Masoretic Lists and Biblical Scribal Exercises in the Vienna Papyrus Collection: Evidence of Learning and Study of the Biblical Text in the Eleventh and Twelth Centuries

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Masoretic Lists and Biblical Scribal Exercises in the Vienna Papyrus Collection. Evidences of Learning and Study the Biblical Text in the 11th and 12th Century C.E.

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While consulting the catalogue of the Erzherzog Rainer Collection of the National Library in Vienna,[1] we find respectively few descriptive elements for the fragments H8 and H168. A renewed examination of these two fragments was required to seek how these fragments could illustrate the way of transmitting, copying and understanding the Hebrew Bible during the Middle Ages, even after the appearance of the so-called Ben Asher codices (among them the Aleppo Codex and the Lenongrad Codex B19a, dated 1008)[2]. As the two fragments are of a different subject, I am presenting here a diplomatic edition of each item with their separated analysis.

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Masoretic Lists on Psalms, Proverbs and Daniel: Masoretic Annotations Separately Copied from the Biblical Text (Fragment H 8)

In *Die Hebräischen Handschriften in Österreich*, this fragment is described as follow[3]:

> 131. Massoretische Bemerkungen zu den Psalmen und Daniel (von verschiedenen Teilen).
> 2 beschädigte Blätter. 24 Zeilen. Schriftspiegel 7 × 11.2 cm. Pergament.
> Orientalische kleine Quadratschrift. Teilweise punktiert. Vgl. A.-L., Nr. 20. – Signatur : H 8.

The study of this fragment enlightens the common scribal practice of masoretic lists and notes copied separately from the biblical text itself in separate quires. The text is therefore no masoretic treatise, as it could have been previously suspected at first sight. The few evidences we have on suggests masoretic annotations following the Standard Tiberian Masoretic tradition.[4]

Codicological elements

The fragment H8 is a bifolio of a medium size page with the dimension double page open around 340 mm x 270 mm. A page measures circa 170 mm x 270 mm. It is made of parchment from which the hairy and flesh sides are clearly visible. The hairy side shows a darker color of parchment, plus

** The article has been written in the frame of the Project ANR MBH (ANR-16-ACHN-0008-01), hosted by the Aix-Marseille University at the Center TDMAM, UMR 7297, dedicated to the Hebrew biblical manuscripts of the Middle Ages produced especially before 1300 in England, Northern France, Rhine Valley and Nothern Italy.
I wish to express my gratitude to the Organizator Committee of the Orion-Vienna Symposium for having invited me to work on these fragments. I warmly thank also G. Khan and Yossef Ofer for their remarks and comments during the preparation of this article.

[1] A. Z. Schwarz, D. S. Loewinger, E. Roth, *Die hebräischen Handschriften in Österreich* (ausserhalb der Nationalbibliothek in Wien). Teil II A und B (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1973), Anhang II A, 57–79.

[2] M. Beit-Arié, C. Sirat, & M. Glatzer, *Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi, Series Hebraica. Codices hebraicis litteris exarati quo tempore scripti fuerint exhibentes. Tome I: jusqu'à 1020* (Turnhout: IRHT, Paris and Israël Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem, 1997), Manuscrit 6 (Jerusalem, Makhon Ben Zvi, MS 1, kept at the Israel Museum, alias 'Aleppo Codex'), 65-72 and Manuscrit 17 (Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, EBP. I B 19a, alias 'Leningrad Codex'), 114–131.

[3] Schwarz, Loewinger, Roth, *Die hebräischen Handschriften*, Anhang II A, n. 131, 75.
http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/LEXDML7AJQ3TH42MK9566QP4FDH84ID1MU9GE5P7AAQ1H4EFCQ-02908?func=full-set-set&set_number=030345&set_entry=000001&format=999

[4] The following of the Standard Tiberian manuscript tradition always includes the presence a small number of variants attesting of different channels of transmission of the masoretic lists. In this Vienna fragment, most of the variants concerns Daniel, in Aramaic, which explains that the masoretic notes are most likely heterogeneous in this section.

small points (the hairs), the flesh side is noticeably brighter. The fragment is very damaged at the top and the bottom. To write on it, the scribe has proceeded to the pricking on the external margin (visible only on one folio) by making at least 28 perforations. These prickings have helped to trace the ruling on the flesh side on all the bifolio with a hard point. The columns separating the internal and external margins are visible on the flesh side on each folio. The last ruled line on each folio seems to be written. The text is not following exactly the ruling pattern at the bottom of the pages. On the flesh side, 23-24 written lines are visible. On the hairy side, 24 to 25 written lines are visible.

Palaeographical elements

According to palaeographical analyse, this fragment is written in an Egyptian Oriental square script, Southernwestern Oriental style, datable from circa 1100 CE.[5] The scribe does not follow the ruling, which indicates certainly a private writing for self-use. The script is personal and semi-cursive, irregular on both sides. In addition, the size of the script varies and becomes smaller at the bottom of some pages.

Reading order of the text in the fragment

The fragment presents discontinuous text between versos and subsequent rectos. Consequently, this is not a fragment of a bifolio that would have been placed at the centre of a quire. In this case, the text would be entirely consecutive at least from one verso to the text recto. In this fragment, the order of reading seems to follow the rabbinic order of biblical books (TBb 14b). We are editing the masoretic notes in the order of Psalms (written on f. 1r-v), and on Proverbs and Daniel (written on f. 2r-v).

Graphic signs

Three different graphic signs confirm the order of the text. First, a circle (see Graphic Sign 1) separates each masoretic note or annotations and is used only on ff. 1r-v. In the ff. 2r-v, graphic signs looking like a number 6 (see Graphic Sign 2) separate the masoretic annotations. There are also another graphic sign used to mark stronger sections of the biblical text (see Graphic Sign 3).

[Place illustration 1 here]

Graphic Sign 1, only in ff. 1r-v, ◦ in the edition

[Place illustration 2 here]

Graphic Sign 2, only in ff. 2r-v, • in the edition

[Place illustration 3 here]

[5] See for instance M. Beit-Arié, *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts, Vol. I. Oriental and Yemenites Scripts* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1987), n° 36 (Cambridge UL T-S K6.78). I warmly thank Judith Schlanger for her confirmation on this matter.

Graphic Sign 3, beginning of a seder, only ff. 2r-*v*, ○ *in the edition*

Contents

The content is related to all kind of masoretic annotations that are generally copied in the margins of "masoretic Bibles" (such as in Leningrad Codex, Aleppo Codex, Ms BL Or. 4445 or Damascus Pentateuch).[6] Here is the structure of the contents:

In the folio 1 are written only Masoretic Notes on Psalms. From f. 1r, Lines 1 to 14, the text is composed of a very long note on the occurrences of the accentuated preposition כִּי. Lines 10 to 12 involve the vocalization *qamats* and *atnah* of the word זכר. The second note, on Lines 2 to 14, deals with the readings rules (*Qere Ketiv* and *Ketiv Qere*) between the terms עניים and ענוים giving two lists appearing in several codices as well as in *Sefer Okhla we-Oklha*. From f. 1r, Lines 11 to 19 have masoretic notes on lemmas taken from Psalms 10:8 to 18:43, including a list from *Sefer Okhla we-Okhla* (see line 16-17). From Lines 20 to 22, these are probably masoretic notes because of the terms בר מן גׄ on Line 1. From Line 23 until the end, there is probably masoretic notes (with a lemma mentioned four times). The folio 1v begins with a very long masoretic note (Lines 1 to 6) and its lemma is illegible. From f. 1v Line 6 to the end of the page, there are again masoretic notes on Psalms 26:1 to 56:8 as far as I could identify. The end of the folio is hardly legible, but Line 23 contains the lemma הורֵד and some of its *simanim*.

In the folio 2 are copied only Masoretic Notes on the end of Proverbs and the Beginning of Daniel. On folio 2r, Line 1 is difficult to read and uncertain. In folio 2r, Lines 2 to 13, there are masoretic notes on Proverbs 24:26 to Proverbs 30:7. Then in f. 2r, Lines 12 to 14 seems to be a kind of *masora finalis* closing the book of Proverbs. Then follow masoretic notes from lemmas taken from the book of Daniel, from f. 2r line 15 to f. 2v, line 14. The text from Lines 21 to 23 of the folio 2r is very lacunary but displays a masoretic note on the lemmas מְשׁרוקתא and בֵּאדִין. From f. 2v, Line 14, the text is often illegible. It seems to be always masoretic notes because of the use of the terms in Line 19 [ב]רׄ מן אׄ פּת(except once accentuated with *patah*). Line 20 presents the graphic sign separating notes and the lemma אֲבָל. Lines 18 and 19 (f. 2v) support a masoretic note on the term וְאדבר found in Ginsburg's Work on *Masorah*.

Diplomatic Edition

[6] The Masorah is, in a broader sense, "an apparatus of notes of a textual nature that was transmitted together with the biblical text or independently, with the aim of preserving its integrity", cf. Elvira Martín Contreras, "1.5 Medieval Masoretic Text, 1.5.1 Background," *Textual History of the Bible, Vol. 1: The Hebrew Bible, Part A: Overview Articles* (eds. Armin Lange and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 420–429 (420). Consulted online on 17 November 2016 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001050000). See also H. Hyvernat, "Petite introduction l'étude de la Massore," *Revue Biblique* (1902): 1–136 ; I. Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah* (trans. and ed. E. J. Revell; SBLMasS 5; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1980) ; I. Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah* (*in Hebrew*), (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew language, 2011) ; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, (Mineapolis, MN and Assen and Maastricht: Fortress and Van Gorcum, 1992), 72–76; E. Martín Contreras, G. Seijas de los Ríos Zarzosa, *Masora: La transmisión de la tradición* (Navarra: Verbo Divino, 2010) ; G. Khan, *A Short Introduction to the Tiberian Massoretic Bible and its Reading Tradition* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012); V. Golinets, "Tiberian Masorah," in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew language and linguistics, Volume 2, G—O,* ed. G. Khan (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 588–598.

Editorial rules[7]

בְ reading of the letter uncertain or difficult

בְּ if the uncertain letter has a dot upper-written

[ ] or [..] letter or word unreadable; the space between the marks corresponds to the number of missing letters. If we know exactly how many letters are unreadable, the points mark each letter.

[בְ] letter partially visible

[בּ] reconstitution of the letters

[[ ]] or [[..]] Hole in the parchment; the space or the points between the marks correspond to the number of missing letters. If we know exactly how much letters are missing, the points are marking each letter.

[[בבב]] reconstitution of the letters

< > missing text

( ) addition by the editor

MP Masora parva

MM Masora magna

Folio 1r (corresponding to the image Fragment H 168, f. 1r, left page)

1/ [.] וא[...] בְ [[ ]]לִךְ [.א.כה] ◦ ואני [ד] [בלבר [[ ]][[[8]]

2/ כמעט ◦ כִי[9] נהּ בטּ<עמא> בסּ<יפרא> וסימ<נהון>[10] בתור[ת] (Ps 1:2) בפי[הוֹ] (Ps 5:10) במות (Ps 6:6) [[לנצח]] (Ps 9:19)

3/ [.] ידרְכון (Ps 11:2) <אלוה> (Ps 18:32) בזה (Ps 22:25) יצפנני (Ps 27:5) יבינו (Ps 28:5) [[כי רגע]] (Ps 30:6) ביגון (Ps 31:11) שמעתִי (Ps 31:14)

4/ וִיהי (Ps 33:9) שלוֹם (Ps 35:20) [[זרוע]]ות (Ps 37:17) יאבדו (Ps 37:20) אהב (Ps 37:28) אפפו (Ps 40:13) בָּחֳרבם (Ps 44:4) בקשתי (Ps 44:7)

5/ שחה (Ps 44:26) מ[לך] (Ps 47:8) זה (Ps 48: 15) יִר[א]ה (Ps 49:11) במותו (Ps 49:18) זדים (צ״ל: זרים (Ps 54:5) <אויב> (Ps 55:13) הצלתה (Ps 56:14) הצלת) אדני <צ״ל: ארבו > (Ps 59:4) יושיע (Ps 69:36)

6/ חרצבות (Ps 73:4) ממוצא (Ps 75:7) כוס (Ps 75:9) האמינו (Ps 78:22) חזק (צ״ל: חוק) (Ps 81 :5) נועצו (Ps 83:6) טוב

7/ יום (Ps 84:11) ש[מש] (Ps 84:12) בשחק (Ps 89:7) אלֹה (Ps 90:4) יצילך (Ps 91:3) חשק (Ps 91:14) שמחתני (Ps 92:5)

8/ איביך (Ps 92:10) כי אל (Ps 95:3) כגבה (Ps 103:11) רוחֹ (Ps 103:16) [פי רשע] (109:2) חלצתה (חלצת Ps 116:8) שמה (Ps 122:5)

9/ ינוח (Ps 125:3) ידעתי (Ps 135:4) שאלוני (צ"ל: שאלונו) (Ps 137:3) מילה (Ps 139:4) ייִ אלהים (Ps 141:8) (◦) אלהים <ז> בטּ בסּ וסימ<נהון>[11]

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[7] The editorial rules are a free adaptation of those found in Beit-Arié, Sirat, Glatzer, *Monumenta*, I: 24. As the purpose of this article is not an extensive critical edition, but identify the contents, I am mentioning when some lists are recorded in C. D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah Compiled from Manuscripts Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged* (London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1880-1883) or the *Masora magna* (further Mm) list recorded by G. E. Weil in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, eds. K. Elliger, W. Rudolph (4th edition; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990) and also in *Massorah gedolah iuxta codicem leningradensem B 19 a* (Romae: Pontificium institutum biblicum, 1971) when it delivers evidences to suggest a reconstitution of the missing lemmas.

[8] This line looks rewritten. Some letters appear in light brown under a dark brown.

[9] with the accent *mahpakh* under the *kaf*.

[10] "The word *ki* occurs 55 times in Psalms with *mahpakh* (in the opening of the verse)". The missing items are mentioned here according to Ginsburg 1883, Vol. II, 30—31, n° 129. I warmly thank Yossef Ofer for his help on this note.

[11] "The word אלהים (or ואלהים) occurs 7 times with this accent (*dehi*) [in the beginning of the verse]". According to Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 75—76, n° 651. I warmly thank Yossef Ofer for his help on this note and his verification made in the Israeli Database *Ha-Keter*.

10/ שופט (Ps 7:12) בשמך (Ps 54:3) שמע (Ps 54:4) זנחתנו (Ps 60:3) אל תרחק (Ps 71:12) מלכי (Ps 74:12) בקדש (Ps 77:14) ◦ זָכָר (Ps 9:13) [ל]

11/ וכל לשון זכורה פתחין בר מן א קמ כי דור[ש] (Ps 9:13) יכל לשון

12/ זכר דכוותי<יהון> קמצין[12] ◦ ה כתבין עניים וקריין ענוים וס[[ימנהון]]

13/ שכח (Ps 9:13) תשכח (Ps 10:12) לַעֲצִים (Prov 3:34) בָּז (Prov 14:21) טוב (Prov 16 :19) וחילופיהון ב כתבין

14/ ענוים וקריין עניים וסימ<נהון> תקות (Ps 9:19) לחָבֵל (Is 32:7)[13] ◦ במסתרים (Ps 10:8)

15/ ג <וסימנהון> [[יָשָׁב]] (Ps 17:12) לירות (Ps 64:5) יֵשֵׁב (Ps 10:8)[14] ◦ סביב ג ראׄ פס <וסימנהון> שמונה עשר (Ezek 48:35)

16/ ית[ה]לכון (Ps 12:9) בעתיהו בלהות (Job 18:11[15]) ◦ ישועת (Ps 14:6) ישועות (Ps 53:7) גופת (1Chr 10 :12)

17/ גופות (1Chr 10 :12) גוית (1Sam 31:12) גויות (1Sam 31:12) (כ)ערוגת (Cant 5:13) (ל)ערוגות (Cant 6:3)[16] ◦ אָמַרְתִּ ל (Ps 16:2) [לשון]

18/ זכר וכל שום נקבה דכוו<תהון>[17] ◦ פריץ ב <וסימנהון> והוליד (Ezek 18:10) ארחות (Ps 17:4[18]) ◦ וַיִּגְלֹו

19/ ב <וסימנהון> שניהם (1Sam 14:11) מוסדות (Ps 18:16)[19] ◦ אריקם ל (Ps 18:43) וחד אדיק[[ם (2Sam 22:43)]][20] [[ ]] [[.ל]] [..מן]

20/ לא[דכיא] מְצָוֹת בר מין ג לא־עזבתם (מצות Jos 22:3) [[ ]]

21/ שמאל [[ ]] [.. .] פת בר מן ג [[ ]]

22/ [.. .] [[ ]]רי [[..]] [.]ח [[.....]]וני ◦

23/ אשחר[[ ]] תווינו (Deut 23:17) [[י]]ץ מין מן

24/ ששת [[ ]]ע ד ויגר בן[.] זה ענף צע[..]

Folio 1v (corresponding to the image Fragment H 168, f. 1 v, right page)

1/ [[ ]] [.....] שלמהי לעם [.] ◦ [מב] [אתנחת[[יא בפ]]ת בס<יפרא[21]> <וסימנהון> אספרה (Ps 2:7)

2/ [[האויב]] (Ps 9:7) ידעו (14:4) ויט (18:10) חטאות (Ps 25:7) שפטני (Ps 26:1) שאלתי (Ps 27:4) דיבת (Ps 31:14) ריבה (Ps 35:1) ובצלעי (Ps 35:15)

3/ ישמחו (Ps 35:19) שלימי (Ps 35:20) <ראיתה> (Ps 35 :22) עזרתי (Ps 40:18) עזרי (Ps 70:6) <כשמך> (Ps 48:11) יכבידנני (Ps 50:23) הרכבת (Ps 66:12) רָעָ[ש]ה (Ps 68:9) תשכבון (Ps 68:14)

4/ נָחַר (Ps 69:4) <רבו> (Ps 69:5) חרפה (Ps 69:21) בצרה (Ps 81:8) שיתמו (Ps 83:14) בחצריך (Ps 84:11) שמרה (Ps 86:2) ואני (Ps 88:14) לפנים (Ps 102:26) <למנות> (Ps 12: 90)

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[12] A similar MP note recorded in the BHS appears in A. Beck, D. N. Freedman, & J. A. Sanders, *The Leningrad Codex: A facsimile edition*. (Grand Rapids and Mich. and Leiden and New York: Wm. B. Eerdmans : Brill Academic Publishers, 1998), visible in color in BibleWorks 10 (facsimile images further called "B19a"), f. 367r: ל' קמ' וכל זכר ונקבה דכות' .

[13] Identified in the Ms. Paris, BnF, hébreu 148, cf. S. Frensdorff, *Das Buch Ochlah we-ochlah* (Hannover: Hahnsche Hofbuchhandlung, 1864), n° 144 and 145; also in the manuscript Halle 1, see F. Díaz Esteban, *Sefer 'Oklah wĕ-'Oklah* (Madrid: CSIC, 1975), 166, n°127. I thank Sebastian Seeman for the confirmation of this identification. Also Weil Mm 3549 and in B19a's facsimile or Bible Works 10 (f. 367r).

[14] This list seems correct if it is just a reference to the three places were the lemma במסתרים occurs in Psalms. Otherwise, there are two spelling of במסתרים, with dagesh in the *mem* or with *rafe*. In the list Weil Mm 3737, the list records three instances (Ps 17:12, Jer 13:17, Lam 3:10) where the lemma occurs with a *rafe* above the *mem* (replacing the dagesh). In the Codex B19a, there are also three other instances of the lemma במסתרים with *dagesh* in the mem (like in Ps 10:8, Ps 64:5 and Jer 23:24).

[15] Recorded by Weil Mm 3215. Ginsburg 1883, II, 323, n. 22.

[16] Only identified in Frensdorff, *Das Buch*, 125, n. 207. I thank Sebastian Seeman for the confirmation of this identification.

[17] This is rather a MP note. In B19a, the MP on Ps. 16:2 records ל לשון זכר meaning that אָמַרְתִּ is a hapax and a *lashon* masculine (despite the feminine form). The masoretic notes of this fragment indicates furthermore וכל שום נקבה דכוו meaning "when it is a noun, it is always feminine like this" (like in Ps. 18:31 and Ps. 105:19).

[18] In B19a, recorded ב as a MP only in Ez 18:10. Idem in Weil.

[19] In B19a, recorded ב as a MP. Idem in Weil.

[20] It is a MM note. In La19a, the note records ל as a MP, but Weil gives the Mm 1849, indicating pairs, in which is quoted the second term אדיקם (2 Sam 22:43) appearing in this fragment.

[21] "There are 42 times a word with *patakh* in *atnakh* in this book (Psalms)". I warmly thank Yossef Ofer for his help on this note and his verification made in the Israeli Software Ha-Keter.

5/ דעו (Ps 100:3) ישם (Ps 107:35) בשפתי (Ps 119:13) מלמדי (Ps 119:99) הצילה (Ps 120:2) נשאתי (Ps 123:1) רבת קדמיה (Ps 129:1) גבה (Ps 131:1)

6/ תדבק (Ps 137:7) הקשיב<ה> (Ps 142:7) שמע (Ps 143:1) הללו ראשון (Ps 148:1)[22] ◦ לדוֹדן ז בט בס וסימ

7/ שפטני (Ps 26:1) אורי (Ps 27:1) ריבה (Ps 35:1) אל תתחר (Ps 37:1) אודך (Ps 138:1) ברכי (Ps 103:1) ברוך(Ps 144:1) בְּטוֹב[23] ◦

8/ ד רפ <וסימנהון> יחליפנו (Lev 27:10) נפשו (Ps 25:13) אנסכה (Eccl 2:1) ביום (Eccl 7:14)[24] ◦ פְּתַחְתָּ ב <בקריה וסימנהון> לי (Ps 30:12) למוסר<י> (Ps 116:16)[25] ◦

9/ עֵינִי ו בספ<ר> <וסימנהון> אשכילך (Ps 32:8) עששה (Ps 6:8) מכל צרה (Ps 54:9) דמעה (Ps 116:8) דאבה (Ps 88:10)

10/ ותבט (Ps 92:12[26]) ◦ בְּדָבַר ־<יהוה> <וסימנהון> ה נגלה (1Sam 3:21) ואיש אחד (1Kgs 20:35) הובישו (Jer 8:9)

) וגם נעשו (Ps 33:6) וכל

11/ פרשת איש האלהים (2Chr 30:12) דכוו בר מן אֹ ויתנהו אל האריה (1Kgs 13:26)[27] ◦

12/ נָאָוָה (Prov 17:7) ד <וסימנהון> רננו (Ps 33:1) זמרה (Ps 147:1) וחד כתרצה (Cant 6:4)[28] ◦ לדוד ל בט וכל דס<מיך>

13/ למנצח (Ps 68:1) דכו[29] ◦ הִצִּילָנִי ג <וסימנהון> דויד (1Sam 17:37) דרשתי (Ps 34:5) מכל צרה (Ps 54:9)[30] ◦ הִבִּיטוּ ב

14/ הִבִּיטוּ <ב בקריה וסימנהון> אליו (Ps 34:6) אֶרְחֹת (Job 6:19)[31] ◦ חֹנָה ב <וחסרי וסמנהון> אשר הוא (Exod 18:5) מלאך יי (Ps 34:8)[32] ◦

15/ בעשי ג <וחסרין וסימנהון> המשכן (Exod 36:8) תתחר (Ps 37:1) זכרם (Ps 34:17) <וכל כתוב י>[33] ◦ בְּעַם ב פת<ח> <וסימנהון> כבד (Num 20:20) עצום (Ps 35:18)

16/ וכל וְעַם דכו<ו>תהון פת<ח> בר מן ג קמ<ץ> <וסימנהון> כְּחוֹל (1Sam 13:5) יבין (Hos 4:14) יחרדו[34] (Amos 3:6) ◦

17/ דום ב <חסרי> <וסימנהון> שמש (Jos 10:12) וְהִתְחוֹלֵל (Ps 37:7)[35] ◦ וְקַוֵּי־<יי> ב <וסימנהון> (Ps 37:9) וחד וקויי יי (Isa 40:31)[36] ◦ בית אלהים

18/ה <בקריה> דס<מיכין וסימנהון> [[(Gen 28:17)]] ולאבן <והאבן> (Gen 28:22) והאיש (Jdg 17:5) המובא (2Chr 34:9) אלה אזכרה (Ps 42:5)[37] ◦ טָבְחָה ל

19/ [[ ]] לא מפק הֵי (Ps 44:23) וחד מפיק הֵי טָבְחָה טָבְחָה (Prov 9:2)[38] ◦

20/ [[ ]] לעולם ועד ט המלך ולכו יזהירו

21/ [[ ]] גערה א[[...]]רה ארוממך

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[22] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 303, n° 576.

[23] See Ginsburg 1880, I, 228, n. 132. Weil Mm 3429.

[24] See Ginsburg 1880, I, 617, n. 83. Weil Mm 825.

[25] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 462, n. 360. Weil Mm 3398.

[26] See Weil Mm 2501 (giving 29 occurences); Ginsburg 1883, II, 384, n. 283 gives 7 occurrences (Ps 31:10 is missing in the fragment).

[27] See Ginsburg 1880, I, 226, n. 90. "The lemma occurs five times like this [...], except once as כְּדָבָר". Weil Mm 1549.

[28] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 270, n. 25.

[29] Not found in Ginsburg nor Weil's works. The note remains unclear. The accents on this lemma are *revya'* and *rafe* on the dalet (twice). In B19a, f. 371v, the lemma is placed alone at the beginning of the line, which remains blank apart the number 34 (ל״ד) and it is not a hapax. The note may mean: "This lemma with those accents appears only here (Ps. 34:1) and in each lemma *di-semikh* (as such constructed) for instance in למנצח (Ps. 68:1), also with this accent". This note seems to not exclude the case of Ps 24:1 (in B19a, a MP note mentions three instances with these accents).

[30] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 285, n. 341. « The lemma הִצִּילָנִי occurs three times, twice with *qamats* and once with *patakh*."

[31] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 271, n. 50. Weil Mm 3177.

[32] See Ginsburg, 1880, I, 493, n. 312. Weil indicates directly Ps 34:8 in the BHS.

[33] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 424, 867. Weil indicates only a MP.

[34] See Ginsburg 1883, II, 410, n. 617. "This lemma בְּעַם occurs twice with *patakh* in [...] and the lemma ועם is written similarly with *patakh* except three times with *qamats* in 1Sam 13:5, Hos 4:14 and Amos 3:6". Weil Mm 3260 indicates only the first part of the note.

[35] "This lemma is twice <defective> in Jos 10:12 and Ps 37:7". Ginsburg 1880, I, 231, n. 188, and Weil Mm 3263 record these two occurrences with an additionnal defective spelling in Ezek 24:17.

[36] "This expression occurs twice one in Ps 37:9 and once in Is 40:31". See Weil Mm 10 of the BHS, p. 1118. Apparently not in Ginsburg.

[37] "This lemma occurs five times in the all the Bible (קריה) in this manner sustained or in the construct-state (*dismikhin*, Hyvernat 1902, 89-90)". See Ginsburg 1880, I, 179, n. 251.

[38] "The lemma טָבְחָה [...] appears once without *mappiq* in the *he* and with a *rafe*, and once with *mappiq* in the *he* in Prov 9:3". *Rafe* indicates here an absence of consonantal value of the *he* visible in the spelling of טָבְחָה טָבְחָה.

22/ בכל [.......] ◦אָ[ם]ׄ דׄ ב[[ ]]בדך בכור ◦

23/ הורֵד גׄ ע[דׄי]ךׄ (Ex 33:5) [גדׄ]עון (Jdg 7:4) עמ[[ים]] (Ps 56:8) [[ ]][39] ◦ אילין

24/ תרתין מילין עוזו אליך א[[ ]]ךׄ אזכרה ◦

Folio 2r (corresponding to the image Fragment H 168, f.1v, left page)

1/ [[.]]ויָּטֵּךְ ב[[...]] כׄני[[... ....]]ות בלבים [.] והׄיית כשׄ[ ]

2/ דרך אניה • יִשַּׁק בׄ <וסימנהון> ועל פיך ישק (Gen 41:40) פתׄ שפתים יִשָּׁק (Prov 24:26)[40] [.ׄ]

3/ סימן בטעם ומשע(נ)תֶךָ (Ps 23:4)[41] • אֱמָר לׄ (Prov 25:7) דמשלי אֱמֹר לׄ (Ezek 25:8)[42] • וַחֲלִי בׄ

4/ <בתרין לישני וסימנהון> חלקת וַחֲלִי (Jos 19:25) וַחֲלִי כָתֶם דמשלי (Prov 25:12)[43] • רֹעָה בׄ <מלרע וסימנהון> כי רֹעָה הִוא (Gen 29:9) שן

5/ רֹעָה (Prov 25:19)[44] • כַּצִּפּוֹר גׄ <דגשין וסימנהון> הַתְשַׂחֶ <הַתְשַׂחֶק> (Job 40:29) לנוד (Prov 26:2) צוד צדוני (Lament 3:52)[45] • הַשְׁכֵּם

6/ גׄ כתׄ יׄ <וסימנהון> אל נא (Jer 44 :4) שובו נא (Jer 35:15) מְבָרֵךְ (Prov 27:14)[46] • לָאָדָם הׄ <בקריה קמץ וסמנהון> מִי שָׂם (Exod 4:11) ודעת <ידעתי> (Jer 10:23)

7/ והצירותי (Zeph 1:17) כמים (Prov 27:19) ויאמר (Job 28:28)[47] • הָרִיפוֹת בׄ <חד חסר וחד מלא וסימנהון> ותשטח (2Sam 17:19) תכתוש (Prov 27:22)[48] •

8/ לַעֲדָרִים בׄ <וסימנהון> תהיינה ורבצו (Isa 17:2) שית לבך (Prov 27:23)[49] • יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע בׄ דסׄ<מיכין>

9/ <וסימנהון> כי גר יהיה (Gen 15:13) ידע תדע פני צאנך (Prov 27:23)[50] • מַשְׁגֶּה בׄ <וסימנהון> עור (Deut 27:18) ישרים (Prov 28:10)[51] •

10/ כצנת שלג (Prov 25:13) ○[52] • ~~ומדה ב~~[53] יְרֻחָם בׄ חד פתׄ<ח> וחד קמׄ<ץ וסימנהון> (Ps 28:13) אשר בך

11/ בך ירוחַם יתום (Hos 14:4)[54] • גׄ בִין בין <וסימנהון> בֵּן הכות (Deut 25:2) בין תבין (Prov 23:1) בין (בן) יקה (Prov 30:1)[55]

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39 Ginsburg 1880, I, 739, n. 594. Weil Mm 604.

40 "This lemma occurs twice once with *patakh* and once with *qamats*". See Ginsburg 1883, II, 291, n. 446. Weil Mp sur Prov 26:24.

41 Lemma indicated as hapax in B19a. The word is accentuated with a *revia'*.

42 "This lemma with *hataf-patakh* occurs a hapax in Prov 25:7 and as hapax in Ezek 25:8". No list in Ginsburg's Masorah. Weil (in BHS) indicates a Mp on Prov 25:7 (hapax) and no Mp on Ezek 25:8 (also B19a). This is a specific note from this fragment.

43 "Twice these terms, once in Jos 19:25 and once in Proverbs". Ginsburg 1880, I, 489, n. 237. Weil Mm 1352.

44 This note is indicated in B19a as a tripartite note (see Mm of B19a on Gen29:9 in Weil Mm 205). The fragment mention only the first part of this note, "The lemma רֹעָה occurs twice (with *milra'* accentuation) in Gen 29:9 and Prov 25:19". Ginsburg indicates a masoretic note concerning the defective spelling that seems not recorded here (see Ginsburg 1883, II, 580, 409).

45 "This lemma occurs three times (with *dagesh*) in Job 40:29, Prov 26:2 and Lament 3:52". See Ginsburg 1883, II, 517, n. 191. No Mm list in Weil.

46 "The lemma השכים written with yod (= plene) in Jer 44:4, Jer 35:15 and Prov 27:14". Apparently not in Ginsburg. The list in Weil Mm 2595 refers to a Mp note in B19a found on Jer 25:3 (with the term אשכים) and Prov 27:14 (השכים), and concerning a *plene* spelling (with yod) of the lemma. Our fragment suggests a list concerning the term השכים only.

47 "This lemma לאדם occurs in all the Bible with *qamats* in Zeph 1:17, Prov 27:19 and Job 28:28". See Ginsburg 1880, I, 28, n. 131. See Weil Mm 391 (first part of the note).

48 "This lemma occurs twice, once defective and once *plene* spelling in 2Sam 17:19 and Prov 27:22". Ginsburg 1883, II, 577, n. 342. Weil Mm 1801.

49 "The lemma occurs twice, in Isa 17:2 and Prov 27:23". See Ginsburg 1883, II, 377, n. 153. No Mm List in Weil.

50 "The lemma יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע occurs twice as such constructed, once in Gen 15:13 and once in Prov 27:23". This note seems not recorded by Ginsburg nor by Weil (no MP). In the B19a, there is no MP mentioned. This note seems incomplete. According to the Concordance Even Shoshan and Bible Works Software, יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע can be found also in 1 Sam 28:1, 1Kings 2:37 and 2:42.

51 See Ginsburg 1883, II, 607, n. 136. Weil Mm 1200.

52 Beginning of the 7th section in Proverbs (from Prov 25:13 to 28:16). A specific graphic sign is found in B19a. The point is that this note should have come after the next note on Prov 28:13. The beginning of the 8th section of Proverbs is not recorded.

53 Words struck out by the scribe.

54 "This lemma occurs twice, once with *patakh* and once with *qamats* and here are the occurences Prov 28:13 and Hos 14:4." Apparently not in Ginsburg nor Weil. The text is not fully visible in B19a. According to the Even Shoshan Concordance and Bible Works Software, this note is accurate.

55 Not recorded by Weil. Not recorded by Ginsburg (Vol. I בן or בין). The lemma in Prov 30:1 and Deut 25:2 are coming from בן *ben* (son); the lemma in Prov 23:1 comes from the verb בין.

12/ מַאֲתָֽיִךְ ה <וסימנהון> השאלים טוב (1Kgs 18:12? 2Kgs 2:10?) שאלה (1 Kgs 2:16) שאלה (1 Kgs 2:20) שתים (Prov 30:7)[56] • משלי פס[וקים]

13/ ץ ל[57] פסקתה דסיפ<רא> [58] <וסימנהון> פתאים[59] (Prov 1:22) עָצֵל (Prov 6:9) וחבירו (?[60]) עשה וג (Prov 6:3) להנח׳<יל> (Prov 8:21)

14/ יום (Prov 8:30) וחבירו (Prov 8:34) אומר (Prov 24:24) יסח (Prov 15:25) הב (Prov 30:15)[61] • וְפִשְׁרָא ׳ בס<יר>א[62] וידברו (Dan 2:4) [<Dan 2:7>]

15/ ובעא (Dan 2:16) העלני (Dan 2:24) הנעל (Dan 2:25) בחכמה (Dan 2:30) יכלין (Dan 4:15*2) מטת (Dan 4:21) מפרש (Dan 5:12) מב[....<Dan 5:16*2> •]

16/ ל בט בחית רוחה ב[63] רוחה <רוחא> ~~שוחה~~ וכל אתר (Dan 2:35) בט בחית וחל

17/ ויהיו הרמונים רוחה (Jer 52:23) ○ • דקו כחדא (Dan 2:35)[64] • בַּאֲדַיִן אדין ט ב[ט]

18/ בס<יר>א וחד בעזרא[65] נפל (Dan 2:46) מִתְבַּהֵל (Dan 5:9) אזל (Dan 6:19) קָרִיבוּ (Dan 6:13) גלותָא (Dan 2:25) אֵלֶךְ (Dan 6:16) אִילִין (Dan 6:7)

19/ אֵלֶךְ (Dan 6:12) תְּתָנַי (Ezra 6:13) • כל דניאל קָל עַדָּת (?Dan 4:28) קמ וכל קריה פת כל ק[?]

20/ פת דָּגֵשׁ בר מן רפ פטשיהון אפדנו (?Dan 11:45)[66] • סימן בטעם קָל

21/ קרנָא מְשרוקתא (Dan 3:5) [[.....]] טעם חד הש[.] קָ[ל] קלָנא

22/ משרוקיתָא (Dan 3:7) ה[.[....קרנ]]א משרוק[[יתא (Dan 3:10)]] [....][שׂ]בכָא (Dan 3:15)[67]

23/ בֵּאדַיִן אדַין ה[..[[(Dan 3:21).....]]] [.]קָרב (Dan 3:26) מתנתך (Dan 5:17) והיתיו (Dan 6:17) דריוש (Dan 6:26)[68] •

Folio 2v (corresponding to the image Fragment H 168, f. 1r, right page)

1/ [[.]]קָלָ [קָם] [.....[[.....כ....]] [....]

2/ [ח]טף דניאל וחד פת שמה הַנְחַת (Joel 4:11)[69] • שְׁלִיחַ בְּ פַּסָּא (Dan 5:24)

3/ לבקָרָה (Ezra 7:14)[70] • הַדְּרְתָּ ל (Dan 5:23) • טַשְׁרָיָא ל דגש • חצי סדרים[71] •

4/ כל דניאל כְּבָר פת וכל קריה כְּבָר קמץ[72] • חצי הספר

5/ בפסוק אדין גבירא אילך הרגישו (Dan 6:12)[73] • ○ ודניאל דנה

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[56] See Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 138, n. 1452. See Weil Mm 1877.

[57] This note states that the number of verses in Proverbs is 930. The Standard tradition gives 915, here it should be written יטו or יזיה. I warmly thank Yossef Ofer for his remarks on this note.

[58] "10 times with *paseq* and these are the *simanim* Prov 1:2, Prov 6:9, ?, Prov 6:3, Prov 8:21, Prov 8:30, Prov 8:34, Prov 24:24, Prov 15:25, Prov 30:15". On the *paseq* (kind of separator), see Jouon 1996, 46.

[59] In the standard Tiberian tradition, this is considered as a *legarmeh* (*munakh* preceding). I warmly thank Yossef Ofer for his remarks on this note.

[60] In the standard Tiberian tradition, there is no other case in Proverbs (see next footnote).

[61] Ginsburg mentions only 9 cases. See Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, טעמים, 650, n° 214. I warmly thank Yossef Ofer for his remarks on this note.

[62] This list refers to different forms of this word (with *alef*/*he* at the end, with *waw* and without). See Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 441, n. 334.

[63] "An accent on the *het* of the lemma רוחה, twice, one in Dan 2:35 and one in Jer 52:23". This list appears on Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 572, n. 250 and refers to *mil'el* and *milra'* accentuation.

[64] Beginning of the 2d section of Daniel. The beginning of the 1st section is not recorded before.

[65] "This lemma 9 times accentuated in the book (of Daniel) and one in Ezra". See Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 27, n. 120.

[66] This note is unclear to me: "Each time in Daniel, in Dan 4:28 קָל עַדָּת is with *qamats*, and in the whole Bible (וכל קריה), עַדָּת is with *patah* Dan 4:28? and Dan 11:45?". This form has *patakh patakh*.

[67] Weil Mm 3807.

[68] See Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 27, n. 122.

[69] The lemma comes also once with *qamats* in Dan 5:20 (הָנְחַת).

[70] Only a Mp in B19a.

[71] "Half of the *sedarim*".

[72] Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 192, n. 452.

[73] "Half of the book of Daniel on the verse Dan 6:12" (marked in B19a).

6/ הצלח (Dan 6:29)[74] • יְהוֹדָעְנַנִי לְ (Dan 7:16)[75] • ותיניינה וחד יהודעונַנִי (Dan 4:3)[76]•

7/ הַנִּרְאָה בְּ פַּעֲמַיִם (1Kgs 11:9) בַּתְּחִילָה (Dan 8:1)[77] • יָצָא גִ בקֹ לְהֵיכָלָהֵם (Dan 10:20)

8/ לְמָלְדְּ (1Kgs 6:1?) קֶרֶן (Dan 8:9)[78] • [ו]א[תפ]לל[ה] (Dan 9:24)[79] ○ •[יֹּשׁ]ב־נא בְּ וְאָמוּת (2Sam 19:38)

9/ אַפְּדְּ וחמתך (Dan 9:16)[80] • [..ת] דִּעְ רִקְ [..] דִּברו וַיָּקֶם דניאל (Dan 9:12) •

10/ מוּעֲף בְּ כי לא מועף (Isa 8:23) בתחילה מוּעָף דניאל (Dan 9:21)[81] • וַיָּבֶן דְּ

11/ עלי (1Sam 3:8) דויד (2Sam 12:19) צא(?) דניאל (Dan 9:22) ויפ[רוץ] [דניא]לְ צא(?) (2 Chr 11:23)[82] • אֶל פִּי הִ דסִ<מיך>

12/ וּהְפקידו (Jos 10:18) (ו)לכלב (Jos 15:13) וּתְקֹרבנה (Jos 17:4) ל[חֹם] (Dan 10:3) מִנְּחלתם (Jos 21:3)[83] א יִ אל פי

13/ [...]את על פי [.]שתרא עַלְ פי • הַמַּרְאָה דְ מהגיד (1Sam 3:15) נשא[ר] (Dan 10:8)[84]

14/ [....כְּ בְּ אדֹום אְ[..] [כֹּד]ְ השיחים ההרים ה[...][85]

15/ [.....] יִלָּדיו עו[..] [..]כִּ הרעותי מחורֵב אחֹים

16/ [....] האתונות [.....]וך הרֹקיבְ ולא [נע.ר] [....]

17/ [...]פְּנֵיי כנפש [.]י נא [....] לא אֹרְצִי וּאֹיְדְ

18/ [...]רִּ הם בְּרִים [לְשִׁכּוֹתְ] [...] [...] [וְאֹדבר] דכו

19/ [וְאדבר][בְּ]רְ מן אּ פתֹ [בְּ] אדם (Ezek 2:1) [...] [..] [..]לך ואדבר

20/ א[....]○ אֲבָל א[גְּ]ד (Dan 10:21)[86] [.] [....] [...] [.] כֹּתְ והכֹּיִתְ

21/ [אְכְ.....] [.....]

22/ [וּחְיִרְקְ] [וק.[[....]]קְבוּעוֹתְ [..[[ ]] ....ר] ושמחת

23/ [...מעת] [עִּ.....] יִגידו יגיד[וּ] [[ ]] [...] וכל השמרְ

24/ [[ ]] דכו וּרְלְ [[ ]]בְּטנא דתבוא לְךָ

25/ פסֹ דכוֹת

Concluding Remarks on Fragment H8

The masoretic annotations are copied, most of the time, in order of the verses in the biblical book. It is not clear why the masoretic notes of Daniel are written directly after those on Proverbs.[87]

The text above edited reflects all kinds of marginal Masoretic annotations. Most of them are *masora magna* notes and display a lemma, the nature of the note, and the *simanim* introduced by the term *simanehon*. Sometimes, the fragment displays *masora parva*, *finalis* and information such as, for

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[74] Beginning of the 5th Seder of Daniel (marked in B19a).

[75] Hapax appearing in B19a.

[76] This note, connected to the previous one, is not appearing in B19a, is not recorded by Weil nor by Ginsburg. According to Bibleworks 10, it is correct (the form appears only twice in Daniel).

[77] Weil Mm 3853. Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 560, n. 62, first part of the note.

[78] This note appears unclear to me. One occurrence appears in the list Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 731, 472.

[79] Beginning of the 6th Seder of Daniel (marked in B19a).

[80] Weil Mm 87 (part). Not as such in Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 742, n. 631, but correct according to Bibleworks 10.

[81] As it is, this note seems to record the same lemma מוּעָף in plene spelling and with a *munah*. Or, in the Standard Tiberian tradition, the lemma in Daniel is defective according to B19a and as recorded מעף with *munah* in the list of Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 729, 455. Also Weil Mm 3863.

[82] This note is blurred and part of the text is illegible. See Ginsburg 1880, vol. I, 178, n. 229. See Weil Mm 1545.

[83] "Five times construct like this", see Weil Mm 1334. Ginsburg, 1880, vol. I, 70, 602. The end of the note is unclear to me.

[84] Weil Mm 1548. Ginsburg 1883, vol. II, 244, n. 746. The end of the note is missing, especially the occurrences of Dan 10:7.

[85] After this line, the text is hardly legible.

[86] Beginning of the 7th Seder of Daniel (marked in B19a).

[87] The general order of the books in *Ketuvim* may follow the TBb 14a–15b (Daniel is there before Lamentations and Esther) or the Tiberian Textual Tradition (between Esther and Ezra). In all cases, Psalms come before Proverbs and Daniel afterwards.

instances, beginning of the pericope, middle of the book, counts of verses in a book (especially in Proverbs and Daniel, ff. 2r-v).

The fragment is not recording all the possible masoretic notes existing in those books and is not being exhaustive on the matters.[88] For instance, in the f. 2r-v, the beginnings of the *sedarim* are not exhaustively quoted : between the 7th seder of Proverbs and the 2nd seder of Daniel, the 8th seder of Proverbs and the 1st of Daniel are not listed. As well, the masoretic notes are more clearly numerous after the beginning of the 8th *seder* of Proverbs and rather less after the mark of the 5th and 6th seder of Daniel.

Hypothetically, the fragment H 8 could be an evidence of a private booklet. The intention is maybe to gather only specific masoretic notes, from a "Masoretic codex" or from a specific booklet already dedicated to specific Masoretic notes on Psalms, Daniel and Proverbs. These elements were required for the copy of a manuscript Bible or for exegetical purposes. Moreover, in the f. 2r-v, the use of a different graphic signs compared to f. 1r-v remains also unclear, maybe these parts were copied for different purposes and from different sources as well. In addition, the uses of vowels and accentuations signs are much more frequent in Daniel, probably to distinguish more easily the Aramaic lemmas.

Finally, this fragment, produced around 1100 CE in an Oriental context, is clear evidence of the transmission of masoretic notes in a separate *mise par écrit,* even after the appearance of the so-called Ben Asher codices.[89] The fragment H8 shows lists and annotations that were still written and preserved separately from the biblical text and from the biblical manuscript it was related to. *À propos*, Aron Dotan remarks that such practices may have been very ancient, dating back probably to the time when the writing of the Masorah in the margins was forbidden.[90] Other practices have been also discovered such as the system of *serugin*, topical lists according specific subjects, spellings, issues about vocalization, or about unique words.[91] The fragment H8 highlights then that there were parallel existing ways to record Masoretic annotations in writing.

Illustration 4 : Fragment H 168, f. 1r (in our edition 1r at the left (beginning of our edition) and folio 2v at the right)

Illustration 5 : Fragment H8, f. 1v (in our edition 1v on the right and 2r on the left)

[88] See for instance, the folio 1v, lines 14 and 15, the note on the lemma from Psalms חֹנֶה 34:8 is followed by a note on the lemma בעֹשֵׂי from Psalms 34:17.

[89] The integration of the Masorah into the margins of biblical codices dates itself back probably to the ninth century, see J. Olszowy-Schlanger, "The Hebrew Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, eds. R. Marsden & E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2: 19–40 (31).

[90] "Fragments of such manuscripts were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* which appear to be remnants of independent works of Masorah. That is, works which contain masoretic notes in the order of the book of the Bible but without an accompanying biblical text. It is possible that these works go back to a very ancient period, perhaps even to the time when it was not permitted to write the Masorah in the margins." in Dotan. A, (2007), "Masorah", in *Encyclopaedia Judaica - vol.13*, eds. F. Skolnik & M. Berenbaum (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with the Keter Pub. House), 603–656 (621).

[91] On the *serugin*, see I Yeivin, "A fragment of the Bible in the Abbreviated System", *Textus. Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project*, 2, 1962, 120–139.

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Learn to Write with the Bible: Scribal Exercises with Biblical Verses (Fragment H 168)

In *Die Hebräischen Handschriften in Österreich*, this fragment is described as follow[92]:

> 187. (H 168 = 128) Schreibübungen. 22 Zeilen. Schriftspiegel
> 16 × 17 cm. Namen : בר משה.. שר שלום ברבי יוסף ברבי ערמם אברהם בר סהלאן

This one-sided written fragment is made of paper, 200 mm x 170 mm (the upper and lower part of the fragment have been cut). According to palaeographical features, this fragment is written in an Oriental Egyptian square script, datable to the beginning of the 11th century.[93]

The text resembles features representative of scribal exercises to improve the ductus of certain letters within words. This is clearly visible when the scribe repeats letters, combinations of certain letters or words, and even tries to improve the ductus of certain letters by partially writing them. For instance:

- Lines 3 and 5: words are repeated twice.
- Line 7 and 21: the letters צ and א are combined several times, then the letter צ is repeated 5 times, then again the combination of צ and א.
- Line 8 and 19 : the ductus of the letter ש is worked by writing the first stroke (the basis of the letter).
- Line 13 : the difference between the letter ד and ר is repeated; the difference between the עה and the combination ינו is worked (source of confusion).
- Line 14 et 19 : the word ארץ is worked, written partially in several steps, and repeated several times.
- Line 14: the difference between the writing of שה and טה at the end of a word (source of confusion).
- Line 15: the difference between the writing of ח and דו at the end of a word (source of confusion). Idem for פי and פו.
- Line 16 : some letters are partially written.
- Line 20: the name of Abraham written is written partially in several steps, especially the ר and the ם, partially repeated (the ם appears several times without any basis line). The same occurs for the א of Abraham.

The editorial rules are the same for fragment F8. We are adding the use of the symbol * to indicate the presence of a letter partially written by the scribe to improve the ductus of the letter.

1/ אדם כי יקריב מכם קרבן (ליהוה) מן הבהמה מן הבקר [ומן הצאן תקריב]

2/ את קרבנכם (end of Lev 1:2) אם [ע[94]]לה קר[בנו] מן הבקר זכה (זכר) תמים יק[ריבנו אל פתח אהל]

3/ מועד מועד * * מועד יקריב [או]ת(ו) א אותו (part of Lev 1:3)

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[92] Schwarz, Loewinger, Roth, *Die hebräischen Handschriften*, Anhang II A, n. 187, 79 (and not 789 as mentioned in the on-line catalogue).
http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/LEXDML7AJQ3TH42MK9566QP4FDH84ID1MU9GE5P7AAQ1H4EFCQ-00705?func=full-set-set&set_number=029493&set_entry=000001&format=999

[93] I thank Judith Schlanger for the confirmation of this estimated date.

[94] Difficult to read.

4/ ויקרא אל [המש] ד וידבר אל א[.....] * * א[.....]

5/ מאהל מאהל (Lev 1:1 ends here) מר א [.] אם כ ם א אם אם שמ[ע] [.....ע..* ו ר * *]

6/ שמעון ולוי אחים כלי חמס מכרתיהם (Gen 49:5) שמעון ולוי אחי[ם] כל[י]

7/ צאצי צאצאיה צ ץ צ צ צא יצ צאאנו נ ם גינו בו מש[.]

8/ שר שלום * שלום ברבי יוסף בר עמר[.] השפט חזק ונתרוק ב[.....]

9/ סוד ומתי און והד הלכו ואל תפנו חדש [..ל...עדי.....]

10/ שמח [..]בי ורוחי שי[..] בשק..] [.....]

11/ [....] סיחי איס[.] סל [.....5

12/ הגונה הדי[.] סקרה דגמ[.] לאם יקר ה[...]פתה [..]

13/ [....] ושמעה ואהזינו לפידי לפיד אש נר או [.....]

14/ ארץ אר ארץ א ארץ רעשה ונפטה פי מע[..] [..]

15/ [...] רצח רצדו גבנונים מפני אל קנא נט נטפי נטפו ור[....]

16/ [..]ב בנח * בנ ב בנחשא טאב* כ ב טאבא וסימנא מעליא יבויצלחון

17/ בחמשא בחמש* אמון ש שחקה אצל אצלו אלפ *אלפ פי [....]יץ וחרב

18/ ו ויצא יעקב מבא ארץ ארץ **ארץ וש * שומה * * * * * [א]רץ

19/ ויצא [וי]צא אברם ר ה ה הם א אברהם בר סהלאן שנבא[.] [.....]

20/ צאצאיה כן פי כן ויצ* צ צאצאיה

Vertical exercises on the left margin

ותה פתים רח[.] ואד[.....] וא[..] רח[.]

This fragment shows common exercises similarly found in other fragments from the Cairo Genizah produced between the 11th and the 13th century.[95] It displays a consonantal text without vowels[96] performed by a young person, but of an intermediate level of training as the features of the beginner's writing are missing.[97] This intermediate training level (or quasi high level?) can be observed in the evident research of improvement of the exact shape of the letters, repetition of no random combinations of words/letters in order to avoid the most frequent confusing combinations that imply a wrong reading of the text (for instance a ע instead of ני). As for the contents, some verses from Leviticus and Genesis are found without surprise. But these very common verses are left after line 6 for a no apparent text, sometimes seeming to contain references to rabbinic literature (see line 8, the mention of a Rav?). The possible next task of writing for the scribe of Fragment H168 may have been a *Sefer Torah* scroll.

Illustration 6 : Fragment H 168, 1r

[95] See J. Olszowy-Schlanger, "Learning to Read and Write in Medieval Egypt: Children's Exercise Books from the Cairo Geniza," *Journal of Semitic Studies, XLVIII/1* (2003): 47-69.

[96] As it is in the large majority of the cases.

[97] In the case of full beginner's exercises of writing/reading, the fragments show outlines of individual letters which were filled with color, vowels and model letters placed at the beginning of the line and performed by a teacher or a professional scribe.

Illustration 7 : Fragment H 168, rv

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Concluding Remarks

The two fragments H 168 and H8 are evidences of 'parabiblical' tools: they are no direct copy of the Hebrew biblical text as such, but they are attesting of the study, learning and copying of the Hebrew Bible at the 11th and 12th century in the Jewish Community of Egypt, and more than a century after the production of the so-called Ben Asher codices.[98] The fragment H 168 reminds with no surprise that the learning of the writing of Hebrew was traditionally made via the copy of biblical verses. The fragment H 8 shows that, long after the integration of the Masorah within the margins of the biblical codices, the ancient tradition of copying masoretic materials on separate booklets was still in use in Egypt near 1100. It reminds us that 1) during the middle ages, the biblical text and the masoretic tradition were not copied uniformly (as a masoretic bible looks like wit the Codex Leningradensis B19a), but rather according to different functions and uses, and 2) that after the formal normalization of the well-known Ben Asher manuscripts, the Masoretic lists were a corpus of information that was not standardized and homogenous up to the 14th century.[99]

[98] In this frame, the Codex Leningradensis B19a is not unique but is the earliest dated and most complete biblical manuscript preserved nowadays. Cf. Beit-Arié, Sirat, Glatzer, *Monumenta*, Manuscrit 17, 114–131 (114). See its features in Yeivin, *Introduction*, 18–19 among other biblical manuscripts 16–29.

[99] Martín-Contreras & Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa, *Masora*, 33–34. Khan, *A Short Introduction*, 10.

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