deuteronomy. According to Isaac ben Moses of Vienna, their small size demonstrated the copyist's great level of skill, since small penmanship was prized as elegant and refined.<sup>123</sup> The paleographical features match Vat14, but not the philological contents, which seem to have been copied from other sources.<sup>124</sup>

## Expected Results

The comparison of Vat14 with L, O, D, M and with V, R and B will provide evidence for the following assumptions: a) standard or Ben Asher Tiberian sources had a great influence on the Ashkenazic Masorah of Elijah ha-Nagdan. Even if they had been transcribed in micrographic forms, most of the notes from Vat14 can be found in the oldest eastern Tiberian sources and b), the figurative Ashkenazic Masorah does not systematically create an impediment to the transmission of philological knowledge.

This edition does not attempt to provide final conclusions on Ashkenazic Masoretic traditions. What it does, however, is to lay the foundations for examining the role that a previously overlooked body of evidence played in the philological transmission of the Masorah in northern Europe, while also providing new interpretations for the material presence of figurative Masorah in Ashkenazic codices.

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<sup>123</sup> *Sefer Or Zarua of Isaac ben Moses of Vienna* 1862, § 555, 152. "Fine script is not a good thing, because it is easily erased. [The scribe] wrote in small letters in a bid for glory. It would be better if he aimed lower and made his letters slightly bigger."

<sup>124</sup> See Attia (forthcoming).

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## Edition



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# Editorial Rules

Sigla used in the critical apparatus:

- = the same symbol (or one with a similar meaning) is found in one or more of the other manuscripts of the apparatus<sup>1</sup>
- < not found in O, D, L, M, V, R or B
- ~ variant reading in another manuscript
- ∅ no Masoretic note
- [...] missing letter, partially decipherable or reconstituted
- [[...]] missing text
- [?] unidentified letter or word
- {...} additional or repeated word
- (...) Biblical verses
- | this graphic symbol separates the different elements in the data found in the critical apparatus.
- | additional word inside a Masoretic list
- \* a second hand has rewritten the words or the vocalization
- \*[**Ⓢ**]\* truncated Hebrew letter or graphic sign on a Hebrew letter
- <sup>(xxx)</sup> commentary inside the apparatus
- ””” Sigla for the Tetragrammaton

Abbreviations:

*Manuscripts*

- B MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Quart. 9
- D Damascus Pentateuch, MS National Library of Israel (former JNUJ), Jerusalem, Hebr. Quart. 5702
- L Leningrad Codex, MS St. Petersburg, National Library, Evr I B19<sup>a</sup>
- M MS Complutense University Library of Madrid, 118-Z-42
- O MS British Library, Or. 4445
- R MS Vatican Library, Vat. ebr. 482
- Vat14 MS Vatican Library, Vat. ebr. 14
- V MS London, Valmadonna Trust, 1

*Others*

- BHQ *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*
- BHS *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
- CM Cumulative Masorah (CMu, CML or CMfng; see below)

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<sup>1</sup> This symbol means that one or more of the manuscripts either contains the same Masoretic note or another with a similar meaning. Example: the MM on ׀ַׁׂ׃ (Exod 1:7). The same note is found in both Vat14 and L: although their terminology is slightly different, their meaning is the same.

Frensdorff [a number] see Frensdorff 1864

MF *Masora Finalis*

MM *Masora Magna*

MMu *Masora Magna* in the upper margin

MMl *Masora Magna* in the lower margin

MMor *Masora Magna* in an ornamental (non-representational) element<sup>2</sup>

MMfig *Masora Magna* written in a figurative (representational) element<sup>3</sup>

MP *Masora Parva*

PMH Pentateuch, Megillot (Five Scrolls), Haftarat Bible

Weil [a number] see the numbered list in Weil 1971

#### *Biblical Books<sup>4</sup>*

##### TORAH

Gen Genesis

Exod Exodus

Lev Leviticus

Num Numbers

Deut Deuteronomy

Micah

Nahum

Habakkuk

Zephaniah

Haggai

Zechariah

Malachi

Mic

Nah

Hab

Zeph

Hag

Zech

Mal

##### PROPHETS

Joshua Josh

Judges Judg

1 Samuel 1Sam

2 Samuel 2Sam

1 Kings 1Kgs

2 Kings 2Kgs

Isaiah Isa

Jeremiah Jer

Ezekiel Ezek

Hosea Hos

Joel Joel

Amos Amos

Obadiah Obad

Jonah Jonah

HAGIOGRAPHA / WRITINGS

Psalms Ps

Proverbs Prov

Job Job

Song of Song Song

Ruth Ruth

Lamentations Lam

Ecclesiastes Eccl

Esther Esth

Daniel Dan

Ezra Ezra

Nehemiah Neh

1 Chronicles 1Chr

2 Chronicles 2Chr

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, What is a Figurative Masorah?

<sup>3</sup> See note *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Leningrad Codex order (Ben-Asher, Dotan 2001, vi) and the *SBL Handbook of Style* (Alexander et al. 1999, 73).

## Important Remarks to the Reader

1. For the reasons outlined above,<sup>1</sup> this edition examines all the Masoretic notes (MP and MM) in each folio, whether or not they are located inside a figurative form. I distinguish between Masoretic notes found in figurative and ornamental forms using the following abbreviations: 'MMfig' and 'MMor' (see the abbreviations below) plus a number (such as /1/, /2/, etc.).

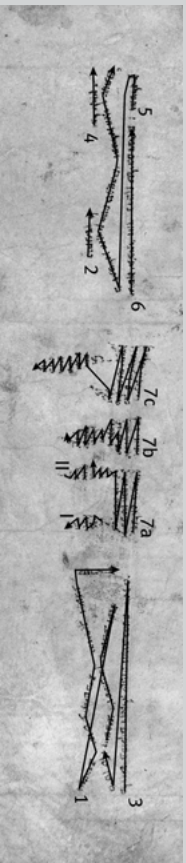
Example taken from Case 1, MMor (hereafter on p. 30):

Gen 50:25 וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי  
MP  
וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי /1/ MMor  
וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי וְסִתְּמוּנֵיהֶן וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי יוֹסֵף (Gen 50:25) וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי יוֹסֵף וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי (Josh 6:26) וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי  
2Kgs 11:4) וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי עֹרֵא (Esa 10:5) וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי < B 3 וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי ] = O D L M V R B 2 וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי ] = O D L M | ~ V תוֹרַה שֶׁל תוֹרַה וְרַבִּיעַ רֵאשִׁיזֵן שֶׁל תוֹרַה V ~ | ~ V תוֹרַה 1273) | ~ V תוֹרַה שֶׁל תוֹרַה < O L B R  
MP  
MP

The 'MMor /1/' note is a *Masora Magna* note located in an ornamental form, see figure No. 2, arrow 1.

2. In each figure, the Arabic numbers (1, 2, 3) juxtaposed to the arrows correspond to the numbers indicated in the edition after MMfig or MMor (MMfig /1/, /2/, /3/, etc.) Roman numbers (I, II, III) correspond to non-Masoretic notes edited at the end of the section (see the section 'Other Texts').

Example taken from Case 1, figure 1:



The 'MMor /1/' in the previous example is located in figure 1 (reproduced above), arrow 1.

The arrows 7a, 7b, 7c in this figure are related to the MMfig /7a/, /7b/, /7c/ in the edition.

3. Within the edition, the references to a footnote in Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3) correspond to the critical apparatus which is located directly under each case.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Structure of the Edition.

4. Within the edition, the references to a footnote in Roman numerals (i, ii, iii) correspond to comments located at the bottom of the page.
5. If a MP note has no MM, or if a MM note has no MP, the other manuscripts are mentioned in the apparatus. The apparatus always shows whether the missing note is present in other manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>
6. The critical apparatus lists the manuscripts in geo-chronological order (O, D, L, and M for the standard Tiberian Masorah / V, R and B for the Ashkenazic Tradition)

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**2** Although a MM note on one lemma in Exodus can also occur somewhere else in the manuscripts when this lemma appears again, it was not possible to check this in the allotted time and I strictly focused my edition on the equivalent folios of Exodus. See Introduction, n. 61.





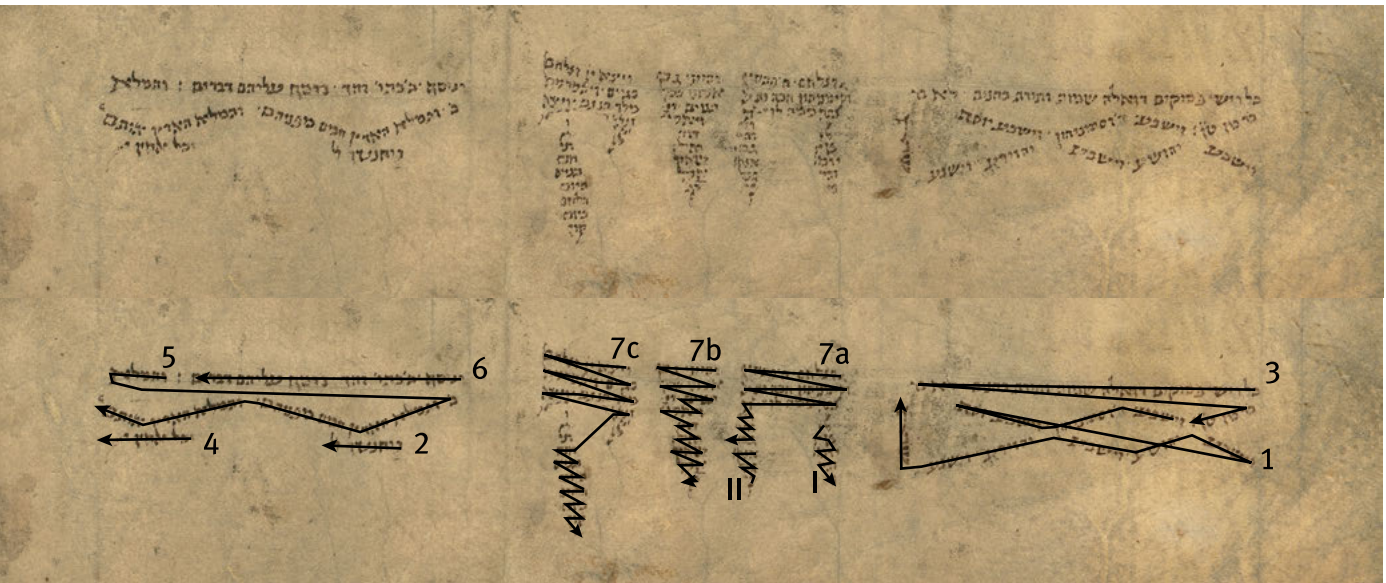


Figure 1: Case 1, lower margin with captions

Masoretic notes on Genesis 50:21–Exodus 1:10<sup>1</sup>

## GENESIS

Gen 50:23  
 גַּבְרִי MP  
 גַּבְרִי<sup>2</sup> MP  
 MM<sup>3</sup> ∅

כל לשון ברבי דגשין בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ רַפְיִי הוּא בִּרְדַּבְרֵי בְרִיתֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי וְעַתָּה אֲנִי אֶלֶּל אֱלֹהִים  
 על ברבי כל דגש B | O D L M V R | ∅ [פְּרָבִי] 3 < O D L R B | כל לישׁוֹ דְשֵׁגוּ V ~ | כְּרַעַי עַל בְּרִיתֵי  
 בַּרְבֵּי רַבֵּעַ עַל בְּרִיתֵי עַל בְּרִיתֵי

Gen 50:24  
 וְאֶלְהִים<sup>4</sup> MP  
 הֵא<sup>5</sup> MP

וְאֶלֶּל אֱלֹהִים הוּא בִּרְדַּבְרֵי וְעַתָּה אֲנִי אֶלֶּל אֱלֹהִים וְעַתָּה אֲנִי אֶלֶּל אֱלֹהִים  
 שאל (1Sam 28:15) וישלח אליי מלאכים (2Chr 35:21) ואלהים זולתי לא חדע (Hos 13:4)  
 ואלהים מלכי מקדם (Ps 74:12)

4 [וְאֶלְהִים] = O M R | ~ L D V וְאֶלְהִים B | וְאֶלְהִים 5 [וְאֶלְהִים] = O D L M R | < V B  
 L D (without) מִן הַבְּקָרָה [וְרִד] M R | < O V B

Gen 50:24  
 פְּקָדִי פְּקָדִי<sup>7</sup> MP  
 דָּעִי<sup>8</sup> MP  
 MM<sup>9</sup> ∅

7 [פְּקָדִי] ~ M (only on) פְּקָדִי פְּקָדִי 8 [פְּקָדִי] ~ M (only on) פְּקָדִי פְּקָדִי 9 [פְּקָדִי] ∅ O L V R B | ~ M D R (on) פְּקָדִי only, see Fernández Tejero 2004, 359)  
 הַ (פְּקָדִי on) D | הַ הוּא < O V B

Gen 50:25  
 וַיִּשְׁבַּע<sup>10</sup> MP  
 וַיִּשְׁבַּע<sup>11-4</sup> MP

1/ וַיִּשְׁבַּע יוֹסֵף וַיִּשְׁבַּע יוֹסֵף (Gen 50:25) וישבע יוסף וישבע יוסף (Josh 6:26) וישבע  
 יהוה (Ezra 10:5) וישבע עזרא (2Kgs 11:4)

10 [וַיִּשְׁבַּע] = O D L M V R B 11 [וַיִּשְׁבַּע] = O D L M | ~ V רַבִּיעַ רַבִּיעַ שְׁלֵשׁ שְׁלֵשׁ תוֹרָה V ~ | < O L B R  
 = D M (only the part 1b, see Weil 1273)

<sup>1</sup> In O, f. 42r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 99; in L, f. 31v; in M, ff. 22r–23v, see Fernández Tejero 2004, 358–360 and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 23–24; in V, ff. 3v–4r; in B, f. 34v; in R, ff. 44v–45r.

<sup>13</sup>Gen 50:26 וְהָתַנְתָּךְ

<sup>14</sup>MP

MMor /2/ וידתנע ל<sup>15</sup>

< ג הרפאית B [וְהָתַנְתָּךְ] 15 O B M | ג V R ב | < O D L M V R B [וְהָתַנְתָּךְ] 13 O L V M R

<sup>16</sup>Gen 50:26 וְיָעִים<sup>16</sup>

MP ויישים ל<sup>17</sup>

<sup>18</sup>MM

[וְיָעִים 18 O | ל D M R | ל ופול L ~ V B | = [וְיָעִים 17 ויישים O D L R ~ V B | = [וְיָעִים 16 O D L M V R B

[Masora Finalis]

MMor 3/ כל רישוי פסוקים דואלה שמות וחזרת כהנים לא [בר] בר מן ט<sup>19</sup>

סכום של ספר M | סכום של ספר אלק תקל"ד D L | פז סכום הפסוקים של ספר אלק ל"ד O ד = B | סכום פסוקי V | אלק תקל"ד וסימן אף לז וחצי ועל הרבן תחיה ופרשוותיו מוב וסדריו ארבעים ועשרה ספר בראשית ארבע מאות ושלשים וארבע וסימנהון אף לז וחציו ועל החרבן תחיה פז חלק ופרשוותיו סכום פסוקי דספרא אלק וחמש מאות ושלשים וארבעה וסימן אף לז וחציו ועל הרבן R | זב וסדריו מוג תחיה ופרשוותיו זב וסדריו מוג

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## EXODUS

<sup>1</sup>Exod 1:1 מִצְרַיִם<sup>1</sup>

MP זכה<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup>MM

Ø O D L M V R B [מִצְרַיִם<sup>1</sup>] 3 V < | B R M L D O = [מִצְרַיִם<sup>2</sup>] 2 B V R M L D O = [מִצְרַיִם<sup>1</sup>] 1

<sup>4</sup>Exod 1:3 יִשְׁעָר־זְבוּלָה<sup>4</sup>

<sup>i</sup> The lower part of the second *waw* seems to have been erased.

<sup>ii</sup> Not in Cassuto 1989, 16.

MP ל דס<sup>5</sup>  
 מMM יעשטכר זובלן ל דסמדי<sup>6</sup>

יז פסוק בחור V ~ | ל D R | ~ | יששכר זבולן 5 יששכר זבולן L V R M | ~ O D B | = O D B | יששכר זבולן 4  
 R [V | O D L M < | ל B ~ | יששכר זבולן 6 O B M < | מן ז מלין

Exod 1:6 וכל אחי<sup>7</sup>  
 MP <sup>8</sup>Ø  
 Mor/MM /4 וכל אחי [ן<sup>9</sup>

O < | וכל אחי 9 ל O D B | O L V M R | וכל אחי 8 וכל אחי O D L V B M | ~ R | = וכל אחי 7  
 D L M V B

Exod 1:7 ותכלא<sup>10</sup>  
 MP <sup>11</sup>ז  
 Mor/MM /5 ותכלא <sup>12</sup> ותכלא הארץ חמט | מפניהם<sup>13</sup> (Gen 6:11) ותכלא הארץ אותם  
 (Exod 1:7)

< | ותכלא 12 R | < O D L M V B | ותכלא 11 B ~ | O D L M V R | = ותכלא 10 O D L M V B R

Exod 1:10 ותחמקה<sup>14</sup>  
 MP <sup>15</sup>ל  
 MM נתחמקה <sup>16</sup>ל

< | ותחמקה 16 B | < O L B | D M V R | = ותחמקה 16 נתחמקה B ~ | O D L M V R | = ותחמקה 14  
 < O D L V B M R

Exod 1:10 ירה<sup>17</sup>  
 MP <sup>18</sup>Ø

MM ירה ה בקרה וטמוניה<sup>19</sup> רבה (Exod 1:10) יעו (Exod 1:12) ונקוד ב בו (Deut 8:13)  
 ברכות (Prov 29:16) וכל דסמדי כי וי דכוותיה בר מן חד כי ירה לטלו (Isa 55:7)

ה וכל כי ירי M | ה וכל כי דכיה ב מ א D | ל ה O B V R | ותרה 18 O D L V R B M = ותרה 17 כיה  
 ותרה 19 O L | ~ V <sup>(Well 372)</sup> < D M R B

<sup>iii</sup> This is from Gen 6:13.

<sup>20</sup>Exod 1:10 וְנוֹקָף

גִּזְּ׀ MP

MMor /6/ וְנוֹסָף גִּזְּ בַתּוֹ׃<sup>21</sup>וְחָדָד וְנוֹסָף עֲלֵיהֶם דְּכַרִּים (Jer 36:32)

<sup>20</sup>וְנוֹקָף = O D L M V R B 21 וְנוֹסָף = V | ~ D אֶזְ׀ גִּזְּ וְנוֹסָף < O L M R B 22 וְנוֹקָף = D<sup>(Well 360)</sup> | < O L M V B R

<sup>23</sup>Exod 1:10 וְנוֹלָחֶם׃

<sup>24</sup>Ø MP

/7b/ {וּוְרִינֵי גַבִּים} (Exod 1:10) וְנוֹלָחֶם׃ הַבָּהּ {נַחַת} נַתְחַכְמָה לֹא (וּוְרִינֵי גַבִּים) /7c/ וְרִינֵי גַבִּים אֶנְחָנוּ כְּכֹל הַגּוֹיִם (1Sam 8:20) וְיִיאַ [מִרָא] דָּרֹד אֹרֶשׂ אִילֵּי שִׂיאֹל אֶל־יִפְלִי [1Sam 17:32] /7c/ וְיִצְא יִי וְנוֹלָחֶם בְּגוֹיִם (Zech 14:3) וְיִצְא וְנֹלֵךְ הַנּוֹגֵב וְיִצְא וְנֹלֵךְ הַנּוֹגֵב בְּגוֹיִם כִּי־יִם הַלְחֲמוּ בְּיָמַי קָרִיב (Zech 14:3) {

23 וְנוֹלָחֶם׃ = O D L M V R B 24 וְנוֹלָחֶם׃ Ø O D B | ~ L אֶזְ׀ מִ׃ אֶזְ׀ V R אֶזְ׀׃ = D L V M R<sup>(Well 373)</sup> < O B

\*\*\*

### Other Texts

Illegible parts: I, II (in the MMfig. 7a, fig. 1).

Uncertain signs (reading mark?):

קִיפֵּן

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iv The list is without instances, which are Exod 1:10 and Num 36:3.

v See Appendix 2, Graphic signs.

# Case 2: f. 67<sup>bis</sup>r, Exodus 5:4–5:15

Two stars (Moshe / Aharon), Key of David's house

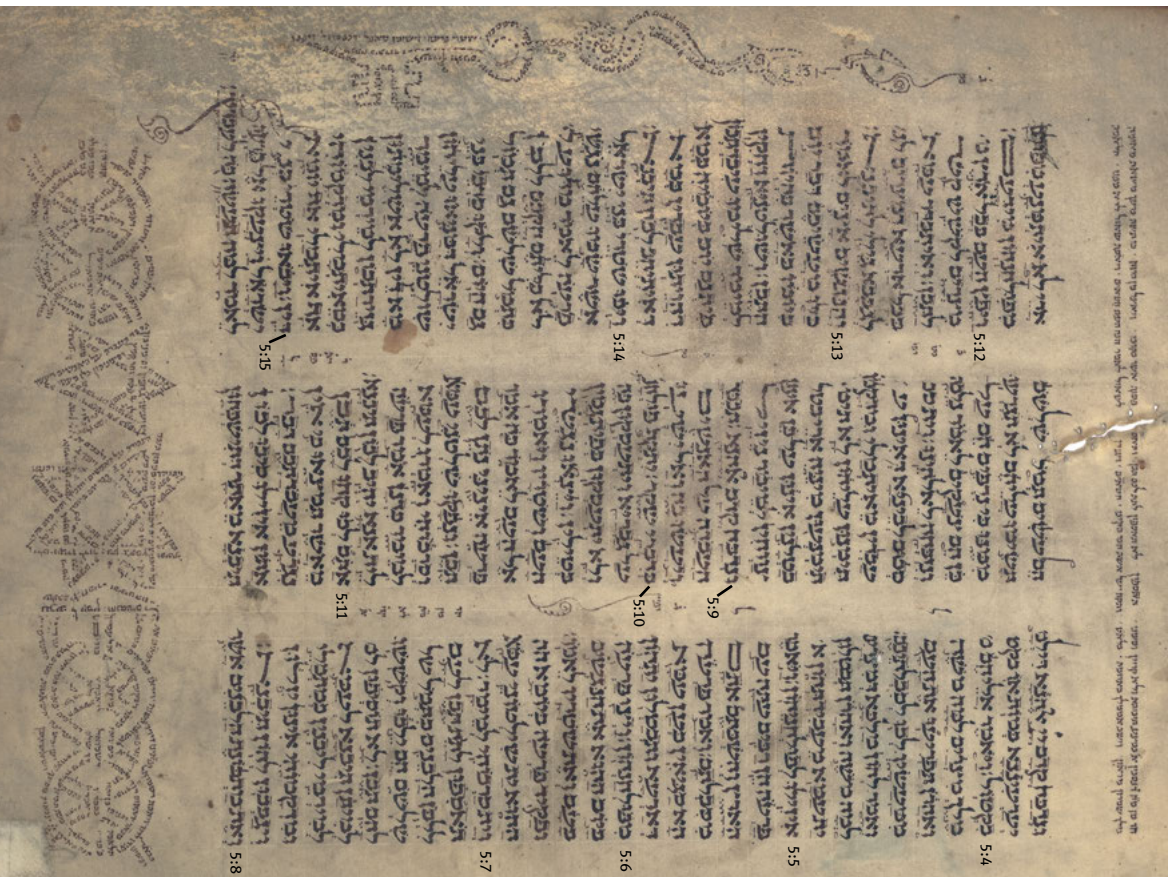


Plate 2: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 67<sup>bis</sup>r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

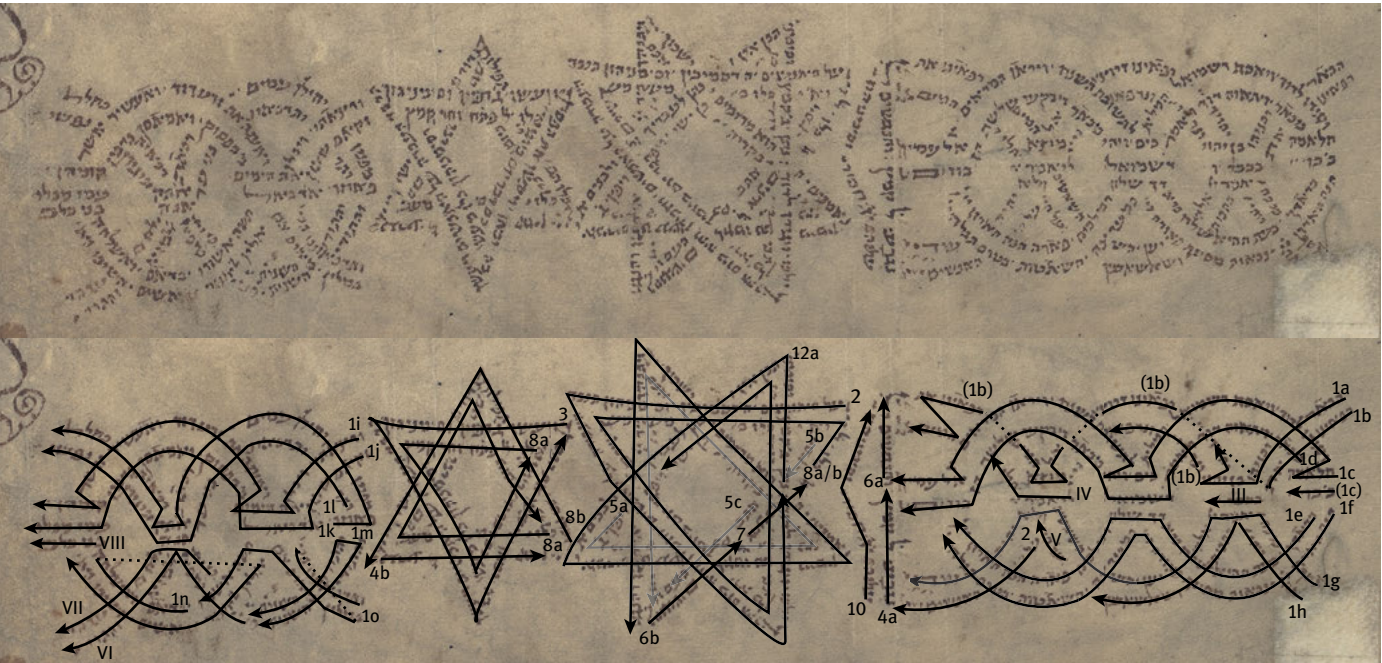


Figure 2a: Case 2, lower margin with captions

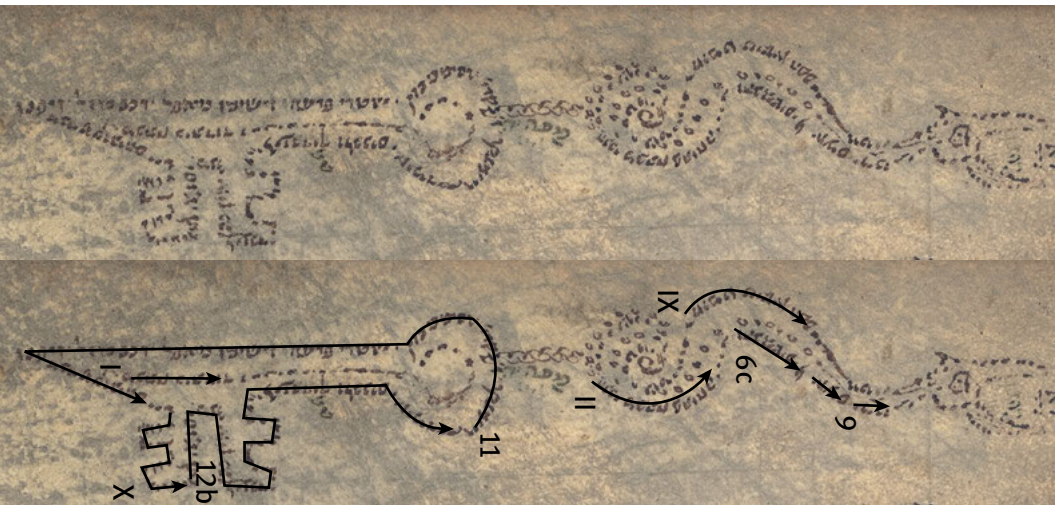


Figure 2b: Case 2, external margin with captions



Masoretic notes on Exodus 5:4–5:16<sup>1</sup>Exod 5:4 תִּפְרָרְעִי<sup>1</sup><sup>25</sup> MP<sup>30</sup> MM

1 O D L M V R B | ~ L M R L < B > וּמֵל לֹ לְמִרְעִי = O D V | ~ L M R L < B > וּמֵל לֹ לְמִרְעִי = O D L M V R B

Exod 5:5 הִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם<sup>4</sup><sup>55</sup> MP<sup>60</sup> MM

4 O D L M V R B | < L M V B > וְהִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם<sup>5</sup> = O D R | < L M V B > וְהִשְׁבַּתְתֶּם<sup>5</sup> = O D L M V R B

Exod 5:7 תִּפְרָרְעִי<sup>7</sup>MP חד חד מן מן קרי א' <sup>81ii</sup>

MP חד חד מן מן דוסבין א' במגע חיבותא ולא קריין וסימונ' תאטפון לא תאטפון לתת לכס' <sup>iii</sup>  
 תבן (Exod 5:7) והאטפסוף<sup>iv</sup> אשר בקרביו (Num 11:4) ויאצל מן הררה (Num 11:25) כי  
 תשה ברעך משאת מאומה (Deut 24:10) ותקח יעל אשת חבר הקניז (Judg 4:17) וישב אבימלך  
 בארומה (Judg 9:4) בלאט (Judg 4:21) ותקח יעל אשת חבר הקניז (Judg 4:17) וישב אבימלך  
 לשארל למאר הנה העם הטאים (1Sam 14:33) ויאסף שאול לרא מפני (1Sam 18:29) הלאמה  
 (2Sam 10:17)

[Continuing in lower margin]

1a/ MMOR הבאר ובניהו בן יהויד (2Sam 23:20) 1b/ (Jer 51:9) רפאינו את { רפאינו  
 את המים רפאי ויצא אל מוצא המים } 1c/ (2Kgs 2:21) וּלְחָאמָה וַיְגִידוּ לְדוֹד וַיֹּאסֵף דִּשְׁמוֹנָל  
 (2Sam 10:17) { המלאכים וריו לחשובת השנה } 1d/ (2Sam 11:24) וּבֹאֵר וַיִּתְּאוּ דוֹד וַיֹּאמֶר דִּשְׁמוֹנָל (2Sam 23:15)  
 מבוֹאֵר וַיִּבְקַע שְׁלֶשֶׁת הַגְּבוּרִים 1e/ (2Sam 23:16) בְּרֹאֲדָד בַּעַת הַהִיא שְׁלַח בְּרֹאֲדָד<sup>i</sup>  
 שְׁלַח דְּמַלְכִים (2Kgs 20:12) פֹּאֲרָה הִנֵּה הָאוֹזֵן ייי (Isa 10:33) 1f/ (Isa 10:33) הִנֵּה הָאוֹזֵן ייי עֲבָאוֹת מִסְתַּף  
 פֹּאֲרָה בְּמַעֲרָעָה (Isa 10:33) הַשְׂאֲטוֹת בְּטֶרֶם תְּגַלֶּה (Ezek 16:57) 1g/ (שא[טד כי כה אמר  
 ייי אל'ר' יען] (Ezek 25:6) {הש} הַשְׂאֲטִים וְלֹא יִהְיֶה עוֹד (Ezek 28:24) 1h/ [ונאש]אר וירי

<sup>1</sup> In O, ff. 45v–46r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 108–109; in L, ff. 33v–34r; in M, f. 23v–24r, and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 54; in V, ff. 8v–9r; in R, ff. 48r–48v–45r; in B, f. 37r.

<sup>i</sup> The Masoretic accent (*revi'ah*) is above the *rafe* of the letter *peh*.

<sup>ii</sup> See Weil 430 (according to MP from L quoting 4 cases) and Weil 898 (reconstituting 48 cases).

<sup>iii</sup> לַכֶּסֶף is the expected word instead of *כֶּסֶף*.

<sup>iv</sup> This word is cut in the middle because of a hole in the parchment.

כרבור' וזאשאשאר'  $1/i/$  ורצאר' ויכל' את ה'וימ' (Ezek 43:27) יאענר את דרע דוד  
 (IKgs 11:39) יאנעשיר אשר קוניהן  $1/i/$  (Zech 11:5) וקאם שאון ארבל ב' בפסוק (Hos 10:14)  
 ונמאסד' נדמו עמי מבלי  $1/i/$  וחד' ותדכאונו ער אנה תגויז נפשי  $1/s/$  ומו/ [למואל'  
 דכאר' כחלל  $1/i/$  וחד' ותדכאונו ער אנה תגויז נפשי  $1/s/$  ומו/ [למואל'  
 והתוד[ה] השגית (והתוד' השגית)  $1/s/$  ומו/ בדאם ויאשלה אל' למאר (Neh 6:8)  
 נשים השירב נא  $1/s/$  ומו/ וחדכאונו [במ' במל'  $1/s/$  ומו/ מאום אם תטה אשור  
 [ק'וי]  $1/s/$ ]

$M \sim \text{ל מל R} \sim \text{ל כה כן B} \sim \text{ל O} \sim$  האטפון 8 | האטפון V | האטפון O D L M R B  
 $\sim \text{ל מל R} \sim \text{ל כה כן B} \sim \text{ל O} \sim$  האטפון 9 | ד כה D | ל כה כה א ורפא

<sup>10</sup>על Exodus עטקרים  
 MP ב' בהו דמל<sup>11</sup>  
 MM<sup>12</sup>

ב' קול דמ' D | ג' וחס קול דמי L | ב' OR ~ [עטקרים 11 | עטקרים DL M R B |  
 $\text{OL M R B} = \text{עטקרים} > \text{B V}$  | ג' בתול קול דמי אחרד וריז M

Exod 5:9 על ה'אנשים<sup>13</sup>  
 MP ה' בל'<sup>14</sup>

2/ M M ffg על האנשים ה' דסמיק' וסימניהו<sup>15</sup> תכבד העבודה על האנשים (Exod 5:9) וחביר  
 [ג'] והיה ביום ההוא (Zeph 1:10/ Zeph 1:12) [ולכו ויגידו לדו'ן] ד<sup>16</sup> (1Chr 19:5)

על 15 | ה' O D M V R R | ~ על ה'אנשים 14 | על O D L M R ~ [על ה'אנשים 13  
 $\text{OL M B} < \text{D V R}$  <sup>(Weil 234f)</sup> = על ה'אנשים

Exod 5:9 יעש<sup>16</sup>  
 MP ג' רפיי<sup>17</sup>

3/ M M ffg ויעשו ג' רפי' וסימניהו<sup>18</sup> תכבד העבודה על האנשים יישו בה (Exod 5:9) יבאו  
 יעשו (Exod 35:10) ויעשו [בני] ישראל (Num 9:2) את הפסח (Num 9:2)

ו. וזאשאשאר is the expected word instead of וזאשאר v.  
 ו. וזאשאשאר is the expected word instead of וזאשאר vi.

vii. The last two lines remain unidentified (see VII and VIII, fig. 2). The list entails here 40 occurrences, including 3 verses repeated (2Sam 10:17, 2Sam 11:24, Isa 10:33). All the occurrences of Vat14 are listed in O, where 46 occurrences are quoting instead of 48. In Vat14 as well as in O, the lists are not full.  
 viii. According to Weil 234f, two verses could be missing: 2Kgs 18:27; Isa 36:12.



31  $ODLMVBR = ODLMVBR$  32  $OAQIMR < VB$  33  $OAQIMR < ODLMVBR$

<sup>33</sup>Exod 5:13 בקלָה

<sup>34</sup>לָ וְאָ

(Exod 5:13)  $MMffg / MMffg / 8a$  (twice) כלָ ל פתח וחד קמץ וסימניהו<sup>35</sup> כלָ מעשיכם דבר יום ביומו  
(Ps 72:20)  $8b / 8b$  (תפ) תפלות דוד [בן] ישי (Ps 72:20)

33  $ODLMVBR | \sim B$  קלָה 34  $LDMVBR | < OB$  35  $ODLMVBR | \sim$

<sup>(Mon 5:13, an alphabetical list of terms, the verses with כל are listed)</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Exod 5:14 וְכָהֵן

<sup>37</sup>MP = MMffg / 9 / וְכָהֵן [לָ]

<sup>38</sup>MM

36  $ODLMVBR | \sim B$  וְכָהֵן 37  $OLVBR$  ל וְהטָד < M 38  $ODLMVBR$

<sup>39</sup>Exod 5:14 עֲלֵהֶם

<sup>40</sup>MP

<sup>41</sup>10 / MMor עליהם זָה חסיד וסימניהו

39  $ODLMR | \sim VB$  עֲלֵהֶם 40  $VDLBR$  וְ |  $ODLMR$  <  $ODL$  (but Well <sup>57c</sup>)  $MVBR$  בתָה

<sup>42</sup>Exod 5:15 וַיִּצְעֲקוּ

<sup>43</sup>MP

וּישם [ו] פורעה (Exod 5:15) [ו] פורעה (Exod 14:10) וישם  
מאפל (Josh 24:7) רכב ברזל (Isg 4:3) ויפנו (2Chr 13:14) ממצוקותיהם (תוביר  
[Ps 107:28])

42  $ODLMVBR = ODLMVBR$  43  $OBM | ODLVR$  ; 44  $MR | <$

$ODBV$

x The list lacks but does not exist in the other manuscripts of our apparatus.

<sup>465</sup>Exod 5:16 לְמָהּ תִּעֲשֶׂהָ  
<sup>466</sup>MP  
<sup>467</sup>∅ MM

45 [בה] בטעם ODLMRB | < V לְמָהּ תִּעֲשֶׂהָ-וּ < V לְמָהּ תִּעֲשֶׂהָ  
 | < B 47 ∅ ODLMRB | M <sup>(Neil 39/68)</sup>

<sup>468</sup>נתן Exod 5:16  
 [ג] קמצי<sup>469</sup>MP  
 (Exod 5:16) לְמָהּ תִּעֲשֶׂהָ וְלֹא וּלְבָנִים אֲמֹרִים לְנֹעַשׁ (Exod 5:16)  
 /12a/ MMfig (Isa 33:16) וַיְחַוְּהוּ בִיד יִי אֱלֹהֵי (ZChr 28:5)  
 {לעבד} לעבדך ולבנים אומרים (Exod 5:16) {נתן}

48 [נתן] ~ ODLMVR | ~ B נתן 49 [נתן] see f. 67<sup>bis</sup>v | ~ DMR ז' / ז' < OLVB 50 [נתן] ~  
 LDMR <sup>(Neil 40/3)</sup> | < OVB

\*\*\*

## Other Texts

Two captions (see fig. 2):

I מפתח בית דוד (Isa 22:22)  
 II רגני מפתח פתוחה (Zech 3:9)

Second hand (light brown ink):

מפתח

Unidentified material (in the ornamental form, see fig. 2):

III בכבך [?] ז'  
 IV ייאמר אלהי [?]  
 V עלהי [?]

Illegible material: VI, VII, VIII, IX, X (see fig. 2 and 3).

<sup>x1</sup> In Vat14, f. 67<sup>bis</sup>v, this MM is repeated in the upper margin.



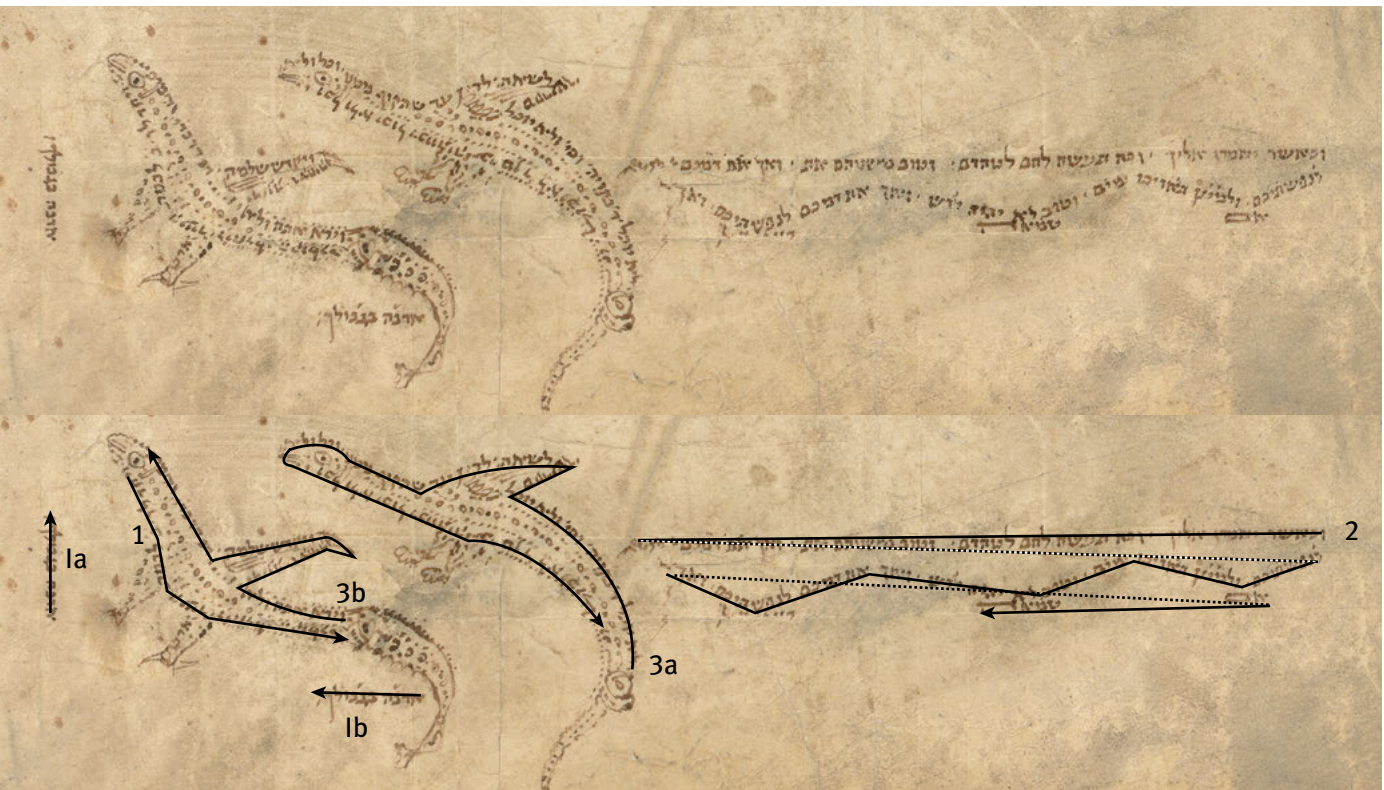


Figure 3: Case 3, lower margin and captions





ו מוחרדין וכל למען ולמען D | ו מוחרדו S | ג ראש פסוק L R B | Ø V B | ולקמען 9 O D L V R B = ולקמען 8 ולקמען ט (בתורה) | סמונוהו ספר שמי. חספס באוני. תאריך ימים. ייטב לך. D ~ ולקמען 10 דכות גמזו ולקמען ז ומחרדין וסמונוהו למען חספס O | יאריכו ימיך. ולמען נסתת. לא בצדקותי. תאריכו. ראש פסוק. באוני. ולמען תאריך ימים. ולמען יארכו ימיך. ולמען ספר שמי. ולמען היקם את חדברי. ולמען שמד תנחתי. וכל למען ולמען בפסוקא בות[הו] | בר מזו ז בו ידעהו למען למען דעת למען תניקו ואטמא אתם למען ולקמען ט ולמען חספס באוני בנג. ולמען ספר שמי בכל הארץ. ולמען תאריך R | טבת טבת מאת יהוה. ימים על האדמה. לא בצדקותי. ולמען תאריכו ימים. ולמען שמד תנחתי ותגלוני. ולמען דוד עבדי. וחברת. ימים על ולקמען ורשלים. < L V B | ולקמען ורשלים.

1111 Exod 10:5

1111 Exod 10:5

1210 MP

3a/ MMfig לא יוכל ז בקרייה<sup>13</sup> וסו ולא יוכל (Exod 10:5) מקדשו (Isa 16:12) לשאת  
[עם] שתקהו ממונ (Ecl 6:10) וכל ולא יוכל דכוותיה בר מזו ז לא יוכל  
/ 3b/ וירא (Gen 32:26) אותה ולא ידעת [אותה ידעת את דוד אבי כי לא יכול] [IKgs 5:17]  
ואוחרו (1Kgs 14:4) ויקדש שלמה דדוברי הימים (2Chr 7:7)

~ O | ולא יתקל 13 O D L ז O D L B | ולא יתקל 12 ולא יתקל 11 ~ O D L V R B  
ולא יוכל ז וסומנהו ונסה את עיז הארץ. ולא יוכל. יי עוד לשאת. וזהו כי נראה מה שזדה כבר נקרא  
| = V (but afterwards) < D L R B

1414 Exod 10:6

1510 MP

MMu כל אוריהא ומלכס מלאו וקלאו גמז מלאו ומלאו<sup>16</sup> וסו כי מלאו ימי (Gen 29:21) ומלאו  
בת מצרים (Exod 8:17) ומלאו בחוד (Exod 10:6) וכל שאר קרייה מלאו ומלאו גמזב וסומנו  
מלאו השלטים (Jer 51:11) שבעת ימים יפפר (Ezek 43:26)

ולקלאו 16 ג בתו ראש פסוק V | ג בתו[רה] D | O L R B | ולקלאו 15 O D L V R B = ולקלאו 14  
< O D L V R B

1717 Exod 10:7

1818 ל רת MP

1919 Ø MM

vi This accent (Merkha) has been wrongly added by another hand instead of a Matya.

vii The note means "In the Pentateuch (*Orayid*) and Kings, always קלאו or קלאו with three excep-  
tions: [Gen 29:21, Exod 8:17, Exod 10:6]. In the rest of the Bible (*Qerya*), always קלאו with two  
exceptions: [Jer 51:11 and Ezek 43:26]". See Ginsburg 1897, I, nr. 380.

17 וְיִעָבְדוּ] = O D L V R B 18 וְיִעָבְדוּ] ~ O R D לְ | ~ V (*circellus* without MP) | < L B 19 וְיִעָבְדוּ]  
Ø D L V R B | O (in a list of cases *lzf*)

\*\*\*

### Other Texts

Captions:

(Exod 10:4) אֲרַבָּה בְּגֹבֹלְךָ Ia/Ib

Uncertain signs or words:

viii לָ

---

vii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

# Case 4: f. 75v, Exodus 12:7-12:17

Unleavened bread, lintel, & burnt offering

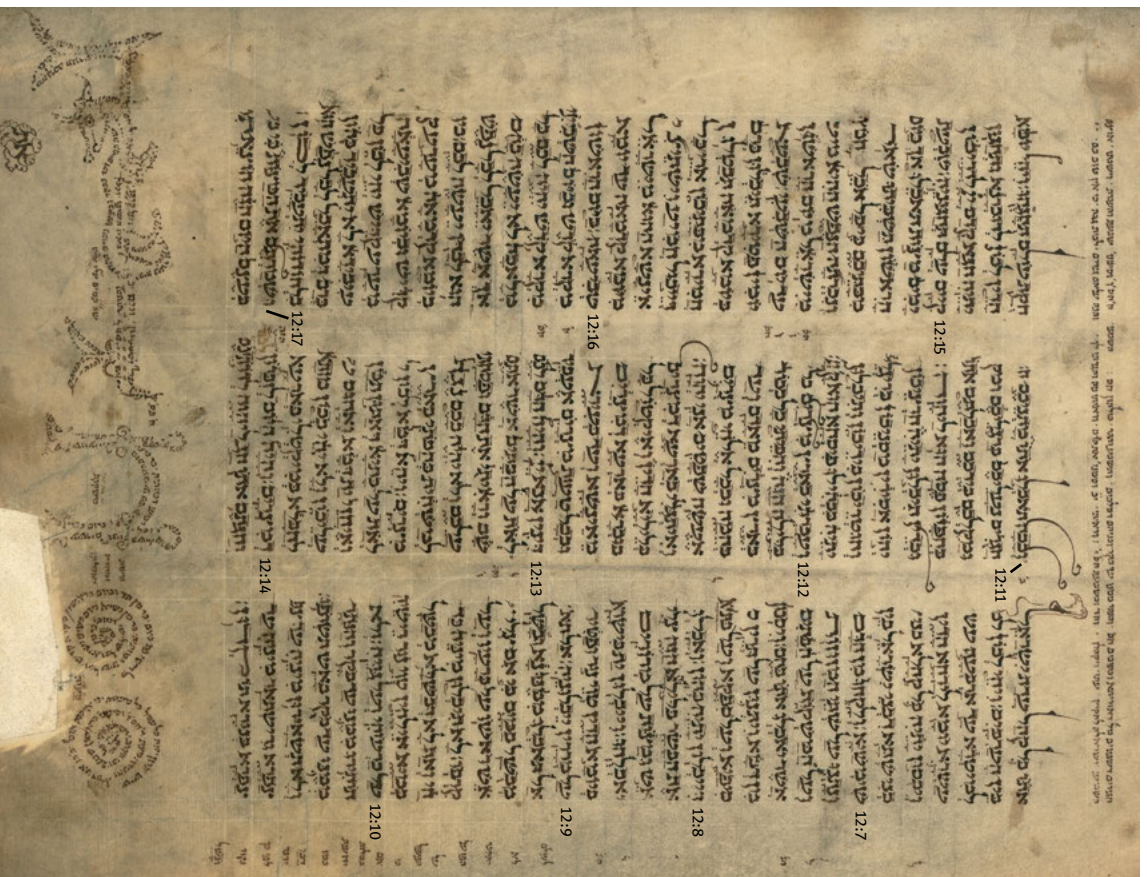


Plate 4: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 75v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



Figure 4: Case 4, lower margin with captions







<sup>34x</sup> [מַצֹּת] Exodus 12:18  
<sup>[35Ø]</sup> MP  
 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי אֲכַלְתֶּם מַצֹּת וְשֵׁם הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִצֵּת מִצֵּת (Exod 12:15)  
 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי אֲכַלְתֶּם מַצֹּת וְשֵׁם הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִצֵּת מִצֵּת (Exod 12:16)

34 [מַצֹּת] = ODL V R B 35 [מַצֹּת] Ø V | ODL R הַסֵּף | B (on Exod 12:15)  
 < ODL V R B

\*\*\*

## Other Texts

Grammatical commentary placed as a MP (with *circellus*) on Exod 12:9 מַצֹּת:

לְעוֹלָם לֹא יִתְחַבֵּר הַפּוֹעֵל עַל הַפּוֹעֵל כִּי אִם בְּמִלּוֹת יִדְרֹגוּת כְּמוֹ דָּבָר לְפִי כִד נִקְרָא וְיִשָּׁל

The notes concern the *dagesh* written in the shin of מַצֹּת (missing in O, D, L, R and perhaps V<sup>xiii</sup>). It means: “A verb is never connected to an adverb, except in famous expressions such as דָּבָר יִדְרֹג (Exod 4:14, i.e., an infinitive absolute followed by a verb at the Imperfect becomes an adverb). That is why the term מַצֹּת is punctuated [with a *dagesh*].”<sup>xiv</sup>

Captions:

The lintel (of the front door of a house from Exod 12:7):

I משקוף<sup>1</sup>

Unleavened bread and bitter herbs will be eaten (from Exod 12:8):

IIa מצות ומרורים יאכלוהו

Matsot, unleavened bread (from Exod 12:8):

IIb מוצות<sup>2</sup>

Pure animal roasted on fire (from Exod. 12:5 and 12:10):

<sup>xi</sup> Lemma written on f. 76r.

<sup>xii</sup> Four times without *waw* (as vowel).

<sup>xiii</sup> The examination of the manuscript is not possible.

<sup>xiv</sup> According to P. Cassuto, the form in Exod 4:14 is a model to explain the form in Exod 12:9. Here is the idea: as *MeViShal* is a *Pu'el*, hence *U-YaShel* must be from the same *byri'an*, an infinitive construct *piel* (with *dagesh*, hence *לַיָּשֵׁל*) and not an adverbial form (without *dagesh*).

<sup>1</sup> Marked with some strokes.

<sup>2</sup> Marked with some strokes.



V שה תמים עלי אש<sup>3</sup>  
 MMfig (See fig. 4) completed with biblical verses related to a lamb or a goat roasted on a fire (from Exod 12:5–15):

- III כי אם [[צלי אש ראשו]] על [[כרעיי]] וע[ל] [[ק]]ל] רבו [[Exod 12:9]]  
 IV באש תשרפו וכבה (Exod 12:10–11) על [[כרעיי]]  
 VI ככה תאכלו[ו:]]] מתניכם חגור [[ים]] [[Exod 12:11]]  
 VII וכבה [וכבה] תאכלו [[מתניכם]] [[Exod 12:11]]  
 VIII שה תמים זכר בברק ובצאן בעזים תקח[ו]<sup>xvi</sup>

Erased words:

IX ה פס על ועל על [ויסמניהו]<sup>xvi</sup>

Uncertain signs or words:

X עשרים?  
 לך<sup>xvii</sup>

*Addendum* in Exod 12:14, from different scribes:

תורה לכם

---

3 Marked with some strokes.

xv From Exod 12:15; Deut 14:26; Lev 22:19?

xvi The list seems to be interrupted. See Ginsburg II, list 364, 391.

xvii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

**Case 5: f. 77v, Exodus 13:7–13:19**  
**Donkey (redeem of male firstlings)**

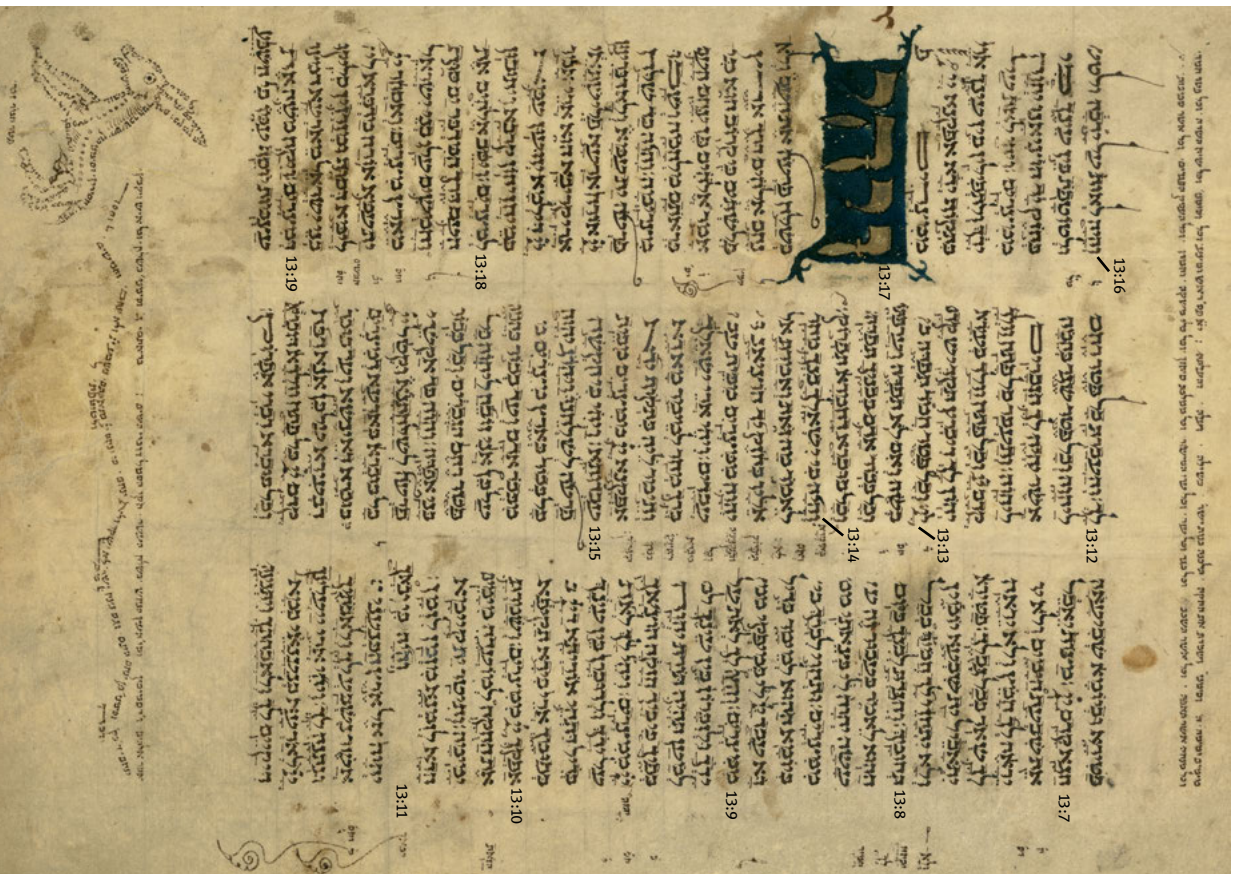


Plate 5: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 77v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

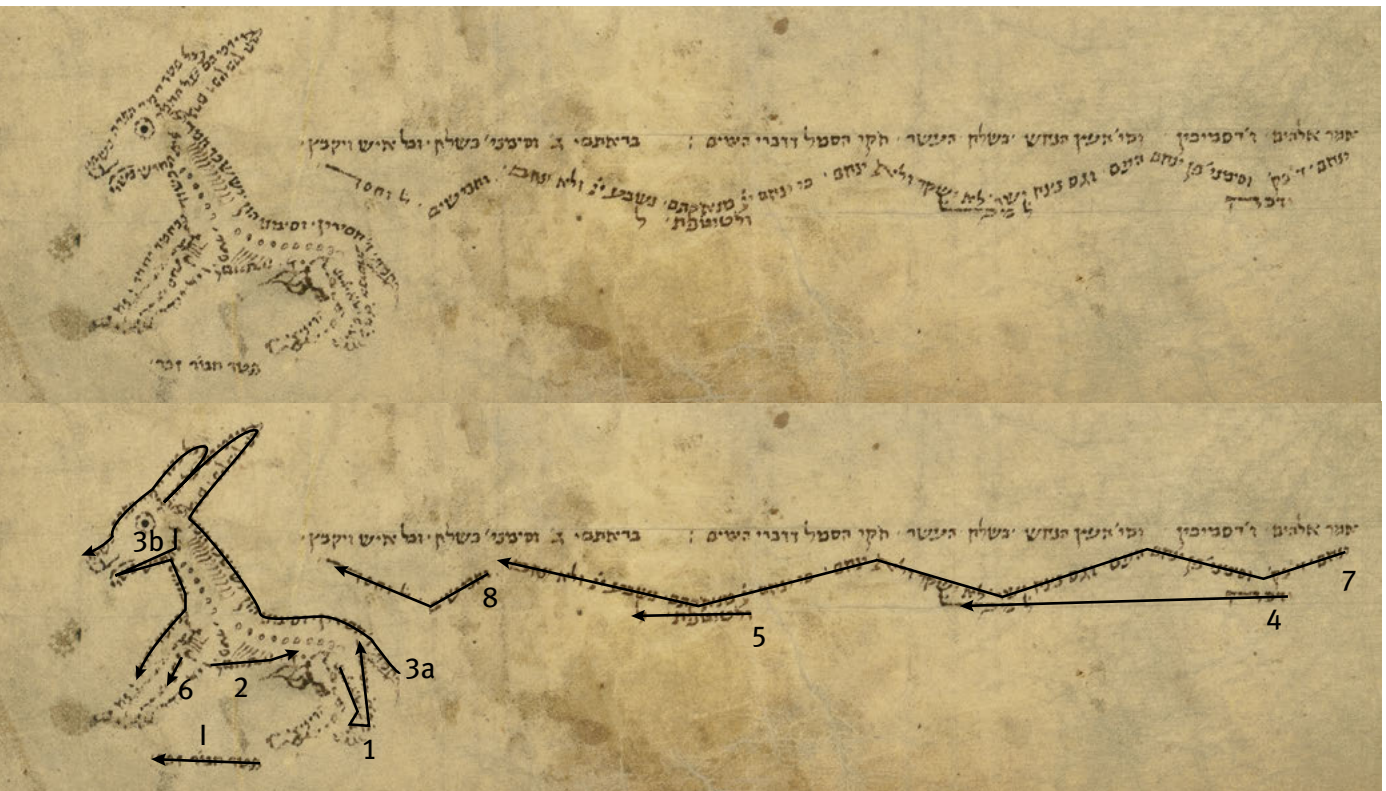


Figure 5: Case 5, lower margin with captions







<sup>37</sup>Exod 12:17 בְּרֵאשִׁיתָם

<sup>38</sup>MP

MM בראתם ג וסימנעו<sup>38</sup> בשלח (Exod 13:17) וכל איש ויקבץ (Is 17:24) 2Chr 15:9)

37 בְּרֵאשִׁיתָם = ODLVRB 38 בְּרֵאשִׁיתָם ØRB|OLג וחדד מלך Dג וחדד מלך Vג וחדד מלך Vג  
= ODL<sup>(Well 459)</sup> | < VRB

<sup>40</sup>Exod 13:18 וְהִקְטַעְתֶּם

<sup>41</sup>MP ל וחס ופ תמשים וחס<sup>41</sup>

<sup>42</sup>MMor /8/ ותמשים ל וחס<sup>42</sup>ר

40 וְהִקְטַעְתֶּם = ODLVRB 41 וְהִקְטַעְתֶּם = Dג בלע ד | ג וחס ~ | ~ O ד | ~ L V R B וחס  
תמשים ותמשים ד וסימנעו ותסירן עלו בני ישראל. ואתם תעבדו תמשים. ויעבדו בני ראובן ובני O ~  
תמשים [קצה] ותמשים. < D L V B | גו. [אל קצה]

\*\*\*

## Other Texts

Caption:

I פטר תמור זכר (Exod 13:13)

Correction in Exod 13:09:

יורה

Addendum and correction in the margin on Targum of Exod 13:7 (by Elijah ha-Naqdan):

Addendum in Exod 13:10:

היאת

Addendum in the margin of the Targum in Exod 13:13.







Figure 6: Case 6, lower margin with caption





<sup>28</sup>Exod 21:6

<sup>29</sup>MP

MMI לעלם הם לפי שאינו אל עולם של יובל<sup>30</sup> והם יזו חס<sup>30</sup>

לעלם טעם B = [לעלם 30] חס בתול L | חס OD | OSB R | [לעלם 29] Ø V B R | [לעלם 28] = O D L V R B  
 לעלם של יובל  
 V R | [D?] L (but Weil 25) O | < שרוא חס שאין זה לעולם ועד רק לעולמו של יובל

<sup>31</sup>Exod 21:7

<sup>32</sup>MP

העברים<sup>31</sup> [וט] מנירה<sup>32</sup> העברים (Exod 21:7) בצאת משה (Exod 33:8) בצאת השמה  
 (Judg 5:31) MMffg

< V | = [בצאת 33] B | < ג משה השמה O ~ | D L V R | = [בצאת 31] O D L V R B  
 R B | [D?] L (but Weil 1426)

<sup>34</sup>Exod 21:8

MP לו<sup>35</sup>

ממףג /2a/ חד מן טז בקריה וסינוה<sup>36</sup> עדה (Exod 21:8) ברעים (Lev 11:21) חומה  
 (Lev 25:30) תרבו (1S 2:3) חוש (1S 16:8) אמר לו (2S 8:10) ערתם (Isa 63:9) דע  
 (Ps 100:3) יי[[צ]]ו (139:16) יקטלני /b/ אהריש (סס 13:14) [[כ]]צפור  
 (Prov 26:2) מרעהו (Prov 19:7) זרובל /2c/ לוגתא עליה<sup>37</sup> (Isa 9:2)  
 וישראל לא יאסף (Isa 49:5) ולא שם בשלשה דדברי הומים (1Chr 11:20)

לו קח זו כתבן לא V | ייה כתב לא וקרי לו D ~ | O D L R B | לא O D L V R B [לא 34]  
 לו וקורין<sup>38</sup> [D?] L V R B = O (Weil 1795) [לא 36]

<sup>37</sup>Exod 21:8

<sup>38</sup>MP

MMI יעדה<sup>37</sup> אשקלון (Mic 6:9) שמוע<sup>39</sup> והפדה (Exod 21:8)

V R B | [D?] L (but Weil 513) < O [D?] L > [יעדה 39] י O R B | Ø [יעדה 38] O D L V R B = [יעדה 37]

iv The first part of the note refers to a jubilee and in the biblical commentary of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Mekhilta. This note is also in B.  
 v Erased text or non-text.  
 vi *בפלתותו* is the expected term.

<sup>40b</sup>Exod 21:8 לא־יִמְעַל־לָא

<sup>41c</sup>MP

MMI לא־יִמְעַל לָא דסימניק־י<sup>42c</sup> וחד ולא־יִמְעַל בני (Judg 8:23)

<sup>40</sup>  $OD^*LVRB \mid L \mid O D V R B \mid \emptyset$  [לא־יִמְעַל־לָא] <sup>41</sup>  $OD V R B$  <sup>42</sup>  $OD V R B \mid L \mid O D V R B \mid \emptyset$  [לא־יִמְעַל־לָא] <sup>43</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>44</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>45</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>46</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>47</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>48</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>49</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>50</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>51</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>52</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>53</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>54</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>55</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>56</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>57</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>58</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>59</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>60</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>61</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>62</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>63</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>64</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>65</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>66</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>67</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>68</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>69</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>70</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>71</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>72</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>73</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>74</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>75</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>76</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>77</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>78</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>79</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>80</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>81</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>82</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>83</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>84</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>85</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>86</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>87</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>88</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>89</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>90</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>91</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>92</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>93</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>94</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>95</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>96</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>97</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>98</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>99</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>100</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$

<sup>43</sup>Exod 21:9 פְּלִשְׁטִי

<sup>44</sup>MP

MMu כמשפט ז' ה' פתרון ז' קמצוי<sup>45</sup> לננו (Exod 21:9) לִישָׁה (Judg 18:7) יִרְאִים  
עמד (2Kgs 17:33) ייעשו (Ezra 3:4) וז' קמצין פני (Ps 119:132) עליהם  
(1Chr 23:31)

כמשפט ה' V = [פְּלִשְׁטִי] ~ D L R V ה' < O B <sup>45</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>46</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>47</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>48</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>49</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>50</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>51</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>52</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>53</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>54</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>55</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>56</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>57</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>58</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>59</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>60</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>61</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>62</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>63</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>64</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>65</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>66</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>67</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>68</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>69</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>70</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>71</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>72</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>73</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>74</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>75</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>76</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>77</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>78</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>79</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>80</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>81</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>82</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>83</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>84</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>85</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>86</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>87</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>88</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>89</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>90</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>91</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>92</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>93</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>94</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>95</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>96</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>97</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>98</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>99</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$  <sup>100</sup>  $OD^*LVRB$

<sup>46</sup>Exod 21:10 שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup>MP ג' פס' מפקין כל אותיות

MMfig /3/ [ג'] פסוקים בכל חד וחד ג' מלין [ב]הין מפי' ה' סימניה<sup>48</sup> שארה כסותה  
(Exod 21:10) והשבת' רגה ומיעדה ושבתה (1<sup>st</sup>Hos 2:13) אז ראה יספרה הכינה וגם [[הקרה]]  
(Job 28:27)

<sup>46</sup> שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ ~ V B ג' | ~ O R L | = [שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ] <sup>47</sup> תָּהּ  
ל' והס' (מקנה) <sup>48</sup> O ~ | ג' פסוק' את בהין כל מלה נמלה מפי' הא' V = [שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ] <sup>49</sup> תָּהּ  
ג' פסוקין אית בהין כל מלה ומלה V ~ [שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ] <sup>48</sup> B B < | ל'ל' <sup>50</sup> D L ~ | \*  
ג' פסוקין אית בהין כל מלה ומלה V ~ [שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ] <sup>48</sup> B B < | ל'ל' <sup>50</sup> D L ~ | \*  
ג' פסוקין אית בהין כל מלה ומלה V ~ [שְׂאֵרֶה פְּסוּתָהּ וְעִנְיָהּ] <sup>48</sup> B B < | ל'ל' <sup>50</sup> D L ~ | \*

<sup>49</sup>Exod 21:24 [עַל־רִגְעוֹהָ<sup>49a</sup>

<sup>50</sup>MP]

MMu על רעוה ה' דסמנין וסימני<sup>51</sup> וכי יי'ד איש על רעוה (Exod 21:14) ולעורה לא תעשה  
דבר (Deut 22:26) ותגשו ציים את איים (Isa 34:14) כה האמרו (Jer 23:35) גבר מחליק  
(Prov 29:5)

**vii** This MM note indicates 7 cases, 5 with *patah* and 2 with *gamats*, as recorded in V.

**viii** The *mappiqim* are placed under the letter *heh* in Vat14, V and B.

**ix** Four times *mappiq*.

**x** The lemma is on folio 86r.

49 [על־רַקְעָהוּ] = O D L V B 50 [על־רַקְעָהוּ] Ø B | O D L V הַ 51 [על־רַקְעָהוּ] = [[O ?]] D L (Weil 515) | < V B

\*\*\*

### Other Texts

Correction indicated in the margin (כּוּן תוּ) on Exod 21:4 וְאֵי־אָדָּמָהּ indicating that the term should be written אֵי־אָדָּמָהּ.

*Addendum* on Exod 21:6:

אֵן



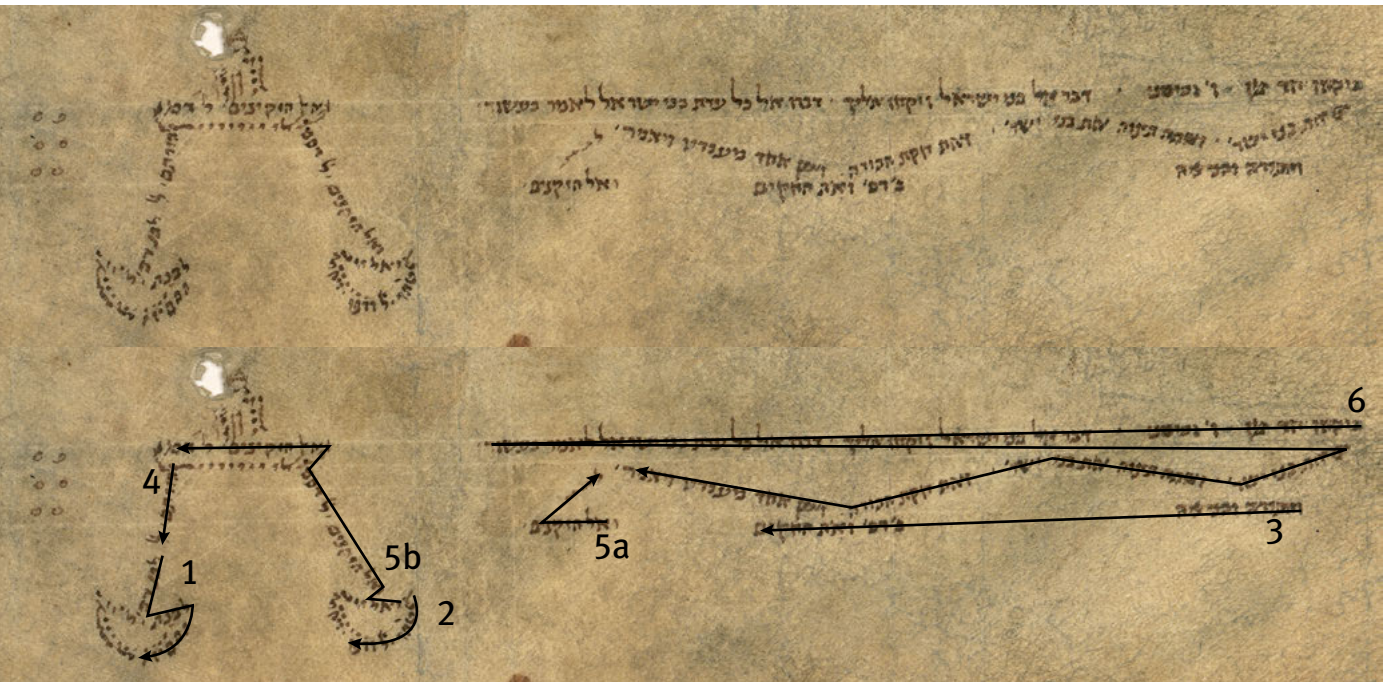


Figure 7: Case 7, lower margin with captions



Masoretic notes on Exodus 24:9–25:3<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>לַבְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים Exod 24:10

<sup>2</sup>∅ MP

(Exod 24:10) לַבְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים / 1/ MMfig

**1** לַבְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים = ODL M V R B **2** לַבְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים ∅ V | L M R קַנָּה וְחָד פֶּתַח וְחָד לְבַיִת O S D | בָּ | ל ב | ל וְחָד לְבַיִת O S D | < O [[D?]] M V R B ~ L<sup>(Weil 535)</sup>

<sup>4</sup>לְבַיִת Exod 24:10

<sup>5</sup>∅ MP

<sup>6</sup>וְחָד פֶּתַח / 2/ MMfig

**4** לְבַיִת ODL M V R B **5** לְבַיִת ∅ M R B | ~ O D L V ל **6** לְבַיִת = O | < [[D?]] L M V R B

<sup>7</sup>אֶצְעִילָה Exod 24:11

<sup>8</sup>MP ∅

<sup>9</sup>אֶצְעִילָה כִּי

**7** אֶצְעִילָה = O D L M V R B **8** אֶצְעִילָה ∅ M R B | O D V ל | L ל **9** אֶצְעִילָה < O D L<sup>(Out Weil on Ezek 13:18, MM sub loco)</sup> M V R B

<sup>10</sup>וְיָחַדְתִּים Exod 24:11

<sup>11</sup>מִן שֵׁנָה (Lam 2:14)

וְיָחַדְתִּים מִן שֵׁנָה שֵׁנָה וּמְדוּרָהִים (Lam 2:14)

**10** וְיָחַדְתִּים = D L M R | ~ B וְיָחַדְתִּים | V וְיָחַדְתִּים | O וְיָחַדְתִּים **11** וְיָחַדְתִּים = O D L ל ~ מ אֵשׁ אֵשׁ ~ בָּ | ל ב | ל וְיָחַדְתִּים < [[D?]] L<sup>(out Weil 3729)</sup> V R B <sup>(Weil 3729)</sup> | < [[D?]] O וְיָחַדְתִּים **12** וְיָחַדְתִּים < V R B | יָחַדְתִּים כּוֹנֵן וְיָחַדְתִּים בָּ בְּתָרָה לֵאמֹר

<sup>13</sup>וְיָחַדְתִּים Exod 24:12

<sup>14</sup>יָחַדְתִּים בָּ

<sup>15</sup>∅ MM

<sup>1</sup> In O, ff. 65v–66r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 152–153; in L, f. 45v; M, f. 26r and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 79; in V, ff. 34v–35r; in R, ff. 64r–64v; in B, f. 49r.



Exod 24:17 וּמְרֹאָה־וּ<sup>31</sup>

<sup>32</sup>∅ MP

MMu ומראה ז קמצין וסימנ<sup>33</sup> בבוח (Lev 13:3) הנתק (Lev 13:32) יכטנו  
Num 9:16) האופנים (Ezek 10:9) היילודים (Da 1:13) הערב (Da 8:26) וחד פוח ומראה ולא  
ברידת (Num 12:8)

קמג' V | ג האופנים ודיין M | M O D R | ∅ L B | O D R | ~ B ומְרֹאָה־וּ<sup>32</sup> ומְרֹאָה־וּ<sup>31</sup> = O D L M V |  
[?] = O [[D?]] L<sup>(Weil 539)</sup> R | < M V B

Exod 25:2 וְקָרוֹת<sup>34</sup>

MP יֵז בל<sup>35</sup>

MMor 6/ ויקרו חד מן ז וסימנ<sup>36</sup> דבר אל בני ישראל (Exod 25:2) ויקרו אלד (Lev 24:2)  
דברו אל כל עדת בני ישראל לאמר בעשור (Exod 12:3) את בני ישׁ ואתה תצוה את בני ישׁ  
(Num 19:2) ויען אחד מעבדיו ויאמר (ZKgs 7:13)

וְקָרוֹת<sup>36</sup> B [[V]] | < | R | ז | R | ז | R | ז | O M | ~ | D L | ~ | וְקָרוֹת<sup>35</sup> B וְקָרוֹת<sup>34</sup> = O D L M [[V]] | R | ~ B  
M<sup>(Weil 560)</sup> | < O [[D]] L<sup>(but Weil 560)</sup> V R<sup>(but Weil 1853)</sup> B

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## Other Texts

Uncertain (reading marks?):

לֵךְ / קֵץ / לֵךְ<sup>37</sup>

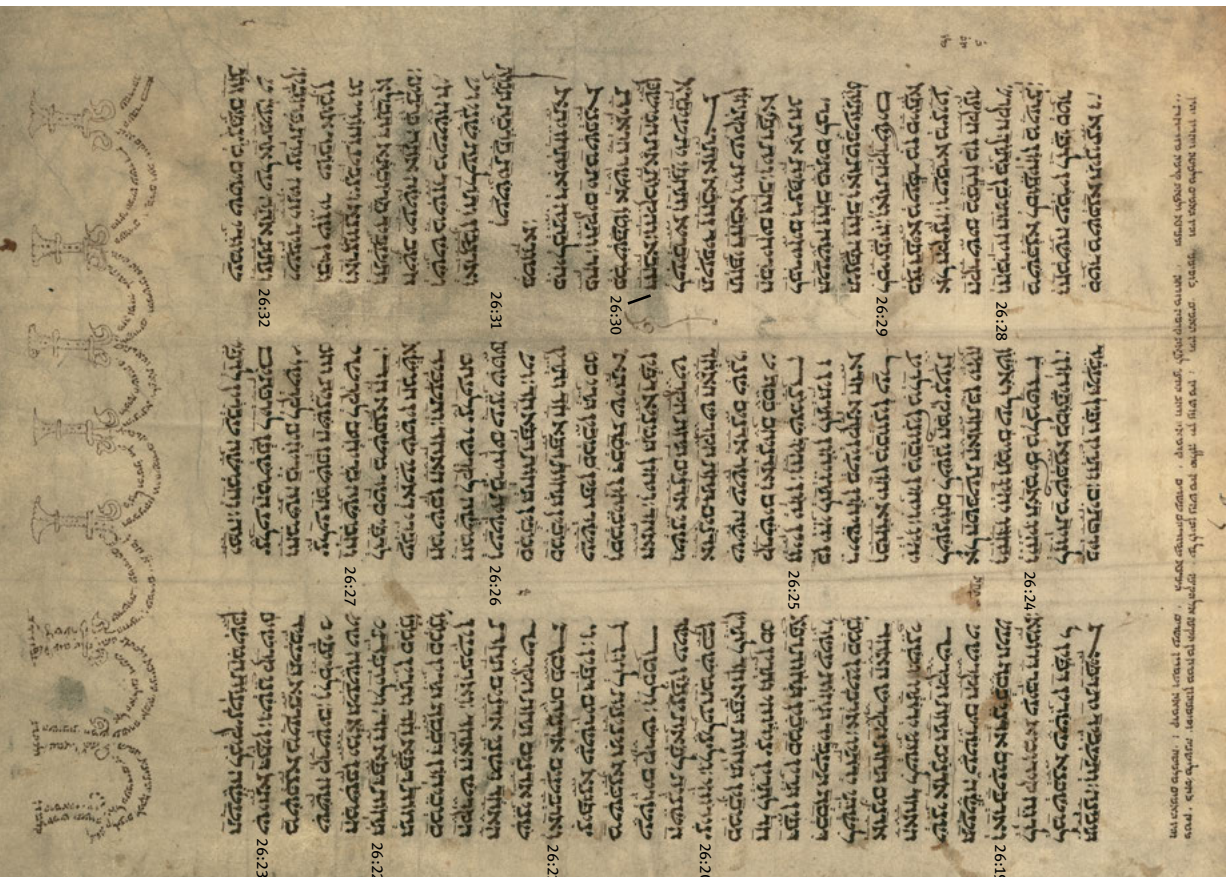
*Addendum* on Exod 24:9 (end of the verse) and on its Targum (beginning of the same  
verse) by Elijah ha-Naqdan.

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ii There are two different lists probably combined here: the one יקרו ו (Weil 560) and the list on the  
posol form יקרו (Weil 1853).

iii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

Case 8: f. 93r, Exodus 26:19–26:32  
Pillars from the court of the Tabernacle  
(27:10–27:19 & 38:10–38:19)



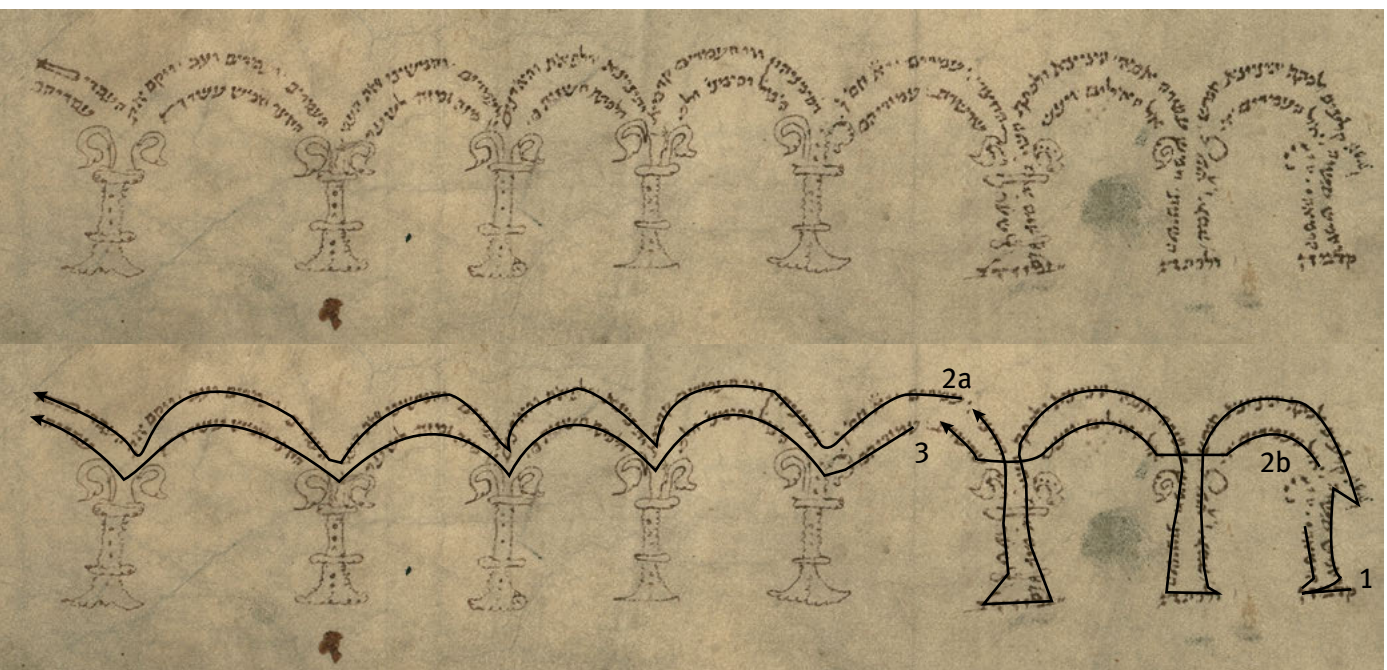


Figure 8: Case 8, lower margin with captions

**Masoretic notes on Exodus 26:19–26:32<sup>1</sup>**Exod 26:24 וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>10</sup>

20 MP

טמממ והיו תאמרים ב וסימנתי<sup>3</sup> והיו תאמרים מלממא ויחדיו והיו (Exod 26:24) והיו תאמרים מלממא  
(Exod 36:29)

1 B | וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>2</sup> וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>1</sup> O D M R תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>1</sup> V B | וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>1</sup> ל [וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>1</sup> O L M וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>3</sup> יֵא D V R יֵא O L M וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>17</sup>] O L R [וְהָיָה תְּאֵמֹתָיִם<sup>17</sup>] < D M B [V?] |

Exod 26:28 מְבֹרָה<sup>4</sup>MP בַּהַט כָּל<sup>54</sup>

טמממ מבורה בַּהַט בלשגויה וסימנוהיה<sup>6</sup> מבורה מן הקעה אל הקעה (Exod 26:28) על לודתן נחש  
בורה (Isa 27:1) חוללה ידיו נחש בורה (Job 26:13)

4 | לַהַט R | לַהַט בלשגויה ~ D M | לַהַט בלשגויה ~ O L V מְבֹרָה<sup>5</sup> [מְבֹרָה<sup>4</sup> O D L M V R B 5 מְבֹרָה<sup>4</sup>] ~ O L V בלייש<sup>6</sup> בלייש<sup>6</sup> O L V בלייש<sup>6</sup> [מְבֹרָה<sup>4</sup> O D L M V R B 5 מְבֹרָה<sup>4</sup>] < D M [V?] R B |

Exod 26:32 מְצַפְּתָיִם<sup>7</sup>8<sup>8</sup> לֵּא MP9<sup>9</sup> ∅ MM

7 | O L M D V R B 8 [מְצַפְּתָיִם<sup>8</sup>] = D וְהַטָּה לֵּא | V M לֵּא < O L R B 9 [מְצַפְּתָיִם<sup>9</sup>] ∅ O L M D B  
מַצְפֵּיתָיִם לֵּא V |

\*\*\*

Masoretic cumulative note (in the upper margin) not related to the biblical text of this folio but related to the gate with pilars image made in micrography

/ Exod 27:10 & Exod 38:10 / Exod 27:13 & Exod 38:13 / Exod 27:14 & Exod 38:14  
Exod 27:15 & Exod 38:15 / & ? Exod 27:16

<sup>1</sup> See also in Vat14, f. 94r and 109v; in O, ff. 67v–68v and 82v; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 157–158, 159–160 and 189–190; in L, ff. 47r and 55r; in M, ff. 26v–27r and see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 90–95; in V, ff. 38r–39v and 55v; in R, f. 66r ; in B, ff. 50v–51r and 59v.

<sup>i</sup> The calligraphic form of the Masoretic accent *zarqa* on the last letter is similar in V and B.



<sup>14ix</sup>Exod 38:12 [עמֻדֵי־הָרָמָם]

<sup>15xi</sup>MP ׀ ׀ מלֵךְ

לתעֵן (Exod 27:15) מזה ומזה {מ} מזה ומזה (Exod 27:15) לטעֵן  
 ׀ ׀ מלֵךְ / 3/ MMffg (Exod 38:15) חמש עשרה עמודיהם

עֵי- 16 ׀ = [עמֻדֵי־הָרָמָם] = O L M D V | < B  
 15 עמֻדֵי־הָרָמָם ׀ ~ B עמֻדֵי־הָרָמָם ׀ ~ O L M R (Well 643) | < D V  
 ׀ ׀ מלֵךְ ~ B [מִן־יָדֵיהֶם]

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## Other Texts

*Addendum* on Exod 26:19:

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

תְּרַחֵת

לֵךְ \ קֵלֵךְ<sup>xiii</sup>

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**ix** See folio 109v.

**x** See folio 109v.

**xi** There are several traditions of these lists.

**xii** See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.





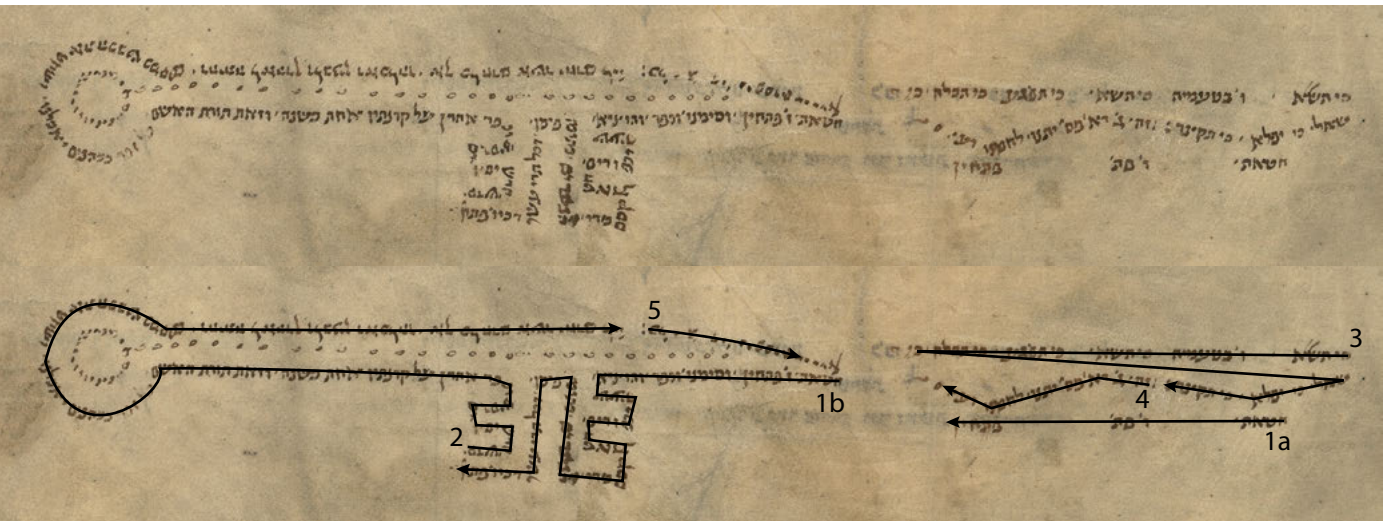


Figure 9: Case 9, lower margin with captions

**Masoretic notes on Exodus 30:1–30:14<sup>1</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Exod 30:1 מקטָר<sup>2</sup>MP<sup>3</sup>∅ MM**1** מקטָר = O D L M V R | ~ B מקטָר? **2** מקטָר = O D L M V R | ~ B מקטָר (in a list of cases *let*)**3** מקטָר ∅ O D L M V R B<sup>4</sup>Exod 30:3 גָּזָז<sup>5</sup>MP<sup>6</sup>MM וגו**4** גָּזָז = O D L M V B R 5 גָּזָז | ~ O L M V R דָּ | ~ D גָּ | < B 6 גָּזָז < O D L<sup>(out Weil 641)</sup> M V R B<sup>7</sup>Exod 30:4 פְּרָמָה

MP גּוּ בְּקִי וְשֵׁרֵי

וּמְמַטּוּ בְּרָמָה גּוּ וְסִימָנֵי לְשֵׂאת אֹתוֹ בְּרָמָה (Exod 30:4) וְעֵשֶׂה בְּצִלְאֵל (Exod 36:1) שְׁבוּן חֲלָקוֹ

(Hab 1:16)

**7** פְּרָמָה = O D L M V R | ~ B בְּרָמָה **8** פְּרָמָה = B | ~ O D L M V R גּוּ **9** פְּרָמָה O L R<sup>(Weil 579)</sup>| ~ M<sup>(extended, Ortega Monasterio 2002, 114)</sup> | < D V ? B<sup>10</sup>Exod 30:6 אָזָז<sup>11</sup>∅ MP(Num 7:89) וּבִבְאֵה מִשָּׁה (Num 4:5) אֹרֶהָ וּבֵאֵה אֹרֶהָ (Exod 30:6) חֲכַפְרַת<sup>13</sup> וְסִימָנֵי<sup>14</sup> מְמַטּוּ אֹרֶהָ גּוּ חֵטְ וְסִימָנֵי<sup>15</sup>**10** אָזָז = O D L M V R B **11** אָזָז ∅ L V B | O D R M חֵטְ גּוּ **12** אָזָז < O D L M V R B

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**1** In O, ff. 72v–73r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 168–169; in L, ff. 49v–50r; in M, f. 28v and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 113–115; in V, ff. 44r–44v; in R, ff. 69v–70r; in B, ff. 53r–v.

<sup>13</sup>קטֹרֶה סְמָיִם Exod 30:7

<sup>14</sup>MP ∅

MMu קטרת סמים ד' דסמיכין וסיני<sup>15</sup> והקטיר (Exod 30:7) ונולא (Lev 16:12) וקטר

<sup>ii</sup>[2 Chr 13:11] לוקרדיש (2Chr 2:3) ומקורייש

ד' O L D D | O M V B | קטֹרֶה סְמָיִם **14** קטֹרֶה סְמָיִם B | ~ O L D M R V | קטֹרֶה סְמָיִם **13**  
 R הִּי R | < M V B | O L <sup>(Weil 580)</sup> R (הִּי) | ~ D <sup>without 2Chr 2:3</sup> | < M V B

<sup>16</sup>Exod 30:7 פְּרִיטִיבָּיָהּ

<sup>17</sup>∅ MP

<sup>18</sup>MMu וברטיב ל' ומל<sup>18</sup>

פְּרִיטִיבָּיָהּ **18** ל' ל' | ל' ומל O D M V R B | ∅ O | פְּרִיטִיבָּיָהּ **17** פְּרִיטִיבָּיָהּ D M V | ~ O L R B | פְּרִיטִיבָּיָהּ **16**  
 < O D L M V R B

<sup>19</sup>Exod 30:8 וּפְרִיטִיבָּיָהּ

<sup>20</sup>∅ MP

<sup>21</sup>MMu ובהעלה ל' וחוס<sup>21</sup>

וּפְרִיטִיבָּיָהּ **20** וּפְרִיטִיבָּיָהּ ∅ B | O בהעלות O | ל' וחוס D L R | ל' בלש D | O D L M V R B | פְּרִיטִיבָּיָהּ **19**  
 M V R B | < M V R B | O <sup>(Weil 581)</sup> D L | ~ D L | בהעלה ל' ובהעלות ל' O <sup>(CM)</sup> = | וּפְרִיטִיבָּיָהּ **21** ל' וחוס M V

<sup>22</sup>Exod 30:9 ועלֶה [ומנחה]<sup>22</sup>

<sup>23</sup>MP ל' דל<sup>23</sup>

<sup>24</sup>∅ MM

ועלֶה ומנחה **24** < M B | O D L V R | ~ O | ועלֶה ומנחה **23** O D L M V R B | ועלֶה ומנחה **22**  
 ועלֶה ב' וסימניהן ל'א תעלו עליי גם סגור דלתות האולם D | ועלֶה ומנחה ל' O <sup>(CM)</sup> | O L M V R B | ∅

**i** Four cases announced but generally an additional case is also given.

**ii** The list is composed of 4 instances and one additional. The last instance most likely contains a mistake: במקטיר-ים instead of במקטיר-ים.

**iii** Elijah wrote probably a MP note instead of a MM note.

**iv** The MM in D refers to the term ועלֶה (we-olah).



<sup>36</sup>לַלֵּלִי Exod 30:14  
<sup>37</sup>מֵאֵי רֵאָה מֵאֵי  
<sup>38</sup>מֵאֵי רֵאָה / מֵאֵי רֵאָה

36 לַלֵּלִי] = O D L M V R | ~ B לַלֵּלִי 37 לַלֵּלִי] ~ D לֵּלִי | ~ O בטע רֵאָה פִּסְוֹן < | L M V R B 38 לַלֵּלִי <  
 O D L M [[V]] R B

\*\*\*

## Other Texts

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

לַלֵּלִי \ לַלֵּלִי

*Addendum* on Exod 30:6 in the margin, not from Elijah ha-Naqdan:

וּלְפָנֵי הַכֹּפֶרֶת אֶעֱרֵךְ עַל הַנְּדָדוֹת

*Addendum* of the entire verse of the Targum on Exod 30:7, by Elijah ha-Naqdan.

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vii See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

# Case 10: f. 100v, Exodus 32:13–32:25

Broken Tables beneath Mount Horeb

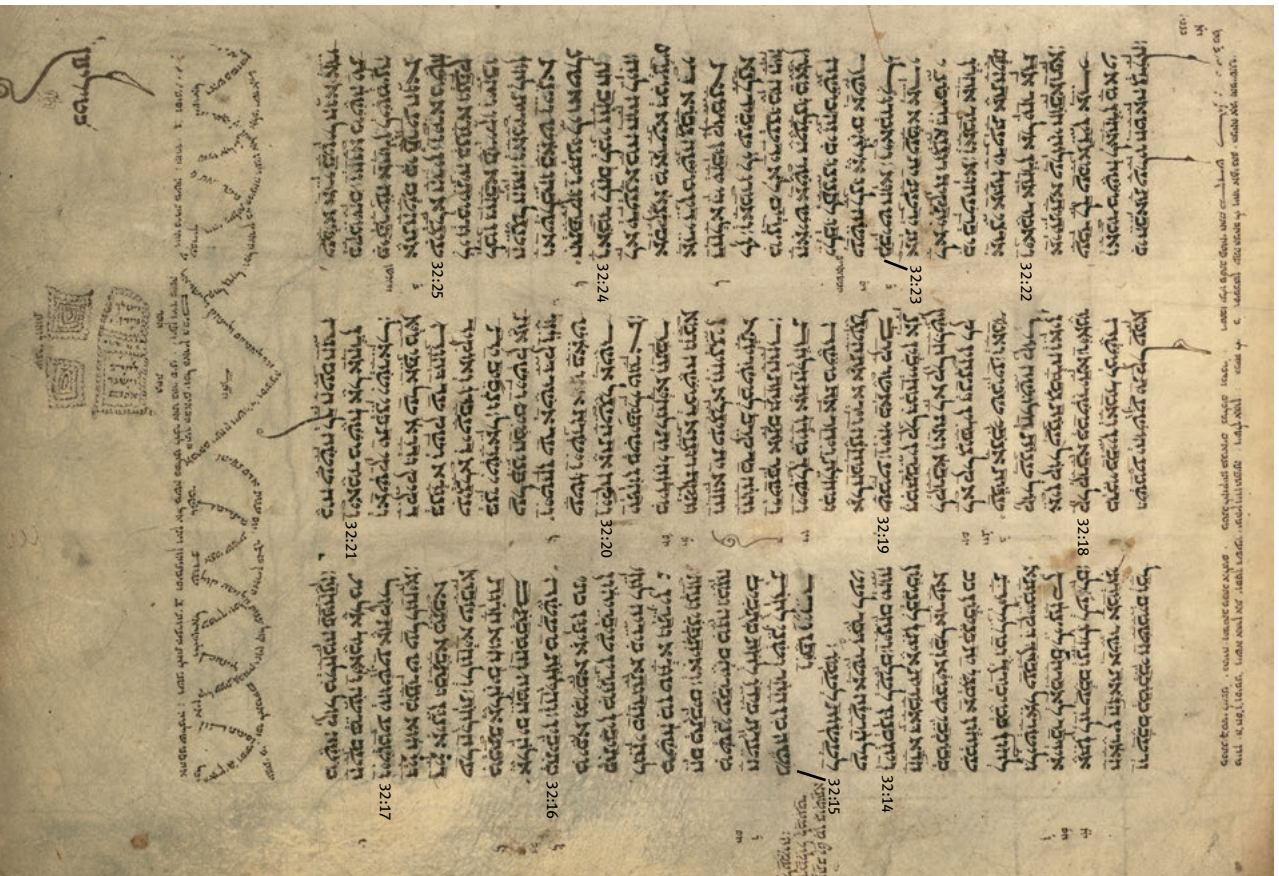


Plate 10: MS BAV, Vat. Edr. 14, f. 100v © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

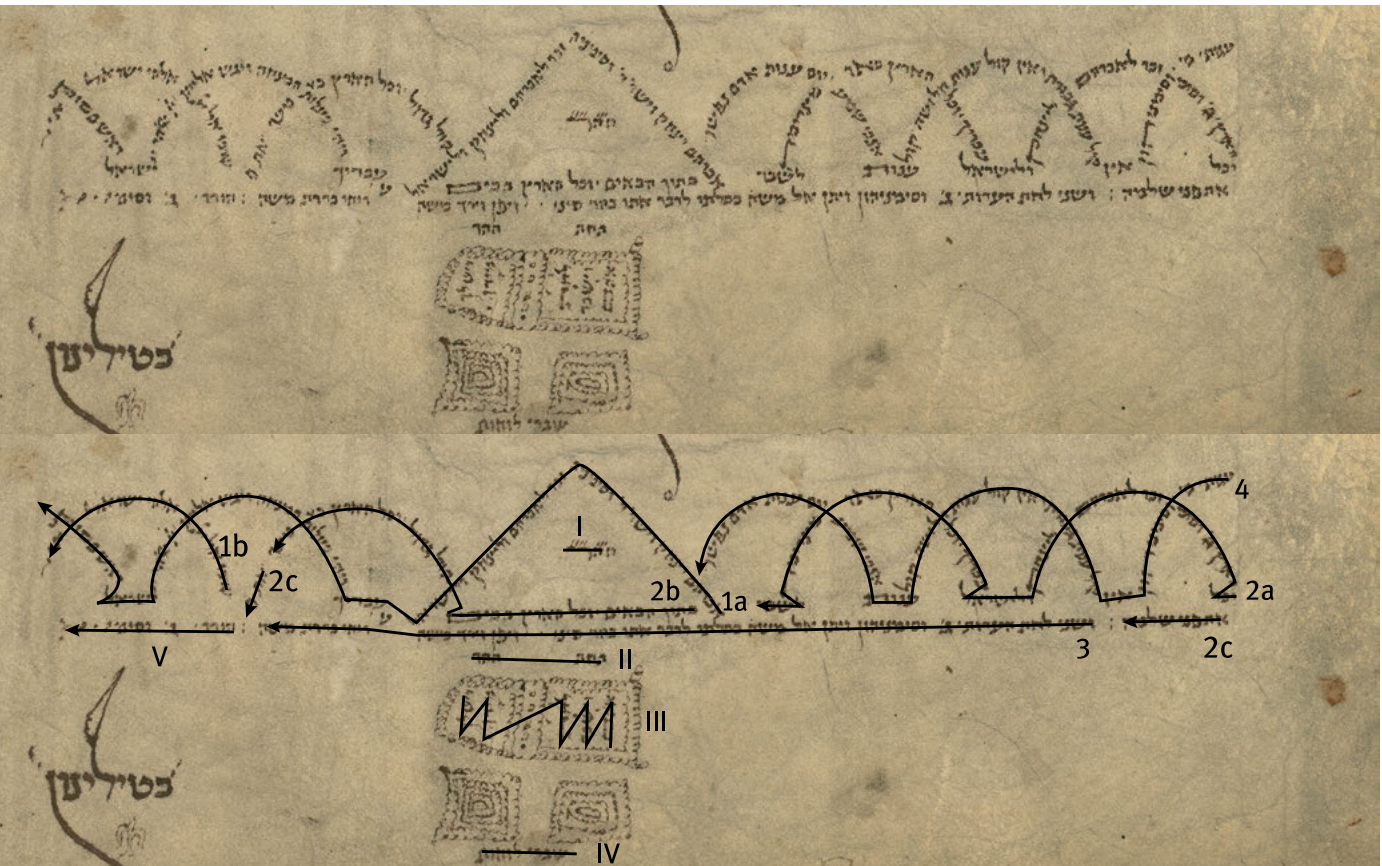


Figure 10: Case 10, lower margin with captions



**Masoretic notes on Exodus 32:13–32:25<sup>1</sup>**Exod 32:10 [תַּנְחִיחַוּ<sup>1</sup>]

[P∅ MP]

MMu הַנִּיחָה לִי בִּ וְסִימְנִיחוּךָ עִתָּה הַנִּיחָה לִי וַיְחַר אִפִּי בָהֶם (Exod 32:10) הַנִּיחָה אֹתִי וְהַמְחִישֵׁנִי (Judg 16:26)

הַנְּחִיחָה 3 לִּי M בִּ וְהַמְחִישֵׁנִי D בִּי O L V R בִּי O L V R | ∅ B [תַּנְחִיחָה 2 תַּנְחִיחָה B ~ O D L M V R | = הַנְּחִיחָה 1 < O [D?] L M [V]] R B

\*\*\*

Exod 32:13 [לְאַבְרָהָם לְצַחֵק וְלִישָׁרְאֵל<sup>4</sup>]

[5∅ MP]

MMffg \1a\ אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וַיִּשָׂרׁוּ דָּ וְסִימְנִיחוּ<sup>6</sup> זָכַר לְאַבְרָהָם וְלִישָׁרְאֵל עַבְדֶּיךָ (Exod 32:13) וַיְחִי בַעֲלֹת הַמְנַחֵה וַיִּגַּשׁ אֵלָיָהּ (IKgs 18:36) יִי אֱלֹהֵי [אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְ] יִשְׂרָאֵל רֹאשׁ פְּסוּק (1Chr 29:18) \טו\ שׁוּבוּ אֵל יִי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶ (2Chr 30:6)

[V ?] D M [V ?] = לְאַבְרָהָם 6 דִּ M V רִי < D M V R | < O L B R | ∅ O L B R [לְאַבְרָהָם 5 M V R B O D L M V R B = לְאַבְרָהָם 4 (Weil 4/47) | < O R B

Exod 32:13 [וְלִישָׁרְאֵל<sup>7</sup>][8<sup>i</sup> MP]

9∅ MM

O D L R | O D L R [וְלִישָׁרְאֵל 9 M V B < [O?]] M V B = D L R | < [וְלִישָׁרְאֵל 8 M V R B O D L M V R B = לִישָׁרְאֵל 7 (Weil 1967) M V B

Exod 32:13 וְכָל־הָאֲרָץ<sup>10</sup>

11∅ MP

MMffg \2a\ וְכָל הָאָרֶץ הִיא וְסִימְנִיחָה זָכַר לְאַבְרָהָם לִישָׁרְאֵל עַבְדֶּיךָ (Exod 32:13) וְכָל הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ מִצְרַיִמָה לְשִׁבּוֹר \ב\ בְּחֹד הַבָּאִים<sup>10</sup> (Gen 41:57) וְכָל הָאָרֶץ בָּנִים קֹלֵל גְּדוֹל (2Sam 15:23) וְכָל הָאָרֶץ [ב] בִּיעָר (1Sam 14:25) \כ\ [וְאֵת פִּי] אֵת פִּי שְׁלֹמֹה (IKgs 10:24)

<sup>1</sup> In O, ff. 74v–75r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, pp. 173–174; in L, ff. 51r; in M, ff. 29v–30r and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 125–128; in V, ff. 46v–47r; in R, f. 7i; in B, ff. 54v–55r.

<sup>i</sup> Lemma and MP on f. 100r.

<sup>ii</sup> Lemma and MP on f. 100r.

<sup>iii</sup> Lemma on f. 100r. MP facing Targum.

<sup>iv</sup> Refers to Gen 42:5.





מדדיו M ~ | הַ כְּתַב כּוֹ \ מַדְדֵי כּוֹ D ~ | הַ כְּתַב כּוֹ O ~ [מִתְּיָזָה] 38  
 [מִתְּיָזָה] 39 < B | מַדְדֵי כּוֹ R ~ | הַ חֵטְא דְּדֵי קִרְי מַדְדֵי הַ חֵטְ V ~ | הַ חֵטְ L ~ | קַ \ הַ כְּתַבְנִי יַדוּ וּמְרִיז יַדוּ  
 = DR | < O D L M [[V ?]] B

<sup>40</sup>יִטְחֶן Exod 32:20

<sup>41</sup>לֵּ MP

<sup>42</sup>∅ MM

40 [יִטְחֶן] ∅ O D L M V R | ~ B יִטְחֶן 41 [יִטְחֶן] = D L M R | < O V B 42 [יִטְחֶן] ∅ O D L M  
 V R B

<sup>43</sup>יִאֲמְרוּ Exod 32:23

<sup>44</sup>בִּזְ דַּס הַנְּשֵׂאִיִּים (Neh 1:3)

<sup>45</sup>∅ MM

43 בִּזְ L V R | ~ D M | ~ L V R | = D M | ~ L V R | < [יִאֲמְרוּ] ~ O D L M V R יִאֲמְרוּ לֵי B ~ | [יִאֲמְרוּ] לֵי O B 45 ∅ O D L M V R B

<sup>46</sup>הִתְפָּרְקוּ Exod 32:24

<sup>47</sup>לֵּ MP

<sup>48</sup>∅ MM

46 [הִתְפָּרְקוּ] ∅ O D L M V R B 47 [הִתְפָּרְקוּ] = O D L R | < M V B 48 [הִתְפָּרְקוּ] ∅ O D L M  
 V R B

<sup>49</sup>פָּרַעַת Exod 32:25

<sup>50</sup>בִּזְ וְרֵאשֵׁי (Lev 13:45)

<sup>51</sup>∅ MM

בִּזְ חֵטְ O D L | לֵּ חֵטְ וְאֵ מַלְ B | בִּזְ וְרֵאשֵׁי חֵטְ וּחְד מַלְ V = [פָּרַעַת] 50 [פָּרַעַת] 51 לֵּ כְּתַבְנֵי M ~ | חֵטְ וּחְד מַלְ  
 בִּזְ חֵטְ וּחְד מַלְ חֵטְ וּחְד מַלְ M [פָּרַעַת] ∅ O V R B | D L <sup>(Weil 599)</sup> [פָּרַעַת] 51 לֵּ כְּתַבְנֵי M ~ | חֵטְ וּחְד מַלְ  
 יַדִּיר פּוֹדַע כִּי פּוֹרַע חוּא

\*\*\*

## Other Texts

MM anticipating on הורד in Exod 33:5:

V הורד ג וסיק<sup>viii</sup>

Captions quoting Exod 32:19 and describing the figurative form and its elements (the Mount; beneath the Mount, the unbroken and then the broken tables):

I החר

II תחת החר

III תחת החר וישלך מידו [את ה]לחת וישבר אתם

IV ישברי לוחות

לִקְא

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

*Addendum* of the entire verse of the Targum on Exod 32:14, in the margin, not from Elijah ha-Naqdan.

---

viii This MM exists in Vat14, f. 101v, תו סמני' קודד תמים באף תו, f. 101v, תו סמני' קודד תמים באף תו (see Weil 604).

ix See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

# Case 11: f. 101r, Exodus 32:26–33:1

“Every son of Levi is now a sword” (Exod 32:27)<sup>1</sup>

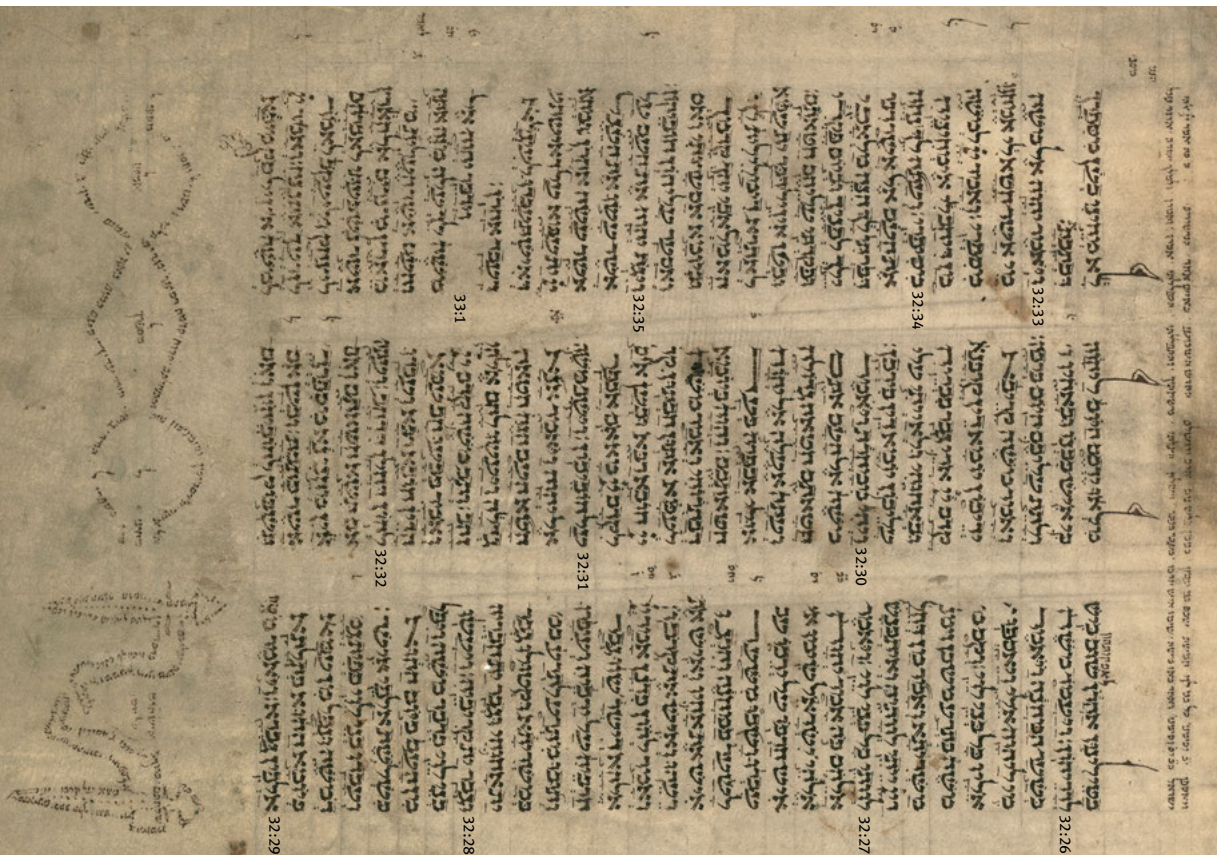


Plate 11: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 101r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

<sup>1</sup> Injunction of Moses to Levites (Exod 32:27).

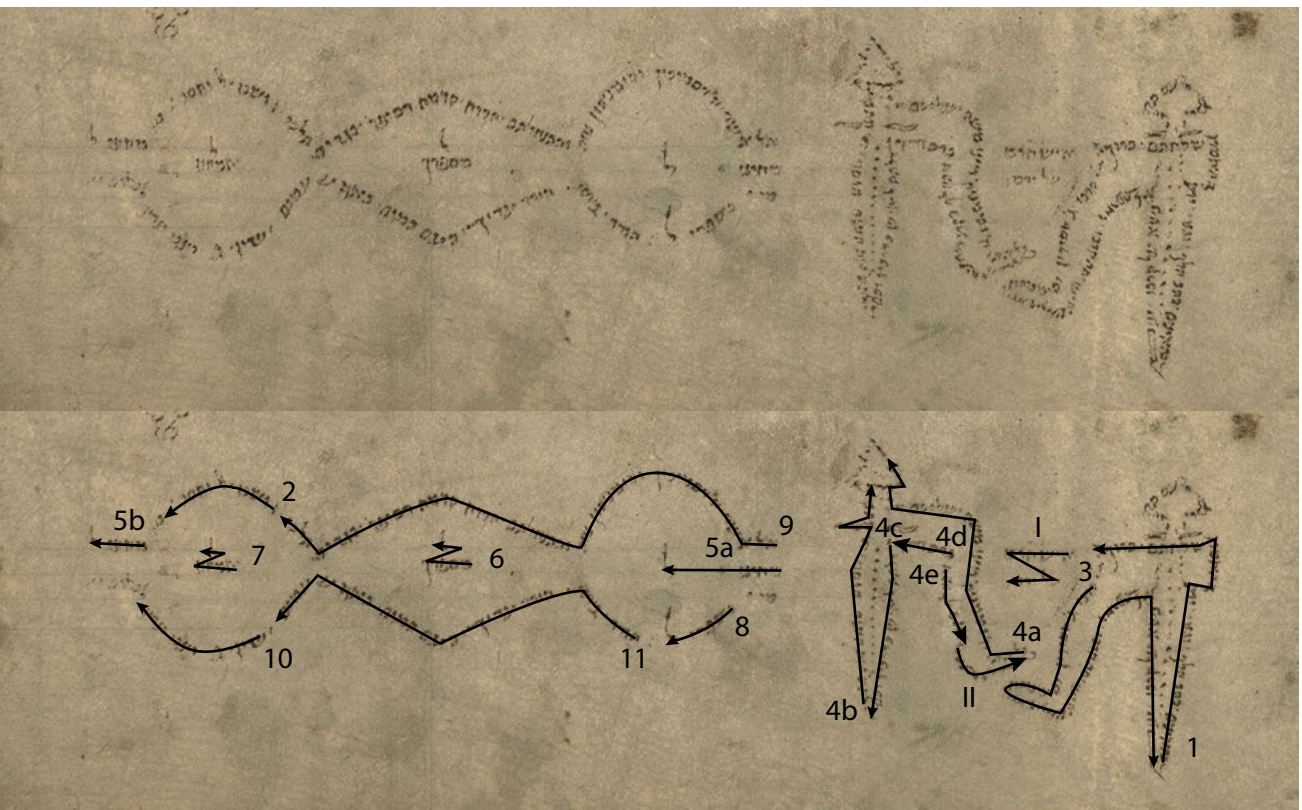


Figure 11: Case 11, lower margin with captions







22  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{ODLMV RB}$  23  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{DL MVR} | < \text{OB}$  24  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} < \text{ODLMV RB}$

<sup>25</sup>  $\text{קַחְוִי} \text{Exod 32:32}$

<sup>26</sup> לֵּ MP

<sup>27</sup> לֵּ \ 6 \ MMor

25  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{ODLMV RB}$  26  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{DL MVR B} | < \text{O}$  27  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} < \text{ODLMVR}$

<sup>28</sup>  $\text{קַחְוִי} \text{Exod 32:33}$

<sup>29</sup> לֵּ MP

<sup>30</sup> לֵּ \ 7 \ MMor

28  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{ODLMV RB}$  29  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{OL MR} | < \text{DV B}$  30  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} < \text{ODLMV RB}$

<sup>31</sup>  $\text{קַחְוִי} \text{Exod 32:33}$

<sup>32</sup> לֵּ MP

<sup>33</sup> לֵּ \ 8 \ MMor

31  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{ODLMV RB}$  32  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{DL M} | < \text{OVR B}$  33  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} < \text{ODLMV RB}$

<sup>34</sup>  $\text{קַחְוִי} \text{Exod 32:34}$

<sup>35</sup> הֵּ דִסֵּ MP

הרחח ויהתהללחם (Exod 32:34) והתהללחם (Num 33:54) הלהו (Ruth 1:16) וסימניהו<sup>36</sup> נחה (Ezek 42:14) בודים (Ezek 1:12) קדמה דיפול

34  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{V} | \sim \text{ODLMRB}$ -  $\text{קַחְוִי}$  35  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{DL VR} | < \text{OMB}$  36  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{OL}$  <sup>(Well 62)</sup>  $| < \text{DM} [[\text{V?}]] \text{RB}$

<sup>37</sup>  $\text{קַחְוִי} \text{Exod 32:35}$

<sup>38</sup> לֵּ MP

<sup>39</sup>  $\emptyset \text{MM}$

37  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{ODLMV RB}$  38  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} = \text{O} | < \text{DL MVR B}$  39  $\text{[קַחְוִי]} \emptyset \text{ODLMV RB}$

Exod 33:1 וְדַבֵּר יְהוָה<sup>40</sup>  
 MP ט̄ חט̄ לאמרי<sup>41</sup>  
<sup>42</sup>Ø MM

ג̄ בתו D ~ | ז̄ בתו L V R יהוה<sup>41</sup> וְדַבֵּר יְהוָה<sup>41</sup> ~ O D L M V R B D וְדַבֵּר יְהוָה<sup>40</sup> וְדַבֵּר יְהוָה<sup>40</sup> וְדַבֵּר יְהוָה<sup>40</sup> | חט̄ לאמר וסי-י V | O L M B Ø וְדַבֵּר יְהוָה<sup>42</sup> < O M B | לאמר דחט̄ מנהוּן לך רד לך עלה מזה אחרי מות שני בני אהרן בהר יהוה סיני דשביעית במדבר סיני דריש ידבר ייי אל משה ז̄ וסימנהוּן לך R | סופרא במדבר סיני דפסח בערבת מואב וחברו בעצם היום הזה וידבר ייי אל משה D | עלה מזה אמרי מות בהר דשביעי במדבר ריש פט סיני דפסח בערבת בעצם לך רד לך עלה אחרי מות דחט̄ לאמר ג̄ בתורה

Exod 33:1 הַעֲלִיָּה<sup>43</sup>  
<sup>44</sup>MP  
<sup>45</sup>Ø MM

ג̄ קדמא הַעֲלִיָּה תגנא V ~ | O D L R B | הַעֲלִיָּה<sup>44</sup> = O D L R B | הַעֲלִיָּה<sup>43</sup> | העליָה<sup>43</sup> < M 45 הַעֲלִיָּה<sup>45</sup> Ø O D M B | L V R (Weil 603)

Exod 33:4 וְעִדְיָי<sup>46</sup> [MP]  
<sup>47</sup>Ø MP

MMor \10\ עידיי ג̄<sup>48</sup> ועבי עדיי (Ezek 7:20) לבלום (Ps 32:9)

ג̄ א בתו א בנביא א V | ל וט בתרי לישי M ג̄ D L R | O B | עידיי<sup>47</sup> = O D L M V R B עידיי<sup>46</sup> | העתובים<sup>46</sup> בבתובים<sup>48</sup> = M (Weil 2796) < O [[D?]] L (Weil 2796) [[V?]] R B

Exod 33:5 [הוֹרֵד]<sup>49</sup>  
<sup>50</sup>Ø MP]

MMor \1\ הורד ג̄ וסי<sup>51</sup> הורד עדיד (Exod 33:5) העם המים (Judg 7:4) באפי עמים (Ps 56:8) [MMor הורד ג̄ וסימנהוּן עדיד המים באפי<sup>א</sup>]

= [הוֹרֵד 51 ג̄ אל המים אלהים V | ג̄ D L M R | O B | Ø [הוֹרֵד 50] = O D L M V R B [הוֹרֵד 49] = O D L M (Weil 604) R | < O [[V?]] B

\*\*\*

viii See the lemma and MP in Vat14, f. 101v.

ix See the lemma and MP in Vat14, f. 101v.

x See Vat14, f. 101v.

## Other Texts

Caption:

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

אִישׁ חֲרָבוֹ עַל יָדָיו I  
לְכָיִן

Illegible text: see II.

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**xi** See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.

**Case 12: f. 104r, Exodus 35:1–35:15**  
Menorah (from the Tabernacle)

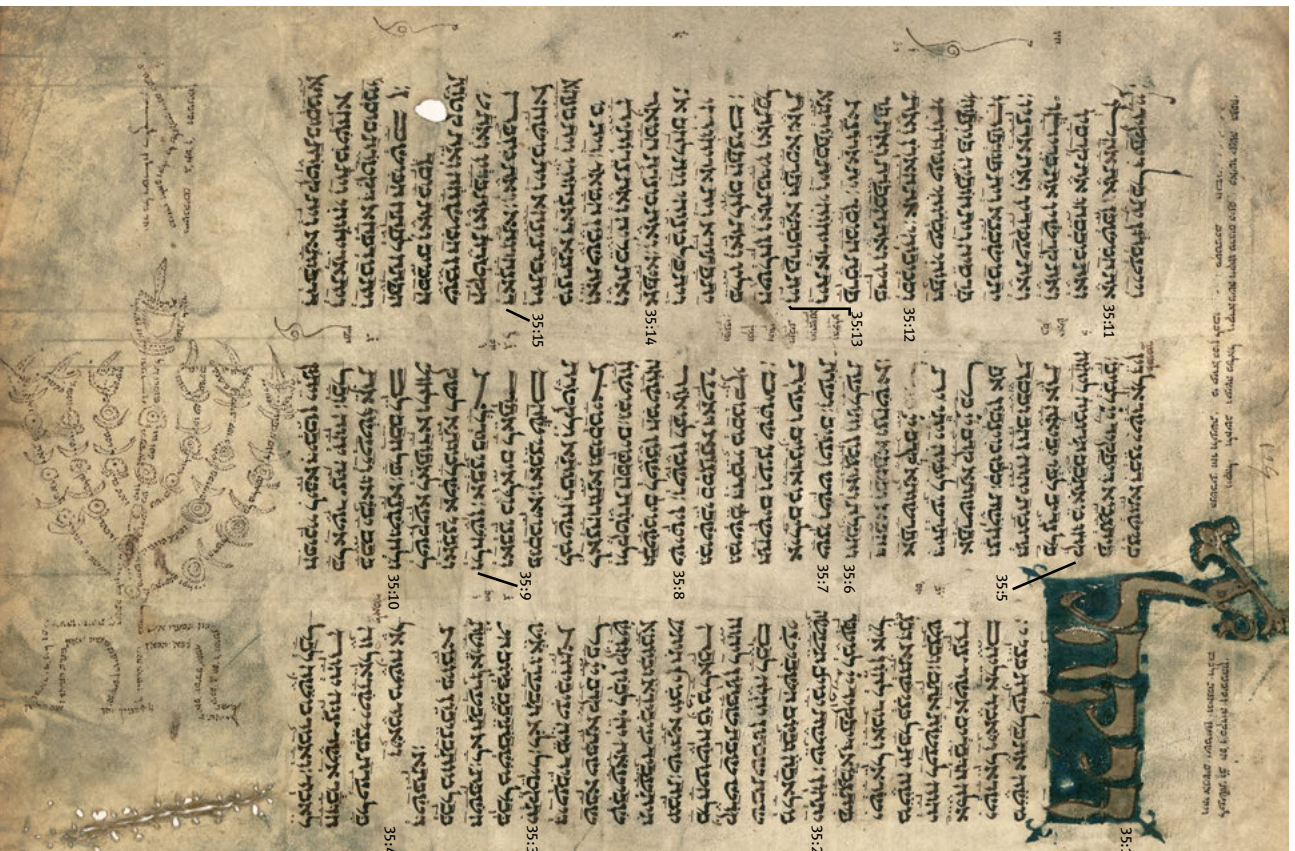


Plate 12: MS BAV, Vat. Edr. 14, f. 104r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



Figure 12: Case 12, lower margin with captions

### Masoretic notes on Exodus 35:1–35:15<sup>1</sup>

[<sup>11</sup>] לְרֵאשִׁיתָיִם] Exodus 33:20

[<sup>2111</sup>] הָ הָ הָ MP

[?] (Exod 10:5) פָּ בֹא (Gen 11:3 / Gen 11:5) לֹדְמוֹר לֹדְמוֹר גִּ' הָ הָ וְסִימְנִיקָיִם לֹדְמוֹר / 1 / MMffg

1 לְרֵאשִׁיתָיִם] = O D L V M V R B 2 לְרֵאשִׁיתָיִם] = O D M V R | < L B 3 לְרֵאשִׁיתָיִם] = L<sup>[Weil 608]</sup> V B | < O D M R

<sup>1</sup> In O, ff. 76v, 77v–78r; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 177, 180–181; in L, ff. 52v–53r; in M, ff. 30r, 31r–31v, and Ortega Monasterio 2002, 143–145; in V, ff. 48v, 50v–51r; in R, f. 72v, 74r; in B, ff. 56r, 56v–57r.

<sup>1</sup> From f. 102r.

<sup>ii</sup> From f. 102r.

לעשת D<sup>4</sup> Exod 35:1

MP ז' חט<sup>5</sup>

לעשת D<sup>4</sup> Exod 35:1 ויקהל (Exod 35:1) ולחשב (Exod 35:32) ועשה בצלאל  
 MMtu יוקרא משה (Exod 36:2) ויקחו (Exod 36:3) מרבית העם (Exod 36:5) באשר  
 עשה (Lev 8:34) הפסח (Num 9:4) וירי אגשים (Num 9:6) ישמיעו (Neh 8:15) ובתונה  
 (Neh 12:27) וילכם הנשמע (Neh 13:27) וחד ולעשת כי עזרא הכין לכבו (Ezra 7:10)

לעשת D ~ M | = M | = [לעשת<sup>6</sup> 6 ז' חט<sup>7</sup> D R R ~] = O L M V B | ~ D R R ~  
 ז' חט וסימנחון ויקהל משה ולחשב מושבת ועשה בצלאל ויקרא משה ויקחו מלפני משה ויאמרו אל  
 משה באשר עשה ביום וידבר משה דפסח וירי אגשים כי עזרא הכין ואשר ישמיעו ובתונה חומת ולכם  
 משה באשר עשה ביום וידבר משה דפסח וירי אגשים כי עזרא הכין ואשר ישמיעו ובתונה חומת ולכם  
 M | = O L M V R B 5 [לעשת<sup>7</sup> 5 O D L M V R B ~] הנשמע  
 < | O L [[V?]] B <sup>13</sup> but <sup>12</sup> indicated without Esr 7:10 ~ R

Exod 35:3 מעשתהיב<sup>7</sup>

ז' חט<sup>8</sup> ז' חט<sup>8</sup> MP

MMtu מעשתהיב חטר (Exod 35:3)  
 MMfig /2a/ מעשתהיב ז' חט ז' וסימנחון תבערו אש בכל מעשתהיב (Exod 35:3) ולחם וקלי  
 ורכמל (Lev 23:14) כל מלאכה דיום הכפורי[ם] | תראה (Lev 23:31) וחד דשלה ל[ך] [?] |  
 מעשתהיב כחב (Num 15:2)<sup>iii</sup>  
 MMor /2b/ [מעשתהיב ז' חט ז' וסימנחון<sup>9</sup> תבערו (Exod 35:3) ולחם וקלי (Lev 23:14) כל  
 מלאכה דיום הכפורים (Lev 23:31) וחד מל [פרישת] דשלה לך<sup>iv</sup>]

ז' חט<sup>9</sup> R ~ | סימו ז' חט<sup>9</sup> O ~ | L D M V | = L D M V | מעשתהיב<sup>8</sup> 8 מעשתהיב<sup>8</sup> B ~ | O L D M V R | = מעשתהיב<sup>7</sup> 7  
 לא תבערו אש ולחם וקלי ורכמל כל מלאכה O ~ | D M <sup>(Mel 798)</sup> = מעשתהיב<sup>9</sup> 9 ז' חט וזו B ~ | במו  
 ראש פל דאך בעשור מעשתהיב כחב בכל מעשתהיב הערים ממדבר דבלחה מושבתהיב מושבתהיב  
 מעשתהיב ז' חט וסימנחון לא תבערו אש בכל מעשתהיב הערים תחרבנה ממדבר דבלחה מושבתהיב כחב  
 ורכמל כל מלאכה לא תבערו אש ולחם וקלי ורכמל כל R ~ | בחיבם כחב ושאר<sup>a</sup> מעשתהיב מושבתהיב כחב  
 מעשתהיב לא תבערו אש ולחם וקלי ורכמל כל R ~ | בחיבם כחב ושאר<sup>a</sup> מעשתהיב מושבתהיב כחב  
 מעשתהיב ז' חט וזו תבערו ולחם וקלי כל מלאכה דכפורים B ~ | מלאכה לא תעשו ז' חט כו סימנחון  
 | < L

Exod 35:5 קח<sup>10</sup>

MP ז' ראש פל<sup>11</sup>

MMfig /3/ קחו ה' ראש פקודים וסימנ<sup>12</sup> תרומה (Exod 35:5) [?] מן העם (Josh 4:2) [נש]  
 נשים והולידו (Jer 29:6) קחו [עם] עמכם דברים ושבו (Hos 14:3) קחו [מן] מוסרי ואל כספי  
 (Prov 8:10)

<sup>iii</sup> The case in Vat14 (Num 15:2) is indeed *plene* and is included in the biblical section *Shetach lecha* (Num 13:1–15:41).

<sup>iv</sup> See previous footnote.







Case 13: f. 113r, Exodus 40:37–Leviticus 1:10  
 Alphabetical Masorah (Hazaq)

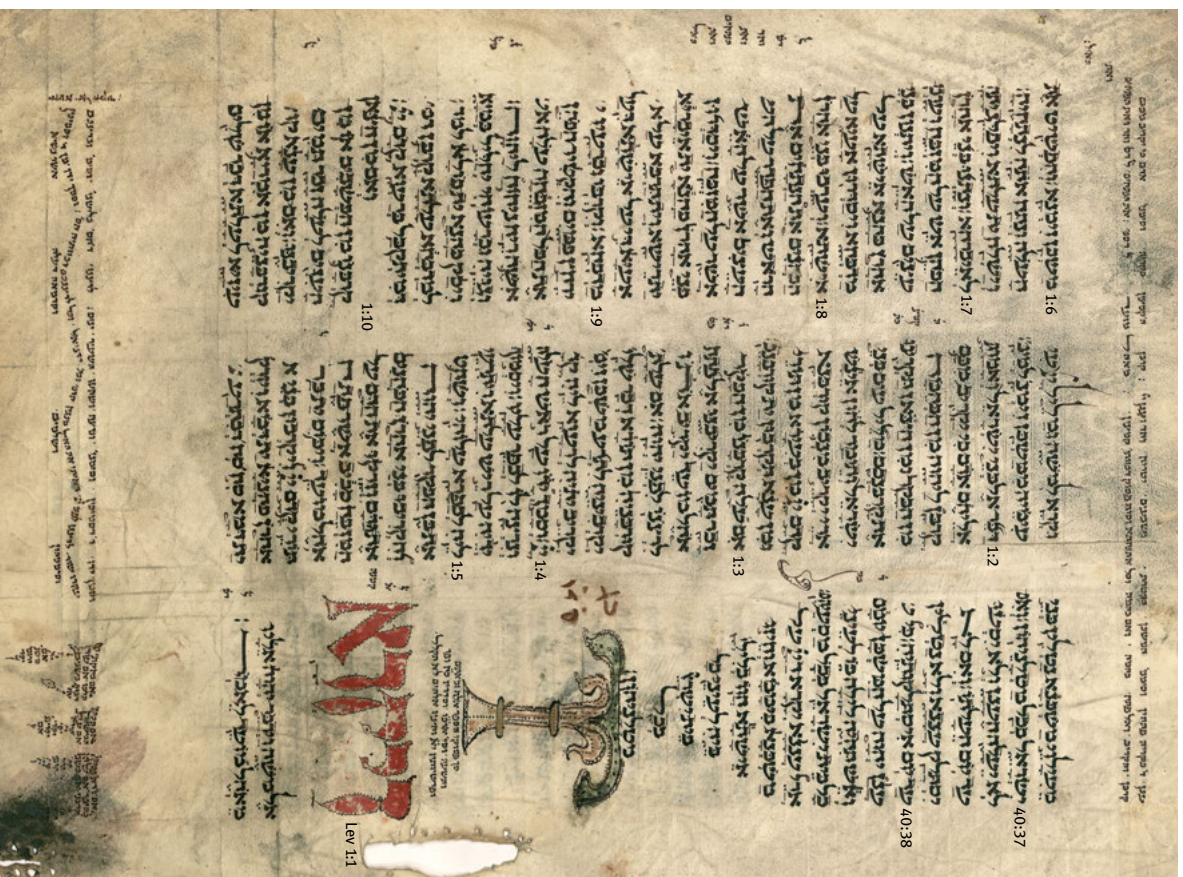


Plate 13: MS Bav, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 113r © 2014 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



Figure 13: Case 13, lower margin with captions

## Masoretic notes on Exod 40:37–Lev 1:10<sup>1</sup>

Exod 40:38

MP וּבַקֵּץ

MMu עַן ז' בַּקֵּרְיָה פִּתְחוֹן וְסִימָנָיִךְ הַמִּשְׁכָּן (Exod 40:38) הַקְטֹרֶת (Lev 16:3) וְשִׁבְעִים  
(Num 10:34) וְיִירָה (Ezek 8:11) וְיִירָה (Job 37:11) וְחַד וְעֵנַן יִי (Num 10:34)

1 < V B | ז' רִפְיִין M ~ | ז' R ~ | ז' L ~ | ז' וְחַד וְעֵנַן O D ~ 2 עֵנַן B | ~ O D L M V R | ~ [עֵנַן] 1  
3 [עֵנַן] = M R <sup>(Weil 758)</sup> | < O D L <sup>(but Weil 758)</sup> V B

MF סָד פְּסוּקֵי הַסֵּפֶר אֵלֶּךָ וּמֵאֲתָתִים וְהַשֵּׁעִי<sup>4</sup>רָה

וְסִי אֲרִכִי<sup>5</sup>

וְסִדְרֵי כִי<sup>6</sup>הָ

{וּפְרָ} וּפְרִיזוֹתָיו יִיָּא וְהַצִּי אֱלֹהִים לֹא תִקְלָל<sup>7</sup>

4 MF = L M V R B B | ~ D סֵפֶר אֵלֶּךָ רִיטֵי D | ~ O 5 MF ~ M V R בְּרִיזוֹן < O L V R B 7 MF = M V | < O D L B 6 MF ~ M V כִּיטֵי < O L V R B 7 MF = M V | < O D L V R B

\*\*\*

## LEVITICUS

Lev 1:1 מִןאֲהָל מוֹעֵד־1

MP ל' דַּעֲ2

MMM מֵאֲהָל מוֹעֵד ל' דַּסַּבֵּל<sup>3</sup> (Lev 1:1)

1 [מִןאֲהָל מוֹעֵד] = O D L M V R B 2 [מִןאֲהָל מוֹעֵד] ~ R D L <sup>(מֵאֲהָל on)</sup> | < O M V B 3 [מִןאֲהָל מוֹעֵד] ~ R D L <sup>(מֵאֲהָל on)</sup> (=Weil 660) | < O M V B

<sup>1</sup> In Q, see ff. 85r–85v; in D, see Löwinger 1978, I, 197–198; in L, ff. 56v–57r; in M, f. 34r, see Ortega Monasterio 2002, 174–175 and see Azcárraga Servet 2004, 3–5; in V, ff. 59v–60r; in R, ff. 79v–80r; in B, ff. 61v–62r.

Lev 1:2 קְרָתָיִי<sup>4</sup>

MP הָ קמנצ בתָּ

וּמְמַמ קרבֵּן הָ קמנצִין בקרייה וסימנֵי<sup>6</sup> אוֹם כִּי יקריב מנכֵּם קרבֵּן (Lev 1:2) וחקריב (Lev 7:14) ואל פתח (Lev 17:4) בהמה (Lev 27:11) ואֵם בהמה (Lev 27:9) וכל אותנתתא וסוף פסוק דכרותי קמנצִין

הָ קמנצִין וסינֵן בר נשֵׁי מקרבֵּם קרבנָא V | ~ O D L M R | = O D L M R <sup>5</sup> קְרָתָיִי = O D L M R B <sup>6</sup> קְרָתָיִי = V | ~ O D L M R B | = V | ~ O D L M R B [D] < O | קרבֵּן הָ בר נשא מקריב קרבנָא בתננָא V | ~ V <sup>(Well 694)</sup> M? R <sup>(Well 694)</sup> M? R <sup>(Well 694)</sup> B [out Well 694]

מ<sup>7</sup> Lev 1:3

MP ז רֵא פלֵּם<sup>8</sup>

וּמְמַמִּיג / 1a/ אֵם ז רֵא פסוקיִּי בסופֵי<sup>9</sup> אֵם עֵלָה קרבנֵי (Lev 1:3) אֵם כִּשֵׁב (הָ) {קָר} הוֹקֵר הוּא [מ]קרבֵּם (Lev 3:7) / 1b/ אֵם הִכֵּחַ הַמְשִׁיחַ (Lev 4:3) אֵם עֵל תוֹרֵה {יָ} {יקָ} {יקָר} {יקָרִי} יקָרִי [ב] נו (Lev 7:12) {אֵם} / 1c/ אֵם בַּחֲקֵי תִלְכוּ (Lev 26:3) אֵם עוֹד רְבוּת בְּשׁוּיִם (Lev 25:51) אֵם {אֵם} מְשַׁנֵּת הֵיבֵל יקָרִי (Lev 27:17)

7 O D L M V R B <sup>8</sup> אֵם | ~ O D L V R <sup>9</sup> אֵם | < M B < ז רֵא בסִיפֵי O D L M V R B <sup>7</sup> אֵם |

Lev 1:3 לְרָצְעָיִי<sup>10</sup>

MP  $\emptyset$ <sup>11</sup>

וּמְמֹר / 2/ לְרָצְעוּ זְ הַסְּ בְּלִישׁוֹן וְסִימָן וּבְרַצְעָם עַקְרוּ שׁוֹר (Gen 49:6) לְרָצְעוּ לַכְּנִי יִי (Lev 1:3) רֵאִיתִי אֵת הָאֵל מְנַגֵּה קוֹדֵם וְכֵן דְּדִינָאֵל (Dan 8:4) וְכֵל לְרָצְעָנְכֶם דְּכוּתוּתֵיהּ הַסְּ<sup>12</sup>

[לְרָצְעָיִי] <sup>12</sup> 12 לְהַסְּ L | הַסְּ D | זְ הַסְּ בְּלִישׁוֹן וְסִימָן וּבְרַצְעָם עַקְרוּ שׁוֹר רֵאִיתִי אֵת הָאֵל עֵשָׂה כְּרָצְעוּ וְהוֹדִילֵי B | ~ R | = O D L <sup>(out Well 387/4)</sup> M V R

Lev 1:4 וְקַמְתָּ יְיָיִי<sup>13</sup>

MP דְּ דֵס<sup>14</sup>

וּמְמֹר / 3a/ וְסַמְךְ יִדּוּ זְ דְסַמְכִינִי וְסִימְנֵי<sup>15</sup> וְנִרְצָה (Lev 1:4) וְשַׁחֲטוּ (Lev 3:2) הַשְׁעִיר (Lev 4:24) יְנוּט (Amos 5:19) / 3b/ וְסַמְךְ יִדּוּ מִן זְ דְסַמְכִינִי וְסִימְנֵיהוֹן דִּישְׁלַמְיִים (Lev 3:1?) וְקִדְמָאָה דַּעְלָה (Lev 1:4) אֲשֶׁר נִשְׂיָא יִהְיֵא (Lev 4:22?) אֵל הַקִּירִי (Amos 5:19)

13 < M V B | בתו ג R | ~ R < O D L | = O D L <sup>14</sup> וְקַמְתָּ יְיָיִי <sup>13</sup> וְקַמְתָּ יְיָיִי = O D L M V R | ~ B יְיָיִי | ~ B יְיָיִי = O D L M V R <sup>(Well 3065)</sup> = O <sup>15</sup> וְקַמְתָּ יְיָיִי <sup>15</sup> וְקַמְתָּ יְיָיִי = O

אָתְּ הַנְּתִיחִים<sup>16</sup> Lev 1:8

MP ל' דל (Lev 1:8) וחד ואת הנתחים ואת האל<sup>17</sup>(Lev 8:20)

טMM (את הנתחים ל' דל (Lev 1:8) וחד ואת הנתחים ואת האל<sup>18</sup>(Lev 8:20)

M | ~ O | ~ [אָתְּ הַנְּתִיחִים 17 אָתְּ הַנְּתִיחִים ~ V | ~ אָתְּ הַנְּתִיחִים B | ~ O D L M R | = אָתְּ הַנְּתִיחִים 16  
R V L < | סמנ קדמאה את הנתח ואת הראש ואת הפדר תניז את ראש את הנתחים ואת הפדר  
R B V L D < | אָתְּ הַנְּתִיחִים 18 O D L M ? V R B

Lev 1:9 גירון<sup>19</sup>

MP ג' מל<sup>20</sup>

MM Ø<sup>21</sup>

B V < | ג' מל M ~ | ג' מל בהו D L R | ~ O M | = [גירון 20 גירח B | ~ O D L M V R | = גירון<sup>19</sup> 19  
B R B V L M D Ø [גירון<sup>21</sup> 21

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## Other Texts

Uncertain signs (reading marks?):

כְּ? \ לְ?

<sup>i</sup> See Appendix 2, Graphic Signs.



## Concluding Remarks

This edition tackles the prevailing disregard for the philological features of Ashkenazic biblical manuscripts by examining the material characteristics of some of these codices. It represents the first attempt ever made to trace and evaluate the transmission of Masoretic knowledge in northern France. As described above, this knowledge, can be transmitted through micrographical figurative designs and shows to what extent the Masorah of Ben Asher Codices was followed in Europe.

A comparison between the Masoretic notes on Exodus located within figurative forms in Vat14 and the Masorah on Exodus found in a group of eastern Tiberian manuscripts (O, D, L, M) made it possible to create a critical apparatus, and therefore to evaluate how influential the standard Tiberian sources apparently had been on Elijah ha-Nagdan. Going one step further, the use of V, R and B in the apparatus introduces the possibility of interrogating early medieval Ashkenazic sources that might reflect an expanded Tiberian tradition. The thirteen case studies I examined are not sufficient to draw definitive or general conclusions on the Masoretic tradition transmitted by Vat14. A critical edition of the entire manuscript is needed before this can happen. Nonetheless, this partial edition sheds light on several issues, and suggests further steps for investigation.

*I/ There is a close philological link between the Masorah of Vat14 and those of the eastern Tiberian sources*

This critical edition demonstrates that, in the majority of cases I examined in Vat14, not only was it possible to identify the Masoretic notes but they were comprehensive and presented strong parallels with those of the oldest eastern Tiberian codices (O, D, L). Furthermore, this led me to discover a list of Masoretic notes compiled in the *Sefer Ochlal we Ochlal*.<sup>1</sup> More research is needed in order to ascertain whether or not this list was copied directly from an independent codex. Although this question lies beyond the scope of the present study, the present edition nevertheless strongly suggests that Nagdan had access to manuscripts containing ancient material. In particular, one of the notes that Elijah wrote in the margin of Vat14 (Vat14, f. 256r) provides evidence that, while reviewing a segment of text, he made a comparison with a Masoretic note (or biblical passage)?<sup>2</sup> in a *yashan noshan mugah*, a very old corrected

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<sup>1</sup> See Case 4, on Exod 12:7, lemma תַּיִשָּׁן וְנִשָּׂן מִגֹּאֲזֵי.

<sup>2</sup> According to G. Khan, whom I thank for this comment, it is not totally clear whether the author is referring to a Masoretic note from an old manuscript or to the biblical text in an old manuscript. Although it would be more usual to understand the term *masoret* to refer to a Masoretic note, further research is needed on the use of the term *masoret* in the context of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.





Masoretic Bible (or exemplar).<sup>3</sup> Is this a reference to an older Ashkenazic manuscript used as an exemplar in the area where Elijah was copying Vat14 or was it his way of referring to a model codex in the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition?<sup>4</sup> Although it is not possible to answer this question here, it certainly seems probable that Elijah was familiar with Tiberian sources.

Comparing Vat14 to other Ashkenazic manuscripts (V, B and R) has familiarized me with their numerous variants. My edition demonstrates i) that Vat14 has both Ben Asher Tiberian philological features and other features which I will call for now 'Anglo-Norman', ii) that V and B also present Ben Asher Tiberian philological features but include more Anglo-Norman features than Vat14, and iii) that R displays only Ben Asher Tiberian philological features and has almost none of the Anglo-Norman features that appear in Vat14, V and B.<sup>5</sup> There is much that we do not know about the origins of these variants, and this is largely due to the fact that not many of the oldest Hebrew sources produced in Europe have survived. In the frame of reference defined by the two hypotheses of European Masoretic transmission which I proposed in the Prologue,<sup>6</sup> these elements (i, ii, and iii) could be interpreted both as local developments of the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition in northern France and as surviving traces of a preexisting non-standard Tiberian tradition, or indeed as exhibiting the hypothetical influence of non-Tiberian traditions. I am inclined to agree with the first interpretation, mostly in light of the fact that the variants of Vat14, V and B seem to be different from those found in Codex Reuchlinianus, which scholars consider to be representative of the non-standard (expanded) Tiberian tradition produced in Europe.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the variants found in Vat14, V and B call for further research in

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<sup>3</sup> In general, the term *mugah* (מִגָּה) was used to describe an attribute of Masoretic Bibles in general but it could also refer to a 'model' codex. See Appendix 2, Annotations.

<sup>4</sup> The sole purpose of exemplar manuscripts or model codices was to preserve the entire biblical tradition, i.e., both the written and the reading traditions. They were used as models for the copy of other manuscripts (or Torah Scrolls) and each region had books which were considered authoritative and copies were made of them. Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 23; Khan 2012, 7–8.

<sup>5</sup> R, which is related to Vat. Ebr. 468 and dated 1215, is written in an Ashkenazic palaeographical script. Its Masorah is closer to the Masorah of O, D, and L than to the Masorah of Vat14, V and B. In this case too, these differences may be explained by the manuscript's material and cultural context: La Rochelle was a famous Atlantic harbor, and this maritime activity may have meant that a number of manuscripts were in circulation, along with other goods. Although he wrote in an Ashkenazic script, the scribe may have had more contact with non-Ashkenazic manuscripts (and therefore been more familiar with the Tiberian tradition).

<sup>6</sup> See end of the Prologue.

<sup>7</sup> A direct comparison with Codex Reuchlinianus (i.e. with the expanded Tiberian tradition) was not possible because the Book of Exodus is missing from Codex Reuchlinianus. However, Vat14 contains parts of the Book of Prophets (Hafṭarot), and a short comparison of Isa 42:5 in both manuscripts (f. 257r in Vat14 and 217r in a facsimile reproduction of Codex Reuchlinianus) shows that Vat14 does not follow the same rules of vocalization as Codex Reuchlinianus.

the fields of grammar, linguistics, vocalization,<sup>8</sup> Masoretic notes (specific Masoretic annotations from England or northern France) and Hebrew paleography.<sup>9</sup>

In the perspective of textual anthropology, the variants that exist between the four Ashkenazic (Vat14, V, B and R) and the eastern manuscripts that I have examined could also be explained by the original purpose of these manuscripts and the kinds of sources they were copied from. Of course, the fact that the scribes themselves did not leave us any direct information on these questions means that any interpretation is necessarily speculative. It is known in the particular case of Vat14, that R. Asher, the manuscript's patron, wanted Elijah to make a copy of a Pentateuch with Five Scrolls and Haftarot (as opposed to a complete Bible), whether because this kind of Bible had become traditional in Ashkenazic communities<sup>10</sup> or because they had a specific purpose (for the liturgy, to study, or for teaching children or women?).<sup>11</sup> Elijah mentions that he had a look into a *mugah* (exemplar) in one specific case (f. 256r, see above). This small annotation might be an indication that he was not copying Vat14 from a complete Masoretic Bible but directly from another 'Pentateuch-Five Scrolls-Haftarot' exemplar.

*II/ The presence of figurative elements in the Masorah represents neither a loss nor a distortion of Masoretic knowledge, but instead illustrates a development in the transmission of the Masorah*

As this critical edition demonstrates, the use of figurative Masorah in Vat14 does not imply a loss of Masoretic knowledge or a semantic distortion of the Masorah. Only

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. Blapp's lecture, "The Diversity of the so-called Non-standard Tiberian Vocalization Tradition of Biblical Hebrew", X<sup>th</sup> EAJS Congress, Paris, 22d July 2014.

<sup>9</sup> A type of script (i.e. one of the material features of an artefact) does not always systematically attest to the influence of an original, local, cultural milieu. Likewise, the absence of a Sephardic feature in an Ashkenazic manuscript does not prove that there was no contact between these communities: on the contrary, travel and cultural (mystical) exchanges between Provence, Spain and Ashkenazic communities were common at that time. That is why researches focused on both the codicological and the palaeographical features of manuscripts, as well as their philological elements and the interpretations they induced, will help to determine the geographical origin and date of many currently undated biblical manuscripts. We still lack a reconstruction of the biblical textual culture of every Ashkenazic sub-geo-cultural area, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 118.

<sup>10</sup> Ashkenazic Bibles often include the Pentateuch, the Five Scrolls, the Haftarot, and a verse-by-verse arrangement of the Targum, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 34.

<sup>11</sup> A typology of late medieval biblical manuscripts has yet to be created. See Goshen-Gottstein 1963; Stern 2012; Khan 2012, 8; Kogel 2014. According to G. Khan, there are only three kinds of biblical manuscripts: liturgical scrolls, model codices (exemplars to be copied), and popular Bibles (which include translations, commentaries, etc. in addition to the biblical text). Any further research on this question should take into account the oldest European manuscripts, the biblical fragments of the Cairo Genizah (see Davis Outhwaite 1978–2003), and those discovered in the European Genizah (Books within Books Data Base project).

two of the 160 biblical lemmas which I edited in this book and which were the subject of a MP or/and MM note, were illegible figurative Masoretic notes (Case 1: marks I and II; Case 11: marks II).<sup>12</sup> All the other textual uncertainties highlighted by the present edition (e.g. illegible passages, unidentified text or unclear graphic signs) are independent from the use of figurative or ornamental micrographic forms.<sup>13</sup> In other words, Vat14 is a northern French manuscript dated 1239, where the use of figurative forms is not at odds with the transmission of the Masorah in the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition: instead, its Masoretic notes are comprehensive and do not really depart much from the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition.

However, I have to add two additional points: first, my preliminary work may create the impression that there are fewer MP and MM notes in manuscripts Vat14, B, and V than in the Ben Asher Tiberian manuscripts I examined (O, D, L, M, or indeed R, as the apparatus shows). In other words, it may seem that annotations are relatively scarce in the Ashkenazic Anglo-Norman manuscripts I examined (Vat14, B, V).<sup>14</sup> However, it should be noted that we still do not know what constituted the model codex of the Anglo-Norman Jewish community<sup>15</sup> between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>16</sup> It would be an overinterpretation to assume that this lack of sources necessarily points to the Anglo-Norman Ashkenazic community's lack of biblical, grammatical or Masoretic knowledge. During Elijah ben Berechiah ha-Nagdan's lifetime, the activities of Moshe Yom Tov of London<sup>17</sup> (author of the Masoretic treatise *Sefer Derakhey ha-Niqud ve ha-Neginnah*) and his disciple Moshe ben Isaac ha-Nessiya (author of the biblical dictionary *Sefer ha-Shoham*) had fostered the creation of a thriving grammatical and Masoretic school.<sup>18</sup>

Second, as Levita pointed out,<sup>19</sup> the *masran* (i.e., the scribe who specialized in the addition of Masoretic notes) also produced figurative forms involving both drawing and writing, which sometimes required the repetition of some occurrences inside a Masoretic list<sup>20</sup> or the inclusion of related biblical verses.<sup>21</sup> We found very few instances of truncated or unidentified Masoretic notes.<sup>22</sup> The Masoretic notes

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<sup>12</sup> See Figures 1 and 11.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix 4, Illegible section.

<sup>14</sup> See above n. 7.

<sup>15</sup> See above n. 5.

<sup>16</sup> On the scarcity of sources, see Introduction n. 35; on the fact there is no typology of the Hebrew Bible in the Middle Ages, see Introduction n. 54. See also above n. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Died in 1268; Löwinger 1929; Roth 1949, 36, 44.

<sup>18</sup> Klar 1947; Roth 1949, 44–46, 49–50; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 7; Olszowy-Schlanger 2012a. Elijah's father, Berechiah ben Natronai ha-Nagdan, seems to have been an important punctuator and Masorete: ha-Nessiya, alive in 1260, mentions his name.

<sup>19</sup> See Introduction, n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> See the additional material marked by a {} in the edition.

<sup>21</sup> See Case 4, Other text.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, the unidentified lists in Case 2 (inside the MMor, see fig. 6), Case 4, Case 10 and in

included in the figurative forms of Exodus in Vat14 are almost invariably related to lemmas located inside the same folios where they appear. If a lemma does appear on a previous or following folio of its associated figurative form, this does not disrupt the text's philological discourse. Instead, such discrepancies are considered to constitute isolated occurrences, just as in manuscripts without figurative Masorah, where they can also be found. In one specific case (see Case 8), Elijah ha-Nagdan seems to have elaborated a special figurative form, by using a collection of Masoretic notes related to the word *'amudin* (pillars) in order to draw an architectural structure (i.e., the gates and pillars of the court of the Tabernacle). This creates a relationship between the figurative form he drew and the Masoretic list he chose.

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In conclusion, this critical edition demonstrates that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Ben Asher Tiberian tradition was comprehensively transmitted to the Ashkenazic community through figurative and ornamental forms. The ornamental or figurative textualization of the Masorah, which is a specific characteristic of Ashkenazic artefacts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, probably did not originally impede the transmission of Masoretic knowledge, so much as represent a singular development in the transmission of the Ben Asher tradition. I show in another publication that the function of these figurative forms was not simply decorative. Instead, they had a range of uses, including illustrating the main text, helping with memorization, alluding to Rabbinic Medieval biblical literature, and challenging Masorah learners and experts.<sup>23</sup> The departures from the Ben Asher Masoretic tradition which my critical apparatus highlights probably reveal how difficult it was to homogenize and standardize the Masorah during the Middle Ages. Local scribal subtraditions probably go some length toward explaining this fact. Nevertheless, the dearth of studies on Ashkenazic Bibles and the late medieval Masoretic tradition in Europe suggests that it may be worth considering the possibility that some of these variants may be evidence of a specific northern French tradition. If so, this may have implications for our understanding of the exegesis and the rabbinical commentaries of the period, particularly on those of Rashi and his school.<sup>24</sup>

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#### Case 12.

<sup>23</sup> For further details on the relationships between text and image and the functions of the micro-graphical elements in Vat14, see Atiya 2015.

<sup>24</sup> See for instance Himmelfarb 2011.



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## Appendices



# Appendix 1: Categories of Masoretic Notes According to Shape

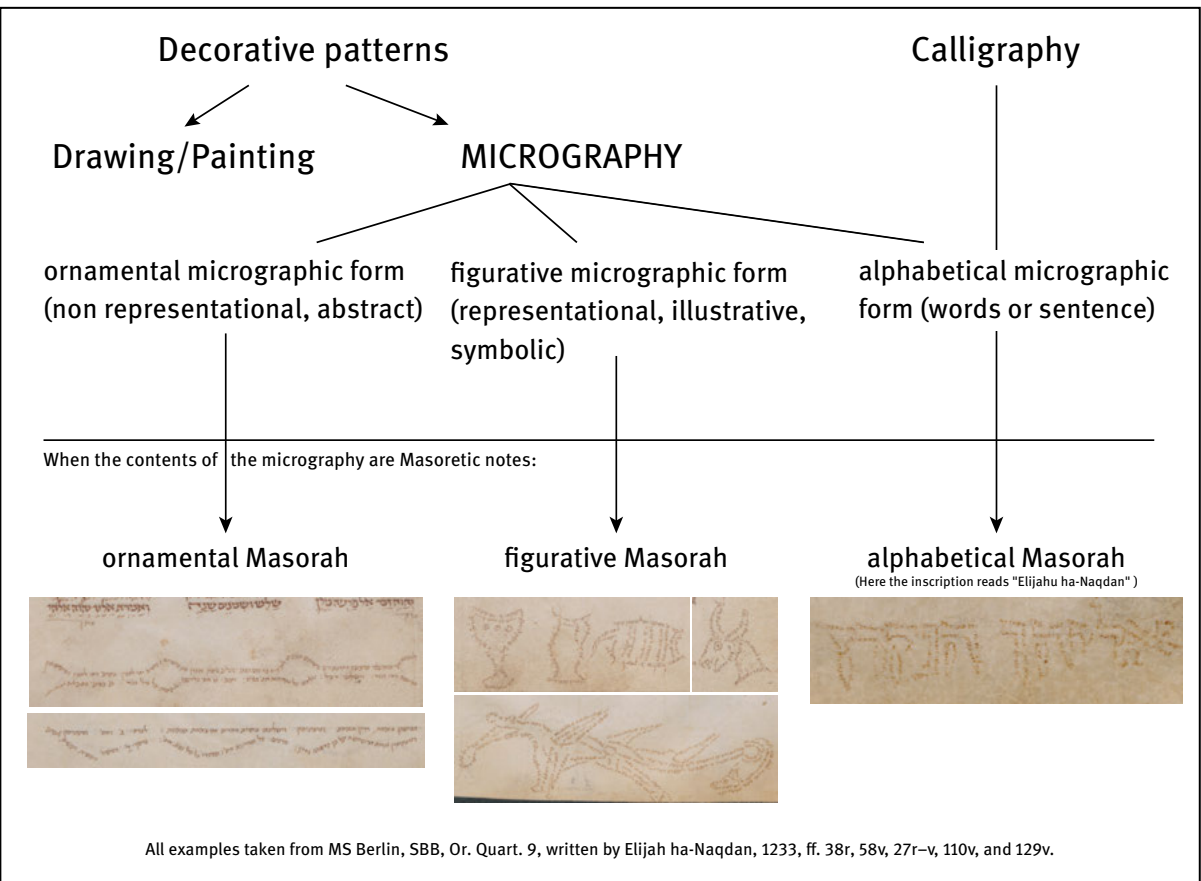


Figure 14: Categories of Masoretic notes according to shape





# Appendix 2: MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ebr. 14

## Codicological and Paleographical Description

*Pentateuch (with Targum), Five Scrolls (with Targum) and Haftarah copied, corrected, vocalized and completed with Masorah by Elijah ben Berakhiah ben Natroniah-Nagdan for R. Asher, a patron, [310ff], parchment, 289 × 228 mm, place of copy not mentioned but dated from Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> Av 99 [24<sup>th</sup> July 1239] according to colophon, f. 292r.<sup>1</sup>*

The manuscript is a complete and homogenous volume except that the folios 1r–3v have been lost and replaced by an Italo-Ashkenazic hand in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The codex contains the Pentateuch (ff. 1–242r),<sup>2</sup> the Five Scrolls (ff. 242v–257r)<sup>3</sup> and the Haftarah<sup>4</sup> according to the Ashkenazic rite (ff. 257r–292r).<sup>5</sup> The vowels and the accents are written according to the Tiberian system. The Targum is provided for the Pentateuch only, and the Masoretic notes (*Masora Parva* and *Magna*) on the Pentateuch and Five Scrolls (until f. 257v), with regular, ornamental and figurative Masorah. The foliotation is very irregular as stated in the new catalogue.<sup>6</sup>

### Format, size

Vat14 is a medium-sized codex of 310 folios measuring approximately 300 × 240 mm. The written space measures approximately 185 × 165 mm.

- 1 I have examined the manuscript at the Vatican Library, Rome, in November 2011. See also the description in Richler 2008, 9–11; Golb 1976, 121–123, 142–144; Golb 1985, 240–244, 340–343; Golb 1998, 328–333, 434–439; Casuto 1956, 17–19; Assemani 1756, 14–15.
- 2 Pentateuch (ff. 1v–242r) with Genesis (ff. 1v–63v), Exodus (ff. 63v–113r), Leviticus (ff. 113r–143v), Numbers (ff. 143v–200r), Deuteronomy (ff. 200v–242r).
- 3 Five Scrolls (ff. 242v–257r) with Canticles (ff. 242v–244r), Ruth (ff. 244r–246r), Lamentations (ff. 246r–248r), Ecclesiastes (ff. 248v–252v), Esther (ff. 252v–257r). The order of the Five Scrolls in Vat 14 corresponds to the same order of the Five Scrolls in the MS London, Valmadonna Trust 1, see MPMMA IV, MS No. 85, 82–87. The order given in the Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Batra*, 14a.
- 4 Extracts of Prophets are read during synagogueal service after the reading of the *Parasha* on Shabbat). The Haftarah on Genesis (traditionally Isa 42:4–43:10) appear to stop here at 43:1. see f. 251v.
- 5 The list of Haftarah according to the French rite is found on f. 263r, 265r, 281r–v and probably written by Elijah ha-Nagdan, the main scribe of the manuscript.
- 6 The foliotation is chaotic, see Richler 2008, 9. No corrections have been made since and the following folio numbers were omitted: 43, 44, 53, 54, 58, 73, 91, 103, 154, 163, 184–191 and 232. The following numbers were assigned to two consecutive folios: 49, 52, 67, 123, 124, 127, 200 and 216. Following f. 257, there are two other folios numbered 250 and 253 (in addition to ff. 250 and 253 in their correct place).

The dimensions in f. 27r are:  $([18] + 3 + [20] + 185 + [20] + 8 + [34]) \times ([40] + 45 + [6+6] + 45 + [6+6] + 45 + [6] + [35])$ .<sup>7</sup>

#### Parchment

The parchment used is medium thick. Despite the shaving traces visible on both sides, it is possible, as it is common in Ashkenaz, to distinguish between the flesh side (white and smooth) and the hair side (grey and lint).<sup>8</sup> Sometimes, the grain is equally visible. Some 42 holes are visible, some of which being stitched.<sup>9</sup> Another portion of parchment was used to complete the beginning (ff. 1–3). The last folio (f. 292v) is strongly damaged.

#### Ink

Elijah, the principal scribe, used a brown ink for text and Masorah (even figurative), and for some marginal annotations as well as for some embellishments. Other hands, two of which, wrote in the margins with several types of brown and dark brown ink. One later hand (Italian, 16<sup>th</sup> century) used a grey ink (f. 45r–v, 56v, 57r, 59v, 226r). Some initials<sup>10</sup> were probably originally decorated by Elijah himself in a brighter ink (for instance f. 199v). Colored pigments (red, blue, and gold) were superposed afterwards.<sup>11</sup> These colors were used to differentiate and embellish the internal section of each book.

#### Quires

All quires are quaternions,<sup>12</sup> except quire No. 19, which is a ternion. They are complete except quire No. 1, which lost four folios at the beginning (replaced by a later hand), and the last quire, which lost three folios at its end. Folio 292r lost its left part, leaving the colophon partly incomplete. Catchwords are inserted at the end of each quire and there is no systematic method of decoration of it.<sup>13</sup> According to these, the text is complete. As usual, these catchwords are sometimes decorated.<sup>14</sup> In the organization of the quires, the 'rule of Gregory' is respected.

<sup>7</sup> Italics indicate the written text.

<sup>8</sup> Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 22–23.

<sup>9</sup> Holes: ff. 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 42, 60, 61, 63, 65, 68, 72, 79, 80, 92, 110, 115, 117, 121, 123, 129, 133, 139, 144, 150, 195, 207, 218, 223, 228, 234, 244, 250, 265, 266, 267, 269, 273, 288, 289. Stitched wholes: 9, 31, 32, 52, 65, 66, 67, 69, 82, 85, 86, 104, 107, 111, 113, 114, 134, 135, 136, 151, 291.

<sup>10</sup> Decorated word at the beginning of book, a *Parasha*, a section.

<sup>11</sup> Colored pigments on headings: ff. 7r, 12r, 17r, 23r, 27r, 31r, 44v, 49r, 55r, 60r, 63v, 72v, 77v, 85v, 94r, 98r, 104r, 109v, 113r, 117v, 121r, 122v, 125v, 127v, 131r, 138r, 140r, 143v, 149r, 155r, 161r, 166r, 170r, 173v, 178r, 191v, 196r, 199v, 204r, 209v, 214v, 219v, 223v, 228v, 234v, 238r, 240v, 242v, 244r, 246r, 248v, 252.

<sup>12</sup> A common feature in Ashkenaz, Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 43.

<sup>13</sup> Halperin 2014, 327 and 344.

<sup>14</sup> Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 54.

### Pricking, Ruling

There are only partial pricking traces on the outer margins, since the manuscript was trimmed.<sup>15</sup> Ruling is made with a hard point on the hair side of each folio.<sup>16</sup> The structure of the ruling is complex entailing a grid with additional lines. In general, there are 31 ruled lines for 30 written lines, the last ruled line remains usually unwritten.<sup>17</sup>

### Mise en page, mise en texte

The written text as well as the Masorah follows the ruling. Generally, the main text is laid out in three columns (185 × 45 mm each, with interspaces of 12 mm), but not in all cases. For instance, there is one column in a ‘chessboard’ layout on f. 79v (*Shirat ha-Yam*, Exod 15:1–18) and as well as between Deut 31:27 and Deut 31:30 (Song of Deborah); two columns in ‘chessboard’ layout at the beginning of the parasha *Ha’azinu* (Deut 32:1–32:43). The Aramaic verses alternate verse-by-verse with Hebrew ones, but several irregularities have been observed.<sup>18</sup>

The *Masora Magna* in the upper margins is always written following the ruled line, whereas in the lower margins, it does not follow the ruling and displays an array of waves, geometric elements and sixty-four figurative elements, replacing the regular layout. The *Masora Parva* is always located at the right of the column in each verso side and at the left of each column in each recto side.<sup>19</sup> Justification of the left and right margins is always respected because of the presence of the *Masora Parva*, whereas at the end of the book, this justification becomes centralized on the page and takes the shape of an upside down triangle or ‘cul-de-lampe’. There are very few protruding lines (half a letter). Generally, letters are elongated at the end of the lines (like the *ayin*, *alef*, *he*, *het*, *taw*, *lamed*, *mem sofit*), anticipating the next line. A specific graphic sign can be used to fill the empty space. This *mise en texte* is present to direct the eyes and guide the reading.<sup>20</sup> The first word at the beginning of the *Parasha*, of each of the Scrolls and of the first Haftarah, are four times larger than the average letter.<sup>21</sup> The size of the script is similar for Hebrew or Aramaic text. Blank spaces also

<sup>15</sup> Even if Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 70 and Sirat 1973–1974, 446 have argued that this is the case, a discovery was made recently by Justine Isserles concerning the presence of not only outer but inner prickings in a *Malzor Vitry* (MS New York, JTS, 8092) dated 1204 in a margin on f. 37r in the same handwriting as that of the main scribe. See Isserles 2012, Chapter 3, 47–48. I thank Justine Isserles for having shared this information with me prior to the publication of her thesis which is in preparation.

<sup>16</sup> Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 70–71.

<sup>17</sup> Beit-Arié 1981 [1977], 85.

<sup>18</sup> Altia 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Eastern and Sefaradic manuscripts show a different layout, see Prologue, n. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Lauter 1983.

<sup>21</sup> Corresponding to the halakhic prescription (for the copy of Torah Scrolls) of space of four blank lines separating consecutive books of the Pentateuch. The interaction between the rules of copying

reproduce the ancient division into paragraphs, similar to that of the Torah Scrolls (open and closed sections). The punctuation used is the classical two dots (:) after each verse, Hebrew or Aramaic. Corrections are rare but have been made by the scribe, in square script, when biblical or targumic words have been forgotten and introduced by a specific graphic sign (e.g. f. 35r).

### Graphic designs

A lot of graphic elements from this manuscript have been mentioned by N. Golb. Nevertheless, the list of figurative elements is incomplete and there are more of them which are either of micrographic nature or simply drawn.<sup>22</sup> There are 64 figurative micrographic elements (detailed in the table hereunder). In Genesis, there are 21 micrographic elements; in Exodus, 12 elements; in Leviticus, 4 elements; in Numbers, 8 elements; in Deuteronomy, 19 elements. Simple drawings (See SD in the table below) are also present instead of a micrographic figurative element, as well as ornamental Masorah (waves, geometric patterns),<sup>23</sup> and additional drawings inspired perhaps from Latin manuscripts from Rouen.<sup>24</sup>

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
1	7r	Ark of Noah	Gen 6:6–6:17
SD	8v	Birds (sent by Noah)	Gen 7:21–8:9
2	9r	Noah performing a sacrifice	Gen 8:10–8:21
3	12r	Abram leaves / Horseman	Gen 11:23–12:4
4	16v	Gateway / hands	Gen 17:10–17:23
5	17r	Calf, Table, Tree	Gen 17:23–18:8
6	23r	Cave of Machpela	Gen 22:21–23:10
7	24v	Eliezer, the servant, on a horse <sup>25</sup>	Gen 24:16–24:30
8	25r	Rivka	Gen 24:31–24:43
9	27r	Esau hunts a deer	Gen 25:18–25:30
10	31r	Jacob's scale	Gen 28:9–28:20

codices and scrolls are clear, even if the biblical codex is, in itself, a departure from the strict rules of liturgical scrolls (Olszowy-Schlanger 2012b, 28).

<sup>22</sup> See Golb 1976, 144, n. 411. Golb's list is partial as he has mentioned some non-micrographic drawings but forgot others. See Attia (forthcoming) for the analysis of some figurative forms in Genesis.

<sup>23</sup> The main ornamental pattern is made up of slight waves in the lower margins, every two to four folios, instead of regular horizontal lines. Some geometrical (round or triangular forms) occur as well but a lesser extent.

<sup>24</sup> Golb 1976, 144, n. 413; Golb 1998, 435.

<sup>25</sup> Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
11	33r	Reuven and the mandrakes <sup>26</sup>	Gen 30:7–30:20
12	36v	Ox and Donkey of Jacob	Gen 31:52–32:9
13	39 <sup>bis</sup> v	Graves	Gen 35:13–35:28
14	41r	Esau's cattle <sup>27</sup>	Gen 35:29–36:14
15	42v	Sun, moon (Jacob's dream)	Gen 37:1–37:11
16	48v	Chief baker hanged	Gen 40:12–40:23
17	49v	Josef Chief of Egypt	Gen 41:38–41:50
18	50r	Josef's brothers prostrating	Gen 41:51–42:6
19	52 <sup>bis</sup> v	Josef's goblet in the bag	Gen 44:5–44:17
20	59v	Ploughman <sup>28</sup>	Gen 47:15–47:23
21	60r	Bird, two stars	Gen 47:24–48:3
22	63v	Alphabetical Masorah (PMT)	Gen. 50:21 to Exod 1:10
SD	67v	Bird with two heads (Moshe/Aharon)	Exod 4:22–5:4
23	67r bis	Two stars (Moshe/Aharon), Key of David's House	Exod 5:4–5:15
24	72v	Locusts (Eight plague)	Exod 9:34–10:8
25	75v	Unleavened Bread, Lintel, Burnt Offering	Exod 12:7–12:17
26	77v	Donkey (redeem of firstlings)	Exod 13:7–13:19
27	85v	Altar of stone with stairs	Exod 20:25–21:11
28	89v	Scale (contributions for the sanctuary)	Exod 24:9–25:3
29	93r	Pillars from the court of the tabernacle	Exod 27:10–27:19 & 38:10–38:19
30	98r	Key (census tax?)	Exod 30:1–30:14
31	100v	Broken tables beneath the Mount Horeb	Exod 32:13–32:25
32	101r	Humans and swords	Exod 32:26–33:1
33	104r	Menorah (lampstand/lamps)	Exod 35:1–35:15
34	113r	Alphabetical Masorah (PMT)	Exod 40:37–Lev 1:10
SD	109v	Bezabel	Exod 38:10–38:24
35	124v <sup>29</sup>	Fish (clean and unclean animals)	Lev 11:43–12:7

<sup>26</sup> Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

<sup>27</sup> Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.

<sup>28</sup> Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21; Metzger/Metzger 1982, 156, fig. 205.

<sup>29</sup> Before f. 123bis and f. 124bis.

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
SD	124v <sup>30</sup>	Bird (laws for cleansing lepers)	Lev 14:1–14:12
36	139r	Key (redemption of property)	Lev 25:18–25:31
37	140r	David's star (Lev 5:55)	Lev 25:46–26:2
38	143v	Alph. Masorah (תרי), Griffon <sup>31</sup>	Lev 27:32–Num 1:16
39	149r	Altar (Gershonites' services)	Num 4:20–4:32
SD	151r	Bulls / Male goats (Lev 7:88)	Num 7:78–8:1
40	155v	The Seven Lamps (Memorah) <sup>32</sup>	Num 8:1–8:15
SD	166r	Korach	Num 15:33–16:3
41	170r	Red heifer <sup>33</sup>	Num 18:24–19:3
42	173v	Key (King Og defeated) <sup>34</sup>	Num 21:26–22:3
43	178r	Pinhas with spear piercing the man of Israel and a Midianite	Num 25:7–26:2
44	191v	Male goat (for the sin offerings) <sup>35</sup>	Num 29:28–30:3
45	196r	Tower (camps of Israel)	Num 32:41–33:14
46	199v	Alph. Masorah (תועה תורה)	Deut 1:1–1:10
47	209v	Young of your oxes (Deut 7:13)	Deut 7:7–7:15
48	216 <sup>bis</sup> v	Camel (unclean food) <sup>36</sup>	Deut 13:16–14:7
SD	217r	Pig, Fish with fins and scales, eagle (clean and unclean food) <sup>37</sup>	14:8–14:24
SD	223v	Heifer (Deut 21:3) <sup>38</sup>	20:20–21:11
49	224v	New house, parapet for the roof (Deut 22:8) <sup>39</sup>	Deut 21:23–22:9
50	234r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 28:64–29:3
51	234v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 29:4–29:15
52	235r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 29:16–29:23
<hr/>			
30	Before f. 125r (third folio 124).		
31	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
32	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
33	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
34	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
35	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
36	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
37	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
38	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		
39	Published in Golb 1976, Plate 21.		

Nb	Folio (Vat14)	Subject	Biblical text from the folio
53	235v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 29:24–30:8
54	236r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 30:9–30:19
55	236v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 30:20–31:9
56	237r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 31:10–31:17
57	237v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 31:18–31:27
58	238r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:1–32:11
59	238v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:12–32:31
60	239r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:32–32:43
SD	239v	Colophon	
SD	240r	Colophon	
61	240v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 32:40–33:6
62	241r	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 33:7–33:17
63	241v	Alph. Masorah / Colophon	Deut 33:18–33:29
64	242r	Alph. Masorah (פתי)	Deut 34:1–34:12

A last phenomenon in Vat14, found also in B, is a frequent use of the letters *y'* and *p'* in the external margins of the folios.<sup>40</sup> Our critical edition did not succeed in interpreting these marks according to their classical meaning, i.e., *casus lêt* (*hapax*) for the first and the mark of a *qere* for the last. The meaning of these two written signs remains unclear. As an hypothesis, this two marks may be some witnesses of an oral teaching.

#### Annotations, corrections

Different hands added notes, corrections, and explanations. These marginal notes were identified by Golb,<sup>41</sup> and were erroneously all attributed to Elijah ha-Nagdan. There are, at least, two or three different annotators. The annotations that are clearly made by Elijah are on ff. 75v (edited in the edition), 124r, 173v, 177r, 180v, 241v, f. 256r, whereas those which may be by the hand of Elijah, in his cursive script, on ff. 13r, 17r, 27r, 179v, 240v, 254r or 256r, 259v, 275r and 292r. One of them, on f. 256r, is clearly written in the semi-cursive script similar to the script used in the colophon on f. 292r. This note (f. 256r) is of a great interest because Elijah refers to the *massoret* (the Masoretic note or the biblical text)<sup>42</sup> of an old Masoretic Bible (*yashan noshan mugah*), i.e.,

<sup>40</sup> For examples, see the folios edited in our edition in cases 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, 'Other texts'.

<sup>41</sup> Mostly in Golb 1976, 142–144.

<sup>42</sup> See Concluding remarks, n. 3.



an exemplar.<sup>43</sup> The scribe wrote first a 'large' waw (ו) in the word ורתא (Esth 9:9),<sup>44</sup> but then he explained in the outer margin that he looked in an exemplar where he did not find this feature:

ראיתי במסורת ישן נושן מונה כי הרי"י מן ורתא אינה גודלה כי אם היתה גודלה נמצא שירי"י שני ורי"י גודלות במסורת וי"י של הולך על גרון ורי"י [וזה] ואי אפשר שירי"י שני ורי"י באלפא ביתא גודלות. [On a large waw erased in Esth 9:9 ורתא (Esth 9:9) is not large. If it were large, there would be two large waw (ו) in the *massoret*, one with the waw in גרון (Lev 11:42) and here. And it is not possible to have twice a large waw.]

In the Haftarot parts, Elijah wrote in semi-cursive script on the folios 265r, 281r and 281v, the indication בוצרת מתרלין באן meaning "Here in France begins (the reading of the Haftarot)".<sup>45</sup> The indication יורר תעאר באן meaning "Here, I did not find anymore notes", written in the lower margin on ff. 206v and 225v, witness the work of Elijah who was searching for Masoretic notes. Another hand (Scribe 2) made annotations (sometimes quoting Ibn Ezra) in a very light grey ink, in a cursive Ashkenazic script, on ff. 45r, 45v,<sup>46</sup> 56v,<sup>47</sup> 57r. Another hand (Scribe 3) added notes in old French written in Hebrew letters (f. 171r, 233v, 241v).<sup>48</sup> Another hand added a drawing (pot?) on f. 275v.

#### Identification of the scribe, punctuator and *masran*

From the f. 4r till f. 292r, the only one scribe, corrector, punctuator and masorete is Elijah ben Berakhiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan. His name, Elijah אֵלִיָּהּ or Elijahu אֵלִיָּהּ, is pointed out many times in the manuscript: ff. 159v, 209v, f. 234r–241v (colophon written in alphabetical Masorah),<sup>49</sup> 239r (inside a letter of the colophon written in alphabetical Masorah), 242r, 264v, and 292r. According to the main colophon on f. 292r, the codex Vat14 was copied for R. Asher, a patron.

On f. 159v: inside the *Masora Magna*, Elijah signalized his name with dots, using one of the biblical verses from the Masoretic list.

On f. 209v: the letters of his name are marked with dots and floral patterns.

On ff. 234r–241v: the scribe wrote a colophon formed by letters made in micro-graphic script (alphabetical Masorah, see Plate 14 and fig. 15):

<sup>43</sup> A model codex, see Prologue, n. 23.

<sup>44</sup> On 'large letter', see Dotan 2007 § 1.2.2.4. Like Vat14, V (f. 236r) and B (f. 145r) displays a large waw in Esth 9:9. On the contrary, there is no such modification in L and M (O) and D are not transmitting the book of Esther).

<sup>45</sup> The same note at f. 263r may be from another hand. Not recorded in by Golb 1976, 143–144, n. 410.

<sup>46</sup> Quoting Ibn Ezra.

<sup>47</sup> Quoting Ibn Ezra.

<sup>48</sup> Not recorded in Golb 1976, 143.

<sup>49</sup> For 'alphabetical Masorah' expression, see Introduction, n. 20.

אוי [234r] אליה [234v] איש [235r] פּעללים [235v] בן הקרא הרב רבי ברכיה והיה מנוחתו בבי [236v] התנא והנקוד [237r] והדייק אשר [237v] אזי וחקר תקן [238r] משלים הרבה [238v] וברירי מבנים ר' אשר נרב לבי [239v] לעשות ספר [240r] יפה כזה אמר [240v] ויכרה השם [241v] להגות בו [241v]<sup>50</sup>

On f. 239r: inside the word מבנים of the colophon (f. 234r–241v), he replaced Masoretic notes by another colophon that has never been identified:

[first letter] לאן מצאית כאן מסורת לפי כן. איך כותבן | און|ן הסופר | והנקוד והמסרתן | בן איש רב פעלים | הרב ברכיה הנקוד [2] | אני אליהו | הסופר [second letter] והקרא והתנא | והחודרן | והפשוט | ו [3] | והחכם | והיפה אשר דבר | על האבנים ועל [third letter] העצים | ויחכם לדובן | כי מיימתי | שלמ [ותנ'] | לאן | קמן כמותן הוא אזי וחקרן | תקן משלים הרבה | ופירושו מה' | [fourth letter] [מ] | וקריה | והיא נודע | בשערים | העלולים [fifth letter] מרומי קדתי | ומעשיו קיימים | למאור דורות | ואני בן בוקונים | לין קמתי תחתיו | למלאה כסא יי. <sup>51</sup>

On f. 242r: he added a scribal formula (from 2Sam 10:12):

וזק ונתחתן | הסופר והנקוד | לאן יק יכרו השם | לעשות ולרעליה | אמן ואמן ואמן ואמן ואמן ואמן ואמן ואמן. <sup>52</sup>

On f. 264v: his name pointed out, on the top of the left column, twice inside the left column.

On f. 292r: on the last folio of the manuscript, strongly damaged on the left hand side, the scribe supplied another colophon in semi-cursive script, with details and the date of its completion, only of which some parts remain.<sup>53</sup> In the colophon, the scribe listed the works composed by his father, Berakhiah ha-Naqdan

### Dating

According to the colophon f. 292r, lines 34–37,<sup>54</sup> Elijah provides a date on which several interpretations were delivered.<sup>55</sup> The sentence

**50** “I, Elijah, man of lot of works, son of the *Qara'* Rabi Berakhiah, he had his rest, and was a *Tana'* and a punctuator and an expert grammarian who *gave heed, sought out, set in order many proverbs* (Eccl 12:9). And be blessed R. Asher who dedicated his heart to make this beautiful book, Amen. That God allows him to meditate on it.”

**51** “I did not find any corresponding masoretic notes here. I am writing, I, the scribe, the Naqdan and the masran, son of the man of lots of works, the Rav Berakhiah ha-Naqdan, [I am Elijah the scribe] the *Qara'*, the *Tana'*, the Chadran, and the Pashan, [?] the wise, the Magnificent that *spoke of the stones and trees* (1Kgs 5:12), brings wisdom to all because from his days, completeness did not rise like him. *He gave heed, sought out, set in order many proverbs* (Eccl. 12:9) and a commentary on all the Bible. He is recognized among the best scholars with high salutations. His works are arisen for hundred generations. I am the son of his old days. I came after him to reach YHWH's Throne.”

**52** “Be strong and stronger the scribe and punctuator, he will not weak. God helped him to accomplish and succeed [in his work]. Amen.”

**53** see Richler 2008, 10; some variants in Golb 1976, 122; Golb 1998, 329–331; Cassuto 1956, 18–19.

**54** See Golb 1976, Plate 18.

**55** Jacobs 1890a, 1890b, 1890c; Neubauer 1890a, 1890b; Golb 1998, 332; Richler 2008, 9–11.



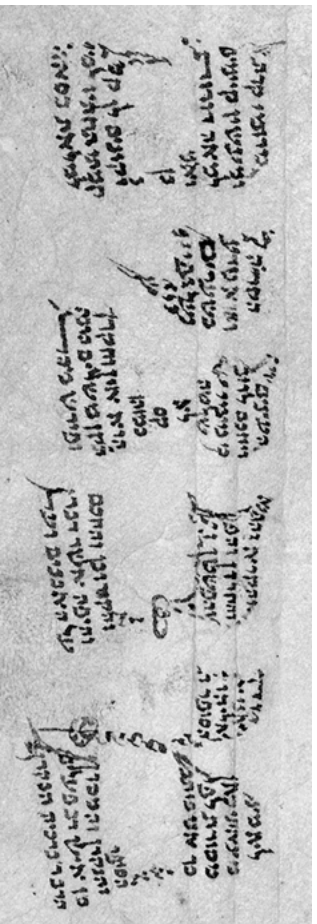


Figure 15: MS BAV, Vat. Ebr. 14, f. 239r, lower margin (detail)

וסימיותו ביום ג' כ"א בחדש אב שנה צ"ט לפריט אלף תרישי ש[בת] [ל'אל] means "I finished [this book] on the third day [Tuesday], 21<sup>st</sup> of the month of Ab of the year 99 according to the small count [of the] fifth millennium, praise to the Lord." Accordingly, the manuscript should be dated from 1339, if we read 99 as 5099, but it has been interpreted as 4999, i.e. 1239, essentially for chronological and palaeographical reasons.<sup>56</sup> N. Golb supported the date of 1239 and was followed by Richler, as stated in his catalogue, despite the fact that the day of the week does not match with Tuesday.<sup>57</sup> A. Neubauer also suggested the date 1219 [i.e. 9794 = טע] which gives the correct day of the week mentioned in the colophon (Tuesday),<sup>58</sup> but in my opinion, the palaeographical ductus of the letter Ayin is unrecognizable here.

#### Hebrew script

The scribe uses the following scripts:

- 1) a calligraphic square script (see Plates 1–13), Ashkenazi type, of a Northern French type, similar to the script of MS Or. Quart. 9,<sup>59</sup>
  - 2) a bookhand semi-cursive script,<sup>60</sup>
  - 3) a possible cursive script in some annotations f. 263r and f. 281v (see before).
- The vowels and accents are written according to the Tiberian system.

<sup>56</sup> Elijah, son of a scholar of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, may have not lived in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, his script shows clear features of Gothic northern French script form the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the MS, written by the same scribe, is dated according to the same system (see Appendix 3).

<sup>57</sup> The 21<sup>st</sup> Av of 4999 is a Sunday.

<sup>58</sup> Neubauer 1890a, 520.

<sup>59</sup> Engel 2010; Engel 2014; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 128. Further palaeographical research is required on the sub-geo-cultural areas of Ashkenaz.

<sup>60</sup> See Golb 1976, Plate 18.

## History of the volume

The first quire was restored then rewritten by an Italo-Ashtkenazic Italian scribe (square script, ff. 1–3 + talon) and owned by Italian Jews during the 16<sup>th</sup> century if not more, as several Hebrew annotations attest. See f. 1r, [... ben] Rav Cohen in 1442, a Dolce of Castelleto in 1540; on f. 242v, before the beginning of the Song of Songs, Isaac wrote that he took an oath in 1557.<sup>61</sup>

According to the Assemani's catalogue, the MS Vat. Ebr. 14 would have been part of the 288 Hebrew MSS of Palatine Library of Heidelberg, given by Maximilian I of Bavaria to the Pope Gregorio XV in 1622.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, Umberto Cassuto suggests another provenance. The manuscript would have belonged to the old manuscripts of the Palatine Library (outside the Ulrich Fugger's collection, bearing the shelfmark *Vat. 494 / Nov. 14* on f. 1r), and would have been possessed by an Italian Jew, Jacob ben Abraham Rossello, a relative of Mordekhay ben Jacob Rosselo living in Ferrara in 1550.<sup>63</sup> Kennicott and De Rossi used the manuscript in their editions<sup>64</sup> as well as A. Berliner for his Targum's edition.<sup>65</sup> This manuscript is announced to be digitized and fully available on-line in the future.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Cassuto 1956, 19; Richler 2008, 11.

<sup>62</sup> Assemani 1756; Richler 2014 [1992], 93, 219.

<sup>63</sup> Cassuto 1935, 56, 69, 70.

<sup>64</sup> See Introduction, 18.

<sup>65</sup> Berliner 1884.

<sup>66</sup> See Polonski Foundation Digitization Project.

# Appendix 3: MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Quart. 9

## Codicological and Paleographical Description

*Bible* : *Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Job and Haftarah copied, corrected, vocalized and completed with Masorah by Elijah ben Berakhiah ben Natronai ha-Nagdan, 198 ff, parchment, c. 134 × 115 mm (c. 90 × 78 mm), finished on Wednesday the 26<sup>th</sup> October 1233 (f. 197r) in the city of Rouen (RDMW D177).*

This manuscript kept at the SBB is an homogenous volume.<sup>1</sup> From f. 1r till the end, the only copyist, corrector, punctuator and masorete is Elijah ha-Nagdan. The biblical text contains the Pentateuch (ff. 3–129v),<sup>2</sup> Five Scrolls (ff. 130r–146r),<sup>3</sup> Job (ff. 146r–159v) and the Haftarah according to the Ashkenazic rite (ff. 160r–196v). From f. 182r onwards, the title ‘Other Haftarah’ describes the beginning of Festivals’ Haftarah. The Targum Jonathan appears in the Haftarah of Pesach (f. 190r) and Shavuot (f. 194v), mostly alternating verse-by-verse.<sup>4</sup>

The text provides Masoretic notes MP and MM on Pentateuch and Five Scrolls. The foliotation is correctly added in Latin on every recto.

### Format, size

The MS Or. Quart. 9 is a very small bible (pocket Bible) similar to, for instance, MS Paris, BnF, Hébr. 33.<sup>5</sup> It is measuring approximately 134 × 115 mm. The written space measures approximately 90 × 78 mm. Example from f. 137r: ([15] + 89 + [10] + 4 + [14]) × ([10] + 22 + [7] + 21 + [7] + 21 + [28]) mm.

### Parchment

Several kinds of parchments were used in several thicknesses (from very thin to medium thick) and several colors of tanned skin can be observed. The differentiation between the hair and flesh (brighter) sides is usually visible, but the shaving has sometimes erased these differences.

- 1 I have examined the manuscript at the Staatsbibliothek in October 2011, Steinschneider 1878, 22–23, n. 43; Golb 1976, 123, 141–142; Golb 1976, 123, 141–142; Golb 1985, 238–240; Golb 1998, 325–328; Werner 2002.
- 2 Genesis (3r–34v), Exodus (34v–61v), Leviticus (62r–81r), Numbers (81r–107v), Deuteronomy (108r–129v).
- 3 Song of Songs (ff. 130r–132r); Ecclesiastes (132r–136v), Ruth (ff. 136v–138v), Lamentations (ff. 138v–140v); Esther (ff. 140v–146r). Not in the same order as in Vat. Ebr. 14.
- 4 The Targum Jonathan begins on f. 190r with a delay: first, the verses Joshua 5:2–4 are quoted, then the Targum on these verses, and after, Hebrew and Aramaic alternate. The same is visible on f. 194v, for Shavuot, Ezekiel, 1:1–3, then Targum, then alternating after verse 1:4. On Targum layout, see Attia 2014.
- 5 See Sirat 1997, 246–247, 257 (fig. 9).

### Ink

A dark brown ink is used, turning sometimes to orange. The Masorah is written in a lighter brown ink after f. 137.

### Quires

The manuscript is made up of 18 quaternions, 4 ternions (quires No. 11, 16, 23, 25) and 3 quinions (quires No. 4, 12, 18). The first and the last ternions are incomplete (one folio is missing in each). If the difference between the sides is visible, the 'rule of Gregory' is respected. Oftentimes, the first recto and last verso of a quire are bright and shiny. A majority of quires end with a catchword made up of one or two words, anticipating the first word(s) of the next folio. Nonetheless, some catchwords had been cut.<sup>6</sup>

### Pricking, Ruling

The pricking for the ruling is sometimes visible only in the outer margins of each recto side of the folio, when the parchment has not been trimmed. The ruling was made with hard point more frequently on flesh sides, which are brighter in appearance. A grid supplemented by additional lines composes three small columns of text. There are 30 or 31 ruled lines and generally 29 written lines.

### Mise en page, mise en texte

The written text is generally arranged in three small columns (21 mm) and the manuscript resembles the Masorah like Vat14: most of the ornamental or figurative micro-graphical drawings are located in the lower margins. The 'chessboard' layout is employed like in Vat14 on f. 43v (*Shirat ha-Yam*, Exod 15:1–18), on f. 128v (*Hazinu*, but in two main columns) and on f. 267r (*Song of Devorah*). On the contrary to Vat14, there are no specific Initial word panels at the beginning of each book. A space of ten ruled lines is left blank before a new biblical book. The word *Hazaq* (be fortified!) is often written at the end of a biblical book. Sometimes, a decorative drawing is placed before the beginning of the next book. Blank spaces are visible for the closed and open sections of the Torah readings. The end of the lines are completed like in Vat4.

### Graphic elements

The ornamental patterns are similar to Vat14. The manuscript exhibits ornamental Masorah (small waves) in most of its lower margins. In addition, 23 figurative micro-graphic elements are drawn (12 in Genesis and 14 in Deuteronomy). Among these 23 elements, only vegetal, animal or architectural elements are drawn. Only the micro-

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<sup>6</sup> See ff. 123v, 129v, 137v, 155v, 171v, 179v.

graphical figurative element on f. 19r (the scale from Jacob's dream) exactly matches the same text and place in Vat14.<sup>7</sup>

Nb	Folio (B)	Subject	Biblical Text
1	4v	Key	Gen 2:15–3:12
2	9v	Lion	Gen 14:1–22
<b>SD</b>	<b>14v</b>	<b>Goat / Bull</b>	<b>Gen 22:8–23:6</b>
3	19r	Jacob's scale <sup>8</sup> / Head (SD)	Gen 27:37–28:13
4	21r	Key	Gen 30:32–31:12
5	23v	Fleur-de-lys	Gen 34:1–25
6	25v	Geometric element, flower?	Gen 36:41–37:21
7	26r	Goat / Horse	Gen 37:22–38:11
8	26v	Architectural structure	Gen 38:12–39:4
9	27r	Potiphar's prosperity (4 elements)	Gen 39:5–40:3
10	27v	Cow's head (Pharaoh's dream)	Gen 40:3–41:3
11	108v	Grotesque frightening? (Deut 1:29?)	Deut 1:21–43
12	109r	Key / geometric element	Deut 1:43–2:22
13	109v	Israel <sup>9</sup> taking possession of cities, defeating the Kings Sihon, Og.	Deut 2:22–3:4
14	110r	Gates of fortification (Deut 3:5)	Deut 3:4–24
15	110v	Hybrid Dragon (idolatry forbidden (Deut 4:15–18) / cup	Deut 3:24–4:14
16	111r	Geometric element (Altar?)	Deut 4:14–32
17	112r	Ten Commandments (4 isolated elements, fleur-de-lys?, pure food (fish), ? and an axe)	Deut 5:4–24
18	115v	Griffon / Wheel <sup>10</sup>	Deut 10:17–11:14
19	116r	Wheel	Deut 11:14–12:2
20	118v	Key (Free the slave the seventh year)	Deut 15:9–16:7
21	123v	Wheel / Grotesque	Deut 24:19–26:2
22	129v	Alphabetical Masorah (name of Elijah ha-Naqdan)	Deut 33:8–34:12
<b>SD</b>	<b>136v</b>	<b>Architectural structure</b>	<b>Eccl 12:12–Ruth 1:19</b>

Like in Vat14, a similar use of 't' and 'p' in the margins is made (see Description 1).

<sup>7</sup> See illustration in Werner 2002.

<sup>8</sup> See precedent note.

<sup>9</sup> The first looks like a *magen David*.

<sup>10</sup> Image published in Sed-Rajna 1997, 238, fig. 3.



## Identification of the scribe

The name of the scribe appears twice. Firstly, at the end of Deuteronomy, f. 129v, Elijah ha-Nagdan is identified through alphabetical micrography (see Plate 14, at the end of the description). Lastly, the name of Elijah ben ha-[word erased] Berakhiah ha-Nagdan appears in the colophon f. 197r.<sup>11</sup> The name of the city RDWM (ירדום) was mentioned by Steinschneider in his complete transcription of the colophon.<sup>12</sup> Here an extract:

אג[13] רטופר ותנקזן אלרין בן ר[14...]. ר' ברביה תנקזן ותקרא ותתנא והידיוקן והתחבם גדולן  
[...]. ואני בן זקוניו כתבת ונקודתי ומטרתו זה הטפר [...] וסיימתי אותו יום ד' באחד תשרים יום לרדת  
מרהשותו שנת צ"ד לפרט אלף הרביעי במדינת רדום [...].<sup>15</sup>

Several readings of the term RDWM have been suggested. While Redos, Rhodus Island, or 'in regione Australi' were suggested by Kennicott,<sup>16</sup> Rouen (as *Rodomus* or *Rodomus*) was suggested by H. Gross and followed by N. Golb.<sup>17</sup> This interpretation is contested by G. Nahon, suggesting Dormans (Marne).<sup>18</sup>

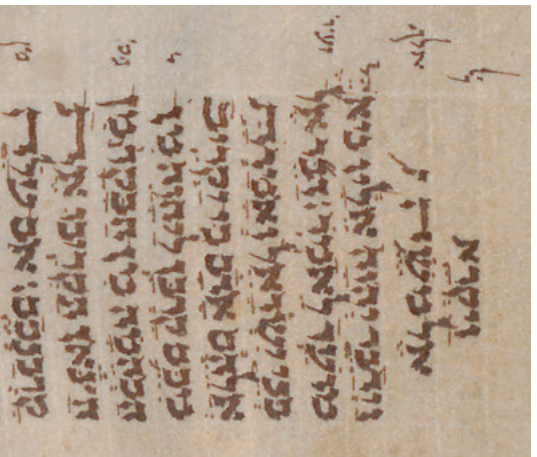
## Dating

The dating of the Colophon I, f. 197r (above mentioned) is incomplete and does not mention the century the manuscript was written in.<sup>19</sup> According to the small count of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium, the year 94 could indicate 4094, but like in Vat. Ebr. 14, it should be read 4994, matching with Wednesday the 26<sup>th</sup> October 1233. This allows a chronological proximity with Berakhiah ha-Nagdan (second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Elijah as a son of his old age) and a palaeographical coherence with Vat. Ebr. 14.<sup>20</sup>

## Hebrew script

The scribe uses a calligraphic square script, of the Ashkenazic type, described as the Northern French square script.<sup>21</sup> Even if the script is of a very small size (2 mm), it is similar in all points to the script of MS Vat. Ebr. 14. Vowels and accents are written according to the Tiberian vocalization system.

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- 11 see Golb 1976, illustration 20.  
 12 Steinschneider 1878, 22–23; Golb 1976, 123.  
 13 Erased.  
 14 Erased. Golb 1976, 123, הרב.  
 15 "I am the scribe Elijah ben ha[?] Berakhiah ha-Nagdan, the Qara', the Tana', the expert grammarian and the Wise [...]. I am son of his old age, I have written, vocalized and added the Masorah in this book [...]. I have finished it the 4<sup>th</sup> day [Wednesday] the 21<sup>st</sup> Marsheshvan of the year 94 according to the small count of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium in the land of RDWM."  
 16 Kennicott 2003 [1776–1780] statt 1783, 520.  
 17 Gross 2011 [1969], 622–624, esp. 623; Golb 1998, 269–274.  
 18 Nahon 1975; Nahon 2011, 36.  
 19 A common phenomenon in Starrs of England, see Davis 1888; Olszowy-Schlanger 2014b.  
 20 See also Golb 1998, 328.  
 21 Engel 2010; Engel 2014.



**Figure 16:** STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Or. Quart. 9, f. 113r

#### History of the volume

The manuscript was owned by the German orientalist Andreas Müller of Greiffenhagen (1630–1694),<sup>22</sup> then described in Hamburg by the German Hebraist Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739),<sup>23</sup> before being part of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek or Königliche Bibliothek (today: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). The manuscript was used by Kennicott and DeRossi.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Müller quotes the manuscript in his *Acta eruditorum* (1687), 134.

<sup>23</sup> Wolf 1715–1733, 166–167; Richter 2014 [1992], 230.

<sup>24</sup> See Introduction, 18.

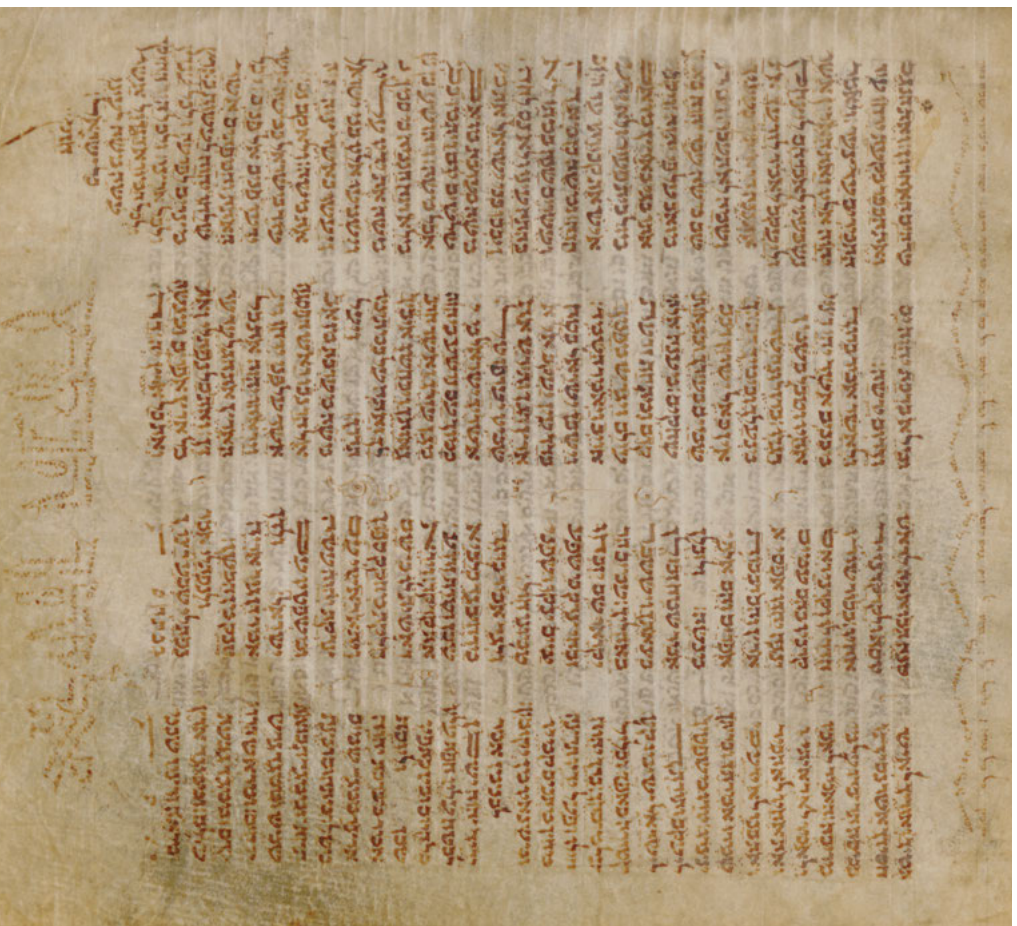


Plate 15: STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Or. Quart. 9, f. 129v, the alphabetical Masorah reads תנודו אלודו (Elijah ha-Naqdan)<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> For 'alphabetical Masorah' expression, see Introduction, n. 20.



Plate 16: STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Or. Quart. 9, f. 137r, colophon



## Appendix 4: Statistical Results

Cases of this Edition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Numbers of lemmas <sup>1</sup>	15	17	6	13	14	14	11	6	14	17	18	9	9
Illegible part	2 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>4</sup>	-	-
Biblical verses in MMfig	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Captions	-	2 <sup>5</sup>	2	3	1	-	-	-	4 <sup>6</sup>	1	-	-	-
Uncertain signs (reading mark) <sup>5</sup> and <sup>7</sup>	1	-	1	1	-	-	3	2	2	1	2	3	2
Unknown material / Unidentified list	-	3 <sup>7</sup>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Erased words	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commentary as a MP	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Correction <sup>8</sup>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Addendum <sup>9</sup>	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

**1** Including in MMfig.

**2** In the MMfig.

**3** In the MMor.

**4** In the MMfig.

**5** In the MMfig.

**6** One is in the MMfig.

**7** In the MMor.

**8** Made by Elijah ha-Naqdan only.

**9** Made by Elijah ha-Naqdan only.



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