

Origen's Hexapla and Fragments

Edited by
ALISON SALVESEN

*Texte und Studien zum
Antiken Judentum*

58

Mohr Siebeck

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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Papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla,
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25th–3rd August 1994

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Preface

The Rich Seminar on the Hexapla took place in the summer of 1994 at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Yarnton Manor, Oxford.

Its conception occurred the previous year, when Professor Leonard Greenspoon was a visiting Fellow at the Hebrew Centre, and persuaded me, as one of the few people in Oxford currently involved in Septuagint studies, that we should organize a one day workshop on Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. This took place in May 1993, and about sixteen colleagues and students attended. It was an enjoyable and stimulating occasion, if rather inconclusive owing to the brevity of the seminar, and there was enough interest in the subject to encourage us to take it further.

The Rich Foundation, which has been sponsoring projects in higher education, had offered to fund a number of residential workshops at the Hebrew Centre. Leonard Greenspoon was keen to make the most of this opportunity, and persuaded me to become involved. The one-day seminar in 1993 had established that there was sufficient interest among scholars in the area. We therefore scheduled a workshop on the Hexapla for ten days in late July–early August 1994 around the theme of the desideratum of a new edition of all the Hexaplaric fragments: “A New ‘Field’ for the Twenty-First Century?” Leonard and I also invited Gerard Norton to join the steering committee at that stage.

One of the stipulations of the Board of the Rich Foundation was that the seminars should involve a good proportion of junior scholars as well as more established ones. So nearly half of our invited group consisted of those who were either still working on their dissertations or had recently completed them. This mix of senior and junior scholars turned out to be one of the great strengths of the seminar, and we all learned a good deal from each other, the specific focus of doctoral work being broadened by the experience of senior scholars. Participants came from Canada, the United States, Holland, Belgium, Germany (via Cambridge), Australia, Israel, Finland, Ireland, and Spain. A number of more locally-based speakers also joined us and presented essays, some of which are reproduced here. Those of Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge) on the Cairo Geniza fragments of Aquila, Philip Alexander (Oxford) in reply to Jay Treat’s essay,

and Tessa Rajak (Reading) on Josephus's sources represented previously published studies or aspects of work in progress, and are not included here. Lou Burnard of the Oxford University Computing Centre also gave a talk on data processing for the humanities.

In allocating topics for individual presentations, we worked around the basic structure of the Hexapla—i.e. column by column—but asked each person to speak on something related to his or her own expertise. Therefore at least one essay was given on each column, and a number on various related aspects of Origen's textual work. The essays were revised for publication in the light of subsequent discussion, which took place inside and outside the seminar room, and the facilities of the Bodleian Library were also put to good use.

In a nutshell, the overall consensus of the seminar was the desirability of a new collection and edition of Hexaplaric fragments, from all sources and witnesses, in a single corpus. To this end a loose association of the participants was formed, provisionally entitled "The Hexapla Working Group." Realistically, from the point of view of logistics and expense, the only possible way is to use computer technology and to produce an electronic database first. A sub-committee of the Hexapla Working Group was formed to consider computer matters, consisting of Geoff Jenkins, Jay Treat and Galen Marquis. It was decided to compile a database of material. As well as collecting new material it is hoped to bring together databases already in existence on one or other book. Books of the Greek canon have been allocated to interested individuals who are contributing to the electronic database.

This volume marks the more traditional side of our endeavours, the publication of the essays given at the seminar. A report was also given in July 1995 at the meeting of the IOSCS at Cambridge.

Owing to the number of essays and the frequent overlap in material discussed, bibliographical references are given in the form of author and short title. A unified bibliography appears at the end of the volume. Similarly, the list of sigla and abbreviations (pp. XII–XVI) attempts to cover most of those used in the various papers, though reference also needs to be made to more technical works such as A. Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis*.

Warm thanks are due to all the contributors, whose friendliness and co-operation during both the seminar and the publication process made the whole experience a very pleasant one for me personally. The Fellows and staff of the Hebrew Centre were most supportive in the running of the seminar. David Salvesen gave invaluable technical assistance, and Carol Smith and Gerard Norton provided practical help in the editorial process. Especial thanks are due to Daniel Bailey and Lawrence Lahey in Cambridge, who took over the final copy editing as well as the preparation of

camera-ready copy when domestic and other responsibilities prevented me from continuing with the task. Their carefulness and dedication have made an enormous difference to the presentation of this volume. Heather Baker did a fine job with the indexes.

Most of all, and on behalf of all the participants, I would like to thank the Rich Foundation who made possible both the seminar and this volume by their generous support.

Oxford, August 1997

Alison Salvesen

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Sigla and Abbreviations

Sigla, Manuscripts, and Printed Editions

α'	Aquila (third column of the Hexapla)
σ'	Symmachus (fourth column of the Hexapla)
ο'	οὐ ἑβδομήκοντα: the reading of the fifth (i.e. Septuagint) column of the Hexapla
θ'	Theodotion (sixth column of the Hexapla)
ε'	Quinta, i.e. the fifth Greek translation
ς'	Sexta, i.e. the sixth Greek translation
ζ'	Septima, i.e. the seventh Greek translation
λ'	οἱ λοιποί, “the remaining interpreters”
π'	οἱ πάντες, “all” the Greek versions
≈	“approximately similar” readings
⊗	Septuagint
<i>l., ll.</i>	Line or lines
x ^l , x ^m	Text and marginal readings
x ^{lxl} , x ^{mg}	Text and marginal readings
1°, 2°	First and second (etc.) occurrences of the given word within a single verse or line
※	Asterisk
÷	Obelus
◁	Metobelus
<i>L'</i>	Lucianic recension (including subgroups: $L' = L + l$)
ⲗ	ὁ Λουκιανός, the Lucianic/Antiochian recension
<i>O</i>	Origenic recension

C	Margolis's Constantinopolitan recension
E	Margolis's Egyptian recension
P	Margolis's Palestinian recension (discussed in this volume by L. J. Greenspoon): subgroup P ₁ = Sipilä's group a ; P ₂ = Sipilä's group b
S	Margolis's Syrian recension
Aq	Aquila (= α')
Ga	Gallican Psalter
Hier	Hieronymus (Jerome)
La	<i>Vetus Latina</i> (= OL)
LXX	Septuagint (= ο' or Ⓞ)
MT	Masoretic Text
OG	Old Greek (pre-Origenic text of the LXX)
OL	Old Latin (<i>Vetus Latina</i>)
On	<i>Onomasticon</i> (Eusebius)
On-g	Greek version of On
On-l	Latin version of On
SamPent	Samaritan Pentateuch
Syh	Syrohexapla
Syh ^L	Lagarde's edition of the Syrohexapla
Syh ^M	Masius's edition of the Syrohexapla
Sym	Symmachus (= σ')
Th	Theodotion (= θ')
Thdt	Theodoret of Cyrus
Theod	Materials attributed to θ' in Job
Vg	Vulgate
Compl	Complutensian Polyglot
B–McL	Brooke–McLean(–Thackeray), <i>The Old Testament in Greek</i> ("Cambridge" Septuagint)
Göttingen	Individual volumes from the "Göttingen" Septuagint (Septuaginta. <i>Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum</i>) are cited by editor and book. See the bibliography under Rahlfs, Wevers, and Ziegler.

- H-P Holmes-Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus*
- A-Z Selected uncial MSS of the Septuagint according to the sigla adopted (with slight variations) by Swete, Brooke and McLean, and Rahlfs, as listed in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, 338–39
- 13–2048 Additional MSS as listed in Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 340–72
- a-z Selected cursive MSS according to the sigla adopted by Brooke and McLean and listed in B–McL, *I/I Genesis*, p. vi (also summarized in Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 338). Note that B–McL *b* = Rahlfs 108

Periodicals, Reference Works, and Series

- AB Anchor Bible
- ABD *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman
- AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
- BA *Biblical Archaeologist*
- BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- BETL Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
- BHS *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
- Bib *Biblica*
- BIOSCS *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
- BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*
- CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CBQMS Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
- CChr Corpus Christianorum
- ConBOT Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament
- CSCO Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientaliū
- CSEL Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
- DBSup *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*
- DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert

HAL	Baumgartner et al., <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
H-R	Hatch and Redpath, <i>Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LSJ	Liddell–Scott–Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> (9th edition)
Mus	<i>Muséon</i>
n.s.	new series
NKZ	<i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OrChr	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBén	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
RE	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Sef	<i>Sefarad</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>

<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UPATS	University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

Part I
The Origenic Recension

The Origin and Purpose of the Fifth Column of the Hexapla

by

JOACHIM SCHAPER

Part I

This essay aims to elucidate both the origin of the text used in the Hexapla's fifth column and the purposes for which Origen compiled it. It seems advisable, therefore, first to evaluate Origen's work as a textual critic and only then to proceed to a detailed discussion of the fifth column.

First of all, it should be stressed that the Hexaplaric remains do not allow any conclusions concerning Origen's text-critical work. There is no complete, reliable witness to the actual textual shape of the Hexapla. Even with the manuscripts that have come to light since the publication of Field's monumental edition in 1875, scholarship is not able to reconstruct the overall shape of Origen's Hexapla. As we shall see, however, we are now in a better position than Field and his generation to understand the aims and methods governing Origen's work.¹ This is largely due to a more refined understanding of some of the key passages in Origen's commentaries and other writings. Therefore it is primarily to them that we shall turn, rather than the scanty evidence of the Hexaplaric remains.

The main texts in question are *Comm. in. Matt.* 15.14 (GCS 40: 387–88), *Ep. ad Afr.* 2–4 (SC 302: 522–26) and *Comm. in Os.* (SC 302: 336–41).² Let us start with the passage in the commentary on Matthew, which runs as follows:

τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν θεοῦ διδόντος εὐρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβδομήκοντα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων τὸ συνᾶδον ἐκεῖναις ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ τινα μὲν ὠβελίσσαμεν <ὡς> ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα (οὐ τολμήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντη

¹ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 86–87.

² Cf. *Philocalia*, ed. Robinson, 52–54.

περιελεῖν), τινὰ δὲ μετ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δῆλον ᾖ ὅτι μὴ κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος προσ>ῆται αὐτά, ᾧ δὲ προσκόπτει τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁ βούλεται (περὶ τῆς παραδοχῆς αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ) ποιήση.

(GCS 40: 388, *Comm. in Matt.* 15.14 on Matt 19:18)

Origen here describes his work as a textual critic of the Old Testament. The main objective of his endeavors is to “heal” the “dissonances” between the ἀντίγραφα of the Old Testament. The obvious question arising from the context of this remark is whether Origen refers to Hebrew or Greek ἀντίγραφα, or to both. This problem has been tackled with exemplary thoroughness by B. Neuschäfer.³ Origen states that in the case of divergent readings in Septuagint manuscripts he would base his decisions on a comparison with other Greek translations (λοιπαὶ ἐκδόσεις) and finally keep the reading consonant with “the other versions.” So Origen is here talking about Greek versions only. But then he goes on to describe his method of using the Aristarchian signs to point out the “pluses” and “minuses” of the thus established Greek text with regard to the Hebrew original. This would imply that Origen also, at some point during the process of textual criticism, adduced one or more Hebrew manuscripts which he considered authoritative.⁴ Therefore, the term ἀντίγραφα seems to include both Greek and Hebrew manuscripts.

The same is implied by Origen’s remarks on his way of using asterisks and obeli in *Ep. ad Afr.* 7 (SC 302: 530–32) and is most clearly brought out in *Ep. ad Afr.* 3 (SC 302: 524). Here Origen speaks of the numerous instances of quantitative differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts ἃ κατὰ τὴν μετριότητα ἡμῶν τοῖς ἑβραϊκοῖς συγκρίναντες ἀντιγράφοις τὰ ἡμέτερα πολλαχοῦ εὔρομεν “which we found in numerous places when comparing, according to our modest means, our [Greek texts] with the Hebrew texts.” Here is proof that Origen used the term ἀντίγραφα to refer to Greek and Hebrew manuscripts alike. This confirms Neuschäfer’s theory.⁵

It has been observed that Origen, in the famous statement in *Comm. in Matt.*, gives greater prominence to the Greek versions than to the Hebrew texts.⁶ This brings us to the question of what use Origen made of the Hebrew material available, and what degree of proficiency he had reached in that language. The statement in *Comm. in Matt.* is, at least in the opinion of the present author, fairly unambiguous: Origen’s aim is the creation of a

³ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 88–93.

⁴ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 92–93.

⁵ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 93–94.

⁶ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 94.

reliable Greek text based on the traditional Septuagint of the Church (for this is what the term οἱ Ἑβδομήκοντα refers to). A more detailed analysis of this problem will be proposed in Part III of this essay.

An important aspect of the process of establishing a reliable Greek text is the relatively marginal role assigned to the Hebrew text. The basis of the text-critical operation as such is a comparison of the Greek versions available, since the term τὸ συνᾶδον seems to refer to what is common to “the other versions” (αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐκδόσεις). Once this initial problem has been solved, the operation moves onto a higher plane, viz., that of determining the relation between the Hebrew and Greek texts. By the same token, however, it is stated that the Hebrew original only comes in at the latest stage of the text-critical process.

Origen’s statement in *Ep. ad Afr.* 3 concerning the comparison between the Greek and Hebrew texts seems to contradict our evaluation of the evidence in *Comm. in Matt.* But it should be kept in mind that the two accounts are by no means mutually exclusive. It is not difficult to see why: whereas Origen’s knowledge of Hebrew may have impressed his co-religionists, it was by no means extraordinary.⁷ Most probably Origen did consult Hebrew manuscripts, but merely to corroborate—and, if necessary, to correct—the impression he had received from the Greek textual evidence. Thus the Hebrew text only served as an ultimate instance of appeal, not as an ordinary research tool. The famous passage in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 6.16.1 needs to be pondered very carefully. Being driven by a great desire to explore the “divine words” (θεῖοι λόγοι), Origen felt compelled “to learn Hebrew and to acquire the Jewish writings in their original script” (ὥς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλώτταν ἐκμαθεῖν τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι). The passage simply affirms that Origen’s interest in the matter and his learning of the language were unusual in contemporary Christian circles. It tells us nothing, however, about Origen’s proficiency in Hebrew. In short, Eusebius’s account is not at variance with Origen’s own pronouncements on the matter.

We are left with an interesting preliminary evaluation of Origen as a textual critic. He seems to have been a very cautious, conservative man who tried to strike a balance between the Hebrew and Greek witnesses. Instead of opting for a full-scale critical enterprise including, if necessary, the excision of “unreliable” material, he decided to produce an “updated” Septuagint text, delineating at the same time where this revised text deviated from the traditional Greek Bible of the Church. He thus managed to remain faithful both to Christian tradition and to the rigorous demands of

⁷ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 95.

philology. Origen's critical decisions are based entirely on "outward" criteria (the other versions, the Hebrew text, etc.), never on criteria immanent to the text.⁸

This impression of a generally conservative outlook receives confirmation from some of the points made in Origen's commentary on Hosea.⁹ Origen admonishes his readers not to "correct" scripture and encourages them to search instead for the "hidden meaning" of the actual biblical text:

Inasmuch as the solecisms in Scripture, if literally taken, often confuse the reader, so that he suspects the text to be neither correct, nor in accord with propriety of reason; and this to such an extent, that some persons by way of correction, even venture to make alterations and substitute another meaning for that of the seemingly inconsistent passages before us; we are therefore bound to see what their hidden meaning is.¹⁰

Although this passage from Origen's writings concerns the hermeneutics of biblical interpretation rather than textual criticism, it complements our view of Origen's attitude to biblical texts. His "literalism" was much too pronounced to allow for any critical radicalism. Let us now see what light our investigation may shed on the origin and purpose of the fifth column of the Hexapla.

Part II

Of course, the central issue is whether the passage in *Comm. in Matt.* 15.14 refers to the fifth column at all. Does it depict Origen's method in establishing that column, or is it a reference to the work done on a *separate* edition of a critical Septuagint text? If the latter view were correct, the Hexapla would just represent the first stage in a greater enterprise. Its significance would be reduced to that of a pre-critical synopsis of biblical texts, to be used merely as a kind of manual. Several observations seem to point in this direction:

First, Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.16) never mentions the use of diacritical signs in the compilation of the fifth column.

Second, the only surviving manuscript which displays the actual column structure of the Hexapla, the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana palimpsest O 39 sup. discovered by Mercati, shows no trace of the use of diacritical signs.

Third, Epiphanius's claim that the Aristarchian signs *were* indeed used

⁸ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 98.

⁹ Cf. Robinson's edition of the *Philocalia*, 52–54, esp. 52.

¹⁰ Translation according to Lewis, *Philocalia*, 45.

in Origen's Hexapla seems unreliable.¹¹ It is unlikely that Epiphanius ever saw the original copy.¹²

Fourth, R. Devreesse has proposed another argument against the presence of diacritical signs in the fifth column. According to his theory, the passage in *Comm. in Matt.* can only be understood as a reference to a separate edition which is mirrored in the Codex Sarravianus, a codex that does indeed include asterisks and obeli.¹³ A similar theory was put forward by S. Jellicoe.¹⁴

Fifth, it is difficult for us to know whether a given Hexaplaric text of a biblical book or an isolated Hexaplaric reading reflects *Origen's* recension or that of Pamphilus and Eusebius.¹⁵ The same difficulty applies to the Mercati and other fragments of Hexapla editions. Elements of later recensions may have entered the Hexaplaric textual tradition and thus may have contaminated the Origenic material.¹⁶ This leads to an additional complication in our evaluation of the lack of diacritical signs in the manuscripts.

Some scholars have therefore concluded that the fifth column of the original Hexapla never included diacritical signs.¹⁷ From this it follows that the original fifth column cannot have contained Origen's *recension* of the ecclesiastical Septuagint, but simply a diplomatic edition of that text. It also follows, since Origen explicitly speaks of his recensional activity, that he must have referred to a *separate* recension of the Septuagint which has not come down to us as such.¹⁸ (According to some, the Codex Sarravianus may reflect that separate recension.)

P. Nautin has put forward several arguments against this kind of reasoning. Let us consider those points made by Nautin which are most relevant to the present argument. First, Nautin states that it must be kept in mind that the Syrohexapla does contain the Aristarchian signs and numerous colophons confirming that it is based on Origen's Hexapla.¹⁹ This is supposed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the original fifth column displayed diacritical signs. Their absence in the Mercati and Cambridge

¹¹ Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 7.3 (PG 43: 248A).

¹² Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origen es als Philologe*, 1: 97, and Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, GCS 31: 407.

¹³ Devreesse, *Introduction à l'histoire des manuscrits grecs*, 114 n. 4.

¹⁴ Cf. Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, 124.

¹⁵ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 86–87.

¹⁶ Cf. Ziegler, "Die hexaplarische Bearbeitung des griechischen Sirach," esp. 181.

¹⁷ Cf. Kahle, "The Greek Bible Manuscripts used by Origen," 116; Barthélemy, "Origène et le texte de l'AT," esp. 213–14 and 214 n. 69; and Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*, 113–15.

¹⁸ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 1: 97.

¹⁹ Cf. Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 456.

fragments is due to negligence on behalf of the copyists, a point brought out most clearly by Jerome's remark in *Ep. 106, 22, 55*:

Et hinc apud vos, et apud plerosque error exoritur, quod scriptorum negligentia, virgulis et asteriscis subtractis, distinctio universa confunditur (22).

[Q]uae signa dum per scriptorum negligentiam a plerisque quasi superflua relinquuntur, magnus in legendo error exoritur (55).²⁰

It is indeed easy to see why Christian copyists should have found it unnecessary to copy out the diacritical signs: their importance would have been obvious only to scholarly-minded individuals. (In passing, it should be noted that Nautin seems to be one of the few modern scholars—or possibly even the only one—to use this particular passage in his argument against the claims of Devreesse, Barthélemy and others. It seems to me to provide one of the most powerful objections against such claims.)

Second, Nautin analyses an interesting passage from Jerome's introduction to *Paralipomena*:

Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, ut unus dissentiens, statim caeteris inter se consentientibus arguatur; sed, quod majoris audaciae est, in Editione Septuaginta Theodotionis Editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quae minus ante fuerant, et virgulis quae ex superfluo videbantur apposita.²¹

Any adequate discussion of this passage will have to come to terms with the relation between *exemplaria quatuor editionum* on the one hand and *editio Septuaginta* on the other hand. As Nautin aptly points out, the term *editio Septuaginta* must not be understood as referring to a separate "edition" of the Septuagint. Rather, *editio* represents the Origenic term ἑκδοσις and therefore quite simply means "the Septuagint version"²² as opposed to the minor versions. Nautin fails to mention that his rendition of the term is confirmed by the use the word is put to earlier in the same passage. There it says: "Origenes...exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum." This could never have referred to a *compositio* of four *editions*, but only to a compilation (*compositio*) of the four *translations*. This interpretation is further corroborated by the fact that *exemplarium* can in this context only mean "copy," in the sense of "manuscript copy." The half-sentence in question should therefore be translated as follows: "Origen compiled copies of the four translations." The mention of the *editio Septuaginta* and the *Theodotionis editio* is therefore to be understood as a further clarification of

²⁰ *PL* 22: 844, 857. Cf. Nautin's discussion in *Origène*, 357, and *ibid.* n. 129.

²¹ *PL* 28: 1325.

²² Cf. Nautin, *Origène*, 456.

Origen's method in compiling the Septuagint and the three minor versions. Nautin addresses this aspect when he writes that

the two parts of the quoted passage do not concern two different pieces of work, but a single one which comprised two approaches: on the one hand, to bring together the four "editions" of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy and of Theodotion; on the other hand, to complete the version of the Seventy with the help of that of Theodotion and to provide it with obeli and asterisks. This second operation was not executed in a separate publication but in Origen's synopsis as the Syrohexapla attests it.²³

What follows from Nautin's arguments? First of all, the lack of references to diacritical signs in Eusebius and the actual lack of such signs in the Mercati and Genizah fragments have been exposed as overrated *argumenta e silentio*. This point was made by B. Neuschäfer with reference to the passages in Eusebius;²⁴ it holds true for the fragments as well.

Second, Epiphanius's statement in *De mens. et pond.* 7 (see above) has received unexpected support from the evidence adduced and the conclusions drawn by Nautin.

Third, it follows from Jerome's *Ep.* 106 and Nautin's arguments that Origen's remarks in *Comm. in Matt.* 15.14 and *Ep. ad Afr.* 3 must refer to his text-critical work on the fifth column of the Hexapla. This conclusion will therefore have to be the starting point for all further interpretation of the purpose of the fifth column.

Fourth, it must be stressed that it remains open, despite all the effort Nautin and others have expended on these matters, whether the Hexaplaric fragments reflect the actual work done by Origen on the fifth column, or just later recensions of that column produced by Pamphilus and Eusebius (see above). To the best of my knowledge, this problem has not received sufficient attention in modern scholarship.²⁵ This essential problem, however, does not bear upon the objective of the present essay, since we are virtually entirely dependent on Origen's own accounts of his work. We have been able to establish the link between these accounts and the fifth column, and all further discussion will depend on this link. Yet it remains a desideratum of research further to explore the relation between the Mercati and Genizah fragments and the original fifth column. An immensely complicated analysis of the textual history of the Hexapla and its mediaeval manuscript tradition will have to be undertaken in order to arrive at any reliable conclusions concerning these matters.

²³ Cf. Nautin, *Origène*, 456–57 (my translation).

²⁴ Cf. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 97.

²⁵ But cf. n. 15.

Part III

Let us summarize what we have so far established with regard to Origen's work on the Hexapla. First, we have demonstrated that his remarks on method in *Comm. in Matt.* and *Ep. ad Afr.* refer to his work on the fifth column, not to a separate recension. Second, it has become obvious that he did not just adduce Greek manuscripts, but also consulted one or more Hebrew manuscripts in the process of compiling the fifth column. Third, it is highly likely that, in spite of Origen's habit of adducing Hebrew texts, his actual knowledge of Hebrew was quite elementary. Fourth—and this ties in with our impression of Origen's proficiency in Hebrew—we observed that Origen on the whole gave much greater weight to the Greek than to the Hebrew manuscripts when he compiled the fifth column. In our discussion of Origen's work as a textual critic we stressed that it was essentially that of a conservative philologist who laid the greatest stress on the creation of a reliable Greek text. We shall now attempt further to amplify and substantiate the preliminary results offered earlier in this essay while attempting to arrive at a balanced evaluation of Origen's purpose in composing the fifth column of the Hexapla.

First, however, we shall have to address the question of the *origin* of that column. What is the origin of the text which Origen scrutinized and amplified when he compiled the fifth column? The problem with this question is that it can only be given a very vague answer. Once again, it is the relatively scanty manuscript evidence which accounts for this fact. A few things, however, can be said with relative certainty. Whereas the complicated history of the textual transmission of the Greek Bible in the early Church does not allow for *precise* conclusions, it can nevertheless be generally stated what kind of text Origen would have used as the *Grundtext* of the fifth column. E. Ulrich has demonstrated, with regard to the book of Daniel, that it must have been texts like the one reflected in Papyrus 967 which "Origen would have used as a basis for the 'o' [= LXX] column."²⁶ The text of Daniel given in Papyrus 967 seems to be close to that of the fifth column, but does not contain the changes which are reflected "in the single extant Greek witness to Origen's revised 'o' text, MS 88."²⁷ Should we therefore ask the question what Origen's *Grundtext* might have looked like, Ulrich advises us that "to envision the 'Septuagint' text which would have been available to Origen in the early third century one can study Codex Vaticanus or Papyrus 967. Both are codices containing all or many of the biblical books, inscribed in uncial

²⁶ Ulrich, "Origen's Old Testament Text," 12.

²⁷ Ulrich, "Origen's Old Testament Text," 12.

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