

Unknown Hexaplaric Readings of Ezekiel, Isaiah and Psalms, Offered by Apollinaris of Laodicea*

Reinhart Ceulemans

(Research Foundation Flanders, K. U. Leuven, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 bus 3318, BE-3000 Leuven;
Reinhart.Ceulemans@arts.kuleuven.be)

I. Introduction

Throughout the fragments of his (otherwise lost) exegetical writings that are preserved in *catenae*, Apollinaris of Laodicea (ca. 315–391) offered various Hexaplaric readings (*i.e.*, readings of α' , σ' and θ')¹. Many of them have escaped the attention of previous editors of Hexaplaric readings. To some extent this is due to the fact that modern scholarly (as well as earlier patristic) interest in Apollinaris is mainly directed towards his

* *Preliminary remarks:* (1) Bible verses are always identified on the basis of their position in the LXX corpus, not in the Hebrew Bible. (2) If applicable, Greek manuscripts are identified on the basis of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen's reference survey: The abbreviation Ra followed by a number refers to the corresponding entries in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, MSU 2, 1914 and/or its updated and expanded redaction by D. Fraenkel, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, Septuaginta, Supplementum 1/1, 2004. (3) For each of the *catenae* the present article quotes from, the respective editor's judgment is followed with respect to the attribution of the *scholia* in question to Apollinaris. In all of the block citations of catena fragments that are provided throughout the present article, italics have been used (against the edition from which is quoted) to identify biblical quotations. (4) The term »unknown« is used to characterize Hexaplaric readings that have escaped the attention of F. Field (see the reference in n. 3) and of the editors of the respective volumes in the Göttingen series (*Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum*, 1931–...). (5) All LXX quotations are taken from those Göttingen volumes. If necessary for the argument, the abbreviation OG is used to distinguish between the Old Greek text (as edited in those Göttingen volumes) and later LXX tradition. All MT citations rely on *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* ediderunt K. Elliger *et al.*, ⁵1997.

¹ The early condemnations Apollinaris and his followers have suffered from (from the year 377 onward), together of course with normal problems that are typical to the transmission of ancient writings, have resulted in the abolishment of the larger part of Apollinaris' bulky oeuvre, including his exegetical writings. It is only thanks to the *catenae*, the compilers of which often sacrificed considerations of orthodoxy in favor of content-related selection motives, that some fragments of this condemned Father's exegetical oeuvre have survived.

controversial Christological beliefs and not to his qualities as a textual critic of the Greek Bible. Other reasons are at least equally responsible for this neglect, such as the fact that the *catenae* in which some of those fragments can be found were not edited critically when the editions in question of Hexaplaric readings were prepared.

For example, the *scholia* of Apollinaris that can be found in the *catenae* on Psalms, as edited critically by E. Mühlenberg in 1975, yield twenty Hexaplaric readings of that biblical book offered by Apollinaris². Fourteen of them were already known to F. Field when he prepared his edition of Hexaplaric readings of Psalms (1875)³. In addition to those fourteen readings, Apollinaris' fragments contain six other readings for the book of Psalms that are new: Either they are completely unknown to Field⁴, or they shed new light on the already known Hexaplaric data, by constituting Greek evidence in addition to a Syriac reading⁵ or by offering an unknown attribution⁶.

Another, if not the main reason why some of the Hexaplaric readings offered by Apollinaris and preserved in the *catenae* have not been recorded in the relevant collections and editions, is that hitherto the *catenae* themselves in which some of those readings are to be looked for have not been consulted enough by textual critics of the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible. This observation is intended to be a stimulus for future editors (namely to pay enough attention to this corpus) and not so much as a reproach of the work of previous ones, who did not have important tools at their disposal. At present, consultation of all kinds of *catenae*

² E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, PTS 15, 1975, I, 3–118. Useful as this edition may be, one should remark with D. Hagedorn (in his review of Mühlenberg's edition, published in JAC 20 [1977], 198–202) that editing a catena as a collection is to be preferred over singling out the *scholia* identified as or ascribed to one particular Father in that catena.

³ *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplari, concinnavit, emendavit, et multis partibus auxit F. Field, 1875 (= 1964), II, 83–305.* The following readings offered by Apollinaris can be found identically in Field: Ps 49,21 θ' (34,9 Mühl.); Ps 72,7 α' (41,7–8 Mühl.); Ps 72,24 σ' (43,1 Mühl.); Ps 75,11 σ' (46,14–15 Mühl.); Ps 87,10 σ' (58,8–9 Mühl.); Ps 88,36 ϵ' (61,2–3 Mühl.); Ps 118,10 α' (85,1 Mühl.); Ps 118,122 $\alpha'\theta'$ (93,10–11 Mühl.); Ps 131,15 σ' (46,3 Mühl.); also assigned by Apollinaris to $\xi\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in 100,12 Mühl.). In the following cases the wording is somewhat different: Ps 9,8 α' (60,6 Mühl.); Ps 70,15 σ' (37,12 Mühl.); Ps 71,5 σ' (39,22 Mühl.); Ps 118,122 σ' (93,10 Mühl.); Ps 140,10 σ' (111,18 Mühl.). Observe that Field mentioned the name of Apollinaris only with respect to one of these fourteen readings, namely Ps 88,36 ϵ' .

⁴ Ps 77,1 σ' (49,13–14 Mühl.); Ps 118,27 α' (86,22 Mühl.); Ps 118,119 ϵ' (93,5 Mühl.).

⁵ Ps 118,27 σ' (86,22–23 Mühl.).

⁶ Ps 78,1 θ' (50,10 Mühl.); Ps 110,5 $\alpha'\sigma'$ (46, 4 Mühl.).

(and other Greek texts, of course) is much facilitated by the availability of modern reference works and of TLG and other search engines, which not all of the previous editors of Hexaplaric readings were able to use. As a consequence, today readings that were not noticed by a previous editor can be found even in *catenae* that were already available in a critical edition at the moment when that previous editor of Hexaplaric readings prepared his edition. That editor just did not bother to look for them in the *catenae* in question.

This has also happened with some Hexaplaric readings offered by Apollinaris and preserved in the *catenae*. It is to those readings the present article wishes to draw attention. Rather than focusing on *e.g.* those six abovementioned unknown Hexaplaric readings of Psalms that are offered by Apollinaris and preserved in the *catenae* on the same biblical book, this paper wishes to focus on other unknown readings quoted by Apollinaris, namely those that relate to a certain biblical book but are to be looked for in a catena on another book. It is to be expected that any scholar who prepares an edition of Hexaplaric readings of Psalms will consult the *catenae* on that book and that readings that are offered there will not escape his or her attention. It is not so certain, however, that the editor of *e.g.* the book of Ezekiel will also consult those *catenae* on Psalms. Nevertheless, he or she, too, will find interesting data there. Because Hexaplaric readings that are provided by Apollinaris and that have been preserved in *catenae* on another biblical book than the one to which the readings relate may possibly escape the attention of future editors of Hexaplaric readings (as they have escaped that of previous ones), the present article draws attention to some of such readings, in the hope that they stand a better chance of being noticed by future editors. This is also the reason why the present author believes it to be useful to signalize and discuss these readings in an article⁷.

⁷ The latter remark is prompted by the observation formulated by G. J. Norton, with regard to the question whether it is useful to signalize unedited Hexaplaric readings in an article such as the present one: »Hexaplaric material published since Field is often ignored because it is unwieldy, and hidden away in obscure series of journals« (G. J. Norton, *Collecting Data for a New Edition of the Fragments of the Hexapla*, in: M. K. H. Peters [ed.], *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Cambridge, 1995, SBLSCS 45, 1997, 251–262, 252–253). Norton is right: Whether an editor of Hexaplaric readings has to look for data in the huge corpus of Greek Christian literature or in that of modern secondary literature, it remains a daunting task.

II. Readings of Ezekiel in the *catenae* on Psalms

The first four of such unknown Hexaplaric readings offered by Apollinaris and preserved in *catenae* on a biblical book that is not the one to which those readings relate, are readings of Ezekiel that can be found in the *catenae* on Psalms (in the edition of Mühlenberg referred to above)⁸. None of them have been noticed by Field or J. Ziegler⁹. All four of them can be found in Apollinaris' explanation of Ps 78,1–3.

After having already offered a θ' reading for Ps 78,1 (see n. 6), Apollinaris twice quoted from the book of Ezekiel:

... ὅπερ ἐν ἀλώσει καὶ συντελεῖα πόλεως τε καὶ ἔθνους γίνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ δεδήλωται γινόμενον· τάδε γὰρ λέγει φησὶν κύριος Ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐκπετάσω τὸ ἐγχειρίδιόν μου ἐκ τοῦ κολεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσω ἐκ σοῦ, Ἀκύλας δίκαιον καὶ ἀσεβῆ, Ο καὶ ἐκκόψω ἐκ σοῦ δίκαιον καὶ ἀσεβῆ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀλληγορικώτερον προεῖρητο οὕτως· Ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ ἀνάπτω ἐν σοὶ πῦρ, καὶ καταφάγεται ἐν σοὶ πᾶν ξύλον, Ἀκύλας ὑγρόν, Ο καὶ πᾶν ξύλον ξηρόν¹⁰.

1) Ez 21,3 α' and ο' (MT Ez 21,8)

The first of both Ezekiel verses quoted by Apollinaris is 21,3, the opening phrase of one of the prophecies JHWH commanded Ezekiel to deliver to Israel.

The OG text as edited by Ziegler runs as follows: καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ Ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐκσπάσω τὸ ἐγχειρίδιόν μου ἐκ τοῦ κολεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσω ἐκ σοῦ ἄδικον καὶ ἄνομον – MT reads **ואמרת לאדמת ישראל כה אמר יהוה הנני אליך והוצאתי חרבי מתערה ורשע ואמרת ממך צדיק ורשע**¹¹.

⁸ See n. 2. As stated in the preliminary remarks of this article, the present author relies upon Mühlenberg with regard to the attribution of the fragments in question to Apollinaris.

⁹ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, II, 768–899 and *Ezechiel*. Edidit J. Ziegler. Mit einem Nachtrag von D. Fraenkel, *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum* 14/1, 2006.

¹⁰ Greek text copied from Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare*, I, 51, but punctuation changed by the present author (see below).

¹¹ The present author believes the α' reading (δίκαιον καὶ ἀσεβῆ) as well as the ο' reading (καὶ ἐκκόψω ἐκ σοῦ δίκαιον καὶ ἀσεβῆ) that Apollinaris provided to relate to the last words of Ez 21,3 and not to the first words of Ez 21,4 (which are almost identical to the ending of v. 3). This is hinted at by the reprise of καὶ in front of ἐκκόψω: This corresponds better to Ez 21,3 (והכרת) than to Ez 21,4 (אשר הכרת). Apollinaris' way of presenting the readings of Ez 21,3, differs from the one of Ez 20,47 (discussed below). In the latter case the α' reading is offered as a replacement of a part of the LXX quotation: The LXX text provided after the α' reading continues the biblical verse. In the present case, *i.e.*, the quotation of Ez 21,3 the ο' reading does not continue the verse after the α' reading, but takes it up again.

Apollinaris' specific formulation of the quotation (*i.e.*, only mentioning the name of α' towards the end of the citation) shows that he started by quoting LXX and that it is only when the name of α' is mentioned that this Hexaplaric version is cited¹². In other words, only the words $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ καὶ ἀσεβῆ were cited as the α' reading, which correspond to Hebrew **עַדִּיק וְרָשָׁע** (LXX: ἄδικον καὶ ἄνομον)¹³. This attribution is undoubtedly correct: A quick glance at translation equivalences in α' suffices to show that this reading (*i.e.*, $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ for **עַדִּיק** and ἀσεβής for **רָשָׁע**) match his profile perfectly¹⁴.

The α' reading is not the only unknown Hexaplaric information Apollinaris offered for Ez 21,3: He also ascribed some words to \omicron' . With this reference, he most likely referred to the text of the Hexapla's fifth column, distinguishing it from the LXX text he tended to quote elsewhere. In the case of an \omicron' quotation, for which one does not have translation equivalences to compare to, it is more difficult to assess the information offered by Apollinaris than in the case of α' . An evaluation of the \omicron' reading can be carried out by keeping in mind that the \omicron' text of Ezekiel, where it differs from the OG text, is likely to have depended to considerable extent on θ' ¹⁵, which unfortunately has not been preserved for this part of Ez 21,3. The observation that α' , to which θ' probably was quite similar, and \omicron' agree in reading $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ καὶ ἀσεβῆ could be seen as an argument in favor of reliability. Moreover, elsewhere these equivalences are attested specifically for θ' as well¹⁶. Furthermore, the replacement of $\omicron\omicron$ καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσω with καὶ ἐκκόψω for Hebrew **וְהִכְרַתְתִּי** could very well be reliable, as it is attested elsewhere¹⁷. In other words, just as the α' reading discussed above, the \omicron' reading καὶ ἐκκόψω ἐκ σοῦ $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ καὶ ἀσεβῆ as provided by Apollinaris appears to be reliable.

¹² For a similar (but not identical) way of Apollinaris to mix LXX and α' , see the discussion below of Isa 65,15–16a in his comment on Rom 11,11.

¹³ The LXX reading is remarkably different from MT. Although probably used in the sense of a merism and not intended literally, the expression **עַדִּיק וְרָשָׁע** was deemed problematic by the LXX translator on theological grounds and therefore avoided. An identically theologically correcting translation was coined by Jerome in his Vulgate translation and a similar one in the Targum.

¹⁴ See J. Reider (†) / N. Turner, *An Index to Aquila. Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew, With the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*, VTS 12, 1966, s.vv.

¹⁵ Cf. Ziegler, *Ezekiel*, 35.

¹⁶ For the equivalence $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ – **עַדִּיק** in θ' , see Job 17,9; Ps 7,10bis; 57,12; 74,11; Prov 10,31. For ἀσεβής – **רָשָׁע**, see *e.g.* Job 11,20; Prov 12,5 and 21,29 (as well as numerous other verses where the same equivalence is also ascribed to θ' , but not exclusively).

¹⁷ Two fine examples are Jud 6,26 and 28, where a similar Hebrew *Vorlage* (the same verb **כָּרַת**, albeit *qal* and not *hif'il* as in Ez 21,3) is translated as (ἐξ)ὀλεθρεύω in both the A and the B text of LXX, but where a reading with ἐκκόπτω is assigned to $\omicron'\theta'$.

However, comparison with the textual tradition of the LXX text of this verse would hint otherwise: None of the elements in the o' reading discussed above that differ from the OG text, can be found in the latter's tradition. The observation that an o' reading is not reflected in the witnesses to the O recension of the LXX text or even in witnesses to other recensions, is suspect¹⁸. How should this anomaly be explained? The only possible explanation the present author can think of, is the hypothesis that the witnesses to the LXX text refused to transmit a reading such as δίκαιον καὶ ἄσεβῆ, which could have been deemed problematic on theological grounds (*cf.* n. 13). This hypothesis, however, is not very convincing and it leaves the question unsolved as far as ἔκκλόψω is regarded. These critical observations being made, the present author still believes acceptance of the reading and attribution provided by Apollinaris to be the best solution, even though it is not reflected by LXX tradition. He cannot think of any other explanations that can reach a reasonable level of probability and satisfaction¹⁹.

The observation that Apollinaris quoted the o' text requires us to investigate whether the foregoing part of the citation of Ez 21,3 (*i.e.*, up to the point where α' is mentioned), which in the present discussion up to this point has silently been considered to be Apollinaris' version of the OG text, could also be o'²⁰. In order to answer this question, a short comment on Mühlenberg's edition of the fragment is needed.

Ez 21,3, the verse quoted by Apollinaris, opens with JHWH's commandment to the prophet, who needs to communicate JHWH's words, and therefore the verb ואמרת לאדמת ישראל כה אמר is used twice:

¹⁸ Admittedly, a glance through Ziegler, *Ezechiel* reveals some other cases in which a similar situation occurs (*i.e.*, the second apparatus contains a reading ascribed to o' or to oī o' which cannot be found in the edited OG text nor in the first apparatus), but they are not very convincing. The reading ascribed to o' by Ra 86 for Ez 7,16 could have resulted from an incorrect position of the index. This could perhaps also explain the oī o' reading provided by the same manuscript for Ez 21,4 (on this verse, see n. 20). The reading attributed to o' (again by Ra 86) in Ez 23,45 consists of a minor conjunction only (that moreover brings the OG further from the Hebrew text). Other o' readings, although not witnessed to by members of the O recension, can nonetheless be found in other manuscripts of the LXX text (Ez 1,4; 33,18*bis*).

¹⁹ Perhaps the second best option (although still far from being satisfying) would be to conjecture o' into θ'?

²⁰ As said earlier (see n. 11), the present author believes all of the citations in question to be taken from Ez 21,3 and not from Ez 21,4. This is hinted at by the reprise of καὶ in front of ἔκκλόψω: This corresponds better to Ez 21,3 (והכרת) than to Ez 21,4 (אשר-הכרת). Observe that the o' reading καὶ offered by Ra 86 (see Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, *app. II ad loc.*) for the beginning of Ez 21,4 is of no relevance to solving this issue, as it does not replace LXX ἀνθ' ὧν (which should have been present in Apollinaris' quotation if he was citing v. 4 instead of reiterating v. 3) but precedes it.

יהוה הנני. The OG text, however, only translates the first of both occurrences, omitting יהוה אמר כה, the introductory words of the speech Ezekiel is supposed to deliver and that identify JHWH as the intended speaker: καὶ ἔρεῖς πρὸς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κτλ. In virtually all of the witnesses to the LXX text one finds a plus²¹ after Ἰσραήλ that brings the Greek text closer to the Hebrew one: Most of those witnesses read τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, but variation is attested²². Most of the witnesses to the O recension, for example, read τάδε λέγει κύριος κύριος. One of that recension's manuscripts, Ra Q, identified that plus as an asterisked one, borrowed by Origen from θ'.

Mühlenberg edited Apollinaris' text as follows: ... ὅπερ ἐν ἀλώσει καὶ συντελεία πόλεως τε καὶ ἔθνους γίνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ δεδήλωται γινόμενον· τάδε γὰρ λέγει· Φησὶν κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κτλ. This punctuation (*i.e.*, a raised dot after λέγει) as well as the capitalization of the initial letter of φησὶν implies that Mühlenberg believed the biblical quotation to start with φησὶν and the words preceding it to be part of Apollinaris' introduction of the quotation²³. This is not correct: The words τάδε γὰρ λέγει belong to the biblical quotation, whereas φησὶν does not: It is that word that was used by Apollinaris to introduce Ezekiel's verse²⁴.

This conjecture of Mühlenberg's punctuation is of relevance to the question at hand, namely whether the first part of Apollinaris' quotation (*i.e.*, τάδε γὰρ λέγει [...] κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἐκπετάσω τὸ ἐγχειρίδιόν μου ἐκ τοῦ κολεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσω ἐκ σοῦ) reflects Apollinaris' OG text or that of ο': The opening words τάδε γὰρ λέγει κύριος are crucial to finding the answer²⁵. The observation that they partly match a plus witnessed to by the O recension seems to tip the balance in favor of identifying the entire quotation as ο'. This could be possible: Although Apollinaris' exact words τάδε γὰρ λέγει κύριος can already be found in the pre-Hexaplaric witness Ra 967 (in which it probably results from a pre-Hexaplaric alignment to the Hebrew text), they are also preserved in Ra 62 (as well as Ra 407), a representative of the

²¹ *I.e.*, a plus in comparison to the OG text (not to the Hebrew one).

²² See Ziegler, Ezechiel, *app. I ad loc.*

²³ In other words, Mühlenberg's text basically reads as follows (with italics representing the biblical text): τάδε γὰρ λέγει [sc. ὁ Ἰεζεκιήλ]: *Φησὶν κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κτλ.*

²⁴ Which means that in the present author's opinion the text should be understood and punctuated as follows: *Τάδε γὰρ λέγει φησὶν* [sc. ὁ Ἰεζεκιήλ] *κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ κτλ.*

²⁵ It goes without saying that the word γὰρ was used by Apollinaris to fit the quotation into his text and can be ignored in the present discussion.

final stage of the O recension behind which often α' is to be looked for²⁶. Consequently, it could very well be possible that Apollinaris' entire quotation reflects o'²⁷.

2) Ez 20,47 α' and o' (MT Ez 21,3)

The second of both Ezekiel verses quoted by Apollinaris in his exegesis of Ps 78,1 (cited above), is Ez 20,47.

The LXX text as edited by Ziegler runs as follows: καὶ ἔρεῖς τῶ δρυμῶ Ναγέβ Ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου Τάδε λέγει κύριος κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνάπτω ἐν σοὶ πῦρ, καὶ καταφάγεται ἐν σοὶ πᾶν ξύλον χλωρὸν καὶ πᾶν ξύλον ξηρόν, οὐ σβεσθήσεται ἡ φλόξ ἢ ἐξαφθεῖσα, καὶ κατακαυθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν πρόσωπον ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἕως βορρᾶ – MT has **וְאָמַרְתָּ לְיֶעֱרֵר הַנֶּגֶב שְׁמַע דְּבַר־יְהוָה כִּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הֲנִי מְצִיחַ־בְּךָ אֵשׁ וְאֹכְלָה בְּךָ כָּל־עֵץ־לַח וְכָל־עֵץ יִבֵּשׁ לֹא־תִכְתֹּב לְהַבִּחַ שְׁלֵהֲבַח וְנִצְרְבוּ־בָהּ כָּל־פְּנִים מִנֶּגֶב צְפוּנָה:**

Again Apollinaris quoted a part of the LXX text and interrupted it to provide an α' reading, after which he continued with citing the o' text. In contrast to the verse discussed in the previous section, Apollinaris here continued the quotation (see n. 11): *i.e.*, after the α' reading he did not reiterate the biblical text but continued the citation. In discussing these citations, the question the final part of the foregoing discussion dealt with is of no importance, namely whether the entire LXX text quoted by Apollinaris is either his version of the OG text or o'. For the part of Ez 20,47 quoted by Apollinaris, which corresponds to Hebrew **וְאָמַרְתָּ לְיֶעֱרֵר הַנֶּגֶב שְׁמַע דְּבַר־יְהוָה כִּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הֲנִי מְצִיחַ־בְּךָ אֵשׁ וְאֹכְלָה בְּךָ כָּל־עֵץ־לַח וְכָל־עֵץ יִבֵּשׁ**, the O recension is identical to the OG text.

Also with regard to the α' reading little can be said: For none of the occurrences of **לַח** (»still moist, still fresh«, HALOT s.v.), which occurs but six times in the Hebrew Bible, has any Hexaplaric reading been preserved that would have allowed comparison²⁸. One has no reason,

²⁶ Pace Ziegler, *Ezekiel*, 35.

²⁷ For the part of the verse in between κύριος and ἐκκόψω, the O recension does not differ substantially from the OG text, with which also Apollinaris' quotation is in agreement, apart from the reading ἐκπετάσω (*pro* OG ἐκσπάσω). This is a variant reading that can be found elsewhere as well (*cf.* Ziegler, *Ezekiel*, *app. I ad loc.*).

²⁸ For the root-related hapax **חֵץ** (»vital force, freshness«, HALOT s.v.) that occurs in Deut 34,7 (לחח), an α' reading has been provided by Ra 344, namely σιαγῶν αὐτοῦ, which shows that α' read the text as consisting of **חֵץ** (»chin, jawbone, cheek«, HALOT s.v.) with suffix. Other manuscripts, however, assigned this reading to οἱ λ'. See Deuteronomium. Edidit J. W. Wevers adiuvante U. Quast, *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* 3/2, 1977, *app. II ad loc.* and J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 30, 1995, 560 n. 8.

however, to doubt the reading with ὑγρός, a word for which no other occurrences in α' are known and that is close to the Hebrew text²⁹.

III. Readings of Isaiah and Psalms in the catenae on the Pauline Epistles

Those on Psalms are not the only *catenae* to have ascribed fragments to Apollinaris in which he quoted Hexaplaric readings for another biblical book than the one he was commenting on. The *catenae* on the Pauline Epistles contain several fragments of Apollinaris' lost commentary on Romans³⁰. At first sight those fragments would appear to be of no interest to textual critics of the versions of α', σ' and θ' and this is probably the reason why those scholars did not bother to consult them. Nevertheless, they contain several Hexaplaric readings of Isaiah and one of Psalms, all of which have escaped the attention of Field and (in the case of Isaiah) Ziegler³¹.

The fact that editors of Hexaplaric readings did not consult New Testament *catenae* is quite understandable. Nevertheless, the examples discussed below show that consultation of those exegetical chains is quite

²⁹ The same equivalence (*i.e.*, ὑγρός – חל) can also be found in Jud 16,7.8 (both A and B text). Of more relevance is the observation that *Venetus, Marcianus gr. 7* translated חל in Deut 34,7 (see the previous note) as τὸ ὑγρόν (*pace* Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum, ad loc.*). This manuscript's version, on which the version of α' has left a clear mark, can be adduced as indirect proof in support of the hypothesis that the equivalence ὑγρός – חל could have been used by α'. A recent study of this manuscript, with references to all necessary secondary literature, is that of D. De Crom, *The Book of Canticles in Codex Graecus Venetus 7*, in: N. de Lange / J. G. Krivoruchko / C. Boyd-Taylor (eds.), *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions*, TSMJ 23, 2009, 288–301.

³⁰ The fragments in question are edited by K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche. Aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, NTA 16, 1933 (= 1984), 57–82. For all of the fragments quoted and discussed below, the present author relies upon the edition and attribution to Apollinaris offered by Staab. It should be kept in mind, however, that for some of them, both edition and attribution rely upon a single manuscript (*Vaticanus gr. 762* = CPG C 160) and that in one case (*i.e.*, the fragment on Rom 9,33) the attribution of that manuscript to Apollinaris is contradicted by another witness (*Monacensis gr. 412* = CPG C 161), which attributes the fragment in question to Gennadius of Constantinople. (It is under that name and on the basis of that manuscript that this fragment can be found in *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum. IV: Catena in Sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos ad fidem codd. mss.* Edidit J. A. Cramer, 1844 [= 1967], 367.) This caveat notwithstanding, Staab's judgment is followed in all cases, in accordance with the methodological remark made above (see the preliminary remarks).

³¹ Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, II, 83–305 and 431–567 and *Isaias*. Edidit J. Ziegler, *Sepuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum* 14, 1939 (= 1983).

useful and that, at least in some cases, it is not so odd to encounter Hexaplaric readings in commentaries and *catenae* on New Testament books. After all, precisely as modern scholars often do, Greek authors sometimes observed that a certain New Testament citation of an Old Testament passage is closer to the version of α' (or another one) than to that of LXX³². This is what Apollinaris did in his comments on Rom 9,33 (quoted and discussed below) and Rom 11,8 (see n. 34): In both cases it was the citation of the Isaiah verse in question by Paul that prompted his quotation of a Hexaplaric version of that verse³³.

In the catena fragments of Apollinaris' commentary on Romans, two unknown Hexaplaric readings of Isaiah can be found and one of Psalms³⁴. All of them are discussed here.

1) Isa 8,13b–14a α'

Rom 9,33 contains an echo of parts of two verses from the book of Isaiah, namely Isa 8,14 and Isa 28,16. It is these parallels Apollinaris highlighted in his exegesis of the Pauline verse. Opening with the comment that the texts that were cited by Paul can be found intermitted in the book of Isaiah, Apollinaris continued by quoting both Old Testament verses. Of the first of them he thought it best to cite not the LXX version but that of α' , to which he wrote the reference in Rom 9,33 to be closer:

Κεῖται ἡ προκειμένη λέξις ἐν ταῖς Ἑσαίου προφητείαις διεσπαρμένως, οὐχ ὡς εἶρηται νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, συνηθροισμένως. περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν τῆς

³² Research on this topic tends to be carried out by New Testament specialists (rather than by LXX scholars) and has resulted in a bibliography that is far too extensive to be surveyed here. For a recent example, in which one of the specific cases of Apollinaris discussed below was noticed, see D.-A. Koch, *The Quotations of Isaiah 8,14 and 28,16 in Romans 9,33 and I Peter 2,6.8 as Test Case for Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, ZNW 201 (2010), 223–240.

³³ Obviously, Apollinaris is not the only Father to have made such observations: Several other examples can be found in patristic and Byzantine exegesis of New Testament passages, not all of them having been noticed by editors of Hexaplaric readings. For example: In his comment on Rom 10,21, a New Testament verse in which Isa 65,2 is quoted, Theodoret of Cyrrihus (PG 82,169C) offered an α' - σ' reading of that Isaiah verse. This reading ($\pi\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ἡμέραν for Hebrew כַּל־הַיּוֹם; LXX has ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν) has not been noticed by previous Hexaplaric editors. Further consultation of the corpus of patristic and Byzantine New Testament exegesis by editors of Hexaplaric readings is called for.

³⁴ In addition to those two unknown readings of Isaiah discussed in the present article, two other ones can be found, namely the readings of α' and σ' of Isa 29,10, which Apollinaris quoted in his exegesis of Rom 11,8 (Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, 72). Both readings were already known through other sources to Field as well as to Ziegler. Neither of them mentioned Apollinaris.

βίβλου γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τὴν Ἀκύλα ἢ συμπεφώνηκε καὶ ἡ ἀποστολική· αὐτὸς φόβημα ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θρόησις ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἀγίασμα καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος στερεὸν σκανδάλου³⁵.

Indeed, Apollinaris' comment contains the quotation of Isa 8,13b–14a in the version of α': ⁽¹³⁾αὐτὸς φόβημα ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θρόησις ὑμῶν ⁽¹⁴⁾καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἀγίασμα καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος στερεὸν σκανδάλου. The corresponding Hebrew text reads as follows: **וְהוּא מוֹרֵאכֶם** ⁽¹³⁾**לְמַכְשׁוֹל** ⁽¹⁴⁾**וְהוּא מְעַרְצְכֶם**: ⁽¹⁴⁾וְהָיָה לְמַקְדָּשׁ וּלְאֲבָן נֶגֶן וּלְצוּר מְכֻשׁוֹל. ⁽¹⁴⁾καὶ ἔαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθῶς ἦς, ἔσται σοι εἰς ἀγίασμα, καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι).

The only materials of this α' reading known to Field were provided by Ra Q: καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος, καὶ εἰς στερεὸν σκανδάλου (corresponding to **וְהוּא מוֹרֵאכֶם ... וּלְאֲבָן**)³⁶. In 1915, L. Lütkemann and A. Rahlfs were able to expand this α' reading, thanks to their discovery of Ra 710, which contains a wealth of Hexaplaric notes for Isa 1,1–16,4³⁷. This manuscript separately provided the α' readings καὶ αὐτὸς θροήσις ὑμῶν (for **וְהוּא מְעַרְצְכֶם** ~ LXX καὶ ἔαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθῶς ἦς, but *index mend. ad* LXX σου φόβος ~ **וְהוּא מוֹרֵאכֶם**) and καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἀγίασμα καὶ εἰς λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ εἰς στερεὸν σκάνδαλον (for **וְהוּא מְכֻשׁוֹל ... וְהָיָה**). It is those data (*i.e.*, those of Ra Q and Ra 710) that were gathered by Ziegler in the Hexaplaric apparatus to his edition of LXX Isaiah.

None of the editors mentioned in the previous paragraph were aware of the fact that Apollinaris had provided all of these readings, and even more. The α' reading he offered not only included all of the data that are present in both abovementioned LXX manuscripts, but also gave them as one unit³⁸ and expanded the reading. The words αὐτὸς φόβημα

³⁵ Text quoted from Staab, Pauluskommentare, 69. Observe that in the *Typus Monacensis* of the catena, this fragment is ascribed to Gennadius of Constantinople and not to Apollinaris: See above (n. 30).

³⁶ Field gave two different references to the same manuscript Ra Q: (1) »Cod. XII a Parsonsio« refers to the Hexaplaric appendix to the edition of LXX Isaiah by J. Holmes and R. Parsons (1827); in this edition, manuscript XII is the same manuscript as Ra Q; (2) »Curter.« denotes J. Curterius' edition (1580) of Procopius of Gaza's epitome on Isaiah; in this edition Curterius had also printed the LXX text of Isaiah and many Hexaplaric readings taken from Ra Q. For a useful overview of all of these editions, see A. Möhle, Ein neuer Fund zahlreicher Stücke aus den Jesaiaübersetzungen des Akylas, Symmachos und Theodotion. Probe eines neuen »Field«, ZAW 52 (1934), 176–183, 176–177.

³⁷ L. Lütkemann / A. Rahlfs, Hexaplarische Randnoten zu Isaias 1–16, aus einer Sinai-Handschrift herausgegeben, MSU 1/6, 1915, 71 (= 301).

³⁸ Whereas earlier they were only known separately. Apollinaris' testimony offers proof to the conjecture that the reading καὶ ἔσται κτλ. immediately follows καὶ αὐτὸς θρόησις ὑμῶν.

ύμῶν, which correspond to **הוא מוראכם**(1), were not only unknown up to the present but they also confirm Lütkemann and Rahlfs' decision to regard καὶ αὐτὸς θρόνησις ύμῶν as the equivalence of **והוא מערצכם** (and not of **והוא מוראכם**) against the index of Ra 710³⁹.

On the whole, the evidence offered by Apollinaris is certainly reliable⁴⁰. It confirms the attributions to α' one finds in Ra Q and Ra 710, which were approved by Lütkemann and Rahlfs⁴¹. It specifically agrees with Ra Q in reading στερεὸν σκανδάλου instead of Ra 710's *lectio facilior* στερεὸν σκάνδαλον⁴². The unknown part of the reading, αὐτὸς φόβημα ύμῶν for **הוא מוראכם** is reliable as well: α' is the only known Greek version of the Hebrew Bible to have used the word φόβημα, which always translates **מורא**⁴³.

2) Isa 65,15–16a α'

In his comment on Rom 11,11 Apollinaris quoted an α' reading of an Isaiah verse:

μετὰ πολλήν τε τοιαύτην ἀντιπαράθεσίν φησιν· καταλείψετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ύμῶν εἰς ὄρκον τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου, ύμᾶς δὲ ἀνελεῖ κύριος· τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσί μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα ἕτερον ὡς ὁ εὐλογημένος ἐν τῇ γῆ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐν θεῷ πεπιστωμένως, καὶ ὁ ὀμνύων ἐν τῇ γῆ ὀμόσει ἐν θεῷ πεπιστωμένως. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξένα τούτων τῶν ῥημάτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀκύλα ἕκδοσιν, ἣ Ἰουδαῖοι προσέχουσιν⁴⁴.

The Bible text that is quoted by Apollinaris is that of Isa 65,15–16a. The Hebrew text reads as follows: **והנהחם שמכם לשבועה לבחירי והמירי**(¹⁵) **אשר המתברך בארץ יתברך באלהי אמן** **אדני יהוה ולעבדיו יקרא שם אחר:**(¹⁶) **והנשב בארץ ישבע באלהי אמן**. The LXX text has (¹⁵)καταλείψετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ύμῶν εἰς πλησμονὴν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου, ύμᾶς δὲ ἀνελεῖ κύριος. τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινόν, (¹⁶)δ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· εὐλογήσουσιν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, καὶ οἱ ὀμνύοντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀμοῦνται τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν.

³⁹ The fact that Apollinaris' citation expands the evidence known to Field and Ziegler was also noticed recently by Koch, Quotations, 235 n. 33.

⁴⁰ At one point, though, the evidence of Ra Q and Ra 710 is preferable: The absence of their καὶ εἰς in Apollinaris' citation is incorrect, seeing the translation technique of α'. For another (succinct) discussion of some of the elements of the α' reading, see Koch, Quotations, 236–237.

⁴¹ Lütkemann / Rahlfs, Randnoten, 71 (= 301).

⁴² Cf. Lütkemann / Rahlfs, Randnoten, 71 (= 301).

⁴³ Cf. Reider / Turner, Index and E. Hatch / H. A. Redpath *et al.*, A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books), 21998, both s.v.

⁴⁴ Staab, Pauluskommentare, 73–74.

One notices that to a large extent (and especially in the first part of the citation, which is that of v. 15: καταλείψετε ... ἕτερον), the text quoted by Apollinaris agrees with that of LXX. Only from the words ὡς ὁ εὐλόγητος onwards (= v. 16a), the version quoted by Apollinaris departs significantly from the LXX version. This observation has to be interpreted in light of the description he used to identify the quotation, namely that only those parts of it that sound unfamiliar belong to α' (ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξένα τούτων τῶν ῥημάτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀκύλα ἔκδοσιν). In other words, he appears to have snuck some α' readings into a citation that basically is one of LXX. Therefore all words of this quotation's first part that are identical to LXX, should be regarded as belonging to LXX and not to α', even if some of them fit the profile of α'⁴⁵. This assumption is corroborated by the observation that various elements in the first half of the quotation that are identical to LXX are not compatible with what is known of translation technique and equivalences of α'⁴⁶ or even contradict the α' reading transmitted by other sources⁴⁷.

This caveat notwithstanding, even the first part of Apollinaris' citation (*i.e.*, of v. 15) is useful for retrieving readings of α'. In this part, two words differ from LXX and therefore can be identified as α': ὄρκον (LXX: πλησμονήν) and ἕτερον (LXX: καινόν)⁴⁸. The latter reading was

⁴⁵ Such as τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου for יְיָרִיבֵּל. As observed by *e.g.* P. Katz (and as can be deduced from Reider / Turner, *An Index*, s.v. ἐκλεκτός), α' preferred to translate several Hebrew roots involving the element בַּר with ἐκλέγω/ἐκλεκτός. D. De Crom, however, rightfully observed that »his most common rendering ἐκλέγω/ἐκλεκτός – √בַּר is very common already in LXX«. See P. Katz, *Frühe hebraisierende Rezensionen der Septuaginta und die Hexapla. Bemerkungen zu der Arbeit von G. Zuntz (ZAW 1956, 124–184)*, ZAW 69 (1957), 77–84, 83–84; D. De Crom, *The LXX Text of Canticles. A Descriptive Study in Hebrew-Greek Translation*, diss. doct., 2009, II, 389. Dative with article is one of the possible translations used by α' to render -בַּר: See K. Hyvärinen, *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*, ConB.OT 10, 1977, 47.

⁴⁶ The translation γάρ for -ו does not fit the profile of α': See Hyvärinen, *Übersetzung*, 52–53 on conjunctions in α'. Likewise, the presence of δὲ 1^o for -ו is somewhat suspect. This equivalence is attested in α', but α' is believed to have only used it with a strong adversative force, which is not the case here. *Cf.* J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila*, diss. doct., 1916, 25.

⁴⁷ When one compares the reading τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσί μοι κληθήσεται offered by Apollinaris to the one that is assigned to α' by Eusebius of Caesarea (*i.e.*, καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ καλέσει; see Ziegler, *Isaias, app. II ad loc.*), one notices that the latter fits the profile of α' far better. For example, he tended to use the noun δουλός to translate דַּבְּרָה, reserving the participle δουλεύων for its Hebrew counterpart דַּבְּרָה (see Reider / Turner, *Index*, s.vv. δουλεύειν and δουλός).

⁴⁸ A third difference between Apollinaris' citation of v. 15 and the LXX version can be ignored. The word μοι LXX: αὐτῷ; MT: וְיַעֲבֹדְךָ seems to be a secondary change made by Apollinaris and inspired by the context, in which JHWH is talking about himself in the third person.

already known through the evidence of Eusebius of Caesarea (and that of Ra 86). Also the former one, *i.e.* ὄρκον for רחא, has been provided by other sources, but none of them have attributed it exclusively to α'⁴⁹. Apollinaris is the only witness to have done this.

In the second part of Apollinaris' quotation, namely of Isa 65,16a (ὡς ... πεπιστωμένως 2°), the difference with the LXX text is much greater: One can assume that this entire part belongs to α'. This suspicion is confirmed by comparison with the evidence that was already known through other sources and recorded in the editions that are available today. Together, Eusebius' commentary on Isaiah⁵⁰ and Ra 86 had provided the reading Ϙ̄ Ϙ̄ <ὄ> εὐλογημένος ἐν [τῆ] γῆ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐν [τῶ] θεῶ πεπιστωμένως (for רחא 1° ... רשא)⁵¹. Partial support for this reading was provided by Jerome's commentary on Isaiah. Ra 86 moreover offered the α' reading πεπιστωμένως 2° for רחא 2°, which was not mentioned by Field.

To large extent, the version of v. 16a that is cited by Apollinaris (*i.e.*, ὡς ὁ εὐλογημένος ἐν τῆ γῆ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐν θεῶ πεπιστωμένως, καὶ ὁ ὀμνύων ἐν τῆ γῆ ὀμόσαι ἐν θεῶ πεπιστωμένως) and that is believed to be that of α' without any LXX elements, agrees with the data transmitted by Eusebius and Ra 86. Moreover, it confirms Ziegler's addition of the article in front of εὐλογημένος and omission of it in front of θεῶ 1° (both against the testimonies of Eusebius and Ra 86). Although at two points Apollinaris' testimony is or appears to be suspect since it contradicts usual expectations concerning the translation technique of α' (namely the presence of both articles in front of γῆ 1° and 2°⁵² and the

⁴⁹ See Ziegler, *Isaias, app. II ad loc.* On the variant reading κόρον, offered by Ra 86, see J. Ziegler, *Textkritische Notizen zu den jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen des Buches Isaias*, NGWG.PH Fachgruppe V. Nachrichten aus der Religionswissenschaft 1 (1936–1943), 75–102, 101.

⁵⁰ Field mentioned »*Procop.*« as the source, which is Procopius of Gaza's epitome on Isaiah. In fact, Procopius had taken these Hexaplaric readings from Eusebius' commentary, the nearly complete text of which (in direct tradition), was only discovered later. See A. Möhle, *Der Jesaiakommentar des Eusebios von Kaisareia fast vollständig wieder aufgefunden*, ZNW 33 (1934), 87–89.

⁵¹ This reading is copied from Ziegler, *Isaias, app. II ad loc.*: His diacritical signs have been retained. For variant readings in Eusebius' text and in Ra 86, see the same apparatus.

⁵² See also the proposed omission of τῆ 1° by Ziegler. On articulation in α', see Hyvärinen, *Übersetzung*, 31–36. Concerning these pages, a caveat should be articulated, which was brought to the present author's attention by A. Salvesen (private communication in Oxford on 11/02/2010). As the starting point for characterizing the translation technique of α' with respect to the article, Hyvärinen started from four texts, three of which are neither found in a fragment of the Hexapla nor assigned to α' (*i.e.*, the fragments of III–IV Kingdoms and Psalms preserved in *Cantabrigiensis, Bibliothecae universitatis T-S 12.184 et 20.50* and *Cantabrigiensis, Bibliothecae universitatis T-S 12.186, 187, et 188*). On the basis of their textual character, these three anonymous fragments are believed to be α'.

reading $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ⁵³), it also expands the data considerably: The reading $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\nu\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \gamma\eta\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ (for Hebrew והנשבע בארץ ישבע באלהי) was unknown up to the present. This new part of the reading is reliable: Both from a grammatical and a lexical point of view (e.g. $\acute{\omicron}\mu\nu\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu/\acute{\omicron}\mu\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ for שבע *nif 'al*) it agrees with what is known of the translation technique of α' .

In conclusion, for v. 16a, the α' reading that is provided by Apollinaris is more extensive than the materials that are recorded in the available editions. Field and Ziegler were aware of individual pieces only, which are presented in one continuous reading by Apollinaris, side by side with unknown materials. For v. 15, both α' readings snuck into a LXX quotation confirm already known readings.

3) Ps 39,6 α' (MT Ps 40,6)

The final unknown Hexaplaric reading offered by Apollinaris is one of Ps 39,6 and can be found in his exegesis of Rom 11,33–36:

$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \lambda\theta'\ \psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\Lambda}\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ⁵⁴.

This reading of Ps 39,6b corresponds to Hebrew $\text{ומחשבתיך אלינו אין ערך}$ (LXX has $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\omega\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$). It was not known to Field, who only was aware of a σ' reading, which is very similar to the one assigned to α' by Apollinaris: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. His sources for this reading were four in number: The Hexaplaric apparatus to the Sixtina edition⁵⁵; Eusebius of Caesarea's commentary on Psalms; catena manuscript Ra 1175⁵⁶ and the Syro-Hexapla⁵⁷.

Although this is probably correct, one should be aware of the fact that it can be dangerous to use them as a starting point to define the translation technique of α' . Such examples of circular reasoning surface more than once in Hyvärinen's work. More (and nuanced) work on articulation in α' would be welcome. Moreover, it has been observed by other scholars that manuscript tradition often added articles where the original α' would not have contained them. See Lütkekmann / Rahlfs, Randnoten, 112–115 (= 342–345) and J. Ziegler, Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta, NGWG.PH (1958), 45–235, 191–197 (also printed as a separate volume bearing the same title: MSU 6, 1958, 151–157).

⁵³ $\acute{\Omega}\varsigma$ with the article to translate אשר is not typical to α' , yet not without parallels: See Eccl 8,9 α' .

⁵⁴ Text cited from Staab, Pauluskommentare, 75.

⁵⁵ Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum, 1587. Although the Hexaplaric data for this edition were collected by Pierre Morin (Petrus Morinus), Field referred to it as »*Nobil[ius]*«. Flaminio Nobilius was the person who was responsible for the Hexaplaric apparatus to the bilingual (Greek and Latin) edition of Sixtina that appeared one year after the original one: Vetus Testamentum secundum

The great similarity between that σ' reading and the one ascribed to α' by Apollinaris makes one wonder whether the latter attribution is trustworthy⁵⁸. This impression is reinforced by the observation that three elements of the reading do not fit the profile of α' . Firstly, the double use of the article is not very typical to that version⁵⁹. Secondly, α' would probably have preferred to translate אֵלֵינוּ as πρὸς ὑμᾶς instead of ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν⁶⁰. Thirdly, the verb ἐκτίθημι does not occur in α' , who preferred to translate עָרַךְ otherwise. Then again, another element of the reading does match the profile of α' : οὐκ ἔστιν for יֵן אֵ is typical to it⁶¹. Moreover, the difference between the words διαλογισμούς, which is part of the σ' reading, and λογισμούς, which Apollinaris quoted as α' , could hint that his citation not just offers a variant attribution of an already known reading but instead an unknown α' reading, which to a large extent happens to be in agreement with that of σ' . As far as one can gain an insight into translation equivalences used by α' and σ' , it seems in fact quite probable that σ' had διαλογισμούς and α' λογισμούς for the plural form of מַחְשָׁבָה⁶².

LXX Latine redditum et ex autoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum. Additus est index dictionum et loquutionum hebraicarum, graecarum, latinorum, quarum observatio visa est non inutilis futura, 1588. The Hexaplaric apparatus in the latter edition is almost completely identical to that of Morinus. Field, although having consulted the original 1587 edition, systematically and erroneously used the name of Nobilius (instead of that of Morinus) to refer to it. The main reason for this confusion is the fact that Morinus' name is nowhere mentioned in the 1587 Sixtina editon, whereas Nobilius is identified as the Hexaplaric editor of the bilingual 1588 edition. A more extensive discussion of this topic, with references to secondary literature, can be found in R. Ceulemans, *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of the Book of Canticles, with Emphasis on their Reception in Greek Christian Exegesis*, diss. doct., 2009, 18–27.

⁵⁶ Referred to by Field as »*Vat.*«.

⁵⁷ The variant readings provided in some of the sources are not important to the argumentation at hand.

⁵⁸ This possibility is more likely than the assumption that the attribution to σ' , which is agreed upon by all four of the sources mentioned by Field, would be incorrect.

⁵⁹ See the references and reservations articulated above, n. 52.

⁶⁰ Cf. Hyvärinen, *Übersetzung*, 50. Ὑπὲρ with genitive for אֵל is attested only very weakly in α' , as can be deduced from Reider / Turner, *Index*, s.v.

⁶¹ See D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila. Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécapropheton trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat palestinien*, VT.S 10, 1963, 65–68 and *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae cura et studio I. Mercati editae. Pars prima: »Osservazioni«*. *Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplatari*, CEIBD 8, 1965, 25.

⁶² For attestations of the equivalence λογισμός/-οί – מַחְשָׁבָה in α' , see Isa 65,2 $\alpha'\theta'$; Jer 36,11 $\alpha'\theta'$ *sub ast.* (In addition, Field retroverted an α' reading from the Syro-Hexapla into λογισμῶν for the same Hebrew *Vorlage* in Jer 18,12. Note however, that retroversions are dangerous to be taken into account for a subtle difference as the one between

In sum, insofar as the reading attributed to α' by Apollinaris differs from the known σ' reading, it seems trustworthy. For its other parts, conflation with that σ' reading cannot be ruled out.

More than once, Apollinaris of Laodicea (4th century) offered a Hexaplaric reading of a certain biblical book in a commentary on another book. Those commentaries are lost, but fragments of them can be found in the *catenae*. Since they relate to another biblical book, those *catenae* have not been investigated by previous editors of Hexaplaric readings. Consequently, the readings offered by Apollinaris have escaped those editors' attention. The present article discusses four unknown readings of Ezekiel that can be found in the *catenae* on Psalms as well as two of Isaiah and one of Psalms that are preserved in the *catenae* on the Pauline Epistles. On the whole, most of this Hexaplaric evidence offered by Apollinaris is reliable. The readings are the following: Ez 20,47 (MT 21,3) α' and σ' ; 21,3 (MT 21,8) α' and σ' ; Isa 8,13b–14a α' ; 65,15–16a α' ; Ps 39,6 (MT 40,6) α' .

Les commentaires sur la Bible d'Apollinaire de Laodicée (IV^{ème} siècle) sont perdus, mais plusieurs fragments ont survécu dans les chaînes exégétiques. Il arrive quelques fois qu'Apollinaire cite des leçons hexaplaïres d'un livre biblique à l'occasion d'un commentaire sur un autre livre. Comme ces leçons hexaplaïres se retrouvent dès lors dans des chaînes qui ne concernent pas nécessairement le livre biblique auquel elles se rapportent, elles sont souvent passées inaperçues et n'ont pas été prises en compte par les éditeurs des collections hexaplaïres. Cet article signale et examine quatre leçons inconnues d'Ézéchiël qui se trouvent dans les chaînes sur les Psaumes, ainsi que deux leçons d'Isaïe et une des Psaumes qui sont conservées dans les chaînes sur les Épîtres de Paul. Dans tous ces cas, la plupart des données offertes par Apollinaire est digne de foi. Les leçons sont les suivantes: Ez 20,47 (TM 21,3) α' et σ' ; 21,3 (TM 21,8) α' et σ' ; Isa 8,13b–14a α' ; 65,15–16a α' ; Ps 39,6 (TM 40,6) α' .

In seinen biblischen Kommentaren hat Apollinaris von Laodizea (4. Jh.) bisweilen hexaplarische Lesarten zu anderen Büchern zitiert. Die Kommentare selbst sind zwar verloren gegangen, doch haben sich einige Fragmente mit entsprechenden Lesarten in den Ketten erhalten.

λογισμός and διαλογισμός, as is illustrated by the case of Jer 6,19, where Field's retroversion λογισμῶν was later proved to be wrong when a Greek source was found that reads διαλογισμῶν.) It is interesting to observe that the same equivalence (*i.e.*, λογισμός – מחשבה) can also be found several times in θ' *sub ast.* (Prov 15,22; 16,3; 20,18; 21,5), in Daniel θ' (11,24,25) and once in ζ' (Ps 32,10). On the other hand, only one case can be found where the noun διαλογισμοί is ascribed exclusively to α' for מחשבות, nl. Jer 6,19 α' . In other cases (*i.e.*, other verses for which the equivalence διαλογισμοί – מחשבות is attributed to α'), α' either shares the attribution with σ' (Isa 55,8 α' σ') or one finds a different Hebrew *Vorlage* (namely קח in Jud 5,15 α'). In sum, one could state with C. Taylor that α' used λογισμός to translate מחשבה: See Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection, Including a Fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm According to Origen's Hexapla. Edited by C. Taylor, 1900, 76. (Taylor's other claim, namely on the equivalence διαλογισμός – חשבון in α' , is unsubstantiated.) For σ' , the equivalence λογισμός – מחשבה is not attested, except in those cases where he shares the attribution with α' (Jer 18,18; 29,21). He in fact used διαλογισμός for מחשבה, as can be seen in Ps 55,6 σ' . Perhaps the clearest example to find confirmation, is Ps 91,6, where σ' translated מחשבתך as οἱ διαλογισμοί σου and α' as λογισμοί σου.

Da diese Katenen jeweils andere Bücher kommentieren als die, auf welche die hexaplarischen Lesarten sich beziehen, haben die Herausgeber des Alten Testaments diese Lesarten nicht herangezogen und sind sie folglich nicht nur F. Field, sondern auch den Göttinger Herausgebern entgangen. Der vorliegende Artikel untersucht vier unbekannte hexaplarische Lesarten zum Buch Ezechiel, die in der Katene zu den Psalmen erhalten sind, sowie zwei Lesarten zum Buch Jesaja und eine zu den Psalmen aus der Katene zu den Paulusbriefen: Ez 20,47 (MT 21,3) α' und \omicron' ; 21,3 (MT 21,8) α' und \omicron' ; Jes 8,13b–14a α' ; 65,15–16a α' ; Ps 39,6 (MT 40,6) α' . In allen diesen Fällen erweist sich das Zeugnis des Apollinaris als ziemlich zuverlässig.