

IOSCS Wevers Prize Paper 2022

Aquila's *Secunda Editio*: Evaluating the Appropriation and Evolution of a Concept

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have used the concept of a *secunda editio* ('second edition') of Aquila since the eighteenth century to address numerous *crucis interpretum* of reception history and rabbinic tradition, including Aquila's relationship to Onkelos and more. However, Jerome is the only witness in Late Antiquity for Aquila's second edition and he mentions it only in relation to Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In this essay, I endeavour to answer the question, *How should we understand Jerome's testimony of a second edition of Aquila?* After surveying how scholars have appropriated the notion of a second edition, I analyse the internal evidence of Jerome's attributions to the first or second editions of Aquila, compared with external evidence, and then consider the relevance of dual attributions of Aquila apart from Jerome. Following a reappraisal of Jerome's comments and their reception, I suggest tentative answers to the above research question and consider some ramifications.

INTRODUCTION

In his commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Jerome refers to the "first edition," the "second edition," or *both* editions of Aquila's translation some thirty times. The most important and cited reference comes from Jerome's *Comm. Ezech.* 3:15: "But Aquila's second edition [Lat. *secunda editio*], which the Jews call κατ' ἀκριβειαν, translated [אַקְוִילָה אֲשֶׁר אֵין מְשַׁבְּחִים אֵין] ἡρεμῶζων."¹

* I thank David Shepherd (Trinity College Dublin), the late Jim Aitken (Cambridge University), and Dave Forward (Hebrew University) for their helpful feedback on my paper. The opportunities afforded me by the Trinity Centre for Biblical Studies (Hilary Term 2022) and the IOSCS Conference in Zürich (2022) to present this material much improved it. As well, I thank Bar-Ilan University for their "PhD Sandwich Program Scholarship" May–August 2022, which furnished me with opportunities to complete this research, and the church I serve in Bluesky, Alberta for their leave of absence. As always, thank you, Bryanne. *Carpe Deum*.

¹ My translation. The Latin reads: "Aquilae vero secunda editio, quam Hebraei κατ['] ἀκ[ρ]ίβειαν nominant, transtulit: ἡρεμῶζων, id est, *quiescens*, et *seorsum positus*." (PL 25:39)

Jerome provides no other descriptive information about either edition. Rarely, scholars have claimed that Origen, Eusebius,² and Epiphanius³ mention Aquila's second edition, yet the primary sources do not support these assertions. After Jerome, the earliest unambiguous attestator to the second edition of Aquila seems to be Philip of Harveng (d. 1183; *Responsio de damnatione Salomonis*; PL 203:652–54), who explicitly cites Jerome as the only one to mention it and notes that “some” (unspecified) people doubt its existence.

Most scholars have accepted Jerome's testimony without teasing out the implications.⁴ Some have ignored⁵ or dismissed it,⁶ while a few have shelved the *secunda (editio)* of Aquila as a mystery to be believed but not understood.⁷ Nevertheless, still others have appropriated Jerome to resolve other ambiguous problems related to Aquila (§1), some of whom categorise debatable information as evidence for the *secunda* (§3). Many of these appropriations matter more for historical scholarship, but plentiful recent examples substantiate the pressing need to revisit what exactly the *secunda* was and what

² Richard Simon unfoundedly claims that Eusebius and Origen used two editions of Aquila; *Hieronymi le camus: Theologi Parisiensis Judicium de Nupera Isaaci Vossii ad Iteratas P. Simonii Objectiones Responsione* (Edinburgh: Calderwood, 1685), 11.

³ So Giuseppe Veltri, “Deconstructing Translations: The Canonical Substitution Aquila/Onkelos,” in *Libraries, Translations, and “Canonic” Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, JSJSup 109 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 167 n. 57; Anthony Giambrone, “Aquila's Greek Targum: Reconsidering the Rabbinical Setting of an Ancient Translation,” *HTR* 110.1 (2017): 32 n. 34; Giuseppe Veltri, “Aquila,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 460. The claim that Epiphanius alludes to two editions of Aquila is based on misreading the English translation that Veltri and Giambrone cite: “And this second translation by Aquila [n. 139, ‘Greek: “this one”’] came about after such a (long) time as this, ...” James Elmer Dean, ed. and trans., *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 11 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 32. Epiphanius simply says that Aquila's translation was subsequent to the LXX.

⁴ E.g., Johannes Drusius, “Lectori φιλογλωττωρ,” in *Grammatica Chaldaica, Descripta ex Tabulis Merceri ad Usum Juventutis* (Franeker: Radaeus, 1602), n.p.; Leonhard Bertholdt, *Historischkritische Einleitung in sämtliche kanonische und apokryphische Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments* (Erlangen: Palm, 1813), 2:536; James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 312; Johan Lust, “A Lexicon of the Three and the Transliterations in Ezekiel,” in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July – 3rd August 1994*, ed. Alison Salvesen, TSAJ 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 281–82; cf. 289, 291.

⁵ Kyösti Hyvärinen, *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*, ConBOT 10 (Lund: Gleerup, 1977).

⁶ See n. 75.

⁷ Leon J. Liebreich, review of *Aquila and Onkelos*, by Alec E. Silverstone, *JQR* 27.3 (1937): 291; Ludwig Blau, review of *Onkelos und Akylas*, by Meir Friedmann, *JQR* 9.4 (1897): 733; Emanuel Tov, “The Jewish Bible: Traditions and Translations,” in *Judaism II: Literature*, ed. Michael Tilly and Burton L. Visotzky, Die Religionen der Menschheit 27.2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2021), 51; cf. John Jarick, “Aquila's Koheleth,” *Textus* 15 (1990): 139.

constitutes evidence for it. Accordingly, I attempt to answer the question, *How should we understand Jerome's references to a second edition of Aquila?* Only after assessing all the pertinent information and reviewing the assorted answers can one formulate a defensible answer. And only then will it become apparent whether the appropriations of the *secunda* have led to an evolution of the concept or not.

1. APPROPRIATIONS OF THE CONCEPT

By reviewing the appropriations of the *secunda editio*, one sees that the nature of the *secunda* matters not only for the history of research but for the shape of future research. Jerome provides minimal information about the second edition of Aquila, alluding to it only in relation to Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This fact has not prevented scholars from “discovering” the presence of the *secunda editio* in unlikely places (as with examples §§1.1–2) or from continuing to utilise the *secunda* to resolve other complex issues (as with examples §§1.3–7). Thus, before considering the full dataset available to us (§2), we consider the tentative nature of much that has been said about the *secunda*.

1.1 *Vossius and the δευτέρωσις of Justinian's Novella 146*

In Novella 146 (ca. 533), Justinian reluctantly permits Aquila's translation of the Scriptures for synagogal usage alongside the preferred LXX, while prohibiting the use of the δευτέρωσις.⁸ Perspectives on the δευτέρωσις include its being oral law, the Mishna, targumim, and more, with many interpretations originating in the early modern period. Nevertheless, Isaac Vossius purported that Justinian had Aquila's *secunda editio* in view when he prohibited the δευτέρωσις.⁹ Vossius' peers in the seventeenth and eighteenth century roundly rejected his idea,¹⁰ though it received some affirmation in the

⁸ An English translation can be found in Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), 315–16; cf. 317 n. For research on Novella 146 generally, see e.g. Willem F. Smelik, “Justinian's Novella 146 and Contemporary Judaism,” in *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*, ed. Alison Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law, CBET 66 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 141–63.

⁹ Isaac Vossius, *Variarum Observationum Liber* (London: Scott, 1685), 349–52; idem, *De Sibyllinis Aliisque Quae Christi Natalem Praecessere Oraculis: Accedit Ejusdem Responsio ad Objectiones Nuperae Criticae Sacrae* (Leiden: Gaal, 1680), 131–33.

¹⁰ Outspoken interlocutors included Simon, *Hieronymi le camus*, 10–11; and Humphrey Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Graecis, et Latina Vulgata: Libri IV* (Oxford: The Sheldonian Theatre, 1705), 577–78.

nineteenth century before being forgotten altogether.¹¹ Vossius thus stands at the beginning of a long line of scholars who appeal to the influence of the *secunda* controversially.

1.2 Rapoport and the Vorlage of Targum Onqelos

The nineteenth century yielded new perspectives on the provenance of Targum Onqelos (TO). During this era, Shlomo Yehuda Rapoport (Shir) wrote a letter proposing that Aquila not only translated the Tanakh twice, but that his *secunda editio* in Babylon became the source text from which the Babylonian rabbinate translated TO.¹² Perhaps understandably, no one appears to have followed him on this point.¹³ Rapoport's correspondence nevertheless illustrates another domain in which the *secunda* made a cameo.

1.3 y. Meg. 1.9, 71c and y. Qidd. 1.1, 59a

Those interested in the provenance of Aquila have grappled for centuries with two *baraitot* in the Yerushalmi, which appear to be in tension:¹⁴

R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Hiyya bar Ba: "Aqilas the proselyte translated the Torah before R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and they praised him." (y. Meg. 1.9, 71c)

R. Yosé said in the name of R. Yohanan, "Aqilas the proselyte translated before R. Aqiba [at Lev 19:20], 'and she is a slave, betrothed to another man' as 'laid by a man'." (y. Qidd. 1.1, 59a)

Supposing that both these *baraitot* cannot be true, scholars frequently disregard one or both remarks. But to maintain the integrity of these rabbinic traditions, Saul Lieberman suggested a solution through the *secunda*:¹⁵

¹¹ Eichhorn initially channelled Vossius' suggestion; Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 1st ed. (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1780), 1:346 (§188); see also Philip Smith, "A'quila (Ἀκύλας)," *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* 1:252. Subsequently, De Wette resurrected Hody's critiques, and Eichhorn retracted the possibility in his fourth edition; Wilhelm M. L. De Wette, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1817), 1:58 n. e (§44); Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th ed. (Göttingen: Rosenbusch, 1823), 1:529 (§188).

¹² Shlomo Yehuda Leib Cohen Rapoport, "Letter 4 (Hebrew)," in *Recent Recollections*, ed. Albert Harkavy, Earliest and also Recent Recollections 2 (Vilna: Ben Eleazar Lipman, 1881), 25–28, esp. 27.

¹³ Cf. Meir Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas*, Jahresbericht der israelitisch-theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien für das Schuljahr 1895/96 3 (Vienna: Lippe, 1896), 116–17.

¹⁴ Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Jerusalem Talmud: A Translation and Commentary*, trans. Jacob Neusner et al., Accordance Bible Software, version 2.2. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009), ad locum.

¹⁵ Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary Press, 1994), 19; cf. 15–28, 47 esp. 17–20.

It may be that the original draft, or the first edition of the translation, was confirmed by R. Eliezer and R. Joshua as regards style and exactness, whereas in the method and in the translator's corrections in the second edition he was guided by R. Akiba whom he consulted in Hebrew or Aramaic.

Given that Aquila translates a word from *Leviticus* "before" R. Akiva in y. Qidd. 1.1, Lieberman implies that the *secunda* encompassed not only Jeremiah and Ezekiel but also the Torah.¹⁶

1.4 *The Aquila-Onqelos Question*

Believing that prior attempts to understand the relationship between Aquila and TO were partial, Alec Silverstone contended in 1931 that Aquila and Onqelos were the same person. He argued that Aquila/Onqelos, the student of R. Akiva, translated the Tanakh into Greek, revised his translation, and then translated the Torah into Aramaic. Silverstone's thesis hinges crucially on Aquila's *secunda editio*, to which he repeatedly appeals to justify his claim of a fundamental unity between these translations into Greek and Aramaic when discrepancies appeared between them.¹⁷ According to Silverstone's reasoning, if Aquila improved his technique over time, as the second edition itself supposedly proves, there is no reason to deny developments that could lead gradually from what we find in Aquila to TO.

1.5 *The Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes*

Scholars since the late-nineteenth century have suggested that the Fifth Column of the Hexapla in Ecclesiastes originated from Aquila.¹⁸ Among those who believe that the Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes belongs to Aquila, there are

¹⁶ Giambrone further modifies Lieberman's suggestion for his own purposes; Giambrone, "Aquila's Greek Targum," 37–42.

¹⁷ Alec Eli Silverstone, *Aquila and Onkelos*, SL 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), 39, 68, 87–90; cf. 42, 44, 82–83.

¹⁸ See esp. Peter J. Gentry, "The Relationship of Aquila and Theodotion to the Old Greek of Ecclesiastes in the Marginal Notes of the Syro-Hexapla," *AS* 2.1 (2004): 63–64. Earlier, Montfaucon claimed that the Third Column of the Hexapla everywhere preserved Aquila's second edition. He anachronistically read Origen's *Ep. Afr.* §2 in light of Jerome's *Comm. Ezech.* 3:15, as though what the Jews (according to Jerome) said of Aquila's *secunda* applied to what the Jews (according to Origen) said of Aquila at large. Montfaucon further believed that the Fifth Column of the Hexapla in Ecclesiastes often mixed Aquilan readings into the text, which is understandable since Montfaucon thought that the asterisked materials came from Aquila; Bernard de Montfaucon, "Praeliminaria," in *Hexaplorum Origenis Quae Supersunt, Multis Partibus Auctiora, Quam a Flaminio Nobilio et Joanne Drusio Edita Fuerint* (Paris: Guerin, 1713), 47–48 and his notes on Ecc 7:23, page 67 of vol. 2. McNeile and Salters do not represent Montfaucon clearly; Alan Hugh McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes: With*

two main groups.¹⁹ Some believe the Fifth Column was Aquila's first edition while the fragmentary Tetraplaric attributions derive from Aquila's second edition.²⁰ Others, pre-eminently Barthélemy, believe that the Tetraplaric attributions do not belong to him, thus presupposing a single edition of Aquila for Ecclesiastes.²¹ Yet both groups commonly assume that there was an even more literal *secunda editio* of Aquila for some books, and that its greater conformity to the Hebrew supplies evidence for increasing literalisation *within* Aquila's own efforts. This supposed development is then used to account for exceptions within the Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes compared with Aquila's typical technique. Only now does a slight consensus seem to be emerging in favour of the Fifth Column *not* being attributed to Aquila.²²

1.6 *Akylas* (עקילס) and *Aquila* (Ἀκύλας)

In the early seventeenth century, scholars problematised the relationship between the rabbinic Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic attributions of Akylas and

Notes and Appendices (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), 115; Robin B. Salters, "Observations on the Septuagint of Ecclesiastes," *OTE* 6.2 (1993): 162; cf. 168–69.

¹⁹ Exceptionally, Salters supposes that the Fifth Column was Aquila without specifying which edition it was or whether the Tetraplaric attributions were authentically Aquilan; Salters, "Observations"; cf. Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 82.

²⁰ Among others, see Heinrich H. Grätz, *Kohélet oder der salomonische Prediger, übersetzt und kritisch erläutert* (Leipzig: Winter, 1871), 173–79; McNeile, *Ecclesiastes*, 115–32; Robert Gordis, *Kohleth—The Man and His World: A Study of Ecclesiastes*, 3rd ed. (New York: Schocken, 1968), 135–36.

²¹ M. Salzberger, "Septuagintalübersetzung zum Buche Kohelet," *MGWJ* 22.4 (1873): 168–74; Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 21–33, 57 n. 4, 84 n. 1, 88; Géza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman, eds., *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, rev. (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 3.i:498; cf. 495. The user of the *Index to Aquila* must beware that Turner uses [σ]<α'> to denote instances where he supposes that LXX-Ecc "seems clearly to be Aquila." Joseph Reider and Nigel Turner, *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew; Hebrew-Greek; Latin-Hebrew with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*, VTSup 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), x n. 1.

²² Peter J. Gentry, *Text History of the Greek Ecclesiastes: Introduction to the Göttingen Septuagint Edition of Ecclesiastes*, DSI 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022), 153–54; idem, "New Ultra-Light Translation Techniques in Kaige-Theodotion and Aquila," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2016), 215 and n. 45; Dries De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, DSI 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 255–56; vs. Dominique Barthélemy, *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, trans. Stephen Pisano et al., Textual Criticism and the Translator 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 496 and n. 99; Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint: Summary and Update," in *Textual Developments: Collected Essays, Volume 4*, VTSup 181 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 314–15. Jarick's thesis that the Tetraplaric fragments of Aquila are authentic still leaves open the question whether the Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes came from the *prima* (or *secunda*); see "Aquila's Kohleth," 139.

the Tetraplaric Greek fragments of Aquila.²³ Following two centuries of debate, Rudolf Anger conceived an ingenious solution to the apparent discrepancies between rabbinic and (largely) patristic attributions to Aquila: one could attribute one of two incongruous citations to the *secunda*—even for books beyond Jeremiah and Ezekiel and in instances Jerome does not cite.²⁴

While Anger did not follow his own suggestion, Krauss did.²⁵ Despite Reider critiquing Krauss' appropriation methodologically, Giambrone has recently published an article that follows a similar line of reasoning as Anger and Krauss and attempts to build critically on the earlier work of Lieberman and Barthélemy.²⁶

1.7 Textual Criticism of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Beyond

One need not enter discussions between Jewish and Christian reception histories to encounter difficulties in identifying the original Aquila. Even within the Tetraplaric fragments, scholars frequently try to account for dual conflicting attributions to Aquila by appealing to the *secunda*. Where dual Tetraplaric attributions exist in passages for which Jerome does not attest to two editions, a more reserved contingency appeals to the *secunda* only in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.²⁷ More speculatively, others appeal to the *secunda* for

²³ E.g., Wilhelm Schickard, *Bechinath Happeruschim: Hoc Est Examinis Commentationum Rabbinicarum in Mosen Prodromus vel Sectio Prima* (Hebrew) (Tübingen: Cellius, 1624), 24–25; Brian Walton, *In Biblia Polyglotta Prolegomena* (London: Roycroft, 1657), 1:83; Johann Leusden, “Philologus Hebraeo-Mixtus, Una cum Spicilegio Philologico,” in *Philologus Hebraeus, Continens Quaestiones Hebraicas Quae circa Vetus Testamentum Hebraeum Fere Moveri Solent*, 4th ed. (1663; repr., Basel: Thurnis, 1739), 47–48. Sixteenth century discussions about Aquila did not perceive tensions between “Aquila” and “Akylas”; e.g., Gerard Veltwyck, *Itinera Deserti: De Iudaicis Disciplinis et Earum Vanitate* (Hebrew) (Venice: Bomberg, 1539), n.p.; Azariah de Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes*, ed. and trans. Joanna Weinberg, YJS 31 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001 [orig. 1573]), 571–85 (§45).

²⁴ Rudolf Anger, *De Onkelo, Chaldaico, Quem Ferunt, Pentateuchi Paraphraste, et Quid Ei Rationis Intercedat cum Akila, Graeco Veteris Testamenti Interprete. Particula I. De Akila* (Leipzig: Rückmann, 1845), 28, 10 n. d; cf. Emanuel Deutsch, “Versions, Ancient (Targum),” *A Dictionary of the Bible* 3:1643.

²⁵ Samuel Krauss, “Akylas, der Proselyt,” in *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneider's* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1896), 151–52; cf. 153–58, 160, 162. Krauss went so far as to maintain that, given the popularity of Aquila among the rabbis, basically every anonymous Greek quotation derives from Aquila, whichever edition.

²⁶ Joseph Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew & Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila* (Philadelphia: Oxford University Press, 1916), 98–100; Giambrone, “Aquila's Greek Targum.”

²⁷ Barthélemy, *Les devanciers*, 57, 82–83, 87–88; cf. 222, 264; Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Ezechiel*, SVTG XVI.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), second apparatus at Ezek 10:2. See further Ziegler's introductions in *Ezechiel*, 65 and *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, SVTG XV (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 105–06. A possible source of inspiration is Henry St. John Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings,” *JTS* 8.30 (1907): 272, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/os-VIII.30.262>.

books beyond Jeremiah and Ezekiel.²⁸ Across the spectrum, while some attempt to discern which attribution belongs to which edition, others leave the matter ambiguous.²⁹ Given that one finds the likes of Field, Ziegler, and Reider-Turner assuming a relatively traditional view on the *secunda*, one cannot be quick to assume that such a view of the *secunda* will disappear soon without publicised and marked evidence to the contrary.

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE WITHIN JEROME'S ATTRIBUTIONS

Historically, most appropriations of the *secunda* (including the aforementioned) depend almost entirely upon the testimony of Jerome, especially his *Comm. Ezech.* 3:15. These invocations largely presuppose that whatever Aquila's *secunda* was, it extended throughout the entire translation of the Tanakh. Yet the primary evidence for two editions consists of roughly 28 translations that Jerome attributes to Aquila under the label of the *prima* or *secunda editio* exclusively in his commentaries on Ezekiel and Jeremiah.³⁰ If one is to speak with any definitiveness about the *secunda*, one must first prioritise this internal evidence and contrast it with external witnesses to the translations of Aquila.

Table 1 below provides the instances where Jerome cites at least one edition of Aquila, collated with other witnesses to Aquila's translations in the relevant verses. The table includes five columns: (1) the biblical reference according to the MT; (2) the Hebrew source word;³¹ (3) the first edition

²⁸ E.g., Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti: Psalmi, Proverbia, Job, Daniel, Ezras, Nehemias, Chronica, seu Paralip., Appendix* (Parma: Ex Regio Typographeo, 1788), 4:239; Frederick Field, "Prolegomena in Hexapla Origenis," in *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt: Prolegomena. Genesis-Esther* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), xxvi-xxvii; Charles Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection, Including a Fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm according to Origen's Hexapla* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 29, 46-47; Reider, *Prolegomena*, 92; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Septuagint in Byzantine Judaism," in *T&T Clark Handbook of Septuagint Research*, ed. William A. Ross and W. Edward Glenny (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 279-80.

²⁹ Dozens of times, Turner uses an arrow (→) to indicate an alternative edition, yet on six occasions he even presumes to specify which edition an alternative reading came from for books outside of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; *An Index to Aquila*, 7, 28, 46, 105, 146, 239. Consequently, Turner goes beyond ancient testimony to the second edition, a problem which Barr misunderstood; James Barr, review of *An Index to Aquila*, by Joseph Reider and Nigel Turner, *JSS* 12.2 (1967): 300; cf. 302. Cf. Joseph Ziegler and Peter Katz, "Ein Aquila-Index in Vorbereitung," *VT* 8.1 (1958): 279; cf. 277 and n. 1.

³⁰ This list excludes one case in Jer 29:17 which Field (rightly) omits but others include and another in Dan 1:3 which Field includes but others (rightly) omit. On Dan 1:3, see §4.1.

³¹ The Hebrew text, here as elsewhere, comes from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1997).

(where extant);³² (4) the *Vulgate*, which is aligned with which edition Jerome follows (if either);³³ and (5) the second edition (where extant). Greek and Latin quotations are generally supplied in the nominative form. The null sign (∅) designates an edition Jerome does not supply. Where no Greek attribution is extant, I supply a retroversion from the Latin or Syriac in parentheses from Field or Ziegler.³⁴ Beyond the relevant data from Jerome, the evidence from other witnesses—none of which refers to any “edition” (!)—is supplied, following Göttingen abbreviations. Where able, I indicate whether witnesses ascribe a reading only to Aquila, also to another translator, or only to another translator.³⁵ Jerome’s references themselves display three important variables. The first variable is whether Jerome cites a Greek quotation, a Latin transliteration, or a Latin translation. The second variable is whether Jerome provides one or more Latin glosses of the Greek translation. The third variable is whether Jerome cites just the first, just the second, or both the first and second editions.

Table 1: Two editions of Aquila according to Jerome, compared with other witnesses

Ref.	Heb.	Prima Editio	Vulgate	Secunda Editio
Jeremiah	5:24	שָׁבַעוֹת א'ס' hebdomadae Hi. σ' ἑβδομάδαι 86 א'ס' ܫܒܥܐܝܢ Syh	plenitudo	∅ Hi. א'θ' πλημοναί 86
	8:17	צְפַעְנִים א' reguli Hi. א' ܨܘܫܟܝܢ Syh (βασιλίσκοι)	regulos	α' speculatores Hi. α' ܨܘܫܟܝܢ Syh (σκοπεύοντες)
	13:12	נְבִלָה א' laguncula Hi. א' ܟܘܠܘܬܐ Syh (ὄδρια)	laguncula	α' nebel Hi. α' νέβελ 86 α' ܠܘܠܘܐܝܢ Syh

³² While I gathered the material found in the third and fifth columns of my table from Field and Ziegler, for the Syh I have checked Antonio Maria Ceriani, ed., *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus: Photolithographice Editus*, Monumenta Sacra et Profana 7 (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1874). In many cases, I have further consulted Migne’s *PL* for further context in Jerome’s citations.

³³ The Vulgate text, here as elsewhere, comes from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (1969). The alignment represents my own judgment.

³⁴ I do not specify with whom a particular retroversion originated. Such is not indicated in Göttingen, though it is in Field, who himself inherited numerous retroversions.

³⁵ In cases where Jerome has not supplied the reading of Aquila for an unspecified addition (see the third variable noted above) but another witness supplies a reading that contrasts with Jerome, I have placed the contrastive reading by default in the vacant column. This does not entail that the contrastive reading came from another “edition.”

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Heb.</i>	<i>Prima Editio</i>	<i>Vulgate</i>	<i>Secunda Editio</i>	
20:3	מְגוֹר	<i>a' circumspiciens</i> Hi. (περιπορῶν)	<i>pavor</i>	<i>a' peregrinus</i> Hi. (ξένος)	
21:13	צוּר	<i>a' solida</i> Hi. (στερεά)	<i>solida</i>	<i>a' Tyrus</i> Hi. (Τύρος)	
22:30	עֲרִירִי	<i>a' sterilis</i> Hi. <i>a' גַּל מְלֹא</i> Syh (ἄγονος)	<i>sterilis</i>	<i>a' ἀναύξητος</i> Hi. Chr. <i>a' مَلْءُ</i> Syh	
Ezekiel	3:15	מְשָׁמִים	∅ Hi.	<i>maerens</i>	<i>a' ἠρεμάζων</i> Hi.
	3:27	הַשְׁמַע יִשְׁמַע וְהִקְדַּל יִקְדַּל	∅ Hi. <i>a' <δ ἀκούων ἀκουέτω καὶ ὁ παύομενος παύεσθω</i> 86	<i>qui audit audiat et qui quiescit quiescat</i>	<i>a' qui audit, audietur, et qui relinquit, relinquetur</i> Hi. (ὁ ἀκούων ἀκουσθήσε- ται, καὶ ὁ ἀπολείπων ἀπολειφθήσεται)
	4:9	כֶּסֶם	<i>a' σ' ζέα sive ζεία, spica speltaque</i> Hi. <i>a' σ' ζέα</i> 86	<i>vicia</i>	∅ Hi.
	4:16	מִטָּה	<i>a' baculum</i> Hi. <i>a' ῥάβδος</i> 86	<i>baculum</i>	<i>a' σ'θ' στερέωμα</i> Hi.
	5:7	הַמְנוּכִים	∅ Hi.	<i>superastis</i>	<i>a' numerati estis</i> Hi.
	8:16	אוֹלָם	<i>a' προστάς</i> Hi. 86	<i>vestibulum</i>	<i>a' aelam</i> Hi.
	9:2 ³⁶	קֶסֶת	<i>a'θ' κάστυ</i> Hi. Or.	<i>atramentarium</i>	<i>a' μελανοδοχεῖον</i> Hi.
	16:8	דְּרִים	<i>a'θ' μαστοί</i> Hi. <i>θ' μαστοί</i> Q	<i>amantes</i>	<i>a' συναλλαγή</i> Hi. Q
	16:10 (cf. 16:13)	מְשִׁי	<i>a' palpabile</i> Hi. <i>a' ψηλαφητόν</i> 87–91	<i>subtilis</i>	<i>a' floridum</i> Hi. anon. ἄνθιμον Or.
	16:11	רִבִּיד	∅ Hi.	<i>torques</i>	<i>a' σ' torques</i> Hi <i>σ' περιδερραιον</i> 91 <i>σ' רִבִּיד</i> Syh
	18:10	פְּרִיץ	∅ Hi.	<i>latro</i>	<i>a' peccator</i> Hi. <i>a' ἄμαρτωλός</i> 86
20:6 ³⁷	צָבִי	<i>a' firmamentum</i> Hi. <i>a' στάσις</i> 86	<i>egregia</i>	<i>a' inclytum</i> Hi.	
20:7	שְׁקוּצִים	∅ Hi.	<i>offensiones</i>	<i>a' abscissiones</i> Hi. <i>a' ἀποκόμματα</i> Q	

³⁶ Compare translations of קֶסֶת at Ezek 9:11: *a' μελανοδοχεῖον* 86; *a' atramentarium* Hi.

³⁷ Ezekiel 20:6 is especially convoluted for σ', which may or may not overlap with or distort the readings of Aquila. Compare the judgments of Field, Ziegler, and Migne.

Ref.	Heb.	Prima Editio	Vulgate	Secunda Editio
20:7	גְּלוּלִים	á <i>inquinamenta</i> Hi. (καθάρματα)	<i>idola</i>	á <i>s't' idola</i> Hi. οἱ γ' εἰδωλα 86
22:16	וְנִחַלְתִּי בָךְ	á <i>th' et contaminabo te</i> Hi. θ' βεβηλωθήση 86	<i>et possidebo te</i>	∅ Hi. á κατακληροδοτήσω 86
22:18 (cf. 22:19)	סִיג	á <i>stémfulon et gígartron</i> Hi. θ' γίγαρτον 86 θ' כְּחֹמֶרֶת Syh	<i>scoria</i>	á <i>LXX commixtio</i> Hi. á κρᾶμα 86
27:11	גִּמְדִים	á <i>Pygmaei</i> Hi. (Πυγμαῖοι)	<i>Pigmei</i>	∅ Hi. á τετελεσμένοι 86
40:43	שְׂפָתַיִם	á <i>éπιστάσεις</i> Hi. 87–91	<i>labia</i>	á <i>s't' labia</i> Hi. σ' χειλος 87–91 σ' כְּחֹמֶרֶת Syh
40:49	וּבַמַּעֲלֹת	á <i>et gradus</i> Hi.	<i>et octo gradus</i>	á <i>th' et undecim gradus</i> Hi. (καὶ ἐπὶ ἕνδεκα ἀναβαθμῶν)
42:1	גְּזֵרָה	á <i>s' separatum</i> Hi.	<i>separatum aedificium</i>	á <i>th' gazera</i> Hi. (γαζερά)
44:18	בְּיָזַע	á <i>s' in sudore</i> Hi. σ' כְּחֹמֶרֶת Syh (ἐν ἰδρωτί)	<i>in sudore</i>	á <i>busa</i> Hi. (βουζά)

Space prohibits detailed, individual discussion of every case here, as will be necessary for the editors of the Hexapla Institute. General observations must suffice, first concerning features shared by the readings in Jeremiah and Ezekiel alike, followed by features unique to the attributions in Jeremiah or Ezekiel.

2.1 Jerome had no clear preference for either edition.

The Vulgate reveals a negligible aversion against the second edition: Jerome follows the first edition ten times, the second six times, and neither twelve times. So when Jerome says that the *Jews* called the second edition κατ' ἀκριβειαν, he actually meant to represent their opinion, not his own. But that Jerome follows it at all prohibits us from thinking that he considered it nonsense, as scholars frequently describe Aquila—particularly his second edition.

2.2 A consistent trajectory between the two editions is not apparent.

We are unable to say that the second edition is more (or less) literal, mid-rashic, or consistent than the first edition. This confirms Gentry's critique

against Barthélemy positing an “earlier” and “later” Aquila.³⁸ Obviously, the translations differ, but there is no clear pattern or trajectory *motivating* those differences. If one edition has a transliteration instead of a translation, it is generally the second (Jer 13:12; 21:13; Ezek 8:16; 42:1; 44:18) but not exclusively (Ezek 9:2; 27:11). One might suggest that the second edition in Ezek 40:43 or maybe 20:6 is more “literal,” but the same could be said for the first edition in Jer 5:24; Ezek 4:16; 16:8. Most examples defy such classifications (Jer 8:17; 20:3; Ezek 3:27; 16:10, etc.).

2.3 *In Jeremiah, 86^{mg} and Chrysostom attest to the second edition while Syh^{mg} attests to both editions.*

Chrysostom and Barberinus—the only other witnesses to the translations of Aquila in the relevant cases—only know the second edition. This undermines Ziegler’s hesitant suggestion that where Syh^{mg} and 86^{mg} disagree, 86^{mg} preserves the *prima* and Syh^{mg} the *secunda*.³⁹

More intriguingly, Syh^{mg} provides two readings of Aquila on three occasions (8:17; 13:12 [*secunda* = 86]; 22:30 [*secunda* = Chr.]), always where Jerome does likewise. Syh thus appears to depend upon Jerome at some level.⁴⁰

2.4 *In Ezekiel, external witnesses repeatedly oppose one of Jerome’s attributions.*

Repeatedly in Ezekiel, one or more witnesses assign exclusively to Theodotion or Symmachus what Jerome attributes to Aquila plus Theodotion and/or Symmachus.⁴¹ Significantly, Syh *never* supplies a reading of Aquila in these instances, let alone two. If Syh provides anything, it only contradicts

³⁸ Gentry, “Ultra-Light Translation Techniques,” 206–08, esp. 208; cf. 215.

³⁹ Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 105–06. The challenge of retroversion where dual attributions occur disinclined Ziegler from standing behind his suggestion. Perhaps Ziegler based his hunch on Field arbitrarily placing the Syh in the second column of his list of dual attributions; see Field, “Prolegomena,” xxvi–xxvii. Giambone offers a different sequencing for dual attributions that is similarly arbitrary; “Aquila’s Greek Targum,” 33–35.

⁴⁰ This could imply in some instances that what Jerome translated from Greek into Latin, a Syriac scribe translated from Latin into Syriac. For comparable attestation of Jerome’s influence on later mss, see Bradley John Marsh Jr., “Early Christian Scripture and the Samaritan Pentateuch: A Study in Hexaplaric Manuscript Activity” (University of Oxford, Ph.D. diss., 2016), 45 n. 268 (§1.3.1.1), 46 n. 275 (§1.3.1.2), 71 n. 343 (§2.2).

⁴¹ For the Syh, which in three out of four cases also has support from a Greek witness, see Ezek 16:11 (= σ' only; so 91); 22:18 (= θ' only; so 86); 40:43 (= σ' ; so 87–91); 42:1 (= σ'). The same phenomenon happens with 86 in 22:16 (= θ' only), Q in 16:8 (= θ' only); cf. 16:10 with Or. (= anon.). In Jeremiah, 86 contradicts Jerome’s attributions once in 5:24.

Jerome, while the Greek witnesses never contradict Syh.⁴² In the remaining instances, seven times Jerome (alone or with others) attests to an attribution of Aquila that is shared with Symmachus, Theodotion, or both, which increases the likelihood of confusion in transmission.⁴³

As a subset of such convoluted attributions, there are two instances, at Ezek 4:9 and 22:18 (cf. v. 19), where Jerome supplies two readings of Aquila *even in the first edition*. In 4:9, Barberinus supports *one* of Jerome's attributions, which is also shared with Symmachus. In 22:18, Barberinus contradicts both of Jerome's attributions, whereas Barberinus and Syh attribute to Theodotion only *one* of the readings which Jerome cites for Aquila. Jerome's commentary does not supply a reading of Theodotion at this point, thus indicating that he mistook the reading of Theodotion (γίγαρτον) for Aquila, while στέμφυλον may or may not have been attributed to Aquila in his source. Similar phenomena are not unique to references to the two editions in Ezekiel. In Amos 1:6, Jerome attributes both ἀπηρτισμένη (supported by Syh and Cyril of Alexandria) and ἀναπεπληρωμένη to Aquila as translations of הַמְלִיץ, which, as Dines notes, most likely attests to a gloss creeping into the actual translation of Aquila.⁴⁴

2.5 In Ezekiel, the mixing of the two editions are evenly distributed among Greek witnesses.

Where the Greek witnesses do attest to one of Jerome's attributions, they do not prefer one edition over the other. Barberinus supports the reading of the *prima* six times (3:27; 4:9, 16; 8:16; 9:2 [= Or.]; 20:6) and the *secunda* five times (18:10; 20:7; 22:16, 17; 27:11). Origen cites the reading of both editions once apiece (the *prima* in 9:2 [= 86] and the *secunda* in 16:10 [*contra* 87–91]). Marchalianus supplies the reading of the *secunda* twice (16:8; 20:7) whereas mss 87–91 supply the readings of the *prima* twice (16:10 [cf. Or.]; 40:43). The witnesses are perfectly split, yet, with the exception of Origen's anonymous attribution in Ezek 16:10, they do not contradict one another. The question then becomes why Jerome would have possessed a copy of Aquila for Ezekiel which enjoys support from Greek witnesses at times for the *secunda*, at times for the *prima*, yet never for both.

⁴² Excepting possibly Ezek 16:10, the Greek sources never contradict one another either.

⁴³ Jerome alone attests to a reading that includes Aquila and another(s) in Ezek 4:16 and 16:10. Jerome along with other witness do the same in Ezek 4:9; 9:2; 20:7; 40:49; 42:1.

⁴⁴ Jennifer M. Dines, "Jerome and the Hexapla: The Witness of the Commentary on Amos," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, 428 n. 23.

3. EVIDENCE FOR THE *SECUNDA EDITIO* BEYOND JEROME

While Jerome provides the main explicit testimony to the *secunda*, the question about the nature of the *secunda* is further complicated by the need to determine what qualifies as primary evidence for it. Field compiled a list of some four dozen cases where two different translations of the same Heb. word are attributed to Aquila, which he and others have cited as proof of the *secunda*.⁴⁵ More examples could likely be added to Field's list, as he himself believed. However, whether dual attributions constitute evidence for two editions requires further consideration.

3.1 *Dual attributions from different sources*

As we will see, most of the dual attributions (about 40) which Field cites derive from two sources and seem less significant once categorised with more nuance. The other cases involving dual attributions within codices Ambrosianus and Barberinus require greater analysis than has been necessary thus far (§§3.2–3).

3.1.1 Cases involving retroversion (~30×)

About 30 cases involve Latin or Syriac retroversion, occasionally not involving Greek attributions at all.⁴⁶ Weitzman wisely critiques citing retroversions in conflict with Greek attributions as evidence of two versions; the same should be said for instances where, for example, a Latin and Syriac attribution conflict.⁴⁷ Thus, this evidence for two editions is slender indeed.

3.1.2 Ziegler or Field do not accept readings as authentic (6×)

Ziegler's editorial judgment in the Göttingen apparatuses contradicts Field in four cases: Isa 29:1; 31:7; 33:20; Jer 37(44):16. In two further cases,

⁴⁵ Field, "Prolegomena," xxvi–xxvii; cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 120. Giambone muddles the instances where Jerome cites one or two editions of Aquila with the dual attributions from elsewhere when he states, "Field enumerates 77 cases where Jerome provides parallel readings from the two editions." "Aquila's Greek Targum," 32 n. 34.

⁴⁶ Num 11:8; 2 Kgs 23:7; Pss 22(21):17; 45(44):13; 46(45):9; 48(47):15; 75(74):4; 80(79):14; 90(89):10; 119(118):20; Isa 52:5; Jer 3:19; 11:9; 12:5 (2×); 29:17 (36:14); 31(38):7, 20; 33(40):6; 36(43):15; 37(44):21; 38(45):26; 43(50):12; 48(31):1, 37; 49:14, 30 (29:15; 30:8); 50(27):8; 52:17; Mic 3:12. Ziegler in the apparatus for Micah 3:12 corrects the Greek to match the Syh.

⁴⁷ Michael P. Weitzman, "The Reliability of Retroversions of the Three from the Syrohexapla: A Pilot Study in Hosea," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragment*, 320; cf. 319–20. Although Weitzman speaks specifically of Syriac retroversions, the same would apply to Latin retroversions.

Field himself does lean away from two editions of Aquila as the underlying cause in his critical reconstruction of the text: 1 Sam 6:8 and 2 Sam 8:7.

3.1.3 Cases involving dual attributions for Theodotion and/or Symmachus (6×)


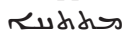
Six times, Theodotion and/or Symmachus also have dual attributions: Exod 1:7; Lev 16:8; Num 11:8; Jer 49:19 (29:20); 1 Sam 26:5; Ezek 1:4.⁴⁸ Unless we are to infer from this that two editions are evidenced whenever dual attributions occur, surely we should not be quick to regard these cases as evidence for two editions.

3.1.4 Cases involving etymological rendering or transliteration (3×)

As may be seen in Table 1 above, dual attributions among Greek witnesses sometimes involve a transliteration (Jer 48:12 [cf. 6:1 in §3.3.3]; Jonah 4:6) or variant etymological rendering (Jer 43:10).⁴⁹ Such readings suggest that scribes read the Hebrew text alongside Aquila while knowing enough Hebrew to “improve upon” Aquila.

Generally, dual attributions to Aquila likely originated from factors besides the *secunda*. Indeed, Reider already recognised that most dual attributions resulted from scribal error, particularly where one Aquilan attribution was included with others (esp. οἱ λοιποί).⁵⁰ This reasoning does not automatically clarify the correct reading for dual attributions to Aquila, but it does suggest that we need to promote just one (or neither) like we would with dual attributions for Theodotion and Symmachus (cf. §3.1.3).

3.2 Dual attributions from Codex Ambrosianus (Syh)

Apart from the three instances in Jeremiah (8:17; 13:12; 22:30) that depend upon Jerome (see §2.3), the margin of codex Ambrosianus independently provides a dual attribution for Aquila once elsewhere. In Ps 73(72):21, the unique Hithpa’el form of לִשְׁנֹן ‘to sharpen’ in the phrase וְכִלְיֹתַי אֶשְׁתַּנֵּן has two readings for Aquila. The first is  retroverted as καὶ νεφροί μου παρωξύνοντο by Field. An appended variant limited to the second Heb. word in the phrase attests , which Field retroverts as πῦρ καπνιζόμενον (cf. Vulgate). The latter reads the Heb. as

⁴⁸ For the same phenomenon involving retroversion in §3.1.1, see Jer 43(50):12; 48(31):1; 50(27):8.

⁴⁹ For the same phenomenon involving retroversion in §3.1.1, see Ps 45(46):13; Jer 37(44):21; 52:17 and possibly Ps 77(76):14.

⁵⁰ Reider, *Prolegomena*, 11 n. 26; see also 11–13 and cf. 62, 69, 73, 89, 92.

though אַש תּוֹנָן through *notarikon*.⁵¹ Rather than pointing to two editions, the variant presupposes ongoing interaction with Aquila and the Hebrew text. Either reading could be Aquila's.

3.3 *Dual attributions from Codex Barberinus (86)*

Codex Barberinus (86), which Ziegler dates to between the ninth and tenth centuries,⁵² provides explicit or potential evidence for two editions of Aquila in the margins on four occasions: Isa 62:8; Jer 6:1; 25:38 (32:24); and Ezek 10:2. Mercati thought that the variants which Barberinus lists for Aquila in the Prophets are misleading and due to scribal errors,⁵³ but even a brief assessment illustrates fascinating happenstances.

3.3.1 Isaiah 62:8: Two words for Aquila cited under one attribution

At Isa 62:8, Barberinus cites Aquila's translation of תִּירוּשׁ as οἴνια ὁπωρισμός (emended to ὁπωρισμός in Field, Ziegler). These two words are not given as two separate attributions for Aquila. Rather, they both appear as the single translation for one word. The problem is that Aquila is unlikely to have translated תִּירוּשׁ as both οἴνια and ὁπωρισμός. When we consider Aquila's translations of תִּירוּשׁ elsewhere, we discover that he used οἴνια and ὁπωρισμός equally often yet never simultaneously.

Table 2: Aquila's translations of תִּירוּשׁ

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Aquila</i>
Deut 7:14	α' ὁπωρισμός M Hi.
Hos 2:24(22)	α' סַחֲרֵי Syh (οἴνια; cf. Prov 12:11b)
Zech 9:17	α' οἴνια Hi.
Isa 24:7	α' ὁπωρισμός Eus.
Isa 62:8	α' οἴνια ὁπωρισμός [<i>sic</i>] 86

⁵¹ The famous case of אַש דָּת versus אַש דָּת in Deut 33:2 is closely related.

⁵² Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 8; idem, *Isaias*, SVTG (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), XIV.2:8.

⁵³ Giovanni Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae, Pars Prima: Osservazione; commento critico al testo dei frammenti Esaplari* (Rome: Vatican Library, 1965), xiii.

Field, Ziegler, and Turner favour explaining the dual attributions in Isa 62:8 by invoking the *secunda*.⁵⁴ However, if we acknowledge that Aquila's stereotyped consistency is not as rigorous as most imagine, we spare ourselves having to decide which translation could have come from which edition. More plausibly, the copyist of 86 (or his predecessor) added ὀπωρισμός to οἰνία upon remembering this famous translation of Aquila from Deut 7:14 (Jerome's *Epist.* 57 §11) or even the earlier translation at Isa 24:7, which garners support from the misspelled ὀπορισμός. The aurally similar omicron and omega likely led the scribe to append the uncommon word as he remembered it, not as he saw it on the page before him.

3.3.2 Jeremiah 25:38 (32:24) and Ezekiel 10:2: Two competing attributions of Aquila

Akin to Ambrosianus in Ps 73(72):21, which lists one attribution of Aquila after another, Barberinus at Jer 25:38 (32:24) and Ezek 10:2 gives two readings of Aquila. Both of these have occasionally been thought to originate from the two editions.

First, at Jer 25:38 (32:24), Barberinus attributes two separate translations of the Heb. participle הַיָּזִיחַ 'violent' to Aquila in otherwise standard fashion. One might thus conclude that two editions are visible here, but a closer look at additional attributions suggests otherwise:

Table 3: Aquila's translations of הַיָּזִיחַ in Jeremiah

Ref.	Aquila	Aquila	Aquila
Jer 25:38 (32:24)	ἀθ' ὡς ἡ περιστερά 86	ἀ' τεθολωμένη 86	ἀ' ܠܫܘܠܐ (μοναχί) Syh θ' ܠܫܘܠܐ (collecta) Syh
Jer 46(26):16	ἀθ' ἡ περιστερά 86	σ' ἡ οἰνωμένη 86 ἀσ' ܠܘܝ Syh	
Jer 50(27):16	ἀ' ἡ περιστερά 86 οἱ λ' ἡ περιστερά Or.	ἀ' ἡ οἰνωμένη 86 ἀσ' ܠܘܝ Syh	

There are as many as four different translations of הַיָּזִיחַ ascribed to Aquila in Jeremiah, three of which are in Jer 25:38 (32:24)—and there are two dif-

⁵⁴ Apart from Field and Ziegler *ad locum*, see also Frederick Field, *Otium Norvicense, sive Tentamen de Reliquiis Aquilae, Symmachi, Theodotionis, e Lingua Syriaca in Graecam Convertendis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1864), 68–69; Reider and Turner, *An Index to Aquila*, 170, 174.

ferent translations ascribed to Theodotion as well.⁵⁵ Following the logic that every attribution to Aquila originates from a different edition, one could, like Turner, contemplate the possibility of three editions of Aquila: “I have ... tried to indicate all instances which seem to prove that there were *at least* two editions of Aquila’s version.”⁵⁶ More likely, Aquila and Theodotion’s sole translation for **הַיִּזְנָה** in Jeremiah was ἡ περιστερὰ ‘dove’ (so Vulgate: *columba*), which is always ascribed to Aquila, whatever else might be added. The extra attributions to Aquila and Theodotion would then have accrued to them by mistake as scribes wrestled with the meaning and etymology of the word.⁵⁷

Second, at Ezek 10:2, Barberinus again attributes two readings to Aquila for his translation of **הַבְּדִים** ‘linens’. Important patterns emerge when one considers his other translations of **בד** from Ezekiel compared with Samuel:

Table 4: Aquila’s translations of **בד** in Ezekiel and Samuel⁵⁸

Ref.	Heb.	Aquila	Aquila
Ezek 9:2	הַבְּדִים	α' ἐξαίρετα 86 α' <i>praecipua</i> Hi.	
Ezek 9:11	הַבְּדִים	α' τὰ ἐξαίρετα 86 α' <i>praecipua</i> Hi.	
Ezek 10:2	הַבְּדִים	α' ἐξαίρετα 86	α' τὰ μόνα 86
1 Sam 2:18	בד	α' ἐξαίρετον ἢ μοναχόν M	
1 Sam 22:18	בד	α' ἐξαίρετον 92 α' ἐξέρετον 108	
2 Sam 6:14	בד	α' ἐξαίρετον 243	

Though Ziegler in the second apparatus attributes τὰ μόνα to the *secunda*, Aquila always uses ἐξαίρετον ‘special, chosen’ to translate **בד** III ‘linen’ (as though **בד** I ‘alone’), whether ἐξαίρετα ‘special (attire)’ in Ezekiel or

⁵⁵ Ziegler cites Syh in support of 86 at Jer 25:38 (32:24), thus providing two readings of Aquila. I fail to see how τεθλωμένη (from θολώω ‘I am muddied, stained; disturbed, upset’) could possibly lead to **לְסֵבֵאִתָּא** ‘alone, single’.

⁵⁶ Turner, *An Index to Aquila*, x; emphasis added.

⁵⁷ The translation **לְסֵבֵאִתָּא** (μοναχῆ) implies that the Heb. was read etymologically as though Latin *una* (יְזִנָּה). Symmachus’ translation ἡ οἰνωμένη ‘drunk’ (from οἰνώω) implies that he read the Heb. **יְזִנָּה** as though related to **יַיִן** ‘wine’, which modern dictionaries of ancient Hebrew and Greek likewise connect etymologically.

⁵⁸ Field attributes the readings in 1 Sam 2:18 to “cod. X” and in 2 Sam 6:14 to “cod. 248,” which may be “simply printing (or OCR) errors.” Tuukka Kauhanen; personal email, 22 August, 2022. My thanks to him for providing the correct sigla for Reigns.

ἐξαίρετον ‘special (ephod)’ in Samuel. Astoundingly, it seems the marginalia of Ezekiel and Samuel both preserve an instance where glossators clarified the sense of ἐξαίρετον using partial synonyms, whether μόνον ‘unique, exclusive, alone’ (Ezek 10:2) or μοναχόν ‘unique, single’ (1 Sam 2:18). The attribution ἐπένδυμα ἐξαίρετον ἢ μοναχόν for Aquila’s translation of אֶפֶֿדֿ בָּ at 1 Sam 2:18 is also remarkably reminiscent of Jerome’s expression “X sive X” (see Ezek 4:9 in Table 1). Thus, early scribes and scholars seem to have studied the grapheme בָּ using Aquila. Especially since one source always attributes ἐξαίρετον to Aquila, two editions are likely not involved.

3.3.3 Jeremiah 6:1: “Another edition of Aquila”

The most significant evidence for two editions of Aquila apart from Jerome is undoubtedly the marginal note of Barberinus for Jer 6:1. After listing a normal attribution to Aquila on the bottom of the page, it lists a second reading ἐξ ἄλλης ἐκδόσεως ἀκ^υλ/ “from another edition of Aquila.” The two attributions are differentiated by whether Aquila transliterated (86^{mg1}) or translated (86^{mg2} Syh^{mg}) בֵּית הַכְּרָם:

Table 5: Aquila at Jer 6:1 according to 86 and Syh

Ref.	Heb.	Aquila	Aquila
Jer 6:1	וְעַל-בֵּית הַכְּרָם	ἀ’ καὶ ἐπὶ βαιθχαρμα 86	ἀ’ καὶ ἐπὶ οἶκον τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος 86 ἀ’ אֶבְרָחָם אֶבְרָחָם אֶבְרָחָם Syh

The Syrohexapla supports “another reading of Aquila” where Aquila translates, which weighs in its favour. One cannot say that Aquila “always” transliterates or translates proper names,⁵⁹ although Aquila “shows a predilection for translating many a place-name.”⁶⁰ What points us further in this direction is that we would expect Aquila to transliterate בֵּית הַכְּרָם as βῆθ-χερεμ, not βαιθχαρμα.⁶¹ Thus, Aquila’s slight preference for translation,

⁵⁹ *Contra* Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 348–49. They imply that Aquila transliterates even more than Theodotion, but see Lust, “A Lexicon of the Three and the Transliterations in Ezekiel,” 277; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 139 n. 69. Further, Treat gives instances where Aquila transliterates what OG translates and where OG transliterates what Aquila translates; Jay Curry Treat, “Aquila, Field, and the Song of Songs,” in *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments*, 145, 153 vs. 152, 161–62.

⁶⁰ Reider, *Prolegomena*, 20; see 18–20 and n. 46.

⁶¹ Burkitt helpfully summarises Aquila’s transliteration system in F. Crawford Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila* (Cambridge: Cambridge

his typical method of transcription, and the extra evidence from the Syh all indicate that “the other edition of Aquila” is the original and only reading of Aquila.

One could take Barberinus’ reference to the “other edition” of Aquila as unequivocal proof for two editions; the note undoubtedly alludes to the two editions. Though this is conceivable,⁶² a more likely explanation is that the marginal copyist of Barberinus (or the scribe from whom this copyist obtained the reading) knew about Jerome’s remarks and therefore speculated that two editions of Aquila were in view—just as modern text-critics are wont to do. Beyond this, the scribe was unwilling to guess at the sequence (not “first” or “second” but “another edition of Aquila”) and simply left the matter vague. If this account rings true, then Jerome would be our only current source of evidence for the *secunda editio* of Aquila; all additional “evidence” depends upon Jerome.

4. EVALUATING THE TESTIMONY OF JEROME

Having concluded that our only evidence for two editions of Aquila comes ultimately from and through Jerome, the question then becomes how one reconciles the complicated manuscript data with how Jerome describes the *secunda editio* of Aquila. Every effort should be made to interpret Jerome like the informed witness that he was, neither reading one’s own perspective of Aquila into Jerome nor dismissing Jerome altogether.⁶³

4.1 “*The second edition of Aquila, which the Jews call κατ’ ἀκριβειαν*”

Apart from the manuscript evidence, Jerome’s parenthetical comment in his *Comm. Ezech.* 3:15 supplies the only descriptive information about the *secunda* that exists: “(the) Jews call [the *secunda editio*] κατ’ ἀκριβειαν.” Jerome’s deference to the Jews’ description of the *secunda editio* implies not only their familiarity with it but that the second “edition,” like the first,

University Press, 1897), 14, including an instance there of βηθηλ for בֵּית אֵל. The transliterations listed in Reider and Turner, *An Index to Aquila*, 39, reveal corruption; Turner has incorrectly cited σ’ under the reading of 86 at Jer 6:1; cf. 41.

⁶² See Field and Ziegler *ad locum* plus Field, “Prolegomena,” xxvii; Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 105–06.

⁶³ See Peter J. Gentry, “The Septuagint and Origen’s Hexapla,” in *T&T Clark Handbook of Septuagint Research*, 203–04; Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim*, OCM (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); cf. Smelik, “Justinian’s Novella 146,” 162–63.

was a Jewish product.⁶⁴ Jerome, living in Bethlehem, seemingly obtained his “second edition” copies of Aquila in Ezekiel and Jeremiah from local Jews (i.e., independently from the Tetrapla). Jerome proves to be an exception to the rule that contemporary Christians depended upon the Tetrapla for their access to the Three.⁶⁵

When Jerome describes the *secunda editio* as κατ’ ἀκριβειαν, we cannot know absolutely whether he was paraphrasing Greek-speaking Jews’ sentiments or quoting them verbatim. His use of the phrase in a related instance, however, suggests that he employed the phrase in a high register to connote *accurately* with eloquence:⁶⁶

et pro [פרתמים]..., quod nos[,] juxta editionem Hebraeorum quae κατ’ ἀκριβειαν legitur, in tyrannos uertimus (*Comm. Dan.* 1:3; PL 25:496)

[As for פרתמים,] we translate it ‘princes’ according to the Hebrew edition when read κατ’ ἀκριβειαν.

Jerome codeswitches for rhetorical effect. He exploits a Greek word (like any academic might) in his Latin commentary to convey a particular idea—

⁶⁴ We should refrain from reading external information about Greco-Roman ἐκδόσεις into the present context, on which see Francesca Schironi, “Early Editions,” in *The Cambridge Guide to Homer*, ed. Corinne Ondine Pache (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 112–15; and idem “P.Gren. 1.5, Origen, and the Scriptorium of Caesarea,” *BASP* 52 (2015): 181–223. Francesca Schironi and Peter Gentry each have communicated with me their scepticism about positing a Jewish “city edition” for Jeremiah or Ezekiel; personal emails, April–July 2022. The forthcoming proceedings of the “Origen as Philologist” Colloquium, held November 17–18, 2021 by the Text & Canon Institute at Phoenix Seminary, should prove helpful for further research along these lines.

⁶⁵ Reinhart Ceulemans, “Greek Christian Access to ‘The Three’, 250–600 CE,” esp. 180–83; Dines, “Jerome and the Hexapla,” 433 et al.; cf. Alberto Vaccari, “Esaple ed Esaplare in S. Girolamo,” *Bib* 8.4 (1927): 464; Kamesar, *A Study of the Quaestiones*, 72 and n. 118; Edmon L. Gallagher, “The Religious Provenance of the Aquila Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah,” *JJS* 64.2 (2013): 294 n. 49, <https://doi.org/10.18647/3141/JJS-2013>; Michael Graves, “1.2.1 Antiquity and Late Antiquity,” in *Textual History of the Bible. Volume 3A: A Companion to Textual Criticism: The History of Research of Textual Criticism*, ed. Armin Lange and Russell Fuller (Leiden: Brill, 2017), §1.2.1.2.2, https://doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_000809.

⁶⁶ My translation in large measure follows Gleason L. Archer Jr., trans., *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1958), 20. Assuming that κατ’ ἀκριβειαν necessarily implies the *secunda editio* allows our encyclopaedic knowledge to trump a contextual reading of Jerome; *contra* Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), at Dan 1:3; Joseph Ziegler, Olivier Munnich, and Detlef Fraenkel, eds., *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, SVTG XVI.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), second apparatus at Dan 1:3; Jason T. Parry, “18.3.2 Other Greek Versions Prior to the Hexapla,” in *Textual History of the Bible. Volume 1C: The Hebrew Bible: Writings*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2017), §18.3.2.3.2.

or even to impress his audience. Similarly, the Vulgate translates the adverbial phrase *κατ' ἀκρίβειαν* 'accurately, exactly' in Acts 22:3 as *iuxta veritatem* 'according to the truth'.⁶⁷ Thus, Jerome refers to his own translation as *accurately* understanding the Hebrew text in *Comm. Dan.*, even as the Jews thought that their edition of Aquila *accurately* represented the Hebrew source.⁶⁸ Jerome felt otherwise about the *secunda*'s accuracy (§2.1), but he represented their sentiments fairly.⁶⁹

4.2 *The prima and secunda of Symmachus*

Before offering a tentative picture of what the *secunda* might have been, it is important to note that Jerome also refers to two editions of Symmachus, though it has not received the same attention as has the two editions of Aquila. No one since Field has been inclined to admit Symmachus' two editions as anything more than corruptions or scribes' *ad hoc* improvements, and the same goes for dual attributions to Symmachus.⁷⁰

Jerome in *Comm. Nah.* 3:1 says Symmachus translates *הַאֲלֵמָּה קִרְפָּה* as "ἀποτομίας πλήρης.... In altera ejus editione reperi, μελοκοπίας πλήρης." (PL 25:1254) Then in *Comm. Jer.* 32(39):30, Jerome states that for *קִרְפָּה*, "Symmachi prima editio, et Septuaginta, et Theodotio, *solos* [μόνοι] interpretati sunt. Secunda quippe Symmachi vertit *διόλον*." (PL 24:931) Other mss offer no help in these specific instances. In a third instance, Jerome remarks at Jer 20:2 that Symmachus translates *תִּרְפָּהּ הַמֶּה* as "βασανιστήριον sive στρεβλωτήριον, quod utrumque *tormenta* significat." (PL 24:834) The problem is that *תִּרְפָּהּ הַמֶּה* also appears in v. 3. Helpfully, Barberinus attributes *βασανιστήριον* to Symmachus in v. 2 but *στρεβλωτήριον* to him

⁶⁷ Cf. Sabrina Inowlocki, "'Neither Adding nor Omitting Anything': Josephus' Promise Not to Modify the Scriptures in Greek and Latin Context," *JJS* 56.1 (2005): 53–54.

⁶⁸ According to Giambrone, one may "suppose that *kat' akribeian* should be understood to suggest *kat' Akiban* ..."; "Aquila's Greek Targum," 38. The conjecture is more clever than plausible.

⁶⁹ Elsewhere, Jerome ambiguously relays Jewish perspectives and practices using Greek terminology, while Origen mentions "accuracy" in connection with transmission rather than translation; see Gallagher, "Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah," 300–03.

⁷⁰ Field, "Prolegomena," xxxvi–xxxvii; José Ramón Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos*, TECC 22 (Madrid: CSIC, 1978), 309–10; José González Luis, "La versión de Símaco a los Profetas Mayores" (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Ph.D. diss., 1981), 46–49; Olivier Munnich, "La texte de la Septante," in *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, ed. Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich, 2nd ed., Initiations au christianisme ancien (Paris: Cerf/CNRS, 1994), 148; Timothy Michael Law, "The Translation of Symmachus in 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms)," in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Ljubljana, 2007*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 55 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 290.

in v. 3.⁷¹ It thus appears that Jerome juxtaposed differing translations of the same word to shed exegetical light on a Hebrew word under consideration, without acknowledging that the translations came from two different verses. Jerome refers to two editions of Symmachus at Jer 32(39):30 and Nah 3:1 but not at Jer 20:2.

Field and Ziegler accept Jerome's testimony about two editions of Aquila while rejecting his testimony about two editions of Symmachus.⁷² Yet the evidence for two editions of Aquila and Symmachus differs quantitatively, not qualitatively (i.e., the testimony and usage of Jerome plus dual attributions). However one accounts for Jerome's remarks about two editions of Aquila, one should understand Jerome's remarks about two editions of Symmachus similarly unless good reasons exist not to do so.

4.3 Making sense of the secunda of Aquila

While the data will probably never allow all questions regarding the *secunda editio* of Aquila to be answered to everyone's satisfaction, I offer the following suggestions in light of the evidence gathered above.

4.3.1 Who made the second edition?

Over the centuries, most scholars seem to have assumed from the genitive relationship in *Aquila's secunda editio* that Aquila himself produced the *secunda*, whatever its scope.⁷³ Although possible, this assumption does not explain why Jerome—more than two centuries after Aquila—was privy to information unmentioned by earlier and contemporary Jews and Christians. Grammatically and semantically, one need not understand “the second edition of Aquila” to entail that Aquila edited his own translation. Rather, one might better appreciate others' silence and Jerome's reliability by taking “the second edition of Aquila” to imply that *subsequent scribes* edited “the translation of Aquila,” in the same way one can refer to “Schürer's” *History of the Jewish People* or “Gesenius's” *Hebrew Grammar*, which in their newer editions represent the work of later editors as much as the original authors.⁷⁴

⁷¹ The mss evidence is admittedly more complex. According to 86^{mg} at Jer 29(36):26, Symmachus translates תַּבְּרַתְּהֶם as εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν, thus indicating a third translation; cf. n. 56 above. Yet for Jer 20:2 and 29(36):26 (nothing at 20:3), the Syh attributes אֶבְרַתְּהֶם ‘the house of torture’ to Symmachus.

⁷² Field, “Prolegomena,” xxiv–xxvii vs. xxxvi–xxxvii; Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 106.

⁷³ Apart from many referenced in n. 4 above, this would include those in nn. 78–79 below.

⁷⁴ My thanks to Leeor Gottlieb for the latter example; personal conversation, 11 August, 2022.

In contrast with traditional views, more and more scholars suppose that the mention of two editions originated in confusion between Aquila and similar Jewish translations, especially within the broader *kaige* group.⁷⁵ By implication, where Jerome mentions two editions, one reading likely came from a predecessor of Aquila. While certainly possible, Blondheim and others have increasingly proven that Jewish scribes and translators repeatedly used Aquila's translation for studying Tanakh and producing new translations.⁷⁶ For scribes to take what was already beloved and make it more "accurate" would hardly be controversial. Thus, in the case of the *secunda*, I suspect one should look less to Barthélemy and more to Blondheim: where Jerome mentions two editions of Aquila, one of these readings may often (not exclusively) have come from a follower of Aquila.

4.3.2 For which books was there a second edition?

Concerning which books the *secunda* encompassed, one must remember that all the evidence derives from Jerome. Much "evidence" for books besides Jeremiah and Ezekiel consists simply of ongoing interaction with Aquila during transmission, which is true for Theodotion and Symmachus too (§3.1.3). Jewish scribes could have made a second edition of other books.⁷⁷ Such speculation may be a reasonable inference. For many, it has been a convenient inference (§2.1). But it is not a necessary one. Even if one assumes that Barberinus provides evidence for a second edition independently of Jerome (§3.3.3), it would still be for Jeremiah only. Without explicit references to the first or second edition, we have no way of identifying further instances based on translation technique (§2.2).

⁷⁵ Jellicoe, *Modern Study*, 82; Veltri, "Aquila," 460; cf. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 119–20. Vermes, Millar, and Goodman suggest the possibility that Aquila's reputation could have magnetized others' independent translations to himself; *The Jewish People*, Vol. 3.i, 495; cf. 498. This certainly happened, as has long been noted especially in the rabbinic tradition. Though likewise related to Aquila's popularity, it constitutes a separate phenomenon.

⁷⁶ David S. Blondheim, *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina: Étude sur les rapports entre les traductions bibliques en langue Romane des Juifs au Moyen Âge et les anciennes versions* (1925; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Nicholas de Lange, "The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (Washington, DC, 2010), 39–54.

⁷⁷ Few have cautioned about the speculation involved in assuming that the *secunda* extended beyond the books which Jerome explicates: Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 1:346 (§188); Samuel P. Tregelles, "Greek Versions of the Old Testament," *A Dictionary of the Bible* 3:1622; Salzberger, "Septuagintalübersetzung," 170.

4.3.3 How extensive was the second edition and how was it visually represented?

Some speculate that the extent of revision in the *secunda* was pervasive,⁷⁸ while others are inclined to regard it instead as a partial “treatment”⁷⁹ or “recension.”⁸⁰ The fact that so few illustrations of an alternative edition exist—less than thirty for Aquila and only two for Symmachus—indicates nothing systematic or pervasive. Graves’ opinion, drawing on Field, is therefore appealing, especially as it accounts for the *secundae* of Aquila and Symmachus simultaneously: “for Jerome [the second edition readings] were probably nothing more than a limited number of variant readings written in the margins of his copies...”⁸¹ Enticing as Graves’ suggestion is, the matter is not so simple. If it were true, Jerome would then have presumably called marginal variants the “second edition” and the main text the “first.” But then why would external Greek mss *only* attest to what Jerome calls the second edition in Jeremiah (§2.3), while in Ezekiel, the distribution of Greek mss readings are split evenly between both editions (§2.5), often contradicting Jerome (§2.4)? Further, would it not be odd for someone like Jerome to infer simply from marginal variants—undoubtedly a common phenomenon—the existence of two separate editions? Why then do we not see others mentioning a second “edition” when they encounter similar marginalia?

The answer to the problem is not obvious and thus we resort to speculation in search of a solution. Perhaps during the 250 years between Aquila translating and Jerome commentating, Jewish scribe(s) annotated Aquila’s translations of Ezekiel and Jeremiah and Symmachus’ translations of Nahum and Jeremiah.⁸² It is probable that Jewish scribes subsequent to Aquila—much

⁷⁸ E.g., Bertholdt, *Historischkritische Einleitung*, 2:536; Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas*, 48–50.

⁷⁹ E.g., Field, “Prolegomena,” xxxvi. Along similar lines, see Tregelles, “Greek Versions,” 3:1622–23; Charles Taylor, “Hexapla, the (τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ, τὸ ἑξαπλοῦν, τὸ ἑξασέλιδον),” *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* 3:17.

⁸⁰ Reider, *Prolegomena*, 92.

⁸¹ Michael Graves, “Translator’s Introduction,” in *Commentary on Jeremiah*, ed. Christopher A. Hall, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2011), xxxiv n. 21; idem, *Jerome’s Hebrew Philology: A Study Based on His Commentary on Jeremiah*, VCSup 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 94 n. 71, 101–02, 186–87; Field, “Prolegomena,” xxv–xxvi; Weitzman, “The Reliability of Retroversions,” 320. I thank Michael Graves for referring me to his publications; personal email, November 18, 2021.

⁸² Jerome wrote these commentaries in Bethlehem, finishing them by 401 CE for Nahum; 414 CE for Ezekiel; and 419 CE for Jeremiah, which was left incomplete when he died; Graves, “Antiquity and Late Antiquity,” §1.2.1.2. Jerome’s first reference to an alternative edition is thus Symmachus’ “other edition” (*Comm. Nah.* 3:1); the similar language of 86^{ms} at Jer 6:1 seems coincidental considering how Jerome subsequently explicates temporal sequence.

like Christian scribes (§§2.4, 3.1.3–4, 3.2–3 above)—glossed words in their copies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel or provided alternative translations of the Hebrew, whether original to them or taken from elsewhere.⁸³ At a second stage, scribes redacted these slightly annotated versions, interspersing a few glosses to replace the original translation, yet otherwise retaining the variants in the margin. Jerome then received his relevant copies from this stage in transmission, which he was told was the second, accurate edition; presumably, the editors also thought Symmachus κατ’ ἀκριβειαν. If Jerome *then* thought the marginal readings were the “second edition” rather than the main text itself, this could explain especially why the relevant Tetraplaric readings of Aquila (which likely preserve the original translations, in general) agree *either* with the first *or* the second edition of Aquila, never both, according to Jerome’s copies. The same would probably be true for Symmachus if relevant attributions were discovered. This synthesis suggests that Jerome possessed copies of Aquila (and Symmachus) which had a few marginal variants (like Field, Graves, and others suggest), but that some of these marginal variants had been pulled out of the original text of Aquila’s translation, while variants from elsewhere had been inserted into the main text of “Aquila” through intentional editing by Jewish editors. In the absence of further evidence, this may be the best answer to the question, but one cannot be sure.

CONCLUSION: THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT

In considering *Aquila’s secunda editio*, perhaps what we have said matters more for illustrating what we *cannot* say about it, than what we *can*. The lack of a clear development in translation technique from one edition to the other (§2.2) undermines many appropriations that we assessed in §1 (esp. §§1.3–6). For example, without evidence that Aquila gradually “improved” his translation technique, how could one suppose that the Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes should be attributed to Aquila—especially given what we know about his predecessors and followers?⁸⁴ Those who believe that the Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes constitutes Aquila’s sole translation for that book would need to explain further why he focused his editing efforts on Jeremiah and Ezekiel rather than his earliest and least consistent work.

⁸³ McNeile hypothesised that the two editions often came from different consonantal or vocalic readings of the Hebrew; *Ecclesiastes*, 129–31. While sometimes true, it does not explain why Aquila revised his understanding of the Hebrew text, as McNeile supposes.

⁸⁴ Jellicoe may be the only scholar who ascribed the Fifth Column of Ecclesiastes to Aquila without presupposing the *secunda*; see *Modern Study*, 82.

The insights offered here are also important for textual criticism of Aquila. Jerome alone attests to two editions of Aquila (§3) and Symmachus (§4.2). We have no grounds for ascribing dual attributions to two editions of Aquila, Symmachus, or for that matter Theodotus (§3.1.3). Though ascribing dual attributions to two editions of Aquila has been common historically (§1.7), the present findings should encourage affiliates of the Hexapla Institute to limit themselves to a single attribution to Aquila (if any) where more than one exists, generally prioritising the Greek witnesses (§§2.4, 3.1). I anticipate that the Hexapla Institute will, if anything, reveal more evidence of the same *kinds* discussed here; my thesis can be revised upon discovering further evidence. In the meanwhile, it is hoped that this essay will encourage text critics to take an informed position on the *secunda editio* rather than intuiting their way through the complexities.⁸⁵

Was there a second edition of Aquila? Yes, though Aquila seemingly had no hand in it, and it is scarcely attested. To say much more is to evolve the concept of the second edition beyond what the evidence suggests and even permits. Likely, Jewish scribes lightly and unpredictably edited their copies of Aquila for Jeremiah and Ezekiel and of Symmachus for Nahum and Jeremiah. What we know depends entirely upon Jerome, who himself depended upon the Greek-speaking Jews from whom he received his copies of Aquila and Symmachus for these biblical books.

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⁸⁵ Burris, for example, rightly resolves the dual attributions of Aquila and Symmachus at Num 11:8 by settling on one reading for each, but he never mentions the *secundae* for either; Kevin Roy Burris, "A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Numbers 1–18" (The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Ph.D. diss., 2009), 268–69.