

P.Grenf. 1.5, Origen, and the Scriptorium of Caesarea¹

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Abstract

P.Grenf. 1.5, a fragment from a papyrus codex with Ezekiel 5:12-6:3, is here put in its historical context. Since it was written close to Origen's own lifetime (185-254 CE), it provides early evidence about how he used critical signs in his editions of the Old Testament. It also sheds light on the work of the scriptorium of Caesarea half a century later.

P.Grenf. 1.5 — *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Origen's critical signs — Hexaplaric Texts and *P.Grenf.* 1.5 — The "Revised" Edition of the Bible — *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and the Codex Marchalianus (Q) — Critical Signs in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q — The Position of the Critical Signs in the "Revised" LXX Text — *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Origen's Work on the Bible — Conclusions

P.Grenf. 1.5 (= Bodl. MS. Gr. bibl. d. 4 (P) = Van Haelst 0314 = Rahlfs 0922) is a fragment from a papyrus codex containing a passage from Ezekiel (5:12-6:3). After its publication by Grenfell in 1896,² this papyrus has been included in the online repertoire of the Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt (PCE) at Macquarie University (section 24, item 332). However, to

¹I presented earlier versions of this paper at the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw, in July 2013, and at the SBL Annual Meeting, San Diego, in November 2014. I would like to thank all the attendees of the sessions for questions and comments. While writing the final version, I had helpful exchanges with Willy Clarysse and Peter Gentry, who also both provided very useful bibliographical references. In particular, during my visit at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in May 2015, Peter Gentry spent considerable time with me discussing many issues related to the Hexapla and its tradition. He also provided me with digital images of the Codex Chisianus 88 (Vat. Chigiani R. VII. 45), which I needed to inspect. I am very grateful to him for all his generous and valuable help. Jason Zurawski helped me with the Hebrew and Syriac. Lastly I would like to thank the anonymous readers for their constructive criticism and helpful suggestions. — For abbreviated references see the bibliography at the end.

²Grenfell 1896, 9-11. See Ziegler 1952, 36.

my knowledge no one has attempted to study this fragment within its historical context and compare it with other, similar manuscripts. This is the aim of this article, in which I would like to show that *P.Grenf. 1.5*, being very close to Origen's lifetime (185-254 CE), provides important evidence about how critical signs were used in Origen's edition of the Old Testament. This papyrus fragment also sheds some light on the work carried out in the scriptorium of Caesarea between the third and fourth century CE.

P.Grenf. 1.5

The fragment (14 cm wide and 10.7 cm high) belongs to the upper part of the page of the codex. The upper margin is preserved and is 1.7 cm high on both sides. As for the external margins of the original codex, the external (= right) margin of the *recto*³ at the widest point (l. 5) is 2 cm, while the external (= left) margin of the *verso* at the widest point (l. 5) is 2.3 cm, suggesting an average width of ca. 2.15 cm for the external margin. On the other hand, the internal (= left) margin of the *recto* is preserved at the widest point (ll. 2-4 and 10-13) at ca. 1.2 cm, while the internal (= right) margin of the *verso* is between 1 cm (l. 10) and 1.8 cm (l. 12), which indicates an average width of ca. 1.5 cm for the internal margin.

The page has one single column of text with an average of 24 or 25 letters per line. According to Turner, this page layout is typical of early Christian codices, while codices containing Greek prose literature tend to have more letters per line (an average of 40 letters per line).⁴ Most of Ezek. 5:15⁵ is missing because it was written in the lost lower part of the page; this verse might have occupied some four lines.⁶ We can thus reconstruct the original layout: since the fragment is ca. 14 cm wide and 10.7 cm high with a lacuna of four lines in the lower part, it is likely that this was a "square" codex of 14 x 14-15 cm, according to Turner's classification.⁷ This format is typical of codices of the third/fourth century CE; in fact, many codices of this size can be dated to the end of the third century CE at the latest.

³ I use the terms *recto/verso* as they are unambiguous in this case, since *P.Grenf. 1.5* is a codex. In addition, the *recto* is also the side written along the fibers and the *verso* is across the fibers.

⁴ Cf. Turner 1977, 85-87. The papyrus is classified as **OT 207** in Turner 1977, 183.

⁵ καὶ ἔση στενακτῆ καὶ δηλαστῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς κύκλω σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι με ἐσὶ κρίματα ἐν ἐκδικήσει θυμοῦ μου.

⁶ See below, p. 203.

⁷ Turner 1977, 21, and 24-25.

The dating of this papyrus is indeed crucial for discussing its relationship with Origen's work; unfortunately, as often happens with literary papyri and especially codices, which never have a datable documentary text on the back, dating can only be determined on paleographical grounds, and this is a notoriously slippery practice. *P.Grenf. 1.5* has ε with a protruding middle stroke and a straight back, α with a rounded loop (although sometimes it is more wedge-shaped); ο is small and circular, while θ is quite large and its middle stroke does not extend beyond the oval; σ is sometimes rounded and sometimes more narrow with a rather straight back; μ and ν are wide, and μ has a middle stroke written as a single curve, ν is Y-shaped, ψ has a very wide and almost flat cup, ω has a flat bottom without a definite division into two lobes. Bilinearity is generally preserved with the exception of ο, which floats above the line, and of υ, ρ, ψ, and sometimes τ, whose stems descend below the line with a slant to the left. The script belongs to the "formal mixed" (or "severe") style with a sloping hand (sometimes called "sloping oval style") according to the classification of Turner-Parsons; this style began in the second century CE and extended into the fourth or even fifth century CE.⁸ More precisely, according to a recent article on the paleography of New Testament papyri by Orsini-Clarysse, the letters of *P.Grenf. 1.5* find parallels both in the "severe style" (γ, ε, θ, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, σ, ω) and in the "sloping ogival majuscule" (α, π, ρ, σ, τ, θ, ψ); thus the script seems to belong to the "transition from the sloping severe style to the sloping ogival majuscule."⁹ Among the papyri that Orsini-Clarysse mention as typical of this "transitional" script, which develops in the late third to fourth centuries and runs through the fifth,¹⁰ *P.Grenf. 1.5* shows some similarities with *P.Oxy. 6.847*, *P.Berol. inv. 11765*, and *PSchoyen 1.20*,¹¹ all dated to the fourth century; yet the script of these papyri is much more bilinear and regular than the one in *P.Grenf. 1.5*. The script of *P.Grenf. 1.5* finds a much closer parallel in *P.Chester Beatty XI*, dated to the early fourth century; however, Cavallo-Maehler rightly point out that a similar script can also be found in the second half of the third century; for example, in *P.Berol. inv. 9766*, dated to the middle of the third

⁸ Turner-Parsons 1987, 22, give as examples **14** (Harris Homer Codex = *P.Brit.Lib. 126*, dated to the second half of the third century CE), **42** (= *P.Oxy. 11.1373*, dated to the fifth century CE), and **49** (= *P.Oxy. 34.2699*, dated to the fourth century CE).

⁹ Orsini-Clarysse 2012. In particular, the script of *P.Grenf. 1.5* finds parallels in scripts 4 (severe style), 5 (transitional phase from severe style to sloping ogival majuscule), and 6 (sloping ogival majuscule) in the comparative paleographical chart at the end of the article (Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 468). In the PCE at Macquarie University, on the other hand, the script of *P.Grenf. 1.5* is defined as a "sloping literary informal round hand."

¹⁰ Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 453-454.

¹¹ Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 457.

century.¹² Indeed, among papyri dated with certainty, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 shares similarities with *P.Ryl.* 1.57¹³ and especially *P.Flor.* 2.108 (e.g. α, ε, μ, ν, ο, ρ, σ, φ, ω, as well as the breaking of bilinearity and the sloping hand).¹⁴ Both papyri are from the Heroninus archive and the documents on their back date from shortly before or shortly after 260 CE. The literary texts on the *recto* of *P.Ryl.* 1.57 and *P.Flor.* 2.108 are thus dated to around 200 CE.¹⁵ These parallels suggest that the script of *P.Grenf.* 1.5, though transitional, is closer to the sloping severe style, which developed after 200 CE,¹⁶ rather than the sloping ogival majuscule, and therefore this does not exclude a late third-century dating for *P.Grenf.* 1.5.

As is clear from the above discussion, the paleographical comparison is far from decisive when it comes to a precise dating of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 – parallels simply point to the late third or fourth century CE. For example, Grenfell dated the fragment to the third or fourth century, with a preference for a later dating, but Wessely did not exclude the late third century. Orsini-Clarysse have now proposed 300-350 CE.¹⁷ On the basis of the early parallels mentioned above, I would suggest a late third/early fourth century date. I will come back to the dating of the papyrus at the end of my discussion of its context and its meaning.

Before analyzing the historical meaning of *P.Grenf.* 1.5, it is useful to first look at its content. For this purpose I offer a re-edition of the papyrus on the basis of a new collation I made in Oxford in summer 2011 and on subsequent examination of high-resolution digital images. The original to which Grenfell had access was probably better preserved, as I could not read some letters that he seems to have detected in the manuscript; now the ink is completely faded in many places. I have supplemented the text in square brackets when nothing was legible either because of faded ink or a gap in the papyrus; I have also put a dot underneath letters which were barely visible at the time of my inspection. I have compared the text to and added supplements from the Göttingen

¹² Cavallo-Maehler 1987, 10-11 (2b), who dated P.Berol. inv. 9766 at the end of the third century CE on the basis of the (false) identification (first proposed by Della Corte) of the scribe of this papyrus with the one of *P.Oxy.* 1.23, whose *terminus ante quem* is 295 CE, the consular date in the documentary text on the back. The most widely accepted dating for P.Berol. inv. 9766 is now the middle of the third century CE; cf. Seider 1970, 95; Haslam in *CPF* 1.1***, 80.96T, 491.

¹³ Roberts 1955, 22c.

¹⁴ Roberts 1955, 22a.

¹⁵ Cf. Roberts 1955, 22.

¹⁶ Orsini-Clarysse 2012, 456.

¹⁷ I would like to thank Willy Clarysse for sharing his and Orsini's unpublished research (from a paper they delivered at the Symposium Das Neue Testament und sein Text im 2. Jahrhundert, Dresden, 6 March 2015) and for discussing the dating of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 with me.

Septuaginta by Ziegler¹⁸ (Ω); in the apparatus I also record the readings of A (Codex Alexandrinus, fifth century CE)¹⁹ and B (Codex Vaticanus, fourth century CE),²⁰ among the most important manuscripts for the LXX.²¹

Recto

^{5:12}καὶ τὸ τέταρτον σου πεσοῦνται
ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ κύκλω σου καὶ τὸ
τέταρτον σου εἰς πᾶντα ἀνεμο(ν)
σκορπιῶν αὐτούς· καὶ μάχαιραν
5 ἔκκεν[ώ]σω [ὀπι]σώ α[ύ]των.^{5:13}καὶ
συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς
μου καὶ ἡ ὄργη ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, καὶ πα-
ρακληθήσομαι καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ
10 διότι [ἐγὼ] κ[ύριος] λέλάθηκα ἐν ζήλω
μου ἐν τῷ συντελεῖσαι με τὴν
ὄργην μου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς.^{5:14}καὶ θήσο-
μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * [καὶ εἰς ὄνει-
δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλω σου]
[καὶ τ]ὰς θυγατέρας σου [κύκλω σου]
15 [ἐνώπιον] παντός διοδεύοντος

1-4 καὶ τὸ τέταρτον σου πεσοῦνται | ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ κύκλω σου καὶ τὸ τέταρτον σου εἰς πάντα ἀνεμο(ν) | σκορπιῶν αὐτούς: καὶ τὸ τέταρτον σου εἰς πάντα ἀνεμο(ν) διασκορπιῶν (σκορπιῶν B, διασκορπιῶν A) αὐτούς· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται κύκλω σου Ω 7 ἡ ὄργη: ἡ ὄργη μου Ω 7-8 πα[ρακληθήσομαι] καὶ: om Ω 9 [ἐν ζήλω] with Ω: ἐν τῷ ζήλω A 12-13 [καὶ εἰς ὄνει]δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλω σου]: om. Ω 14 [κύκλω σου] with Ω, κυκλωσουσιν A*

¹⁸ Ziegler 1952, 108-109.

¹⁹ On the Codex Alexandrinus (Brit. Lib. Royal I. D. v-viii), see Rahlfs 1914, 114-116; Swete 1914, 125-126; Jellicoe 1968, 183-188; Metzger 1981, 86-87 (no. 18).

²⁰ On the Codex Vaticanus (Vat. Gr. 1209), see Rahlfs 1914, 258-260; Swete 1914, 126-128; Jellicoe 1968, 177-179; Metzger 1981, 74-75 (no. 13).

²¹ Another very important witness for this specific passage of Ezekiel is the Codex Marchalianus (Q), dating to the sixth century CE. I will provide a detailed comparison between *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and this latter manuscript below (see pp. 199-203). On the other hand, the famous papyrus codex known as Rahlfs 0967 (fragments are hosted in several collections: Cologne, Dublin, Madrid, Montserrat, and Princeton), dating to the second or third century CE, preserves a portion of Ezekiel (11:25-17:21, 19:12-39:29) that does not match the one contained in *P.Grenf.* 1.5. Thus, even if this is a very interesting witness for the text of Ezekiel, I will not use it in the present study.

Verso

ἐγὼ κ(ύριο)ς λελάληκα. ⁵¹⁶ ἐν τῷ ἐξαποστει-
 λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]ιού
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς [ἐ]κλι[ει]-
 ψιν. * ᾧ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρί-
 5 * ραι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λιμὸν συν[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ-
 [μᾶς καὶ] συντριψω στ[ή]ριγι[μα] ἀρ-
 [του σου.] ⁵¹⁷κα[ὶ] ἐξαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σέ λι-
 [μὸν κα]ὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ [τ]ειμω-
 [ρήσομ]αί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα
 10 [διελεύσοντ]αι ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομφαίαν
 [ἐπάξω ἐπὶ] σέ [κ]υκ[λ]ήθεν· ἐγὼ κ(ύριο)ς
 [λελάληκα. ^{61κ}αὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κ(ύριο)υ
 [πρὸς με λ]έγων. ⁶²οὐ ἐάν(θρώπ)ου, στήρι-
 [σον τὸ π]ρόσωπόν σου [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ᾶ] ὄρη|
 15 [Ι(σρα)ηλ ⁶³ἀκούσατε λόγον Ἀδ[ωναῖ]

1 ἐν τῷ Ω: καὶ ἐν τῷ Β 2 τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]ιού Ω: τοῦ θυμοῦ Α 3-4 [ἐ]κλι[ει]ψιν: ἐκλειψιν omnes: ἐξάλειψιν Corn. p. 207 (cf. Ziegler 1952, 109, app. ad loc.) 4 * above the alpha, as if inserted later 4-6 ᾧ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρί[ρ]αι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λιμὸν συν[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ[μᾶ]ς: om. Ω 5 λιμὸν: leg. λιμὸν 8-9 [τ]ειμω[ρ]ήσομ[α]ί: leg. [τ]ειμω[ρ]ήσομ[α]ί 14-15 [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ᾶ] ὄρη | [Ι(σρα)ηλ ἀκούσατε: ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ισραηλ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἔρεις τὰ ὄρη Ισραηλ, ἀκούσατε Ω 15 λόγον Ἀδ[ωναῖ]: λόγον κυρίου Ω

P.Grenf. 1.5 and Origen's Critical Signs

The text in the papyrus mostly follows Ω, but it shows an interesting agreement with the Codex Vaticanus (B) in the reading σκορπιῶ against Ω (διασκορπιῶ) and the Codex Alexandrinus (διασπερῶ) at Ezek. 5:12 (P.Grenf. 1.5, l. 4r). The most significant difference, however, is that the text in P.Grenf. 1.5 is longer than Ω, as the papyrus includes some additions to the text of the LXX. Even more interestingly, these additions are sometimes highlighted with *asteriskoi* within the text and in the margin. It is not clear whether the *asteriskoi* were written by the same hand as the main text. They seem to have been written by a finer stylus; yet, even if added at a second stage (including the one in line 4 of the verso, which was definitely added later, as it is placed in the interlinear space), the text was from the start intended to have *asteriskoi* in it. This is clear from line 12 of the recto (figure 1), where the *asteriskos* is placed within the text; in this case, the space was intentionally saved by the first scribe who wrote the text so as to allow for inserting the sign, which means that the original editorial product was meant to include *asteriskoi*.

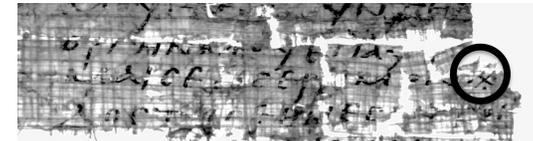


Figure 1: The *asteriskos* in line 12 of the recto of P.Grenf. 1.5 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. bib. d. 4 (P). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Asteriskoi in a text of the Bible unquestionably recall Origen's work on the Old Testament, as he himself explains in a passage from the *Commentary to Matthew* (ca. 249 CE):²²

Origen, *Comm. Mt.* 15.14 (387.27-388.24 Klostermann): νυνὶ δὲ δηλον ὅτι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸλμης τινῶν μοχηθρᾶς <εἴτε ἀπὸ ἀμελούντων> τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκούντων ἐν τῇ διορθώσει <ἢ> προσιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν θεοῦ διδόντος εὐρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίω χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβδομήκοντα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων τὸ συνᾶδον ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ τινὰ μὲν ἄβελίσσαμεν <ὡς> ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα (οὐ τολμήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντη περιελεῖν), τινὰ δὲ μετ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δηλον ἦ ὅτι μὴ κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν.

Now it is clear that among the manuscripts there was great discrepancy, [and for various reasons]: because of the carelessness of the scribes, or because of evil daring of some [copyists], or because of the correctors of the text already written down who did not care [to correct it properly], or because some added or took away whatever they decided when they were correcting it. Therefore with God's will, we contrived to fix the discrepancy in the manuscripts of the Old

²² For a general introduction on critical signs, see Gudeman 1922 and Stein 2007. On the relationship between the Alexandrian and the Origenian critical signs, see Schironi 2012.

Testament, using as a guiding principle the other editions. Judging what is in dispute in the Septuagint because of the discrepancy of the manuscripts we kept what the other editions agreed upon. And we marked with an obelos some passages because they were not present in the Hebrew version (not daring to delete them altogether), while we added other passages together with asteriskoi so that it was clear that they were not present in the Septuagint; we made these additions from the other editions which agree with the Hebrew Bible.²³

In adopting the critical *sigla* for his editorial work on the Bible, Origen, who was born and raised in Alexandria and was educated there as a *grammatikos*, was consciously going back to a tradition established by the Greek scholars working in the Alexandrian Library, as he himself clarifies in his *Letter to Africanus* (PG 11, 56B-57A: σημεία παρεθήκαμεν τοὺς καλουμένους παρ' Ἑλληνιστῶν ὀβελούς ... ὡς πάλιν ἀστερίσκους).²⁴ In Origen's system, however, the *obelos* and *asteriskos* have meanings different from the original Alexandrian signs, as they mark quantitative differences between two texts, the Hebrew Bible and the LXX. The *obelos* highlights what is present in the LXX and not in the Hebrew Bible, and the *asteriskos* what is absent in the LXX and present in the Hebrew Bible. As Origen himself explains in the above passage from the *Commentary to Matthew*, he compared different editions of the Bible in order to use these signs on the LXX (τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων) and added passages marked with *asteriskoi* to the LXX by taking them from other editions (i.e. translations) of the Bible (τινὰ δὲ μετ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν ... ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν).

²³ On this passage, see Neuschäfer 1987, 88-93; Grafton-Williams 2006, 125-126; Stein 2007, 145-147.

²⁴ The *obelos* and the *asteriskos* are the only critical signs discussed by Origen. He never mentions the other critical signs used for the OT, the *metobelos*, the *lemniskos*, or the *hypolemniskos*. While the *metobelos* is present in some later manuscripts (such as the codices Colberto-Sarravianus and the Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus; see below, pp. 207-208), only Epiphanius, who probably never saw the Hexapla (Neuschäfer 1987, 97), attributes the *lemniskos* and *hypolemniskos* to Origen (*De mens. pond.* 8 and 17). These two σημεία are then listed as Biblical critical signs in later compendia, but these works depend from Epiphanius (e.g. Isid. *Et.* 1.21.5; *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*, 249 Diekamp); cf. Stein 2007, 147-152. In addition, the *metobelos*, *lemniskos*, and *hypolemniskos* are not among the σημεία invented and used by the Alexandrian grammarians. The lack of evidence that Origen ever used these three signs should be taken into account when discussing the reliability of later manuscripts, such as the Syro-Hexaplaric ones, in preserving the "original" *sigla* used by Origen. See below, pp. 211-212.

The *asteriskoi* in P.Grenf. 1.5 thus connect this text with Origen's editorial activity on the Bible. A synoptic view of the text in P.Grenf. 1.5, the LXX, the Hebrew Bible, and its translation (tables 1-2, pp. 190-193) is useful for testing the possibility that our papyrus follows Origen's system in using critical signs in the LXX. The text has been divided according to the chapters of the Hebrew version.²⁵

P.Grenf. 1.5 agrees with the Hebrew Bible against the LXX in adding some phrases missing in the latter, which are marked in underlined bold in the synopsis:

- [καὶ πα]ρακληθήσομαι in Ezek. 5:13 (P.Grenf. 1.5, *recto*, ll. 7-8).
- [καὶ εἰς ὄνει]δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλω σου] in Ezek. 5:14 (P.Grenf. 1.5, *recto*, ll. 12-13).
- ἂ [ἀ]ποσ]τελω αὐτὰ δι[αφθ]εῖ[ραι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λεμῶν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ[μᾶ]ς in Ezek. 5:16 (P.Grenf. 1.5, *verso*, ll. 4-6).

The last addition in Ezek. 5:16 is marked in the papyrus with an *asteriskos* at the beginning (l. 4v) and one in the margin (l. 5v), while the end of the addition (l. 6v) is now in a lacuna, so it is impossible to know whether an *asteriskos* was placed there as well. Similarly, the addition to Ezek. 5:14 in the *recto*, lines 12-13, is marked by an *asteriskos* within the text at the beginning of it (l.12r), while the end of the addition (l. 13r) is now in a lacuna. Only the addition to Ezek. 5:13 in the *recto*, lines 7-8, is not marked by any sign, but its beginning falls in a lacuna ([καὶ πα]ρακληθήσομαι), so that we cannot exclude that at least an *asteriskos* was placed in lacuna at line 7 just before the addition, as happens at line 12. On the other hand, there is no *asteriskos* within line 8 to mark the end of the addition, which is fully preserved.

The agreement with the Hebrew version is not limited to additions. At Ezek. 5:12, P.Grenf. 1.5 follows the order of phrases of the Hebrew text (marked in underlined italics and underlined bold italics) rather than the order in the LXX. Yet, interestingly enough, while following the order of the Hebrew, the papyrus preserves the readings of the LXX ("one quarter shall fall by the sword around you; and one quarter I will scatter to every wind") and not the reading of the Hebrew text ("one third shall fall by the sword around you; and one third I will scatter to every wind").²⁶

²⁵ I would like to thank Jason Zurawski for helping me with the tables 1 and 2 and in particular with the Hebrew text in them.

²⁶ In the Hebrew text, at Ezek. 5:12 there are only three plagues (1. pestilence and famine; 2. sword; 3. wind), while in the LXX the first one (pestilence and famine) is

Table 1 (left): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 *recto*, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

<i>Recto of P.Grenf. 1.5</i>	LXX (Ziegler)
⁵¹² καὶ τ[ὸ τέτ]α[ρτόν] σου πεσοῦνται ἐν ῥο[μ]ῆ[ρα][i]α κύ[κλ]ω σου καὶ τὸ <u>τέταρτ[όν] σου εἰς πάντα ἀνεμο(ν)</u> <u>σκορπιῶ</u> αὐτούς· καὶ μάχαιραν 5 ἔκκεν[ώ]σω [ὀπ]ίσω α[ὐτ]ῶν.	⁵¹² τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν θανάτῳ ἀναλωθήσεται. καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου ἐν λιμῶ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μέσῳ σου. <u>καὶ τὸ τέταρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἀνεμον</u> <u>διασκορπιῶ</u> αὐτούς· καὶ τὸ <u>τέταρτόν σου ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ</u> πεσοῦνται κύκλω σου, καὶ μάχαιραν ἔκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.
⁵¹³ καὶ συντ[ε]λεσθήσ[ε]τ[αι] ο ἰθυμός μου καὶ ἡ ὀργή ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, <u>καὶ πα-</u> <u>ρακληθήσομαι</u> καὶ ἐπιγ[ν]ώση 10 διότι [ἐγώ] κ[ύριος] λελάληκα ἐν ζήλω μου ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι με τήν ὀργήν μου ἐπ' αὐτούς.	⁵¹³ καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμός μου καὶ ἡ ὀργή μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπιγνώση διότι ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα ἐν ζήλω μου ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι με τήν ὀργήν μου ἐπ' αὐτούς.
⁵¹⁴ καὶ θήσο- μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * <u>καὶ εἰς ὄνει-</u> <u>δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλω σου</u> 15 [<u>καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου</u>] [ἐνώπιον] ν παντός διοδ[ε]ύοντος	⁵¹⁴ καὶ θήσο- μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου ἐνώπιον παντός διεδεύοντος,

Another similarity between the papyrus and the Hebrew version occurs at Ezek. 6:3, where the papyrus has λόγγυ Ἀδ[ωναί] (the latter word is in bold) followed by a lacuna as the preserved portion of the fragment reaches its end, instead of λόγον κυρίου in the LXX. The reading of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 might have been λόγον Ἀδωναί κυρίου, which is a variant reading present in some manuscripts,²⁷ and which is the exact translation of the original Hebrew יהוה יְבִרֵךְ “the word of the Lord (i.e. *Adonai*) Yahweh.” Generally the Greek versions use κύριος to translate the tetragrammaton *YHWH* (Yahweh); sometimes, however, κύριος can also be used to translate the cluster *Adonai YHWH* in the Hebrew text.²⁸

turned into two different punishments, so that people are now divided into quarters, not thirds. On this discrepancy between the MT and the LXX, see Olley 2009, 264.

²⁷ Cf. Ziegler 1952, 109, app. ad loc.; manuscripts have both κυρίου Ἀδωναί and, more often, Ἀδωναί κυρίου.

²⁸ On the rendering of the name for God, and especially of the tetragrammaton, in the Greek Bible, see Cerfaux 1931a, Cerfaux 1931b; Jellicoe 1968, 270–272; Metzger 1981, 33–35 (with further bibliography).

Table 1 (right): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 *recto*, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

Hebrew Bible	Hebrew Bible Translation
שְׁלֹשֶׁת־דְּבָרִים יָמוּתוּ וּבָרֵעַב יָבֹלוּ בְּתוֹכָךְ וְהִשְׁלִיכְתָּ בְּחֶרֶב יָפֶלֶן סָבִיבוֹתְךָ וְהִשְׁלִישִׁית לְכָל־רִיחַ אֲזֵרֶת וְחָרַב אֲרִיק אַחֲרֵיהֶם	⁵¹² One third of you shall die of pestilence or be consumed by famine among you; <i>one third shall fall by</i> <i>the sword around you; and one third I will scatter to</i> <i>every wind</i> and will unsheathe the sword after them.
וְכֹלֵה אַפִּי וְהִנְחֹתִי חַמְתִּי בָם וְהִנְחַמְתִּי וִידְעוּ כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה דְּבַרְתִּי בְּמַקְנָתִי בְּכֹלֹתַי חַמְתִּי בָם	⁵¹³ My anger shall spend itself, and I will vent my fury on them and satisfy myself ; and they shall know that I, Yahweh, have spoken in my jealousy, when I spend my fury on them.
וְאֲחַנֶּה לְחֶרֶב וְלִחְרִיפָה בְּגוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר סָבִיבוֹתְךָ	⁵¹⁴ Moreover I will make you a desolation and an object of mocking among the nations around you , in the sight of all that pass by.
לְעֵינֵי כָל־עוֹבֵר	

The latter is the choice of the LXX in this specific passage (κυρίου, underlined in the table), while other manuscripts (and perhaps also *P.Grenf.* 1.5) have κύριος together with the sacred name *Adonai* as well, transliterated into Greek.

There is however one instance where the papyrus follows the LXX rather than the Hebrew version: in Ezek. 5:14, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 (l. 14r) follows the LXX in reading [καὶ τ]ὰς θυγατέρας σου [κύκλω σου] (in italics in the table) against the Hebrew text which omits the phrase. According to Origen's use, an *obelos* should be present in the margin, but a lacuna in the papyrus prevents us from confirming this.²⁹

²⁹ *P.Grenf.* 1.5, deviates from the LXX at Ezek. 6:2-3, since it has [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ὸ ὄρη] | [I(σρα)ηλ ἀκούσ]ατε (ll. 14-15v), whereas the LXX has ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ καὶ προσήψουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἐρείς τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ, ἀκούσατε. This is not, however, indication of a different text but rather a scribal mistake: in copying the text the scribe of the papyrus skipped from the first Ἰσραηλ to the second, omitting what was in between (an error which in technical terminology is called “saut du même au même”; cf. West 1973, 24).

Table 2 (left): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 verso, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

Verso of <i>P.Grenf.</i> 1.5	LXX (Ziegler)
	⁵¹⁵ και ἔση στενακτῆ και δηλαιστή ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς κύκλω σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι με ἐν σοὶ κρίματα ἐν ἐκδικήσει θυμοῦ μου·
ἐγὼ κ(ύριος) λελάληκα.	ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα.
λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]ιοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς και ἔσονται εἰς [ἐ]κλειψιν, * * * ἄ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ αὐτὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρ- 5 * ραι ὑμ[ᾶ]ς και λειμὸν συ[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὑ- [μᾶς και] συντριψω στ[ήριγ]μα ἄρ- [του σου.]	⁵¹⁶ ἐν τῷ ἐξαποστει- λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς και ἔσονται εἰς ἐκλειψιν, και συντριψω στήριγμα ἄρτου σου.
⁵¹⁷ και [ἐ]ξαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σὲ λι- [μὸν και] θηρία πονηρὰ και [τ]ειμω- [ρήσομ]αί σε, και θάνατος και αἷμα 10 [διελευσόντ]αι ἐπὶ σέ, και ῥομφαίαν [ἐπάξω ἐπὶ] σέ [κ]υκλ[ό]θεν· ἐγὼ κ(ύριος) [λελάληκα].	⁵¹⁷ και ἐξαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σὲ λι- μὸν και θηρία πονηρὰ και τιμω- ρήσομαι σε, και θάνατος και αἷμα διελευσονται ἐπὶ σέ, και ῥομφαίαν ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σὲ κυκλόθεν· ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα.
⁶¹ και ἐγένετο λόγος κ(υριου) [πρός με λ]έγων·	⁶¹ και ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρός με λέγων·
⁶² υἱὲ ἀν(θρώπ)ου, στήρι- [σον τὸ πρ]όσωπόν σου [ἐπ]ὶ τ[ᾶ] ὄρη 15 [(σρα)ηλ]	⁶² υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρι- σον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ισραηλ και προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ
⁶³ ἀκούσατε λόγον Ἄδ[ωνάι]	⁶³ και ἐρεῖς τὰ ὄρη Ισραηλ, ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος τοῖς ὄρεσι και τοῖς βουνοῖς και ταῖς φάραγμαῖς και ταῖς νάπαις ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ῥομφαίαν, και ἐξολεθρευθήσεται τὰ ὑψηλὰ ὑμῶν.

Table 2 (right): *P.Grenf.* 1.5 verso, LXX, and Hebrew Bible

Hebrew Bible	Hebrew Bible Translation
⁵¹⁵ והיתה חרפה וגדופה מוסר ומשמה לגוים אשר סביבותיך בעשותי בך שפטים באף ובחמה ובתכות חמה אני יהוה דברתי	⁵¹⁵ You shall be a mockery and a taunt, a warning and a horror, to the nations around you, when I execute judgments on you in anger and fury, and with furious punishments – I, Yahweh, have spoken –
בשלחי את־חצי הרעב הרעים בהם אשר היו למשחית אשר־אשלח אתהם לשתכם ורעב אפה עליכם ושברתי לכם מטה־לחם	⁵¹⁶ when I loose against you my deadly arrows of famine, arrows for destruction, which I will let loose to destroy you, and when I bring more and more famine upon you, and break your staff of bread.
⁵¹⁷ ושלחתי עליכם רעב וחיה רעה ושכלך ודבר ודם יעבר־יך וחרב מביא עליך אני יהוה דברתי	⁵¹⁷ I will send famine and wild animals against you, and they will rob you of your children; pestilence and bloodshed shall pass through you; and I will bring the sword upon you. I, Yahweh, have spoken.
ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר	⁶¹ The word of Yahweh came to me:
בְּאָדָם שֵׁים פִּנְךָ אֵלֶיהֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִנְבֵּא אֵלֵיהֶם	⁶² O mortal, set your face toward the mountains of Israel, and prophesy against them,
ואמרת הרי יִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁמְעוּ דְבַר־אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה כְּדַאמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הָרִים וְלִגְבֻעֹת לֵאפִיקִים וּלְנָאִית הַנְּנִי אֲנִי מֵבִיא עֲלֵיכֶם חֶרֶב וְאֲבִדְתִּי בְּמוֹתֵיכֶם	⁶³ and say, You mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord Yahweh! Thus says the Lord Yahweh to the mountains and the hills, to the ravines and the valleys: I, I myself will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your high places.

In summary, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 seems to include the Greek text of the LXX with additions of passages from the Hebrew Bible (absent from the LXX) taken over from other Greek translations of the original Hebrew. These additions are accompanied by *asteriskoi*, following Origen's system of critical signs. Yet the comparison with the Hebrew version seems to have been limited to marking out the "quantitative" differences between the two texts. The scribe does not seem to have been interested in noticing or incorporating different readings from the Hebrew Bible; this is proved by Ezek. 5:12, in which the scribe of the papyrus followed the sentence order but not the readings (i.e., "thirds" vs. "quarters") of the Hebrew text.³⁰

Hexaplaric Texts and P.Grenf. 1.5

The comparison of different versions of the Bible inevitably reminds us of Origen's *magnum opus*: the Hexapla. According to the most widely accepted opinion, Origen's Hexapla was an edition of the Bible in six synoptic columns in this order: the Hebrew Bible (Column 1), the Hebrew Bible transliterated into Greek letters (Column 2), the Greek translation by Aquila (Column 3), the Greek translation by Symmachus (Column 4), the LXX (Column 5), and the Greek translation by Theodotion (Column 6). The function and position of the critical signs and their relation to this synoptic edition are some of the many problems confronting modern scholars who attempt to reconstruct the original Hexapla. For some scholars³¹ the critical signs were placed in the Hexapla itself, in the fifth column where the LXX was written; other scholars,³² however, disagree and think that critical signs were placed in a self-standing text with the LXX only, not least because Origen never speaks of *obeloi* and *asteriskoi* in connection with the Hexapla.

The latter scenario seems to find support in later manuscript evidence. There are two "hexaplaric" manuscripts extant, that is, fragments of manuscripts that derive from copies of the synoptic edition prepared by Origen: the

³⁰ On the other hand, the presence of Ἀδωναί instead of κύριος in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 (l. 15v) at Ezek. 6:3 is not a question of variants but of different translation of the *nomen sacrum*.

³¹ Swete 1914, 70; Brock 1970, 215-216; Nautin 1977, 456-457; Metzger 1981, 38; Neuschäfer 1987, 96-98; Ulrich 1995, 556; Schaper 1998, 6-9 and 15; Law 2011, 16. Also Field 1875, whose edition of Hexaplaric fragments is still authoritative, has critical signs in his text.

³² Devreesse 1954, 113-116; Kahle 1960, 116; Jellicoe 1968, 123-124; Grafton-Williams 2006, 88, 108, 116-117.

Cairo Genizah Palimpsest, dating to the seventh century CE,³³ and the Mercati Palimpsest, dating to the ninth or tenth century CE.³⁴ Both manuscripts preserve fragments from the Psalms³⁵ synoptically arranged in columns and with a word or a short phrase (two or three words) per line. The ordering of the Biblical versions in the synopsis is similar in both manuscripts, but neither of them has what was supposedly the first column in the original Hexapla, that is, the Hebrew text of the Bible.³⁶ In both palimpsests the first preserved column has the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek letters; the second column has the translation by Aquila; the third column has the one by Symmachus, and the fourth has the LXX. While the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest has lost what might have been the last column, possibly containing Theodotion, the last column of the Mercati Palimpsest does not contain Theodotion but rather the so-called *Quinta*.³⁷ The Mercati Palimpsest is also different from the supposedly "original" Hexapla because each Hexaplaric Psalm is followed by its Septuagint version and a *catena* commenting on the Psalm. These two palimpsests are the most important extant evidence of the synoptic Hexapla and both agree on an important detail: the lack of critical signs in the LXX version of their synopsis.³⁸

³³ Cambridge, University Library Taylor-Schechter 12.182; see Taylor 1900, 1-50; on this palimpsest, see also Rahlfs 1914, 42; Nautin 1977, 308; Jenkins 1998, 90-102.

³⁴ Bibl. Ambr. O 39 sup.; see Mercati 1958; on this palimpsest, see also Rahlfs 1914, 130-131; Jellicoe 1968, 130-133; Nautin 1977, 302-305; Metzger 1981, 108-109 (no. 30).

³⁵ The Cairo Genizah Palimpsest preserves fragments of Psalm 22; the Mercati Palimpsest contains fragments from Psalms 17, 27-31, 34-35, 45, 48, and 88.

³⁶ The fact that none of the hexaplaric fragments (see also below, footnote 38) preserve traces of the first column with the original Hebrew text led Nautin 1977, 314-316, 320, to conclude that the Hebrew Bible in Hebrew characters was never present in the original Hexapla; such a view, however, has been recently dismissed by several scholars on the basis of the ancient sources discussing the Hexapla and codicological analyses of the hexaplaric manuscripts: see Ulrich 1992, 553-556; Flint 1998; Jenkins 1998; Norton 1998. In particular, Jenkins 1998 has shown that originally the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest did have the Hebrew column, which was cut when the original manuscript was re-used as a palimpsest.

³⁷ Cf. Mercati 1958, xvi, xix-xxv; Venetz 1974, 3-4. On the significance of this palimpsest, see Fernández Marcos 2000, 212-213.

³⁸ Minor hexaplaric fragments are found in two other codices: Bibl. Ambr. B 106 sup. (tenth century CE) has marginal notes added in the twelfth century CE and listing readings from the Hexapla, one of which has a synopsis including the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew and four other Greek translations, with no indication of their authorship (see Nautin 1977, 306-308); Barb. Gr. 549 (eighth century CE) quotes Hosea 11.1 in the following versions: Greek transliteration of the Hebrew, Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and Theodotion (see Nautin 1977, 304, 308-309). None of these fragments has the Hebrew version in Hebrew characters.

Instead, Origen's critical signs are used in other important manuscripts of the Greek Bible: the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (G), dating to the fourth or fifth century CE,³⁹ and the Codex Marchalianus (Q), dating to the sixth century CE.⁴⁰ Both codices contain Origen's signs and only one Greek text (the LXX); in other words, they are manuscripts of the Greek Bible, but they are *not* hexaplaric (i.e. synoptic) manuscripts. Origen's critical signs are also present in the Syro-Hexapla⁴¹ and in particular in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (eighth century CE), the most important witness for this Syriac version of the Bible, which again has only the Syriac text with critical signs and marginal annotations often listing hexaplaric readings.⁴² It is in these "monolingual" manuscripts that Origen's critical signs seem to be at home.

Indeed critical signs would have been useless in a synoptic text such as the Hexapla: a simple glance at the columns would have immediately shown the "quantitative" differences among the several versions. Rather, critical signs would have been necessary in a text where only the Greek version was written to highlight what was present in the LXX but absent in the Hebrew Bible (*obelos*), and what was present in the Hebrew Bible and in other Greek versions such as Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, but not in the LXX (*asteriskos*).

To sum up, the manuscripts reviewed here (*P.Grenf.* 1.5, the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, the Codex Marchalianus, the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest, the Mercati Palimpsest, and the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus) span from the second half of the third/early fourth century to the ninth/tenth century, and they can be divided into two categories according to their content:

- The "real" Hexaplaric text, a synoptic edition of the Bible organized in columns. Most probably there were six columns in this order: the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew Bible transliterated into Greek letters, Aquila, Symmachus, the LXX, and Theodotion. For some books of the Bible, however, other translations were used (and perhaps further columns added): the so-called *Quinta*,

³⁹ On the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (Leiden, University Library, Voss. Gr. Q. 8 + Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Gr. 17 + St. Petersburg, Public Library, Gr. 3), see Rahlfs 1914, 94-95; Swete 1914, 137-138; Jellicoe 1968, 194; Metzger 1981, 80-81 (no. 15).

⁴⁰ On the Codex Marchalianus (Vat. Gr. 2125), see Rahlfs 1914, 273; Swete 1914, 144-145; Jellicoe 1968, 201-202; Metzger 1981, 94-95 (no. 21). This codex contains only the prophets and has Hexaplaric readings and marginalia added by a second hand. Not all the books contained in the Codex Marchalianus have critical signs or readings from the Hexapla, though; for example, Baruch and Lamentations have almost none.

⁴¹ On the Syro-Hexapla, see Swete 1914, 112-114; Jellicoe 1968, 124-127; Law 2008; for more specific studies with a focus on the critical signs in the Syro-Hexapla, see Law 2011 and Gentry 2014.

⁴² *Bibl. Ambr.* C 313 inf.; see Ceriani 1874.

Sexta, and *Septima*.⁴³ The aim of this huge synoptic edition organized in columns with a word or a short phrase (two or three words) per line was to show different translations of the Bible and compare them with the Hebrew version. No critical signs were used because the "quantitative" differences among versions would have been immediately clear by a mere glance at the columns. Remnants of this type of text can be found in the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest and in the Mercati Palimpsest.

- A Greek text of the LXX, "enriched" with additional passages from the Hebrew Bible probably taken from one of the other Greek translations. This text included critical signs: the *obelos* for omissions in the Hebrew Bible compared with the LXX and the *asteriskos* for additions from the Hebrew Bible compared with the LXX. Remnants of this type of Greek-only Bible text can be found in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and in the Codices Colberto-Sarravianus and Marchalianus. Similarly, critical signs are preserved in Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts, such as the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus, which are based on Greek manuscripts derived from Origen's work.

The "Revised" Edition of the Bible

Since the manuscripts analyzed above all seem to prove that Origen's critical signs were used in monolingual editions, the peculiarity of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 lies in its dating (second half of the third century/first half of the fourth century CE), which places it very close to Origen's own lifetime (185-254 CE), much closer than any of the other manuscripts with critical signs. This allows us to draw some further conclusions.

Some scholars consider the Greek manuscripts carrying the LXX with critical signs (such as the Colberto-Sarravianus and the Marchalianus) as later abridgements of the original Hexapla. The Hexapla was not a reader-friendly text, and it probably invited abridgements from the very beginning, as interested readers would have had great problems in handling and consulting such a large-scale product in multiple volumes. The Colberto-Sarravianus and the Marchalianus, which also carries readings from the other Hexaplaric columns in its margins, may be later examples of such abridgments.⁴⁴ Scholars also suggest that such critically "revised" texts of the LXX had been prepared by Origen's admirer Pamphilus (ca. 240-310 CE) and by Pamphilus' famous pupil, Eusebius (ca. 260-340 CE).⁴⁵

⁴³ On these versions of the Bible, see Fernández Marcos 2000, 155-161.

⁴⁴ Cf. Fernández Marcos 2000, 210-211.

⁴⁵ Cf. Swete 1914, 76-78; Fernández Marcos 2000, 210.

The latter conclusion is suggested by the many *subscriptions* in LXX manuscripts which mention Pamphilus or Eusebius as the *diorthotai* of the Bible.⁴⁶ For example, Pamphilus is mentioned as the corrector in the *scriptio* at the end of Esther in the Codex Sinaiticus (8, middle of the fourth century CE),⁴⁷ while both Pamphilus and Eusebius are mentioned in some Greek and Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts as responsible for the *diorthosis*.⁴⁸ In particular, among the codices analyzed in this article, the subscription of the Codex Marchalianus at the beginning of Ezekiel is worth reporting:

Codex Marchalianus, p. 568: μετελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις Ἐξαπλῶν καὶ διορθώθη [sic]⁴⁹ ἀπὸ τῶν Ὁριγένους αὐτοῦ Τετραπλῶν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ διόρθωτο [sic] καὶ ἐσχολιογράφητο· ὅθεν Εὐσέβειος ἐγὼ | τὰ σχόλια παρέθηκα· Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβειος διορθώσαντο [sic].

It was copied from the Hexapla according to the editions and was corrected from Origen's own Tetrapla, which had been corrected and annotated by his hand. I, Eusebius, have added the scholia from this source. Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ For a study on these hexaplaric subscriptions, see Mercati 1941. Cf. also Nautin 1977, 322-325, and Grafton-Williams 2006, 184-185, 340-342 (footnotes 19-23).

⁴⁷ μετελήμφθη καὶ διορθώθη [sic] πρὸς τὰ Ἐξαπλᾶ | Ὁριγένους ὄν' αὐτοῦ διορθώμενα· Ἀντωνίνος | ὁμολογητῆς ἀντέλαβεν· | Πάμφιλος διόρθωσα [sic] τὸ | τεύχος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ [It was copied and corrected with reference to the Hexapla of Origen, as corrected by his own hand. Antoninus the confessor collated; I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in prison]. On this subscription (and another one at the end of Esdra) in the Sinaiticus, see Mercati 1941, 14-25.

⁴⁸ On the subscriptions in the Syro-Hexapla, see Mercati 1941, 2-6, 26-47; Jenkins 1991; Gentry 2014, 464-466.

⁴⁹ In these subscriptions διορθώθη / διόρθωτο / διορθώσαντο / διόρθωσα are consistently spelled without the temporal augment (unlike forms such as μετελήμφθη or ἐσχολιογράφητο, which have the syllabic augment) due to the loss of quantitative distinction between ο and ω; see Gignac 1981, 232-233.

⁵⁰ On the two subscriptions in the Codex Marchalianus (at the beginning of Isaiah, at pp. 171-172, and Ezekiel, reproduced above), see Mercati 1941, 7-13. Even though they are now placed at the openings of books rather than at their close, I use the term "subscriptions" because, as Peter Gentry kindly explained to me, these colophons were most likely written at the end of the books of Isaiah and Ezekiel in the manuscripts which the scribe of Q consulted; he however transcribed them at the beginning of the books to which they refer.

Pamphilus collected many books of Origen and founded a library where he trained many scribes, among them Eusebius, to copy Origen's works.⁵¹ The subscriptions in these later manuscripts copied from older exemplars are evidence for the work done on Origen's Bible by Pamphilus and his pupil Eusebius, who may have wanted to "summarize" their master's achievements in the Hexapla in a more compact text. In particular, codices like the Sinaiticus, whose eloquent subscription at the end of Esther says that it was corrected first from the original Hexapla by Origen and subsequently by Pamphilus, are most likely the product of Eusebius' scriptorium.⁵² Similarly, the Marchalianus with its hexaplaric readings could be a copy of an earlier text of the LXX prepared by Pamphilus and Eusebius summarizing the philological comparisons of the Hexapla. Yet *P.Grenf.* 1.5 seems to be different both from the elegant Sinaiticus and from the Marchalianus. Indeed a comparison between the papyrus and the latter manuscript can yield some interesting clues about the type of text preserved by the papyrus.

P.Grenf. 1.5 and the Codex Marchalianus (Q)

The Codex Marchalianus (Q) provides the most useful parallel to *P.Grenf.* 1.5, both because it has critical signs and because it overlaps with *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in preserving the same portion of text. Thus, it is possible to compare the two manuscripts synoptically (table 3, pp. 200-201).⁵³

This synopsis shows several important details. First, when *P.Grenf.* 1.5 departs from the text of the LXX, it almost always shares a reading (or an addition) with Q: the passages (in underlined bold) added to the original LXX, the sentence order of Ezek. 5:12 (in underlined italics and underlined bold

⁵¹ On Pamphilus' activity, see Levine 1975, 124-125; Grafton-Williams 2006, 178-194.

⁵² According to Skeat 1999, the Sinaiticus (together with the Vaticanus) were part of an order of fifty Bibles that the emperor Constantine had made to Eusebius and his scriptorium. See also Grafton-Williams 2006, 216-221.

⁵³ The text of the Codex Marchalianus is based on the reproduction of Cozza-Luzi 1890. The Codex Chisianus 88 (Vat. Chigiani R. VII. 45; cf. Rahlfs 1914, 278-280) also contains Ezekiel and has critical signs. However, my inspection of the relevant portion overlapping with *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q has shown that this manuscript, which is much later (tenth century CE), preserves Origen's signs in a less accurate and precise way (at one point the *asterisks* is even placed in the middle of a word, τὸ τέτα * πρὸν in Ezek. 5:12). Even if it does not provide meaningful data to compare with *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q, nonetheless the Codex Chisianus 88 shows many similarities with the latter, thus suggesting that it belongs to the same tradition (see below, footnote 66).

Table 3 (left): *P.Grenf.* 1.5, Codex Marchalianus, and LXX

<i>P.Grenf.</i> 1.5	Cod Marchalianus (Q), p. 583-584
<i>Recto</i>	
⁵¹² <u>καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου πεσοῦνται ἐν ῥο[μ]φ[α]ί[μ]α κύκλω σου καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμο(ν) σκορπιῶ αὐτοῦς</u> καὶ μάχισαν] ἔκκεν[ω]σω [ὀπ]ίσω α[ὐ]τ[ῶ]ν. ⁵¹³ καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς μου καὶ ἡ ὄργη ἐπ' αὐτοῦ[ς] <u>καὶ πα- ρακληθήσομαι</u> καὶ ἐπιγ[νώ]σῃ] διότι [ἐγώ] κ[ύριος] λελάθηκα ἐν ζήλω] ὄργην μου ἐπ' αὐτ[ῶ]ν. ⁵¹⁴ καὶ θήσο-] μαί σε εἰς ἔρημον * <u>καὶ εἰς ὄνει- δος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλω σου</u> [καὶ τ]ὰς θυγατέρας σου [κύκλω σου] [ἐνάμιον] παντός διοδ[ε]ύοντος]	583 * ⁵¹² <u>καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου πεσοῦνται ἐν ῥομ- φαία κύκλω σου ὃ καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον σκορπιῶ αὐτοῦς</u> καὶ μάχισαν ἔκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐ- τῶν. ⁵¹³ καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς μου. καὶ ἡ ὄργη ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. * <u>καὶ παρακληθήσο- μαί</u> ὃ καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ διότι ἐγὼ κ[ύριος] λε- λάθηκα ἐν ζήλω μου ἐν τῷ συντε- λέσαι με τὴν ὄργην μου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. ⁵¹⁴ καὶ θήσομαι σε εἰς ἔρημον * <u>καὶ εἰς ὄνει- δος ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλω σου</u> ὃ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου ἐνώ- πιον παντός διοδεύοντος,
15 [ἐνάμιον] παντός διοδ[ε]ύοντος]	[[⁵¹⁵ καὶ ἔση στενακτὴ καὶ δειλαία (ex δειλαιστή) * <u>παιδεία καὶ ἄφανισμός</u> ὃ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύ- κλω σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι με ἐν σοὶ κρί- ματα * <u>ἐν ὄργῃ καὶ θυμῷ</u> ὃ καὶ ἐν ἐκδι- κῆσει θυμοῦ.]]
<i>Verso</i>	
ἐγὼ κ[ύριος] λελάθηκα. ⁵¹⁶ ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστεί- λαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τ[ο]ῦ λι[μ]νοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς [ἐ]κ[λ]ει- ψιν. * ⁵¹⁷ ἃ [ἀ]πο[σ]τελῶ ἀντὰ δι[α]φθ[ε]ρ- <u>ῶν</u> * <u>ραὶ ἡμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ λιμὸν συν[ν]άξω ἐφ' ὁ- μᾶς</u> καὶ] συντριψω σ[τ]ήριγμα ἀρ- [του σου]. ⁵¹⁷ καὶ] ἔξαποστελώ ἐπὶ σέ λι- μὸν καὶ] θηρία πονηρά καὶ [τ]εμω- [ρήσομ]αί σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα ⁵¹⁸ [διελεύσονται] ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥωμαῖαν [ἐπάξω ἐπὶ] σέ [κ]υκλ[ο]θέν· ἐγὼ κ[ύριος] [λελάθηκα. ⁶¹ καὶ] ἐγένετο λόγος κ[υρίου] [πρὸς με] λέγων. ⁶² ὡς ἀν[θρώπου], στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπ' αὐτὰ ⁶³ καὶ ἔρεις τὰ ὄρη [Ἰσρα]ηλ	ἐγὼ κ[ύριος] ἐλάλησα. ⁵¹⁶ ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστείλαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ λιμοῦ * <u>τὰς πονηράς</u> ὃ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκλειψιν. * <u>ἄποστε- λῶ αὐτὰς διαφθεῖραι ἡμᾶς καὶ λιμὸν(ν) συναξῶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς</u> ὃ καὶ συντρι- ψω στήριγμα ἄρτου σου. ⁵¹⁷ καὶ ἔξαπο- στελῶ ἐπὶ σέ λιμὸν. καὶ θηρία πονη- ρά. καὶ τιμωρήσομαι σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα διελεύσονται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομ- φαίαν ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σέ κυκλόθεν· ἐγὼ κ[ύριος] ἐλάλησα. 584 ⁶¹ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κ[υρίου] πρὸς με λέγων. ⁶² ὡς ἀν[θρώπου], στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη [Ἰσρα]ηλ καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ ⁶³ καὶ ἔρεις τὰ ὄρη [Ἰσρα]ηλ, ἀκούσατε λόγον <u>Ἄδωναί</u> κ[υρίου].
15 [Ἰσρα]ηλ ⁶³ ἀκούσατε λόγον <u>Ἄδωναί</u>]	5

Table 3 (right): *P.Grenf.* 1.5, Codex Marchalianus, and LXX

LXX (Ziegler)
⁵¹² τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου ἐν θανάτῳ ἀναλωθήσεται· καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου ἐν λιμῷ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μίση σου· <u>καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον διασκορπιῶ αὐτοῦς</u> · καὶ τὸ τέτ[α]ρτόν σου ἐν ῥωμαῖα πεσοῦνται κύκλω σου, καὶ μάχισαν ἔκκενώσω ὀπίσω αὐ- τῶν. ⁵¹³ καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς μου καὶ ἡ ὄργη μου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ διότι ἐγὼ κύριος λε- λάθηκα ἐν ζήλω μου ἐν τῷ συντε- λέσαι με τὴν ὄργην μου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. ⁵¹⁴ καὶ θήσομαι σε εἰς ἔρημον
καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου ἐνώ- πιον παντός διοδεύοντος,
[[⁵¹⁵ καὶ ἔση στενακτὴ καὶ δηλαιότη] ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς κύ- κλω σου ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι με ἐν σοὶ κρί- ματα ἐν ἐκδι- κῆσει θυμοῦ μου]]
ἐγὼ κύριος λελάθηκα. ⁵¹⁶ ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστείλαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἐκλειψιν,
καὶ συντρι- ψω στήριγμα ἄρτου σου. ⁵¹⁷ καὶ ἔξαπο- στελῶ ἐπὶ σέ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονη- ρά καὶ τιμωρήσομαι σε, καὶ θάνατος καὶ αἷμα διελεύσονται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ῥομ- φαίαν ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σέ κυκλόθεν· ἐγὼ κύριος λελάθηκα. ⁶¹ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων. ⁶² ὡς ἀνθρώπου, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπ' αὐτὰ ⁶³ καὶ ἔρεις τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ, ἀκούσατε λόγον <u>κυρίου</u> .

italics), and in reading λόγον Ἀδωναῖ [κυρίου] rather than λόγον κυρίου⁵⁴ in Ezek. 6:3. As for the additions from the Hebrew Bible, the Marchalianus adds some important information. In its margins, the *asteriskoi* are accompanied by a letter indicating where the reading/addition comes from: α' for Aquila, σ' for Symmachus, θ' for Theodotion. Notably, all the additions in this passage come from Theodotion except a short one in Ezek. 5:15 (which falls in lacuna in *P.Grenf.* 1.5), which is supposedly taken from Symmachus. Indeed most of the additions in Q are labeled as coming from Theodotion, while those from Aquila and Symmachus are a minority.⁵⁵ Origen is unlikely to have translated the Hebrew text himself for his "improved" edition of the LXX because he was not fully fluent in Hebrew.⁵⁶ Moreover, there was no need to prepare a new translation, since Origen had other translations at his disposal, some of which he had already fully surveyed while preparing the Hexapla: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. In particular, the latter's translation was elegant, yet faithful to the original, so it is not surprising that Origen preferred it to supplement his version of the LXX as it was a good compromise between the very literal translation of Aquila and the one of Symmachus, which aimed at a good Greek rather than a precise rendering of the Hebrew.⁵⁷

Q also has an addition not present in the LXX or in *P.Grenf.* 1.5: * τὰς πονηράς in Ezek. 5:16 (highlighted in bold and dotted underline). Interestingly enough, the addition is marked with an *asteriskos* but is not labeled as deriving from either Theodotion, Aquila, or Symmachus. This may suggest that this is a later addition which did not belong to the original "enlarged" LXX, thus explaining why it is absent from the more ancient *P.Grenf.* 1.5.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ It is impossible to say whether the papyrus had Ἀδωναῖ [κυρίου] with κυρίου in lacuna; yet, given the similarities with Q, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 might have indeed shared Q's reading here as well, and have λόγον Ἀδωναῖ κυρίου. This reading, however, is not an addition but a different rendering of a *nomen sacrum*; for this reason, Q does not have any *asteriskos* marking it; the same should be the case in *P.Grenf.* 1.5. See Cerfaux 1931a, 44-46, on the manuscript evidence for this reading in Ezekiel.

⁵⁵ In general, together with the θ-text of Daniel, Q is the most important source for Theodotion's fragments because of its additions in the main LXX text marked with *asteriskoi*; see Fernández Marcos 2000, 145-146.

⁵⁶ For a summary of the debate about Origen's knowledge of Hebrew, see Jellicoe 1968, 104-106; Ulrich 1992, 551-553; Fernández Marcos 2000, 204-206.

⁵⁷ On the different styles of Aquila's, Symmachus', and Theodotion's translations, see Ulrich 1992, 550; Fernández Marcos 2000, 115-118, 128-133 and 146-148. Not surprisingly, given his lack of faithfulness to the original Hebrew text, additions from Symmachus are the most rarely found in Q.

⁵⁸ This addition is also present in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (eighth century CE), marked by an *asteriskos* and a *metobelos* (ς), but once again the manu-

Lastly, the text contained in double square brackets in Q (most of Ezek. 5:15) is the portion that is missing from *P.Grenf.* 1.5 because the lower part of the page is not preserved in the papyrus fragment. The parts highlighted in underlined bold consist of portions of the text that are present in Q but absent in the LXX and are marked in Q with *asteriskoi*. The first addition is taken from Theodotion and the second from Symmachus. Since the synopsis shows that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 follows a text similar to that of Q, we may speculate that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 followed the same text also in the lower part of the page of the *recto*, now in lacuna, and that it had the same additions as in Q. If so, there are probably five missing lines rather than four. In this case, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 would have contained twenty lines per page, which would closely align with the data collected by Turner for "square codices" with pages of ca. 14-15 x 14-15 cm.⁵⁹

Critical Signs in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q

Although *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q appear to preserve the same text, namely, an edition of the LXX with Origen's critical signs, there are some crucial differences between these two manuscripts. Not only does Q present an addition to Ezek. 5:16 which is not taken from any of the Greek versions in the Hexapla (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) and is also not present in *P.Grenf.* 1.5; more importantly, the two manuscripts use *asteriskoi* in different ways. Both *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q use *asteriskoi* to mark additions to the LXX from the Hebrew Bible, but Q also uses the *asteriskos* for another purpose. At lines 1-2 of page 583 two *asteriskoi* are placed in the margin of the sentence that is inverted compared with the LXX: the *asteriskoi* here mark the "inversion" of two phrases of the text at Ezek. 5:12.

The *alpha* next to the first *asteriskos* indicates that the inverted order was taken from the text of Aquila. This, however, is not the use of the *asteriskos* as established by Origen, as he himself clarifies in the passage from the *Commentary to Matthew* quoted above. While *P.Grenf.* 1.5 uses the *asteriskos* according to Origen's system, the later Q seems to have extended its use to highlight any

script is too late to prove that the addition was present in the original edition of Origen. Moreover, the presence of the *metobelos* to signal the ends of the passages marked with *asteriskoi* or *obeloi* is suspicious; see below, pp. 211-212.

⁵⁹ 17 lines in *449 (Turner 1977, 124); 16-18 lines in *P 72 (Turner 1977, 150); 19 lines in NT Parch. 89 (Turner 1977, 160); 22 lines in OT 80 (Turner 1977, 172); 24 lines in OT 141 (Turner 1977, 177). For *P.Grenf.* 1.5, Turner 1977, 183 (†*OT 207), gives only (15+)? lines per page because he counts only the surviving lines.

type of discrepancy with the LXX, inversions included.⁶⁰ As far as we know, although the Alexandrians used the *antisigma* (⊖) to mark inverted lines,⁶¹ Origen did not adopt any sign to highlight this type of discrepancy between the LXX and the other versions of the Bible. Q therefore deviates from Origen's original system of *sigla* in this aspect.

The comparison with the Hebrew Bible has also shown that line 14 of the *recto* in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 reports the phrase *καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου* (in italics in Tables 1 and 2) that is missing in the Hebrew Bible; according to the system of Origen this "omission" should have been marked with an *obelos*. Following the system used in the papyrus, the *obelos* should have been placed in the margin; in this case, this point also coincides with the beginning of the passage omitted in the Hebrew Bible, which occupies the entirety of line 14. Unfortunately, the left margin of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is completely missing at line 14 of the *recto*, so the presence of an *obelos* in the papyrus cannot be confirmed. Q agrees with *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in having *καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας σου κύκλω σου* against the Hebrew text, but does not mark the passage with an *obelos* in its fully preserved margin. In general, Q does not display many *obeloi* (although it is very rich in *asteriskoi*), either because they were omitted at the time of writing (perhaps there was no interest in signaling what passages the Hebrew Bible did not have) or because they faded away, being more easily lost due to their thin line than the *asteriskoi*.⁶²

The comparison between *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q therefore allows us to conclude that while *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and Q are very similar in content, the "critical apparatus" (i.e., the *sigla*) of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 follows Origen's use of critical signs more closely, on the basis of what Origen himself tells about his method and the way he employs the *obelos* and the *asteriskos* (the only *σημεῖα* which he mentions). Moreover, the closeness between the dating of the papyrus and Origen's own lifetime suggests that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 may be a very interesting witness of the early work done on the Hexapla to prepare an accurate and yet easy-to-use text of

⁶⁰ The same use of *asteriskoi* to mark the transposition in Ezek. 5:12 is present in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus and in the Codex Chisianus 88 (which has only one *asteriskos* in the middle of τὸ τέταρτον).

⁶¹ At least according to the list of Aristarchean critical signs preserved in the *Anecdota Romanum* (Cod. Rom. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 6, tenth century CE): τὸ δὲ ἀντίσημα καθ' ἑαυτὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνηλλαγμένους τόπους καὶ ἀπὸδόντας. See West 2003, 452-453.

⁶² Cf. Ceriani 1890, 10-12. Some *obeloi* are still visible in Q, p. 405, for example at Jer. 19:13, where they are used in the margin to mark additions to the main text (thus not according to Origen's system). In general, manuscripts tend to reproduce the *obeloi* in a very erratic way: they omit them, put them in the wrong place, or even substitute them with *asteriskoi*; see Ziegler 1952, 41-44.

the Bible which included the results of Origen's comparative analysis between the Greek and Hebrew texts.

The Position of the Critical Signs in the "Revised" LXX Text

If indeed *P.Grenf.* 1.5 represents the most ancient evidence of a "revised" LXX text with critical signs,⁶³ it may be worth speculating on how critical signs were placed in the original "revised" text. The papyrus is of some help even if it is not entirely consistent in its use of critical signs (Figures 2-3).

On the *verso* the *asteriskos* is placed in the margin (l. 5) as well as part way through line 4 at the beginning of the addition at lines 4-6 (though the *asteriskos* in line 4 was added at a later time, it was probably supplemented by the same hand). Yet in a comparable instance on the *recto* (ll. 7-8) there is no *asteriskos* in the left margin, which is preserved well enough to exclude the possibility that the *σημεῖον* might have been placed in a lacuna (a comparison with line 5 of the *verso*, where the *asteriskos* is visible in the margin and is placed very close to the first letter of the line, excludes this hypothesis). However, there may have been an *asteriskos* within the text in line 7, just before the beginning of the addition, which is in lacuna. Similarly, there is no *asteriskos* in the margins at lines 12-13 of the *recto*; the *asteriskos* is only preserved within the text at the

⁶³ The famous Antinoopolis papyrus (*P.Ant.* 1.8 + 3.210 = Van Haelst 0254 = Rahlfs 0928), a papyrus codex dating to the third or fourth century CE, has an *asteriskos* near the title Π[ΑΡΑ]ΒΟΛΑΙ [Σ]Α[ΩΜΩ]ΝΤΟΣ between *Prov.* 9 and 10 (Fol. VI, frs. 15 and 16 *verso*, l. 13). Recently Cuppi 2012, 23-24, has suggested that this *asteriskos* has a critical purpose, namely, to indicate that the title was not found in other manuscripts (it is present in the Masoretic text but not in the LXX; cf. Roberts 1950, 17, and Zuntz 1956, 157). If this hypothesis is correct, here the *asteriskos* would indicate what is absent in the LXX and present in the Hebrew Bible, just as in Origen's system. While this possibility is very interesting, this is the only *asteriskos* present in this rather long manuscript, which thus would oddly limit the use of Origen's system to titles and not to the main text. On the other hand, ornamental *asteriskoi* near titles – even outside the ornamental frame as in this papyrus – are attested in codices, for example P.Amh. inv. G 202, a Homeric codex dating to the third or fourth century CE (see Turner-Parsons 1987, 13, footnote 62; Schironi 2010, 56, 172-175). Therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that the *asteriskos* in the Antinoopolis papyrus is simply ornamental. In addition, according to both Roberts 1950, 3, and Zuntz 1956, 173-184, this papyrus preserves a pre-Origenian text (*contra* Cuppi 2012, 25-26). To conclude, whether the *asteriskos* in *P.Ant.* 1.8 + 3.210 has a critical purpose or not, and whatever the origin of the Bible text preserved in this papyrus was, the main text of *P.Ant.* 1.8 + 3.210 is marked in no place by critical signs. Therefore *P.Grenf.* 1.5 still offers the most ancient (and so far unique) papyrological evidence for the use of Origenian *σημεῖα* in the main text of the Greek Bible.

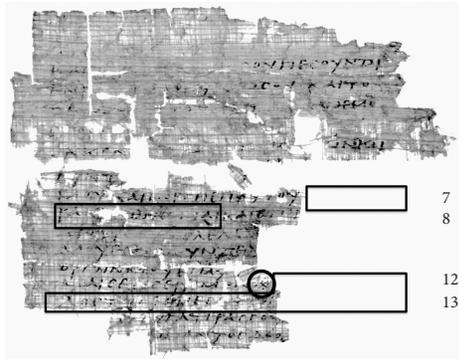


Figure 2: *P. Grenf. 1.5 recto* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. bib. d. 4 (P). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. The critical sign is marked by a circle, the additions from the Hebrew Bible are enclosed in boxes.

beginning of the addition in line 12. With only three examples of additions, inconsistently marked in terms of positions of the *asteriskoi*, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusion.⁶⁴

On the contrary, the Codex Marchalianus is more self-consistent since it appears to place the *asteriskoi* at the beginning of each addition from the Hebrew Bible within the text and also in the left margins for *all the lines* occupied by the addition, as in the following example:

⁶⁴This was already noted by Grenfell 1896, 10-11: "It is noticeable that in the papyrus there is no asterisk at the beginning of line 13, as there should be. Cf. *verso*, lines 4-5, where the asterisk is found not only at the beginning of the clause but at the beginning of the next line. Whether the writer of the papyrus used the diacritical mark denoting the end of the clause to which the asterisk applied is doubtful owing to the lacunae in line 13 and in the *verso*, line 6."

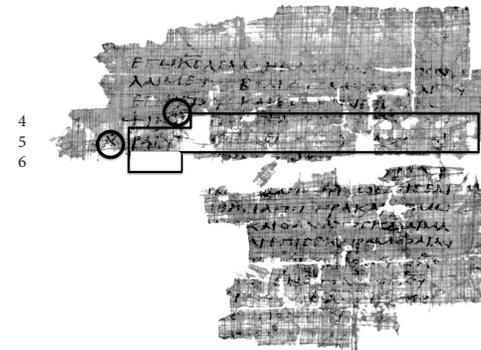


Figure 3: *P. Grenf. 1.5 verso* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. bib. d. 4 (P). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. The critical signs are marked by circles, the addition from the Hebrew Bible is enclosed in a box.

Cod Marchalianus (Q), p. 583, ll. 21-24

- * και ἔσονται εἰς ἐκλειψιν, * ἀποστε-
 - *⁶⁵ λὼ αὐτὰς διαφθεῖραι ὑμᾶς και λιμό(ν)
 - * συνάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ; και συντρι-
- ψω στήριγμα ἄρθρου σου.

Furthermore, Q also marks the end of the addition within the text, but not with an *asteriskos*. Nor does Q employ the *metobelos* to mark the end of these additions, at least not in the shape in which this sign appears in other codices, such as the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus (where it has the shape of a colon, :) or in the Syro-Hexapla (where it has the shape of a mallet, ♯);⁶⁵ rather, Q uses

⁶⁵In fact, Q does use a mallet-shaped sign, but it has a different orientation (↙) and a different meaning: it is used as an index for the scholia written in the margins. In the Ezekiel passage under examination, this sign occurs twice, once at line 5 of p. 583, above the τε of συντελεσθήσεται and once at line 3 of p. 584 above the ρη of τὰ ὄρη; in both cases it refers to scholia written in the top margin of the page.

a sort of semicolon which reaches below the line (ζ); see for example the one at the end of line 11 in Figure 4).⁶⁶

Even Q does not apply this standard system consistently; for example, at lines 10-11 of p. 583 only one *asteriskos* is present in the margin, at line 11, while there is no sign in the margin of line 10, where the addition begins; this could have been due to a simple error of the copyist or it may be because the κ of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ at the beginning of line 10 is larger than the other letters and extends into the left margin to mark the incipit of Ezek. 5:14, leaving no space to add the critical sign in alignment with the others (see figure 4). In this case, then, the scribe's habit of marking the initial has prevailed over the need to respect the system of the marginal *sigla*. However, at lines 14-15 of p. 583 the insertion in Ezek. 5:15 is marked in the margin by an *asteriskos* beside line 15 only, when one would also expect to find an *asteriskos* in the margin of line 14 (along with the one part way through the line at the beginning of the addition, which is indeed there). Despite these inconsistencies, the system in Q works quite well when properly respected because the *asteriskos* in the margin makes it very easy for the reader to notice additions, which are also marked within the text at the beginning (with an *asteriskos*) and at the end (with the semicolon-shaped sign, ζ).

Given the poor state of preservation of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and its inconsistency in the placement of the *sigla*, no firm conclusions can be reached concerning the position of critical signs in the papyrus or in the original "enlarged" LXX: it cannot be determined for certain whether they were placed only in the left margin, or whether they were also added within the text at the beginning and/or at the end of the passages missing or added from the Hebrew Bible. Similarly, it is impossible to decide whether or not the signs in the margin were repeated for all the lines involved in the addition/omission or only for the lines in between the beginning- and the end-lines. A comparison with Q would suggest that the sign was present in the margin beside all the involved lines; however, in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 the *asteriskos* is missing at the beginning of the addition in the

⁶⁶ In fact, Ceriani 1890, 10, calls it "*metobelos*." The same end-sign occurs in the Codex Chisianus 88, which also follows Q in terms of readings and additions from the Hebrew Bible, and therefore it probably depends on Q. However, aside from a rather inaccurate use of critical signs (see footnote 53 above), the Chigi manuscript, which has two columns per page, does not have *asteriskoi* in the margin but only within the text. This already shows that the Codex Chisianus 88 provides an impoverished version of the original layout where critical signs were placed in the margins to allow the reader to see them at a glance, following the Alexandrian system. Thus, while this codex is a less helpful comparandum for *P.Grenf.* 1.5 than Q, it does provide telling evidence of how the original Origenian system became corrupted with time.



Figure 4: Codex Marchalianus, p. 583, lines 10-24. Digital reproduction of Cozza-Luzi 1890.

margin of lines 7 and 12 in the *recto* and in line 4 of the *verso*, even though the margin is well-preserved in these places. We could then hypothesize that only lines that did not contain the beginning/end of the addition/omission were marked by signs in the margin. Such a reconstruction, however, becomes problematic in the case of an omission/addition shorter than a line, because in this instance the *obeloi/asteriskoi* would have been placed only within the text, and thus would have been very difficult for a reader to detect.

The inconsistent placement of the signs in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is not surprising. Indeed, such inconsistencies are common also in Homeric papyri with critical signs, such as *P.Hawara* (P.Bodl. Libr. Ms.Gr.class. a.1(P), second century CE), which sometimes uses signs and sometimes omits them where they should be, as shown by a comparison with the Codex Venetus A (Marcianus Graecus Z. 454, tenth century CE), which preserves the critical signs used by Aristarchus on the *Iliad* more accurately.⁶⁷ Yet, despite their inconsistencies, when combined with the Venetus A these Homeric papyri with some Aristarchean signs provide valuable evidence to reconstruct how the ancient Alexandrian system

⁶⁷ See table in Schironi 2012, 98.

worked. Similarly, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 and the Codex Marchalianus together help to determine how Origen's system could work "at its best."

First of all, an important distinction must be made between the Alexandrian system and Origen's system. In the Alexandrian system the signs were placed only in the left margin of a line. This was sufficient because in Homeric poetry the main unit (the hexameter) is easily recognizable. When an *obelos* was placed next to a line, it meant that the entire verse had to be athetized – the Alexandrians always athetized entire lines, not portions of them. Similarly, the *asteriskos* indicated lines repeated elsewhere in the poem in their entirety, not a repeated formula within a line. The only exceptions to this rule were the two signs introduced by Aristarchus, the *diple* (which was used to highlight any point of interest in the line) and the *diple peristigmene* (which was used to signal a point of disagreement with Zenodotus' editorial choices in the line). These two signs were still placed next to a line but could refer to only a single word in that line; however, the meaning and the point of reference of those signs were clearly explained in the commentary, which Aristarchus produced in connection with his edition of the Homeric text. Thus, Aristarchus' system combining edition and commentary was unambiguous, and critical signs could still be placed only in the margins of the text.⁶⁸ Origen had to deal with a different situation: his signs were used in an edition with no commentary and for a prose text, which did not have easily recognizable units as hexametric poetry did. Hence he needed a better way to mark the portions of the text involved in the omission/addition, as marking only the margins in a page was not sufficient. In this regard it must also be noted that Origen nowhere says that he ever used the *metobelos* or any other sign except the *obelos* and the *asteriskos*. Thus, Origen's own testimony suggests that if he ever wanted to mark the end of the omission/addition within the text, he must have used *obeloi* and *asteriskoi* only. In this scenario, the most reader-friendly hypothesis is that the signs were originally organized as follows:

- *Obelos/asteriskos* within the text at the beginning of the omission/addition.
- *Obelos/asteriskos* in the margin next to *all* the lines containing the omission/addition.
- *Obelos/asteriskos* within the text at the end of the omission/addition.

If this is correct we may proceed – *exempli gratia* – to the reconstruction of the "original" text of the papyrus in *scriptio continua*, without reading aids

⁶⁸ Cf. Schironi 2012, 103–104.

such as accents and breathings and with the critical signs as Origen might have wanted them:

<i>Recto</i>	<i>Verso</i>
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΟΥ ΠΕΣΟΥΝΤΑΙ	ΕΓΩ ΚΣΑΕΛΑΗΚΑ· ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΞΑΠΟΤΕΙ
ΕΝ ΡΟΜΦΑΙ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ	ΛΛΙΜΕΤΑ ΣΒΟΜΙ ΔΑ ΣΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΜΟΥ
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΑΝΕΜΟ (N)	ΕΠΛΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΟΝ ΤΑ ΙΕΙΣ ΕΚΑ ΕΙ
ΣΚΟΡ ΠΩ ΔΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΙ ΜΑΧΑΡΑΝ	* ΨΙΝ* ΔΑ ΠΟ ΣΤΕ ΦΩ ΔΥ ΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΦΘΕΙ
ΕΚΚΕ ΜΩ ΣΩ ΠΙ ΣΩ ΔΥ ΤΩ Ν ΚΑΙ	* ΡΑΙ Υ ΜΑ ΣΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΜΟΝ ΣΥ ΝΑ ΞΩ ΦΟΥ
ΣΥ Ν ΤΕ ΛΕ ΣΘ Η Σ Ε ΤΑ Ι Ο ΘΥ Μ Ο Σ	* ΜΑ Σ* ΚΑΙ ΣΥ Ν Τ Ρ Ι Ψ Ο Σ Τ Η Ρ Γ Μ Α Δ Ρ
* ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ Η Ο Ρ Η Ε Π ΛΥ ΤΟΥ Σ* ΚΑΙ ΠΑ	ΤΟΥ Σ ΟΥ* ΚΑΙ Ε Ξ Α Π Ο Σ Τ Ε Ω Δ Ε Π Ι Σ Ε Λ Ι
* ΠΑ Κ Η Θ Η Σ Ο Μ Α Ι* ΚΑΙ Ε Π Ι Γ ΝΩ Σ Η	ΜΟ Ν ΚΑΙ Η Ρ Ι Α Π Ο Η Ρ Α Κ Α Ι Τ Ε Ι Μ Ω
ΔΙ Ο Τ Ε Γ Ω Κ Σ Α Ε Λ Α Η Κ Α Ε Ν Ζ Η Ξ Ω	Ρ Η Σ Ο Μ Α Ι Σ Ε Κ Α Ι Θ Α Ν Α Τ Ο Σ Κ Α Ι Δ Ι Μ Α
ΜΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΣΥ Ν ΤΕ ΛΕ Σ Α Ι Μ Ε Τ Η Ν	ΔΙ Ε Χ ΕΥ Σ Ο Ν Τ Α Ι Ε Π Ι Σ Ε Κ Α Ρ Ο Μ Φ Δ Ι Μ Α
Ο Ρ Η Ν Η Μ ΟΥ Ε Π ΛΥ ΤΟΥ Σ* ΚΑΙ Η Σ Ο	Ε Π Α Ξ Ε Π Ι Σ Ε Κ Υ Κ Α Ο Θ Ε Η Ε Γ Ω Κ Σ
* ΜΑΙ Σ Ε ΕΙ Σ Ε Ρ Η Μ Ο Ν* ΚΑΙ ΕΙ Σ Ο Ν ΕΙ	Λ Ε Δ Α Η Κ Α ΚΑΙ Ε Γ Ε Μ Ε Τ Ο Λ Ο Γ Ο Σ ΚΥ
* Δ Ο Σ Τ ΟΙ Σ Θ Ε Ξ Ε Ι Ν Τ Ο Ι Σ ΚΥ Κ Λ Ω Σ ΟΥ*	Π Ρ Ο Σ Μ Ε Λ Ε Γ Ο Ν· Ψ Ε Δ Η Μ ΟΥ Σ Τ Η Ρ Ι
— ΚΑΙ ΤΑ Σ ΟΥ ΤΑ Τ Ε Ρ Α Σ ΟΥ ΚΥ Κ Λ Ω Σ ΟΥ —	Σ Ο Ν Τ Ο Π Ρ Ο Σ Ω Π Ο Ν Ο Σ ΟΥ Ε Π Ι Τ Α Ο Ρ Η
Ε Ν Ω Π Ι Ο Ν Π Α Ν Τ Ο Σ Δ Ι Ο Δ Ε Υ Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ	Η Ξ Α Κ Ο Υ Σ Α Τ Ε Λ Ο Γ Ο Ν Α Δ Ω Ν Α Ϊ

While this is a speculative reconstruction, it is useful to visualize how an ancient edition of the "enlarged and revised" LXX could have looked. With this system of signs the information is conveyed in the clearest and most economical form. The critical signs within the text precisely mark the beginning and the end of each omission/addition. On the other hand, the same critical signs in the margin immediately alert the reader that there is a discrepancy between the LXX and the Hebrew Bible without the need to read the Greek text with attention in order to find critical signs in it. From this perspective, the signs in the margin conform to the "classical" use of critical signs while those within the text might have been a Christian innovation, as *sigla* within a text are never attested in pagan texts.⁶⁹

While this is the best way to make this system function, it might not be the original one, at least as far as the end of the omission/addition is concerned. *P.Grenf.* 1.5 does not have a critical sign in the only place in which the papyrus is preserved at the end of an addition (l. 8r). On the other hand, the evidence from later manuscripts with critical signs is quite revealing, as the sign to mark

⁶⁹ Swete 1914, 78, who held the opposite view, that the critical signs were present in the synoptic Hexapla, claimed that hexaplaric signs would lose their meaning if not placed in a text which also had the Hebrew text. However, the manuscript evidence of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 as well as the comparison with the practice of Zenodotus and Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose *sigla* were used without any other supporting text, confirm the reconstruction I propose, even if perhaps it is less obvious at first sight.

the omissions/additions varies tremendously: it looks like a colon (:) in the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, like a mallet (⌘) in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus and like a semicolon (;) in the Codex Marchalianus and in the Codex Chisianus 88. Such a lack of consistency in the shape suggests that this sign was not “traditional” like the *asteriskos* and the *obelos*, which generally have a standard shape in these manuscripts.

The fact that later manuscripts use a different sign to mark the end of omissions/additions may thus suggest that an end-marker was not part of Origen’s system. If so, Origen’s use of the Alexandrian σημεία was to a certain degree ambiguous, as it had an *obelos/asteriskos* within the text at the beginning of the omission/addition and in the margins of the lines containing the omission/addition, but nothing to mark the end of the passage within the text. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in the only instance where we can check the end of an addition (l. 8r). If indeed Origen did not mark the end of the omissions/additions, later scribes might have “invented” one additional sign (i.e. the so-called *metobelos*) to solve this ambiguity and make the system more functional; this end-marking sign would have taken different shapes when used by different scribes, which is exactly what we find in the codices mentioned above.

To conclude, the different shapes of the *metobelos*, the fact that it was not an Alexandrian sign as well as the fact that Origen never mentions it suggest that the use of this critical sign to mark the end of additions and omissions was never part of Origen’s system. Hence, when such a marker appears in later manuscripts, it is an innovation. From this perspective, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is indeed the only manuscript which has only Origenian signs and applies them according to Origen’s system, even if the tiny scrap on papyrus does not do so consistently and provides very limited evidence for this system.

P.Grenf. 1.5 and Origen’s Work on the Bible

P.Grenf. 1.5 provides a Greek-only text consisting of the LXX with some additions marked with *asteriskoi* according to Origen’s system. A comparison with the Hebrew text has confirmed that these additions are indeed taken from the Hebrew Bible, mostly from the translation of Theodotion, if we follow the indication of the Codex Marchalianus. My suggestion is that *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is the oldest surviving fragment of such a “critical” edition of the LXX enriched with Origen’s signs, *asteriskoi* marking additions from the Hebrew Bible and *obeloi* marking omissions in the Hebrew Bible compared with the LXX. The most compelling reason for considering *P.Grenf.* 1.5 our earliest extant copy of this Greek-only edition of the Bible is the dating of the papyrus, which spans from the latter half of the third century CE to the early fourth century CE, so

very close to Origen’s own lifetime (185-254 CE). In addition, I would like to propose that such a Greek-only text of the LXX, revised and edited with critical signs, was not conceived and prepared only by Origen’s successors Pamphilus and Eusebius, but was the product of his own enterprise.⁷⁰ In fact, Jerome (ca. 345-420 CE) himself, who knew Origen’s work well and most likely visited the library of Caesarea to see the original Hexapla in 385-386 CE,⁷¹ clearly states that Origen prepared such an edition of the LXX:

Jerome, *Praef. in Pentateuch*, PL 28, 179A: *Quod ut auderem, Origenis me studium provocavit, qui editioni antiquae translationem Theodotionis miscuit, asterisco *, et obelo -, id est, stella et veru opus omne distinguens: dum aut illucescere facit quae minus ante fuerant, aut superflua quaeque jugulat et confodit.*

To venture on such an enterprise, I was inspired by the zeal of Origen, who mixed Theodotion’s translation with the ancient edition [i.e., the LXX], marking the entire work with an *asteriskos* (*) and an *obelos* (-) – that is, a little star and a spit – as he highlights [the passages] which were missing [in the LXX] or cuts and pierces through those passages which were redundant [in the LXX].

Jerome, *Praef. in Paral.*, PL 28, 1393A: *Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum ... sed, quod majoris audaciae est, in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quae minus fuerant, et virgulis quae ex superfluo videbantur apposita.*

⁷⁰ As already suggested in passing by Clements 2000, 322, and Grafton-Williams 2006, 127, 187-188, who also refer to Ruth Clements’ Harvard Th.D. dissertation (Clements 1997, which I was unable to consult).

⁷¹ Jerome states that he corrected his own Hexaplaric text of the Bible on the originals in the library of Caesarea in *Comm. Titum* 3.9 (PL 26, 595B); see also Jerome’s *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, ed. G. Morin, in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, Volume 3.1, Oxford 1895, p. 5: *nam εξαπλοῦς Origenis in Caesariensi bibliotheca relegens*. While Nautin 1977, 328-331, dismisses Jerome’s claim, Swete 1914, 74-75, and more recently Norton 1998, 107-109, and Williams 2006, 149-155, trust Jerome’s direct knowledge of Origen’s work, as well as his visit at the library of Caesarea.

And certainly Origen did not only compose copies of four editions⁷² ... but – what is proof of an even greater boldness – mixed the edition of Theodotion with the one of the LXX, marking with *asteriskoi* the passages which were missing [in the LXX], and with a sign of spuriousness [i.e., the *obelos*] the passages which seemed to have been added superfluously.

According to Jerome, this Greek text with signs was not a later abridgement of the Hexapla, but rather the final product stemming from it, which aimed at “summarizing” the result of the latter synoptic work.⁷³ Jerome also says that the additions from the Hebrew Bible were taken from Theodotion. This may be a generalization by Jerome, since Symmachus and Aquila might also have been used to add portions missing in the LXX, as suggested by the critical signs and notes in the Codex Marchalianus. Yet even in this manuscript the vast majority of the additions come from Theodotion, thus explaining Jerome’s generalization.

It was most likely Origen himself who devised this text, probably after compiling the Hexapla. The easy identification of the quantitative differences between the Hebrew and the Greek Bible was indeed the main goal of Origen’s work, as he himself explains:

Ep. Afric., PG 11, 60B: Ἀσκοῦμεν δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰς παρ’ ἐκείνοις, ἵνα, πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαλεγόμενοι, μὴ προφέρομεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὴ κείμενα ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵνα συγχρησώμεθα τοῖς φερομένοις παρ’ ἐκείνοις· εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐ κέῖται βιβλίοις· τοιαύτης γὰρ οὐσης ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι

⁷² These “copies of four editions” may refer to the so-called Tetrapla, collecting the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. According to Clements 1997, 97-100 (as referred to by Grafton-Williams 2006, 113) and Clements 2000, this synoptic copy of the Greek Bible was the first version of the Hexapla – it was prepared at Alexandria in order to “heal” the text of the LXX, which Origen considered authoritative; Origen developed an interest in the Hebrew Bible only when he moved to Caesarea in ca. 233 CE and encountered the Jewish community there; it was in Caesarea that he added the two additional columns with the Hebrew and the Hebrew transliterated into Greek letters.

⁷³ According to Nautin 1977, 456-457, and Schaper 1998, 8-9, who claim that critical signs were placed in the fifth column of the Hexapla and that there was no separate LXX edition, Jerome is referring here to the synoptic Hexapla. Yet Jerome seems to distinguish clearly between two different enterprises by Origen; first, a collection of more than one edition of the Bible (*exemplaria ... quattuor editionum*), and then a single edition of the LXX mixed with the one of Theodotion (*in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit*) with the addition of critical signs. In the first passage quoted, in fact, Origen speaks of this latter enterprise only, without mentioning any synopsis.

παρασκευῆς, οὐ καταφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ’ ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, γελάσονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν πιστεύοντας, ὡς τ’ ἀληθῆ καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀγνοοῦντας.

We try not to ignore what is in their versions [of the Bible] in order that when arguing with the Jews we do not quote to them passages that are not present in their copies, and in order that we can avail ourselves of passages that their editions carry, even if these passages are not present in our own texts [of the Bible]. If this is our practice in controversies with them, they will not despise us nor, as is their habit, will they laugh at those among the Gentiles who have faith, because – they think – they ignore the truths which are preserved in their text.⁷⁴

Signs were very useful in a Greek-only edition like the one preserved in the fragment of *P.Grenf.* 1.5, because Christians could use such “revised” LXX editions in debates with the Jews knowing exactly what the Hebrew text included. Such a need was particularly strong in third-century Caesarea, a multicultural city with large communities of Christians and Jews, where doctrinal debates between these two groups were routine.⁷⁵ Origen’s critical signs did not have any exegetical goal – they were not linked to a commentary where each marked lemma would have received an explanation, as in the case of Aristarchus’ critical signs. In fact, in his exegetical treatises on the Bible Origen uses his work on different *ekdoses* of the Bible to discuss or to select the readings which better suit his own exegesis, but he never mentions the presence of critical signs in the edition of reference as a starting point for an explanation. The reason for this is that Origen’s exegetical works were not primarily focused on a comparative approach to the text, but rather had a theological aim and were an independent product of research, not necessarily conceived to be used with the Hexapla or any specific edition of the LXX. In this scenario, the Hexapla seems to be more of a preparatory work, similar to a collation of manuscripts, created in order to put together a “critical edition” with apologetic aims to be used in debates with the Jews to defend the new Christian faith. This was Origen’s final goal and the Hexapla was the necessary preliminary to such a useful tool to defend Christian doctrines.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ On this passage, see Sgherri 1977, 16-17.

⁷⁵ Cf. Levine 1975, 80-84.

⁷⁶ It is clear that this “critical” edition was mostly concerned with additions and omissions in reference of the Hebrew version, not with different readings in passages present in both the Greek and Hebrew texts. *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is evidence of this since, although it follows the Hebrew text in the additions and sentence order rather than the LXX, it

Conclusions

The “revised” edition of the LXX with *asteriskoi* and *obeloi* marking additions or omissions in the Hebrew Bible was a by-product or, more accurately, the final outcome of the Hexapla. It aimed at summarizing the results of the synoptic and complex Hexapla into a much more compact and easy-to-use edition. The Hexapla was a huge, multi-volume enterprise, which according to some scholars’ reconstruction occupied almost forty codices of 800 pages each.⁷⁷ Such a text was not only impossible to use outside a library, but also very difficult to consult and to copy.⁷⁸ Hence it could not fulfill Origen’s aim of giving the Christians a tool to argue against the Jews – Origen could never have thought that the gigantic synoptic edition could serve that goal. More likely, he might have considered the preparation of a Greek text his ultimate goal. This is not only suggested by his own words in the *Letter to Africanus* quoted above (PG 11, 60B) but also by Jerome, who takes for granted that this “revised” LXX was Origen’s work. Indeed Origen could have had time to prepare such a text, since the Hexapla was finished in ca. 245 CE,⁷⁹ at which time he still had nine years of his life left for additional projects. During those years he certainly devoted himself to other activities (between 245 and 250 he composed the *Contra Celsum*, the *Commentary to Matthew*, and other exegetical works, for example); even so, putting together this “revised” LXX would not have been very demanding once the synoptic Hexapla was complete.

does not register the different reading in the Hebrew version at Ezek. 5:12, as noted above at p. 194. Brock 1970 already suggested that neither the Hexapla nor its fifth column containing the LXX (where he thought critical signs were placed) were “real” critical editions in the modern sense of the term, but rather had an apologetic aim, to help Christians in their controversies with the Jews. See also Neuschäfer 1987, 100-103, and Clements 2000, 324-325, who both also rightly stress that Origen’s other goal was to “heal” the LXX text, not to recover the “original” text of the Bible (as maintained by Nautin 1977, 351-353, who compares Origen to the Alexandrians in their effort to recover the “original” text of Homer). Because his focus was the LXX, Origen did not need to notice variants present in the Hebrew text or even to correct the LXX on the basis of the Hebrew Bible (cf. Neuschäfer 1987, 99-100, 103).

⁷⁷ According to Grafton-Williams 2006, 105. Swete 1914, 74, instead calculated a total of “only” ca. 6,500 pages (without counting the *Quinta* and *Sexta*).

⁷⁸ Of course, the Cairo Genizah and the Mercati palimpsests prove that at least some copies of the Hexapla were still made in the seventh or even in the tenth century CE. Even so, these copies were probably limited to selected books of the Bible.

⁷⁹ Cf. Fernández Marcos 2000, 209, according to whom the bulk of the Hexapla must have been put together between 235 and 245, since Hexaplaric quotations occur in the *Letter to Africanus*, dated to ca. 240 CE, and in the *Contra Celsum*, possibly composed in 249 CE.

How does *P.Grenf.* 1.5 fit into this scenario? First of all, in this article I have shown that in comparison with other early LXX manuscripts that preserve critical signs (the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, the Codex Marchalianus), the papyrus seems to preserve a system of critical signs closest to that of Origen as applied to a “revised” edition of the LXX.⁸⁰ Second, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is the oldest available fragment of such a “critical” edition, as the other early manuscripts date to the fourth/fifth century CE (Codex Colberto-Sarravianus) or to the sixth century CE (Codex Marchalianus).⁸¹ As already anticipated at the beginning of the article, the dating of the papyrus is far from secure since it is based only on paleographical comparisons. Nonetheless, the possible dating spans from ca. 250 to 350 CE. This means that, even if we choose the latest dating, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 was still written within 100 years after Origen’s death, which occurred in 254 CE. If we accept the later dating, then the papyrus fits with the activity of Pamphilus (ca. 240-310 CE) and Eusebius (ca. 260-340 CE), confirming what we know from the subscriptions of other Bible manuscripts: that Pamphilus and Eusebius prepared these “revised” editions of the LXX on the basis of Origen’s Hexapla. On the other hand, a comparison with other securely dated papyri does not exclude an earlier dating, to the second half of the third century. If so, such a “revised” LXX text, of which *P.Grenf.* 1.5 would be one copy, could also have been produced by Origen himself.

Given the uncertainties of paleographical dating, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 cannot conclusively prove that such an edition goes back to Origen himself, as its dating is also compatible with Pamphilus’ and Eusebius’ activity. Yet there is a further detail that merits attention. Just before the passage quoted above from the *Praefatio in librum Paralipomenon* (PL 28, 1393A) Jerome reports that different regions had different preferred texts of the Bible:

Jerome, *Praef. in Paral.*, PL 28, 1392A: *Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychiium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat; mediae inter has provinciae Palestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt.*

⁸⁰ While I have focused my attention on the Marchalianus because it can be directly compared with *P.Grenf.* 1.5, the Codex Colberto-Sarravianus also has non-Origenian signs, such as *metobeloi* and oddly-shaped *obeloi*; see Swete 1914, 138, and my discussion above pp. 211-212.

⁸¹ The other manuscripts with critical signs are even later, since the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus dates to the eighth century CE and the Codex Chisianus 88 to the tenth century CE. In addition, both these manuscripts have non-Origenian signs, as discussed above at p. 212. On the relationship between the Syro-Hexapla and the Chigi manuscript 88, see Jenkins 1991, 262-264.

In their Septuagint, Alexandria and Egypt praise Hesychius as their authority; [the region from] Constantinople to Antioch approves the copies of Lucian the martyr; the provinces in the middle of these [regions] read the codices from Palestine, elaborated by Origen and circulated by Eusebius and Pamphilus.

In addition to restating that the “critical” edition of the LXX was prepared by Origen and that Pamphilus and Eusebius contributed to its circulation, Jerome also claims that Origen’s “revised” version of the LXX was circulating in Palestine. However, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 comes from Egypt,⁸² and was written between the second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century CE. This proves that this “revised” edition circulated very early on, and that it reached beyond Palestine. Of course, the fragment in *P.Grenf.* 1.5 might have come from a book belonging to someone from Palestine who traveled or moved to Egypt – thus it does not indicate that the “revised” LXX became the standard Bible text outside Palestine. However, the presence of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 in Egypt demonstrates that an “enlarged” version of the LXX with critical signs (the *obelos* and the *asteriskos*) was prepared quite early on. In fact, the compilation of such an edition must have occurred early enough for it to be copied into the book to which *P.Grenf.* 1.5 once belonged; additionally, this book had to be sold to its original owner, who then traveled or relocated to Egypt. This pushes the composition of this “revised” LXX to an earlier date, especially if the papyrus changed hands (through multiple sales or inheritance) after it was finished. This might suggest that the “revised” LXX had already been prepared at the end or even the middle of the third century CE at Caesarea and that such an edition was probably envisaged if not actually produced by Origen himself, as Jerome claims.

The presence of this papyrus containing Origen’s “enlarged” LXX in Egypt at the end of the third or in the first half of the fourth century CE also allows for some final, additional suggestions. As has already been mentioned, some manuscripts of the Syro-Hexapla such as the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus are very rich in critical signs, some of which are Origenian. The Syro-Hexapla was put together in Egypt by Paul of Tella, at Enaton near Alexandria, around 613-617 CE.⁸³ Scholars speculate about which Greek text was used by Paul for his translation, as the Hexapla did not circulate beyond Caesarea.

⁸² Even though Grenfell labeled *P.Grenf.* 1.5 as “from Fayoum,” this means only that the papyrus was bought there. The “Grenfell papyri” were in fact acquired on the market, not in excavations; therefore, they could in theory come from anywhere in Egypt. I thank Nick Gonis for this information.

⁸³ Cf. Law 2011, 18-22.

P.Grenf. 1.5, the most ancient witness of a “monolingual” LXX text derived from the Hexapla (albeit a very scanty one), suggests that such a “critical” edition, circulated by Pamphilus and Eusebius, reached beyond Caesarea and even to Egypt quite early on. Such a text was certainly among those used by Paul for his Syro-Hexapla, as the Origenian critical signs and the final subscriptions in the Syro-Hexaplaric text prove.⁸⁴

To conclude, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is a unique testimony for Origen’s critical signs as applied to the Old Testament because compared to the other few manuscripts with critical signs it is the oldest and the most faithful to Origen’s system on the basis of what Origen himself says about his use of the Alexandrian *σημεία*. This tiny scrap of papyrus may not prove that the “revised” LXX text was indeed prepared by Origen, but does not disprove this possibility either – in fact, Origen certainly envisaged such a “revised” LXX text as a result of his Hexapla for apologetic purposes; in addition, his critical signs work much better in a Greek-only text than in a huge synoptic edition. The dating of *P.Grenf.* 1.5 is compatible with the possibility that this “revised” LXX text was prepared during the latter part of Origen’s life, even if the wider circulation of such a LXX text is most likely due to Pamphilus and Eusebius.⁸⁵ On the other hand, *P.Grenf.* 1.5 does provide evidence to support a circumstance which has until now been only a supposition:⁸⁶ that this “revised” LXX text (circulated through the scriptorium of Pamphilus and Eusebius) traveled beyond Caesarea early enough (in the early fourth century CE) to be used as one of the basis for the Syro-Hexapla, composed in Egypt in 613-617 CE.

⁸⁴ The Syro-Hexapla, however, is not a simple translation of this “enlarged” Greek LXX text, but incorporates other versions of the Bible (e.g. Lucian) as well. Cf. Jenkins 1991, 263, and especially Law 2008 (with a survey of the main studies on the topic).

⁸⁵ In fact, Nautin 1977, 354, who thought that the fifth column of the Hexapla had critical signs and was copied and circulated as a separate text only by Pamphilus and Eusebius, did not exclude the possibility that Origen himself copied the fifth column on a separate roll for his own use. However, I suggest that the critical signs, which were useless in a synopsis, were added at the moment of compiling this Greek-only text and thus after the Hexapla was finished. This implies that a critical edition of the LXX had already been envisaged by Origen himself as a stand-alone project, since he speaks of the *σημεία* being used to mark quantitative differences between the LXX and the Hebrew Bible. Origen might have initiated this project, which was then carried out at a larger scale by Pamphilus and Eusebius.

⁸⁶ Cf. Law 2011, 18-19: “But how did this bishop [i.e. Paul of Tella] some four centuries after the Hexapla’s completion in Caesarea have access to the giant tomes in Egypt? It is possible that the Egyptian monastery within which Paul worked had in its possession a copy of the LXX text of Eusebius and Pamphilus, complete with the Hexaplaric *sigla*.” Cf. also Jellicoe 1968, 126.

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Errata

- P. 192, second column of table 2 (left): there should be no blank space between line 4 and line 5 of the LXX column.
- P. 204, line 8: read: Tables 1 and 3 (and not: Tables 1 and 2)
- P. 209, line 3: read: omission/addition (and not: addition/omission)
- P. 222, bibliography: read: Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον (and not: *To μέγα βιβλίον*) in Schironi, F. 2010. *To μέγα βιβλίον: Book-Ends, End-Titles, Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry*, American Studies in Papyrology 48, Durham, NC.