

Paratexts and the Reception History of the Apocalypse

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Abstract

Biblical scholarship usually engages with reconstructed texts without taking into account the form and material culture of the manuscripts that transmit the texts used in reconstruction. This article examines the influence of paratexts on biblical studies and reception history, using the book of Revelation as a test case, in an effort to rediscover the significance of transmission for comprehending the ways in which past reading communities engaged their scriptural traditions. The liminal features of manuscripts that are often ignored in modern editions are an integral part of the artefact that influence and shape a text's reading. This study argues that paratexts represent an underdeveloped resource for reception history, insofar as the relationship between text and paratext is rarely taken into consideration by modern interpreters. Material culture, textual transmission, reception history, and exegesis are integrally linked processes.

‘Christentum und Buch: dass hier eine spezielle und intensive Beziehung vorliegt, wird kaum jemand bestreiten.’¹

The relationship between Christian Scripture and antique book culture has been a recurring focus of New Testament scholarship in the past few decades. Numerous studies have examined the craft of making books, the economics of book production, the impact of the physical form of the book on the transmission of the New Testament, and the social-historical aspects of artefactual usage.² Nevertheless, the field has tended to emphasize the

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¹ Martin Wallraff, *Kodex und Kanon: Das Buch im frühen Christentum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 1.

² E.g. Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (London: Yale University Press, 1995); Gamble, ‘The Book Trade in the Roman Empire’, in C. E. Hill and M. J. Kruger (eds.), *The Early Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 23–36 and, in the same volume, Larry Hurtado, ‘Manuscripts and the Sociology of Early Christian Reading’, pp. 49–62. This approach has been

macrostructural form of books and the arrangement of New Testament works at the expense of the liminal features of particular exemplars and the relationship between a work, its medium of transmission, and its reception.³ Textual scholarship has only recently turned to the more obscure but fundamental features of a given manuscript's anatomy. The discussion in the present essay continues this nascent trend by analysing a sample of the paratexts found in the Greek exemplars of the book of Revelation.⁴ Paratexts—the liminal features of a work that mediate between text and reader—are an omnipresent characteristic of all 'published' literature that enlighten the reception of the work to which they are attached. Their ubiquity works against recognition of their existence and their role in the reading process. Successful paratexts are easy to ignore. Paratexts provide evidence for the reception of the texts to which they are attached because, by definition, they are pieces of content that are reliant upon the presence of other pieces of content in a manuscript.⁵

This study focuses on paratexts in the Greek tradition of Revelation in order to highlight ancient and medieval devices that are largely invisible to the user of modern critical editions (which have their own paratextual traditions), and to perceive how ancient readers and craftspeople understood the work. As

applied beyond the New Testament as well, e.g. Aaron Michael Butts, 'Manuscript Transmission as Reception History: The Case of Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373)', *J ECS* 25 (2017), pp. 281–306.

³ A notable exception is Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006). Manuscripts have also been privileged in textual scholarship as textual receptacles whose wording assists in the continuing refinement of the text of critical editions. This focus on the texts of manuscripts is necessary and important, but only one aspect of the important of witnesses to the New Testament. See Martin Karrer, 'Der Text der Apokalypse', in J. Frey, J. A. Kelhoffer, and F. Tóth (eds.), *Die Johannesapokalypse* (WUNT 287; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), pp. 43–78 for a recent appraisal of Revelation's text-critical status.

⁴ Revelation represents a valuable sample set due to the peculiarities of its transmission history and because its textual history and material culture have recently received serious critical attention. See e.g. Thomas J. Kraus and Michael Sommer (eds.), *Book of Seven Seals: The Peculiarity of Revelation, its Manuscripts, Attestation, and Transmission* (WUNT 363; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016); Marcus Sigismund, Martin Karrer, and Ulrich Schmid (eds.), *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse* (ANTF 47; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Marcus Sigismund and Darius Müller (eds.), *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse II* (ANTF 50; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

⁵ See Patrick Andrist, 'Toward a Definition of Paratext and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts', in L. I. Lied and M. Maniacci (eds.), *Bible as Notepad* (MB 3; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), pp. 130–49.

a question: how do the paratexts of biblical manuscripts illuminate the ways in which the text was comprehended and used in particular contexts? The material culture of Revelation's manuscripts is a medium of reception history that lacks explicit reflection.⁶ A close examination of Revelation's title and the paratexts of the Andrew of Caesarea commentary tradition offers new insights into reception history.⁷

Paratextual Theory

Although renowned for his work on narratology and aesthetics, Gérard Genette also produced a number of studies that are valuable for understanding both manuscript and print cultures, especially *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (1982) and *Seuils* (1987),⁸ the latter of which is especially relevant for this discussion. For Genette, the paratext is a threshold or mediating device, enabling 'a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers'.⁹ These features comprise the architecture of a work, frame the reading experience, and are historically contextualized to particular locations, eras, and modes of production. As such, they provide a fruitful avenue of access to the larger integrated

⁶ Wallraff, *Kodex*, pp. 1–2 notes that the significance of book (not simply text) as a medium for the Christian message has only been minimally explored: 'Dass die Botschaft des Christentums im Medium des Buches begegnet, wird (in Innenperspektive) kaum einmal reflektiert, schon gar nicht explizit als eine Art theologischer Leitsatz gewünscht oder gefordert – und doch vielfach für beinahe selbstverständlich gehalten.'

⁷ 'Paratext' is sometimes used in biblical studies to refer to intertextual or hypertextual relationships that exist between two works—i.e. works that borrow material from or are wholly reliant upon another work for their structure, linguistic substance, or semantics. An example of this is found in Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, 'The *Book of Jubilees* as Paratextual Literature', in P. S. Alexander; A. Lange, and R. J. Pillinger (eds.), *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 65–95 (and others in the volume), who explores the relationship between Genesis 17 and *Jubilees* 15. More precise analyses of paratexts are exemplified by studies from a number of other disciplines, e.g. Koenraad Claes's examination of supplements in Victorian periodicals ('Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space', *VPR* 43 [2010], pp. 196–210) and Georg Stanitzek's study of paratexts in film ('Texts and Paratext in Media', *Critical Enquiry* 31 [2005], pp. 27–38), among many others.

⁸ English translations: *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) and *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. J. E. Lewin and R. Macksey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 1.

question of a work's reception within its own transmission, even though Genette's approach has been applied mostly to printed material.¹⁰ Paratexts in biblical manuscripts may be textual (e.g. glosses, marginalia, titles, corrections, tables of contents, alternative readings, headers, page numbers, colophons), but need not consist of linguistic substance (e.g. script, material, medium, -dicological information, word division, accentuation, segmentation, drollery, images), although there is disagreement as to what extent material features should be considered as paratexts.¹¹

Paratextuality is, for Genette, part of a wider exploration of textual transcendence, designed to scrutinize the linguistic sustance of a work in the context of a comprehensive interplay of its other structural elements (*transtextualite'*).¹² Genette has built a typology of the paratext using modern French literature as a sample set, identifying the various liminalities of modern publishing that make up the anatomy of a literary work. He examines the spatial, physical, temporal, and pragmatic locations and functions of paratexts that define the Republic of Letters: the publisher's peritext, the name of the author, titles and intertitles, dedications, inscriptions, epigraphs, prefaces, notes, interviews, and private correspondences of the author. Of course, the paratexts of modern publishing and other print cultures are very different from the paratexts of the Bible, and parts of his typology are more germane to ancient, non-typographical practices of production than others.¹³ But Genette's work brings into sharp relief the reality that biblical works were not transmitted as abstract textual entities, but as holistic objects that combine text with a variety of historically contextualized features.¹⁴ Many of these features remain invisible to biblical scholars and absent from discourse

¹⁰ Cf. Guyda Armstrong, 'Paratexts and their Functions in Seventeenth-Century English "Decameron"', *MLR* 102 (2007), pp. 40–57, at 40–1) on the relationship between paratexts and reception.

¹¹ Andrist, 'Toward a Definition'.

¹² For an overview of the modes of transtextuality, see Genette, *Palimpsests*, pp. 1–7.

¹³ As Genette himself notes (*Paratexts*, p. 3). For example, I am not interested in private paratexts like the diaries of authors. See Andrist, 'Toward a Definition' for a discussion specifically related to Greek manuscripts.

¹⁴ Brennan W. Breed, *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Biblical Reception* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014) has recently argued that biblical texts are not truly 'at home' in any context. The approach to reception history that I am arguing for here allows critics to identify particular life situations of biblical texts across their nomadic existence, like identifying particular scenes in narrative film.

in this field. These components provide insight into ancient engagement with scriptural works and the diachronic development of traditions associated with them.¹⁵

Paratexts in Biblical Studies

Before moving onto Revelation's manuscripts, however, it should be noted that paratexts are intrinsic to biblical studies, both in terms of the critical editions and in studies that focus on the significance of early Christian artefacts. First, paratexts are fundamental to editions of the New Testament, shaping modes of engagement with the text and (inevitably) obscuring the paratextual traditions of the manuscripts. Turning to the first page of the Apocalypse in NA²⁸ (p. 735), for example, a number of paratexts are immediately visible. Following most of the manuscript tradition, the page begins with a title. Within this title, an editorial mark draws attention to the apparatus, offering a number of variant titular formulations.¹⁶ In the right margin, a series of abbreviations, Arabic numerals, punctuation marks, and Gothic graphemes denote intertexts that the editors have identified, aiding readers in their attempt to comprehend the allusiveness of Rev. 1:1–6.¹⁷ Within the text itself, and in addition to other editorial glyphs connecting the text to the apparatus, the editors have introduced a traditional numbering system. In boldface, the Apocalypse's first word is preceded by a two-line tall number 1, and each successive verse is prefaced by a small bold number. Finally, in the left margin, a small italicized number corresponds to the *kephalaia* ('chapters') of the late antique Andrew of Caesarea commentary. And all this is not to mention the extensive bilingual preface, explanatory inserts, tables of contents (ancient and modern), and appendices that guide the reader in making use of the edition. Some of the paratexts of NA²⁸ reflect practices located in several ancient

¹⁵ In addition to issues of reception, paratexts have an important diachronic role in establishing the location and context of an exemplar's production. Cf. Vito Lorusso, 'Locating Greek Manuscripts through Paratexts: Examples from the Library of Cardinal Bessarion and other Manuscript Collections', in G. Ciotti and H. Lin (eds.), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (SMC 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), p. 224: 'paratexts are possibly the main source from which one can retrieve information about the temporal and spatial context in which manuscripts were produced and used'.

¹⁶ The Nestle–Aland editions have also been the object of recent criticism when it comes to titles. See Simon J. Gathercole, 'The Titles of the Gospels in the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts', *ZNW* 104 (2013), pp. 33–76.

¹⁷ Instructions for how to use the notes in the inner and outer margins (paratexts of paratexts) are located in pp. 82*–86*.

and medieval exemplars (titles, chapter numbers, *kephalaia*, word division, accentuation), but others are modern editorial endeavours (apparatus, textual parallels, diacritical editorial sigla). This is not to judge the editorial team or their product, but simply to point out that modern editorial paratexts differ from their non-typographic ancient and medieval counterparts.

Beyond critical editions, the architectural features of ancient exemplars have garnered attention in other contexts. For instance, David Trobisch has argued that a constellation of paratexts are the product of an unknown group of second-century redactors who created the 'Canonical Edition' (*Endredaktion*) of the New Testament.¹⁸ He points to the macrostructural arrangement of works (Gospels, Praxapostolos, Pauline Letters, and Revelation), the ubiquity of *nomina sacra*, the development of titles, and the adoption of the codex form as evidence for an organized and concerted effort to produce a marketable and authoritative collection of Christian scriptural writings.

Although I am not yet convinced by his argument that the shape of the New Testament and its paratexts were codified by a particular group of 'redactors' in league with 'publishers' and 'booksellers', his identification of the importance of paratexts as an avenue to understand the channels of transmission through which the New Testament was shaped remains important.¹⁹ Trobisch is right, moreover, to note that paratexts in scriptural works are the product of later editorial traditions, what Genette

¹⁸ David Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁹ Although his appraisal of the internal logic and structure of the New Testament as a work is convincing, I remain sceptical of Trobisch's conclusions for a number of reasons: (1) he dubiously omits a number of possible exemplars from his data set, creating the appearance of early coherence in the ordering of books (cf. pp. 21–38); (2) he is anachronistic in his recurring assertion that 'publishers' organized the individual parts of the New Testament into a single work, subjecting ancient practices to the presuppositions of capitalist market economies; (3) he demurs when it comes to identifying these second century 'redactors' (pp. 76–7); (4) his identification of redactional portions internal to some works of the canonical edition (e.g. John 21) can easily be understood as internal to the growth of a particular work (pp. 78–101); (5) Trobisch is heavily influenced by the great codices of the 4th–5th centuries, containing 'complete' forms of both the Old Testament and New Testament, even though these exemplars are anomalous in the tradition. See the critique in Wolfgang Grünstäudl, 'Geschätzt und bezweifelt: Der zweite Petrusbrief im kanongeschichtlichen Paradigmenstreit', in J. Heilmann and M. Klinghardt (eds.), *Das Neue Testament und sein Text im 2. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Franke, 2018), pp. 57–88.

calls ‘allographic’ (i.e. non-authorial). Features like titles, word divisions, and phonological aids are not the work of the ‘author’, and other textual elements (e.g. corrections, alternative readings, marginal comments) result from scribal mishap in the process of copying or editorial decisions made by the producers of particular exemplars. And not all paratexts—colophons, for example—are indeed related to the main text of a manuscript. The paratexts of the Apocalypse, as we will see, are the products of tradition, influenced by linguistic developments and changes in book technology, copying traditions, and artefactual usage.

Additionally, paratexts have been discussed in the context of the relationship between book history and canon. The relationship between the adoption of the codex form, the collection and arrangement of individual works, and canon is an important paratextual question with far-reaching consequences. Martin Wallraff has recently argued that the use of the codex as the dominant medium of Christian scriptural traditions was central to the development of the idea of canon and Christian intellectual behaviours: ‘Was der “Kanon” im Christentum geworden ist, wäre er ohne dieses Medium nicht in gleicher Weise geworden, und vielleicht wäre auch Bibelexegese als zentrale intellektuelle Aktivität nicht zu dem geworden, was sie geworden ist.’²⁰ Although Wallraff overstates his case—biblical exegesis was a fundamental intellectual endeavour for the community at Qumran, for example,²¹ where the scroll was the dominant medium of transmission—he is right to point out that the selection of medium and format is a paratextual decision that has consequences for the shape of a work. For Wallraff, the *Kanonbegriff* (‘canonical concept’) of late antique Christianity was stabilized and secured by a number of paratextual features: Eusebian canon tables, chapter divisions, illustrations, and the craft of cover-making. Canon is a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (‘comprehensive work of art’), a far-reaching phenomenon that extends beyond the fixing of textual forms and the order and number of works.²² Paratexts are a central feature

²⁰ Wallraff, *Kodex*, p. 24.

²¹ See David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period* (FAT 92; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014) for a study that highlights the intense exegetical attention characteristic of Second Temple Jewish scriptural engagement, a textual culture whose primary medium was the scroll.

²² *Kodex*, pp. 45–8. In sum: ‘Das Buch enthält nicht nur Zeichen, sondern es wird selbst zum Zeichen’ (p. 48).

of the primary sources, critical editions, and key discussions that constitute biblical studies.

Paratexts are also an especially important part of Revelation's textual history because of the work's close connection to the Andrew of Caesarea commentary tradition, its relative paucity of manuscripts, and the peculiarities of its reception.²³ However, observations gleaned from the paratexts also illuminate other New Testament works and ancient literature generally. Paratexts are a diverse species and this study represents an entryway into a larger discussion. I begin by examining Revelation's titles since this feature occurs in nearly all non-fragmentary witness, and then move on to explore features of the Andrew commentary tradition since it is an important mediator of Revelation's text.

Titles

Turning to Revelation, we should begin at the beginning: titles and their function.²⁴ Genette writes that

the title as we understand it today is actually . . . an artificial object, an artifact of reception or commentary, that readers, the public, critics, booksellers, bibliographers, . . . and titlogists (which all of us are, at least sometimes) have arbitrarily separated out from the graphic and possible iconographic mass of a 'title page' or a cover.²⁵

This statement is mostly true for biblical works. The title of the Apocalypse is almost always graphically distinguished from the 'main text' via differences in script, text size, artistic emphasis, ink colour, or formatting, and the variations below demonstrate that their linguistic substance is the product of readerly and scribal traditions. Depending on its date, the earliest witness to the title of the Apocalypse may come from the Muratori fragment, which notes that 'we also accept the apocalypses of

²³ Paratexts play an important part in the transmission of other New Testament works as well; for example, the Ammonian and Eusebian canon tables in the Gospels. Cf. E. Nestle, 'Die Eusebianische Evangelien-Synopse', *NKZ* 19 (1908), pp. 40–51, 93–114, 219–32; Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Gothenburg: O. Isacson, 1938); more recently Francis Watson, *The Fourfold Gospel: A Theological Reading of the New Testament Portraits of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2016), pp. 103–23; and more generally, Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 22–3.

²⁴ For an overview of the fluidity of the titles of New Testament works, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 301–4.

²⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 54–5.

John and Peter' (*apocalypses etiam Iohannis, et Petri, tantum recipimus*). This formulation is also preserved in Greek in the codices of the fourth and fifth centuries and in Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* (3.28.3; 3.29.1; 4.18.4; etc.).²⁶

From an examination of the manuscripts, however, it is clear that the title is far from stable, and even a single manuscript may preserve differing titles at the beginning (inscription) and end (subscription) of the work (e.g. GA 82 386 468 627 757 1424 1732 1795 2917).²⁷ Revelation does not have a *singular* title, but many, even though the differences between most of them are usually of a kind.²⁸ In his commanding work *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse*, H. C. Hoskier collated 46 different Greek titles, and my own review of the material has returned a total of 53 Greek titles (depending on how one divides the subreadings and word order differential, setting aside the various titles that are attached to the commentary traditions), that create 44 unique English glosses.²⁹ But it is not the sheer quantity of titles that is primarily interesting, but the quality of the components and their varied usage that illuminate the ways that particular communities conceived of Revelation's authorship, John's situation, and the message of his opaque work.

²⁶ See Martin Karrer, *Johannesoffenbarung* (EKK 24/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2017), pp. 165–7 and the brief discussion of Revelation's inscription in D. E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5* (WBC 52a; Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1997), pp. 3–4. On the date of Muratori fragment see Joseph Verheyden, 'The Canon Muratori: A Matter of Dispute', in J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge (eds.), *The Biblical Canons* (BETL 163; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), pp. 487–556 and Christoph Guignard, 'The Original Language of the Muratorian Fragment', *JTS* 66 (2015), pp. 596–624.

²⁷ For the dates of manuscripts referenced in this article, cf. Markus Lembke et al. (eds.), *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments VI. Die Apokalypse: Teststellenkollation und Auswertungen* (ANTF 49; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 2–22.

²⁸ For example, the difference between *ιωαννου του θεολογου και ηγαπημενου αποστολου αποκαλυψις* (2077) and *ιωαννου του θεολογου και ηγαπημενου αποκαλυψις* (91 1934) is only the lack of the word *αποστολου* in 91 1934.

²⁹ H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (London: Quaritch, 1929), vol. 2, pp. 25–6. See the apparatus in J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (Munich: Zink: 1955), vol. 1, p. 7 for the various titles of the Andrew tradition. This accounting of the variety also omits running titles. On running titles cf. D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 17–22 and Gathercole, 'Titles', pp. 43–4.

Titles range from the simple (e.g. *αποκαλυψις*³⁰), to the more standard (e.g. *αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου*³¹), to the complex (e.g. *αποκαλυψις του αγιου και ενδοξου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου. ην εν πατμω τη νησω εθεασατο*³²), to the superlative³³ (cf. the Appendix for the full range of titles). The simplest titles relay only the most basic information, but combine components that are now separate in modern publications. The titles in the codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus note the name of the work or genre descriptor (*αποκαλυψις*) and the author (*ιωαννου*), information gleaned from the first and last words of Rev. 1:1. The identity and characteristics of the Apocalypse's author, who identifies himself at least notionally in 1:1, 4, 9; 22:8, garners significant attention in the titular tradition. The most common title, 'the Apocalypse of Saint John the Theologian' (*αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου*; preserved in 46 witnesses), contains the honorific 'holy' (*ἅγιος*) and identifies the author as 'theologian' (*θεολόγος*). Both of these components are commonplace among a number of other honorifics, including 'beloved' (*ἠγαπημένος*), 'honoured' (*ἔνδοξος*; *πανένδοξος*), 'dear' (*φίλος*), 'praised' (*πανεύφημος*), and 'upon the breast' (*ἐπιστήθιος*; cf. John 13:23; 19:25–7; *Acts of John* 89; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.6; 2.4).³⁴ These adjectives occur with varying frequency and in fluctuating combinations, but they each highlight the reverence for the biblical author and emphasize John's connection to the broader Johannine tradition, or at least the Johannine writings within the New Testament.³⁵

³⁰ 627 2044 2083 2495.

³¹ 18 35 42^{sub.} 93^{sub.} 149 218 256 296 325^{sub.} 367 368 386^{incip.} 456 468^{incip.} 517^{sub.} 664 757^{tel sub.} 808 1094 1424^{sub.} 1678 1732^{tel sub.} 1876 1893 1903 1948 2016 2020 2025 2038^{arx.} 2076 2080 2138 2196 2200 2258 2323 2351 2352^{vid} 2493 2672 2681 2814 2909 2926.

³² 104 459.

³³ *η αποκαλυψις του πανευδοξου ευαγγελιστου, επιστηθιου, φιλου, παρθενου, ηγαπημενου τω χριστω, ιωαννου του θεολογου, υιου Σαλμωνης και ζεβεδαιου θετου δε υιου της θεοτοκου μαριας και υιου βροντης, 1775, copied in 1847 CE.*

³⁴ Cf. the list of honorifics collected by H. C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1928), p. 3 (repr. Wipf and Stock, 2008).

³⁵ For recent discussion of the relationship between the Apocalypse and Johannine tradition, cf. Jörg Frey, 'Das Corpus Johanneum und die Apokalypse des Johannes: Die Johanneslegende, die Probleme der johanneischen Verfasserschaft und die Frage der Pseudonymität der Apokalypse', in S. Alkier, T. Hieke, and T. Nicklas (eds.), *Poetik und Intertextualität der Johannesapokalypse* (WUNT 346; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), pp. 71–133, who argues that the correlation of the Apocalypse's authorship with John the

‘Evangelist’ (εὐαγγελιστής)³⁶ becomes one of the primary modes of identification in the titles, along with ‘apostle’ (ἀπόστολος) and, to a lesser degree, ‘disciple (of the Lord)’ (μαθητής + τοῦ κυρίου 1862^{sub}) and ‘virgin’ (παρθένος: cf. Rev. 14:4; Tertullian, *De praescr. haer.* 36.3). Many of these components connect directly to John 21:20–5, where Peter sees the ‘disciple whom Jesus loved’ (τὸν μαθητὴν ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς), the one who reclined on his breast at the supper (ἀνέπεσεν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ).³⁷ This disciple is identified as the author of the Fourth Gospel in 21:24, supporting the conflation of John of the Apocalypse with John the Evangelist (cf. Justin, *Trypho* 81.4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.22.5; 3.1.2).³⁸ The titles of Revelation tend to connect the Fourth Gospel and Revelation in terms of authorship and vice versa (e.g. the subscription to John in GA 1416).

The descriptions of John that appear throughout the late antique Andrew and Oecumenius commentaries mirror the language of the titular traditions, suggesting that the commentary traditions played a central role in the development of the titles. For example, Andrew refers to John as ‘theologian’ (θεολόγος; Prologue, *keph.* 9 on Rev. 3:21, *keph.* 54 on 17:9b), the ‘man of theology’ (τοῦ θεολόγου ἀνδρός; Prologue), ‘apostle’ (ἀπόστολος; *keph.* 1 on Rev. 1:4, *keph.* 53 on 17:1–3, *keph.* 72 on 22:20–1), ‘evangelist’ (εὐαγγελιστής; *keph.* 5 on 2:13b, *keph.* 28 on 10:4, *keph.* 29 on 10:8, *keph.* 54 on 17:6–7, *keph.* 67 on 21:19e, *keph.* 69 on 22:6b), ‘son of thunder’ (βροντῆς υἱός; *keph.* 9 on Rev. 3:21), ‘blessed one’ (μακάριος; *keph.* 20 on 7:13, *keph.* 29 on 10:11, *keph.* 69 on 22:6b), and ‘saint’ (ἅγιος; *keph.* 21 on 8:1–2, *keph.* 67 on

son of Zebedee is part of a broader ‘Johanneisierung’ of the corpus of literature from ‘the Elder’ to the ‘Apostle’ (pp. 117–18).

³⁶ Cf. also *kephalaia* κθ and νη (29 and 58) in the Andrew commentary, which refer to the seer as εὐαγγελιστής.

³⁷ Cf. C. E. Hill, who, in a recent article arguing for the unity of John 21 with the rest of the Gospel, summarizes the operative positions on the relationship of the ‘beloved disciple’ to the author of the work. ‘The Authentication of John: Self-Disclosure, Testimony, and Verification in John 21:24’, in L. K. Fuller Dow, C. A. Evans, and A. W. Pitts (eds.), *The Language and Literature of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 398–437. For a detailed assessment of appraisals of Johannine authorship in antiquity cf. Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (London: SCM, 1989), pp. 1–23.

³⁸ Eusebius does, however, acknowledge ancient disputes regarding the authorship of the Apocalypse (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.24.18; 7.24.6–27). This does not filter into the titular tradition. On the relationship of canon and authorship in relation to Revelation, cf. Michael J. Kruger, ‘The Reception of the Book of Revelation in the Early Church’, in T. J. Kraus and M. Sommer (eds.), *Book of Seven Seals: The Peculiarity of Revelation, its Manuscripts, Attestation, and Transmission* (WUNT 363; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 159–74.

21:21b). With the exception of ‘blessed’ (μακάριος), every descriptor that Andrew ascribes to John appears in the inscriptions and subscriptions of Revelation’s Greek manuscripts. Most of these designations appear also in the commentary of Andrew’s immediate *Vorgänger*, Oecumenius.³⁹ Revelation’s titles and the development of its commentaries are interconnected, confirming Genette’s assertion that titles are aspects of reception.

Interestingly, however, some titles omit the name John or downplay his role in the production of the work. For example, the *subscriptio* in 1795 identifies the work as ‘Apocalypse of the Theologian’ (τελος αποκαλυψεως του θεολογου) and 2029 identifies the work as the ‘Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and the Theologian Evangelist’ (αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου του θεολογου) in connection with a more expanded Andrew title. In the latter case, the author’s name is subsumed into his identification as the John responsible also for the Gospel. Two exemplars also identify the work as belonging not to John, but to Jesus Christ (203 506; ιησου χριστου αποκαλυψις δοθησα τω θεολογω ιωαννη), minimizing John’s role as author and highlighting the chain of tradition described in Rev. 1:1–2. Another example, tied closely to the Arethas commentary,⁴⁰ identifies an angelic mediator as the source of John’s creative activity (91^{supra} 2625^{supra}; προοιμιον της αποκαλυψεως και οτι δι αγγελου αυτω δεδοται).

Information communicated by the titles also expands beyond the confines of the author. A number of formulations impart the significance of the message of the work, including assertions that ‘it is an explanation of the mysteries of God’ (2055 2064 2067; δηλωσις αυτη των θεου μυστηριων) or that it ‘makes known the hidden mysteries’ (1248; των κρυπτων μυστηριων). These types of titles summarize the contents of the work in the light of its esoteric narrative and pervasive symbolism, and they highlight again the relationship between titles and commentaries, since they reflect the language of the first sentence of Andrew’s commentary

³⁹ See, for example, the opening of the commentary (1.1–3) that refers to John as ‘blessed’ (θεσπέσιος), ‘the one upon the breast’ (ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος), ‘son of thunder’ (υἱὸς . . . βροντῆς), and ‘divine apostle’ (θεῖος ἀπόστολος). The descriptions of John in titular formations draw on other Greek patristic traditions as well, further cementing the status of titles as instantiations of tradition. For example, the *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, attributed to Athanasius by Migne (PG 28, 281–438), refers also to John as ‘evangelist’, ‘theologian’, ‘apostle’, and ‘beloved’ (PG 28, 428, 433).

⁴⁰ Cf. M. De Groot, *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (TEG 8; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), pp. 20–1.

on Rev. 1:1, and since the boundary between title and marginal comment is sometimes difficult to divine (see GA 1503 1617 1637 1745 1746 1771). In any case, these titles draw directly from the start of *keph.* 1:

Ἀποκάλυψις μὲν ἔστιν ἡ τῶν κρυπτῶν μυστηρίων δῆλωσις καταναζομένου τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ εἴτε διὰ θείων ὄνειράτων εἴτε καθ' ὕπαρ ἐκ θείας ἐλλάμψεως

An apocalypse is the explanation of hidden mysteries, when the mind is illuminated, either through divine dreams or by waking visions from divine enlightenment.⁴¹

The location of the work's production is also identified by a number of titles that draw inferences from Rev. 1:9.⁴² Standard titles are expanded by way of a subclause that assumes the Apocalypse is a transcription of 'what he [John] saw on the island Patmos' (e.g. 2050; ἦν ἰδεν ἐν πατμῶ τῆ νησῶ οἱ 104 549; ἦν ἐν πατμῶ τῆ νησῶ εἰεασατο).

Finally, a feature common to almost every title is the genre indicator *ἀποκάλυψις*. This word (sometimes arthrous; cf. 1775 1862^{sub} 2201) is almost always the first component of a title, signalling its connection to similar visionary works.⁴³ Genre indication was (and continues to be) an integral part of some titular traditions, not least of which include the ancient commentaries.⁴⁴

It is not that each (or in fact any) of these titles may lay claim to come from the hand of the author—they are allographic insofar as they are the product of later traditions. In all probability, the entirety of Rev. 1:1, or at least its first three words (*ἀποκάλυψις ἡσθου χριστου*), was intended as the title of the work.⁴⁵ However, each of these titles functions as a witness to traditions of genre, authorship, divine transmission, perceptions of the contents of the

⁴¹ Translation from Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou, *Andrew of Caesarea: Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Fathers of the Church, 123; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), p. 55 (with minor alterations).

⁴² See Ian Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), who highlights the ambiguities in the identification of Patmos as the location of publication and the island's reception in later Johannine traditions.

⁴³ *Ἀποκάλυψις* is only omitted in 1828, although the morphology of the title assumes its presence.

⁴⁴ For example, the running titles of some Arethas commentary exemplars utilize the word *ἐξήγησις* ('interpretation'). For titles as genre indicators, see Karrer, *Johannesoffenbarung*, pp. 168–78.

⁴⁵ Cf. Aune, *Revelation*, vol. 1, pp. 3–4.

message, and the historical location of visionary experience.⁴⁶ Many of these features can be intuited from the text of the Apocalypse itself, highlighting the interplay between paratext and text.

Titles smooth out potential ambiguities left unaddressed in the work, like who 'John' is, what has Patmos to do with the book, and how might one summarize the message. In answering these questions, the titles provide frames that shape the reading experience. If John is the same John that wrote the Gospel, then we can be assured that his message is authoritative; if Patmos is the place of visionary experience, then exile, persecution, and martyrdom underlie the message; if the message of the book is an unprocessed transcription of visions received directly from Jesus Christ or an angelic mediator, then the images can be taken seriously as authentic divine revelations.⁴⁷ The titles go a long way to assuage potential issues associated with the book's controversial and enigmatic images and assertions, despite the fact that they stand opposed to the conclusions of most modern scholarship on the work.⁴⁸ The title of Revelation was never fixed and was wielded as a way that framed the experience of reading, leveraging the work's connection to a venerable figure, his location, and message. The choices inherently connected in selecting a title fundamentally modify the way that readers interact with the linguistic substance of the work.⁴⁹ And the diachronic growth of the

⁴⁶ This pattern is not confined to the Apocalypse or the New Testament, but visible also in other ancient Greek literatures. See Ernst Nachmanson, *Der Griechische Buchtitel: Einige Beobachtungen* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1941). In regard to poetry, he notes that 'Titel war überflüssig, aber oft gibt der Eingang des Gedichts in einer Weise, die einem Titel nahe kommt' (p. 7).

⁴⁷ Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Paleography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 40 characterizes much of the embellishment in the development in titles as 'misinformation'. This is correct in a historical sense—the author of the Apocalypse is not the author of the Gospel—but this statement does little to understand the contexts that allowed for this identification to predominate.

⁴⁸ This is true also of Revelation's macrostructural codicological arrangement in its existing manuscripts. See Michael Sommer, 'What do Revelation's Handwritings Tell Us about its Post-canonical Role and Function in the Bible', in T. J. Kraus and M. Sommer (eds.), *Book of Seven Seals: The Peculiarity of Revelation, its Manuscripts, Attestation, and Transmission* (WUNT 363; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 188–91. Even though the titular tradition connects Revelation to the Johannine tradition, there are few distinctly Johannine copies of biblical books with some exceptions (e.g. GA 368).

⁴⁹ The title of the work may also be used to identify the textual family to which an exemplar belongs. For example, nearly every exemplar that has the

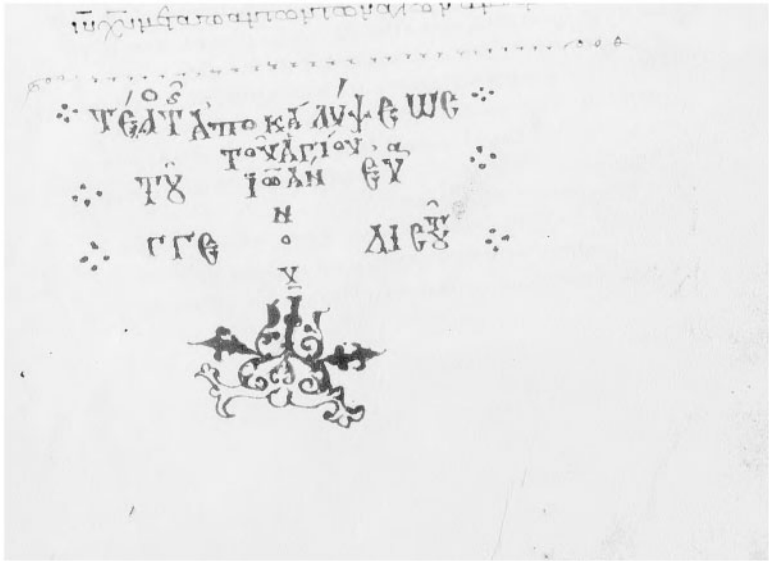


FIG. 1. GA 82 (Paris, BnF gr. 237) *subscriptio* (242^r). Bibliothèque nationale de France

titles is direct evidence of engagement with the Apocalypse by reading communities.

The development of the title as a threshold of interpretation is further witnessed in the development of its physical location and adornment within the tradition. The titles of Revelation are almost always formally separate from the main text. In the earliest Greek witness to the title—GA 01 (4th c.)—it appears in the upper left margin of the folio (325^v) above the first column, contained in a partial box composed of a series of horizontal lines and tildes. The script is more informal than the main text and the ink is identical across the work. The same is true of the *subscriptio* on 334^r, which occupies the bottom portion of a blank column at the end of the work. The *subscriptio* of GA 02 (5th c.), which does not preserve a title on the first folio of the work owing to damage, is

title ἀποκαλύψις τοῦ ἁγίου ἰωαννοῦ τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ θεολογῶν is closely related to the Complutensian family. See Joseph Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (Munich: Zink, 1955), p. 24, n. 1 and Markus Lembke, 'Der Apokalypsetext der Complutensian Polyglotte und sein Verhältnis zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung', in M. Sigismund, M. Karrer, and U. Schmid (eds.), *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse* (ANTF 47; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 33–133.

similarly produced. However, it is encompassed by rubricated symbols and framed by an interlaced tailpiece border.

As the tradition progresses, the title gains a greater level of paratextual attention and emphasis. For example, in GA 82 (10th c., Fig. 1), the title is produced in a bold uncial script, centred directly above the first line of the text. It stands directly under a thin interlaced headpiece and is dwarfed by a large initial *alpha* attached to the first word of the work that invades the title's stratum. This *alpha* is rubricated and contains some internal lattice work with shades of gold, blue, and green.⁵⁰ The rubrication of the title further enhances its separateness from the humdrum of the main text and surrounding *Rahmenkommentar*. The *subscriptio* of 82 is likewise the visual point of focus of the final folio, separated from the main text by a dotted line and presented in a patterned uncial script. All of this material was produced using red ink which visually segregates text from emphasized paratext. The title is structurally supported by stylized penwork flora. In this example, it is the visual focal point of the page in a way that it is not in 01 and 02.

Although varying modes of presentation are preserved in different locations of production in particular periods, the move to emphasize titles continued to predominate. For example, in 2846 (12th c., Fig. 2), a lengthy three-line title is located between a floral headpiece and the initial *alpha* of the main text. The work begins in the midst of the second column, and the headpiece, as well as the initial *alpha*, are rubricated.

The zenith of the title's diachronic development, however, is located in 1775 (copied in 1847), which includes a lengthy title on a title page under a penwork floral-framed depiction of John receiving visions: 'The Apocalypse of the Honoured Evangelist, the one upon the breast, Dear, Virgin, Beloved by Christ, John

⁵⁰ Rubrication and the use of colour often functions as a way to visually and immediately distinguish between text and paratext in manuscripts where it is deployed. See, for example, 2025, which contains Job, some works of Justin, and the Apocalypse. It was completed by a single scribe and the volume was designed to include all three works. The rubrication of titles and other marginal paratexts is common throughout these works. In Job it is used in the first line of a new discourse to distinguish Job's speech from that of his friends. Colour is often devoted expressly to paratexts, emphasizing their role in the reading process. For example, GA 1934 (BnF gr. 224; 11th century) is a commentary volume that includes the Pauline letters and the Apocalypse with *Rahmenkommentar*. The initials of the manuscript are in gold script and the title of the Apocalypse (also in gold) is surrounded by a floral frame with reds, blues, greens, and gold. The interlinear commentary markers are also gold.



FIG. 2. GA 2846 (Paris, BnF gr. 977) *inscriptio* (226^v). Bibliothèque nationale de France

the Theologian, Son of Salome and Zebedee and adopted son of the Mother of God Mary and a son of Thunder.⁵¹ Although this exemplar is very late, of negligible textual value, and influenced by the form of the printed book, its preservation of multiple titles and the privileged space that they occupy shows that the development of the title moves from simple to complex, from secondary feature to visual focal point.⁵² That this title was composed in the mid-nineteenth century may suggest that its superlative nature is

⁵¹ On the following folio, another title (that of the Andrew commentary) is preserved under a headpiece.

⁵² Cf. Metzger, *Manuscripts*, p. 40. Darius Müller, 'Abschriften des Erasmischen Textes im Handschriftenmaterial der Johannesapokalypse: Nebst einigen editions-geschichtlichen Beobachtungen', in M. Sigismund, M. Karrer, and U. Schmid (eds.), *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse* (ANTF 47; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 228–31 argues that 1775 is probably a copy of a printed edition (probably that of Erasmus) and notes that its lemmatic text is abbreviated to make more room for the Andrew commentary.

the result of a conservative backlash against scholarship working to detach Revelation from the Johannine tradition, although it is unclear how penetrating this scholarship was in context of the Mount Athos monasteries.

The tradition is diverse, but the broad arch of its development is characterized by a variety of juxtaposed components that speak to the genre, authorship, thematic content, and location of production. The titles also tend to connote (heavy-handedly) that the author is also the author of the Gospel of John, a feature that becomes more ensconced as the tradition develops until the advent of critical scholarship. The fact that Revelation's titles tended to grow in length over time is interesting in the light of Genette's musing on the development of titles:

For the main agent of titular drift [in modern print cultures] is probably neither the author nor even the publisher but in fact the public, and more precisely the posthumous public, still and very properly call posterity. Its labor—or rather, in this case, its laziness—generally tends towards a reduction—actually, an erosion—of the title.⁵³

That Revelation's titles matured in length and spatial emphasis indicates a rather active and engaged group of readers and scribal craftspeople.

The Andrew of Caesarea Tradition

Moving on from the question of titles, the final series of paratexts examined in this context are those that belong to the Andrew commentary tradition, attributed to the archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea (563–614). Multiple interlocking components comprise the extensive apparatus of this tradition, a tradition that is central not only to Revelation's textual history (nearly one-third of Revelation's Greek manuscripts are accompanied by the commentary), but also its reception from the early seventh century onwards.⁵⁴ Although it is difficult to determine the form of the Andrew tradition as initially

⁵³ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 70.

⁵⁴ On Andrew's interpretative program and its importance for textual criticism, see Juan Hernández, Jr., 'The Relevance of Andrew of Caesarea for New Testament Textual Criticism', *JBL* 130 (2011), pp. 183–96; Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou, *Guiding to a Blessed End: Andrew of Caesarea and his Apocalypse Commentary in the Early Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press of America, 2013); Constantinou, *Andrew of Caesarea: Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press of America, 2011), pp. 3–42.

designed, its manuscript tradition can be defined as a paratextual expansion to the Apocalypse accompanied by a commentary (metatext) that takes different forms.⁵⁵

In order to explore the trappings of this tradition, it is advantageous to examine one exemplar in detail. This discussion analyses the features of GA 2059 (Vat. gr. 370), an eleventh-century (and therefore quite early) copy of the commentary.⁵⁶ The first leaf of this manuscript is crowned with a guideline comprised of a symmetric pattern of obelus glyphs, dotted crosses, and tildes. This pattern is not overly ostentatious and is a typical chirographic sign demarcating the start of a new work in a codex that contains multiple literary pieces. Already, even before coming to any text, the reader knows that something discontinuous from the preceding material is about to begin, especially considering that all preceding works in the manuscript belong to the corpus of pseudoDionysius the Areopagite.

This impression is confirmed by the appearance of a title that occurs after a blank section on the leaf. Under this title, the scribe originally began the dedicatory portion of the prologue ('on the Apocalypse, to my lord brother, and fellow servant'; *περι της αποκαλυψεως. Κυριω μου αδελφω και συλλειτουργω*) in an enlarged script. This aborted dedication is overwritten by a title of the Apocalypse in a minuscule script.⁵⁷ The rest of this leaf and the next four that follow it comprise a table of contents (*πίναξ*) containing the titles and numbers of the 72 Andrew chapters (*κεφάλαια*) and 24 sections (*λόγοι*), although this particular table is constructed somewhat haphazardly.⁵⁸ The table—the anchoring

⁵⁵ The boundary between metatext and paratext is fluid, defined in part by their formal structure in a particular document. Because the text of Andrew commentary is often discussed as a reservoir of reception, I focus on its other paratextual features. See Juan Hernández, Jr., 'Andrew of Caesarea and his Reading of Revelation: Catechesis and Paranesis', in J. Frey, J. A. Kelhoffer, and F. Tóth (eds.), *Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte – Konzepte – Rezeption* (WUNT 287; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), pp. 755–74.

⁵⁶ Cf. J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes: Teil 1. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia* (Munich: Zink, 1956), p. 11; Hoskier, *Concerning*, vol. 1, pp. 517–20.

⁵⁷ This overwritten title (*αποκαλυψις ιωαννου του θεολογου ην εν πατρω τη νησω εθεασατο*) is shared also by a number of other manuscripts (336 620 2084 2864). The dedication is also a paratext, assigning a level of responsibility to the dedicatee for the work; cf. Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 117–43.

⁵⁸ For example, the order of *kephalaia* number followed by title is occasionally inverted (e.g. *ιγ*) and the location of the *logoi* number is random. There is also a significant level of editorial activity in the table (cf. *ιβ*, *ιζ*, *κζ*, *λα*, *λγ*, *μ*, *οβ*). The 24 sections correspond to the 24 elders around the throne (Rev. 4:4)

point of the text segmentation system native to the Andrew commentary—represents a major paratextual development that domesticates Revelation's complex narrative texture into a symmetrical and symbolic system.

The titles themselves are primarily descriptive or summative, denoting the content of their domain.⁵⁹ For example, *kephalaion* 63 (Rev. 20:7–10) is entitled 'about Gog and Magog' (περι του γωγ και μαγωγ). The titles also, on occasion, explicitly preview Andrew's interpretation of a given segment. The title of *kephalaion* 17 (Rev. 6:9–11), 'Loosening the fifth seal, meaning the saints crying out to the Lord about the end of the world', is both descriptive and interpretative, pointing to the topic of the segment (opening of the seal) and the commentator's interpretative decisions (i.e. the retribution that those under the altar seek is eschatological judgement). Nonetheless, the overriding function of the titles is to identify a topic of its textual segment, a function that prejudices readers' approaches to the material. Even the benign title of *kephalaion* 63 is interpretative in its selectiveness, and it could equally be called 'about the final war' or 'about the Devil's judgement and eternal torment'. What Andrew highlights about each segment may not necessarily be its most germane topic to many readers. The table of contents closes with another graphic framing device of a series of dotted crosses, tildes, and obeli, denoting the close of the *πίναξ*. Overall, the symmetrical structure of the book preserved in the table, in combination with the terse intertitles, orders the book's complicated narrative texture.⁶⁰

The next leaf inaugurates another Andrew paratext: the Prologue. Following a series of inverted tildes, the overwritten dedication on the table of content's first leaf appears again, and the Prologue occupies the next two full leaves and four lines on a third. Its function is fourfold. First, it is a tribute to the anonymous patron who is addressed in the dedication and later called the

and their anthropological tripartite substance as body, soul, and spirit. The paratext is structured by the author's textual observation and anthropology. On the fluidity of tables of contents, cf. Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 317–18.

⁵⁹ See Metzger, *Text*, p. 23 for a general discussion of *τίτλοι* traditions.

⁶⁰ Hernández, 'Relevance', p. 187 points to the uneven deployment of the seven letters among three different *logoi* as an obfuscation (if not violation) of 'the natural divisions of the work'. However, *kephalaia* in Revelation and other biblical works often reflect ancient patterns of reading and text segmentation, regardless of how strange they appear to the modern eye. See also G. Coswell, 'Ancient Patterns of Reading: The Subdivisions of the Acts of the Apostles in Codex Sinaiticus', *JGRChJ* 7 (2010), pp. 68–97.

‘Blessed One’ (μακαριε).⁶¹ Second, Andrew identifies the author of the Apocalypse, calling him ‘John the Theologian’ (θεολογου ιωαννου), following many of the work’s titles. Third, the majority of the prologue is devoted to a philosophical and anthropological discussion of Andrew’s interpretative method, which corresponds to the three parts of a human—body, soul, and spirit—that map onto the literal, figurative, and analogical modes of interpretation. And finally, the Prologue quells issues associated with the book’s status as divinely inspired (θεοπνευστος), arguing that other authorities (Gregory, Cyril, Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius, and Hippolytus) have also vouched for its value.

Taken together, the Prologue legitimizes not only the Apocalypse as an inspired work, but also Andrew’s own interpretative endeavours. It is designed not to assist the reader in comprehending the Apocalypse, but the work as an aggregate of lemmata and comment. He dedicates the work to a patron and notes that many others have asked him to comment on the Apocalypse, implying that his interpretative acumen is well known. Moreover, his discussion of his interpretative method appeals to basic anthropological and philosophical conceptions (cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.2.4–9), insinuating that his method is inherent in the building blocks of the world, and by extension Scripture. The explicit discussion of these principles also guides perceptions of the interaction between text and commentary. The dual thrust of the Prologue ineradicably influences the reader by assuaging potential criticisms of Revelation or its commentary, working in tandem with the titular tradition by addressing issues that may give pause. Thus far the Andrew paratexts implicitly tame the commotion of Revelation and set it apart from other material in the codex. Their functions are coordinated to promote and accentuate the comprehensibility of the work.

Following the Prologue, the text of the Apocalypse proper begins, differentiated from the Prologue by a line of obeli and dotted crosses. Directly next to the stylistic *alpha* that opens the text, two paratextual markers are present that recur regularly (although not consistently) throughout the rest of the manuscript: a denotation of the first *kephalaion* (Χ^ε α) and a note indicating that the text is a scriptural segment (κειμ[ερον], ‘that which is laid down/received’; from a second hand). The text of Rev. 1:1 continues for nearly two complete lines, where it then changes to the

⁶¹ Constantinou, *Andrew*, pp. 16–18 identifies the dedicatee as Sergius I, the patriarch of Constantinople.

commentary. Beyond a punctuation mark (a high dot), no formal distinguishing features between text and commentary existed here in the original phase of production. A second hand later inserted an obelus between the last word of the text and the first of the commentary to note the shift, and this same scribe wrote *ερμειν[εια]* ('interpretation') in the left margin, noting explicitly the change to commentary.

The same situation occurs six lines from the bottom of the leaf, where there was originally no distinction between text and commentary. An obelus was inserted to note the change, and *κειμενον* was written in the left margin, accompanied by a series of diplai (>) marking the lines that contain lemmatic text.

Again, these distinguishing features appear to be secondary and are accompanied by two corrections in the final three lines by a second hand, a *diorthotes* that Schmid dates to the fifteenth century.⁶² This omnibus of paratexts (\mathfrak{Z}^e , *ερμειν*, *κειμενον*, diplai, obeli, and other symbols [e.g. the symbol at \mathfrak{Z}^e β])—some of which are native to the era of production, and some that are later interventions—continues throughout the manuscript, providing formal distinctions between text and commentary.⁶³ The producers of this manuscript cared to distinguish between the components of the Andrew tradition and the scriptural text by means of paratextual editorial symbols and procedures. In this way, paratexts are an essential aspect of the reading process and structure the ways in which the manuscript's textual segments are comprehended.

A number of other paratexts of this manuscript could be explored in more depth, but it will suffice here to articulate only a selection in brief. In addition to the cumbersome paratextual apparatus distinguishing text from commentary, the editorial intervention of a later hand creates paratexts unique to this copy, including copious corrections that present the reader with multiple options for comprehension. At a basic level, the paratexts of 2059 impinge on the very act of reading, and most exemplars witness editorial activity and corrections to one degree or another. Readers are not duty bound to read the corrected text, and the intervention introduces uncertainty and choice into the text at the basic level of its graphic signs.

⁶² Schmid, *Studien*, p. 11. Note also the multiple colophons on the final leaf.

⁶³ Even though the placement of these features is occasionally incorrect, noted also in Hoskier, *Concerning*, p. 517.

This second hand is also responsible for a marginal note at Rev. 9:11 that comments on the word *απολλυων*.⁶⁴ The text reads ‘Abaddon or the corruptor Apollyon [is] Samael who comes from heaven [against whom is sent] Christ ... with his army from God the almighty.’⁶⁵ The text in the margin ties the events of the fifth trumpet and its consequences (9:1–11) to other scenes of divine judgement, especially 19:11–16, where Jesus, identified as ‘King of Kings and Lord of Lords’, leads a heavenly army against the beast and its forces. The marginal note interprets the events of the sequence of trumpets in the light of the eventual conquest of the Lamb and the judgement of the ultimate hostile forces disposed of in 20:7–10. This note, which is the product of a reader, becomes a paratext that mediates the scriptural text for future users.

All of these paratexts, features characteristic of the Andrew tradition more broadly and those unique to this copy, offer insight into how paratexts constitute acts of reception and the ways in which reception is an ongoing process. First, the continual reminder of the formal structure of commentary—not only the *kephalaia* and *logoi*, but also the variation between commentary and text within them—intrinsically shift the way that readers link together the various segments that the tradition divides. These features function as border guards, demanding the separation between text and commentary, a distinction of which the initial hand of 2059 was ambivalent. These distinguishing features encourage the reader to engage the lemma and commentary as separate entities. Particularly through the use of *diplai*, the scriptural portion of the text is emphasized over and above the commentary through paratextual accentuation, disentangling metatext from text, emphasizing the mediating function of paratexts. The prologue and table of contents are also distinguished from other textual portions of the work by means of non-textual glyphs (*diplai*, tildes, etc.). Paratexts divide the constituent components of the manuscript into their own physical domains.

Second, when it comes to biblical manuscripts, there is an important diachronic dimension to paratextuality and a tendency for an exemplar to gather supplementary paratexts over time—a snowball of effects that are not easily cast aside. The inclusion of corrections, marginal comments, and segment distinguishers

⁶⁴ Cf. Schmid, *Studien*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ The Greek text is complete, but some words are difficult to decipher: *αβαδων ητοι φθορευς απολλυων [...] σμαηλ ο εκ των ουρανιων [...] χριστος [...] μετα της στρατιας αυτου απο θεου παντοκρατορος.*

centuries after the initial production of the manuscript indicates that various readers would have received and interpreted the linguistic substance of the artefact differently depending on their chronological locations in 2059's long production arc. Reading this manuscript is like excavating a tell that has accumulated layers of paratextual debris over time. The act of using a manuscript motivates the production of paratexts, epitomizing readers' attempts to comprehend and organize the substance of the text, placing layers of interpretation upon one another. This situation is not unlike modern library users who place marginal comments in borrowed books; it is just that the division between text and chirographic comment are more pronounced in the printed book, and that the scribbles in library copies are not usually incorporated into future editions (unless they can be traced to someone of note), although readers of that particular copy may be influenced by these scribbles. Or they may ignore them completely. Paratexts offer readers choices in the process of interpretation.

The growth of 2059's paratexts speaks not only to this particular object's social history and the reception of the Apocalypse, but also to a more general observation that reading, writing, and editing are not entirely discrete practices when it comes to the textual transmission of the Bible. Text and interpretation are integrally fused into an ongoing process of scriptural engagement.

Conclusion

The physical features of manuscripts and paratexts provide a mostly unincorporated body of evidence that impinges on multiple questions pertaining to biblical studies, especially in terms of reception history. Paratexts are an important category that, when taken together, allow critics to describe the various and sometimes conflicting ways that scriptural works have been transmitted. Textual transmission embodies the most tangible and direct expressions of reception and exegesis, especially when paratexts in an exemplar originate in diffuse periods. These paratextual chronolects offer direct insight into the growth of these traditions and developments in reading habits. Scribal intervention and paratextual convention are useful for more than dating a manuscript and identifying its underlying textual tradition, but also for comprehending the modes of engagement that defined its use. The diachrony and contextualized nature of paratexts is a feature that deserves more systematic study.

Another important feature of Revelation's paratexts is that they are almost always reliant upon the main text of the work. They are visually distinct in their location and form. Titles, for example, are often distinguished from the main text by means of physical distance, choice of script, ornamentation (either of the title or the initial letter of the main text), or deployment of glyphs. Paratexts create and maintain hierarchies of literary features. Likewise, the majority of interchanges between commentary and text in Andrew manuscripts are visually distinguishable through the placement of a number of features.⁶⁶ Paratexts are designed to aid in the comprehension of the text and the use of the manuscript. Their appeal and *raison d'être*, at least in terms of scriptural manuscripts, are their ability to elucidate the text and (to an extent) control the process of reading. The function of paratexts of biblical manuscripts differ from the paratexts of modern publishing, which are often oriented towards market demands and the desire to sell copies.⁶⁷

Finally, paratexts function as markers of genre awareness. The use of particular titular components (e.g. ἀποκάλυψις, ἐξήγησις, etc.) or the features of the commentary tradition immediately and subconsciously alert the reader to the type of work they have before them. As Genette notes: 'the genre contract is constituted, more or less consistently, by the whole of the paratext and, more broadly, by the relation between text and paratext; and the author's name obviously is part of it all'.⁶⁸ The sets of expectations created by the omnibus of a work's paratextuality deeply influence the approach of the reader, although readers are always free to push back against the structures created by paratexts or, indeed, create new ones.

Examining the paratexts of biblical manuscripts offers access to a work's reception, an exemplar's history of use, and the ways that a text was interpreted in a particular period by a given community. In this light, a work's textual history becomes more than a means of collating its variants or establishing its *Ausgangstext*, valuable though these critical activities are. It also functions as a way to trace the parallel history of Scripture and tradition across disciplinary boundaries, transcending exegesis, textual criticism,

⁶⁶ Although this is not always the case, e.g. GA 2062, where there is no formal distinction between commentary and text.

⁶⁷ Cf. Matthew Skelton, 'The Paratext of Everything: Constructing and Marketing H. G. Wells's *The Outline of History*', *Book History* 4 (2001), pp. 237–75.

⁶⁸ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 41.

textual production, redaction history, and reception history. Paratexts force critics to analyse the biblical text as a concrete entity and to grapple with the reality that the Bible is a mediated and material tradition, part of a wider arc of cultural change subject to the ideological and technological pressures of a given period. Paratexts disabuse the notion that the interpretation of a disembodied 'original text' is the pinnacle of biblical studies, and reorient scholars towards other valuable information that the manuscripts offer.

APPENDIX: TITLE COLLATIONS

Title	Witnesses
<i>Apocalypse</i> αποκαλυψις	627 2044 ^{arx} 2083 ^{arx} 249S
<i>Apocalypse of John</i>	
αποκαλυψις ιωαννου	01 ^{inscr} 386 ^{tel sub}
αποκαλυψεις ιωαννου	01 ^{sub}
αποκαλυψις ιωαννου	02 ^{sub} 2428 2919
<i>Apocalypse of John the Theologian</i> ιωαννου του θεολογου αποκαλυψις	93 ^{inscr} 314
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Theologian</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου	18 35 42 ^{sub} 93 ^{sub} 149 218 256 296 325 ^{sub} 367 368 386 ^{inscr} 456 468 ^{inscr} 517 ^{sub} 664 757 ^{tel sub} 808 1094 1424 ^{sub} 1678 1732 ^{tel sub} 1876 1893 1903 1948 2016 2020 2025 2038 ^{arx} 2076 2080 2138 2196 2200 2258 2323 2351
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου αποκαλυψις	2352 ^{vid} 2493 2672 2681 2814 2909 2926 2256 42 ^{inscr} 522 ^{tel}
<i>Apocalypse of St John</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου	2024
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Evangelist</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου	1611

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Title	Witnesses
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου ευαγγελιστου	82 ^{sub}
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle, John the Theologian</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου ιωαννου του θεολογου	469 632 2716
<i>Apocalypse of John the Holy Apostle and Evangelist</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου	468 ^{tel sub} 699 1746
<i>Apocalypse of John the Apostle and Evangelist</i>	
αποκαλυψις ιωαννου του αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου	046* 452 467 2021 2917 ^{inscr}
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Theologian and Evangelist</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου και ευαγγελιστου	919 1849 ^{sub} 2043 2057 2079
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου του θεολογου	2048 ^{sub}
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle John the Theologian and Evangelist</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου ιωαννου του θεολογου και ευαγγελιστου	385
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist</i>	
<i>John the Theologian, an explanation of the mysteries of God</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολο γου δηλωσις αυτη των θεου μυστηριων	2055 2064 2067
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολο γου	432 1064 1328 1384 1685 1732 ^{inscr} 1733 1740 1768 1771 1865 2051 2066 2723 2759

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Title	Witnesses
[Apocalypse] of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου	1828
Apocalypse of St John the Apostle and Evangelist (and) Theologian αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου θεολογου	757 ^{inscr} 824 986 1072 1075 1503 1551 1617 1637 1745 1864 2041 2431 2434 2656 2669 2821 ^{vid} 2824
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου και θεολογου	2554
Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian, the explanation of the hidden mysteries when the mind is illuminated αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου η των κρυπτων μυστηριων δηλωσις καταγαζιμενου του ηγεμοικου	1248
Apocalypse of St John, the Apostle and Evangelist and Theologian, which he saw on the island Patmos (Blessed be the Lord) αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου του θεολογου ην ιδεν εν πατμω τη νησω. Κε ευλογ.	2050
Apocalypse of the Holy and Honoured Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian, which he beheld on the island Patmos αποκαλυψις του αγιου και ενδοξου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου . ην εν πατμω τη νησω εβασατο	104 549

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(Continued)

Title	Witnesses
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Theologian, which he saw on the island Patmos</i> αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου ην ειδεν εν πατρω τη νησω	172 935 1734 1870
<i>Apocalypse of Jesus Christ given to John the Theologian</i> ησου χριστου αποκαλυψις δοθησα τω θεολογω ιωαννη	203 506
<i>Apocalypse of St John, the Beloved one and Theologian</i> αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του ηγαπημενου και θεολογου	2058
<i>Apocalypse of John the Theologian and Beloved Apostle</i> ιωαννου του θεολογου και ηγαπημενου αποστολου αποκαλυψις	2077
<i>Apocalypse of John the Theologian and Beloved One</i> ιωαννου του θεολογου και ηγαπημενου αποκαλυψις	91 1934
<i>Apocalypse of John the Theologian and Evangelist, which he saw on the island Patmos</i> αποκαλυψις ιωαννου του θεολογου και ευαγγελιστου ην εν ματρω τη νησω εθεασατο	922*
<i>Apocalypse of John the Theologian, which he saw on the island Patmos</i> αποκαλυψις ιωαννου του θεολογου ην εν πατρω τη νησω εθεασατο ιωαννου αποκαλυψις του θεολογου ην εν πατρω τη νησω εθεασατο Ιωαννου του θεολογου αποκαλυψις ην εν πατρω τη νησω εθεασατο	336 620 2059* 2084 2864 2018 250 424 616 1888
<i>Apocalypse of John the Theologian, which he saw on the island Patmos: assent to the purpose of the work</i>	

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(Continued)

Title	Witnesses
αποκαλύψις ιωαννου του θεολογου ην ιδεν εν τη νησω πατμου εις τ(ην) υποθ(εσιν) συγχωρεσον	2048 ^{discr}
<i>Apocalypse of the Virgin Evangelist and Theologian John</i>	
αποκαλύψις του ευαγγελιστου παρθενου και θεολογου ιωαννου	2027
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy and Praised Apostle John the Theologian</i>	
αποκαλύψις του αγιου και πανευφημου αποστολου ιωαννου του θεολογου	2078 2436
<i>Apocalypse of St John, Beloved and Virgin Evangelist and Theologian</i>	
αποκαλύψις του αγιου αποστολου φιλου γραπημενου και παρθενου ευαγ γελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου	2061
<i>The Apocalypse of the Honoured Evangelist, the one upon the breast, Dear, Virgin, Beloved by Christ, John the Theologian, Son of Salome and Zebedee and adopted son of the Mother of God Mary and a son of Thunder</i>	
η αποκαλύψις του πανενδοξου ευαγγελιστου, επιστηθιου, φιλου, παρθεν η αποκαλύψις του πανενδοξου ευαγγελιστου, επιστηθιου, φιλου, παρθεν	1775
<i>Apocalypse of the Evangelist Virgin Theologian, which has become an object of awe</i>	
ευαγγελιστου παρθενου θεολογου αποκαλύψις η σεβασμα πελει	582 1626*
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Evangelist and Theologian</i>	
αποκαλύψις του αγιου ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου και θεολογου	2625

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(Continued)

Title	Witnesses
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Evangelist and Praised Apostle Theologian</i> αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου και πανεψημου αποσ τολου θεολογου	2845
<i>The Apocalypse of St John the Apostle and Theologian</i> η αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του αποστολου και θεολογου	2201
<i>Introduction of the Apocalypse, which was given to him by an Angel</i> προομιμον της αποκαλυψεως και οτι δι' αγγελου αυτω δεδοται	91 ^{supra} 2625 ^{supra}
<i>Apocalypse, which makes known the hidden mysteries when the mind is illuminated,</i> <i>which he reported in a human way</i>	1503 ^{supra} 1617 ^{supra} 1637 ^{supra} 1745 ^{supra} 1746 ^{supra} 1771 ^{supra}
<i>Apocalypse of the Theologian</i> αποκαλυψις η των κρυπτων μυστηριων δηλωσις καταγαζομενου του ηγεμ οικου το εδωκεν ανθρωπωνωτερον	1795 ^{tel sub}
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Theologian, the Praised Apostle and Evangelist</i> αποκαλυψις του αγιου και πανεψημου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιω αννου του θεολογου	1849 ^{inscr} 2846
<i>The Apocalypse of the Beloved John</i> Ιωαννου του αγαπημενου αποκαλυψις	1859

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(Continued)

Title	Witnesses
<i>The Apocalypse of John the Theologian and Disciple of the Lord, which he saw on the island Patmos</i>	
η αποκαλυψις ιωαννου του θεολογου του μαθητου του κυριου. ην εν πατμω τη ηρσω εβαστο	1862 ^{sub}
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and the Theologian Evangelist</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου του θεολογου	2029
<i>Apocalypse of St John, Evangelist and Apostle, the Virgin Theologian</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου και ευαγγελιστου αποστολου ιωαννου παρθενου του θεολογου	2638
<i>Apocalypse of St John the Theologian which was revealed on the Island Patmos</i>	
αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου ην επεκαλυφθην εν τη νησω πατμω	2843
<i>Apocalypse of the Holy and Apostle John the Theologian</i>	
Αποβαλυψις του αγιου και ^{vid} αποστολου ιωαννου του θεολογου	2494

arx = titles that begin with ἀρχή ('beginning'); tel = subscriptions that begin with τέλος ('end'); inscr = inscription in manuscripts that have different inscriptions and subscriptions; sub = subscription in manuscripts that have different inscriptions and subscriptions; vid = unsure reading.