

A New Manuscript of the Septuagint and the First Two Editions of the Greek Bible

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THE MANUSCRIPT Madrid, BH *UCM* 22¹ (22 Villa-Amil, 442 Rahlfs)² is a partial parchment of the Septuagint sent to Cardinal Cisneros by the Senate of Venice, at his request, most probably during the first years of the second decade of the sixteenth century, in order to contribute to the editorial tasks of the *Biblia Poliglota Complutensis*, sponsored by him between 1514 and 1517, but only distributed in 1520. The codex, one of the bibliographical treasures of the St. Ildefonso Library at the old University of Alcalá, after having been in the *Biblioteca del Noviciado* in Madrid, had just been transferred to the recently-founded Library of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities when the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) broke out. There, it is thought to have been used as a shield to block windows as part of the improvised Republican defense during the fighting that took place on the

¹ Olim 116-Z^o 36. Parchment, 370 × 250 mm, 245 × 150 mm of writing box, 32 lines. For the latest description see F. G. Hernández Muñoz and T. Martínez Manzano, “UCM 22,” in A. López Fonseca and M. Torres Santo Domingo, *Catálogo de manuscritos medievales de la Biblioteca Histórica “Marqués de Valdecilla”* (Madrid 2018) 141–144.

² The biblical codices discussed are cited according to the classification of A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1914). These are the main ones: Madrid, BH *UCM* 22 (MS. 442), BH *UCM* 23 (MS. 1670), *Vat.gr.* 330 (MS. 108), *Vat.gr.* 346 (MS. 248), Venezia, *Marc.gr.* 2 (MS. 29), *Marc.gr.* 3 (MS. 121), *Marc.gr.* 4 (MS. 120), *Marc.gr.* 5 (MS. 68), *Marc.gr.* 6 (MS. 122), *Marc.gr.* 16 (MS. 731). Apart from Rahlfs’ list is London, *BL* Add. 10968 (often referred to as *Londinensis*), which will be extremely important in what follows.

university campus of Moncloa, alongside many other books (especially the larger ones).³

Once the war was over, it was believed to be definitively lost, and again in 1974 De Andrés considered it *deperditus*.⁴ In the same year, Hanhart's edition of Esdras I for the Göttingen collection⁵ refers to a communication received from the Complutensian Library in 1969, stating that the manuscript had been "burnt in the Spanish civil war," information reiterated by the successive editors of the same collection up through Schenker, twenty years later.⁶ Very recently, while recognizing the importance of MS. 442 for understanding the manuscript sources of the Greek column of the Polyglot, O'Connell referred to it as having become "unreadable by the ravages of the Spanish Civil War" and, "because of its state of conservation, (...) no longer possible to examine."⁷ As it seems fair to admit, O'Connell knew that the codex had been partially recovered, but was in no way aware of the extent to which it had been

³ Cf. M. Torres Santo Domingo, "Libros que salvan vidas, libros que son salvados: La Biblioteca Universitaria en la Batalla de Madrid," in B. Calvo Alonso-Cortés (ed.), *Biblioteca en Guerra. Catálogo de exposición* (Madrid 2005) 261–285, and *La Biblioteca de la Universidad de Madrid durante la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil* (Madrid 2013) 261–269, 432–433; M. Valero, "El ángel de los libros," *Folio Complutense. Noticias de la Biblioteca Histórica de la UCM* (Madrid 2013).

⁴ G. De Andrés, "Catálogo de los códices griegos de las colecciones Complutense, Lázaro Galdiano y March de Madrid," *CFC(G)* 6 (1974) 244–246, at 244.

⁵ R. Hanhart, *Septuaginta. VIII/1. Esdrae Liber I* (Göttingen 1974) 14.

⁶ A. Schenker, "Der alttestamentliche Text in den vier grossen Polyglottenbibeln nach dem heutigen Stand der Forschung," *ThRev* 90 (1994) 177–186. For a complete list of mentions of the codex as lost see N. Fernández Marcos, "Un manuscrito complutense redivivo. Ms griego 442 = Villa-Amil 22," *Sefarad* 65 (2005) 65–83, at 65–69.

⁷ S. O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources. The Nature and Text-critical Use of the Greek Old Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (Göttingen 2006) 82 with n.29. At 89 n.53 he clearly states: "The ms. was severely damaged during the Spanish Civil War. At the time of writing, it is in restoration, but it is doubtful if it can be successfully restored."

restored. But the truth is that the codex had already been discovered in 1973 and restored shortly after by the technical team at the Historical Library ‘Marqués de Valdecilla’, a task not completed until the first years of this century. In this earlier stage, 116 pictures (58 folia recto and verso) were made available for consultation on CD-ROM.⁸

For almost a century, the only information available on MS. 442 was provided by the nineteenth-century catalogues,⁹ as well as its inclusion among the Septuagint codices summarized by Rahlfs (MS. 442) and a single mention in the critical apparatus of Kappler’s edition of 1 Maccabees for the Göttingen series.¹⁰ H. B. Swete, among the manuscripts that by his time were still preserved at Madrid, mentions “two which contain portions of Greek Old Testament (Judges – Macc., and a Psalter).” These are, respectively, MSS. 442 and 1670.¹¹

All this information was enough to identify the codex with the one mentioned by Cisneros in the Prologue of the Polyglot,¹² as first pointed out by Eguren and later confirmed by Delitzsch.¹³ In the course of printing the song of Debora (Jgs

⁸ See Fernández Marcos, *Sefarad* 65 (2005) 67–77.

⁹ J. Villa-Amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca del Noviciado de la Universidad Central (procedentes de la antigua de Alcalá) I Códices* (Madrid 1878) 5–6 (no. 22); Ch. Graux and A. Martin, *Rapport sur une mission en Espagne et en Portugal. Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs d’Espagne et de Portugal* (Paris 1892) 125–126.

¹⁰ W. Kappler, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum IX.1 Maccabeorum libri I–IV* (Göttingen 1936, ²1967) 11.

¹¹ H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge 1900) 172–173.

¹² Vol. I, *Prologus ad lectorem*, cols. 3–4: “Quibus etiam adiunximus alia non pauca, quorum partem ex Bessarionis castigatissimo codice summa diligentia transcriptam Illustris Venetorum senatus ad nos misit.”

¹³ J. M. de Eguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables conservados en los Archivos eclesiásticos de España* (Madrid 1859) 17; F. Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Complutensischen Polyglotte* (Leipzig 1886) 20–21.

5)¹⁴ and David's elegy (2 Kgs 1.19–26: = MS. 442 f. 37^r), and after an examination of the codices inherited from the private collection of Cardinal Bessarion (later transferred to the library of St. Mark in Venice), Delitzsch concluded that the Madrid codex must have been copied from MS. 68 (Venezia, *Marc.gr.* 5),¹⁵ a late-fifteenth century copy of the entire Greek Bible by George Tzangaropoulos, the so-called Anonymus ΔΤ.¹⁶

About ten years ago, Bravo García and Ángel Espinós were able to work directly with the parts of the codex already recovered, confirming the previous codicological conclusions and describing the remains as a total of eleven folders (six full quinions and five others with varying numbers of bifolios), as well as “a multitude of fragments.”¹⁷ Those were the conditions in

¹⁴ The text of MS. 442 for this passage can only be found in Delitzsch's paper, as the corresponding folia did not survive the fire.

¹⁵ Before the manuscript's destruction by the Nationalist troops, M. Revilla Rico, *La Poliglota de Alcalá: estudio histórico-crítico* (Madrid 1917) 98–99, confirmed Delitzsch's conclusions. The same is the case for the last specific collations performed upon the manuscript, by Fernández Marcos, *Sefarad* 65 (2005) 78–80, and F. G. Hernández Muñoz, “El texto de *Septuaginta* en la *Biblia Poliglota Complutense* y su relación con otros testimonios, especialmente con el ‘recuperado’ manuscrito UCM (BH) 22,” *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 229–252, even if the latter author suggests the use of other sources.

¹⁶ R. Hanhart, *Septuaginta. VIII/4. Judith* (Göttingen 1979) 12; E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti* 1 (Rome 1981) 9–10; Fernández Marcos, *Sefarad* 65 (2005) 67 n.6, 68. It has been pointed out that, contrary to Cisneros' words in the *Prologus*, MS. 68 is not the typical example of a *castigatissimus*, rather an extremely careful copy (e.g. Hernández Muñoz and Martínez Manzano, in *Catálogo de manuscritos medievales* 142). Indeed, Cisneros can be referring not so much to an exemplar where the errors and their corrections are visible, as to a codex where such errors had been eliminated already (using *castigatissimus* as synonymous with *emendatissimus*). That also seems to be the understanding of N. Fernández Marcos, “Greek Sources of the Complutensian Polyglot,” in N. De Lange (ed.), *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions* (Tübingen 2009) 302–315, at 303–304. Or maybe Cisneros is not referring to MS. 68 at all, but to another *Marcianum vetustissimus* (such as *Marc.gr.* 1 = N/V Rahlfs), as he was probably unaware of the main source used for the copying of MS. 442.

¹⁷ J. Ángel Espinós, “El códice Complutensis Graecus 22: su destrucción

which Professor Felipe G. Hernández Muñoz and I found the codex in the fall of 2018, when resuming its digitalization and textual identification process.

The manuscript's restoration is now complete and available in a digital edition,¹⁸ and it is expected to be published very soon. Instead of the 58 folia (recto and verso) digitalized in the late 1990s, we were able to put in order and photograph a total of 224 folia (recto and verso)—to which we added the modern chapter numbers for the surviving text.¹⁹ The result can provide a better idea of the complete manuscript, originally composed of 307 folia, as reported by the old catalogues.

The following are the textual sections available, with more or less extended lacunae caused by fire. This is to be considered the final numeration of the manuscript, to which this paper, and others to come, will refer:

Jgs (1^r–8^r); Ruth (8^r–10^v); 1 Kgs (11^r–36^v); 2 Kgs (36^v–46^r); 3 Kgs (46^r–47^v); 4 Kgs (48^r–54^v); 1 Paralip (54^v–76^r); 2 Paralip (76^r–103^r); Prov (103^v–120^v); Eccles (120^v–126^r); Cant (126^r–129^r); 1 Esd (129^r–137^v); 2 Esd (138^r–153^r); Est (153^r–161^v); Sap (161^v–171^r); Judith (171^r–182^v); Tob (182^v–189^r); 1 Macc (189^v–202^v); 2 Macc (203^r–217^v), 3 Macc (218^r–224^v)

Faced with a priceless gain for biblical scholarship, a series of textual studies is now expected, mainly on the relationship between the codex and the Complutensian text of the Septuagint. A first step was undertaken by Hernández Muñoz, by studying portions of text from every volume of the Polyglot in relation to

y posterior recuperación,” in M. A. Almela Lumbreras et al. (eds.), *Perfiles Grecia y Roma I Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid 2009) 177–184. As the codex must have been hit by a bullet in the front, which set it on fire, the majority of the pages lost are from its beginning. With several folia almost complete, close to the middle of the codex, the last folium with its colophon is fortunately preserved. On the contrary, nothing from the codex's binding survived.

¹⁸ http://dioscorides.ucm.es/proyecto_digitalizacion/index.php?5309456614 (last accessed 11 September 2020).

¹⁹ According to the edition of A. Rahlfs and R. Hanhart, *Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*² (Stuttgart 2006).

the readings of MS. 442 and the other Vaticani and Marciani, as well as the Aldine edition.²⁰ As far as this preliminary paper is concerned, the direct analysis of the manuscript's corrections and revisions made me suspect its use also in Aldus' 1518 edition of the Greek Bible (even if indirectly), as the following pages intend to demonstrate. In what follows, I try to trace the origins and the intricate history of MS. 442, from its Venetian genesis to its arrival in Alcalá, looking for the palaeographic and textual testimonies for what seems to have been a double use, by Aldus' and by Cisneros' teams of Hellenists.

The codex in Venice and the Aldine Bible of 1518

The first mention to MS. 442 is Cisneros' Prologue to the first volume of the Polyglot (nn.12, 16 above), when writing of the codices sent to him by the Venetian Senate, apparently with no obligation of return. As Volume I has no colophon date, it provides no information on the arrival of the codex in Alcalá. On the other hand, Cisneros' words on the same subject, printed in the smaller preface of Volume V (dated 10 January 1514), seem to make no mention of it in particular, and maybe that is why scholars tend to accept a date of around 1515 for its being sent to Spain. Nonetheless, as has been pointed out,²¹ the codex could have been produced several years before, independently to Cisneros' request, in the milieu of a larger group of codices once available for the Aldine enterprise.

Scribe A has been identified by Bravo García and Ángel Espinós as John Severe the Lacedemonian.²² The problem about this identification is that John Severe, in relation to Italy, is only known to have been in Rome during 1518–1525, working for Girolamo Aleandro.²³ Therefore, if the first hand of the

²⁰ Hernández Muñoz, *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 229–252.

²¹ E.g. Graux and Martin, *Rapport* 125 ff.; Ángel Espinós, in *Perfiles Grecia y Roma* 178; Hernández Muñoz and Martínez Manzano, in *Catálogo de manuscritos* 142.

²² A. Bravo García, *Lecturas de Bizancio. El legado escrito de Grecia en España* (Madrid 2008) 160; Ángel Espinós, in *Perfiles Grecia y Roma* 180–181 n.14.

²³ See P. Canart, "Un copiste expansif: Jean Sévère de Lacédémone," in

codex is actually his, one must accept his presence and work in Venice before his Roman years, or at least his collaboration with the Venetian group of Hellenists working with Aldus. A relation could be provided by his patron's biography. Alejandro, born on 13 February 1480 in the province of Treviso, spent the first part of his career in Venice, where he became acquainted with Erasmus and Aldus, until his departure to Paris, in 1508, by invitation of Louis XII. On the other hand, Canart identified the hand of John Severe, among others, in f. 16^r–41^v of the codex Salamanca, *Salm.* 54, a copy of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* known to have belonged to Hernan Núñez de Guzmán (Pintianus), an important name for the Complutensian Bible.²⁴ As a working hypothesis, Pintianus might have looked for this particular manuscript during any of his travels to Italy (1490–1498, 1506–1511), commissioned by Cisneros for that specific task, or simply influenced the genesis of and the request for MS. 442 by means of his personal connections in Venice.²⁵

Canart believes that John Severe was already an experienced (albeit young) scholar by 1517–1518, when he was entrusted with making an inventory for the Vatican Library.²⁶ If this is correct, and if he is indeed the Scribe A of MS. 442, the copying of the Madrid codex must not be pushed back many years. But we still cannot reach any precise date, as nothing certain can be said in relation to this scribe's career prior to his Roman years. Therefore, the codex could actually have been copied at

K. Treu (ed.), *Studia Codicologica* (Berlin 1977) 117–139.

²⁴ Canart, in *Studia Codicologica* 129.

²⁵ It is worth noting that the Madrid, BH, *UCM* 28 was copied by two scribes, the first (f. 1–146) identified as John Severe. Cf. Bravo García, *Lecturas de Bizancio* 160. J. Signes Codoñer, “La biblioteca del Pinciano, su formación y donación a la Universidad de Salamanca,” in *Biblioteca y epistolario de Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (el Pinciano): Una aproximación al humanismo español del siglo XVI* (Madrid 2001) 62, ascribed the numbering of the codex in two parts (f. 1–146, 147–183), as well as the sentence *explicatio locorum obscuriorum quadripartiti Ptolomei* (f. 1) to Pintianus.

²⁶ Canart, in *Studia Codicologica* 119–121.

any time in the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century, even if a later date seems preferable.²⁷

The question of the manuscript sources of the Aldine Septuagint has been puzzling scholars for over a century, with still no study capable of identifying all the codices used by Asolanus and his collaborators. Nevertheless, since the nineteenth century, scholars have agreed on the use of several manuscripts from Bessarion's collection, held in St. Mark's Library in Venice, especially MSS. 29, 121, 68, and 122.²⁸ But the truth is that no actual editorial marks, meant for the printers, are detected in any of these codices, as some of them were surely used (at least) as models for the copies that actually reached Asolanus' house. If, as stated above, MS. 68 is actually the model of MS. 442, this immediately places the Complutensian manuscript in the same family of codices more or less directly used by the Aldine editors. Furthermore, a large number of additions, corrections, and variants, detected in almost every folium, alongside other structural and textual features, may support its use in such a context.

Once it was copied, the codex received a first revision by Scribe A, as well as a first chapter-numbering in some books (1–2 Kgs, 1–2 Paralip, 1–2 Esd, and Est), in Greek and in red ink, at the margin and according to two systems of notation: in 1–2 Kgs and 1–2 Paralip with the ligatures for chapter division (e.g. κε[φάλαι]^{ov} ιβ^{ov}: *fig. 1*), while in 1–2 Esd and Est with no more than chapter numbers (*fig. 2*).²⁹

²⁷ Conversely, Eguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices* 17, writes of a decoration on the first page as “previous to the fifteenth century.” This being impossible to check, the arguments in favour of a sixteenth-century production are stronger.

²⁸ See Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* 173–174; Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien* 55–57; P. A. Lagarde, *Genesis Graece, e fide editionis Sixtinae addita scripturae discrepantia e libris manu scriptis* (Leipzig 1868) 6. Hernández Muñoz, *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 229–252, also mentions MS. 120 as an important codex for the text of the Aldine.

²⁹ All images are reproduced with permission, © Biblioteca Histórica ‘Marqués de Valdecilla’ / the Author.

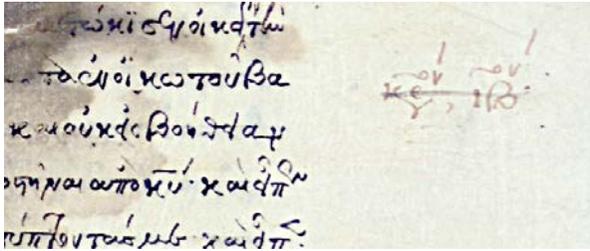


Figure 1: First-hand Greek numeration MS. 442, f. 95^r
(2 Paralip 12, as in the Aldine = 2 Paralip 28:21)

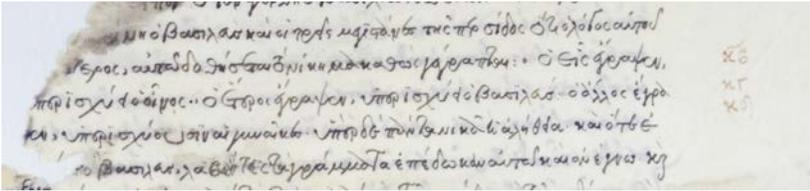


Figure 2: First-hand Greek numeration MS. 442, f. 133^r
(1 Esd 22–24, in the Aldine = 1 Esd 3:10–12)

Especially the trace of the β in *fig. 1*, both in the main text and the numeration of 2 Paralip 12 (equally numbered in the Aldine) seem to prove that the author of this first Greek numeration and the Scribe A of the codex are one and the same person. Furthermore, the style is very similar to that found *passim* in f. 1–146 of Madrid, BH, UCM 28, another codex considered to have been copied by John Severe (n.25 above). Comparison with MS. 68 revealed that it may have been the model also for the first numeration of chapters in MS. 442, as both systems of notation are found in it, exactly in the same books, and both contain the same unit divisions, the ones reproduced in the Aldine³⁰ and common to other Marciani, as is the case with MS. 122.

As to textual corrections and additions, no more than a few cases seem to result from the intervention of Scribe A, usually

³⁰ Cf. MS. 68 f. 300^r = Ald. p.156, for the chapters of *Fig. 2*.

marked in the text with a red %.³¹ At least two other marginalia must be his: at the beginning of 1 Esd 6:7 (f. 137^r mg: Ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς, ἧς ἔγραψεν Δαρείῳ καὶ [ἀπέστειλεν]), and at 2 Esd 11 (f. 143^r mg: Λόγοι Νεεμια υἱοῦ Αἰχάλια), both additions printed in majuscules in the Aldine and already present in MS. 68.

Nonetheless, the author of the first systematic revision of the codex is Marcus Musurus (1470–1517), a close associate of Aldus from 1493 to July 1516 (when he left for Rome), himself the chief-editor of many Aldine Greek classics printed during those years.³² The presence of marginalia by him in MS. 442 had been noticed before, after the example of current f. 94^r,³³ where he added the text of 2 Paralip 26:21 (ἕως ἡμέρας τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ αφορυσσῶθ' ἐκάθητο λεπρός).

Until the recovery of the Complutensian codex, the one manuscript that contained similar interventions by Musurus in the biblical text was the London, *BL* Add. 10968, a cartaceo in which three hands³⁴ intervene, and where Musurus corrected and supplied the missing parts of text in 1 Kgs 30:12–2 Kgs 23:16–7 (f. 2^r–28^v). While the folia of MS. 442 that copy those parts of 1–2 Kgs (f. 35^v–44^v) are extensively damaged by fire, I

³¹ E.g. f. 127^v (Cant 5:5) ἀδελφῶ^{ac} ἀδελφιδῶ^{mg}, which still did not forbid Musurus (see in our continuation) to restore, *in textu*, ἀδελφ¹⁶ῶ.

³² See D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1962) 111–166; P. G. Bietenholz and Th. B. Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation II* (Toronto 1986) 472–473; N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London 1992) 148–156; D. Speranzi, *Marco Musuro. Libri e scrittura* (Rome 2013) 99–110.

³³ Bravo García, *Lecturas de Bizancio* 160; Speranzi, *Marco Musuro* 271. Both authors mention Musurus' addition on f. 92^v (according to the modern pencil numeration inscribed in the manuscript). After close examination, it seems that these numbers reflect an inverse order, as they must be an addition by the restoring team.

³⁴ A. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola e la tipografia aldina. La vita, le edizioni, la biblioteca dell'Asolano* (Genova 1998) 459, names Bartolomeo Zanetti, Konstantinos Mesobotes, and Demetrius Ducas.

could find in them only three small interlinear corrections possible to be identified as Musurus' handwriting. This could suggest that he worked with both codices, but focused his corrective work on the Londinensis, a copy that may have needed his interventions more desperately—a codex proven to have been used by the editors of the Aldine as a *Druckvorlage*, full as it is of all kinds of notes and marks for the printers.³⁵

Now that the remaining folia of the Madrid codex are available, similar textual additions and corrections, in the great majority of cases edited *post correctionem* in the Aldine, can be found along the entire manuscript and in every single book. Additions and textual supplements (marked with ^, sometimes headed with ``),³⁶ corrections (°/°),³⁷ and ΓΡ variants, either performed *in margine* or *supra lineam*, seem to be in most cases Musurus'³⁸ (and there are several hundred of them), even in the cases where the Aldine edits the text *ante correctionem*.³⁹ Finally, the underlining of some words (sometimes only word-endings, often in a rounder shape) and other cases where the addition or correction is simply made *supra lineam*, with no sign at all (for smaller copy mistakes, I believe) must also be considered his. In more than one case—always in the books of Maccabees—he supplied *in textu* some lines partially left blank by Scribe A and

³⁵ See Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola* 451–459, 610.

³⁶ In most cases these additions are absent from MS. 68 and must have been collected from another manuscript, yet to be identified. See e.g. Est 1:1^r: καὶ ἐξήτησεν κακοποιῆσαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο εὐνούχων τοῦ βασιλέως MS. 442^{pc} Ald Polygl. (*deest* in MS. 68, f. 312^v).

³⁷ Musurus also uses both signs (^ and °/°, sometimes even combined) in the folia he reviewed in the London, *BL Add.* 10968 (e.g. f. 5^v).

³⁸ I am grateful to Professor David Speranzi for confirming Musurus' handwriting on the several samples I submitted for his appraisal.

³⁹ E.g. f. 114^v (Prov 22) ἐν ὀδῶ MS. 442^{ac} Ald. / τοῖς ὀδοῖς MS. 442^{mg} Polygl.; f. 196^r (1 Macc 5:31) φωνῆ ms. 442^{ac} Ald. / κραυγῆ⁷⁰ MS. 442^{mg} Polygl. The absence of some corrections in the final text of the Aldine can only be proof of the use of several manuscripts when preparing the copies for the printers.

also in MS. 68,⁴⁰ thus reconstructing the text later printed both in the Aldine and in the Polyglot. As for this particular case, MS. 442, the Aldine, and the Polyglot have the text *post correctionem*, as opposed to MS. 68 and the Londinensis.

In general, the great majority of Musurus' interventions in MS. 442, in any of the above-mentioned forms—the result of confrontation between the codex and some other Marcianus⁴¹—supports a general pattern MS. 442^{pc} Ald. Polygl. The few exceptions are easily no more than the editors' preference for other readings, found in codices from other families, by no means compromising the possibility of use of the Madrid codex in both editions.

Finally, the *tabulae capitum* at the beginning of the books of Esdras and Esther, equally printed in the Aldine (pp.159 and 174) but not in the Polyglot, are also copied in MS. 442 (f. 129^r–130^r + f. 153^{r-v}), most probably from MS. 68 (f. 298^v + 304^r, f. 312^v–316), even if they also are in MSS. 122 (f. 291^v–301^v, f. 301^v–306^v) and 731 (f. 342^v–343^v + f. 357^{r-v}, f. 397^v–380^r). All these data, far too many to be coincidences, relate the Madrid codex to the Aldine enterprise, even if it was not directly meant for the printers, as was the case for the Londinensis.

But several biblical books still lack any editorial model, even if the London codex is only partly preserved. The search for these unknown models must start within the collection of Besarion's codices—MSS. 29, 121, 68, and 122—and other partial copies of them, still impossible to trace, but whose existence must be accepted. For instance, MS. 122, itself a model for the Aldine printers, is a codex from 1450–1470 that copies the entire Bible and that was already considered a *descriptus* of MS.

⁴⁰ 1 Macc 15:10–11 (f. 201^r), 1 Macc 15:28 + 15:29 (f. 201^v), 2 Mac 5:14 (f. 208^r), 2 Macc 12:27 (f. 216^r).

⁴¹ It would be useful to determine which manuscript(s) Musurus used for his revision of MS. 442 and the Londinensis, within a wider investigation that relates his work to the actual text printed in the Aldine and the Polyglot.

68.⁴²

In spite of the complicated question of Aldus' access to the Greek manuscripts of the Marciana (or even his knowledge of its holdings),⁴³ he somehow achieved a strong influence among the keepers of Bessarion's library.⁴⁴ Musurus, the most important name associated with the codex after Scribe A, would have been a perfect link, a link that might have helped in the donation of MS. 442 to Cisneros, via some of his collaborators more closely related to him (such as Demetrius Ducas, Pintianus, or even Niketas Fausto), a codex that would have been used by the Aldine editors for preparing the *Druckvorlagen* sent to the Aldine press, years before: maybe the only codex worthy to be sent to Cardinal Cisneros—from 1506 on, the actual ruler of Castilian empire—without obligation of return.

Ms. 442 in Spain and the team of Hellenists at Alcalá

The Polyglot Bible was the most important philological achievement of sixteenth-century Spain, a work meant not for common religious purposes but rather for the learned men of the Renaissance. Around 1503, Cardinal Cisneros, surrounded by experts and scholars, carried out this work, a difficult and arduous process that took over ten years. The printing was done between 1514 and 1517 (the colophon date of Vol. IV is 10 July 1517), but only in 1520 did Pope Leo X sanction it and all volumes were put up for sale together.

Among Cisneros' collaborators were some of the most eminent scholars of his time, even if only four of them can be directly connected with the Greek column of the Old Testament: Demetrius Ducas, Hernan Núñez de Gúzman (Pintia-

⁴² See Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci* 10–11, for the filigrees and other data on its dating. It belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, as written by himself at f. 11v. Cf. above and n.28.

⁴³ See M. J. C. Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius," *BRL* 75 (1974) 128–166, esp. 138–148.

⁴⁴ Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola* 451, and Speranzi, *Marco Musuro* 271, both suggested that the Londinensis belonged to Bessarion's library.

nus), López Zuñiga, and perhaps Juan de Vergara.⁴⁵ Among these scholars, Demetrius Ducas, in Alcalá before October 1513,⁴⁶ and Pintianus,⁴⁷ his successor in the chair of Greek at that university from 1519 on, are more credited with having worked on the Greek text of both the New and the Old Testaments.

Vol. V of the Polyglot, containing the New Testament, was finished by 10 January 1514, according to its colophon date, information also available for Vol. VI (containing a Dictionary, Indexes, and a Hebrew grammar), dated 17 March 1515, and for the last volume printed, IV (with the Twelve Prophets, Lam, Bar, Ep Jer, Dan, and 1–3 Macc), dated 10 July 1517. The time between these two dates (1514–1517) corresponds to the preparation of the Old Testament (volumes I–IV), but this is not to say that it could not have been started earlier. And the

⁴⁵ Cf. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* 172–174; L. Jiménez Moreno, *La Universidad Complutense Cisneriana: impulso filosófico, científico y literario, siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid 1996) 142–144; Fernández Marcos, in *Jewish Reception* 302–315, at 312 n.39; O’Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources* 4–5 (with notes, for bibliography). The material composition of the text was the task of the typographer Niketas Fausto, Greek name for Victor Fausto, who was to occupy at Venice the chair of Greek that previously belonged to Musurus. As he is already mentioned in the congratulatory epigram of Vol. V (containing the New Testament, and dated 10 January 1514), it is possible that his contribution was at some point philological. Cf. Hernández Muñoz, *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 231 n.6, who elucidates on Fausto’s role in the acquisition and revision of MS. 442 during his stay at Alcalá (1512–1513). The dates seem nonetheless early when confronted with the data on John Severe, the probable Scribe A. See above and nn.23–24.

⁴⁶ See T. Martínez Manzano, “Hacia la identificación de la biblioteca y la mano de Demetrio Ducas,” *BZ* 102 (2009) 717–730; F. G. Hernández Muñoz, “En el quinto centenario de la muerte de Cisneros: breve semblanza de Demetrio Ducas, primer catedrático de griego de la Complutense,” *CFC(G)* 28 (2018) 305–312.

⁴⁷ See T. Martínez Manzano, “El Pinciano, anotador de textos griegos,” in V. Bécares Botas (ed.), *Kalón Theama. Estudios de Filología Clásica e Indoeuropeo dedicados a Francisco Romero Cruz* (Salamanca 1999) 129–141, with the main bibliography.

same goes for the request and sending of MS. 442 from Venice. The truth is that there is no accurate information regarding the order of preparation of these volumes, as they could have been edited simultaneously or disparately, depending on the team of Hellenists available. As it seems fair to admit, the Alcalá team must have worked in close cooperation, semi-independently but in parallel, not necessarily volume by volume, or even book by book.⁴⁸

Not many systematic investigations had been conducted on the subject of the manuscript sources of the Septuagint used by the editors of the Polyglot since the seminal study of Delitzsch,⁴⁹ who identified the two Vaticanus lent by Leo X (MSS. 108 and 248) as the main sources for the Greek column, besides relating the codex sent to Cisneros by the Venetian Senate to MS. 68, as stated above. Delitzsch also considers MS. 1670, another Complutensian manuscript, to be the only source for the Polyglot text of Psalms, which is no longer possible to accept without further discussion.⁵⁰ More importantly, he was the first to recognize the lack of manuscript sources for the books printed in Vol. IV, an issue that troubled scholars for over a century and was the actual point of departure for O'Connell's study.⁵¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century,

⁴⁸ O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources* 128.

⁴⁹ Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien*. Some of the exceptions are: O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources*; Fernández Marcos, in *Jewish Reception* 302–315, and “El texto griego de *Septuaginta* en la *Políglota* Complutense,” in I. Carbajosa et al. (eds.), *Una Biblia a varias voces. Estudio textual de la Biblia Políglota Complutense* (Madrid 2014) 125–142.

⁵⁰ Hernández Muñoz, *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 238 n.30, argues for the use of another codex for the Complutensian text of Psalms, by detecting, in Ps 138, a line missing in MS. 1670 but printed in the Polyglot (and also in the Aldine). On this codex, which Cisneros specifically asked Demetrius Ducas to acquire for preparing the text of the Polyglot, see De Andrés, *CFC(G)* 6 (1974) 221–226, and Hernández Muñoz and Martínez Manzano, in *Catálogo de manuscritos* 145–147.

⁵¹ Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien* 53–57. For complete and up-to-date research on the Greek column of the Polyglot see O'Connell, *From Most Ancient*

before the codex was damaged in the Civil War, Revilla Rico provided a transcription of 2 Kgs 23:1b–23:5e and argued for the Complutensian text of Kings as the result of both MSS. 108 and 442 (the latter as an apograph of MS. 68), in Vol. II of the Polyglot.⁵²

The question that still needs to be answered—and which can finally begin to be explored—is exactly how far MS. 442 was used by the Alcalá Hellenists. This demands a more thorough collation of all the text preserved, as it is well known that editors could change their main source even within the same book. Investigation has already started to demonstrate the use of MS. 442 as at least a secondary aid for the editorial work on the Polyglot, whenever some difficult part of the text called for collation outside the Vatican model.

Vol. I of the Polyglot edits no single book copied in MS. 442, but II, III, and IV have a potential new source in that codex. Of course, the lack of any known model behind the two aforementioned Vaticanī for the three books of Maccabees soon led to its identification as the one source for IV. As O’Connell says nothing on the text of Maccabees and the possible influence of the Madrid codex on it, research on Vol. IV has focused mainly on the text of the Twelve Prophets, which has strongly suggested the use of sources that have yet to be identified.⁵³ Recently, however, Hernández Muñoz has argued for a close relationship between MS. 442 and the Polyglot (and also the Aldine) in the editing of 3 Macc, noting that the Complutensian edition agrees, in many cases, with MS. 442^{pc}, even if, in

Sources 7–10, and L. Gil Fernández, “A cuento del centenario del texto griego de la *Políglota* Complutense,” *CFC(G)* 25 (2015) 291–300.

⁵² Revilla Rico, *La Políglota de Alcalá* 100–103.

⁵³ Already Revilla Rico, *La Políglota de Alcalá* 103; J. Ziegler, “Der griechische Dodekapropheton-Text der Complutenser Polyglotte,” *Biblica* 25 (1944) 297–310; Fernández Marcos, “El texto Griego de La Complutense en Doce Profetas,” *Sefarad* 39 (1979) 3–25, in *Jewish Reception* 302–315, and in *Una Biblia* 125–142.

some cases, the final text seems the result of the editors' philological work, lacking as it does any identified source.⁵⁴

In relation to the biblical books edited in Vol. III, I was able to collate some *loci critici* pointed out by O'Connell⁵⁵ with the recovered *folia* and confirm his suspicions about the direct use of the codex in preparing the text. In the book of Wisdom, for instance, the modifications made by the Polyglot upon the readings of MS. 248, shared by the Aldine, could in most cases be confirmed, as Table 1 shows for ch. 17:

	MS. 248	MS. 442	Polyglot	Aldine
17:2	ὀρόφης	ὀρόφοις	ὀρόφοις	ὀρόφοις
17:8	δείγματα	δείματα	δείματα	δείματα
17:11	προείληφε	προσείληφε	προσείληφε	προσείληφεν
17:13	ἀνάγκης	αἰτίας	αἰτίας	αἰτίας

TABLE 1: Collation of Sap 17 in MSS. 248, 442, the Polyglot, and the Aldine

The same goes for the modifications noticed by him regarding Tob 13, Judith, and Esther.⁵⁶ Once again, in so far as textual lacunae can demonstrate, MS. 442 seems to offer the readings of both the Polyglot (differing from MS. 248) and the Aldine, as shown in the examples of Table 2. Particularly interesting is the case of *συνελέλεκτο* in Jud 4:3, which O'Connell had considered an "editorial correction" by the Complutensian Hellenists, and now receives a manuscript source:

	MS. 248	MS. 442	Polyglot	Aldine
Tob 13:3	ὑμᾶς	ἡμᾶς	ἡμᾶς	ἡμᾶς
Judith 4:3	συνέλεκτο	συνελέλεκτο	συνελέλεκτο	συνελέλεκτο
Est 4:1	ἡ δικηκός	ἡδικηκός	ἡδικηκός ^{pc}	ἡδικηκός

TABLE 2: Three *loci critici* from the books of Tobit, Judith, and Esther in MSS. 248, 442, the Polyglot, and the Aldine

⁵⁴ Hernández Muñoz, *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 242–246.

⁵⁵ O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources* 142–143.

⁵⁶ O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources* 131–132.

From Vol. II only the book of Joshua is missing in MS. 442. Revilla Rico was the first to argue for the preferred use of the Vatican codices (MSS. 108 and 248), alongside the inclusion of some readings from the Madrid codex and some probable personal corrections, mostly when such versions were closer to the Hebrew text.⁵⁷ That is what he concludes from collating the readings of 2 Kgs 23:1–5 in MSS. 108 and 442 with the text printed in the Polyglot. While a fuller work of collation, comprising all the remaining folia, would confirm or reject this idea, once again it must be remembered that editors worked separately on different books, with relative autonomy, which can result in variation in this tendency. Also, Hernández Muñoz recently detected, in the book of Judges (MS. 442, f. 1^r–8^r), several cases where the Polyglot agrees with the Aldine, by means of MSS. 68 and 442, and offers a text different from that given by MS. 108, the only Vatican codex known to have been used for preparing this book.⁵⁸ All this seems to confirm the use of MS. 442 in Vol. II—even if the readings of the Vaticani seem to be preferred by the Alcalá Hellenists—and might actually push back in time the arrival of the codex from the Venetian Senate.

Leaving aside, for now, textual collation, my study of the codex's revision was able to provide some crucial data. As stated above, the first numeration of chapters and sections, in Greek, in the books for which it is available, was added *in margine* by Scribe A, directly copied from MS. 68. Nonetheless, in some books (1–2 Paralip, 2 Esd, and Est, as far as the fire damage allows us to see), there is a second-hand Greek numeration in black ink, marked *in textu* with a half-square bracket crossed by a line (see *fig.* 3). More than correcting Scribe A, this second hand introduces an alternative numbering system, in several cases striking out the first numeration in

⁵⁷ Revilla Rico, *La Políglota de Alcalá* 95–111.

⁵⁸ Hernández Muñoz, *CFC(G)* 30 (2020) 233–234.

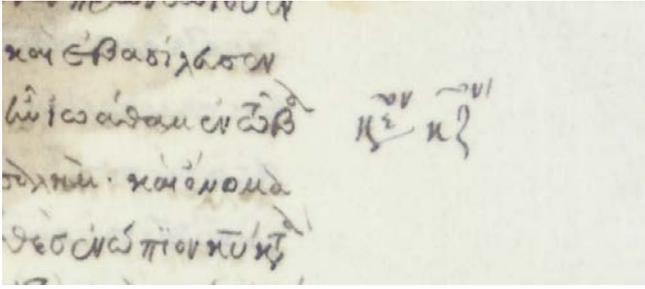


Figure 3: Second-hand Greek number, MS. 442, f. 94^r (2 Paralip 27)

red and adding its own⁵⁹—a system that mostly coincides with the modern one, as currently printed, for instance, in the Rahlfs-Hanhart edition.

As these alternative numbers are added only in certain sections of the text, they reveal the scribe's interest in specific passages, which also enlightens for us the use of the codex as a secondary aid for editorial work. One cannot help noticing that the handwriting responsible for it is very similar to the one that copies and marks the chapters in folia 2–28^v (1 Kgs 30:12–2 Kgs 23:16–17) of the *Londinensis*.⁶⁰ While the identification of the same scribe in both codices is difficult on palaeographical grounds,⁶¹ the mode of intervention is the same in both man-

⁵⁹ E.g. f. 71^r (a) (1 Paralip 23), f. 140^v (2 Esd 8), f. 142^r (2 Esd 10), f. 143^v (2 Esd 12). Occasionally, however, the scribe only writes the new chapter numbers beside the original ones, as at e.g. 138^v (2 Esd 5).

⁶⁰ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_10968_f002v (last accessed 10 September 2020). Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola* 459, identifies the scribe of these folia as Bartolomeo Zanetti, considering the codex “one of the oldest manuscripts where his handwriting is visible.” Bartolomeo became more famous as a typographer in the Venice of the 1530's, but he must have worked from a young age in the copying of Greek manuscripts. The links between him, Aldus, and the Venetian editorial environment in the early 1500s are, nonetheless, hard to establish.

⁶¹ I am grateful to the insights provided by the anonymous referee, who called my attention to the particularities of what seem to be two different scribes, specifically the different styles of κ (which looks like λ in the *Londinensis*) and the ligatures afterwards. A fuller palaeographic inquiry on

uscripts (as they use the same ligatures), which demonstrates once again that both codices belong to the same context.

In the *Londinensis*, Greek chapter numeration (in this case by Scribe A) can be found in the folia that copy books 1–2 of Kings⁶² (the ones reviewed by Musurus). As far as MS. 442 is concerned, such chapter notations are part of a second stage of revision, later than that of Musurus,⁶³ and probably already by the team of Hellenists in Alcalá. This is probable because all the books numbered in this way are printed in Vols. II and III of the Polygot, and this numeration mostly adheres to the pattern [MS. 68] MS. 442^{ac} Ald. / MS. 442^{pc} Polygl.—even if the Polyglot does not print Greek chapter numeration (only Latin, as will be seen below). The other possibility would be to assume second-hand Greek numbering as carried out still in Venice, after the use of the codex in the Aldine tasks or at least beyond the scope of that project, since the numbers it reproduces have no relation to Asolanus' edition. The above-mentioned similarities between the handwriting of folia 2–28v of the *Londinensis* and the Greek reviewer of MS. 442 (if I may call him so) might support such a theory.

After f. 104^r (chapter 2 of Proverbs), chapter numeration in Latin (the only way chapters are numbered in the Polyglot) is added *in margine* for some books (*figs.* 4 and 5), in general with a lighter and thinner ink⁶⁴ compared to the one that marked the Greek chapters. First, we encounter “Cap.^m#,” afterwards changed for the simpler “C.#.” (apparently by a different hand) already in f. 110^v; this second pattern is also used for the books of Ecclesiastes (120^v–125^r) and Song of Songs (126^r–129^r). After

both scribes is of course needed, in order to shed light on this question.

⁶² Specifically, in f. 2^v, 3^v, 4^r, 5^v, 7^r, 8^v, 9^v, 10^v, 11^r, 11^v, 12^v, 13^v, 15^r, 16^v, 18^r, 19^v, 20^v, 21^v, 23^r, 25^r, 27^r, 28^r.

⁶³ E.g. f. 145^r, where the beginning of 2 Esd 14 is marked over one of Musurus' textual supplements.

⁶⁴ There is also more than one kind of chapter mark *in textu*: the half-square bracket crossed by a line, similar to the one used for Greek chapters, alongside a simple half-square bracket or even a single vertical line.

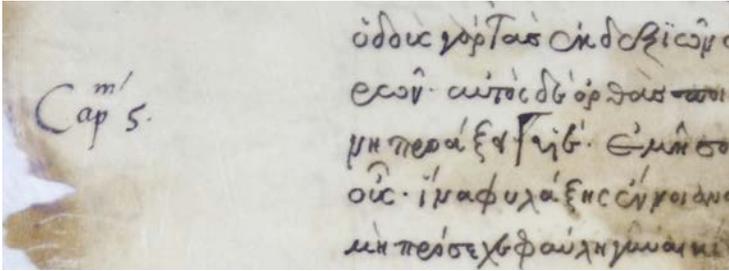


Figure 4: Latin chapter number, MS. 442, f. 105^v (beginning of Prov 5)

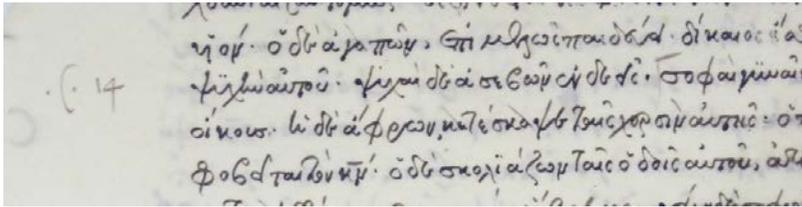


Figure 5: Latin chapter number, MS. 442, f. 110^v (beginning of Prov 14)

the return of pattern one (Cap.^m#) in the book of Wisdom (161^v–171^r),⁶⁵ it is possible to detect the second pattern in the severely damaged folia of Maccabees (207^v, 210^v, 214^r).

At a single point (f. 339^v), the scribe responsible for the second pattern actually corrects a first-hand Greek chapter number ($\text{Ae C.7} = 2 \text{ Esd } 7$), in a book that did not receive full chapter-division in Latin. It is possible that he felt the need to collate the text of this particular passage in another manuscript, which reinforces the use of MS. 442 as a secondary text aid.

It becomes clear that, in Alcalá, MS. 442 was managed by at least two reviewers, while preparing the text for the typographer. Or even three, if we consider that second-hand Greek numeration was added already in Spain, something not completely certain. These scholars worked in books later printed in Volumes II, III, and IV of the Polyglot, adding their chapter numeration in the books or passages where they felt the need to

⁶⁵ In this case only once (Cap.^m 8, at f. 164^v).

collate the text of their main source(s) with another manuscript.

Still, where were these chapter notations taken from, both Greek and Latin? Are we to consider the use of manuscripts of which we are unaware? Most probably so. The very lack of any known manuscript sources for the books printed in Vol. IV points in that direction.⁶⁶ Furthermore, I was unable to find these chapter notations in any of the Vatican known to have been used by the Complutensian editors (MSS. 108 and 248), while also the above-mentioned Marciani have Greek numbering, in relation to MS. 442, *ante correctionem*. A fuller investigation is therefore required also on this topic, as part of the intricate issue of textual division of the biblical text. This task might be able to enlighten the final purpose of these second-hand chapter notations, and probably help relating them to either the Aldine or the Polyglot enterprises.

In recognizing the direct intervention of several Hellenists at Alcalá, it may be worthwhile to seek their names among those known to have worked in the Greek column of the Polyglot: Demetrius Ducas, Pintianus, López Zuñiga, and perhaps Juan de Vergara.⁶⁷ Chances are promising, yet mostly inconclusive.

Before coming to Alcalá in 1513, to become head of the newly-created chair of Greek and possibly to coordinate the Greek column of the Polyglot, Demetrius Ducas was in charge of the Aldine of Plutarch (1509), and Musurus' revisions are clearly seen in a manuscript used as a model. While Ducas' intervention in the Londinensis was previously suggested,⁶⁸ namely by comparing the marginalia of f. 54^r with those on f. 96^v of codex Milan, *Ambr.* C195 inf., the truth is that scholars are still reluctant to accept any identification of his handwriting.⁶⁹ As for the Madrid codex, already Bravo García rejected this identification, while recognizing the possible influ-

⁶⁶ See above, and n.51.

⁶⁷ See above, and nn.45–47.

⁶⁸ Bravo García, *Lecturas de Bizancio* 160–161 and n.5; Speranzi, *Marco Musuro* 270.

⁶⁹ See Martínez Manzano, *BZ* 102 (2009) 717–730.

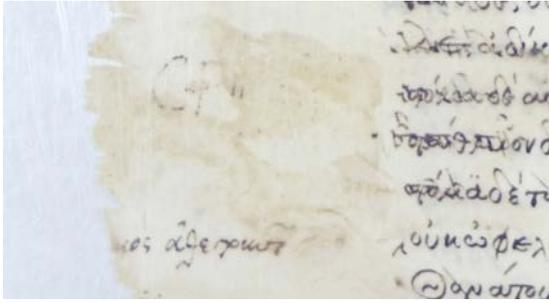


Figure 6: MS. 442, f. 108^v (beginning of Prov 11)

ence of his handwriting in some scattered interventions.⁷⁰ That would be the case for f. 108^v ^{mg}, apparently by the same hand (and ink) that added Latin chapter numeration in the same folium, according to the first pattern mentioned above (fig. 6).

Nonetheless, one must be cautious and accept that the few letters preserved from the correction are not sufficient to confirm such an identification, as suggested by Tovar, for instance, in codex Salamanca, *Salm.* 223.⁷¹ On the other hand, whoever this scribe was, he performed only a few corrections on the codex, focused as he was on numbering the chapters to prepare the copies for the printers of the Polyglot. Direct examination of the codex in fact has suggested that the single Latin word *ago* at 27^v ^{mg}—probably a fragmentary note for Latin interlinear translation—may also have been written by him, matching, despite the few characters available for comparison, his handwriting in f. 1 of Madrid, BH, *UCM* 28 (n.25 above). Also no clear identification is possible with Juan de Vergara's handwriting (the young pupil of Pintianus), nor even with Niketas Fausto, the learned typographer who seems to have collaborated in the editing of the New Testament.⁷² Therefore, the

⁷⁰ Bravo García, *Lecturas de Bizancio* 160.

⁷¹ A. Tovar, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Universitatis Salamantinae* I (Salamanca 1963) 39.

⁷² As suggested by J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton 1983) 76. See n.45 above.

Complutensian reviewers of the codex are to remain anonymous, as they await further palaeographic and textual inquiries.

While the vast majority of corrections, both marginal and interlinear, are in fact Musurus', i.e. still from the Venetian times of the codex, a deeper collation of all textual interventions—in many cases no more than the correction of a word, a termination, or even a single letter—would certainly reveal some marks of the revision performed in Alcalá.

An example seems to be in f. 164^v (*fig. 7*), where the same scribe who marked Cap.^m 8 also restored the sentence ἐπίλησα καὶ ἐξεζήτησα at Prov 8:1 (ἐξεζήτησα καὶ ἐξεζήτησα^{ac}), correctly printed in both the Aldine and the Polyglot, but not by Musurus.

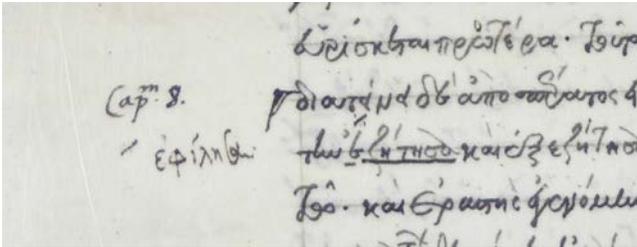


Figure 7: MS. 442, f. 164^v (beginning of Sap 8)

Finally, do the preserved folia show any traces, beyond textual correction and chapter numeration, of editorial work upon MS. 442, both in Venice and Alcalá? No more than a few non-textual marks could be found, even if the contexts of their execution are not clear.

In f. 18^v (*fig. 8*), a right angle framing the first majuscule (carefully drawn in red and at a larger scale by Scribe A) at the beginning of 1 Kgs 11, must have been made by the same pen and scribe responsible for second-hand Greek chapter numeration, probably marking some passage he needed to copy or collate. Nonetheless, the text of the books of Kings published in Vol. II of the Polyglot differs greatly from the one copied in MS.

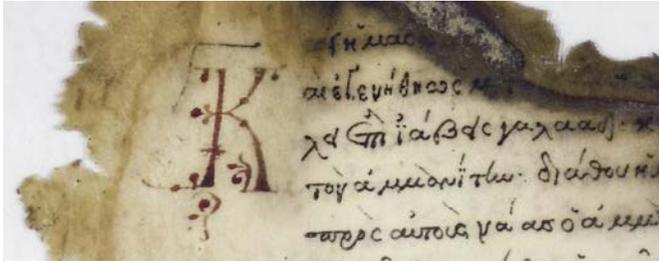


Figure 8: MS. 442, f. 18^v (beginning of 1 Kgs 11)

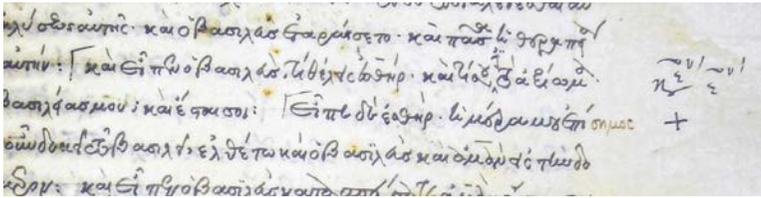


Figure 9: MS. 442, f. 158^r (beginning of Est 5:4)

442, and it seems that it is mostly MS. 108 being used as model, even if the former may have been used for collation.⁷³

Later in the codex, namely in the book of Esther, a + sign can be seen *in margine* at folia 157^r (at the beginning of Est 4:17a), 158^r (Est 5:4 = *fig.* 9), 159^v (Est 8:12b), and 160^r (Est 8:13).⁷⁴ Of particular interest is the example of f. 158^r, where the reviewer marks the beginning of actual section 5:4 (εἶπεν δὲ Εσθηρ Ἥμέρα...), for the beginning of chapter 6 was mistakenly added before the previous sentence (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς...). As this numbering differs from both the Aldine and the Polyglot, and was apparently written by the same hand and pen that added these + signs, both these marks are more likely to date from the time when the manuscript was in Venice.

In short, there are no actual marks for the printers in MS.

⁷³ O'Connell, *From Most Ancient Sources* 98–100.

⁷⁴ The same + sign is later found in f. 208^v (2 Macc 6), but, at that point, the hand and pen that wrote it are different (pencil?) and it might be a much later notation.

442, rather copy marks, made by the Greek reviewer to indicate the proper place of a chapter change (that seems to be the case of f. 157^r and 158^r)—a passage which was being copied or which he felt the need to confront with the version of MS. 442.

Conclusions

As far as the older descriptions of MS. 442 and its many remains can confirm, it was and still is special, whether one thinks of its production, revision, editorial use, destruction, or its recuperation. The present paper provides evidence that confirms its use at different moments of the editorial process of both the Aldine and the Polyglot Bibles, distributed in 1518 and 1520 respectively but contemporary in terms of production. Dates and scholars' names, alongside other palaeographic arguments, seem to intertwine the sources of the two first editions of the Greek Bible. In the case of the Aldine, the nature and number of interventions by Musurus, alongside the example of the *Londinensis*, made me suspect the use of the Complutensian manuscript as an intermediary between its model (MS. 68) and the lost copies meant for Aldus' printers. In other words, Musurus' revision and correction of MS. 442 is actually the strongest proof for its use in the editorial process of the Aldine, supported by the very existence of the *Londinensis* and the well-known collaboration of Musurus with Aldus. In conjunction with this, I have also argued that the codex was used for making other copies, the real *Druckvorlagen* that reached the printers' house. And this seems valid both for Venice and Alcalá, as no actual marks for printers, as can be seen all through the *Londinensis*, can be traced in MS. 442.

No precise information about the codex's discovery and its sending to Spain is known, even if Demetrius Ducas—whom we know to have been charged by Cisneros himself to buy MS. 1670 (n.50 above)—might actually have played an important role in that process. Or even Pintianus, who frequently worked in Venice. Codicological and textual arguments have been presented to reinforce the use of MS. 442 as a secondary aid by at least two scholars at Alcalá, while preparing Volumes II, III, and IV of the Polyglot.

Textual collation should now probably look for the manuscript source(s) of Musurus, when reviewing MS. 442 (and also the *Londinensis*), a task that may help to clarify which of the Marciani (Bessarion's old library) were used for preparing the Septuagint text of the Aldine. Either way, the Madrid codex is a material example of the highest biblical scholarship of the Renaissance, and the best testimony of cooperation between the Venetian and Complutensian Hellenists.

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