

The Aramaic Bible

Targums in their Historical Context

edited by
D.R.G. Beattie
and M.J. McNamara





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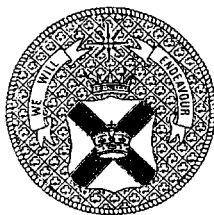
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PREFACE

The essays here published represent the papers read at the international conference on 'The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context' held at the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, July 1992.

The Targums have attracted the attention of Christian European scholars from the fifteenth century onwards. They were printed for the first time in the Rabbinic Bibles, and then (accompanied by Latin translations) in the great Polyglot Bibles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Christian interest in them was probably due to belief that they antedated the Christian era and helped better understand the New Testament writings. After a period of some neglect, interest in them became keener with the chance find in the Vatican Library in 1949 of a complete copy of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch. The discovery of the Qumran scrolls from 1947 onwards, coupled with a greater understanding of the development of the Aramaic language, of Judaism itself, and a more refined methodology, cast serious doubt on the early date sometimes assigned to the Targums and consequently on their relevance for the study of the New Testament writings.

Despite all this, interest in the traditional Aramaic Targums has not merely continued but has become keener. The Aramaic translations, however, were now being studied for the information they contained on Aramaic, on Jewish tradition and the possible interactions between Judaism and Christianity. And on these and other topics the Targums will continue to be of interest to scholars in a variety of disciplines. The Aramaic language of the Targums takes us across time and space from Babylon, through Syria, Palestine, and Egypt into Europe, and from the turn of our era into mediaeval times and the Renaissance. Questions about the origins and transmission of these texts do likewise. Examination of their content takes us into Jewish halakah and haggadah, into the possible influence of Jewish traditions on Christian texts and possibly the reverse of this—Jewish reaction to Christian teaching. They take us beyond the New Testament era into patristic

times. They open for us the question of the transmission of Jewish traditions by Christians from Syria, Armenia and the East to Ireland. These Targums reveal the history of the Jewish people in the East and West, in Cairo, Italy, Spain, Germany and other countries.

Dr C.H.H. Wright (1836–1909), born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, had a special interest in the Targum of Ruth and edited the Aramaic text of this, together with the Hebrew, in 1864. Irish scholars have been actively involved in targumic studies over the past decade. The first planned translation of all the extant rabbinic Targums into English was undertaken by the Irishman, Michael Glazier, whose publishing house was based in Wilmington, Delaware. The Editorial Board is Irish. Nine of the eighteen translators and commentators in this translation project are Irish, four of these from Northern Ireland, three of them working in the sister island of Britain. This is a project that has not only united Irish scholars, but has brought together Jewish and Christian specialists in this field from Ireland, Britain, the United States of America, Canada and Australia.

While there are institutions and symbols that divide Irish men and women, there are certain all-Ireland institutions with which all identify. One of these is the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. One of the many committees of this venerable body is the Consultative Committee on Bible and Near Eastern Studies which was founded as recently as 1983, but has already organized a number of colloquia, and in 1988 a very successful international conference on 'The Role of the Book in the Civilisation of the Near East'.

Three members of this Consultative Committee were actively involved in the Michael Glazier Aramaic Bible project, which is now nearing completion. To coincide with the completion of this project, in which so many Irish scholars have been involved, the Consultative Committee organized the 1992 international conference on the 'Aramaic Bible: The Targums in their Historical Context'. It was its intention to have the variety in the papers read reflect the various interests brought together by these Aramaic Targums, often differing so much among themselves.

The Consultative Committee invited the leading scholars in the various fields to come together and read papers to a larger audience. The Committee and the Academy are very happy, and feel duly honoured, that so many scholars accepted the invitation.

The conference was intended in a sense to coincide with the end of one particular project, that of 'The Aramaic Bible'. The conference did more than this. It reflected present scholarly thinking in the various fields of targumic interest. What the Consultative Committee finds particularly gratifying is that the conference went beyond the present, into the future. The Dublin meeting was the occasion for the formation of an 'International Organisation for the Study of the Targums' (IOST). This in the years ahead will meet in conjunction with 'The International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament' (IOSOT), and will hold its first meeting in Cambridge, England, on 12-13 July 1995.

On behalf of the Royal Irish Academy the Consultative Committee wishes to express its gratitude to all who travelled from far and near to read papers, and to those who came to listen, to question and to contribute to discussion, in the conference chamber and outside it. The success of the conference is due to all their selfless dedication to the Aramaic Bible and to the wealth of tradition and learning which these Targums enshrine. The Academy is grateful to Sheffield Academic Press for undertaking the publication of these papers on its behalf, thus bringing the message of the conference to a wider audience. It is happy to be involved in the future of Targum studies, in all their ramifications, through its publication and through the International Organisation for the Study of the Targums.

D.R.G. Beattie
M.J. McNamara

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BHS	<i>Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia</i>
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EncJud	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> (1971)
GCS	Griechische christliche Schriftsteller
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBS	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LD	Lectio divina
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>

<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis biblicus et orientalis</i>
<i>OTL</i>	<i>Old Testament Library</i>
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>J. Migne, Patrologia graeca</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>SBT</i>	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
<i>SJLA</i>	<i>Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity</i>
<i>SVTP</i>	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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Part I

TARGUM TEXTS AND EDITIONS

CAIRO GENIZAH TARGUM TEXTS: OLD AND NEW

Michael L. Klein

I

The first Genizah manuscripts of Targum to be published were several small fragments that were discovered at the beginning of the present century by Gaster, Ginsburger, Weisz and Landauer. These were chance discoveries of relatively short passages of Palestinian Fragment Targum, targumic toseftot and targumic poems that are presently found in the collections of the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the David Kaufmann Collection in Budapest and the University Library of Strasbourg.¹

The transference of all 200,000 fragments from the Cairo Genizah to major European libraries and private collections had been completed in 1897, with the major shipment of 140,000 pieces by Solomon Schechter to the Cambridge University Library. But it was not until 1930, that the first substantial collection of fragments of Palestinian Targum and targumic poems from the Cairo Genizah was published. I refer, of course, to the landmark edition of Paul Kahle, in the second volume of his *Masoretten des Westens*.² As the name of that opus implies, Kahle's primary interest was in the Palestinian tradition of the *Massorah* and the Western system of vocalization, rather than the targumic translation and interpretation *per se*. But regardless of Kahle's purpose, that group of Genizah fragments from Cambridge,

1. M. Gaster, 'Genizah Fragmente', in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (ed. M. Brann and F. Rosenthal; Breslau, 1900), pp. 226-27, 236-37; M. Ginsburger, *Das Fragmententhargum* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 71-72; M. Weisz, 'Egy Erdekes Targumtoredek a Genizahbol', *Magyar-Zido Szemele* 20 (1903), pp. 347-51; and S. Landauer, 'Ein interessantes Fragment des Pseudo-jonathan', in *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr A. Harkavy* (ed. D. v. Guenzberg and I. Markon; St Petersburg, 1908), pp. 19-26.

2. P. Kahle, *Masoretten des Westens II* (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 1-65.

Oxford and Leningrad served as the single major resource for the study of the Palestinian targumim for nearly half a century. (The appearance of Díez Macho's edition, *Neophyti I*, which presented the only extant *complete* text of a Palestinian Targum, began in 1968, and was not completed until 1978.)

In the course of his perusal of biblical fragments in the Genizah collections at the three above-mentioned libraries, Kahle collected fragments of only seven distinct manuscripts of Palestinian Targum. However, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, quite a number of scholars became involved in the discovery and publication of additional fragments belonging to Kahle's seven manuscripts and to many other previously unknown copies of Palestinian Targum. The list includes veteran targumists as well as younger scholars, namely, Baars, Díez Macho, Foster, Grelot, Kahser, Klein, Komlosh, Lund, Rieger and White (I hope I have not excluded anyone).³ In addition, Díez Merino, Kahle, Revell, Weil and Yeiven uncovered a number of Genizah fragments of targumic massorah, which have furthered our understanding of Onqelos and its development.⁴

3. For bibliographical references, see M.L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1986), I, p. xliii. The fragments discovered by Julia Foster, Shirley Lund and Richard White were published in this work.

4. See L. Díez Merino, 'The Targumic Masora of the Vat. Ebr. 448', in *Estudios Masoreticos* (V Congreso de la IOMS; ed. E. Fernandez Tejero; Madrid: Instituto 'Arias Montano' C.S.I.C., 1983), pp. 151-84; P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 7; G.E. Weil, 'La Massorah Magna du Targum du Pentateuque: Nouveaux fragments et autres', *Textus* 4 (1964), pp. 30-54; *idem*, 'Fragment d'une Massorah alphabetique du Targum babylonien du Pentateuque (Concordance des Paraphrases Hapax)', *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 5 [1963-65] (Leiden, 1966), pp. 114-31; *idem*, 'Nouveau fragment de la Massorah magna du Targum de Babylone', in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; BZAW, 103; Berlin: Topelmann, 1968), pp. 241-53; *idem*, 'Un fragment de la Massorah Magna du Targum du Pentateuque dans la collection D. Kaufmann de Budapest (Ms. K.G.592 B.M.6)', in *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951-1976* (Budapest, 1978), pp. 189-214; *idem*, 'Nouveau fragment massoretique de la Massorah du Targum babylonien du Pentateuque (5) et de la Massorah Magna tiberienne des Chroniques—Analyse methodologique', *Textus* 11 (1984), pp. 37-87; *idem*, 'Second Fragment d'une Massorah alphabetique du Targum babylonien du Pentateuque [6] (Concordance des Paraphrases Hapax a ou Faibles Occurrences)', *Textus* 13 (1986), pp. 1-29; I. Yeivin, 'A Fragment of a Masoretic Treatise to the Pentateuch and Targum Onkelos', in *Henoch Yalon Memorial Volume*

By the mid-1980s, the number of known manuscripts of Palestinian Targum from the Cairo Genizah had increased to 38, and the total number of pages of text had exceeded 200. Most of the new discoveries were facilitated by the conservation project undertaken by Dr Stefan Reif, Director of the Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library. Indeed, most of the newly discovered fragments belong to the New Series and Additional Series of the Cambridge Collection, most of which had been virtually neglected and inaccessible previously. As many of you know, I had the privilege of collecting all of these fragments into a single edition that was published in 1986.⁵

With the production of microfilm copies of some of the major Genizah collections, much of the initial work of search and identification could be carried out just about anywhere in the world. However, this modern expedient had its limitations. First, certain major collections have not yet been filmed, for example, the Antonin and Firkovitch Collections in St Petersburg (Leningrad), to which I shall return shortly. Secondly, many frames of the microfilms, even of the finest libraries, such as those of Cambridge University and of the Jewish Theological Seminary, are not always fully legible. As a result those scholars who initially avail themselves of the microfilms, have to subsequently collate their transcriptions against the originals at the respective libraries, before publishing their new finds. Unfortunately, the visits undertaken for this purpose have usually been too brief to enable any single scholar to survey entire Genizah collections—and certainly not the 140,000 fragments at Cambridge.

Another impediment to research was the relative inaccessibility of the Russian Genizah collections to Western scholars, until the late 1980s. In the fall of 1987, and again in spring 1989, I made two three-week visits to Leningrad on an IREX Senior Scholar Exchange between the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences. With the assistance of Dr Victor Lebedev, I scanned the handlist and card catalogue of Antonin and Firkovitch Collections at the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library. Dr Lebedev, who at

(ed. E.Y. Kutscher, S. Lieberman and M.Z. Kaddari; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1974), pp. 99-163 (Hebrew).

5. See n. 3, above. This two-volume work contains an introduction, transcription in Aramaic, English translation, glossary and full facsimile of the manuscripts in 182 plates.

the time served as Head of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts, also arranged for me to see every manuscript that was suspected of containing Aramaic Targum of any sort. This resulted in the first comprehensive and descriptive list of Genizah manuscripts of Targum in Leningrad.⁶

II

The major advancement with the Cambridge Genizah collection came about during the 1987–88 academic year. I devoted a full sabbatical year to scanning the entire Cambridge collection, *in situ* at Cambridge University Library. As expected, this led to many new discoveries, and ultimately to the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of all 1,600 of its Targum fragments. This work, titled *Targumic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, has just been published by Cambridge University Press for Cambridge University Library, as part of the series of catalogues edited by Dr Stefan Reif at the Genizah Research Unit.

Before relating details of some of the new textual discoveries, I would like to mention two additional ventures in the discovery and identification of hitherto unknown targumic manuscripts. During a visit to the Annenberg Research Unit in Philadelphia in November, 1991, Dr David Goldenberg asked me to describe several newly discovered Genizah fragments that were not included in the original Dropsie College Collection.⁷ Although I only found four new targumic fragments, one piece was of special interest. It contains Targum of Psalms 27 and 28, with many variants that follow the Spanish

6. M.L. Klein, 'Targum Manuscripts in Leningrad', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 17 (1989), pp. 1-18. This article also lists 13 non-Genizah targumic manuscripts in the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies (of the Academy of Sciences) in St Petersburg. An earlier list produced by A. Katsh in 1962 listed only 17 targumic fragments in the Leningrad Antonin Collection and did not deal at all with the Firkovitch collections; see A. Katsh, 'The Antonin Genizah in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad', in *Leo Jung Jubilee Volume* (ed M.M. Kasher *et al.*; New York, 1962), pp. 222-23, 262.

7. M.L. Klein, 'Additional Targum Manuscripts', *JQR* 83 (1992), pp. 173-77. The previously known fragments of the Dropsie Collection were described in B. Halper, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Genizah Fragments in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1924).

targumic tradition (e.g., MS Villa-Amil no. 5),⁸ as opposed to the Targum of Psalms in the printed Biblia Rabbinica.

At about the same time, I spent several days at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Dr Neil Danzig kindly arranged my access to the JTS Genizah Project data base that he is preparing with the assistance of several other scholars. The computerized data base lists, among others, all Targum fragments; but it does not yet fully describe their contents. Therefore, I made a short list of all fragments that might contain Palestinian Targum, and checked each one in the Manuscript Reading Room. This led to some very interesting new discoveries, including an additional fragment of a liturgical targumic text to Genesis 22 (MS K), as well as a new exemplar of Onqelos written in *serugin* (shorthand), which I shall describe in detail later.

III

I should like to devote the remainder of this paper to the presentation of some of the most recent discoveries of Targum manuscripts in Genizah collections, most of which are already in press or in an advanced stage of research towards publication.

Additional Fragments of Known Manuscripts

a. Additions to MSS D, E, H and K of Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch have come to light.⁹ In the cases of MSS E, H and K, they contain important information regarding these texts:

All of the fragments of MS E, one of the oldest manuscripts of Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch, that had been collected by Kahle and Díez Macho from the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, Leningrad and New York, were confined to the book of Genesis. Since the 16 well-preserved leaves spanned almost the entire book, from ch. 6 to ch. 43, it was suggested that perhaps the complete original Targum had been limited to Genesis. This hypothesis had to be discarded with the discovery in the Cambridge Additional Series of

8. A. Díez Merino, *Targum de Salmos* (Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica 6; Madrid: C.S.I.C., Instituto 'Francisco Suarez', 1982).

9. The texts of D, E and H were recently published: M.L. Klein, 'New Fragments of Palestinian Targum from the Cairo Genizah', *Sefarad* 49 (1989), pp. 123-33; and see n. 3 above.

the remains of two additional leaves to MS E from the book of Exodus. Another smaller bonus derived from the new fragments was the first textual attestations of the grammatical form *hth* for the determined form of the fem. sing. cardinal number 'one'.

A single page of MS H from the Hebrew Union College Genizah Collection in Cincinnati was published in 1978, and was subsequently included in *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum*.¹⁰ One of the explanations offered for a missing verse in this brief passage was that it had been mistakenly omitted by the medieval scribe *ex homoio-teleuton*. Once again, the discovery of an additional page of this manuscript in Cambridge, containing the immediate continuation of the text, proved that MS H was actually a Fragment Targum rather than a running text.

MS K was originally published by P. Grelot in 1957, who recognized it as an Aramaic liturgical composition for Rosh Hashanah, which had embedded within it a Palestinian Targum of Genesis 22.¹¹ This was hardly unusual, since the Torah reading for the New Year is the story of the binding of Isaac from that chapter. In early 1988, I discovered two additional leaves of this manuscript in the new series at Cambridge, and in November 1991, I found yet another leaf at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. The New York fragment provides us with a missing portion of the targumic text and leads directly into the passage published by Grelot.

All of these examples and those that follow, illustrate, once again, how arbitrarily the Genizah treasures were split up and dispersed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and how they must be reassembled from among half a dozen major collections over two continents, in order to be properly researched and understood.

b. There are many Byzantine period Aramaic poems that embellished the synagogal recitation of the Targum on special occasions. These include the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15), which was read on the seventh day of *Pesaḥ* and the ten commandments (Exod. 20), read on *Shavu'ot*. The above-mentioned liturgical composition on the Binding of Isaac (Gen. 22), traditionally read on the New Year, is also akin to

10. M.L. Klein, 'A Genizah Fragment of Palestinian Targum to Genesis 15.1-4', *HUCA* 49 (1978), pp. 73-87.

11. P. Grelot, 'Une Tosephta targoumique sur Genese XXII dans un manuscrit liturgique de la Geniza du Caire', *Revue des Études Juives* ns 16 (1957), pp. 5-27 republished in *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum*.

this genre. The reading for the new moon of Nisan (Exod. 12) and the story of the death of Moses at the conclusion of the Pentateuch (Deut. 34) also elicited poetic embellishment. Michael Sokoloff and Yosef Yahalom have edited a collection of these poems, based primarily on Genizah manuscripts.¹²

The first three lines of the alphabetic acrostic poem *'elison mah meshabah haden yarhah...* to Exod. 12.2, were first published by E. Fleischer in 1968.¹³ However, these were the last lines on the verso of a single leaf, and the remainder of the poem was lost. (An alphabetic acrostic poem in Hebrew or Aramaic may be presumed to have originally had 22 lines.) This poem, which was probably recited in the synagogue on *Shabbat Haḥodesh* (the sabbath closest to the new moon of Nisan) is a glorification of Nisan, the month in which the Israelites were delivered from Egypt. It is of somewhat special interest because it contains the words *'elison* and *Qiris* (= *kyrios*), albeit separately, in its first two lines. Twenty years after Fleischer's publication, while scanning the Additional Series in Cambridge, I discovered a second copy of this poem, preserving more than half of the original composition and containing some interesting variants.

A popular Aramaic poem on the death of Moses is *'azlat Yokheved*, which tells of Yokheved, mother of Moses, seeking her son after his death. The first Genizah exemplar of this composition emerged in the process of preparing the comprehensive catalogue in Cambridge.

Of a slightly different genre is the Aramaic introductory poem (*r'shut*), which was recited by the Meturgeman before beginning the Targum to the Torah lection or the Targum of the Haftarah. Leopold Zunz was the first to list poems of this sort that he collected from *mahzor* manuscripts.¹⁴ A common theme for introducing the Targum of the Haftarah was praise of Jonathan ben Uzziel, traditional author of the Targum of the Prophets. The Meturgeman might mention the debate between Jonathan and the heavenly voice, when Jonathan completed the translation of the Prophets and further desired to reveal the 'secrets' of the Hagiographa. Another favored motif tells how a bird that flew above the holy rabbi was consumed by the fire of his Torah.

12. The volume, titled *Aramaic Poems from the Byzantine Period* (Hebrew), is in an advanced stage of preparation.

13. E. Fleischer, 'The Great New Moon', *Tarbiz* 37 (1967-68), pp. 265-78.

14. L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865), pp. 79-80.

Three exemplars of such introductory poems were discovered in the Cambridge collections, and will appear in the forthcoming *Festschrift* in honor of Samson Levey.¹⁵

2. *New Texts and Text-types*

a. *Serugin*. Perhaps most interesting and most important are the recent discoveries of new texts and entirely new targumic text-types. Outstanding among these are the four fragments of *serugin* (shorthand) of Onqelos. Three of the fragments were discovered in Cambridge, and the fourth at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. The fragments represent four distinct manuscripts, in different scribal hands, indicating that this was a common practice. Before describing the texts and their significance, I merely note that they have already been edited and will appear in the forthcoming issue of *MAARAV* dedicated to the memory of Stanley Gevirtz.¹⁶

The first *serugin* manuscript of the Hebrew Bible was published by A. Neubauer in 1895.¹⁷ However, the phenomenon remained totally unattested among Targum texts.

Neubauer identified the *serugin* phenomenon with the *notriqon* mentioned in rabbinic literature, a form of mnemonic shorthand that employs the first letters of words. However, he was at a loss to explain the Genizah texts, which preserved some initial and some medial letters. We now know that this is related to the Masoretic pronunciation of the text, and that in some biblical *serugin* texts the first letter and the medial *accented* letter are written.¹⁸

In the discussion that ensued, P. Kahle observed that the *serugin* manuscripts could only be used by people who already knew the texts by heart or those who had immediate access to a full consonantal text

15. M.L. Klein, 'Introductory Poems (*R'shuyot*) to the Targum of the *Haftarah* in Praise of Jonathon ben Uzziel', in *Bits of Honey: Essays for Samson H. Levey* (ed. S.F. Chyet and D.H. Ellenson; South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 74; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 43-56.

16. M.L. Klein, '*Serugin* (Shorthand) of Onqelos from the Cairo Genizah', in *Let Your Colleagues Praise You: Studies in Memory of Stanley Gevirtz* (= *MAARAV* 8 [1992]; ed. R. Ratner, et al.), pp. 275-87.

17. A. Neubauer, 'The Hebrew Bible in Shorthand Writing' *JQR* 7 (1894-95), pp. 361-64.

18. E.J. Revell, 'A New Biblical Fragment with Palestinian Vocalisation', *Textus* 7 (1969), p. 74.

(‘wohl nur von Leuten, die den Text auswendig wussten, bzw. den Konsonantentext daneben hatten’).¹⁹

The newly discovered *serugin* texts of Targum record one or several opening words of each verse, or just the first letters of each word from the full text of Onqelos, regardless of their content, vocalization or accentuation. One must agree that this sort of abbreviation can be useful only to someone who has already memorized most of the Targum. This leads us to the conclusion that the new targumic *serugin* texts were prepared by, or for, the official Meturgeman, as a preparatory learning device and/or as a mnemonic aid for use during the synagogal Torah reading. In fact, the small dimensions of these manuscripts would seem to confirm that they were intended as a sort of ‘crib notes’ for inconspicuous use in the synagogue where, by strict rule, the Meturgeman was forbidden to read the Targum from a written text, during the public worship.²⁰ These miniature *serugin* texts of Targum shed some new light on the performance of the Meturgeman in the medieval eastern synagogue.

b. *Fragment Targum of Onqelos*. The Fragment Targum phenomenon is known from a number of medieval manuscripts, early *Biblia Rabbinica* and more recently from several Genizah fragments.²¹ However, this targumic genre of selected phrases and verses from a larger text was attested only for the Palestinian targumim, and traditionally called *Targum Yerushalmi* in the rabbinic bibles. I can now report that there is at least one, and possibly several, Genizah fragments of this targum-type for Onqelos as well. The fragment that has been definitely identified was discovered in the Old Series at Cambridge, and contains sporadic passages of Onqelos from the book of Numbers. I will mention just a couple of its characteristics. (1) Only five of the 14 phrases selected for inclusion by the editor are the same as those chosen by any of the Palestinian Fragment Targums. It is clear that although the respective editors employ similar anthological methods, there is no textual or redactional relationship

19. P. Kahle, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebraischen Punktation’, *ZAW* 21 (1901), p. 274.

20. Cf. *y. Meg.* 74d.

21. See M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980); *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum*, MSS Br, DD and H.

between this Fragment Targum of Onqelos and those of Palestinian Targum. (2) The text contains three passages of Sa'adia's Judeo-Arabic translation inserted within the Aramaic of Onqelos. This manuscript will appear in a Festschrift in honour of Jonas C. Greenfield, edited by Z. Zevit, M. Sokoloff and S. Gitin.

c. *Proto Masorah of Onqelos*. The survey of the Cambridge collection uncovered 19 fragments of 15 distinct manuscripts of Masorah to Onqelos. Some were targumic texts with marginal Masoretic notes; others were manuscripts Masorah itself, either following the order of the biblical text, or arranged as alphabetical lists. The majority of these texts have already been published by Kahle, Weil and Yeiven,²² and the survey did not reveal any new information.

On the other hand, several of the Masorah fragments are comprised of sporadic passages extracted from complete texts of Onqelos. These reduced texts resemble Fragment Targums, except that they are interspersed with occasional Masoretic notes. These may hold the secret to the medieval Masoretic process. In the absence of index cards and computers, the Masoretes produced extracts of Onqelos, in which only words and phrases that were of Masoretic interest were recorded, and the rest of the text omitted. It would seem that this was a preliminary stage in the composition of Masoretic lists, which note the number of times particular translations or grammatical forms appear. The reduced texts, unencumbered with irrelevant material, facilitated the recording of Masoretically important translational features. These Masoretic extracts of Onqelos are presently being prepared for publication.²³

d. *A new Targum of Esther*. As some might be aware, Rimon Kasher and I jointly published several Cambridge fragments of a new Targum of Esther two years ago.²⁴ A few brief comments will therefore suffice.

The new text is comprised of passages from the well-known

22. See note 4, above.

23. In the meantime, see M.L. Klein, 'Manuscripts of Proto-Masorah to Onqelos', *Estudios Masoreticos* (X Congreso de IOMS; En memoria de Harry M. Orlinsky; ed. E. Fernandez Tejero and M.T. Ortega Monasterio; Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC, 1993), pp. 73-88.

24. R. Kasher and M.L. Klein, 'New Fragments of Targum to Esther from the Cairo Genizah', *HUCA* 61 (1990), pp. 89-124.

traditions of Targum Rishon and Sheni, but it also contains very substantial unique passages that are unparalleled in those other versions. In a number of instances textual parallels were found in the *Midrash Panin Aherim* or in the *Midrash Abba Gurion*. However, some of the new targumic passages contain midrashic motifs that are unattested in the extant midrashic literature.

We concluded that, unlike Onqelos and Targum Jonathan of the Prophets, Targum Esther was never subjected to the processes of standardization or canonization. Even if some widely accepted targumic base text existed, it could be contracted or elaborated upon, as required by a particular Meturgeman.

e. *A new targumic Tosefta to the Ten Commandments*. In 1989, Rimmon Kasher published a Cambridge Genizah fragment that contained a very expansive Aramaic version of the Ten Commandments.²⁵ The text is a linguistic and translational hybrid of Onqelos and Palestinian Targum, which contains many new elements that do not appear in any of the other known targumim. This new tosefta²⁶ introduces many historical and halakhic motifs between the phrases of literal translation. Another unique aspect of this thirteenth-century manuscript is its relationship to the *piyyut* and *midrash* literature of the Jews of Kurdistan.

Finally a word about the overall contents of targumic manuscripts at the Cambridge Genizah collections. As mentioned above, approximately 1,600 targumic fragments were identified among the 140,000 pieces in the collection—or slightly over 1.1 per cent. This may be contrasted with the 30,000 fragments of Hebrew Bible which comprise over 21 per cent of the collection. Among the targumic manuscripts, approximately 1,000 are Onqelos (= 63%), which is not surprising, considering its ultimate predominance as the official translation in the synagogue and in private ritual. The next largest

25. R. Kasher, 'A New Targum to the Ten Commandments according to a Genizah Manuscript', *HUCA* 60 (1989), pp. 1-17 [Hebrew section].

26. Kasher refrains from categorizing this text as a tosefta. However, I believe that it fits the definition and description of tosefta that has been applied in the past. See Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum*, Introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii; *idem*, 'Targumic Toseftot from the Cairo Genizah', in *Salvacion en la Palabra: Targum, Derash, Berith: En memoria del Profesor Alejandro Diez Macho* (ed. Domingo Muñoz León; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1986), pp. 409-18.

group is Targum Jonathan of the Prophets with some 400 (= 25%) fragments. Most of these belong to Haftarah collections rather than complete texts of the prophets. This reflects the persistence of the custom to recite the Targum of the Haftarot in the medieval synagogue, and is related to the introductory poems in praise of Jonathan ben 'Uzziel that were cited above. Of special interest are those manuscripts that preserve Haftarah readings that are otherwise unattested in the annual and triennial cycles. The remainder of the collection is primarily divided among Targum to the hagiographa (24 fragments or 1.5%), Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (approximately 75 fragments of 4.7%), targumic toseftot (30 or 1.8%) and targumic poems (55 or 3.4%).²⁷

Conclusion

Over a century has elapsed since the major distribution of the Cairo Genizah among western libraries. Nevertheless, the resultant Genizah collections have yet to be fully studied, and many important texts await editing and publication. The above-mentioned Genizah collections continue to hold in store hundreds of targumic treasures, and many more scholarly surprises for future researchers in almost every field of Jewish Studies.

27. For additional details, see M.L. Klein, *Targumic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Cambridge University Library, 1992), Introduction, pp. 1-2.

THE CAIRO GENIZAH AND ITS TREASURES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIBLICAL STUDIES

Stefan C. Reif

In the nineteenth century the broad academic study of the Hebrew Bible and its related Aramaic traditions was much influenced by the newly developing Jewish propensity for critical scholarship (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) and its gradual recognition in university circles, by the conviction that the religious traditions of Judaism and Christianity, constituting two independent corpora, could be researched to their mutual illumination, and by the identification and exploitation of major codices.¹ On approaching the same topic of study towards the end of the twentieth century, one is struck by the changes that have taken place in its underlying suppositions. Jews certainly now enjoy more than a token representation in many academic centres devoted to Hebrew and Aramaic outside their own religious seminaries. What is more, the expanding field of Jewish studies,

1. For various aspects of these developments, see J. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London, 1985); S.D. Sperling (ed.), *Students of the Covenant: A History of Jewish Biblical Scholarship in North America* (Atlanta, 1992); R.E. Clements, 'Heinrich Graetz as Biblical Historian and Religious Apologist', in *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E.I.J. Rosenthal* (ed. J.A. Emerton and S.C. Reif; Cambridge, 1982), pp. 35-55; J. Parkes, *Judaism and Christianity* (London, 1948), pp. 140-64; F. Knight, 'The Bishops and the Jews, 1828-1858' and S. Gill, '"In a Peculiar Relation to Christianity": Anglican Attitudes to Judaism in the Era of Political Emancipation, 1830-1858', in *Christianity and Judaism: Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and the 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (ed. D. Wood; Oxford, 1992), pp. 387-407; and *Hebrew Manuscripts: A Treasured Legacy* (ed. B. Richler; Cleveland and Jerusalem, 1990), with bibliography on pp. 144-45. Of particular relevance is the kind of impact made by Adolf Neubauer in Oxford as well as Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy and Solomon Schechter in Cambridge in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

particularly in the USA and Israel but also to a significant degree in Europe, has ensured that it is not only linguists who deal with the literature written in Jewish languages.² As far as the history of Jewish and Christian traditions is concerned, the contemporary tendency is to question whether each religion was quite as monolithic as was once thought and thus to challenge the assumption that there were standard and watertight ideas, practices and texts characteristic of the two theological streams of thought.³ Further, it is not insignificant that the major source materials for recent research are no longer authoritative and impressive codices alone but also the thousands of fragmentary items to be found among the collections from the Dead Sea of the Second Temple period and from the Fatimid Egyptian capital of the medieval centuries. Representing, as they so often do, what was once alternative as well as what ultimately became standard, such manuscripts widen the horizon of learning and invite novel interpretations of Hebrew and Aramaic literary history.⁴ The purpose of the present paper is to offer a summary of what the kind of scholarship highlighted in this volume owes to the Semitic and Judaic treasures discovered among the stained, worn and crumpled folios rescued from the Cairo Genizah. First, a few words are in order about the origin of

2. It is also clear from the membership and activities of the World Union of Jewish Studies centered in Jerusalem, the Association for Jewish Studies in the USA, the European Association of Jewish Studies and the British Association for Jewish Studies that the artificial and earlier distinction between *Jewish* scholars of post-biblical subjects and *Christian* specialists in the Hebrew Bible (or 'Old Testament', as they preferred it) is fast becoming a thing of the past. See also J. Neusner (ed.), *The Study of Judaism: Bibliographical Essays* (New York, 1972), and N. Marsden (ed.), *Register of Research in Jewish Studies in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1975).

3. This emerges clearly from conclusions reached in recent studies of the Second Temple period, such as *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman and E. Schürer; 3 vols.; Edinburgh, 1973-87); H. Maccoby, *Early Rabbinic Writings* (Cambridge, 1988); and E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief: 63 BCE-66 CE* (London and Philadelphia, 1992). Cf. also J. Neusner, W.S. Green and E.S. Frerichs (eds.), *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, 1987).

4. Useful overviews of the Qumran and Genizah materials and their significance are to be found, respectively, in G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Philadelphia, 1981) and S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, I (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1967), pp. 1-74.

the Cairo Genizah and the manner of its removal from an oriental Jewish community to academic institutions in the West.

The earliest occurrences in Hebrew literature of the root *gnz* are in the books of Ezekiel, 1 Chronicles and Esther where it refers to the storage of valuable items, with a similar usage in the Aramaic sections of Ezra.⁵ Given that the first of these examples carries the Persian suffix *-ak* and that aspects of these texts may reflect a Persian imperial environment, it is probable that the entry into Hebrew was through Persian. Nevertheless, the root is attested not only in Hebrew and Aramaic but also in Arabic, Ethiopic and Late Babylonian with the meanings of 'hide', 'cover' and 'bury' and it is not impossible that it had authentic Semitic origins.⁶ In the talmudic-midrashic literature of the first few Christian centuries it carries similar senses and is used to describe special treasures stored away by God, such as the Torah and the souls of the righteous.⁷ In the halakhic part of such literature, however, it takes on a technical sense describing the removal from circulation of some item that is or has at some stage been regarded as sacred, whether legitimately or illicitly, and is now ruled inappropriate for ritual use. Such items may include religious texts controversially purporting to be canonical or authoritative, materials once used in worship, capricious transcriptions of the tetragrammaton, or effects about whose status there is unresolvable doubt.⁸ As Jewish law developed and synagogal ritual became more formalized, it became customary for communities to set aside a *beth genizah*, or simply *genizah*, into which could be consigned texts of the Hebrew Bible that

5. Ezek. 27.24; 1 Chron. 28.11; Esth. 3.9; 4.7; Ezra 5.17; 6.1; 7.20.

6. BDB, p. 170; E. Ben Yehudah, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis et Veteris et Recentioris* (Berlin, New York, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1910-59), II, pp. 812-13; *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament von L. Koehler und W. Baumgartner* (ed. W. Baumgartner; Leiden, 1967), I, p. 191. At the Dublin conference at which a version of this paper was given, both Michael Stone and Stephen Kaufman expressed preference for the theory of a Persian origin.

7. Examples may be found in *t. Pe'ah* 4.18 (ed. M.S. Zuckermandel, p. 24); Sifrey, *Devarim*, paragraphs 305 and 354 (ed. L. Finkelstein, pp. 326-27 and 416); *y. Ber.* 8.7 (12c); *b. Šab.* 88b and 152b, *Beṣ.* 16a and *Hag.* 12a.

8. The halakhic sense is fully discussed in *Talmudic Encyclopaedia*, VI (Jerusalem, 1965), cols. 232-39. Examples of the relevant texts may be found in Mishnah, *Pes.* 4.9, *Soṭ.* 3.3, *San.* 10.6 and *Mid.* 1.6; Sifrey, *Devarim*, paragraph 36 (ed. L. Finkelstein, p. 66); *y. Šab.* 2.3 (4d) and *Meg.* 1.13 (72b); *b. Šab.* 30b, *Peṣ.* 62b, *Meg.* 26b and *Gitt.* 45b.

were damaged or worn, as well as other Hebrew texts, including tracts regarded as heretical, that contained biblical verses or references to God. The rationale for such behaviour lay in an interpretation of the third commandment that proscribed the obliteration of the name of God but the principle appears to have been extended by many Jewish communities to the protection of a variety of Hebrew and Jewish literature, all of which might lay some claim to a degree of sacredness.⁹ If it is true, as has been claimed by the writer, that the adoption of the codex by the Jews in about the eighth century led to an explosion of Jewish literary activity, the problem of the disposal of obsolete items must soon have become a pressing one and the use of a *genizah* a more frequent and standard occurrence.¹⁰

If such an extensive application of the law was indeed a feature of oriental Jewish communities of the post-talmudic and early medieval periods, it is only to be expected that *genizoth*, or what would be for modern scholarship precious archival collections, were amassed in many areas of Jewish settlement. There is indeed evidence that where some communities 'made assurance double sure' by burying the unwanted texts in the ground to await the natural process of disintegration, there were others that removed them to caves or tombs, sometimes storing them first in suitable vessels.¹¹ It is not outside the realms of the plausible that the Qumran Scrolls represent just such a *genizah* although there is clearly room for dispute about the

9. P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 1959), pp. 3-13 has useful data but sometimes has to be corrected on the basis of the updated information contained in Goitein (n. 4 above), N. Golb in *EncJud XVI*, cols. 1333-42, R. Brody's essay in Richler (ed.), *Hebrew Manuscripts*, pp. 112-37, and Reif (n. 14 below).

10. S.C. Reif, 'Aspects of Mediaeval Jewish Literacy', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (ed. R. McKitterick; Cambridge, 1990), pp. 134-55.

11. N. Allony, 'Genizah and Hebrew Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries', *Areshet* 3 (1961), pp. 395-425; *idem*, 'Genizah Practices among the Jews', *Sinai* 79 (1976), pp. 193-201; A.M. Habermann, *The Cairo Genizah and other Genizoth: Their Character, Contents and Development* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1971); S.D. Goitein (ed.), *Religion in a Religious Age: Proceedings of Regional Conferences (of the Association for Jewish Studies) held at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Brandeis University in April, 1973* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), pp. 139-51; M.R. Cohen, 'The Cairo Geniza and the Custom of Genizah among Oriental Jewry: An Historical and Ethnographical Study', *Pe'amim* 24 (1985), pp. 3-35; and J. Sadan, 'Genizah and Genizah-like Practices in Islamic and Jewish Traditions', *BO* 43 (1986), pp. 36-58.

immediate reason for the removal. Sadly, however, the survival rate of such *genizoth* has not proved impressive, the ravages of time and climate on the one hand and the vicissitudes of Jewish history on the other either ensuring a return to dust or denying later generations adequate knowledge of where a search might even be commenced. Fortunately, however, in at least one case, the first stage of consignment into the synagogue *genizah* appears not to have been followed by removal to a cave or burial place and scientific study of Jewish literature has consequently been greatly enriched. The Jewish community of Fuṣṭaṭ (old Cairo) appears to have been established soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the seventh century and to have settled in the area of the old Byzantine fortress known as 'Babylon'. There is certainly testimony to a synagogue in the ninth century and it is possibly on the site of that house of worship, formerly occupied by a church, that the Ben-Ezra synagogue was built or rebuilt in the eleventh century.¹² The survival of that community *in situ* for 900 years; the dry climate of Egypt; the central importance of the city to Muslim and Jewish history for a number of centuries; and the reluctance of the Jewish communal leaders to take any action in the matter of its *genizah* other than to expand its contents with all forms of the written word—all these factors contributed to the survival there of a collection of fragmentary Jewish texts that is at least as significant as the Qumran Scrolls and may arguably outstrip the latter in overall historical significance.

The 'Cairo Genizah', as it has come to be called, has bequeathed to contemporary scholars some 200,000 items, or about 800,000 folios, of texts mainly dating from about a thousand years ago, written in various languages on papyrus, vellum, cloth and paper, and containing a wide variety of subject matter. In addition to the field of Bible studies, such disparate topics as rabbinics, philology, poetry, medicine and magic have been virtually revolutionized by the Genizah discoveries and the more mundane documents found among the fragments have

12. In addition to the works cited in nn. 9 and 11 above and n. 14 below, see also J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1920–22), reprinted with supplementary material and an introduction by S.D. Goitein (New York, 1970); M. Ben-Dov, 'The Ezra Synagogue in Cairo', *Qadmoniot* 15 (1982), pp. 33–39. A more recent survey of the synagogue site was undertaken under the auspices of the Canadian Center for Architecture and one of the team, Charles Le Quesne, is shortly due to publish the findings.

made possible a reconstruction of daily Jewish life in the Mediterranean area during the Fatimid period. Remarkably it is thanks to unscrupulous synagogal officials that such a development has taken place. Their love of 'baksheesh' in the latter part of the nineteenth century led them to sell items from the Genizah to scholarly visitors and dealers and thus it came about that famous libraries in St Petersburg, Paris, London, Oxford, Cambridge and New York ultimately each acquired thousands of fragments and other institutions also took smaller shares of the spoil.¹³ Inspired by his dealings with Rabbi Solomon Aaron Wertheimer in Jerusalem and by the purchases of his Scottish Presbyterian friends, Mrs Agnes Lewis and Mrs Margaret Gibson, and encouraged by the Master of St John's College, Dr Charles Taylor, and the University Librarian, Mr Francis Jenkinson, the Reader in Talmudic Literature at the University of Cambridge, Dr Solomon Schechter, made a famous journey to Cairo in the winter of 1896-97 to investigate the precise source of the fragments that had been arriving from Egypt. Having located it in the Ben-Ezra Synagogue, he persuaded the Chief Rabbi of Cairo, Rabbi Aaron Raphael Bensimon, to allow him to remove 140,000 items to Cambridge and thereby to create a centre for Genizah scholarship in that distinguished and ancient English university.¹⁴

Before the discovery of the Genizah material there had been two main reasons for the relative neglect on the part of Western learning

13. Solomon Schechter's letter of 12 January 1897 to Francis Jenkinson (Cambridge University Library, MS Add.6463.3416) sums up a situation that must have applied for a number of years before his visit: 'The beadel and other infernal scoundrels are helping me to clear away the rubbish and the printed matter. I have constantly to bakeshish them, but still they are stealing many good things and sell them to the dealers in antiquities. I cannot possibly prevent it, but I found out the said dealers and bought from them the fragments which have interest for me.'

14. S.C. Reif, *A Guide to the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection* (Cambridge, 1973, 1979); 'Genizah Collections at Cambridge University Library', in *Te'uda*, I (Hebrew) (ed. M.A. Friedman; Tel Aviv, 1980), pp. 201-206; *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography 1896-1980* (Cambridge, 1988), introduction; 'Cairo Genizah Material at Cambridge University Library', *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 12 (1989), pp. 29-34; 'Jenkinson and Schechter at Cambridge: An Expanded and Updated Assessment', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 32 (1992), pp. 243-80; 'The Genizah Collection', in *Researching the Jewish Heritage* (ed. T. Kushner; Leicester, forthcoming).

of the early medieval contribution to Hebrew and Jewish studies. First, there was a dearth of primary source material, most manuscripts dating from no earlier than the thirteenth century and, secondly, there was a tendency to regard the Middle Ages, as indeed the name given to the period suggests, as merely the backward era coming between the great civilizations of the classical and modern worlds. With the new availability of the fragments from Cairo and a more tolerant attitude to medieval Catholic, Jewish and Islamic culture on the part of the Western Protestant world, more recent decades have witnessed a growing awareness of the importance of developments a thousand years ago for all aspects of the study of Hebraica and Judaica.¹⁵ As the Genizah material has been deciphered and identified, particularly as a result of the efforts and initiatives of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library, previous ignorance has been dispelled by sound information and earlier theories have been drastically modified. Among the fields of study that have most benefited from these developments have been the history of the transmission and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. Work on describing the biblical fragments in the various Cambridge Genizah Collections (different blocks of material had arrived and been assigned classmarks at diverse times) commenced in Schechter's day and the first sorting of the manuscripts was undertaken by a Jewish convert to Christianity, Herman Leonard Pass, who had studied at Jews' College and then at Cambridge, and by the famous German scholar of the *Biblia Hebraica*, Paul Kahle.¹⁶ The international flavour of more recent work in the field is conveyed by the fact that it has been completed by Díez Merino in Spain, Yeivin in Israel, Revell in

15. Rosamond McKitterick's introduction and conclusion to the volume *The Uses of Literacy* (pp. 1-10 and 319-33) make it clear just how far studies of the Christian medieval world have recently been revolutionized while the works of H.H. Ben-Sasson, B. Dinur, J. Katz and S.D. Goitein in the field of Jewish history in the Middle Ages have drastically altered earlier concepts of that period.

16. For details of Pass see J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II.5 (Cambridge, 1953), p. 42. Kahle was among the first biblical scholars to examine the Cambridge Genizah material (see S.C. Reif, 'Introductory Remarks: Semitic Scholarship at Cambridge', in *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic* [ed. J. Blau and S.C. Reif; Cambridge, 1992], p. 3) and his researches in the field are particularly to be found in *The Cairo Geniza* (n. 9 above), *Masoreten des Ostens* (Leipzig, 1913), *Masoreten des Westens* (Stuttgart, 1927-30), and 'Die hebräischen Bibelhandschriften aus Babylonien', *ZAW* ns 5 (1925), pp. 113-37.

Canada, Chiesa in Italy and Davis in Cambridge.¹⁷ What emerges from such research relates not only to the content of the fragments but also to the nature of the medium by which the text was transmitted. While this latter field of study is still at an early stage, it is becoming clear that Jewish scribal techniques made major advances during the geonic period and that this had a significant impact on the quality and consistency of the scrolls used for synagogal rites and on the early development of the biblical Hebrew codex. Differences in format between early and late Genizah material stand testimony to the degree to which the technical details of Hebrew Bible production were of increasing importance to Jewish custom.¹⁸

As far as the consonantal text itself is concerned, it is perhaps not surprising to find that most of the Genizah texts may be linked to one or other of the major medieval codices that served as models for copyists, and that the textual variants are not therefore substantial in number or significance. Where major discoveries and novel historical assessments have been made has been in the area of vocalization systems for the Hebrew Bible. It is now clear that the standard Tiberian system of Ben-Asher, so sanctified since the period of late manuscripts and early prints by both tradition and scholarship, was only one of a

17. L. Díez Merino, *La Biblia Babilonica* (Madrid, 1975); I. Yeivin, *The Babylonian Vocalisation and the Linguistic Tradition it Reflects* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1968); E.J. Revell, *Hebrew Texts with Palestinian Vocalization* (Toronto, 1970) and *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and their Accents* (Missoula, 1977); B. Chiesa, *L'Antico Testamento Ebraico secondo la tradizione Palestinese* (Torino, 1978); M.C. Davis, *Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, I-II (Cambridge, 1978 and 1980).

18. M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology* (Jerusalem, 2nd edn, 1981), 'The Contribution of the Fustat Geniza to Hebrew Palaeography', *Pe'amim* 41 (1990), pp. 32-40, and the forthcoming text of his Panizzi Lectures given at the British Museum in November/December 1992 and entitled *Hebrew Manuscripts from East and West. Towards a Comparative Codicology*; C. Sirat and M. Beit-Arié, *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques* (Jerusalem and Paris, 1972-86); M. Haran, 'Bible Scrolls in Eastern and Western Jewish Communities from Qumran to the High Middle Ages', *HUCA* 56 (1985), pp. 21-62; *idem*, 'The Codex, the Pinax and the Wooden Slats', *Tarbiz* 57 (1988), pp. 151-64; *idem*, 'Note: More concerning the Codex and Pinax', *Tarbiz* 58 (1989), pp. 523-24; S.Z. Havlin, 'From Scroll to Codex', *Alei Sefer* 16 (1989-90), pp. 151-52 and 160-61; I.M. Resnick, 'The Codex in Early Jewish and Christian Communities', *Journal of Religious History* 17 (1992), pp. 1-17; S.C. Reif, 'Codicological Aspects of Jewish Liturgical History', *BJRL* 75 (1993).

number of such systems that were in vogue throughout the Jewish world from the period of the earliest systematic Masoretic activity, say in the eighth and ninth centuries, until their almost total replacement by the standard system some five or six hundred years later. Three major systems, one supralinear Palestinian, one sublinear Tiberian, and one supralinear Babylonian are clearly attested and combinations of the various systems were also devised in an effort to create a more sophisticated reflection of Hebrew pronunciation. Although such variant systems gave way to the Ben-Asher method before the invention of printing and that method was 'codified' in the Bible produced by Jacob ben Asher and published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1524–25, remnants of non-standard vocalization systems may still be found in non-biblical Hebrew texts throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁹

It is of course self-evident that the earliest history of traditions concerning the pronunciation and transmission of the Hebrew Bible must go back to the biblical period itself. The talmudic rabbis too spoke of authoritative versions of both the text and the manner of reading it and followed a number of principles concerning the explanation and exegetical exploitation of textual curiosities.²⁰ The definition and recording of vowel-points would appear, however, to be a development of about the seventh century. Whether inspired by the Syriac Christian example, by Muslim concern for the accuracy of the Qur'an, or by an internal feud with the Karaite Jews who preferred the biblical to the rabbinic traditions, a novel attention to the accurate recording of the vocalized text of the Hebrew Bible created a whole new field of Jewish scholarship, among both Karaites and Rabbanites. The Genizah evidence is not early enough to shed light on the initial stages of such scholarship but it does contribute generously to our knowledge of its subsequent expansion. Schools of Masoretes (from the Hebrew root *msr* meaning 'to transmit' or perhaps 'to count') flourished in the two main centres of Jewish population, Palestine and Babylon, and made it their task to surround the text of the Hebrew

19. A. Dotan, 'Masorah', in *EncJud*, XVI, cols. 1401-82; I. Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah* (ET Missoula, 1980); B. Chiesa, *The Emergence of Hebrew Biblical Pointing* (Frankfurt, 1979).

20. The principles were *yesh 'em la-mesoreth* and *yesh 'em la-miqra*' (b. Suk. 6b) and there are also references to sections, verses, variants, special letters and points, as well as to melody and accentuation; see Dotan (n. 19), cols. 1406-14.

Bible with vowel-points that reflected their pronunciation tradition, cantillation signs that recorded the melodies used for its synagogal chant, and explanatory notes that inevitably testified to their understanding of the text, whether inherited or newly fashioned. Such a tendency towards the canonization of an aspect of liturgical expression may well have owed a good deal to the formalization of synagogal procedures that was characteristic of developments in the geonic period.²¹

Both Karaites and Rabbanites were active in the Masoretic process and it is not impossible that much of the impetus came from the biblical scholars among the former. It is indeed not always an easy matter to distinguish which of the famous personalities associated with the early history of the Masorah belonged to one group and which to the other. What is clear is that scholarship is now in a better position to understand the identifying features of each method and the basic differences between the various schools. Treatises and scholars, hitherto unknown or accorded scant recognition in later manuscripts, have been more clearly identified and new sets of vocabulary and terminology have been uncovered.²² Such an interest in the text read and translated before the congregation in the synagogue naturally had an effect not only on exegesis, as will shortly be noted, but also on the development of Hebrew philological studies. Once texts and their interpretation became more consistent and authoritative, the way was open for comparisons to be made by keen linguists of the features of the various Semitic languages known to them. Grammatical rules were consequently drawn up, text-books and dictionaries compiled, and the

21. In addition to the works cited in nn. 18 and 19 above, see also Z. Ben-Hayyim, 'Masorah and Masoreth', *Lšš* 21 (1957), pp. 283-92 and S.C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 122-52.

22. The papers published in early issues of *Textus* and read at recent meetings of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies testify to novel developments in this field of study. See, for example, E.F. Tejero (ed.), *Estudios Masoreticos (V Congreso de la IOMS) dedicados a H.M. Orlinsky* (Madrid, 1983) and E.J. Revell (ed.), *Eighth International Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies Chicago 1988* (Missoula, 1990). See also D. Becker, 'Traces of Judah Ibn Quraysh in Manuscript, particularly in Genizah Fragments', and I. Eldar, 'Mukhtašar (an abridgement of) *Hidāyat al-Qāri*: A Grammatical Treatise discovered in the Genizah', in Blau and Reif (eds.), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years* (n. 16 above), pp. 14-21 and 67-73, as well as the pioneering work of J. Mann in *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, II (Cincinnati, 1935).

literal interpretation of the biblical verse given a boost by such systematic approaches. It should not be forgotten that such grammatical and philological studies provided the foundations on which was built much of the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, by both Christians and Jews, in the later medieval and modern times.²³

In the earliest years of Genizah research, now about a century ago, the discovery of the Palestinian triennial cycle for both the pentateuchal and prophetic weekly readings generated great excitement and led scholars to believe that they were now in a position to reconstruct what precisely had been read in the synagogue on particular sabbaths of the year from as early as the time of Jesus. Attempts were therefore made to relate the homilies of both the New Testament and the rabbinic midrashim to the Palestinian cycle and to establish the precise time of the year in which it commenced. More recent work has moved away from such theories and demonstrated that the primary sources bear witness not to one Palestinian cycle and one Babylonian but to a number of possible variations in the Holy Land and to the possibility that each influenced the other from the talmudic to the medieval period.²⁴ Although the Babylonian cycle as it emerged from the geonic centres in and around the tenth century came to dominate Jewish synagogal practice worldwide, the reports of the traveller Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century and Genizah material from the thirteenth testify to the continuing struggle waged by the community of Palestinian emigrés in Cairo to maintain their own traditions and to withstand the pressure to conform to the customs of the Babylonian academies.²⁵ It is not, however, only the liturgical

23. D. Téné, 'Hashwa'ath Ha-Leshonoth Wiydi'ath Ha-Lashon', in *Hebrew Language Studies presented to Professor Zeev Ben-Hayyim* (ed. M. Bar-Asher, A. Dotan, G.B. Sarfati and D. Téné; Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 237-87; see also A. Sáenz-Badillos (ed.), *Tešubot de Dunaš ben Labrat* (Granada, 1980) and *Mēnahem ben Saruq: Mašberet* (Granada, 1986).

24. The literature is summarized and briefly analysed by J.J. Petuchowski in the volume of essays edited by him, *Contributions to the Scientific Study of the Jewish Liturgy* (New York, 1970), introduction, pp. xvii-xxi and by B.Z. Wacholder in the reprint of J. Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue* (New York, 1971), first prolegomenon. E. Fleischer has recently gone further and argued for the originality of the Babylonian annual cycle even in Palestine; see his Hebrew article 'Inquiries concerning the Triennial Reading of the Torah in Ancient Eretz-Israel', *HUCA* 62 (1991), pp. 43-61 (Hebrew pagination).

25. M.N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London, 1907), Hebrew

traditions of the synagogue that are represented in the Genizah collections since Syriac and Greek versions are to be found there, albeit lurking under later Hebrew texts in a number of palimpsests dating back as early as the fifth or sixth century. Those redoubtable women who inspired Schechter's trip and then worked enthusiastically with him on sorting his finds at Cambridge University Library, Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, were given responsibility for the Syriac texts and edited thirty-four of these. They count among the earliest set of Palestinian (and one Edessene) texts of the Syriac Bible, covering four books each in the Old and New Testaments.²⁶

Other palimpsests dating from between the fifth and ninth centuries contain Greek texts of the Gospels, Acts and 1 Peter, of Origen's Hexapla on Psalm 22 and of Aquila's renderings of parts of Psalms 90–103 and Kings. Aquila's version, written in the second century probably under the influence of Rabbi Akiva, was profoundly literal, no doubt for good theological reasons, and was widely used by Jewish communities in the Greek-speaking diaspora; hence its inclusion in the columns of the *Hexapla*. Since the Genizah fragments are derived from an independent text of Aquila and not from the Hexapla and have been dated to the fifth or sixth century, it seems reasonable to assume that these Jewish communities continued to use his version until the conquest of the Near East by the Arabs in the seventh century and the subsequent linguistic takeover of the area by Arabic.²⁷ The nearest Jewish Aramaic equivalent to Aquila is the authoritative and synagogal translation ascribed to a contemporary of his, the proselyte Onkelos. Whether or not Aquila is, as has sometimes been suggested,²⁸

section, pp. 62–63, English section, pp. 69–70; E. Fleischer, *Eretz-Israel Prayer and Prayer Rituals as Portrayed in the Geniza Documents* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 215–57.

26. A.S. Lewis and M.D. Gibson (eds.), *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Taylor-Schechter Collection* (London, 1900); M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, 'Christian Palimpsests from the Cairo Geniza', *Revue d'histoire des Textes* 8 (1978), pp. 109–32.

27. F.C. Burkitt (ed., with preface by C. Taylor), *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila* (Cambridge, 1897); C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection* (Cambridge, 1900).

28. The topic is fully discussed in A. Silverstone, *Aquila and Onkelos* (Manchester, 1931). See also J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 25, and G.J. Kuiper, *The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and its*

identical with Onqelos, is not clarified by the Genizah texts, but they do have much to add to our knowledge of the development of that popular genre of Aramaic translation known simply as Targum.

Although other essays in this volume will offer detailed examinations of the targumic material in general and of its representation among the Genizah fragments in particular, it will be necessary for the sake of completeness to add a few comments in the present context. Examples of Onqelos, Jonathan, Palestinian and Fragmentary Targums are to be found and are naturally important for the textual history of these versions but it is in the area of more diverse targumic material that surprise discoveries are still being made. Some items are directly related to festivals or other special occasions and their lectionaries while another variety constitutes aggadic expansions often inserted into Onqelos texts. One genre provides poems on themes such as the death of Moses or the praiseworthiness of the month of Nisan or of Jonathan ben Uzziel and there are others that abbreviate Onqelos, provide Masorah for the same version, offer a Judaeo-Arabic translation of Palestinian Targum, or incorporate halakhic interpretations of verses that run counter to what is found in the Talmud. It should also be noted that the collections of Targums may reflect a particular lectionary cycle, pentateuchal or prophetic, which may turn out to be novel for records of either Babylonian or Palestinian traditions. A recent catalogue of the targumic manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah collections lists over 1,600 items, dating from the ninth to the fourteenth century, and this would indicate that there are from Cairo well over 2,000 pieces of Targum that are generally older than any other manuscript attestations to medieval targumic traditions, a fact of profound significance to the latter's textual as well as exegetical study.²⁹

Because the custom of translating the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic was an ancient and halakhically prescribed one, it was not abandoned when Arabic replaced Aramaic and Greek as the predominant Jewish vernacular but was incorporated with an Arabic rendering into a trilingual version. Such Judaeo-Arabic renderings of the biblical readings, written in Hebrew characters and reflecting the popular

Relationship to Targum Onkelos (Rome, 1972), p. 11n.

29. M.L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati, 1986) and *Targum Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1992).

Arabic dialect of the Jewish communities, appear to have come into existence at least as early as the ninth century³⁰ and to have been the inspiration for the tenth-century leader of the Babylonian Jewish community, the Egyptian scholar Sa'adya ben Joseph of Fayyum (882-942), to compose his own Judaeo-Arabic version, the text and spelling of which were destined to become the standard translation for the oriental Jewish communities for the remainder of the medieval period. But Sa'adya was not only a translator of the Hebrew Bible; he also composed a commentary, more and more of which has recently come to light and demonstrated how as a philosopher he struggled to rationalize much of scripture but without overdoing the degree of literalness.³¹ The exegetical work of his successor as head of the *Sura yeshivah*, Samuel ben Hofni, has also been rescued from the Genizah and is characterized by his desire to impose systems of classification on his treatment of the biblical texts.³²

Of other exegetical material in Hebrew and Arabic from that same Egyptian source, some is extended, some brief; there are those that make use of the latest syntactical and philological theories while others prefer traditional midrashic methods; philosophy inspires one commentator, kabbalah another.³³ New discoveries reveal for the first time how scholars such as Judah ibn Balaam and Moses ibn Gikatilla handled difficult verses from the Hebrew Bible in the intellectual

30. J. Blau, 'On a Fragment of the Oldest Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translation Extant', in Blau and Reif (eds.), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years* (n. 16 above), pp. 31-39.

31. M. Zucker, *Rav Saadya's Translation of the Torah* (New York, 1959) and *Saadya's Commentary on Genesis* (New York, 1984). See also the recent publication by Y. Ratzaby of additional fragments of Sa'adya's biblical commentary in *Tarbiz* 58 (1989), pp. 363-75 and *Sinai* 107 (1990), pp. 97-126 and 109 (1991), pp. 97-117.

32. A. Greenbaum (ed.), *The Biblical Commentary of Rav Samuel ben Hofni Gaon according to Geniza Manuscripts* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1979).

33. Typical examples in the Cambridge Genizah Collections are to be found in the Taylor-Schechter Old Series in T-S C1-7 and T-S Ar. 1a-1c and Ar.21-28. M. Perez and, latterly, M. Polliack have been working on these items and descriptions will soon be published in the context of Cambridge University Library's *Genizah Series* handled by Cambridge University Press. An example of the anthological variety has been edited by S.C. Reif, 'A Midrashic Anthology from the Genizah', in Emerton and Reif (eds.), *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible* (n. 1 above), pp. 179-225.

atmosphere of eleventh-century Spain.³⁴ By then the tensions between the literal and applied senses of scripture had grown and the cause of the former was then carried forward in Spain and France while the latter tended to recover an honoured place as the situation of Jews in the Orient deteriorated after the period of the Fatimid dynasty. The move towards the literal interpretation had been championed by the Karaites, whose linguistic interest and textual orientation in the golden age of their biblical studies in tenth- and eleventh-century Jerusalem led to a high level of lexical and syntactical exegesis.³⁵ There is no doubt that the Karaites and Rabbanites exercised both positive and negative influences on each other and the latest research clearly demonstrates that the Rabbanites were torn between a desire to steal the copyright of the devil's best tunes and the need to avoid betraying what they saw as the authentic nature of the talmudic-midrashic interpretation of scripture. The Karaites too were not without their polemical intent, as is indicated by the strange phenomenon of surviving folios of their Bibles from Palestine and Egypt in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that record the text of the Hebrew Bible in Arabic characters with Hebrew vowel-points. If Geoffrey Khan's theory is correct, such an idiosyncratic system was employed as a means of retaining an independent religious identity in the face of Rabbanite influence and incursion.³⁶ Other strange combinations of languages that occur in the Genizah include Judaeo-Greek, Judaeo-Persian, Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-German and a number of texts in these Jewish dialects written in Hebrew characters testify to the

34. M. Perez, 'Another Fragment from *Kitab Al-Targih* of R. Jehuda ibn Bal'am', *PAAJR* 57 (1991), Hebrew section, pp. 1-16, and 'Another Fragment of Moses ibn Gikatilla's Commentary on Psalms', *Sinai* 108 (1991), pp. 7-17.

35. The Cambridge doctoral dissertation of Meira Polliack, provisionally entitled 'Mediaeval Karaite Translations of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic' (1993) covers the general topic and her article 'Additions and Alternate Renderings in the Arabic Bible Translations of the Karaite Yeshu'ah ben Yehudah' in a forthcoming issue of *JQR* deals with a more specific aspect. See also n. 50 below and the relevant sources cited in Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Sefer Ha-Meqoroth* (Jerusalem, 1963).

36. G. Khan, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah* (Cambridge, 1990); 'The Medieval Karaite Transcriptions of Hebrew into Arabic Script', *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992), pp. 157-76; 'The Opinions of Al-Qirqisani concerning the Text of the Hebrew Bible and Parallel Muslim Attitudes towards the Text of the Qur'an', *JQR* 81 (1990), pp. 59-73.

manner in which their speakers understood and approached the Hebrew Bible.³⁷

As is well known, midrashim may be halakhic or aggadic; they may be centred on exegesis, on the homily, or on more mystical matters; their structure may be highly stylized or simply anthological; and their type of literature may date from as early as the fifth century to as late as the sixteenth.³⁸ What all midrashim have in common is that they are in one way or another a Jewish commentary on the Hebrew Bible and scholarly understanding of the historical development of such an important rabbinic genre also owes much to Genizah research. Hitherto, the earliest manuscripts were medieval, from the early periods of major Jewish settlement in European countries, while now there are thousands of fragments written at a much earlier date and representing an older textual tradition. Such a tradition is much more likely to preserve the authentic form of the midrash since later editions and copyists tended to treat anything unusual as erroneous and to harmonize it with what had already become standard or authoritative for them. While such a statement may be made about all the well-known midrashim of the 'classical' talmudic period, for which the Genizah provides useful textual variants, it is especially true of the halakhic midrashim dating from then, such as the *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael* on Exodus, *Sifra* on Leviticus and *Sifrey* on Numbers and Deuteronomy, the original halakhic statements of which were not always permitted to survive.³⁹ Halakhic midrashim for which no

37. Research interest in these Jewish languages has greatly increased in recent years with the launching of a new periodical (*Jewish Language Review*, Haifa, 1981-) and the publication of numerous articles. Bibliographical details are beyond the scope of this article but note should be taken of the recent work of N.R.M. de Lange in Cambridge on Judaeo-Greek, S. Shaked in Jerusalem on Judaeo-Persian, E. Gutwirth in Tel Aviv on Judaeo-Spanish and C. Shmeruk in Jerusalem on Judaeo-German.

38. H.L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh, 1991), especially pp. 266-99 for updated bibliographical information about use of Genizah material; G.G. Porton, *Understanding Rabbinic Midrash. Texts and Commentary* (Hoboken, NJ, 1985); D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington, 1990). See also for texts N. Alloni (= Allony), *Genizah Fragments of Rabbinic Literature, Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash, with Palestinian Vocalization* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1973).

39. H.S. Horowitz and I.A. Rabin (eds.), *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ismael* (Jerusalem, 2nd edn, 1960); Z.M. Rabinovitz, *Ginzé Midrash* (Tel Aviv, 1976), pp. 1-82;

complete codices survive have also surfaced in the Genizah collections and considerably expanded the horizons of the Hebrew literary historian. Fragments have been identified of the *Mekhilta of Rabbi Shim'on bar Yoḥai* on Exodus, of the *Sifrey Zuṭa* on Numbers and of the *Mekhilta* on Deuteronomy, and these have been or are being exploited for the creation of new scientific editions.⁴⁰

In the standard aggadic field too, discoveries of new midrashim, particularly of the *Tanḥuma (Yelammedenu)* homiletical variety on the Pentateuch and of the exegetical treatments of the hagiographical books such as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, have added greatly to our knowledge of developments during the geonic period, and the identification of new anthologies from the last period of midrashic activity have demonstrated how use was made of earlier material to build up a Jewish exegetical overview of biblical texts.⁴¹ Perhaps more important than anything else, there are a whole fresh set of new or little-known midrashim that testify to the fact that medieval Jewish interpretation of the Hebrew Bible could be distinctly colourful and heterogeneous. Fanciful expansions of biblical accounts, apocalyptic visions and mystical works were among the midrashim that Solomon Aaron Wertheimer acquired from the Genizah a number of years before Schechter made his famous journey, and Louis Ginzberg later published similar material.⁴² As such a variegated approach to the

L. Finkelstein (ed.), *Siphre ad Deuteronomium* (Berlin, 1939); M. Kahana, 'The Critical Edition of Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael in the light of the Genizah Fragments', *Tarbiz* 55 (1985-86), pp. 489-524.

40. J.N. Epstein and E.Z. Melamed (eds.), *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Šim'on b. Joḥai* (Jerusalem, 1955); S. Lieberman, *Siphre Zutta (The Midrash of Lydda)* (Hebrew; New York, 1968). M. Kahana of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has recently been working on the Genizah fragments of the halakhic midrashim; see his brief report in *Genizah Fragments* 13 (April, 1987), p. 3, and his article 'Another Page of the Mekhilta of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai', *Alei Sefer* 15 (1988-89), pp. 5-20.

41. M. Bregman, 'Toward a Textcritical Approach to the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* Midrashim', *Tarbiz* 54 (1985), pp. 289-92 (his edition has been accepted for publication by Mohr in Tübingen); B.L. Visotzky, *The Midrash on Proverbs translated from the Hebrew with an Introduction and Annotations* (New Haven, 1992); M. Hirshman, 'Midrash *Qohelet Rabbah* (Ch. 1-4)' (PhD dissertation, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1983); see also M. Sokoloff, *The Geniza Fragments of Bereshit Rabba* (Hebrew and English; Jerusalem, 1982).

42. S.A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* (ed. A.J. Wertheimer; Jerusalem, 1954); L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter. I. Midrash and Haggadah* (New York, 1928). Similar pieces are to be found among the texts

Bible gave way to the more linguistic and philological commentaries of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, so the written evidence from the Genizah also records the influence of the centralized Babylonian authorities in inspiring the change and thereby thwarting some of the Karaite efforts to discredit rabbinic interpretation as lacking the serious, literal dimension.⁴³

Since one of the most remarkable aspects of the Genizah material is that it contains not only literary items but also mundane documentary material, it is not surprising to find fragments relating to the place of the Hebrew Bible in everyday Jewish life. Since an ability to read simple biblical and rabbinic Hebrew was a prerequisite for active participation in synagogal worship, most of the male community was introduced to the Bible at an early age. Simple texts, sometimes in alphabet primers, were used by children and girls were sometimes educated in the Bible, particularly bright ones becoming teachers of the subject. In one sad little fragment, a father bewails the loss of such a daughter, recalling her intellect, her knowledge of Torah and her piety, as well as the lessons he used to give her.⁴⁴ Items from the Genizah are also significant in writing the history of both the illumination of the Hebrew Bible and the melodies used for chanting it. Incipits and colophons are sometimes colourfully treated while the famous eleventh- and twelfth-century Jewish proselyte from Christianity, the Catholic priest John Oppidans, converted as Obadiah Ha-Ger, took the trouble to record for posterity the music used for particular parts of the contemporary Jewish liturgy, including biblical verses.⁴⁵ Fragments of incunables and early editions of the printed

published by Moses Gaster and reprinted in his three volumes *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (London, 1925–28).

43. The work of such commentators as Sacadya and Samuel ben Hofni is without doubt partly motivated by such considerations; see nn. 31–32 above.

44. S.C. Reif, 'Aspects', pp. 151–55.

45. In analysing 'Illuminated Hebrew Children's Books from Mediaeval Egypt', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 24 (1972), pp. 58–71, B. Narkiss points out the various characteristics that such text-books have in common with decorated oriental Bible manuscripts and makes use of the Genizah fragments in Cambridge University Library T-S K5 and K10 to illustrate his argument with regard to both genres. For bibliography on Obadiah's musical transcriptions see S.C. Reif (ed.), *Published Material*, p. 95, with regard to T-S K5.41; see also *EncJud*, XII, cols. 1306–08.

Hebrew Bible are another feature, albeit a limited one, of Genizah collections.⁴⁶

Since there was so much else to include in this brief survey, items that are either already widely familiar or are only indirectly related to biblical studies as such have been left for last. The recovery of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira or Ecclesiasticus from the Genizah is a well-rehearsed story. The first such fragment to come to light, brought to Cambridge from Egypt by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, was enthusiastically identified by Schechter and acted as a catalyst for his expedition and for other identifications elsewhere, while a whole set of fragments, some of them from as early as the tenth century, surfaced during Schechter's initial sorting of the material and were published by him and Charles Taylor as a new Hebrew edition, followed by a handsome portfolio of facsimiles two years later.⁴⁷ If that was insufficient to prove that there had been an original Hebrew in the second century BC, the further work of Segal and Schirmann and Yadin's discovery at Masada of texts that tallied with the oldest Genizah version completed the process of the book's rehabilitation to Hebrew literature of the Second Temple period.⁴⁸ A less immediate fame was achieved by the Zadokite Fragment or Damascus Document

46. Examples are listed in J.L. Teicher, 'Fragments of Unknown Hebrew Incunables', *JJS* 1 (1948), pp. 105-11 and D. Goldstein, *Hebrew Incunables in the British Isles: A Preliminary Census* (London, 1985), nos. 39 and 63 on pp. 14 and 23. It should be borne in mind that the existence of such items in the Cairo Genizah is probably to be attributed to the arrival in North Africa and Egypt of Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century.

47. A.S. Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai: A Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 168-89; Reif, 'Jenkinson and Schechter', pp. 256, 264 and 267; S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira... from Hebrew MSS in the Cairo Genizah Collection* (Cambridge, 1899); *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (London, 1901).

48. *Sefer Ben Sira Ha-Shalem* (ed. M.Z. Segal; Jerusalem, 2nd edn, 1958); J. Schirmann, 'A New Leaf from the Hebrew "Ecclesiasticus" (Ben-Sira)', *Tarbiz* 27 (1958), pp. 440-43 and 'Some Additional Leaves from Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew', *Tarbiz* 29 (1960), pp. 125-34; M.Z. Segal, 'Additional Leaves from Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew', *Tarbiz* 29 (1960), pp. 313-23; Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (London, 1966), pp. 175-78; 'Two Exciting Finds of Ben-Sira Manuscripts', *Genizah Fragments* 3 (April, 1982), p. 4; and A.A. Di Lella, 'A Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza', *Bib* 69 (1988), pp. 326-38.

(= CD). Although Schechter and Louis Ginzberg both recognized the importance of the two Genizah manuscripts of this work and offered some explanations that have generally stood the test of time, no scholar was able to place it in its precise historical and theological context until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls exactly fifty years after the arrival of the Genizah pieces in Cambridge. Once fragments of the same work had been identified among the Qumran treasures, it became possible to trace the origin of CD.⁴⁹ What is still a matter of intense debate is how and where the texts survived that transmitted the work from Second Temple Judea to tenth-century Cairo and whether there were other non-rabbinic groups between the Dead Sea sect and the medieval Karaites that might have been responsible.⁵⁰ And now more material has come to the fore from among the Qumran manuscripts that show it to be a reliable copy of the earliest texts; a little less than half of an original work that constituted an admonition and corpus of Torah interpretation and sectarian rulings; and a composite work belonging to a Qumran legal corpus at times related to Sadducean and proto-rabbinic traditions.⁵¹ Finally, it should be noted that neither Jesus nor Christian liturgy escape mention among the Genizah fragments. The rather uncomplimentary and folkloristic account of the life of Jesus known as *Toledoth Yeshu* is well represented and no doubt made the persecuted Jews of the middle ages feel a little better,⁵² while no wholly satisfactory reason can be offered for

49. S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (Cambridge, 1910), I, reprinted by Ktav with a prolegomenon by J.A. Fitzmyer (New York, 1970); L. Ginzberg, *Eine Unbekannte Jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922), translated into English and expanded as *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York, 1976); S. Zeitlin, *The Zadokite Fragments* (Philadelphia, 1952); C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*. I. *The Admonition*. II. *The Laws* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 1958).

50. Y. Erder, 'When did the Karaites first encounter Apocryphic Literature akin to the Dead Sea Scrolls?', and H. Ben-Shammai, 'Some Methodological Notes concerning the Relationship between the Karaites and Ancient Jewish Sects' (both in Hebrew) in 'Discussion: Karaism and Apocryphic Literature', *Cathedra* 42 (1987), pp. 54-86.

51. M. Broshi, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem, 1992) has useful essays on the current state of various aspects of research into CD by Broshi himself and by E. Qimron and J. Baumgarten, as well as an excellent bibliography by F. García Martínez.

52. Of particular importance are the studies of E. Bammel and W. Horbury in *The Trial of Jesus: Studies in Honour of C.F.D. Moule* (London, 2nd edn, 1971)

the existence in the Cairo Jewish community of parts of a Nestorian Syriac hymn-book. Perhaps these thirteenth- or fourteenth-century texts belonging to a feast of the Virgin Mary were sold as scrap when the Nestorian community faded out of existence in Cairo at that time or shortly afterwards.⁵³ Such a surprising find should alert us to the fact, if it is not already patently obvious, that there is hardly any area of medieval Near Eastern studies that is not illuminated by the fragments from the Ben-Ezra Synagogue of medieval Fustat.⁵⁴

and the latter's doctoral dissertation 'A Critical Examination of the Toledoth Yeshu' (Cambridge, 1971), as well as the articles of Z. Falk and D. Boyarin in *Tarbiz* 46 (1977), pp. 319-22 and 47 (1978), pp. 249-52. The bibliography in R. Di Segni's Italian monograph *Il Vangelo del Ghetto* (Rome, 1985) is particularly useful. See also "'Toledoth Yeshu" Updated through New Discovery', *Genizah Fragments* 6 (October, 1983), p. 3.

53. S. Brock, 'East Syrian Liturgical Fragments from the Cairo Genizah', *Or Chr* 68 (1984), pp. 58-79, and 'Some Further East Syrian Liturgical Fragments from the Cairo Genizah', *Or Chr* 74 (1990), pp. 44-61.

54. An earlier and briefer treatment of the subject of this paper appeared in R.J. Coggins and J.L. Houlden (eds.), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London and Philadelphia, 1990) and the writer is grateful to the organizers of the Dublin conference for inviting him to lecture and thereby encouraging him to expand on it.

TARGUM MANUSCRIPTS AND CRITICAL EDITIONS

Luis Díez Merino

1. *Introduction*

The Apographs

At the very beginning of a written transmission of a text are the apographs: the original copy made by the author of the text. We know no original author of any Targum (despite names like Onqelos, Jonathan, Pseudo-Jonathan, Joseph the Blind). After the apographs in the written transmission come the MSS: one MS is copied from another, and this is the beginning of the chain of textual transmission. This new stage of transmission has many items: one is constituted by the families of MSS ('Stemma Codicum') that shows the global history of a book, depending either on textual traditions, or on scribal schools, or on centuries of transmission. This view shows a panoramic sketch of the copies stemming from an original. With this program in mind it is possible to choose the best MS as a basic text and those exemplars which should be quoted in the critical apparatus. Here however, we must confess that each book of the Targums has its own tradition, and that there is not one Targum, but a series of Targums, each one with its own history. Although laws had been promulgated against the written transmission of the Targums, it is conceivable that the Aramaic translation was used before any such law was enacted.¹ Perhaps this law has never been observed. And we have an additional problem: the Targum that seemed to be the last (Targum Hagiographa), now appears to be first (Targum Job from Qumran). Targum researchers have tried to hypothesize about the possible beginning of the different Targums, although they recognize that 'there is no first-hand evidence of extant specimens of very early Targumim, but there are indications of their existence soon after the

1. y. Meg. 4.1

return from exile'.² Among traces of early Targumim are the following: (a) it is believed that behind the quotation from Ps. 22.2 in Mt. 27.47 and Mk 15.34 we have a Targum of the Psalter, which would have been in existence in NT times; in the same way, the quotation in Eph. 4.8 may come from a Targum of Ps. 68.19; (b) a Targum of Job is mentioned during the days of Gamaliel I, although some authors refer this Targum not to an Aramaic version, but to that of the LXX; (c) the Mishnah³ makes reference to the Targumim: 'If an Aramaic version was written in Hebrew, or if Hebrew Scripture was written in Aramaic, or in Hebrew (Canaanite) script, it does not render the hands unclean. The Holy Scripture renders the hands unclean [i.e. are holy], only if they are written in Assyrian characters, on leather, and in ink'; (d) in the LXX translation of Job we read about Job's personal history: 'This man is described in the Syriac book' (i.e. the Targum).

The New Situation

Two discoveries in this century have changed our view of targumic studies: the Qumran Aramaic MSS and the MS Neophyti, both of which have opened a new era in the study of the Targums.⁴ As a matter of fact M. Black⁵ affirmed that the Neophyti's discovery was second only in importance to the discovery of the Qumran MSS. The researchers in Jewish studies related these discoveries one to the other. Black wrote to A. Díez Macho: 'I hope that your edition (like Professor Millar Borrows' Facsimile edition of the Manual of Discipline) will appear very soon and be available to all of us who are so excited about

2. B.J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions. The Hebrew Text in Transmission and the History of the Ancient Versions* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), p. 197.

3. *m. Yad* 4.5

4. The history of targumic research can be seen in M. McNamara, 'A Brief Sketch of Targumic Studies', in *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome: PBI, 1966), pp. 5-66; *idem*, 'Half a Century of Targum Study', *IrBibSt* 1 (1979), pp. 157-68; *idem*, 'Some Recent Writings on Rabbinic Literature and the Targums', *Milltown Studies* 9 (1982), pp. 59-101; R. Le Déaut, 'The Targums: Aramaic Versions of the Bible', *SIDIC* 9 (1976), pp. 4-11; E. Levine, 'La evolución de la Biblia Aramea', *EstBib* 39 (1981), pp. 223-48; *idem*, 'The Biography of the Aramaic Bible', *ZAW* 94 (1982), pp. 353-79.

5. M. Black, 'Die Erforschung der Muttersprache Jesu', *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 82 (1957), p. 664.

this important discovery'.⁶ S. Schulz, referring to Neophyti, wrote: 'das aufregendste Ereignis auf dem Gebiet der Targumsforschung'.⁷

In the history of the Aramaic translations (and also in the Hebrew text), three parts are clearly distinguished: the Pentateuch as the most honorable part, the Prophets as venerated in second place, and the Hagiographa—a group with certain problems regarding its identity which stretched beyond the Yavne assembly, into the Talmudic era, when we are told about the uncertainty of the Jewish canon of the scriptures (i.e. whether to include Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes⁸). The following premise must be adequately evaluated when we are considering the Aramaic translations: if the Hebrew Bible had been translated in its first (Pentateuch: Lev) and third part (Hagiographa: Job) at the time of the Qumran MSS, then we may think that many other books had been translated into Aramaic during that era, although manuscripts of these have not appeared to date, and maybe never will appear. We might also think that wherever the Jews had been concentrated in bigger communities in the Diaspora, and had adopted a foreign language, they had also tried to translate the Hebrew Bible into their own languages. Until now we only know of the example of the Greek Jewish community of Alexandria, which in the fourth century BCE had asked permission to translate the sacred books, centuries before the Palestine teachers had finished their discussions about the Jewish canon of the scriptures. The Septuagint offers a clear idea of a Jewish canon, before the official Palestinian canon of the Bible: the Greek translators of Alexandria accepted the books sent from Jerusalem and they translated them.⁹ Further, we may also think of an Aramaic version of the Bible for the Jews in Elephantine,¹⁰ where we know that they spoke Aramaic in the midst

6. Cf. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti I, Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana, t. I Génesis* (Madrid-Barcelona: CSIC, 1968), p. 35*.

7. S. Schulz, 'Die Bedeutung der Neuen Targumforschung für die Synoptische Tradition', in *Abraham Unser Vater. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. O. Betz, M. Hengel and P. Schmidt; Leiden-Köln, 1963), pp. 425-36.

8. *m. Yad.* 3.5.

9. The story about the Septuagint transmitted in the descriptions of Aristee's Letter is meaningless; cf. P.E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 209ff.

10. Their documents have been published, although not completely: A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1923); E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953); G.R. Driver, *Aramaic*

of an Egyptian population.¹¹ If they had asked permission to rebuild the Temple to Yaho (destroyed in 410 BCE by the priests of Hnum¹²), then why could they not also ask permission for an Aramaic translation of the Bible (at least for the Pentateuch) as their later brethren did with the Greek in Alexandria? We know that each Jewish community was eager to have its own particular collection of scriptures, an example being the Samaritan community.¹³

2. *In the Beginning There Were the Manuscripts*

Mention is made about writing in very early times: the OT references in writing in the time of Moses (Exod. 17.14; 24.4; 39.14, 30; Deut. 27.3; 31.24; cf. Josh. 18.4-9) are not to be regarded as anachronisms. An episode from the time of Gideon in the twelfth or eleventh century bears witness to the knowledge of writing on the part of a young man from a small town who was captured at random (Judg. 8.14).

The Aramaic Manuscripts throughout the World.

At present there is no complete catalogue either of the Aramaic MSS, or of the targumic MSS anywhere in the world. We have three ways of trying to get an approximate idea of such MSS. (a) The direct study of each MS: an impossible task for a single person, and very difficult for a team. (b) The catalogue of each library published to date, although there is a problem: commonly in such catalogues (especially

Documents of the Fifth Century BC (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); E. Bresciani and M. Kamil, 'Le Lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli', in *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (Classe di Scienze Morali, Memorie, Ser. VIII, 12, 1966); B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968); J.B. Segal, 'New Aramaic Texts from Saqqara: An Introduction', in *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (ed. M. Sokoloff; Bar-Ilan: University Press, 1983), *idem*, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

11. P. Leander, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1966 [1928]).

12. J.A. Larraya, art. 'Elefantina', *Enciclopedia de la Biblia* (ed. A. Díez Macho and S. Bartina; Barcelona: Garriga, 1963), II, col. 1198; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 13 and p. 22 (pp. 65-75)—in a papyrus we read a list of names of contributors to Temple funds.

13. Cf. Avraham and Ratson Sadaqa, *Jewish Version—Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch* (Tel Aviv, 1862-1966).

for the Targum MSS) only the Hebrew text is taken into account; moreover many libraries have very old catalogues, made without sufficient examination, and others have as yet no special catalogue of the Oriental MSS. (c) The list of microfilms of the Institute of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. For this we have access to both a partial exposition, and a general—although very insufficient—exposition, either in three volumes published, or in the microcards.

In an 'Outline' published by the Institute of Microfilmed MSS in Jerusalem (during the Third World Congress of Jewish Studies, 1961) the number of Hebrew MSS (both biblical and non-biblical) in the world was about 59,800, spread over 766 libraries throughout the world; to these should be added another 207,262 fragments of Hebrew and Aramaic MSS.

In a memoir of the activities of the first 15 years of work done by the same Institute of Microfilmed MSS (at the National and University Library, Jerusalem) published in Jerusalem (1965) all the Hebrew and Aramaic MSS in the world were estimated at about 60,000 MSS, and about 200,000 fragments of MSS. Of all these MSS only about ten per cent are biblical. Most of these MSS are in Great Britain and in Russia, but there are also MSS in Italy, and in many other nations.

Italy: Rome 350, Ancona 120, Turin 300, Livorno 100, Milan 190, Mantova 170, Ferrara 100, Parma 1,500

France: 2,250 Hebr. MSS., Strasbourg 200

Germany: Hamburg 560, Tübingen 320, Marburg 200

Austria: Vienna 250

Hungary: Budapest 1,000

Poland: Warsaw 1,500

England: about 11,000 MSS; London 20 libraries, 4,000 MSS and 5,000 fragments; Oxford 8 libraries, 300 MSS, 20,000 fragments; Letchworth 2 libraries, 1,300 MSS, 200 fragments; Cambridge 10 libraries, 1,260 MSS, 103,000 fragments. In the area of London: 40 libraries, 9,560 MSS and 128,200 fragments; the remaining 11,000 MSS and 140,000 fragments are in England outside the London area. According to N. Allony¹⁴ in Cambridge can be found: University Library:

14. N. Allony, 'Genizah and Hebrew MSS in the Cambridge Libraries', *Arešet* 3 (1961), pp. 395-96.

1,000 MSS and 100,000 fragments; Girton: 42 MSS; Westminster: 5 MSS and 3,000 fragments; Trinity College: 189 MSS; St John's 13; Emmanuel: 1; Christ's: 1; Dr Gaster: 1; Dr. D. Diringen: 2; Dr. J.L. Teicher: 6; Total: 1,259 MSS and 103,000 fragments.

Russia: Kiev 1,000 MSS; Moscow 3,000 MSS; Leningrad 10,000 MSS, and 50,000 fragments.

Catalogues of the Hebrew and Aramaic MSS

Although the MSS have been kept for many years in the libraries, in some cases we do not possess a reliable catalogue; sometimes there is no catalogue at all, as in the case of the Russian libraries, mentioned above.

The most important catalogues are: E.N. Adler (MSS of the JThS, New York); N. Allony (Valladolid); N. Allony-M. Figueras (Montserrat); S.E. Assemanus-J.S. Assemanus (Vatican Library); S. Baer-S. Landauer (Karlsruhe); J. Bassfreund (Trier); A. Berliner (Turin); C. Bernheimer (Ambrosiana and Livorno); A.M. Biscione (Florence); P. Blanco Soto (El Escorial); W.M. Brinner (Sutro); F. Cantera Burgos (Biblical MSS of Spain, Calahorra, Madrid); U. Cassutto (Vatican Library, Florence); A.E. Cowley (Bodleian); E. Deinard (S. Sulzberger, Philadelphia); G.B. De Rossi (G.B. De Rossi Library); A. Duran Sanpere (Catalunya); E. Ewald (Tübingen); H.O. Fleischer (Dresden); J. Foradada y Castan (Toledo); L. Frias (Toledo); L. Fuks-R.G. Mansfeld (Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam); F. García Fresca (El Escorial); M. Gaspar Remiro (Madrid); J. Gildemeister (Bonn); L. Goldschmidt (R. Hayyim ben Baruk ha-Levi); B. Halper (Genizah, Philadelphia); A. Harkavy (St Petersburg); D. Hirschfeld (Montefiore Library); A.S. Hunt (Pamplona); J. Issachar (National and University Library, Jerusalem); M. Kamil (St Catharine on Mount Sinai); A.I. Katsch (Russia); M. Kayserling (Spain and Portugal); I.A. Laredo-K.M. Malka-F. Cantera Burgos (Burgos); I. Levi (Mallorca); H.B. Levy (Hamburg); H. Loewe (Girton College Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge); D.S. Loewinger-B.D. Weinreyb (Breslau); J. Llamas (Madrid, El Escorial, Salamanca); A. Luzzatto (Ambrosiana); A. Mai (Vatican Library); G. Margoliouth (British Museum); A. Marx (JThS, New York); J. Marx (Kues, Hospital); A. Meyer (Paris); J.M. Millas Vallicrosa (Zaragoza, Madrid, Toledo); L. Modona (Bologna); A. Neubauer (Jews College,

London); A. Neubauer–A.E. Cowley (Bodleian Library); A. Neubauer (Spain); S. Ochser (Vatican Library); B. Peyron (Turin); S. Poznanski (Cambridge); E. Robertson (John Rylands Library); J. Rodriguez de Castro (Spain); M. Roest (Rosenthal, Amsterdam); T. Rojo Orcajo (Burgo de Osma); R.A. Rye (Mocatta); G. Sacerdote (Neofiti, Rome); S. Sachs (L. Zunz, Berlin); D.S. Sassoon (Sassoon Library); S.M. Schiller-Szinessy (Cambridge); M. Schwab (Paris); A.Z. Schwarz (Vienna); G. Sed Rejna (Lisbon); M. Soberanas Lleo (Tarragona); M. Steinschneider (Munich, Bodleian, Berlin, Leiden, Paris); B. Strauss (B. Strauss Library); H. Roth–E. Striedel (Germany); G. Tamani (Parma, Venice); H. Tietze (Wien-Linz); O. de Toledo (Toledo); C. del Valle Rodríguez (Madrid, National Library); J.J. Villa-Amil y Castro (Madrid, Central University); M. Weinberg (Fulda); A. Yaari (National and University Library, Jerusalem); B. Zuckermann (Breslau).

Institute of Microfilmed MSS (Jerusalem)

The Aramaic MSS kept in this institute can be consulted in three ways: (a) by taking in hand each one of the microfilms kept in the National and University Library, Givat Ram, Hebrew University (Jerusalem); (b) by consulting the three volumes published by the same institute by N. Allony, D.S. Loewinger and E.F. Kupfer (1957–1968), which is updated; (c) by consulting the microfiche catalogue.

What follows is a general view of this collection, as shown by the three above-mentioned researchers.

1. *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Libraries of Austria and Germany: 835 MSS.* Austria with the following cities and libraries: Vienna (Nationalbibliothek, Benediktinerabtei), Graz (Steiermarkischers Landesarchiv, Universitätsbibliothek), Innsbruck (Universitätsbibliothek), Kärnten (Stif. St. Paul), Melk (Stift.), Salzburg (Bunderstaatliche Studienbibliothek). Germany with the following cities and libraries: Berlin (Preussische Staatsbibliothek), Bamberg (Staatsbibliothek), Bonn (Universitätsbibliothek), Eichstätt (Staatsbibliothek), Erfurt (Stadtbibliothek = Berlin), Frankfurt a. M. (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek), Fulda (Landesbibliothek), Giessen (Bibliothek der Akademie), Göttingen (Universitätsbibliothek), Hamburg (Stadtbibliothek = Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek; Fürstlich Öttingen–Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek), Heidelberg (Universitätsbibliothek), Karlsruhe (Badische

Landesbibliothek), Kassel (Landesbibliothek), Köln (Historisches Archiv der Stadt), Kues (Hospital), Maihingen (= Harburg), Mainz (Bibliothek der israelitischen Religionsgemeinschaft), Mannheim (Gemeinde Archiv), Marburg (Westdeutsche Bibliothek = Berlin, Staatsarchiv), Memmingen (Stadtbibliothek), Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Nuremberg (Stadtbibliothek, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Landeskirchliches Archiv), Paderborn (Theodorianische Bibliothek = Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek), Pappenheim (Gräfllich Papenheim'sche Bibliothek), Pforzheim (Reuchlin Museum = Karlsruhe), Pommersfelden (Bibliothek der Graf von Schönborn), Stuttgart (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Universitätsbibliothek), Trier (Stadtbibliothek), Tübingen (Universitätsbibliothek = Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek), Wolfenbüttel (Herzog August Bibliothek), Worms (Museum der Israelitischen Gemeinde).¹⁵ But many of the private libraries were not checked (in Vienna: A. Epstein, L. Guttman, J. Heschel, H. Hinterberger, E. Jonas-Schachtitz, W. Pappenheim, S. Rappoport, A. Schwarz, E. Trebitsch; in Berlin: J. Wagner, J.I. Kaiser, S. Kirschstein), and even public libraries and institutions (Salzburg, Vienna, Berlin, Frankfurt a. M., Hamburg, Königsberg, Nuremberg, etc.).

2. *Hebrew Manuscript in the Libraries of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland.*¹⁶ *Countries, towns and libraries with Hebrew (Aramaic) MSS.* Belgium: Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ch. Spiegel), Antwerp (Dov Baer Cohen [Kahan], I. Mintzer). Denmark: Copenhagen (The Royal Library, The Jewish Community, Moshe Levy's Synagogue, E. Bier, Jehude [Julius] Margolinsky, James Keiser, Witt Priwin). Netherlands: Amsterdam (Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam-Rosenthaliana, Portugees Israeleitische Seminarium—Etz Haim Livraria D. Montezinos, Moshe H. Gans, Salo Meyer, J. Meikman, Ashkenasi Community Museum), Deventer (Athenacum Bibliotheek), Groningen (Bibliotheek der Provincie Groningen), The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek), Leeuwarden (N. Beem, Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland), Utrecht (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit). Spain: not many MSS; the

15. N. Allony and D.S. Loewinger, *List of Photocopies in the Institute* (Jerusalem, Supplement to 'Bahinukh uvatarbut', 1957).

16. N. Allony and E.F. Kupfer, *List of Photocopies in the Institute* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1964).

total may be 250 MSS in 26 libraries:¹⁷ Alcalá de Henares (Biblioteca Universitaria), Madrid (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca Universitaria de San Bernardo, Biblioteca de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto Arias Montano, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Real Academia de la Historia, Ducas de Osona), Barcelona (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Biblioteca de la Universidad Central, Biblioteca de Cataluña, Biblioteca de Isaac Naum, Librero Porter, Librero Verbal), Burgos (Archivo Diocesano de la Archidiócesis), Cervera (Archivo de Cervera, Fausto Dalmasis), Calahorra (Archivo del Obispado de Calahorra y la Calzada), San Cugat del Vallés (Archivo de la Catedral, Biblioteca de San Francisco de Borja), El Escorial (Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial), Gerona (Archivo de la Catedral de Gerona, Museo Diocesano), Huesca (Archivo de la Catedral), Montserrat (Biblioteca de la Abadía Benedictina de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat), Palma de Mallorca (Archivo Histórico de Mallorca), Pamplona (Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona), Salamanca (Biblioteca Universitaria), Zaragoza (Archivo del Cabildo Metropolitano, Biblioteca de Teófilo Ayuso = Madrid), Sevilla (Archivo de la Catedral), Tarazona (Archivo Catedral Capitular), Tarragona (Archivo Histórico), Toledo (Biblioteca Capitular), Valencia (Biblioteca Universitaria), Valladolid (Biblioteca Universitaria, Museo de Valladolid), Vich (Museo).

The same problem occurs with the following libraries: 49 private libraries of Amsterdam could not be checked, and many others from Spain. Switzerland: Zurich (Zentralbibliothek, Staatsarchiv), Basle (Universitätsbibliothek), Bern (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana-Bürgerbibliothek, Landesbibliothek, Shimon Lauer, Karl Marti), Fribourg (Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire), Geneva (Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Bibliothèque Centrale Juive), Hergeswill

17. The biblical MSS, about 70, are described by F. Cantera Burgos, 'Manuscritos hebreo-bíblicos en España', in Díez Macho and Bartina (eds.), *Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, IV, cols. 1250-1269; but also in N. Allony, 'Hebrew Manuscripts in the Spanish Libraries', *Ošar Yehude Sefarad* 1. I (1959), pp. 74-78; *idem*, 'Hebrew Manuscripts in Valladolid', *Arešet* 2 (1960), pp. 180-89; A. Arce, 'Códices hebreos y judaicos en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valladolid', *Sef.* 18 (1958), pp. 41-50; N. Allony and P. Figueras, 'Manuscritos hebraicos de la Biblioteca de Montserrat', *Sef.* 19 (1959), pp. 241-72.

(L. Altmann), Schaffhausen (Stadtbibliothek), St. Gallen (Stiftsbibliothek, Stadtbibliothek).

3. *Hebrew MSS in the Vatican Library*.¹⁸ Vatican collection (613 MSS), Urbinati 59, Neofiti 51, Barberini 13, Borghiana 19, Rossiana 38, Ottoboniana 1, Chigiana 1, Additions 6. The total of the Vatican Hebrew MSS: 801; of these only 280 are biblical MSS.

The most complete list of Hebrew and Aramaic MSS. A second opportunity of an updated list of the manuscripts and the most complete today, is the microfilmed list of all the MSS collected to date in the Institute of Microfilms in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This list is today available in microfiche, and is the richest in the world. New problems arise with this list for the Aramaic MSS: the main concern of this list is not the Aramaic, but the Hebrew MSS. Secondly, in some cases, the short description given for each MS is too schematic and uses different criteria; moreover, sometimes we see: 'with Targum', but this Targum means either Aramaic translation, or another translation (such as Sephardic, Ladino, Portuguese, Arabic, etc.), because in modern Hebrew every translation can be understood by the term Targum.

The Oldest Aramaic MSS

There is no doubt that the most ancient MSS come from the Qumran library. This is curious because there existed a rabbinical prescription saying that what had been given orally, should be transmitted orally and what had been given in writing should be transmitted in writing.¹⁹ This was also applied to Aramaic translations, because in Sinai only the Hebrew text was given, not the Aramaic. Nonetheless, either this rule was established in a later period, or it was never strictly observed, because today we have written Aramaic translations from a very early date.

18. N. Allony and D.S. Loewinger, *List of Photocopies in the Institute* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1968).

19. *b. Tem.* 14b; *b. Git.* 60b; H.L. Strack and S. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, VII (Munich: Beck, 1982), pp. 42-54; English trans. by M. Bockmuehl, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), pp. 37-49.

1. *Leviticus Targum: 4Q156*. Two small fragments from different columns, containing Lev. 16.12–15.18-21, dated about 100 BCE.²⁰ The language is from the Hasmonean period, and it means that the Targum was already written in the second century BCE.

2. *Job Targum: 4Q157. 11QtgJob*. To date, three fragments of the Job Targum have been published:²¹ two small fragments from Qumran Cave 4, and the roll from Qumran Cave 11; in total we have recovered 15 per cent of the whole Targum. Both MSS can be dated to the middle of the first century CE. 4Q157 offers Job 3.5-9; 4.16–5.4. 11QtgJob had formerly 68 columns with 16-17 lines; 8-11 lines can be recovered only from 32 columns (fragmentary text of Job 17.14–42.12). For the Job Targum we read some information in the Talmudic sources, referring to the first century CE,²² when Rabban Gamaliel I (first part of the first century CE) and Rabban Gamaliel II (ca. 100 CE) rejected a Job Targum although we do not know why.

3. *Other Qumran fragments*. In Qumran Cave 11 there are still some fragments of the same Job Targum that have not yet been published.²³

20. J.T. Milik, *Discoveries of the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), VI, 47.86-89.92s; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Targum of Leviticus from Qumran Cave 4', *Maarav* 1 (1978-79), pp. 5-23; A. Angerstorfer, 'Ist 4QTg.Lev. das Menetekel der neueren Targumforschung?', *Biblische Notizen* 15 (1981), pp. 55-75; J.T. Milik, 'Targum du Levitique', in *Qumran Grotte 4.11* (DJD VI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 86-89; *Appendix: Notes by Menahem M. Kasher on the Fragment of Targum to Leviticus and the Commentary*, pp. 92-93; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), pp. 278-80.

21. 4Q157: Milik, *Discoveries of the Judaean Desert*, VI, 90; 11QtgJob: J.P.M. van der Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumran* (Leiden, 1971); M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974); B. Jongeling, C.J. Labuschagne and A.S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran with Translations and Annotations I* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 1-73; J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome, 1978), n. 5; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, pp. 280-97.

22. *t. Sab.* 13.2; *y. Sab.* 15c.5-7; *b. Sab.* 115a; *Tosefta Sopherim* (ed. Machsor Vitry 695.708) 5.15; 15.2.

23. Milik, *Discoveries of Judaean Desert*, II, 90.

4. *Other Targumim from Qumran.* There have been proposals for the identification of other Targumim, especially of the Prophets, in Qumran, either of the Latter Prophets: Habakkuk,²⁴ Isaiah²⁵ or to the Former Prophets: Samuel,²⁶ but to date no certain fragment belonging to the Prophets' Targum in Qumran has been put forward. We must also recall that almost half of the documents have not yet been published.

Next comes the period from the date of the Qumran MSS (first century CE) up to the Genizah findings. The Genizah texts cover the period between 640 and 1100 CE,²⁷ and provide another source for the Targums. The gap for the earlier period may yet be filled, but to date no new evidence has been adduced. The first dated MS of Targum Onqelos with the complete text, although some other fragments can be dated earlier, we find in the Vatican MS 448 from 1084.²⁸ From the thirteenth century we have new written sources for Targum manuscripts and for the whole Aramaic Bible in the MS Urbinati I (1294 CE) from the Vatican library.

Plural Tradition of the Targum

When researchers speak about Targums in general, they write and speak without any specification; but we have to be aware that in Targum transmission there are many traditions, and if we do not distinguish them, we will be confused. We have to be clear that two blocks of traditions exist, one referring to the contents, and the other related to the linguistic form in which they are transmitted.

According to their content. The Targums can be considered in two ways: if we attend to the narratives in which the text is transmitted, a

24. N. Wieder, 'The Habakkuk Scroll and the Targum', *JJS* 4 (1953), pp. 14-18; W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan* (Durham, NC, 1953).

25. J.A. Draper, 'A Targum of Isaiah in 1QS 3.2-3 (Isa. 9.4)', *RevQ* 11 (1983), pp. 265-69.

26. J. Treballe, 'El estudio de 4QSam (a): implicaciones exegéticas e históricas', *EstBib* 39 (1981), pp. 5-18.

27. C. Roth (ed.), *The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia* (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv: Massadah, 1966), col. 737.

28. A. Díez Macho, 'Onqelos Manuscript with Babylonian Transliterated Vocalization in the Vatican Library (MS Eb. 448)', *VI* 8 (1958) p. 114; although it has another colophon with the date 1252, the most reliable date is 1084.

clear classification can be made although it also depends on the different parts of the Aramaic Bible. We know three blocks in the Hebrew Bible, and this threefold division can be accepted in the Aramaic Bible: Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa. In the written tradition of the Aramaic Bible we have many MSS for the Pentateuch, fewer for the Prophets, and very few for the Hagiographa (although it depends: for Psalms, Proverbs and Job very few MSS, for the Five Megillot some more, for Chronicles only three MSS).

Eastern tradition. If we try a synoptic comparison of the three parts of the Bible, we immediately observe that the narratives in one tradition are shorter, and in the other are longer; the language in each one of the two traditions has its own vocabulary.

If we go further in applying these principles to some of the books, or even to the entire traditions (Targum Onqelos against Palestinian Targum [Neofiti 1, Pseudo-Jonathan, Fragmentary Targums]; Targum Jonathan in the common editions [Rabbinical and Polyglot Bibles] against the Palestinian tradition as it is represented in the marginal notes of the Reuchlin MS; the common editions of the Hagiographa [Rabbinical and Polyglot Bibles] against the Yemenite editions), we see that two currents appear; two editorial works clearly defined can be expanded. If we want a modern edition of a book in the two traditions (even the authors do not acknowledge this phenomenon), we can compare the Targum of Lamentations in the Yemenite tradition against Urbinati's I reproduction.²⁹ From this comparison we can see that there are some characteristic features in their content and in their way of linguistic expression.

We could try an exposition of the whole tradition, but it is enough to make a comparison among the exemplars of each tradition, and what we are saying will appear clearly. Just for the Yemenite tradition on the Hagiographa we have tried to present the most important witnesses,³⁰ and the comparison can be extended to the three parts of the Aramaic Bible, although we are aware that in some cases, as in the Esther Targum, this task can be hard to prove because of its particular

29. A. van der Heide, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations, Critical Texts and Analysis of the Variant Readings* (Leiden: Brill, 1981); E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Lamentations* (New York: Hermon Press, 1976).

30. Cf. L. Díez Merino, 'La tradición yemení del Targum de Hagiógrafos', *EstBib* 42 (1984), pp. 269-314.

nature. In cases where we have not yet found MSS for a concrete book, for example in the Yemenite tradition for many Targums to the Hagiographa, this is also a very different task.

Western tradition. We can establish two directions in the study of these traditions (Eastern-Western): the first aspect—as stated above—attends to their content; we said that generally the Western tradition is more abundant in its narratives, and the Eastern is more sober. The extended transmission of such texts has another element: the mixture of linguistic features. If we take the not always correct parameters of Dalman's exposition,³¹ we realize that often expressions from an Eastern language have been introduced into the Western expressions, and—although in a lesser measure—in the Eastern models expressions of the Western language have been introduced. The most interesting element in this Western question is that we now possess some exemplars of the complete Bible, for example, the MS Urbinati I with the complete text; by contrast, in the Eastern tradition we only have some parts in different MSS, but not the whole tradition in the same exemplar.

According to their linguistic tradition. In the preceding paragraph I referred to the contents of the Targum traditions; now that we come to another item, we are concerned with the material transmission in (each) way of expression. There are special linguistic schemas with which the same language can be transmitted; but it depends not only on the pragmatic signs of vocalization, but also on the cultural and psychological ways of concrete linguistic achievement.

Babylonian. Two researchers have been working on this Aramaic tradition. 1) A. Díez Macho by 1971 had published 17 articles on the Babylonian Aramaic tradition:³² his practical contribution to the

31. G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, repr., 1960 [1905]), pp. 44-51.

32. His bibliography: A. Díez Macho, 'Magister-Minister. Prof. P.E. Kahle through twelve years of correspondence', in *Recent Progress in Biblical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 45-47; *idem*, *Manuscriptos hebreos y arameos de la Biblia. Contribución al estudio de las diversas tradiciones del texto del Antiguo Testamento* (Roma: Institutum Patristicum 'Augustinianum', 1971), 47s; his most complete bibliography in L. Díez Merino, 'Alejandro Díez Macho. Datos biográficos y

Babylonian tradition of Aramaic can be seen in the publication of many fragmentary MSS in this tradition, either alone,³³ or with his pupils.³⁴ In the introductions to these articles he gave an analysis of the different aspects of the Babylonian Aramaic tradition; he studied not only the Hebrew part, but also the Aramaic part of such MSS. As a consequence, with a collection of these articles we can obtain a small manual on the Aramaic Bible in the Babylonian tradition. His discovery of MSS in this tradition is restricted to the Pentateuch and Prophets; he did not find any MS with this tradition for the Hagiographa.

2) I. Yeivin also studied the Babylonian tradition in his doctoral dissertation.³⁵ Although he quotes many Targum MSS, he only studies the Babylonian tradition referring to Hebrew, not to Aramaic; therefore, when noting characteristics, he analyses the Hebrew part, which in many cases is different from the Aramaic part; in some cases the quality of the Aramaic is better than the Hebrew. With these two groups of studies, the Babylonian tradition has a well-founded basis for its final achievement.³⁶

For the Pentateuch in the Babylonian and Yemenite tradition: Targum Onqelos Gen 4.12–48.11: MS 152 (ENA 80), Yemenite, thirteenth century, 131 fols., HT and Targum Onqelos. Ms. A. Díez Macho, 'A Fundamental Manuscript for an Edition of the Babylonian

publicaciones', in *Salvación en la Palabra: Targum—Derash—Berith. En memoria del profesor Alejandro Díez Macho* (ed. D. Muñoz León; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1986), pp. 828-48.

33. Díez Macho, *Manuscritos hebreos y arameos*, p. 47: 17 articles, and in the same book pp. 223-89.

34. Díez Macho, different articles in: *EstBib* 16 (1957), pp. 83-88; 16 (1957), pp. 283-87; 17 (1958), pp. 229-36; 19 (1960), pp. 75-90; 19 (1960), pp. 245-47; 19 (1960), pp. 361-68.

35. I. Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1985); *idem*, *Geniza Bible Fragments with Babylonian Massorah and Vocalization. Including Additional Bible Fragments with Babylonian Massorah and Vocalization, together with a Description of the Manuscripts and Indices: Pentateuch, Prophets, Hagiographa*, I-V (Jerusalem: Makor, 1973).

36. The MSS are described in A. Díez Macho, 'Descubrimiento de nuevos MSS babilónicos', *Sef.* 14 (1954), pp. 216-28; *idem*, 'Nuevos MSS importantes bíblicos o litúrgicos en hebreo o arameo', *Sef.* 16 (1956), pp. 2-22, *idem*, 'Importants manuscrits hébreux et araméens aux Etats Unis', *VTSup* 4 (1957), pp. 27-46.

Onqelos to Genesis: MS 152 of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York', in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; Berlin: Topelmann, 1968), pp. 62-78 (transcribes Targum Onqelos Gen. 39).

Targum Onqelos Lev. 7.33–Deut. 32.21: MS 133a (ENA 1705), Yemenite, HT and Targum Onqelos, with 102 fols., superlinear simple Babylonian vowels, twelfth century. Cf. A. Díez Macho, 'A Yemenite Manuscript for the Edition of Babylonian Onqelos, MS 133a (E.N. Adler Catalogue 1705) of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York', *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), pp. 215-220 (transcribes Deut. 28.15-51).

Targum Onqelos Deut. 2.30–9.9; 9.28–10.16; 11.51–14.14; 15.14–28.12; 28.14-29: MS 131 (EMC 925), Yemenite, 34 fols., HT and Targum Onqelos, twelfth century.

Targum Onqelos Exod. 3.22–8.15; MS 153 (EMC 48), Yemenite, 12 fols., HT, Targum Onqelos and Arabic translation, superlinear simple Babylonian vowels, thirteenth century.³⁷

For the Former Prophets in Babylonian tradition, A. Díez Macho discovered several important MSS: (1) Jos. 8.21–9.3: JThS MS 230a, f, 11, Yemenite, twelfth century, HT and Targum; (2) 2 Sam. 22.51–23.17; 1 Kings 1.2-25: JThS MS 230, ff. 29-30, HT and Targum twelfth-thirteenth centuries; (3) Judg. 16.17-end; 1 and 2 Sam—2 Kings 5.21: MS 229 (EMC), 113 fols., HT and Targum, thirteenth century

For the Latter Prophets in Babylonian tradition: Isa 35–38; 40–42; 43: JThS MS 240 (EMC 73),³⁸ 16 fols., HT and Targum, twelfth-thirteenth centuries. With all these MSS for the Prophets we have 132 fols. for this tradition.

As far as we know for the Hagiographa in the Babylonian tradition no Targum MS has been identified to date.

Yemenite. The Yemenite tradition of the Targum is the best represented to date. Methodologically it is correctly presented by A. van der Heide or by E.Z. Melamed, and I put forward the principles and

37. Published by Díez Macho, *Manuscritos hebreos y arameos*, n. 12, pp. 245-52.

38. Published by Díez Macho, *Manuscritos hebreos y arameos*, n. 13, pp. 253-68.

lines from which an ample vision of the Targum of Hagiographa in this tradition can be obtained.³⁹

Editions of the Hagiographa Targum. Targum Canticles: R.H. Melamed, 'The Targum to Canticles according to six Yemen MSS. Compared with the "Textus Receptus" as contained in De Lagarde's Hagiographa Chaldaice', *JQR* 10 (1919–20), pp. 377-410; 11 (1920–21), pp. 1-20; 12 (1921–22), pp. 57-117; separately as a book: Philadelphia, 1921 (author's doctoral dissertation, 1915). Targum Lamentations: A. Van der Heide, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 193 + 55* pp. Targum Kohelet: A. Levy, *Das Targum Kohelet nach südarabischen Handschriften* (Breslau, 1905).

Some Editions of the Prophets. Targum Joshua: F. Praetorius, *Das Targum zu Josua in Jemenischer Überlieferung* (Berlin, 1899), 47 pp. (MS Berlin Or. Qu. 578). Targum Judges: F. Praetorius, *Das Targum zum Buche der Richter in Jemenischer Überlieferung* (Berlin, 1900), 61 pp. (ms Berlin Or. Qu. 578).⁴⁰ Targum Isaiah: F. Felman, 'Critical Edition of a Yemenite Manuscript of Targum to Isaiah' (dissertation, Yeshiva University, New York, 1949), 60 pp.; J.F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953 [1949]), 232 pp.⁴¹ Targum Jeremiah: L. Wolfsohn, *Das Targum zum Propheten Jeremias (1-12) In Jemenischer Überlieferung* (Halle, 1902) (MSS Berlin Or. Qu. 578; Socin, Halle). Targum Ezekiel: S. Silbermann, *Das Targum zu Ezechiel (1-10). Nach einer südarabischen Handschrift hrsg., mit einer Einleitung und Varianten*

39. L. Díez Merino, 'El Targum de Hagiógrafos en tradición yemení', *EstBib* 42 (1984), pp. 269-314.

40. Cf. E.Z. Melamed, 'Trgwm ywntn wpsyr 'bry šl syrt dbwrh', *Eretz Israel* 3 (1954), pp. 198-206; M.S. Segal, 'Trgwm Yonathan le-Sefer Soptim', *Journal of the Jewish Palestinian Exploration Society Dedicated to the Memory of Abraham Mosheh Luncz* (ed. I. Press and E.L. Sukenik; Jerusalem, 1928), pp. 266-90.

41. Cf. A. Schapira, 'Theological Tendencies in Targum Jonathan to Isaiah' (MA dissertation, Ramat Gan, Bar Ilan University, 1976); J.B. van Zijl, *The Eschatology of Targum Isaiah* (Stellenbosch, 1965); L. Delekat, 'Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta', *Bib* 38 (1957) pp. 185-89, 321-35; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Die Jesaja-Rolle im Lichte von Peschitta und Targum', *Bib* 35 (1954), pp. 51-71; E.R. Rowlands, 'The Targum and the Peshitta Version of the Book of Isaiah', *VT* 9 (1959), pp. 178-91.

versehen (Strasbourg, 1902) (MS Berlin Or. Qu. 578). Targum Hosea: J. Ferrier i Costa, 'El Targum d'Oseas en tradició iemenita' (dissertation, Central University, Barcelona, 1990).

Editions of Pentateuch Targum. H. Barnstein, 'The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis. A Critical Inquiry into the Value of the Text Exhibited by Yemen MSS compared with the European recension together with some Specimen chapters of the oriental Text' (Leipzig, 1896, doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg).

*Sperber's Yemenite Edition*⁴²

Reading Sperber's introduction to his edition of the two first volumes,⁴³ one may be confused about what the Babylonian tradition is, or what Sperber understood by the Babylonian tradition. In Volume I he presents manuscripts with Babylonian Vocalization (MS Or. 2363; MS Or. 1467; MSS Or. 2228-30, all of them from the British Museum MS Socin n. 84 of the Libr. of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft); in Volume II appear MS Or. 2210, MS Or. 2371, MS Or. 1472, MS Or. 1471 all from the British Museum, MS Or. qu. 578 of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (= Tübingen): all these MSS are Yemenite, not Babylonian.

It may be interesting to hear D. Barthélemy's judgement⁴⁴ on Sperber's work and on the Targum in general:⁴⁵

C'est a propos du T[argum] que le défaut d'une véritable édition critique se fait le plus lourdement sentir. L'édition qu'en a donné Sperber ne mérite en effet guère ce titre. La tradition textuelle du T est certes trop complexe pour que l'on puisse *réproduire le texte d'un MS yéménite, parfois mal choisi*, en prétendant y trouver 'le Targum'. C'est pourquoi nous avons toujours ajouté aux données fournies par Sperber d'autres données empruntées à des témoins variés dont un certain nombre n'ont

42. Cf. A. Díez Macho, Review of A. Sperber *The Bible in Aramaic IVB: The Targums and the Hebrew Bible*, *JSJ* 3 (1975), pp. 217-36; J.M. Mulder, *BO* 34 (1977), pp. 97-98.

43. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. I. *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); *idem*, II. *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

44. D. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. III. *Ezechiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 50/3; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), p. ccix.

45. The phrases in italics are in the original of Barthélemy's words.

pas trouvé accès à son appareil qui, d'ailleurs, ne reproduit aucune vocalisation tiberienne. Si l'on veut porter un regard critique sur l'édition Sperber, il sera bon, pour CT1 et pour CT2 de se référer aux lieux auxquels renvoie la mention de son nom dans l'index des auteurs cités. Au cours de notre étude nous avons relevé un certain nombre de *données inexactes dans l'apparat de Sperber*. . . Nous avons relevé un nombre notable de cas où *le manuscrit London BL Or 2211 (= v) dont Sperber reproduit le texte pour les Nebiim Aharonim semble entièrement isolé dans la leçon qu'il offre*. . . Indépendamment de ces cas où le choix textuel fait par Sperber est particulièrement critiquable, il existe de nombreux autres cas où 1. le choix restreint des témoins figurant dans l'apparat critique de Sperber et 2. le parti-pris de n'offrir aucune vocalisation tiberienne *rendent impossible pour l'usage de son édition de se faire une représentation exacte de la complexité de la situation textuelle* [he offers here many examples]. . . On comprendra donc que, *dans cette situation déplorable de l'édition du Targum de Jonathan*, nous ne sommes pas limités à le texte édité par Sperber.

Barthélemy's method was:

Nous avons contrôlé presque tous les témoins qu'il cite (le MS Montefiore étant le seul de ces témoins auquel nous n'avons pas eu un accès direct). Nous y avons ajouté deux manuscrits: le MS Vatican Urbinates 1 et le MS Berlin Or fol 1-4, ainsi que deux éditions: la polyglotte de Walton (Londres 1657) et les Miqraot Gedolot (ed. J. Levensohn & J.M. Meldelsohn, Varsovie 1860-1866). Nous avons essayé de *faire ensuite un choix autonome*. Lorsque ce choix tirait à conséquence pour la relation existant entre le T et le M, nous avons tenté de motiver ce choix. **MAIS, BIEN DE FOIS, NOUS AVONS DÛ RENONCER À EXPLICITER CETTE MOTIVATION DONT L'AMPLEUR AURAIT RISQUÉ, DE DÉSÉQUILIBRER NOTRE TRAITEMENT DES TÉMOINS TEXTUELS** [The capital letters are mine]. En effet, dans la plupart des cas, T témoigne d'une exégèse juive ancienne plutôt que d'une Vorlage hébraïque autonome.

In the case of Targum Hagiographa Barthélemy's conclusions are the same as I examined several years ago.⁴⁶

C'est dans le livre des Lamentations que nous avons eu l'occasion la plus notable de mettre en contraste, comme deux formes textuelles nettement distinctes et assez bien définies, *des leçons yéménites et des leçons*

46. L. Díez Merino, 'La tradición yemení del Targum de Hagiógrafos', *EstBib* 42 (1984) pp. 269-314, especially pp. 306-13: relation between the Yemenite and Western targumic tradition.

tibériennes. Dans ce volume nous avons parfois trouvé—quoique de manière moins nette—des *traces d'une distinction en deux traditions* qui pourrait avoir une origine analogue.

In Sperber's work we can find a curious *kol bô* ('a hold-all') of every kind of traditions, a 'mixtum compositum', including Babylonian with Yemenite vocalizations, Babylonian-Tiberian with Tiberian, Eastern with Western traditions, printed books with manuscripts, Polyglot Bibles with the Genizah fragments.

When Sperber finished his work, and after many years in search of a publisher for his Aramaic Bible (a work which took forty years), he could not find one. At that time, on invitation from the Spanish Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, he visited Barcelona, when A. Díez Macho was looking for Aramaic manuscripts for the Third Spanish Polyglot Bible, the Madrid Polyglot. When he spoke with Díez Macho about the new project, Sperber realized that his Aramaic Bible was already old-fashioned and outdated, because Díez Macho showed him the genuine Babylonian manuscripts found at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, where Sperber was the Director of the library. Sperber gave his edition to the Spanish Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas since he had no hope of finding a publisher, and because the new discoveries of the Babylonian MSS had made his work obsolete even before it was printed.

After some years he found a publisher in E.J. Brill (Leiden). Sperber then asked for the return of his work which he had given to the Spanish Consejo Superior and it was duly printed by Brill.

I begin by looking at Sperber's work on Targum Onqelos of the Pentateuch. Sperber seems to have checked the Babylonian MSS kept in the Jewish Theological Seminary after his journey to Spain, but it was too late to begin his work again since he was old, and the task was too hard. He also recognized the excellent MS Vat. 448 for Targum Onqelos. Therefore he decided to give some hints in the Prologue of the first volume of his work *The Bible in Aramaic*, as a justification:

Part of a page of this manuscript appears in photographic reproduction in E. Tisserant's *Specimina Codicum Orientalium*, Bonn 1914, as plate 4. A trained eye can discover even on this facsimile the traces of erasures etc., by means of which the changes in the vocalization were affected. It is

obvious that the Vorlage of the prima manus was a text with genuine Babylonian vocalization.⁴⁷

The reason given for not including it is as follows:

Apart from the insurmountable technical difficulties they present to any attempt of reproducing their characteristic variants here in print, the itemizing of these variants into individual entries in the critical apparatus would minimize the weight they carry, when singled out for a separate study and taken as entities. I reserve for them, therefore, a special place here in this short preface, and mention them specifically, so that the attention of future students of the history of Targum vocalization might properly be called to them.

The real reason, not stated, was that he had finished his work, and he had to start from the beginning with such sources. Another curious point relates to the Genizah fragments. He was aware of their importance after he had concluded his work; therefore he offers another justification:

they thus furnish us with additional proof for this already well established trend in the historical development of the Targum, without adding anything essentially new to our knowledge. For this very reason I also omitted any reference to readings found in Geniza fragments, although I have faithfully examined them at the Oxford and Cambridge libraries. Neither the fact that they were found in the Geniza, nor that they are preserved in a merely fragmentary condition would justify a preferential treatment of these texts. The basic characteristics of their vocalization will be dealt with in the Final Volume.⁴⁸

I do not know which this 'Final Volume' is, but as far as we know in the published volumes nothing about the Genizah fragments is written, although in the second volume he quotes such fragments in a general siglum. As a reason for the rejection of texts in a volume published in 1959⁴⁹ he quotes a programme decided in 1927: 'Those texts which I had to reject offer here and there a variant reading to our basic text. But these variants invariably were of the nature classified in my exposé in *ZAW*, vol. 45, pp. 272ff. as later adjustments to the Hebrew Masoretic text in its various grammatical aspects'.⁵⁰ Curiously

47. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, I, p. xvii; it is included in 'Important Targum Manuscripts'.

48. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, I, p. xvi.

49. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, I, p. xvi.

50. Sperber refers to his 'Zur Sprache des Prophetentargums', *ZAW* 45 (1927), pp. 267-87.

enough, the article refers to Prophets, with other and different problems from the Targum Onqelos.

It seems that Sperber's edition of the Targum of the Former Prophets was prepared with special care.⁵¹ I do not know if Sperber had a Hebrew typewriter, but for the Targum of the Prophets he took a copy of Lagarde's reproduction of Reuchlin, and as it is in its original without vowels, he wrote the supralinear Yemenite pointing. When he found *matres lectionis* he erased them if they were not in the MS he was reproducing. However the errors that Van Zijl noted are not surprising. The mixture begun in the first part Targum Onqelos continues in the same way: Tiberian vocalization with Yemenite, incunabula and rare books (printed texts) with manuscripts, but the worst thing is that no division of Western (Palestinian) and Eastern (Babylonian, Yemenite) traditions is made. In this case he managed to introduce some quotations from the Genizah fragments, but with a regrettable method, namely that all the fragments are quoted by the same siglum ('Fr.'). with the result that it is impossible to identify them. Sperber explains it: 'Various Biblical fragments with Targum, of the Taylor-Schechter Collection of the University Library in Cambridge, England'. And he offers a new excuse: 'But despite all these drawbacks, these fragments represent a valuable addition to the Critical Apparatus, because in very numerous instances they are now the only evidence we have for variants'.⁵² It is curious that he does not distinguish the Western tradition of the Prophets from the Eastern one, although he had it at hand, for instance in Kimchi's commentary (e.g. 1 Sam 27.7). In marginal notes in Codex Reuchlinianus he does not recognize all the ways in which this MS is quoted in f16, the most important siglum, because it represents the Palestinian Targum of the Prophets; this siglum represents different sources, although in Sperber's unification it is impossible to follow these sources.

Sperber was not aware of the existing Palestinian Targum of the Latter Prophets; he speaks only about 'Additional Targum' (pp. 23-25: Isa 10.32-33; pp. 462-465: Hab. 3.1-5.11; pp. 479-480: Zech 2.14-15). He could not be aware that in many cases the Codex

51. A. Sperber, 'Zur Textgestalt des Prophetentargums', ZAW 44 (1926) pp. 175-76; *idem*, 'Zur Sprache des Prophetentargums', pp. 267-68.

52. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, II, pp. vi-vii, but he does not name the thousands of such fragments in the Library where he had been working so many years, the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Reuchlinlanus has a Palestinian Targum of the Prophets.

It is curious to read Sperber's definition of the Targum of the Hagiographa: 'transition from translation to Midrash'.⁵³ With this concept of the Targum he confesses only that he is unable to prepare an edition of the Targum Hagiographa. The excuse he offers is even more surprising:

No attempt has been made in this volume to offer the texts published here in a critical edition, comparable to the first three volumes of this series. The reason for it is obvious: These texts are not Targum texts but Midrash texts in the disguise of Targum. Now, whatever opinion scholars may have of my ability or lack of ability to edit Targum texts, as evidence by the preceding three volumes, there can be disagreement at all on this point: that I am utterly unqualified to edit a Midrash text. It simply does not appeal to me. I only hope that presenting these texts and analyzing them may not be considered a sheer waste of time and energy!⁵⁴

This disqualification of Sperber for publishing Targum texts of the Hagiographa can be seen when we look at the critical editions of A. van der Heide (Targum Lamentations), C. Alonso Fontela (Targum Canticles), F.J. Fernández Vallina (Targum Job); in these editions we can see the correct 'stemma codicum', a matter that Sperber never dreamed of. Simply, Sperber was lost when he had to start with the Targum of the Hagiographa: he never took account of the MSS for this part of the Aramaic Bible.

Sperber seems never to have worked on the Palestinian Targums, at least if we attend to his publications. Therefore his reactions to the identification of Neophyti are not surprising. When Díez Macho published some of Sperber's reactions against the authenticity of the Palestinian Targum discovered in the Neophyti Codex, Sperber was still alive, and therefore Díez Macho, in the introduction to Neophyti omits his name (he is referred to as N.N.).⁵⁵ Sperber wrote to Díez Macho in May 1957:

Quite by an accident, I saw today the *Sefarad* of 1957 and your announcement of the discovery of a complete text of the Palestinian Targum on the Pentateuch. The photo there is not enough to reach definite

53. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. IVA. *The Hagiographa: transition from translation to Midrash* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

54. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* IVA, p. viii.

55. Díez Macho, 'Magister—Minister', pp. 20-32.

conclusions. But it is quite sufficient to prove that your identification of the MS is untenable. I am very anxious not to hurt your feelings, and I am careful in the choice of my words. But I know what I am talking about!⁵⁶

On the 9th June 1958 Sperber wrote to Kahle on the same topic:

Heute war ich zum ersten Male wieder im British Museum und da zeigte mir Mr Moss den Durschlag des Artikels, der als Einleitung zur Ausgabe der von Herrn Díez Macho als pal. identifizierte Hs. gedacht ist. Von dieser Hs. kenne ich bloss die eine Liste, die Macho im *Sefarad* 1957 in Photographie gebracht hat. Ich habe in... gesehen, und sofort an D.M. geschrieben, dass ich -so weit man aus dieser eine Seite schliessen kann- seine Identifizierung der Hs. für unhaltbar finde.⁵⁷

In another letter, dated 30th December 1958 from Kahle to Díez Macho, Kahle writes: 'I am very glad to hear that the edition of Neofiti 1 is going on. When N.N. [A. Sperber] visited me last summer he was still doubting that we have here a copy of the old Palestinian Targum. It was difficult to persuade him. It is, however, not so very important whether he is convinced or not.'⁵⁸ Kahle also wrote on 13th January 1961:

N.N. [A. Sperber] kann sich immer noch nicht denken dass das Palätinische Targum etwas anders ist als Targum Onqelos... When N.N. writes that the Neofiti is not an authentic Palestinian Targum: an authentic Palestinian Targum certainly does not exist. But it is certainly a Palestinian Targum and a very interesting one. But it is very difficult to discuss these things with N.N. I hope to see soon the Palestinian Targum, as it is to be found in Neofiti, in spite of N.N.

And a last testimony of Sperber himself, writing to Díez Macho on the 9th October 1960:

You will remember that early in June 1958 I sent you a letter from Copenhagen with my impressions of the specimen-page of MS Neofiti 1, which you had published in *Sefarad*. I have before me now your reply of June, 1958 and Kahle's letter of June 10, 1958 (you had communicated to Kahle my doubts as to the identification of Neophyti 1). Both you and Kahle would not allow for any doubts; you are quite certain! Now, while I was recuperating in London, Kahle sent me upon my request his photo-stats of Genesis of Neofiti 1. Thus, I am now in a position to express an

56. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1. Targum palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana. I, Genesis* (Madrid-Barcelona: CSIC, 1968), p. 39*.

57. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1*, I, p. 39*.

58. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1*, I, p. 41*.

opinion. This MS Neofiti contains NO *genuine* Targum at all, but it is a clumsy attempt to imitate Targum-style and *create* a Targum text. And, please, do not come with statements to the contrary by so-called 'authorities'. Even Kahle! I am second to none in my admiration of Kahle's brilliant mind. But Kahle is easily carried away by his excitement... The other 'authorities' you mention do not count at all! But why quote 'authorities', when I have evidence from the MS? What I did with the Genesis of Neophyti 1, was to make a careful analysis of it, and take notes. This has to be extended to the entire MS. The conclusions are quite interesting! I, thus suggest to you that you complete the investigation on these lines and publish results yourself. On such a manner, *no blame will be attached to your name*. Think over, and let me know what you wish me to do.⁵⁹

This was Sperber's position on Neophyti 1, but he reveals his ignorance—as Kahle said—of the Palestinian Targums. Sperber remained isolated in his refusal to accept Neofiti as a Palestinian Targum.

The Tiberian Tradition

As we have seen, one of Barthélemy's criticisms of the work of Sperber is that he does not offer a Tiberian tradition of the Targum. If we admit Kahle's thesis on the Babylonian origin of the Onqelos Targum, then it is difficult to find the Tiberian tradition. Although the Targum (confirming Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan) received an official edition in Babylon, the Aramaic translation came from Palestine. Although it left Palestine without vowel signs, when it came back to Palestine (Kahle thinks that it was about the year 1000 CE), the Targum Onqelos (Kahle says, but Jonathan also came) had a supra-linear Babylonian pointing.

We can point out three ways for recovering the Tiberian tradition of the Aramaic Bible (and the same could be said for all the traditions within the Aramaic Bible). One is to look for a good MS of the entire Aramaic Bible, and afterwards to collate this with the most important families in a 'stemma codicum'. At the moment we do not know of an ideal MS with these characteristics; but if I had to offer an example, it could be MS Urbinati 1 (I will speak about it below).

A second is to choose a chief MS for each of the three parts of the Aramaic Bible (Pentateuch, Prophets, Hagiographa) and afterwards collate the most important families of MSS. An example for the whole

59. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1*, I, p. 41*.

Bible could be: a) a separate and entire edition of the Targum as edited by the Second Biblia Rabbinica; b) the complete edition of the Aramaic Bible as it is in MS Vatican Urbinati 1; c) the complete transcription of the Aramaic Bible offered by Alphonso de Zamora to Cardinal Cisneros.

For each part of the Bible one might suggest: a) for Pentateuch: MS R. 10 Inf. of the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan (a codex with Onqelos, without HT, on the margins there are numerous variants, headed by the note '*nusha ahrina*', but these notes seem to come from many different collated MSS); b) for Prophets: it could be MS Reuchlin 3, adding the vowels (not in Lagarde's edition) and the second-hand changes, as well as the marginal notes; c) for Hagiographa: as can be seen in the critical editions issued in the last years (A. van der Heide, Targum Lamentations, 1981; F.J. Fernández Vallina, Targum Job, 1980; C. Alonso Fontela, Targum Canticles, 1987).

The third method is to select the most important MS for each book, and then to collate this with the MSS that can offer the most likely variants within the same tradition; each book has had its own history of transmission, therefore it is impossible to quote a MS for each book.

The Babylonian-Tiberian Tradition

This tradition has been studied and identified for the Pentateuch; as far as we know, at the moment it has not been explained in any other part of the Aramaic Bible. For the study of this tradition we have two sources: a) *Biblia Hebraica*, Sabbioneta 1557, reprinted by A. Berliner (1884); b) MS Ebr. Vat. 448 of the Vatican Library, which contains the Targum Onqelos and HT, both with Tiberian vocalization. The secret of this tradition is that it is a middle way between the Babylonian superlinear vocalization and the Tiberian, because the original superlinear vocalization was changed into the sublinear Tiberian vocalization; in some cases, even though no reasons are given, in the marginal notes the original superlinear vocalization appears, e.g. Exod 11.4; 13.3, etc.⁶⁰ Moreover, we have at our

60. I have transcribed all these cases, in L. Díez Merino, 'The Targumic Masora of the Vat. Ebr. 448', in *Estudios Masoréticos* (V Congreso de la IOMS) (ed. E. Fernández Tejero; Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1983), pp. 151-84.

disposal two fundamental studies by A. Díez Macho.⁶¹

This tradition could complete the Babylonian tradition, because both (MS Vat. 448 and Sabbioneta Ed.) depend on the Babylonian *Vorlage*, although the transcription is not the same in the two sources.

The Sephardic Tradition

Several books have already been published in this tradition: Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Qohelet, Canticles,⁶² and on the entire programme which could be followed.⁶³ I will not repeat here what I have said in the published works. I only want to repeat that this tradition has its own identity. Before the Aramaic text of the rabbinic Bibles had been published, it was already prepared in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. The Complutensian Polyglot team started its work in 1502, and it was already concluded before 1517, although the edition was published in 1520, when the Pope's *Imprimatur* arrived. It is also clear that the Complutensian Polyglot team and that of the rabbinic Bibles worked separately, and certainly without knowing the work done by the other team. Both teams (that of the Complutensian Polyglot and that of the rabbinic Bibles) had before them original MSS, and one team had different MSS from the other, because we know nothing about the mutual relations between them. The work done by the rabbinic Bibles' team has been accepted during the last four hundred years by Jews and by Christians, because it was done directly from MSS and by people who were very conscious of the immutability of the MS tradition.

For the recomposition of this Sephardic tradition we have the

61. A. Díez Macho, 'Un importante manuscrito targúmico en la Biblioteca Vaticana', in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, I (Barcelona: CSIC, 1954), pp. 375-463; *idem*, 'Onqelos Manuscript with Babylonian Transliterated Vocalization in the Vatican Library (MS Eb. 448)', *VT* 8 (1958), pp. 113-33.

62. L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Salmos. Edición Príncipe del MS Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Madrid: CSIC 1982); *idem*, *Targum de Job* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984); *idem*, *Targum de Qohelet* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987).

63. L. Díez Merino, 'Fidelity and Editorial Work in the Complutensian Targum Tradition', *VTSup* 43 (1991), pp. 360-82; also other studies on the Spanish Aramaic MSS: L. Díez Merino, 'Manuscritos targúMICOS españoles', in *Escritos de Biblia y Oriente, Miscelánea conmemorativa del 25. Aniversario del Instituto Español Bíblico y Arqueológico (Casa de Santiago) de Jerusalén* (ed. R. Aguirre and F. Garca López; Salamanca, 1981), pp. 359-86; *idem*, 'La Biblia aramea de Alfonso de Zamora', *Cuadernos Bíblicos* 7 (Valencia, 1981), pp. 63-98.

following sources: For the Pentateuch: (1) MS Escorial G-III-3 (Gen. 1–32 is missing); (2) Villa-Amil n. 6⁶⁴ (contains Onqelos in 197 fols. s. XIII-XIV, the 4 fols. missing written by Alphonso de Zamora, Tiberian vocalization and accents); (3) Volume I of the Complutensian Polyglot, where Onqelos is also published.

For the Former Prophets nothing has been published in the Complutensian Polyglot, because 'it was full of Talmudists' tales' (as is said in the Prologue of the Complutensian Polyglot). There are three MSS: (1) The MS corresponding to the Former Prophets was sent from Alcalá to Rome, and there was bought by Andreas Masius; according to the Arias Montano letters, this MS contained only the Aramaic text, and somebody had begun to translate it into Latin, but only the first 20 verses had been translated—today it is considered lost; (2) MS 7542 from the National Library (Madrid), written by Alphonso de Zamora contains the Former Prophets in 235 fols. (containing the Former Prophets and Ruth); (3) MS 1 of the University Library of Salamanca (containing the Former Prophets and Ruth).

For the Latter Prophets: (1) MS Villa-Amil n. 4 of the Madrid University (MS 116-Z-39), with 289 fols., finished in 1517 (it contains the Latter Prophets and Lamentations); (2) Md 3 of the University of Salamanca, with 144 fols., finished in 1532 (it contains Ezekiel and the XII Minor Prophets); (3) MS Warner 65 F of Leiden (it contained Isaiah and probably Jeremiah, but today there remains only the Prologue).

For the Hagiographa: (1) MS Villa-Amil n. 4 from the Complutensian University of Madrid (n. 116-Z-40) (it contains Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Qohelet, Canticles, written by Alphonso—from it I have published Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Qohelet, Canticles); (2) MS 2 from the Salamanca University Library, written by Alphonso de Zamora (it contains Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Qohelet, Canticles); (3) MS G-I-5 from El Escorial Library, written in 1475 (it contains Psalms incomplete, Ruth, Esther).

The Sephardic tradition is transmitted, consequently, not only in the Targum Onqelos published in the first volume of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, but also in Alphonso de Zamora's MSS, prepared for

64. J. Pérez Villa-Amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los Manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca de Noviciado de la Universidad Central* (procedentes de la antigua de Alcalá), I Códices, Madrid 1878: the number of the MSS according to the numbers given by this Catalogue.

the same Polyglot, where they had no place because of their paraphrastic character. We also know another MS from the same tradition namely MS 110 from the Paris National Library, where the Fragmentary Targum is transmitted, but also the books of the Hagiographa in Aramaic.

The existence of the Sephardic tradition, which I have analysed in books and in articles, has been admitted by other researchers: A Díez Macho studied the Sephardic tradition for Job⁶⁵ and it is now quoted in the critical editions of the Targums (Job, Canticles).⁶⁶

The Oldest Complete Aramaic Bible

The oldest complete Aramaic Bible we have today in a homogeneous tradition, although certainly not in an ideal way, is a Bible kept in the Vatican Library; it is the biggest volume in the library (the smallest is a 'Siddur'). It is very difficult to find a complete Aramaic Bible from the beginning to the end (Genesis to Chronicles). The oldest exemplar we know (written, according to colophons, in the year 1294 CE) is Codex Urbinati 1. For some parts of the Bible we have exemplars, sometimes older and sometimes more recent. For example, for the Prophets we have Codex Reuchlinianus (1105 CE), and for Five Megillot⁶⁷ some others are quoted: Budapest Kaufman 13 (13th–14th cent.), Bibliothèque Nationale 96, Paris (14th cent.), New York, Columbia c731 (16th cent.), Salonika, University 1 (1532 CE), London 139 (16th cent.), London, Brit. Museum Or. 1474 (16th cent.), London 4048 (16th cent.). This Vatican MS has received special attention, and many parts of it have been already published.⁶⁸

65. A. Díez Macho, 'Le Targum de Job dans la tradition sephardie', in *De la Torah au Messie* (ed. M. Carrez, J. Dore and P. Grelot; Tournai, 1981), pp. 545–46.

66. F.J. Fernández Vallina, *El Targum de Job* (Edición crítica) (doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1980); C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum al Cantar de los Cantares* (Edición crítica) (doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1986); J. Ferrer I Costa, *El Targum d'Osees en tradició iemenita* (Barcelona: Universidad Central, 1989).

67. E. Levine, in *The Targum to the Five Megillot: Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Esther. Codex Vatican Urbinati I, Introductory Note, Translations and Indices* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1977), translates Ruth (p. 39–44), Qohelet (p. 47–65: Ginsburg's transl.), Song of Songs (p. 72–91: Gollancz's transl.), Lamentations (p. 103–12), Esther (Sheni, without transl.), and gives facsimiles of the five Megillot from Codex Vatican Urbinati 1.

68. *Latter Prophets*: E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Jonah* (Jerusalem:

3. *In the Middle There Were Polyglot and Rabbinic Bibles*

We started the first point of this study with the Aramaic Bible in its first stage, in the MSS. The second stage is the moment when the Aramaic Bible was printed. Two simultaneous movements occurred. The Jews prepared a synoptic publication of the Bible: the results can be seen in the First and Second *Biblia Rabbinica*, and the *Textus Receptus* (Hebrew text, Aramaic text and commentaries, with *Masora parva* and *magna*), which is the Jewish Bible, with the Jewish Canon of the 24 books. The Christians also worked in a synoptic edition of the Bible, but with other prevailing concerns; they added the main translations to the Hebrew original. In both cases the groups looked for a more complete understanding of the original text: the Jews through the commentaries, the Christians through the ancient versions; both were looking for a clarification of the biblical message.

The Rabbinic Bibles (Mikra'ot Gedolot)

Daniel Bomberg (died between 1549 and 1553) was one of the first, and the most prominent, Christian printers of Hebrew books. He left his native Antwerp when he was still a young man, and settled in Venice. Well educated, with a good knowledge of Hebrew, he spent his fortune on printing Hebrew books. About 200 Hebrew books, were published, most of them for the first time, at Bomberg's printing

Academic Press, 1975, 117 pp.). *Hagiographa*: E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Ruth* (Analecta Biblica 58; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973); *idem*, *The Aramaic Version of Lamentations* (New York: Hermon Press, 203 pp.); *idem*, *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet* (New York: Hermon Press, 1978: Ginsburg's translation, commentary, and a photocopy of the Aramaic text, not a transcription); L. Díez Merino, 'Targum al Cantar de los Cantares (Texto arameo del códice Urbinati I y su traducción)', *Anuario de Filología*, 7 (Barcelona, 1981), pp. 237-84; *idem*, 'Fuente histórica desconocida para el período macabaico: Megillat Antiochus', in *Servidor de la Palabra* (Miscelánea Bíblica en honor del P. Alberto Colunga O.P.; Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1979), pp. 127-65; *idem*, 'El Targum de Rut. Estado de la cuestión y traducción castellana', in *El Misterio de la Palabra* (Homenaje de sus alumnos al Professor D. Luis Alonso Schökel al cumplir veinticinco años de magisterio en el Instituto Bíblico Pontificio; ed. V. Collado and E. Zurro, Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1983), pp. 245-65 (Spanish translation, without the Aramaic text); R. Le Déaut, and J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques. I. Introduction et Traduction. II. Texte et Glossaire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971).

press in Venice, where he set up on the advice of Felix Pratensis, a Jew converted to Christianity.

First Biblia Rabbinica. Felix Pratensis was the first to publish the rabbinic Bible as editor, in 4 vols., 1517–1518. These *Mikra'ot gedolot* contain the text of the Hebrew Bible with Targum and the standard commentaries, but no hint is given either in notes, or prologues, about how the Aramaic text was found. It was made certainly from MSS, but these apographs either have perished, or they have not yet been identified. We are not sure if they had a vocalized Aramaic text, because they have many errors in the vocalization, and it could be that the editors wrote the vowels by themselves and were not particularly expert. On the whole, however, they produced an acceptable text.

The Second Biblia Rabbinica. Bomberg's second edition of the Rabbinic Bible (1524–25) edited by Jacob ben Hayyim ibn Adonijah, has served as a model for all subsequent editions of the Bible. Among Bomberg's printers, editors, and proof-readers, whose names are known were Israel (Cornelius) Adelskind and his brother and Jacob ben Hayyim ibn Adonijah (all of whom were later baptized), David Pizzighettone, Abraham de Balmes, Kalonymus ben David, and Elijah Levite (Bahur).

This second *Biblia Rabbinica* contains three texts: the Hebrew text, an Aramaic translation (Targum) and the commentary of certain rabbis (Rashi, Ezra and Kimchi). Along with the Hebrew text an extensive Masora was also printed. Until the second edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* this text served as the basic text for editions of the Hebrew Bible.

The Aramaic tradition presented by the *Biblia Rabbinica* has to be seen as a witness of main authority: a) because it was made from the original MSS whose identity we do not know, but which were reliable; b) because the MSS were transcribed, as far as indirect comparisons have demonstrated, with editorial fidelity, and not with reference to the biblical sources, as is the case of B. Arias Montano, or B. Walton.

The Polyglots

The Complutensian Polyglot. Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1435–1517), after studying at Salamanca and Rome until 1465, laid claim

to the archpriesthood of Uceda, despite the archbishop of Toledo's wish that he should resign. He was then imprisoned for six years. Inflexible resolution and personal austerity characterized his career.⁶⁹ 'Conversos' suffered no discrimination at the university founded in 1500 by Ximenes at Alcalá de Henares (Latin: 'Complutum'). The 'Complutensian Polyglot' Bible (6 vols., 1513–1517, the work began in 1502), produced thanks to Ximenes' personal initiative and patronage, was the first Bible with parallel Hebrew, Greek, Latin (and for the Pentateuch) Aramaic texts ('a work equal to a miracle'⁷⁰). The Pope's approval was given in 1520. For this work, significant MSS ('vetustissima et castigatissima', says the Prologue, vol. I) and competent editorship were sought, the latter from among converted Jews (Alfonso de Zamora, Alfonso de Alcalá, Pablo Coronel), and other teachers such as A. Nebrija, el Pinciano, Diego López de Zúñiga, Juan de Vergara and Demetrio Ducas.⁷¹ Four of the Hebrew Codices used survive, but the form of the text also presupposes MSS from no later than the ninth century with the simpler Babylonian punctuation.⁷² Some of these MSS (probably only Arabic MSS) were apparently considered worthless and sold to fireworks' makers in 1739,⁷³ but their survival in Spain until the expulsion testifies to the strong Babylonian influence in medieval Spanish Jewry. Although it has been claimed by J. Llamas⁷⁴ that the Targum Onqelos apograph of the Complutensian Polyglot was MS Villa-Amil n. 6, I have compared both texts and there are so many differences, both in the vocalization as well as in the consonantal texts, that it is impossible to affirm the paternity of Villa-Amil n. 6 with regard to the Complutensian Targum Onqelos. What is more probable is that from the MS Escorial 6-I-5 we could get one of the apographs transcribed by Alphonso de Zamora in MS Villa-Amil n. 4, namely for the Hagiographa. The rest of the books

69. H.C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, IV (1906), 618ff.

70. Alvaro Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximeno Cisnerio, archiepiscopo toletano*, Libri octo (Compluti: apud Andream de Angulo, 1569), fol. 38v.

71. M. Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne* (1937), *passim*.

72. P.E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 124-29.

73. M. Rico Revilla, *La Políglota de Alcalá. Estudio. histórico-crítico* (Madrid: Imprenta Helénica, 1917), pp. 71-79.

74. J. Llamas, 'Los manuscritos hebreos de la Universidad de Madrid', *Sef 5* (1945), p. 279.

(except for the Complutensian Targum Onqelos published in the vol. I of the Complutensian Polyglot) can be found in the list of MSS given above when we examined the Sephardic tradition of the Aramaic Bible, which is represented as far as we know today by the Targum Onqelos of the Complutensian Polyglot, Antwerp Polyglot and MS 100 of Paris National Library.

In the original edition 600 or more copies were printed (Pope's Prologue: 'usque ad sexcenta volumina vel amplius'), but most of them were lost at sea when taken to Italy,⁷⁵ and this was the reason for the new edition in the Antwerp Polyglot, also paid for by the Spanish king Philip II. This Complutensian Polyglot has been more recently reproduced in Rome, by the Spanish Biblical Foundation in 1,000 copies, and is still available in Valencia (Spain) at the Spanish Biblical Association.

The Aramaic text presented by the Complutensian Polyglot has to be examined: (a) because it was made upon reliable MSS, whose identity has not yet been discovered, but were very old and correct; (b) because the transcription was made with fidelity, and not with editorial aims of analogy with other biblical texts, as can be said of the Antwerp or London Polyglots.

The Antwerp Polyglot. Christophe Plantin (ca. 1520–1589) was a French Humanist, printer and publisher. He was a Catholic, but his Protestant sympathies led him (1549) to the more congenial atmosphere of Antwerp (Spanish Netherlands). He started his work as a publisher about 1555, and was, after Daniel Bomberg, the outstanding sixteenth-century Christian printer of Hebrew books. Plantin's greatest publishing achievement was the eight-volume Antwerp Polyglot: *Biblia Sacra hebraice, chaldaice, graece et latine...*, 1568–72), presented as an improved and expanded version of the first Spanish Polyglot Bible, namely the Complutensian Bible (Alcalá de Henares, 1513–1517). The Pope's approval was given in 1568. The four volumes devoted to the Old Testament included revised texts of the Targums, and a Latin translation; the fifth covered the New Testament; and the three last volumes constituted the *Apparatus Sacer*, which included pioneering lexicons of Syriac and Aramaic. The introductions to the first volume, inspired by the prefaces to Daniel

75. 'Carta del Rey Felipe II al Duque de Alba con el Doctor Arias Montano', in *Instrucción, Memorias de la R.A. de la Historia* (Madrid 7, 1832), p. 144.

Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible (1525), contain interesting Hebrew panegyrics by Benito Arias Montano, Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, and Gilbert Générard. Of the 1,200 copies printed, 12 sets on vellum were prepared for Philip II of Spain, who made Plantin his Royal Architypographer.

Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) was ordained a priest and became a member of the Order of Santiago. In 1568 King Philip II of Spain appointed him first director of the Escorial Library and chief editor of the second *Biblia Polyglotta*, which was to supplant the first polyglot Bible (the Complutensian), also a product of Spanish scholarship. This second Polyglot is known as *Biblia Regia* (1569–1572): volumes I-IV contain MT, LXX, Pes, each one with its Latin translation, Vg; volume V NT, Greek, Syriac, and Latin. Despite the fact that Arias Montano dedicated himself to the study of the Hebrew language and that he was accused of harbouring an inclination toward Judaism, it should not be assumed that he descended from Marranos.

The Targums of this Polyglot have special problems: a) they try to be very close to the Hebrew texts; b) they reproduce Spanish MSS taken from Alcalá by Benito Arias Montano to Antwerp; c) each book of the Targum always finishes with a phrase in Hebrew, translated into Latin, but over-abbreviated.

I here transcribe some of these colophons: (1) at the end of the Onqelos: *Quinque Mosis libros Hebraice, Graece, et Latine cum paraphrasi Chaldaica et Latinis versionibus, summa diligentia a Plantino excusos, Benedictus Arias Montanus, ex Philippi Catholici regis mandato Legatus, a se cum Complutensi et correctissimis aliis exemplaribus collatos, recensuit et probavit.* (2) At the end of the Prophet Zechariah: *Hanc quartam et vltimam totivs Veteris Testamenti partem, Hebraice, Graece et Latine cum paraphrasi Chaldaica, et Latinis versionibus, Benedicti Ariae Montani, ex Philippi Catholici regis mandato Legati opera, cum Complutensi et correctissimis aliis exemplaribus collatam, et approbatam, summa diligentia Christophorus Plantinus excudebat Antuerpiae, Pridie D. Iohannis Baptistae, anno Domini M. D. LXX.* (3) At the end of Psalms: *Finis libri Psalmorum. Ex regis catholici mandato. Benedictus Arias Montanus D. Th. recensuit et probavit.* There are two expressions whose content is very difficult to ascertain: *a se cum Complutensi et correctissimis aliis exemplaribus collatos*, and *recensuit et probavit (wnqr' wmwgh 'm rv 'ywn)*. It seems that sometimes he simply took the Complutensian MSS, written

by Alphonso de Zamora, and followed literally what was written there, but when Alphonso had written 'Tosefta' (in the Aramaic part), or 'Additio : Add.' (in the Latin part) he cut the text, because it was considered a 'plus' and in no way a translation, being a paraphrase not found in the Hebrew text. This can be found in Esther, Qohelet, Psalms and Job, that is, in the Targums where under several signs (Targum *aḥer*, Tosefta, etc.) something appeared that had not been found in the Masoretic text. This, however, is a point that needs to be clarified by more examples.

The London Polyglot. Bryan Walton (1600–1661), English churchman and orientalist, born in Yorkshire, devoted himself to oriental studies during the 1640s. When a new Polyglot Bible was published in Paris (1645), Walton began preparing a project of the same kind, but of greater scope and quality, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (London, 1654–1657), including texts in nine languages (Hebrew OT, Greek LXX, Vg, Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targums, Ethiopic versions of Psalms and Song of Songs, and a Persian translation of the Pentateuch). The Targums included the Palestinian Targums (Pseudo-Jonathan, and Fragmentary Targum), and Targum I-II to Esther, although the Targums to Chronicles were still missing.

The Targums are explained in Prologue XII: *De Lingua Chaldaica et Targumim, sive Paraphrasibus in hac lingua scriptis*. This prologue can be considered as a model of introduction to the subject.

As far as the edition of the Aramaic exemplars presented in this edition is concerned, he follows the exemplars of the best known editions, i.e. from Alcalá, Venice, Basle, Antwerp and Paris. However, since Walton recognized that the most accurate edition is that of Basle, prepared by Buxtorf, who had taken many MSS especially in order to restore the vocalization, this is the edition principally followed. The Latin translation is taken from the Antwerp Polyglot, repeated in the Paris Polyglot, but in many cases corrected according to the Aramaic source, especially in the other books after the Pentateuch, because the discrepancies between the Aramaic original and the Latin version of Onqelos were noticed when the Pentateuch was in print. However, the Latin translations of the Palestinian Targums, Pseudo-Jonathan and Fragmentary, were translated for the first time, and although they were printed by Taylor, in many places they were corrected, so they can be considered as if they were edited anew.

This way of editing the Targums raises many problems: where is the editorial management and where is the fidelity to the sources? Walton's edition is the most complete one ever made in the field of the Targums, but is it a reliable edition, or is it a second-hand presentation of the original sources? In each book, in each verse, and in each quotation of this Targum, the edition must be checked against the MSS to test its fidelity.

What can be said about the Targums published in the Polyglot Bibles? As far as my personal experience has taught me, I would be sure only about the first Polyglot, the Complutensian Polyglot, reliable in its consonantal text, but not so trustworthy in its vocalization (it may be that behind this vocalization there were either superlinear vocalized MSS, or MSS without vocalization at all); our confidence lies in the method employed, because it was made on written sources without editorial interference while the other Polyglots underwent strict editorial work, either influenced by the biblical Aramaic (Antwerp-Arias Montano, Paris Polyglot—depending totally on the former), or by biblical Aramaic and Targum Onqelos Aramaic (Basle, London Polyglot).

What can be said about the Targums in the Rabbinic Bibles? The consonantal text is trustworthy, but the vocalization is not so reliable.

The Madrid Polyglot. We have here two completely different issues, what has been projected and what has been done.

The project: In 1957 the project for the whole Spanish third Polyglot Bible, the Madrid Polyglot was published. Times and methods changed; the handwritten sources to be checked were enormous; the synoptic project of a Polyglot was no longer possible, therefore each language would have its own column, but in separate volumes.

The Aramaic (Targum edition) column was headed by J.M. Millás Vallicrosa and A. Díez Macho, but the former published nothing.⁷⁶ Díez Macho offered two columns: IV (Palestinian Targum), the recently discovered Neofiti I would be the main novelty, and in that column nothing more was offered. V (Targum Onqelos and Jonathan):

76. *Biblia Polyglotta Maritensia, Cura et studio Ayuso T, Bellet P, Bover J M, Cantera F, Díez Macho A, Fernández Galian M, Millás Vallicrosa J M, O'Callaghan J, Ortiz de Urbina I, Pérez Castro F, aliisque plurimis collaborantibus peritis* (Madrid: CSIC, 1957).

curiously enough the first five volumes offer nothing, because at the very beginning Díez Macho thought that Targum Onqelos would be published in synoptical presentation with all the other Pentateuchal Targums (otherwise neither Targum Onqelos nor Pseudo-Jonathan would have a presentation in this Polyglot). The following volumes were part of a programme going from vol. 6 up to 36; 6 Jos; 7 Judg; 8 I Sam; 9 II Sam; 10 I Kings; 11 II Kings; 12 Isa; 13 Jer; 14 Ez; 15 Os; 16 Joel; 17 Am; 18 Obad; 19 Jon; 20 Mich.; 21 Nah; 22 Hab; 23 Zeph; 24 Ag; 25 Zech; 26 Mal; 28 Pss; 28 Job; 29 Prov; 30 Ruth; 31 Cant; 32 Eccles; 33 Lam; 34 Esth; 35 I Chron; 36 II Chron.

The achievement: This programme had to cover the whole Aramaic Bible, but in the course of the years many things had to change, especially because of the new discoveries in the field of the Targums made by Díez Macho. Although the results at the death of its prime mover (A. Díez Macho died in 1984) were not at a final stage, what had been produced was already a great achievement: eleven volumes (six for Codex Neofiti 1 and five for the Palestinian Targums) were a splendid gift to Targum research, and I think that they will be a valuable instrument for many years. These eleven volumes are contributing more to Targum studies than the Rabbinic Bibles and the Polyglot Bibles, although without these two witnesses this last task could never have been achieved.

A. Díez Macho personally directed the doctoral dissertations of F.J. Fernández Vallina (Job) and of C. Alonso Fontela (Canticles) as part of the future publication within this Polyglot Bible, and seventeen other doctoral dissertations on targumic themes. Moreover the path is open for the publication of the Babylonian tradition (at the beginning not an obvious possibility), and for the other texts that could be offered in the future.

4. *At the End There Were Critical Editions*

Although under the label of critical editions we can present only the most modern achievements in Targum editions, these have been editions in the past, certainly without critical apparatus, but with a very reliable text; this is the case of the Sabbioneta edition of Onqelos (1557) (reprinted with many mistakes by A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos* [Herausgegeben und erläutert, Erster Theil. Text, nach editio Sabioneta v. J. 1557, Berlin: Gorzelanczyk & Co., 1884]),

the Targums in the Second *Biblia Rabbinica*, and the targumic texts prepared by Alphonso de Zamora for the Complutensian Polyglot.

Now we proceed to list the modern critical editions of the Targums.

1. *Qumran Targums (Leviticus, Job)*

J.P.M. van der Ploeg–A.S. van der Woude (avec la collaboration de B. Jongelling), *Le targum de Job de a grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1974), XV+244 pp.

J.A. Fitzmyer–D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts; (Second Century BC–Second Century AD)* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978).

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

2. *Targums of the Pentateuch*

Palestinian Targums. *Neophyti I, I: Génesis. Edición príncipe del Targum Palestinense, con introducción general, texto arameo, aparato crítico de glosas arameas, versión castellana del texto arameo y de las glosas. La trad. francesa e inglesa fueron hechas de la versión castellana por R. Le Déaut y M. McNamara–M.Maher, respectivamente* (Madrid–Barcelona: CSIC, 1968), 137*+653 pp.; II: *Exodo* (Madrid–Barcelona: CSIC, 1970), 79*+579 pp.; III: *Levítico* (Madrid–Barcelona: CSIC, 1971), 83*+517 pp.; IV: *Números* (Madrid–Barcelona: CSIC, 1974), 102*+q709 pp.; V: *Deuteronomio* (Madrid–Barcelona: CSIC, 1978), 149*+631 pp.; VI: *Apéndices* (Madrid: CSIC, 1979), 211 pp.

Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia, ser. IV: Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum, Additur Targum Pseudojonatan ejusque hispanica versio, L. 1: Genesis. Editio critica curante Alexandro Díez Macho, Adjuvantibus: L. Díez Merino E. Martínez Borobio, Teresa Martínez Sáiz. Pseudojonatan hispanica versio: Teresa Martínez Sáiz, Targum Palaestinensis testimonia ex variis fontibus: Raimundo Griñó (Madrid: CSIC, 1988), XXIII+335 pp.; L. 3: *Leviticus*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1980), XIII+225 pp.; L. 4: *Numeri* (Madrid: CSIC, 1977), XVI+355 pp.; L. 5: *Deuteronomium* (Madrid: CSIC, 1980), XVI+327 pp.

Onqelos Targum: Palestinian Tradition. A Díez Macho, *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia. Ser. IV: Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum. Adduntur Targum Pseudojonatan, Targum Onqelos et Targum Palaestinensis hispanica versio. Liber V: Deuteronomium, Cap. I*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1965).

Onqelos Targum: Babylonian-Tiberian Tradition. *Targum Onqelos*, Sabbioneta, 1557. A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, I-II (Berlin, 1884).

Onqelos Targum: Yemenite Tradition. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts. I. The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), xxii+357 pp.

Pseudo-Jonathan Targum. *Editio Princeps* (Venice, 1591). Clarke, E.G., *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance. With collaboration by W. E. Aufrecht, J.C. Hurd, and F. Spitzer* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1984), xviii+701 pp. D. Rieder, *Pseudo-Jonathan. Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch. Copied from the London MS (British Museum Add. 27031)* (Jerusalem: Salomon's Printing Press, 1974), 309 pp.

Fragmentary Targums: M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch. According to their Extant Sources*, I (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 260 pp. M. Goshen-Gottstein, *Fragments of Lost Targumim*, I (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), xxiii+168 pp.

Samaritan Targum. A. Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch. A Critical Edition, Part I: Genesis, Exodus* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1980), xiii+399 pp.; *Part II: Leviticus Numeri, Deuteronomium* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1981), ii+400 pp.

3. *Targum of the Prophets*

Former Prophets, Palestinian Tradition. P. De Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice, e fide codicis reuchliniani* (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1967). A. Díez Macho, 'Jos. 16.7; II Kings 5.24', *Sef 27* (1957), pp. 237-89. A. Díez Macho, 'Jos. 5.56-6.1', *EstBib 15* (1956), pp. 287-95.

Former Prophets, Yemenite Tradition. F. Praetorius, *Das Targum zum Buch der Richter in Jemenischer Überlieferung* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900). A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts. II. The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), x+331 pp.

Former Prophets, Babylonian Tradition. E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatán de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica, vol. II: I-II Samuel* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987), 388 pp. W.E. Aufrecht, *Targum Jonatán de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica, vol. I: I-II Reyes* (in preparation).

Latter Prophets, Palestinian Tradition. P. De Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice, e fide codicis reuchliniani* (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1967 [1872]). E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Jonah* (Jerusalem: Academic Press, 1975), 117 pp. A. Díez Macho, 'Ezech. 3.1-14', *Bib 39* (1958), pp. 198-205. P. Grelot, 'Zech. 2.14-15', *RB 73* (1966), pp. 197-211.

Latter Prophets, Yemenite Tradition. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed texts. III. The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), xi+505 pp. J. Ferrer I Costa, *El Targum d'Osees en tradició iemenita, Tesi doctoral* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1989), 652 pp.

Latter Prophets, Babylonian Tradition. J. Ribera Florit, *Biblia babilónica. Profetas Posteriores (Targum)* (Universidad de Barcelona: Varona, 1977), lvii+245 pp. J. Ribera Florit, *Targum Jonatán de los Profetas Posteriores en tradición babilónica. Isaías* (Madrid: CSIC, 1988), 319 pp. J. Ribera Florit, *Targum Jonatán de los Profetas Posteriores en tradición babilónica. Jeremías* (Madrid CSIC, 1992), 300 pp.

4. Hagiographa

Palestinian Tradition. P. De Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1967 [1873]). E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Lamentations* (New York: Hermon Press, 1976), 203 pp. E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Ruth* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), 146 pp. M. David, *Das Targum Scheni. Nach Handschriften herausgegeben* (Berlin, 1898). P. Cassell, *Zweites Targum zum Buche Esther. Im vocalisirten Urtext mit sachlichen und sprachlichen Erläuterungen herausgegeben* (Leipzig-Berlin: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1885). F.J. Fernández Vallina, *El Targum de Job. Edición crítica* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1980). M.F. Beck, *Paraphrasis Chaldaica I Libri Chronicorum* (Augsburg, 1680); *idem*, *Paraphrasis Chaldaica II Libri Chronicorum* (Augsburg, 1683). R. Le Déaut-J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques (Cod. Vat. Urb. Ebr. 1)*, I-II (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971).

Yemenite Tradition. A. van der Heide, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations. Critical Text and Analysis of the Variant Readings* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 55*+193 pp. P.S. Knobel, *Targum Qoheleth. A Linguistic and Exegetical Inquiry* (Yale: Yale University, 1976). A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts IVA. The Hagiographa* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), viii+205 pp. (I-II Chron., Ruth, Cant., Lam., Qoh., Esth.).

Sephardic Tradition. B. Grossfeld, *The First Targum to Esther. According to the MS Paris Hebrew 110 of the Bibliothèque Nationale* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1983). L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Salmos. Edición Príncipe del MS. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Madrid: CSIC, 1982), 476 pp. L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Job. Edición Príncipe del MS. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984), 389 pp. L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Proverbios. Edición Príncipe del MS. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984), 314 pp. L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Qohelet. Edición Príncipe del MS. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987), 314 pp. C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum al Cantar de los Cantares. Edición crítica*. (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1987), viii+334 pp.

Conclusion

To abbreviate the very complicated history of the Targum we could establish three stages: a) at the beginning there were the MSS; b) in the

middle there were the synoptic editions: Polyglot and Rabbinic Bibles; c) at the end the critical editions arrived.

The homeland of the Targums was Palestine, and they started after the exile, although the oldest witnesses we have today are only in the Qumran MSS; and in the Onqelos, the Palestinian Targums and Jonathan, as the oldest complete editions.

Onqelos and Jonathan were taken to Babylon, and rendered there into an edition with simple and complicated Babylonian vocalization. This happened at a very early stage, because in the middle of the third century they already had a Babylonian Masora. The time in which they returned to Palestine was about the tenth century.

The Palestinian Targums, although as old as the New Testament (in it there are quotations from the Targums) never received a final edition, nor a Masora (for instance Neofiti 1, Pseudo-Jonathan, Fragmentary Targums), and the way in which they reach us is in a very mixed situation in terms of contents and in their linguistic situation.

The multitude of Targums and their different methods, contents and size, have been always continuous problems, and on the eve of the invention of printing, two different movements started, looking for a general synoptic view of the Targums: a Jewish movement based in the rabbinic Bibles, and a Catholic movement which produced the Polyglot Bibles. But in later times, to give the panoramic view of the Targums has appeared to be an impossible task: there are so many forms of the Targums to be represented for each book and for each page, that no publisher could show all the Targums in all their traditions.

Nowadays a new model has been chosen: the presentation of each tradition, with its diverse witnesses within the same tradition: Babylonian, Yemenite, Babylonian–Tiberian, Sephardic, with its *stemma codicum*, and with all the witness of the family quoted in the critical apparatus.

The ideal future edition could be a continuous edition of all the existing Targums of each book and each verse with its own critical apparatus, something like the edition made by the Hebrew University Bible Project, each tradition following the other, and each with its own critical apparatus.

ALEXANDER SPERBER AND THE STUDY OF THE TARGUMS

Robert P. Gordon

I

Alexander Sperber applied his scholarly energies in two main directions, viz. historical Hebrew grammar¹ and the study of the Targums. He also wrote on the Septuagint² and, insofar as it related to targumic issues, the Peshitta,³ but these are mere opuscula by comparison. His work on the Targums, which is what concerns us here, is represented almost entirely in the five volumes of *The Bible in Aramaic*. Most of his several shorter discussions published elsewhere are subsumed in these volumes and especially in the last of them (IVB), subtitled *The Targum and the Hebrew Bible*, published posthumously in 1973. Sperber did not live long enough to produce the index volume to which he refers in this last volume (pp. 4, 9). His editions of the 'Babylonian' Targums to the Pentateuch and Prophets were welcomed as fulfilling a long-felt need, but they soon came under critical fire as certain deficiencies became apparent. At this stage it is enough to say that if some cannot do with Sperber, few of us can do without him.

That *The Bible in Aramaic* is very largely the work of the younger Sperber, when he was in his late twenties and thirties,⁴ is clear from his own account of the project. Much of it was completed before his

1. See his *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), where others of his publications of Hebrew grammar are noted (p. vii).

2. Cf. in particular *Septuaginta-Probleme*, I (BWANT 3.13; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1929).

3. 'Peschitta und Onkelos', in S.W. Baron and A. Marx (eds.), *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut 1874-1933* (New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1935), pp. 554-64.

4. A point stressed by A. Díez Macho in his review of vol. IVB of *The Bible in Aramaic*, in *JSS* 6 (1975), p. 217.

departure from Bonn in 1933. Moreover, the developments that were responsible for his leaving Germany also interfered with his arrangements for the publication of his editions there.⁵ Because of the prospect of a long delay in publication Sperber published specimens of his work in article form in 1935⁶ and again in 1945.⁷ The first presents what is essentially ch. VA in volume IVB of *The Bible in Aramaic* ('The Hebrew Vorlage of the Targum: A. The Pentateuch'), while the second gives a text and apparatus for the Targum of 1 Sam. 17, with Ms Or. 2210 of the British Library serving as basic text. We know from Sperber's own comments that volumes I and II of *The Bible in Aramaic* may have been ready as early as 1931,⁸ and it is likely that a draft of volume III was completed within a few years of that date. Díez Macho reports that all the originals of Sperber's editions were in existence in 1949⁹ when Sperber paid a visit to Barcelona. While there Sperber generously made his work available to Díez Macho.

So the preparation of Sperber's targumic material was completed at an early stage, and the years between completion and publication were taken up largely with historical Hebrew grammar and, perhaps, some of the laborious transcribing and retranscribing of Targum material mentioned in the foreword to volume IVB. None of the newer developments and none of the new gods of the targumic world found their way into volumes I-IVA nor, except in the merest concessionary way, into volume IVB. There is not so much as a mention, anywhere, of Codex Neofiti 1, notes Díez Macho its chief sponsor.¹⁰ Of course, as Díez Macho informs us in volume 1 of the *editio princeps*, Sperber did not believe in Neofiti: 'This ms Neofiti 1 contains NO genuine

5. This phase of Sperber's life is mentioned briefly in his article, 'The Targum Onkelos in its Relation to the Masoretic Hebrew Text', *PAAJR* 6 (1934-35), pp. 310-11.

6. 'The Targum Onkelos', pp. 309-51 (315-51).

7. 'Specimen of a Targum Edition', in S. Lieberman *et al.* (eds.), *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 293-303. He notes (p. 293 n. 1) that the prospects for the publication of his Targum editions were improving ('as soon as the world returns to normalcy again').

8. 'The Targum Onkelos', p. 311.

9. *JSJ* 6 (1975), p. 217. Díez Macho indicates that most of what he saw was in photocopy (*sic*).

10. *JSJ* 6 (1975), p. 218.

Targum at all, but it is a clumsy attempt to imitate the Targum-style and *create* a Targum-text.¹¹ It may even be that Sperber regarded Neofiti 1 as 'a Christian composition', as was suggested to Díez Macho.¹² Thus Sperber anticipated the questions of Goshen-Gottstein about the status of Neofiti 1, even if Goshen-Gottstein's raising of the possibility of editorial 'trimming' in the sixteenth century fell far short of Sperber's outright rejection of this Targum.¹³

II

In volume IVB Sperber recounts how in 1923, while still an undergraduate, he 'just happened to be reading the book of Jeremiah' when he encountered a problem at 11.14 and then the apparent solution in the Targum of the verse. 'Surprisingly, this reading was not quoted in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (in its edition of 1905 [*sic*], which in those days was *The Biblia Hebraica*) nor in any Biblical commentary' (pp. 15-16). Sperber wrote to Rudolf Kittel informing him of his 'discovery' and observing that there were many other such non-Masoretic readings reflected in the Targum text but not reported in *Biblia Hebraica*.¹⁴ Equally, many of the supposed variants actually attributed to the targumic *Vorlage* were explicable in terms of the targumic translation method, and the greater part of the letter is taken up with this aspect of *Biblia Hebraica*. Sperber listed and briefly discussed fourteen citations of the Targum in the *Biblia Hebraica* edition of Jeremiah, twelve of which wrongly attributed non-Masoretic readings to the targumic *Vorlage*. He ended his letter by volunteering his assistance to Kittel in connection with the Targum material in the new (third) edition of *Biblia Hebraica*. The letter was not acknowledged at the time, but later, when Sperber was working on the revision of *Biblia Hebraica* as an assistant editor to Kittel, he found it in a

11. *Neophyti 1, I: Génesis* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968), p. 42.* Díez Macho is quoting from a letter that Sperber wrote to him on 9th October, 1960.

12. *Neophyti 1, V: Deuteronomio* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978), p. 85.*

13. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'The "Third Targum" on Esther and Ms. Neofiti 1', *Bib* 56 (1975), pp. 301-29 (312-15).

14. The letter is reproduced in *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, between pp. 16 and 17.

package containing W. Rudolf's manuscript of Jeremiah. In view of Sperber's comments in the letter, a look at Jeremiah in the first and third editions of *Biblia Hebraica* is revealing.¹⁵ Into the third edition went a reference to the Targum at Jer. 11.14 and out went all but a couple of the twelve references that Sperber had rejected in his letter. It would be small-minded to dwell on the fact that Jer. 11.14 was, even by Sperber's own canons, in no better state than the other 'variants' to which he had rightly taken exception. Still, even in Rudolf's edition of Jeremiah for *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1970 [1972]) the reference to the Targum remains in the apparatus at 11.14, as does the cross-reference to 7.16, on which Sperber had partly based his 'solution'.

The contribution of Sperber as regards the integration of Targum citations into the apparatuses of *BH*³ is acknowledged by Kittel in the foreword to the edition (p. v), and it would be an interesting study to chart his influence across the various books—not to say editors—of the Pentateuch and prophets in light of the detailed evidence that we have of Sperber's views as regards the targumic *Vorlagen*. But first we should note a strange inconsistency in Sperber's approach to the matter. In the case of the Pentateuch he can envisage non-Massoretic readings to the tune of 650 in the *Vorlage* of Targum Onqelos.¹⁶ Well over half of these supposed variants are derived from readings in the main critical apparatus. And since many of these 'variants' are paralleled in non-Masoretic Hebrew manuscripts, Sperber feels confirmed in his opinion about their status as true variants and is even encouraged to think that other Onqelos readings which do not have the support of Hebrew manuscripts may be just as significant. The process whereby some Hebrew manuscript readings were assimilated to the MT may have robbed them of this kind of Hebrew manuscript support. With the prophets, however, Sperber takes a different line, and the long second chapter in volume IVB has for its basic premiss that the differences between the Targum and the MT are usually occasioned by the 'style' of the Targum (pp. 22-23), though some possible evidence to the contrary is also noted (pp. 133-37). At the same time,

15. Sperber himself refers to the first edition of *Biblia Hebraica* (IVB, pp. 15-16; cf. above), and all the citations mentioned in his letter to Kittel are found in the first edition.

16. *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, pp. 11, 29.

'real' variants reflected in the Targum of the Prophets are listed, with occasional comments, in ch. VB.

We may be grateful, then, that Sperber's influence upon the apparatuses of *BH*³ for the Pentateuch was not as great as for some other parts of the Hebrew Bible. Sample checks in the early chapters of each of the Pentateuchal books reveal a slight increase in Targum citation over the earlier edition(s),¹⁷ but that is all. When comparisons are made between Sperber's list of 'real' variants in the Targum of the Prophets, as in his ch. VB, and the apparatuses of the several prophetic books the evidence of his influence becomes stronger. It is, perhaps, surprising in view of his negative success in banishing the pseudo-variants discussed in his 1923 letter to Kittel that he did not manage to introduce into Rudolf's revised edition of Jeremiah more of the variants that he assumed genuinely to have a basis in the Targum. Of ten agreements between *BH*³ and Sperber's list for Jeremiah 1–10, six were in the first edition of *Biblia Hebraica*. More striking, on the other hand, is the extent to which Kittel himself was willing to accept Sperber's judgment in the books which Kittel personally edited. If we take Isaiah 1–10, for example, we find that, of twenty-seven variants in Sperber's list,¹⁸ nineteen are cited in *BH*³, as against only three in the first edition of *Biblia Hebraica*. The picture is not significantly different for 1 Samuel, which was one of the other books edited by Kittel. There are eleven agreements between Sperber's own list and the *BH*³ apparatus to 1 Samuel 1–10, only three of which were in the first edition of *Biblia Hebraica*.

Now since one of the most obvious things to be said about Sperber's assumed variants in the targumic *Vorlagen* is that many of them are no more convincing than those that he excluded on grounds of targumic style, he cuts a very enigmatic figure here as in some other departments of his work. Despite his own statement that it was only after he had gone through all the prophets that he became aware of the peculiarity of the targumic translation technique,¹⁹ it is clear that Sperber was trying to exorcize the retroversion demon back in 1923.²⁰

17. That is, in relation to the lists of variants given by Sperber in ch. VA of *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB.

18. Counting the references to 10.1, 13, 18 as two variants in each case.

19. *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, p. 16.

20. Cf. also his article, 'Zur Sprache des Prophetentargums', *ZAW* 45 (1927), pp. 267-88 (268-72).

The problem was that he was not nearly strict enough in his application of his own insights and, though he did not create the problem of the widespread misuse of Targum for retroversive purposes, he became an unintentionally generous subscriber through his participation in *BH³*.

III

From the beginning Sperber was convinced that the production of editions of the 'Babylonian' Targums would assist in the recovery of the pristine Targum text, and for this purpose the variants in his main apparatuses were regarded as crucially important. In this connection his firm demarcation between Targum as institution and Targum as a literary document is illuminating.²¹ He doubtless exaggerated the difference and the time-gap—at least 1,200 years, in his opinion—but as a result we are able to appreciate just how Lagardian (in matters targumic!) was his approach. 'Targum' was about texts in transmission, and the recovery of the *Urtext* the simple and legitimate goal of the targumist. In his earliest articles, published in 1926 and 1927, Sperber notes a feature of Targum which is diffused throughout the manuscript tradition, the recognition of which would, as he thought, help uncover the original text.²² With the decline of Aramaic as a spoken language and the increasing authority of the biblical text a 'Hebraizing' of the Targums occurred, resulting in a series of minor calques. It followed, therefore, that, where there are two readings, the grammatically correct one is original.²³ The aim was to create 'a grammatically correct Targum'.²⁴ However, Sperber's criterion is far from sufficient to deal with the range of variants within the manuscripts which he himself edited. Moreover, its inadequacy in special circumstances may be illustrated from Nah. 1.9 where the shorter text of the Antwerp Polyglot is the grammatically correct one, yet the absence of three words and the modification of a fourth would accord well with the abridgment policy at work elsewhere in the

21. *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, p. 2.

22. 'Zur Textgestalt des Prophetentargums', *ZAW* 44 (1926), pp. 175-76; 'Zur Sprache des Prophetentargums', *ZAW* 45 (1927), pp. 267-88 (272-81); cf. *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, pp. 28-29.

23. 'Sprache', p. 281.

24. *The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, p. 30.

Targum text of this Polyglot, albeit there is no further evidence for it in the Targum of Nahum.²⁵

This preoccupation of Sperber with the recreation of the original Targum text partly accounts for his attitude to the vocalization issue, for he believed that the vocalization offers little or no help in this regard.²⁶ As is well-known, Sperber has been faulted for having used manuscripts that are not representative of the authentic Babylonian tradition of vocalization, and for having by-passed texts that would have served his purpose better—notably Vatican Ms Ebr 448 in the case of Onqelos and Ms 229 of the Jewish Theological Seminary for the Former Prophets.²⁷ Furthermore, Genizah fragments preserving the authentic Babylonian pointing were used only indifferently (and unvocalized) for the volume on the Former Prophets, and for the other two volumes not at all.²⁸ While these fragments could not have formed the basis of an edition, they could have been cited more extensively, and presumably the problem of carrying two distinct systems of vocalization in the apparatus(es) would not have proved insuperable. Sperber, however, was disinclined to persevere with texts that were too difficult to read or too fragmentary, especially if they seemed not to help towards the recovery of the original text of the 'Babylonian' Targums.

IV

When critiquing Sperber's edition of the Targum of the Latter Prophets some years ago I produced some statistics that showed that he had achieved a fair degree of accuracy in his reproduction of the

25. On abridgment of the Targum text in the Antwerp Polyglot see Goshen-Gottstein, "Third Targum", pp. 308-12.

26. Cf. his comment by way of explanation of his omission of Ms 229 of the Jewish Theological Seminary from his edition of the Targum of the Former Prophets: 'Furthermore, the importance of this MS. lies in its vocalization (as far as it can be read); but the text itself is in no way better than the average' (*The Bible in Aramaic*, IVB, p. 31).

27. Cf. Díez Macho, *JSJ* 6 (1975), pp. 222-23; D. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 50/3; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1992), pp. ccix-ccx.

28. Note especially his comments in *The Bible in Aramaic*, I (Leiden: Brill, 1959), p. xvi.

consonantal text of the books in question.²⁹ A good proportion of the errors—whether originating with Sperber as editor or with the printers—involved the letters *wāw* and *yôdh*, and could charitably be regarded as second-order offences. But even *yôdh* can be crucial to the correct understanding of a word or sentence, as in Zech. 3.3 which, as I have argued elsewhere, preserves a rare occurrence of the *qfyl l-* syntagma highlighted by E.Y. Kutscher as an Old Persian calque in Eastern Aramaic and a criterion for distinguishing between Eastern and Western Aramaic.³⁰ There is no doubt about the validity of the reading within the manuscript tradition, and the presence of the construction may even provide collaborative evidence of separate redactional levels within the Targum of Zech. 3.1-5.

Since, however, Sperber saw the inner-Targum variants collected in his apparatuses as specially important for the study of the ‘official’ Targums, it is all the more regrettable that he did not do his collating of these with greater care. Sample checks reveal a tendency to omit and otherwise misreport to an unacceptable degree.³¹ And yet Sperber was correct in his estimation of the importance of the inner-Targum *variae lectiones*, as the following two examples will illustrate.

1. *šmh/šm*

Among the smooth stones of the valley is your portion;
they, they are your lot.

The second line of this quotation from Isa. 57.6 translates MT *hm hm gwrlk*, and the Hebrew and English may be judged to make reasonable sense. 1QIs^a, on the other hand, has ‘there they are your lot’ (*šmh hmh gwrlkh*), which picks up the locative ‘Among the smooth stones’ of the first colon. Kutscher thought that ‘the scribe’ responsible for 1QIs^a 57.6 had introduced the change in order to make the connection with the first line, and yet, as he himself notes, the 1QIs^a reading is paralleled in the Targum’s *tmn ’nwn ’dbk*.³² More interesting for

29. ‘Sperber’s Edition of the Targum to the Prophets: A Critique’, *JQR* NS 64 (1974), pp. 314-21.

30. *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets: From Nahum to Malachi* (VTSup 51; Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 113-14.

31. See ‘Sperber’s Edition’, pp. 319-20.

32. E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, VI; Leiden: Brill, 1974),

present purposes is the reading recorded for Ms c in Sperber's apparatus, for *ltnn* exactly corresponds to the apparent locative *šmh* of 1QIs^a in a way that the rest of the Targum texts do not. But a further point requires our attention in that *šmh* in 1QIs^a 57.6 almost certainly does not involve the locative *hē*. At a number of places in the scroll *šmh* stands where the MT has *šm*, and there are even two occurrences of *mšmh* (52.11; 65.20). Sperber's Ms c therefore represents a flat-footed approach to the reading *šmh*, since what was functionally an adverbial *hē* has been treated as a locative *hē*. Further inquiry, however, shows that Ms c and the majority reading at Isa. 57.6 are but representative of a large number of places, in both Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan of the Prophets, where the manuscripts are divided between the readings *tmn* and *ltnn* for MT *šmh*,³³ and even for MT *šm*.³⁴

2. *nws* > 'rq/'pk

A largely unexploited approach to the Targums is the study of the translation of selected Hebrew words across the complete targumic spectrum. A good illustration of the value of the approach is provided by Grossfeld's article, published in 1979, in which he examined the targumic treatment of Hebrew verbs for 'flee'.³⁵ One of Grossfeld's more striking observations is that in the Targum of the Former Prophets BH *nws* is most often translated by 'pk, and only occasionally by 'rq, whereas in the Latter Prophets 'pk never represents *nws*, for which 'rq is the almost universal equivalent.³⁶ The explanation offered by Grossfeld (p. 118) is that the Targum of the Latter Prophets is older than the Targum of the Former Prophets and that 'pk as a translation of 'flee' was a later arrival in targumic Aramaic.

p. 292 (cf. pp. 413-14).

33. Sperber notes thirty-three instances in Targum Onqelos alone ('The Targum Onkelos', p. 321); see also Isa. 22.18; Jer. 16.15; 22.27; 40.4.

34. See Isa. 23.12; 34.14; 57.7. Note that the Samaritan Pentateuch sometimes has *šm* where the MT has *šmh* (cf. Gen. 19.20; 23.13; 42.2; Num. 35.6, 11; Deut. 4.42). Occasionally *šmh* in the MT lacks any locative significance (e.g. 2 Kgs 23.8; Jer. 18.2; cf. GK 90d).

35. B. Grossfeld, 'The Relationship between Biblical Hebrew *brh* and *nws* and their Corresponding Aramaic Equivalents in the Targum - 'rq, 'pk, 'zl: A Preliminary Study in Aramaic-Hebrew Lexicography', ZAW 91 (1979), pp. 106-23.

36. The exceptions are at Isa. 35.10 (=51.11) (*swp*) and Zech. 2.10 where MT *wnsw* is paraphrased by 'assemble yourselves and come'.

If we bring Sperber's apparatuses into play this difference between the two halves of the Targum of the Prophets is underlined. In none of the thirty-plus places in the Latter Prophets where *nws* is translated by 'rq is there a manuscript variant involving 'pk. In the Former Prophets, on the other hand, 'pk in Sperber's basic text has 'rq as a variant at eight places (Josh. 7.4; 10.11; Judg. 1.6; 1 Sam. 17.24, 51; 1 Kgs 12.18; 20.30; 2 Kgs 3.24), while 'rq in the main text has 'pk as a variant at 1 Sam. 4.16. Sperber's apparatus therefore seems to show the translation of *nws* in the Targum of the Former Prophets in a transitional phase when the rendering by 'rq survives in some references and has not been altogether obliterated in others. Given the extent to which the *gezerah shavah* principle operates in the Targums, the number of such clear-cut variations may be very limited, but they would be all the more important on that account.

Sperber's collations include his 'Testimonia'—'Targum Quotations in the Works of Early Authors'—culled from the *Aruch*, the commentaries of Rashi and Kimchi and the like. These too have an important contribution to make and are clearly only representative of a much larger number of alternative readings in mediaeval sources; but at the least Sperber should be given credit for having seen their importance. In a sense his collation of this material may be seen as anticipating the *Lost Targumim* project initiated by the late M.H. Goshen-Gottstein.³⁷ But again the problem of incompleteness and inaccuracy has to be faced.

V

Perhaps the greatest desideratum so far as the Targum of the Prophets is concerned is the production of a concordance. Happily, our colleagues at the Theological University in Kampen are well on the way to supplying our need. In *Vetus Testamentum* 1989 the preparation of a 'Concordance to Targum Jonathan to the Prophets' was announced,³⁸ and details were given in a paper read by Professor J.C. de Moor at a seminar held in Amsterdam in March 1991.³⁹ The team have

37. *Fragments of Lost Targumim* [Hebrew], 1 and 2 (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983, 1989).

38. 'Announcement: A Concordance to Targum Jonathan to the Prophets', *VT* 39 (1989), p. 242.

39. 'A Bilingual Concordance to the Targum of the Prophets' (paper read at a

decided—wisely, in my judgment—to base their work on Sperber's volumes dealing with the Targum of the Prophets. All major variants noted by Sperber will be included, as will important consonantal variants from other sources known to the team. Where variants are concerned, some discrimination will therefore be required in the use of the concordance. Since the Kampen team are understandably restricting their citations to 'major variants', they might profitably ponder the feasibility of independent checking of the readings selected against the limited number of manuscripts and printed editions collated by Sperber.

This, in fact, brings us to the nub of the issue: does Sperber's work on Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan (to the Prophets) need to be done again? If scientific accuracy is desirable, then there is certainly need of revision. Accurate reproductions of basic texts are worth having, whether they are truly Babylonian or not, for a text is a text. And Sperber's basic texts are reproduced *consonantly* with reasonable accuracy, as most will agree. Within the limits set by Sperber it is probably the apparatuses that most require attention. The new reprint of Sperber's editions will not last forever, and in the meantime a team effort which aimed to rectify, if not actually replace, Sperber could very usefully get under way.

seminar on targumic studies, Judah Palache Institute, Amsterdam, 18 March, 1991). I am grateful to Professor de Moor for supplying me with a copy of his paper, pending publication of the seminar proceedings.

THE MICHAEL GLAZIER—LITURGICAL PRESS ARAMAIC BIBLE
PROJECT: SOME REFLECTIONS

Martin McNamara, M.S.C.

In an earlier essay entitled 'On Englishing the Targums',¹ in a volume in memory of Professor Alejandro Díez Macho, I wrote briefly on English translations of the Targums that had been published prior to 1978. English translations of individual Targums had been made, especially of the *Megilloth*: of the Targum of Canticles in 1751,² 1816³ and 1908;⁴ of Targum Qohelet in 1861;⁵ Targum Sheni of Esther in 1888;⁶ of the Targums of Ruth and Jonah in 1886;⁷ of the Targum of Lamentations in 1893;⁸ of Targum Ruth in 1928.⁹ In 1973 Professor Bernard Grossfeld brought together the previously published editions of these Targums.¹⁰ A translation of the Targum of

1. Published in *Salvación en la Palabra. Targum-Derash-Berith. En memoria del profesor Alejandro Díez Macho* (ed. D. Muñoz León; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1986), pp. 447-61.

2. J. Gill, as part of his work *Exposition of the Book of Solomon's Song* (London, 2nd edn, 1751).

3. By C.D. Ginsburg in his *Commentary on the Song* (London, 1861), with a translation of ch. 1 of the Targum.

4. By H. Gollancz, as part of his work *Translations from Hebrew and Aramaic* (London, 1908), pp. 15-90.

5. By C.D. Ginsburg, as part of his commentary on the biblical book *Cohleth* (London, 1861).

6. A translation by A. Bernstein of Cassels German translation of Targum Sheni; in *An Explanatory Commentary on Esther* (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 263-344.

7. O.T. Crane, *The Targums on the Books of Ruth and Jonah. Literally translated from the Chaldee* (New York, 1886).

8. By A.W. Greenup (trans.), *The Targum of the Book of Lamentations* (Sheffield, 1893).

9. By A. Saarisalo, in *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki, 1928), II, pp. 88-104.

10. B. Grossfeld, *The Targums of the Five Megilloth* (New York: Hermon, 1973), with the translations noted above of Targum Ruth by A. Saarisalo, of

Isaiah was published in 1871,¹¹ and in 1949 John Stenning published an edition of the Aramaic text of this Targum, together with an English translation.¹²

Probably the best known of earlier English translations of the Targums is that of Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and the Fragment Targums made by E.W. Etheridge,¹³ which has been republished by Ktav Publishing House, but without any addition or prolegomenon.

The renewed interest in the Targums in the late 1960s and in the 1970s led to new editions of the Aramaic text of some of the Targums as well as to new English translations. In his important work, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature*¹⁴ John Bowker published a new English translation of selected chapters of Pseudo-Jonathan. Etan Levine has edited some texts of the Targums, together with English translation, introductions and notes.¹⁵

Between 1968 and 1978 the *editio princeps* of Codex Neofiti 1 was published (Genesis 1968, Exodus and Leviticus 1971, Numbers 1974, Deuteronomy 1978), together with Spanish, French and English translations, the English translation by Michael Maher and Martin McNamara.

By 1980 the situation regarding English translations of the Targums was improving, at least with regard to the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch. In 1980 Michael Klein published the critical edition of the Fragment Targums together with an English translation,¹⁶ and in 1986 he performed a later task for the Genizah fragments of the Palestinian

Lamentations by A.W. Greenup, of Ecclesiastes by C.D. Ginsburg, of Esther (Targ. Sheni) by P.S. Cassel and A. Bernstein, and of Canticles by H. Gollancz.

11. C.W.H. Pauli, *The Chaldee Paraphrase of the Prophet Isaiah* (London, 1871).

12. J. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford, 1949).

13. J.W. Etheridge, *The Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum* (2 vols.; London: 1862, 1865. Repr. in one vol., New York: Ktav, 1968).

14. Cambridge, 1969.

15. E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Ruth* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973); *idem*, *The Aramaic Version of Jonah* (Jerusalem: Academic Press, 1975); *idem*, *The Aramaic Version of Lamentations* (New York: Hermon Press, 1976); *idem*, *The Aramaic Version of Qohelet* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1978).

16. M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch according to their Extant Sources* (2 vols.; Analecta Biblica 76; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980).

Targums.¹⁷ Between 1978 and 1980 a French translation of the Palestinian Targum of Codex Neofiti 1 and of Pseudo-Jonathan made by R. Le Déaut and J. Robert was published (Genesis, 1978; Exodus and Leviticus, 1979; Numbers, 1979; Deuteronomy, 1980).¹⁸

The situation in 1980 regarding English translations of the Targums fell far behind that of other branches of Jewish literature for which good modern English translations had been available for some time, e.g. Canon Herbert Danby's translation of the Mishnah,¹⁹ the Soncino translation of the Babylonian Talmud from 1935 onwards under the editorship of I. Epstein;²⁰ the Soncino translation of the Midrash Rabbah under the editorship of H. Freedman and Maurer Simon from 1939 onwards,²¹ not to speak of Jacob Neusner's translation of the Tosefta (1977, 1981, ongoing),²² and his ongoing work on the English translation of the Palestinian Talmud.²³ The published Qumran writings have also been made available in easily accessible English translations, for instance that of Geza Vermes.²⁴

An obvious desideratum in the field of Targum was at least a usable English translation of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, or even of all the Pentateuch Targums (including Onqelos), and if this was not possible, then at least of the more paraphrastic sections of these Targums.

During the late 1960s and in the 1970s I was interested in bringing out a translation of the Palestinian Targums—in conjunction with the publication of the *editio princeps* of Codex Neofiti 1. The work that was published under the title *Targum and Testament. Aramaic*

17. M.L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (2 vols.; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1986).

18. R. Le Déaut and J. Robert, *Targum du Pentateuque. Traduction des deux recensions palestiniennes complètes avec introduction, parallèles, notes et index* (4 vols.; Sources Chrétiennes 235, 256, 261, 271; Paris: Cerf, 1978, 1979, 1979, 1980).

19. *The Mishnah* (trans. H. Danby; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933).

20. *The Babylonian Talmud* (ed. I. Epstein; 18 vols.; London: Soncino, 1978).

21. *The Midrash Rabbah* (ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon; 5 vols.; London: Soncino, 1977).

22. J. Neusner, *The Tosefta* (6 vols., 1977-86).

23. J. Neusner, *The Talmud of the Land of Israel* (Chicago, 1982).

24. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975).

*Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament*²⁵ was originally intended as an introduction to such a translation of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch. The plan to publish the translation, however, did not come to fruition. In retrospect this failure to publish can be regarded as gain. Targum studies in most aspects, but especially in grammar and lexicography, have made significant progress during the intervening decades.

Michael Glazier's Interest in the Project

Michael Glazier had his publishing house at Wilmington, Delaware, USA. During the seventies and eighties he had become ever more involved in the publication of theological works and of commentaries on the Bible. One of his more successful series was *New Testament Message: A Biblical-Theological Commentary*, in 22 volumes, edited by Wilfrid Harrington, O.P. and Donald Senior, C.P. When this series was completed in 1979, the publishers planned a similar one for the Old Testament, and I was asked to be co-editor, together with Carroll Stuhlmueller, C.P.

In 1980, while teaching at John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, I discussed with Michael Glazier the possibility of publishing English translations of some of the Targums, for instance the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch. He showed keen interest in the project and said we should meet to discuss it in greater detail. In November 1980 we discussed the situation regarding Targums in general, and he expressed his conviction that a translation project should go beyond the Palestinian Targums and embrace the entire targumic corpus. It was agreed that as a first step towards publication an editorial board should be set up, which would present a concrete plan to him by the end of January 1981.

I returned to Dublin from Cleveland at the end of December 1980. The editorial board for the new project was based in Dublin; and comprised Dr Kevin Cathcart, Professor of Semitic Languages at University College, Dublin, Michael Maher, M.S.C., Lecturer in Scripture and head of the Scripture Department, Mater Dei Institute of Religious Education, Dublin, and myself.

Its first task was to draw up a plan for the project to be submitted to

25. Shannon: Irish University Press; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972.

Michael Glazier. This work was completed by 23 January. From the outset it was seen as desirable that consultants be added to the editorial board proper. Progress should be by stages, for instance completing the translation of the Palestinian Targums before planning the translation of the others. We were privileged to enlist as editorial consultants Alejandro Díez Macho, M.S.C., Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. and Bernard Grossfeld. A concrete plan for the publication of all the (rabbinic-type) Targums was drawn up over 1981, together with provisional guidelines for contributors. By the end of 1982 a final text of the guidelines was complete and the panel of translators agreed on. Eighteen scholars, seventeen of whom continued throughout the project, were recruited: Philip S. Alexander, Derek R.G. Beattie, Kevin Cathcart, Bruce Chilton, Robert P. Gordon, Bernard Grossfeld, Daniel J. Harrington, Robert Hayward, John F. Healey, Peter S. Knobel, Samson H. Levey, J. Stanley McIvor, Martin McNamara, Michael Maher, Celine Mangan, Anthony J. Saldarini and Max Wilcox. Ernest G. Clarke joined later.

The guidelines for contributors made the following points:

1. The plan in the present project was to translate all the traditional Targums (i.e. excluding those from Qumran) into modern English. No such translation had as yet been made.

2. The aim of this translation was to render the Aramaic text faithfully into acceptable, modern English.

3. The projected readership of the translation would be students of Jewish literature; students of the Old Testament, particularly those with an interest in textual matters and in the history of interpretation; students of the New Testament, in particular in its relationship to its Jewish origins. Apart from those formally studying these subjects, it was expected that the translation of the Targums would also interest a wider public.

4. The work intended would be strictly a translation, without an accompanying Aramaic text or text of the Bible. Neither would there be any *lemmata* for the individual verses.

5. As examples of what kind of translation was intended, Danby's translation of the Mishnah or the Soncino translations of the Babylonian Talmud and of the Midrash Rabbah could be instanced.

6. It was noted that the format, layout and number of volumes for the entire work were not of immediate interest for translators and that a final decision on the actual number of volumes would be taken when

the project was at a more advanced stage.

7. The translation of each Targum or group of Targums would be preceded by an appropriate introduction; an apparatus would accompany each translation, printed at the foot of the page; there would be appropriate explanatory notes on the text. It was noted that the edition of the Pentateuch Targums (including Onqelos) presented a difficulty, and it was thought at first that a synoptic presentation of these would be preferable, with all four representatives (Neofiti, Fragments including Genizah texts, Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos) on facing pages. It was recognized, however, that the technical problems involved would necessitate careful planning. Other Targums presenting similar problems could be treated similarly, e.g. the Targums of Esther and Targums with longer and shorter recensions.

8. There was detailed consideration in the guidelines of the translation itself, which was seen to be the principal matter. The translator's attention was directed to the Aramaic text to be translated. The translator had to see whether this had been critically edited or not, and whether the Aramaic text was stable or varied according to manuscripts. It was understood that the translator would be in contact with the critical work currently being carried out on the Aramaic texts. The English translation itself was expected to be literal, faithful to the Aramaic text, in good English, of the RSV type of translation, but avoiding archaisms (e.g. thou, thee, etc.). Attention was to be paid to the peculiarities of the Aramaic version and, insofar as consonant with acceptable English, these should be reproduced in the English rendering. In cases where the Targum by reason of its manner of rendering had deviated from normal canons of the language, these should be reproduced in the translation. As examples, the guidelines cited such phrases as 'It was revealed/manifest before the Lord...' Peculiarities of language, such as 'debt' for 'sin', should be retained in the translation. Attention was drawn to the problems attending the translation of the expression *bar nasha* and it was noted that it would be well if the translators in this series followed some common principle. At least, the translator should indicate in a note that, literally, the text had 'son of man' in cases where the expression was rendered in some other way, e.g. 'man', 'any one'. The translators were asked to pay attention to the manner in which the Targums translated a given term or phrase of the Hebrew Text (e.g. *hesed we'emet, po'ale 'awen...*) and care taken to represent the Targumist's manner of

translation (i.e. if the same Hebrew term or phrase is always translated in the same manner in Aramaic, the same should be done in the English translation). Targumic deviations from the Hebrew text, whether by interpretation or paraphrase, should be indicated by italics. The tetragrammaton, or letters representing it, should be translated as 'the Lord'. Technical terms such as *Memra*, *Shekinah* (*Shekinta*), *Dibbur(a)*, *Dibber(a)* should be left untranslated. Their meaning could be explained in a glossary accompanying each volume.

9. The apparatus would indicate the relationship between the English translation and the Aramaic original, noting variant readings in the original, emendations and such like.

10. The notes to the text should pay attention to a variety of matters, e.g. the relation of the Aramaic translation to the original Hebrew, to other early versions, to parallel passages in Jewish and Christian tradition, the presence of foreign loan words (Greek, Latin, for example, in the Aramaic text, or the reason for the particular Aramaic paraphrase). The notes, in their extent and nature, would vary from one Targum and translator to another.

11. The introductions were expected to contain all the information necessary and useful for the understanding of the particular Targum or group of Targums. Each introduction would attend to the following: the use of the particular biblical book in Jewish life—in the liturgy, schools etc.—and in the history of Jewish interpretation; early citations of the particular Targum; the number and nature of the known manuscripts of the Targum; the nature of the Aramaic of the particular Targum manuscripts; the nature of the Aramaic paraphrase and its relation to the Hebrew text; the relation of a particular Targum to Jewish exegesis as known from other sources; the theological concepts and teaching of the particular Targum; the probable date and place of composition of the Targum; editions of the Aramaic text; translations of the particular Targum, especially in English translation; and finally, a bibliography of writings (particularly recent and in English) on the particular Targum, or group of Targums.

These guidelines were drawn up at the inception of the project. It was to be expected that they would be modified as the individual Targums were being translated and annotated.

Among other things considered at this early period was the question of deadlines for the submission of manuscripts for the various Targumim, the date of publication of the individual works and of

completion of the entire project. After various attempts and suggestions the editorial board agreed on dates from late 1984 to 1986 for the submission of manuscripts. In an essay published in 1986, but completed some time before, I ventured to say that the entire project could well be completed and in print by the end of 1987!

At an early period a logo design by Florence Bern for the Aramaic Bible Series was adopted; this came to the publisher through the good offices of Professor Bernard Grossfeld.

Progress in Publishing: 1987-1988

Manuscripts of completed works began arriving with the editors in 1984. The first four of these to be submitted to the publisher were the Targums of the Prophets, which were published in the Aramaic Bible Series in 1987:

- Vol. 10. *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets*. Introduction, Trans. and Notes. By Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. and A.J. Saldarini.
- Vol. 11. *The Isaiah Targum*. Introduction, Trans., Apparatus and Notes. By Bruce D. Chilton.
- Vol. 12. *The Targum of Jeremiah*. Trans. with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes. By Robert Hayward.
- Vol. 13. *The Targum of Ezekiel*. Trans. with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes. By Samson H. Levey.

Four volumes by Professor Bernard Grossfeld with the Targum of Onqelos followed in 1988, as follows:

- Vol. 6. *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*. Translated with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes.
- Vol. 7. *The Targum Onqelos to Exodus*.
- Vol. 8. *The Targum Onqelos to Leviticus and the Targum Onqelos to Numbers*.
- Vol. 8. *The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy*.

Troubled Interlude 1989

After publication of the first eight volumes of the series, there was a lull in the number of manuscripts being submitted. Only one volume was published in 1989: Vol. 14. *The Targums of the Minor Prophets*. (Trans. with a critical introduction, apparatus and notes, by Kevin Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon).

Already, in a letter of 6 November 1988 the publisher drew the attention of the editors to the problems affecting the continuation

of the Aramaic Bible Project arising from the fact that a specially commissioned typesetter did not have sufficient manuscripts to work on. The editorial board took note of the situation and definite new deadlines were considered. Discussions continued during the first part of 1989 and by August it became clear that changes in plans were required to ensure a speedier completion of the project. It was agreed that I should seek a benevolent author to do the notes for Neofiti 1, at least for the books of Exodus and Leviticus, and that a similar solution for all the material for Pseudo-Jonathan, Numbers and Deuteronomy be sought. Dr Robert Hayward, who had already completed a volume in the series on Targum Jeremiah, kindly agreed to take on the notes of Neofiti for Exodus and Leviticus, and Professor Ernest G. Clarke did likewise for all the material for Pseudo-Jonathan, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Problems of another kind were soon to confront the publisher. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* carried a news item in October that one of Mr Glazier's staff had been charged with defrauding the company. The large sums involved put the financial viability of Michael Glazier, Inc. in jeopardy; and after appraising the situation, Michael Glazier accepted a friendly takeover offer from The Liturgical Press, St John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, a distinguished company that shared his commitment to scholarly biblical publishing.

In early 1990 correspondence continued with Michael Glazier on the continuation of the project according to the latest schedule of the editorial board. During this period volume 15 (Targums Job, Proverbs, Qohelet) was being typeset and the material for the Two Targums of Esther, Targum Ruth and Targum Chronicles, Targums Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis were with the publisher. In April Michael Glazier informed his contributors of the transfer to the Liturgical Press. A letter from Revd Michael Naughton, OSB, Director of The Liturgical Press, dated 26 April 1990, contained the following information for those who published with Michael Glazier: 'An agreement was signed earlier this month between Michael Glazier, Inc. and The Liturgical Press. The Liturgical Press has purchased the religious titles of Michael Glazier, Inc. both those already published and those in process. We will honor all contracts and agreements made by Michael Glazier, Inc. pertaining to works-in-process, and will be in touch with the parties involved in the near future'.

With regard to the Aramaic Bible Series, the changeover from Michael Glazier, Inc. to The Liturgical Press was extremely smooth, due in great part to the courtesy and efficiency of Mr Mark Twomey, Managing Editor and Mr John Schneider, Copy Editor for the Aramaic Bible Series. It was understood, however, that publication of the remaining volumes would have to be within the overall publication schedule of The Liturgical Press.

The new publishers set to work on production of the volumes in hand. In 1991 two volumes appeared:

- Vol. 15. *The Targum of Job* by Céline Mangan, O.P. *The Targum of Proverbs* by John F. Healey. *The Targum of Qohelet* by Peter S. Knobel.
- Vol. 18. *The Two Targums of Esther*. Trans., with Apparatus and Notes. By Bernard Grossfeld.

In 1992, two further volumes were published:

- Vol. 1A. *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*. Trans., with Apparatus and Notes. By Martin McNamara, M.S.C.
- Vol. 1B. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*. Trans., with Introduction and Notes. By Michael Maher, M.S.C.

In 1994, two further volumes were published:

- Vol. 19. *The Targum of Ruth*. Trans., with Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes. By D.R.G. Beattie. *The Targum of Chronicles*. Trans., with Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes. By J. Stanley McIvor.
- Vol. 2. *Targum Neofiti 1: Exodus*. Trans., with Introduction and Apparatus, by Martin McNamara, M.S.C. and Notes by Robert Hayward. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Exodus*. Trans., with Notes. By Michael Maher, M.S.C.

Volume 3 (*Targum Neofiti 1: Leviticus*. Trans., with Introduction and Apparatus by Martin McNamara, M.S.C. and Notes by Robert Hayward; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Leviticus*. Trans., with Notes by Michael Maher, M.S.C.) is with the publisher and should be in print in 1995. The material for volumes 4 and 5 (*Targums Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers and Deuteronomy*, by M. McNamara for Neofiti 1, and Ernest G. Clarke for Pseudo-Jonathan) is scheduled to be with the publisher by the end of 1994 and should be available in print in 1995. The entire project should be complete in 20 volumes or so by late 1995 or 1996. This will be later than was initially envisaged, but still only 15 years after inception of the project.

The Aramaic Bible: A Monument to Michael Glazier

In the Preface to the first volume in number (vol. 1A, 1992) in the Aramaic Bible Series I thought it proper to pay due tribute to Michael Glazier for his enterprising spirit in undertaking the publication of the English translation of all the Targums. I wrote:²⁶

In this, the first volume in number in the Aramaic Bible Series, full credit must be given to the publisher Michael Glazier, without whose initiative and resourcefulness this project would never have been begun. Not only did he take up with enthusiasm the suggestion put to him in 1980 to publish a translation of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, but he proposed that the entire corpus be translated and published with appropriate introductions, critical apparatuses and notes. It was an immense undertaking. Let the volumes already published and the entire corpus stand as a monument to his dedication to the publication of scholarly works.

From the very beginning he worked in close conjunction with the editorial board at all stages in the preparation of the plans. He noted that we were involved in a most important project, which will not be done again for generations.²⁷

The work of course, still awaits completion. Yet the present stage seems an occasion for some reflections.

A Collaborative Effort

The Aramaic Bible Series stands as a monument to the selfless dedication of those involved in its production. In the foreword at the beginning of each volume the three members of the editorial board (Professor Kevin Cathcart, Dr Michael Maher and myself) say:

By their translations, introductions and critical notes the contributors to this series have rendered an immense service to the progress of targumic studies. It is hoped that the series, provisional though it may be, will bring nearer the day when the definitive translation of the Targums can be made.

For me personally, involvement in the project has given great pleasure. It would not have advanced this far without the encouragement and help of a great many people. In the exploratory stage in the late

26. *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), p. ix.

27. Letter to the writer of 31 May 1981.

1980s advice and encouragement came from Dr John J. Collins and Fr Daniel Harrington. The two co-editors, Professor Kevin Cathcart and Fr Michael Maher devoted many hours in putting together the initial plan, in drawing up the guidelines and preparing the volumes for the press. The editors are especially grateful to the advice and help received from our consultants, Professor Bernard Grossfeld, Daniel Harrington, and in the initial stages Professor Alejandro Díez Macho (who died in 1984). A special word of gratitude is due to Professor Bernard Grossfeld. We requested him to join the project as consulting editor on 25 April 1981; he replied on 11 May. Since then he has taken a most active part in the project through his help and advice on the many occasions in which he has been approached. He has also contributed five volumes to the series—four on Targum Onqelos and one on the Targums of Esther. In 1982 I met and discussed the project with Professor Martin Hengel, Professor Alejandro Díez Macho, Dr Josep Ribera and Dr Luis Díez Merino.

The project has been an interconfessional effort. Three of the 18 contributors are Jewish, but these have produced over one third of the works—seven of the projected 20 volumes. It brings together scholars from Ireland, Great Britain and from three Continents. Nine of the 18 contributors are Irish, two are English, five from the USA, one from Australia and one from Canada.

In Ireland the project gave rise to a Targum seminar, which, over seven years, provided an opportunity for interested scholars from Belfast and Dublin to come together and discuss Targumic issues. Between 1982 and 1989 17 meetings were held.

There are many ways in which the volumes in the project could have been produced differently. Some criticisms will be made of individual volumes and of the entire project. Some disappointment has been expressed that no Aramaic text accompanies the translations. The omission was deliberate. Inclusion of the Aramaic would have increased the price, and have introduced copyright problems in the case of texts critically edited, as well as being of doubtful value if inferior editions of Aramaic texts were reproduced.

Many lessons are learned from actual translation and books have been written out of such undertakings.²⁸ Similar works could be

28. A few need be mentioned here: B.F. Westcott, *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898); R. Knox, *On Englishing the Bible* (London, 1949); A.R. Hulst, *Old Testament Translation*

written on Targum translation and on one's experience in translating, transposing, the concepts and Aramaic language of the Targums into English, in a manner meaningful for modern readers. Some of the lessons learned would not be without relevance to the understanding of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels.

It was the hope of the editors that this series, provisional though it may be, will bring significantly nearer the day when definitive translations of the Targums can be made. Let us hope that this cooperation which has been so real over the past decade or so continues and even becomes structured—for instance in the form of an international Organization of Targum Studies.

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Part II

THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE

DATING THE LANGUAGE OF THE PALESTINIAN TARGUMS
AND THEIR USE IN THE STUDY OF FIRST CENTURY CE TEXTS

Stephen A. Kaufman

This past semester one of my students prepared a seminar paper on the targumic traditions of the Tower of Babel story in Genesis 11. I found his choice of texts both appropriate and amusing, since targumic studies has been characterized on more than one occasion as just such a 'Tower of Babel'.¹ Sometimes I myself have tended to regard targumic studies as a problem in search of a solution; but at other times we have seemed rather to have a consensus solution in search of a problem. At the very least, for quite a few years now targumic studies has surely been a discipline in search of a methodology. I have talked and written about methodology before,² so I shall try not to bore you this morning by rehashing old ideas. Rather, my remarks today are an attempt to suggest a few ways in which recent publications, future publications, and new technologies might give some direction to that search for methodology.

It is hardly news to anyone in this room that A. Díez Macho's 1956 announcement of his discovery of the Codex Neophyti I in the Vatican Library prompted a renaissance in the discipline of targumic studies—a renaissance centered on the question of the nature of the Palestinian Targumim in general, and the Targum Yerushalmi, or Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch in particular. The 1960s and early 1970s witnessed an avalanche of new studies and introductions to targumic studies. During that time the relative antiquity and the relative value of the several pentateuchal targumim were argued to death, but rarely carefully studied. Virtually every conceivable combination or

1. Cf. R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah* (The Aramaic Bible, 12; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987), p. 15.

2. 'On Methodology in the Study of the Targums and their Chronology', *JSNT* 23 (1985), pp. 117-24.

permutation of relative datings of both their texts and the traditions preserved in those texts was proposed. The past fifteen years or so have witnessed a somewhat quieter time, at least so it seems to me, a period of reconsideration and synthesis, and, most importantly, a period for the development of the scholarly tools necessary to the achievement of the kind of conclusions that the first twenty years of this period tried—but failed miserably—to reach.

In a paper I prepared in 1977, presented in 1978, and published at request of Bruce Chilton several years later, I questioned the methodologies then in vogue for dating the targumim.³ Among other things, I, like others,⁴ called for the development of critical linguistic tools for the study of the texts—grammars and dictionaries. Since then, many such tools have indeed seen the light. Surely the situation is vastly better now than it was only a few years ago. We have a grammar, albeit severely limited, of one book of Neophyti⁵—many other promised grammars seem never to have reached a level to merit publication. We have a grammar of the Palestinian Targum materials from the Genizah.⁶ We have a splendid new publication of the Palestinian Genizah materials themselves, many new texts having been identified in the process,⁷ although a promised edition of Onqelos Genizah materials seems to have been stillborn.⁸ We have a concordance to Pseudo-Jonathan⁹ and a massive study of the Aggadic materials within it and the other targumim.¹⁰ We have a new dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period—in spite of its

3. 'On Methodology'.

4. E.g., R. Le Déaut, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974).

5. D.M. Golomb, *A Grammar of Targum Neofiti* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 34; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).

6. S.E. Fassberg, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).

7. M.L. Klein (ed.), *Genizah Manuscripts of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (2 vols.; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986). At the conference Dr Klein also unveiled his new bibliographic volume of targumic manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah collection.

8. Such a project was started by S. Lund in the late 70s, but has long since disappeared from view.

9. E.G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (with collaboration by W.E. Aufrecht, J.C. Hurd, and F. Spitzer; Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1984).

10. A. Shinan, *אגדות של תרגומים* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Makor, 1979).

title a most useful volume one suspects even for those who would question whether the Palestinian Targum should be dated to the Byzantine Period,¹¹ and a complete Key-Word-In-Context concordance to Neophyti (by lexical lemma, including marginalia) will be delivered to the press shortly.¹² Most recently, the heretofore unpublished Qumran Aramaic documents have become available—available to all for the price of photographs, while some are just reaching us in published form.

So, with all these new resources is there a consensus? Will there be a consensus? What is or will be such a consensus? Should there be such a consensus? Or do we risk mistaking silence and complacency for consensus?

Permit me to review for you briefly the current situation as I see it regarding the three major Targums.

The Palestinian

Díez Macho himself, along with the students he guided—primarily in the lengthy studies and summaries prefaced to the individual volumes of the Neophyti publication—was the foremost voice for the antiquity of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch. It was, he argued over and over again, pre-Christian—contemporary, at least in its origin, with the Aramaic parabiblical texts from Qumran, the difference being that the Qumran texts were written in formal, literary Aramaic, while the Palestinian Targum was a popular and hence non-literary text. Meanwhile, those who approached the Palestinian Targum from a more linguistic perspective tended to date it to Amoraic times.

I think this dating is based on two considerations. First the language of the Palestinian texts was seen to be very close to so-called Galilean Aramaic, that is the language of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim. Now the language of the Palestinian Targum is similar to Galilean Aramaic in many ways, but it is by no means the same, and

11. M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 2; Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990).

12. To be published in the series Publications of *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* Project, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, by S.A. Kaufman, M. Sokoloff, and E.M. Cook.

Díez Macho was correct to criticize E.Y. Kutscher on this point.¹³ These two varieties of Palestinian Aramaic are related, to be sure, but they are not the same. In fact, however, the supposed connection with Galilean has been driven into the scholarly consciousness to such a degree that we even find the following question in Robert Hayward's introduction to his translation of Targum Jeremiah—otherwise the only contribution in its series so far that demonstrates mastery of the literature on the subject of the language of the targumim and gives serious consideration to the issues involved:

May we then... see the language of Tg. Jer as a 'Classical' literary Aramaic with its roots in Imperial Aramaic, which now includes additions of a 'mixed Aramaic' character in a language not unlike that of the Jerusalem Talmud and the Palestinian Targums?¹⁴

I think that it is fair to assume from this assertion that Dr Hayward has never studied the 'Jerusalem Talmud'. Its dialect has very little in common, indeed, with that of Targum Jonathan of the Prophets.

I have argued that 'where the dialect of the Palestinian Targum differs from Galilean Aramaic it is in being more "literary" and not necessarily in being older.'¹⁵ Now, however, I would be prepared to modify that position somewhat and ascribe both chronological precedence and difference in geographical origin to the targumic dialect. For purposes of the CAL we refer to this dialect now as JTA—Jewish Targumic Aramaic, classifying it, along with Sokoloff, as a sub-dialect of JPA.

But a point I have tried to make on several occasions but whose fundamental importance only Hayward seems to have understood, cannot be emphasized enough. It pertains to the recognition of the 'literary', formal nature of these texts. Díez Macho's position cannot stand. Neofiti cannot be contemporary with Qumran, because a parabiblical text, be it targum or pseudepigraph, could never have been composed in a colloquial dialect. Whether the Palestinian Targum was originally written or originally only recited in the synagogue from memory or from notes and not written down for many years, by definition it had to have been delivered in the 'formal' dialect not in

13. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti I*: vol. 4, VIII, pp. 78*-102*. See, further, Kaufman, 'On Methodology', pp. 121-22.

14. Hayward, *Jeremiah*, p. 18.

15. Kaufman, 'On Methodology', p. 122.

the colloquial. All the evidence from the Near East, from ancient times to modern, is consistent on this point. Letters, graffiti, and lecture notes from the academy can be in the colloquial; sacred and semi-sacred literature cannot.

This leads us to the second consideration in favor of late dating: if the Palestinian Targum is in a kind of formal Palestinian Aramaic and both Qumran Aramaic and the language of Onqelos/Jonathan are also formal Palestinian dialects, then how do we squeeze them all into the limited available time frame?

But just what is the time frame that we are talking about? I think that most Aramaists today would assert that Qumran represents literary Aramaic of roughly the turn of the millennium. According to the growing consensus, the primitive basic texts of both Targums Onqelos and Jonathan of the Prophets are supposed to come from Palestine and from the second century CE. Since both of these dialects are obviously earlier than the dialect of the Palestinian Targum from a linguistic-typological view (even Díez Macho would acknowledge that), such an approach pretty much leaves us with the third century, at the earliest, for the Palestinian Targum tradition. To confirm such a view, though, we are first obliged to ascertain just how valid, really, are these accepted assessments of the date of Qumran and the dating and place of origin of Onqelos/Jonathan?

In point of fact, Qumranists have been dating their texts earlier and earlier with great abandon in recent years. Even the nearly sacrosanct paleographic datings stemming from the work of F.M. Cross may seem to have been pushed to the background as scholars rush to assert that the document at the focus of their particular interest was composed in the second, third, or even late fourth century BCE, however late the script of the copies of that document recovered from Qumran may be. The arguments are intricate and, usually, highly circular, and, lamentably, the Aramaic texts have by no means escaped the fate that has befallen their more numerous Hebrew fellows. An examination of most of these arguments more often than not discovers a chain of reasoning whose underpinnings run something like this: minor fragments such and such from cave such and such are in such and such a script that Cross has dated to the such and such quarter of the such and such century, so obviously our text is earlier than that; moreover, our text is clearly quoted in text such and such, which itself is dated early by another series of intricate arguments involving the same kind

of circle. In fact, then, it remains the case that Cross's precise dating of the Qumran scripts, a theory only—based at best on dubious methodological presuppositions—still provides the basis for much of the dating of this material. It follows that we need not rush blindly headlong to follow this race toward antiquity. But whether some of the Qumran Aramaic texts were composed as early as the third century BCE really makes no difference for the enterprise that is our concern today. Nor do we need to enter into the intricate details of the relative linguistic dating of the Qumran Aramaic texts at this point; for when all is said and done those differences are not all that substantial. What Qumran does appear to make perfectly clear is that as late as the middle of the first century CE, Qumran-like Aramaic, whatever its origin, served as the literary standard. Again, the difference between literary and colloquial, and the influence of the colloquial on the formal, is the key.

Onqelos/Jonathan

If we are right about Qumran, however, we are left with precious little time and scarcely any space wherein to position the origin of the literary dialect of Onqelos and Jonathan—a dialect that we refer to for the CAL as JLA, Jewish Literary Aramaic. But is it not precisely here where we do, indeed, seem to have a consensus—if not a unanimous one; a consensus based on the admittedly groundbreaking work of A. Tal?¹⁶ Everyone cites his work, so it must be true. I doubt it!

A careful rereading and re-evaluation of Tal's arguments has convinced me that the entire debate must be reconsidered, for there is a fatal flaw in Tal's reasoning, a flaw inherent in the nature of the evidence with which he worked. Time does not allow a detailed review of the evidence here. Let me hint only that the problem lies in the fact that the Western Aramaic dialects are, in general, more conservative than the Eastern Aramaic dialects, so that most of the similarities between JLA and that of Western Aramaic involve survivals of common Aramaic forms rather than shared innovations, whereas only the latter kind of evidence is definitive in such an enterprise. Moreover, the relationship between Onqelos/Jonathan Aramaic and

16. A. Tal (Rosenthal), *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects, 1; Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1975).

Qumran Aramaic becomes more and more troubling as we learn more about the variety in the types of Qumran Aramaic and more about variation in targumic manuscripts.

It may be, then, that a possible solution to our problem of limited time frame is to remove Onqelos from the Palestinian mix. A discussion of one point of view on some of these issues will be presented to us by Dr Cook later in the conference. So let us move on.

Pseudo-Jonathan

Careless writers have long mistakenly labeled Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch a Palestinian Targum, while more careful but even more egregiously misled scholars have frequently argued that Pseudo-Jonathan was the earliest and, hence, most Palestinian of all Targums, at least in some early textual incarnation. Most workers in the field, though, have recognized the composite nature of that document—a kind of compote of Onqelos, the Palestinian Targum, midrashim, and even the Babylonian Targum, a compote in terms of both language and content; a document, therefore, post-talmudic in date at the very earliest, in spite of the presence of admittedly early traditions within it.

From a linguistic point of view, the text seems at first blush to be a hopeless mess—biblical Aramaic forms on the one extreme, Babylonian talmudic ones on the other. In the mid 1980s, however, order began to emerge from this chaos. Two studies, a brief one of mine¹⁷ and a dissertation prepared by Edward M. Cook at UCLA (to be published soon, I hope, in the CAL monograph series),¹⁸ reached independent but very similar conclusions: In those passages wherein Pseudo-Jonathan is not simply copying Onqelos and its language or the Palestinian Targum and its language, or lifting a phrase straight out of one of its midrashic sources, it does have its own distinctive language—its own grammar and its own lexicon. This language must be considered to be an authentic Aramaic dialect—undoubtedly

17. First presented to the seminar group on Targumic Studies at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University in 1985, it has now been 'in press' for seven years. I hope it will be published before too long in the planned M. Goshen-Gottstein memorial volume.

18. E.M. Cook, 'Revising the Bible: The Text and Language of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum' (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986).

exclusively a literary one—but a real dialect none the less. It is virtually the same as the language found in the canonical Targums of Job and the Psalter, and is related in many interesting ways to dialects found in other medieval works such as the Tobit text published in 1878 by Neubauer.¹⁹ The standard Aramaic dialect most closely related to it is Syriac—whatever the historical implications of that relationship may be. To be sure, many of its features are clearly derived from the Palestinian tradition—such as the particle ארום for Hebrew כִּי and the verb חמי, ‘to see’, for example, but, in my opinion, that is no reason to assume a Palestinian origin for any of the texts written in this dialect. Lexemes from this dialect will be cited in the CAL under the siglum LJLA—Late Jewish Literary Aramaic.

How, then, are all of these Jewish Aramaic texts and all of these Jewish Aramaic dialects related? And is there any kind of methodological control available that would enable us to justify our picture of those interrelationships? To follow the old paths will not do, for the old paths are founded on a premise no longer true—the premise that all we have are the canonical texts. We must remember that the classical conceptions of the history of the targumim developed in the nineteenth century, and even the substantial changes occasioned by the discoveries and initial publications of materials from the Cairo Geniza were made in the pre-Qumran era. There was no firm foundation on which to rest one’s analyses.

I believe that now there is such a foundation—at least bits and pieces of one. All of us who study and teach targumic literature are used to the process of comparing parallel texts to the same passage. In order to compare and evaluate those comparisons, however, we must have a model in mind. If text A is dependent on text B in manner X, what should text A look like? If then, we find A and we find B, we can posit that relationship X obtains. Before now, however, there have not really been any good models. Thanks to the publications from the Genizah and to the release of the Qumran material, now there are. Let us take a look at what they may teach us.

The appended Aramaic text material consists of three separate sections of textual ‘scores’:²⁰ (A) Traditional Targums of Gen. 11.1-8,

19. A. Neubauer, *The Book of Tobit: A Chaldee Text from a Unique Ms. in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878).

20. All readings are those of the files of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, which variously have been derived from manuscript photographs, microfilms, and

i.e. the 'Tower of Babel' story. The passage was chosen merely for its appropriateness to the theme of our first paragraph rather because of any particularly meaningful forms that it attests. Virtually any similarly-sized selection of material would yield the same kind of evidence. Abbreviations used in this table are 'O': Onqelos; 'J': Pseudo-Jonathan; 'N': Neofiti; 'N2': Neofiti marginalia (all hands); 'P': the Paris 110 MS of the Fragment Targum; and 'V': the Vatican 440 MS of the Fragment Targum. (B) *The Testament of Levi*, as per the Qumran fragments from Cave 4 (and isolated words from 1Q21) and the Cairo Genizah text, pieces of which are in both the Bodleian and Cambridge libraries.²¹ (C) Tobit, as per the the various 4Q MSS where it parallels the medieval text published by Neubauer.²²

Our object here is to delineate the kinds of variation evident among the traditional targumim and to compare that variation to the kinds of variation obtaining between Qumran and Cairo Genizah versions of the same text on the one hand (*T. Levi*) and Qumran and a not directly related medieval version on the other (Tobit). Nor should internal variation among multiple Qumran MSS be ignored! Forms of particular interest have been highlighted.

For purposes of the current discussion, let us exclude the problem of the lengthy textual additions characteristic of Pseudo-Jonathan as illustrated at vv. 7 and 8. The remaining kinds of variations may be divided into three not-totally-independent categories:

reliable editions; they thus may and do differ in detail from those of the several published editions. Qumran readings are those of the author based on positive prints from the 4Q collection photographs in the possession of the Klau Library, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati with reference to the by-now infamous 'concordance'. Subsequent to the oral presentation, mutually beneficial consultations were undertaken with the scholars who are officially responsible for the publication of *T. Levi* (M.E. Stone and J.C. Greenfield) and Tobit (J.A. Fitzmyer); but nothing in the current presentation should be taken to be indicative of the readings in the current or future work of those scholars.

21. Cf. especially, J.C. Greenfield and M.E. Stone, *RB* 86 (1979), pp. 214-30; and K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), pp. 188-209.

22. The material distributed for the oral presentation included a complete version of the Tobit material. Here only the parallel passages have been included, since nothing in the unparalleled 4Q material is of immediate relevance for the matter at hand.

a. *Grammar*

1. Pronoun forms: note how TL Qumran אֵינן 'they' is rendered both as אֵינן (b102, b104) and חֲנִין (a102) in the Genizah text. Such alternation is widespread in both PT and PJ texts.

2. At TL 4Qa105 עֲבָדִין corresponds to Genizah עֲבָדִין. The use of the 'plural' form (with *yod*) of the plural pronominal suffixes on singular nouns is equally distinctive of both the Genizah material and targum Neofiti; cf. לְשִׁיבָה at Gen. 11.7 in sample A.

3. Inconsistent use of the determined form of abstract nouns: compare TL Qumran צְדִיקָה / Genizah צְדִיקָה 'righteousness' at a106 with Qumran חֲכָמָה / Genizah חֲכָמָה 'wisdom' at a109. This is an inconsistency with ancient roots in Aramaic, and should be kept distinct from the Eastern Aramaic contamination in the Onkelos/Pseudo-Jonathan traditions leading to such forms as קְרָחָה in Gen 11.4 and עֲמָה at Gen. 11.6.

4. At TL a107, compare Qumran דִּירַע with the more ancient-looking (i.e. biblical Aramaic looking!) דִּי זֶרַע of the Genizah text. This same relationship regularly holds between the Onqelos and PT traditions when *d-* is the determinative pronoun: cf. Gen. 11.6 דְּחִשְׁבוּ(OJ) / דִּי הִשְׁבוּ(N).

5. TL Qb102 חִיית is Genizah חִיית. The latter form is characteristic of the Onqelos/Jonathan tradition.

6. *Afel* causatives in TL Qumran (מַעַל, לְאַסְקָה) correspond to more biblical *hafel* causatives (מְהַעֵל, לְהַנְסִיק, לְהַסְקָה) in the Genizah.

7. Similarly biblical-looking is the internal *nun* augment of the Genizah forms cited in the previous paragraph.

b. *Orthography*

The Genizah TL text evidences a confusing combination of features. On the one hand it seems to reflect what is generally assumed to be Palestinian orthography in the spelling of final *-â* (passim) and *-ê* (דְּמָה, a115) with *heh* as opposed to *aleph* in the literary Aramaic tradition of Qumran; but on the other, internal long *â* is indicated with *aleph* as well in מֵאֵב (a107 bis, a119) and מֵאָה (a114), a well-known feature of the orthography of Pseudo-Jonathan generally ascribed to contamination from the Babylonian tradition. (Even short *a* is indicated with *aleph* in שְׂאֵרֵי, BB06.) The spelling is also quite plene in the other usual cases, and etymological *sin* can be rendered with both *sh* and *sin*, even to the extent of reversing the similar orthographic inconsistency of

Qumran: compare בשרו/בשרון at a110 with סגיאין/שגיאין at a117!

Such a typologically mixed pattern is totally at home in Pseudo-Jonathan and its fellow LJLA texts. Yet, it has normally been the practice to assume that the 'Palestinian' spellings are ancient and the 'Babylonian' ones contaminations. From this evidence it should now be clear that both constitute changes. This pattern is simply the orthographic tradition of the medieval period. The orthography of the 'original' text is unreachable.

c. *Lexicon*

The essential identity of the Qumran and Genizah TL texts is clear from their shared vocabulary and syntax, unlike the case of the Tobit text where, in the short sample available to us, the differences are quite striking (cf. especially 702, 703, and 706). There are a few noteworthy differences between Q and G TL, however; not surprisingly, perhaps, some of these, too, are similar to the kinds of differences that obtain between targumic witnesses to the biblical text and among targumic texts themselves. At a118, for example בדיל למשמע explicitly 'in order to hear' is given for simple למשמע 'to hear' of Q. At aa414 ושרר 'and the spinal cord' becomes עם שדרה 'together with the spinal cord'. Some other variations to note are:

a119	ידעיה	חוכמה
b108	וחוב	ועוד
b102	כדן	כדנה

In our study of Targum, then, we must be prepared to ascribe such changes, too, to the transmission process rather than to the origin of the materials.

The *Testament of Levi* is an ancient Palestinian text, as evidenced in the Qumran exemplars. The Genizah text is the selfsame text, even though it gives every external appearance of being a text more at home in the medieval Jewish Aramaic literary tradition that gave rise to Pseudo-Jonathan. The text of Tobit, on the other hand, allows us to see how different are the kinds of correspondences we find when the lines of relationship are less than direct. From all of the specifics adduced from the TL material it should now be clear that the presence of such characteristic features is indicative not of the origin of the text but merely of the tradition that has most recently transmitted it. Remove such features from consideration and the targumic texts that we strive to compare often prove to be virtually identical!

Before summarizing, it is important to point out that most of the types of variations that we have seen here are also attested within Qumran texts themselves, or between Qumran and the Masoretic Text for both Hebrew and Aramaic texts. More work is needed in this area.

Permit me to conclude, then, with the following observations:

1. The Palestinian Targum cannot be dated as early as Qumran, because in addition to kinds of differences enumerated above (i.e. where the PT shares features with the Cairo Genizah side of the TL text), the Palestinian Targum has numerous and regular distinctive grammatical and lexical differences that point to a later period, for example:

- a) infinitives מקטול (*peal*) and מקטלה (derived stems), vs. מקטל and אקטלה and the like;
- b) ין- suffix of the 1cp, vs. י-;
- c) ו- imperfect prefix of 1cs, vs. א-;
- d) הויתא 'I was', vs. היות.

On the other hand, nothing within the text traditions of the Palestinian Targums demonstrate that there was never a single Palestinian Targum text. We can and must reconstruct 'the' Palestinian Targum, as I have argued in my monographic joint article with Y. Maori.²³

2. Onqelos/Jonathan should be seen as a systematically modified version of an earlier common Targum (a common base shared with the Palestinian Targum)—a text subsequently modified using a distinctive set of characteristic changes such as those illustrated above.

3. Regarding Pseudo-Jonathan and the nature of LJLA: many of the (specifically biblical Aramaic-like) features we have extracted as characteristic of LJLA are undoubtedly due to the fact that Pseudo-Jonathan is, after all, a biblical text, and would have been subject to the same kind of 'biblicizing' we have demonstrated above for the Genizah Levi text; therefore, such forms must be ignored when comparing Pseudo-Jonathan with earlier materials. When we do that, we see that the Palestinian text underlying Pseudo-Jonathan is little different from the rest of the witnesses to the Palestinian Targum. But it is also *not* the case that those parts of Pseudo-Jonathan that reflect

23. S.A. Kaufman and Y. Maori, 'The Targumim to Exodus 20: Reconstructing the Palestinian Targum', in *Textus: Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project*, 16 (ed. M. Goshen-Gottstein; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1991), pp. 13-78.

Onqelos necessarily reflect an Onqelos text closer to the original than any of our extant Onqelos manuscripts themselves. Most of the changes that Pseudo-Jonathan (like other LJLA texts) shows in the direction of biblical Aramaic are precisely that—changes (as we have seen in the Levi text).

In sum, then, a lot of work remains to be done; I have merely tried to suggest some paths for exploration. I believe that when those paths are fully explored they will lead us to the first century CE text of my title—a proto-targum from which the Palestinian Targum and Targum Onqelos are separately descended—a text perhaps never committed to writing, but a real text nonetheless, one that reflects the earliest stages of rabbinical biblical exegesis. I am afraid that I must, for the time being, leave the search for such a text up to you, while I busy myself with the production of tools to aid in your work. I hope and believe that you will find those tools useful. I also hope that you will choose to use them.

Gen. 11.1-8

			1
		והות כל	O
	אדעא לישן חד וממלל חד	והוה כל	J
	אדעא לישן חד וממלל חד	והוון כל דיירי דארעא לשן חד וממלל חד	N
	ועיצה חדה	והוות כל	N2
	ועיצה חדה ארום	והוון כל דרייא דארעא לישן חד וממלל חד	V
דאיטבריא ביה עלמא מן שירווא	ממללין	בלישן קודשה הוון	J
עלמא מן שרויה	משועין דבה איתברי	ובלשן בית קדשה הוון	N
	ממללין	קדשן	N2
מן שירויה	דבה איתברי עלמא>	בלישן קודשא הוון ממללין	V
		בעיצתא חרא קמו למירדי	N2

			2
		והוה במיטלהון בקדמיתא	O
		והוה במיטלהון	J
	ממדינחא	והוה כד אסעו לבנהון	N
		והוה כד אסעי לבניהון מן בתר מימרא דמאן דאמר והוה עלמא	V
		והוה כד אסטו ליהוון מן בתר מימרא דמאן דאמר והוה עלמא מן שירווא	P

		ואשכתו בקעתא	O
	בארעא	ואשכחו בקעתא	J
	בארעא	ואשכתו בקעה	N
	בארעא דפונטוס	ואשכתו ביקעא	V
	מישר בארעא דפונטוס	ואשכחו	P

			3
		ואמרו גבר לחבריה הבו נרמי	O
		ואמרו גבר לחבריה הבו נידמי	J
	לבנין וגשורופיגון בנורא	ואמרו גבר לחבריה אתון	N
	ליבנין וגיו (ז>)	ונלבן לבנין וגזי	
יתהון באתונא			
יתהון באתונ'			

		והות להון לבנתא לאבנא	O
	והות להון	והות להון לבינתא לאבנא	J
	והות להון לבינתא לאבנא	והות להון לבניה לאבנין וחמרא	N

			4
		והות להון לבנתא לאבנא	O
		והות להון לבינתא לאבנא	J
		והות להון לבניה לאבנין וחמרא	N
		והות להון לבניה לאבנין וחמרא	V
		והות להון לבניה לאבנין וחמרא	P

O	ונעבד לנא	שום	סגרו ברישיה ונישווי חרבא	בידיה ותהי עבדא	דלמא
J	ונעבד לנא		סגדה	ונתן חרבא	בידיה ותיהווי עבד'
N	ונעבד לן בראשיה		סגדה	ונתן חרבא	בידיה ותיהווי עבד'
V	ונעבד לן	בגווה בית סגרו	ברישיה וניתן	חרבא	בגו ידיה מה דילמא
P	ונעבד לנא	בגווה בית סגרו	ברישיה וניתן	חרבא	בידיה סגד-א דילמא

O	נתבדר	על	אפי	כל	ארעא
J	לקובלא	סידרי קרבא	קדם	עד לא	נתבדר מעילוי אפי
N	לקבליה	סדרי קרבא	קדם	עד לא	נדרי/נתבדר#2/ על אפי כל ארעא
V	דיסדד לקובליה	סידרי קרבא	קודם	עד לא	נתבדר על אפי כל ארעא
P	דיסדד לקובליה	סידרי קרבא	קדם		דנתבדר מעילוי ארעא

5

O	ואתגלי	י	על עובד	קרתא	ומגדלא	דבנו בני אנשא
J	ואיתגלי	י	לאיתפרעא	מנהון	על עובד	קרתא ומגדלא
N	ואתגלית	איקר שכינתיה	דיי למחמי	ית קרתא	וית מגדלא	דבנו בני אנשה

6

O	ואמר יוי הא עמא	חד	ולישן	חד	לכולהון	ודין דשיי	למעבד
J	ואמר יי הא עמא	חד	ולישן	חד	לכולהום	ודא	אתחשבו למיעבד
N	ואמר יי הא אומה	חדה	ולשון	חד	לכולהון	והא כרון	שרין למעבד

O	וכען	לא	יתמנע	מנהון	כל	דחשיבו למעבד
J	וכדון	לא	יתמנע	מנהון	כל	דחשיבו למיעבד
N	וכדון	לא	יתמנע	מנהון	כל	מה דתי חשבו למעבד

7

J אמר יי לשבעין מלאכיא דקימין קומוי ←

O	הבו	נתגלי	ונבלביל	תמן	לישנהון	דלא ישמעון	אנש	לישן	חבריה
J	איתון	כדון	וניחות	ונערבא	תמן	לישנהום	דלא ישמעון	אינש	לישן
N	אתון	כען	ונתגלי	ונערבב	תמן	לשנהון	דלא ישמעון	גבר	לשנהון

8
 J ← ואיתגליאח מימרא דיי עילוי קתא ועימיה שובעין מלאכיא כל קבל שובעין

J ← עממא וכל חד וחד לישן עממיה ורושם כתביה בידיה

O וכדר יוי יתהון מתמן על אפי כל ארעא

J ובדריגון מתמן על אנפי כל ארעא

N ודרי ייי יתהון מן תמן על אפי כל ארעא

J ← לשיבעין לישנין ולא הוה ידע חד מה דימר חבריה והו קטלין דין דין

O ואתמנעו מלמבני קתא

J ופסקו מלימבני קתא

N ואתמנעו/ופסקו#2/ מן למבני קתא

9
 O על כין קרא שמה בבל ארי תמן בלב ל יוי לישן כל ארעא
 J בגין כן קרא שמה בבל ארום תמן ערביב ייי לישן כל דיירי ארעא
 N בגין כדן קרא שמה ב[כ] >ב-ל ארו' כדן/תמן#02/ ערביב ייי לשני כל דיירי ארעא

O ומיתמן בדריגון יוי על אפי כל ארעא

J ומתמן בדריגון ייי על אנפי כל ארעא

N ומן תמן דוי יתהון ייי על אפי כל ארעא

Testament of Levi

[...] מאת יש[... על דברת די כל א. [...]	CA15-16
למענד כדין בכ. [... יעקב אבי וראובן אחי	CA17-18
ואמרנן להון ב[... נה דו. [...] צביין אינון בברתן ונהוי כולן א]	CA19-20
והברין גזורו עורלת בשרכון והתחמיין כו[אתן] ותהון חתימיין	CA21-22
כואתן במילת [...]. ס ונהוי לכ[ון]	CA23
[...] אחי בכל עדן [...]	CB15-16
[...] אחי ואחוי דן [...] בשכס וזה	CB17-18
מ[... עב] די המסא ואחוי אינון יהודה די אנה ושמעון	CB19-20
אחי אולגא לה [...] דר לראובן אחונן די למד[... שר ושר	CB21-22
יהודה קדמאן למ[שבק ענא	CB23
[...] ה[... כומ[...]	CC01-3
והרת עודן [... וקרא]תי שמה [קתה ותוית] די לה	CC04-5
[תהון] ה כנשא כלן עמא וד[... לה תהוה כהנותא רבתאן לכל יש[ראל	CC06-7
בשנת אר[בע ותל]תין לחיי יליד בירחא קב[אה נח] ד ליר[חא]	CC08-9
עם מדנח שמש[א] ### ועוד אולפט והוית ע[מה] וילידת לי בר	CC10-11
תליתי וקראתי שמה מררי ארי מר לי עלוהי לחרה ארי כדי יליד	CC12-13
הוא מית והוה מריר לי עלוהי סגיא מן די ימות ובעית והתחנת	CC14-15
עלוהי והוה בכל מר ### בשנת ארבעין לחיי ילידת בירחה תלית[י]	CC16-17
ועוד אוספת והוית עמא והרת וילידת לי ברנא ושויית שמהא	CC18-19
יוכבד [אמ]רת כדי ילידת לי ליקר ילידת לי לכבוד לישראל ###	CC20-21
בשנת שנין וארבע לי לחיי וילידת נחד בחודשא שביעיא מן בחד די	CC22-23
ה[עלנא] ל[מצרים] ### בשנת שת עשרה [ה]עלינה לארע מצרים ולבני	CD01-02
[...] בנת אחי לערן אשויות. מבניהון [...]	CD03-04
גרשון [לבני ו]שמעי ### שם בני ק[הת עמר]ס ויצהר וחברון ועוזיאל	CD05-06
### ושם בני מררי מחלי ומושי זוטב לה עמרם אנתא ליוכבד ברת	CD07-08
עד די אנה חי בשנת תשעין וא[רבע] לחיי וקרית שמה די עמוס כדי	CD09-10
יליד עמרם ארי אמרת כדי יליד דנה [...]. עמא מן א[רבע] מצ[רים]	CD11-12
### כדן י[תקרא] א[... ראמא ביום חר יל[יד]. א. א. ויוכבד	CD13-14
ברתי בר שנין ת[מ]נה עשרה העלת [לא]רע כנען ובר שנין [תמ]נה עשרה	CD15-16
כדי קטלית אנה לש[כס] וגמרת לעבדי חמסא ### ובר שנין תשע	CD17-18
עשרה כהנית ובר שנין תמנה ועסרין נטבת לי אנתה ### ובר	CD19-20
שנין תמנה וארבעין הוית כדי העלנא לארע מצרים ושנין	CD21-22
תמנין ותשע הוית חי במצד[ים]	CD23
והו כל יומי חיי שבע ות[לתין] ומ[א]	CE01
שנין והוית לי בנין ת[ליתין] עד	CE02
די לא מיתת # וב[שנת מאה ותמנה]	CE03
4Qa101 [מית בה	
עשרה לחיי היא ש[תא] די מית בה	CE04
יוסף אחי קריתי לב[ני ול]בניהון	CE05

- 4Qa102 [אנון]] CE06
 ושריתי לפקדה הגון כל ד' [י] הוזה
- 4Qa103 [לבני]] CE07
 עס לבני ענית ואמרת לבני שמעו
- CE08 למאמר לוי אנוכון והציהו לפקודי
- 4Qa104 [אנה ל]כן]] CE09
 ידיד אל אנה לכוון מפקד בני ואנה
- CE10 קושטא לכוון מחהוי חביבי ראש
- 4Qa105 [כל ענדכן]] CE11
 עובדיכוון יהוי קושטא ועד
- 4Qa106 [צדקתא] וקשטא] CE12-13
 עלמ[א] י'הו' קאים עמכוון [צדקה] וקושטא ליון
- 4Qa107 [בריי]כה] CE14-15
 עללה בריכה ו[נר]עא די ורע טאב טאב מהנעל ודי ורע
- 4Qa108 [ה] ##] CE16
 ביש עלוהי תאיב ורעה ##
- 4Qa108 [ספר ומוסר וחכמה]] CE17-18
 זכען בני ספר מוסר חוכמה א[פיל] <ליפ> לבניכוון ותהוי
- 4Qa109 [ליקר עלט די אלף] חכמה] יקר] CE19-20
 חוכמתא עמכוון ליקר עלט די אליף [חוכמתא] ויקר היא
- 4Qa110 [לב]סרון] ולשיטו מתייב חזו לכוון בני] CE21-22
 בה ודי שאיט חוכמתא [לבשרון] מתייב חזו בני ליוסף אחי
- 4Qa111 [ומוסר חכמה ליקר ולרבו ולמלכין]] CE23
 [די] מאלפא ספר ומוסר חכמה
- 4Qa112 [א]ל תחלו חכמתא למאלף] CF01-3
 [תשב].....]
- 4Qa113 [כ"ו]ל גבר די אלף חכמה כל []] CF04-5
 לב].....]גבר] [..]אלף].....]ומוהי [אריכי]
- 4Qa114 [ע לכל מות ומדינה די יהך לה]] CF06-7
 וסגה ל[ה שמע]ה לכל מא[ת] ומדינה [די יהך] לה אחא [..]
- 4Qa115 [בה ולא דמא בה לנכרי ולא]] CF08-9
 הוי בה [ולא מ]תנכר הוא בה ולא דמ[ה] בה לנכרי ולא דמא

4Qa116	[י]הבין לה בה יקר בדי כלא צבין	CF10-11
	בה לכיל[אי] די כולהון ירב	
4Qa117	רחמו[הי] [שג]י[אי]ן [ו]שאלי[שלמה] רברבין	CF12-13
	למאלף מן חוכמתה ## רחמו[הי] [ג]יאיין ושאלי [שלמה] רברבין	
4Qa118	[] מותבין[ן] למשמע מלי חכמה	CF14-15
	ועל כורסי ייקר מהותבין לה [בדיל] למשמע מלי חוכמתה	
4Qa119	[] ידעיה [ושימה טבה] []	CF16-17
	עותר רב די יקר היא חוכמתה וסימא טאבא לכל קניהא הן	
4Qa120	[.....] תקפין[ן] ועס [.....]	CF18
	יאתון מלכין תקיפין ועס רב	
CF19-20	וחיל ופרשין ורהיכין סגיאין עמהון וינסכון נלס' מאת	
CF21-22	ומדינה ויבוזון כל די בהון אוצרי חוכמתא לא יבוזון	
4Qa201	מטמוריה ולא יעלון תרעיה ולא[.....]	
CF23	ולא ישכחון מטמוריה ולא [%]	
4Qa202	ישכחון למכבש שוריה [.....] ולא [.....]	
4Qa203	יחזון שיחאא שימחה [.....] דמ[.....]	
4Qa204	ולא איתי כל מחיר נגדה [.....]	
4Qa205	בעא חכמת[א חכ]מתא[.....]	
4Qa206	מטמרה מנה [ולא מטמרה מ]נה [.....]	
4Qa207	ולא חס[ר] [ר] [.....] אל[.....]	
4Qa208	בקשט [.....] מ[ן] כל בעי[ן].	
4Qa209	ח[כ]מה [אל] אל[.....] ספר ומוטר	
4Qa210	ט[.....] תרתון אנון	
4Qa211	[.....] רבה חתגון	
4Qa212	א[.....] יקר ##	
4Qa213	קו[.....] בספריא	
4Qa214	וד[.....] ין ראשין ושפטין	
4Qa215	[.....] ג ועבריין	
4Qa216	[.....] חגיין ומלכין	
4Qa217	[.....] מלכותכן	
4Qa218	[.....] ולא איתי סוף	
4Qa219	[.....] תעבר מנכן עד כל	
4Qa220	[.....] ביקר רב	
4Qc101	[.....] ותובא תתה עקא עלוהי ויחסר נכסין זעירא וי[.....]	
4Qc102	[.....] תובא יתה לה חסר[ו]ן ויחסר נכסין [.....]	
4Qc103	[.....] לא יד[.....] לכול גבר כסר נכסין להן בימא רב[א]	
4Qc104	[.....] ביתא ד[י] יחילך בה מנה יפ[.....] זמדור אחר[.....]	
4Qc105	[.....] שמשא [.....] ויהי מק[.....] [.....]	
4Qa301	[.....] ל[כ]ן כל עממיא	
4Qa302	[.....] שה[רא] זכוכביא	

- 4Qa303 [לעל]מן ##
 4Qa304 [למחרה]...
 4Qa305 [אנ]חן תחשכון [.....]
 4Qa306 [א]א הלא קבל [חנ]וך [.....]
 4Qa307 [.....] ועל מן שהוא חובטא [.....]
 4Qa308 [זלא] עלי ועליכן בני ארי ידעונה
 4Qa309 [א]זחת קש"ט"א תשבק[ו] וכל שבילי
 4Qa310 [תמחלון] וחהכון בחשוכ[.....]
 4Qa311 [עקה] זבה תמא עליכ[ו]תחי[ה]בון
 4Qa312 [ען] נמ[נין] .. תהוון לשפלין
 4Qa321 [.....]
 4Qa322 [א]א אדין ילי [.....] בכנ
 4Qa323 [שנין] בכנ מן כל מ[.....]

 4Qa505 [רן].....
 4Qa506 [אנה].....
 4Qa507 [ת]וכל
 4Qa508 [עיני] נטלת לשמיא
 4Qa509 [ואצבעת] כפי וידי
 4Qa510 [ו]אמרת מרי אנתה
 4Qa511 [א]נתה בלהודיך ידע
 4Qa512 [א]רתת קשט ארתק
 4Qa513 [ב]א'ישה וזנותא דחא
 4Qa514 [חז]כמה ומנדע וגבורה
 4Qa515 [לא]שכחה רחמיך קדמיך
 4Qa516 [דשפיר] ודטב קדמיך
 4Qa517 [א]ל תשלט בי כל שון
 4Qa518 [לי] מרי וקרבני למהוא לכה
 #####
 4Qa605 [לע].....
 4Qa606 [מרי].....
 4Qa607 [זרע] דק[שט].....
 4Qa608 [צלות] עב[דך].....
 4Qa609 [דין] קשט ל[.....]
 4Qa610 [לבר] עבדך מן [.....]
 4Qa611 ## באדין נגדת ב[.....]
 4Qa612 [על] אבי יעקוב וכד[ני] [.....]
 4Qa613 [מן] אבל מין אדין [.....]
 4Qa614 [שכבת] ויתבת אנה ע[.....]
 4Qa615 ## אדין חזיון אחו'ו'ו'נ/ח[.....]
 4Qa616 בחוות חזיוא וחזית שמ[יא] .. וסורא
 4Qa617 תחותי דם ער דבק לשמי[א] [.....]
 4Qa618 לי תרעי שמיא ומלאך חר[ן] [.....]
 #####
 4Qa801 [גבריא].....
 4Qa802 [אנתה] ותחבל שמה ושם אבוה
 4Qa803 [.....] וכל
 4Qa804 [זי] חבלת שמה ושם אבהתה ואבהתה לכל ד'יה
 4Qa805 [.....] אבוה ולא מתמחא ש[ט] .. מן כול עמהא לעלם
 4Qa806 ומת[לי]ס לכל דרי עלמא ופ[.....]. קדישא מן עמא.

[מעשר קודש קרבן לאלפן]	4Qa807
#####	
[ח]רבא [...]	1Q031
שלמא וכל חמדת בכורי ארעא כולה למאכל ולמלכות חרבא פגשא	BA01-2
וקרבא ונחשירותא ועמלא ונצפתא וקטלא וכפנא זמנין תאכול	BA03-4
[תעמל וזמנין תנו]וה [...]	1Q032
וזמנין תכפן וזמנין תעמול וזמנין תנוה וזמנין תדמוך וזמנין תנוד	BA05-6
[.....] כהונותך מן כל בש[]	4Qa901
שנת עינא כען חזי לך הכין רבינך מן כולה והיך ייבנא לך רבות	BA07-8
[ש]לם על[מא [...]	1Q033
[אנה אתעירת מן שנתי אדין]	4Qa902
שלם עלמא ## ונגדו שבעתון מן לותי ואנה אתעירת מן שנתי אדין	BA08-10
אמרת חזוה הוא דן וכדן אנה מלמה די יהוי לה כל חזוא	BA11-13
[.....]	4Qa903
טמר[ת אף דן בלבבי ולכל אנש לא]	4Qa903
וטמרת אף דן בלבי ולכל אינש לא גלייתה	BA12-13
[...] [יצחק] [...]	1Q051
ו[ע]לנא על אבי יצחק ואף הוא כדן	BA14
[...] [ע]קב < > מעשר]	1Q041
[כ]די הוה יעקוב אבי מעשר]	4Qa904
BA15-16 [ברכ]ני ## אדין כדי הוה יעקב [אבי] [ע]שר כל מה דיהוה לה בנדרה	
[...] [ה ולי מן בנויה יהב]	4Qa905
BA17-18 [אנה הוית קדמי בראש [...]] ה ולי מכל בנויה יהב קרבן	
[...] [לעלא וע] [...]	4Qa906
BA19-20 [א]ל ואלבשי לבוש כהונתא ומלי ירי והוית כהין לאל עלמיא	
BA21-22 וקרביית כל קרבנוהי וברכת לאבי בחיוהי וברכת לאחי אדין כולהון	
BA23 ברכוני ואף אבא ברכוני ואשלמית	
BB01-2 להקרבה קורבנוהי בבית אל ואזלנא מבית אל ושרינא בבירת אברהם	
BB03-4 אבונן לות יצחק אבונה ו[הו] <חז>א יצחק אבונא לכולנא וברכנא	
BB05-6 וחזי וכדי ידע די אנה כהין לאל עליון למארי שמיא שארי	
BB07-8 לפקדה יתי ולאפלא יתי דין כהנותא ## ואמר לי לוי אזדהר	
BB09-10 לך ברי [ברי] מן כל טומאה ומן כל חטא דינך רב הוא מן כל	
BB11-12 בישרא ## וכען ברי דין קושטא אתזינך ולא אסמר	
BB13-14 מינך כל פתגם לאלפותך דין כהנותא לקדמין היזדהר לך	
BB15-16 ברי מן כל פחו וטמאה ומן כל זנות ואנת אנוחא מן משפחתי	

סב לך ולא חחל זרעך עם זגיאן ארי זרע קדיש אנת וקדיש	BB17-17
זרעך היך קודשא ארו כהין קדיש אנת מתקרי לכל זרע	BB19-20
אברהם קריב אנת ל[אל ו]קריב לכל קדישוהי כען אזדכי	BB21-22
בבשרך מן כל טומאת כל גבר	BB23
וכדי תהוי קאים למיעל לבית אל הוי סחי במיא ובאדין תהוי לביש	BC01-2
לבוש כהנותא וכדי תהוי לביש הוי תאיב טוב ורחיע ידיך	BC03-4
ורגליך עד דלא תקרב למדבחת כל דנה וכדי תהוי נסב להקדבה	BC05-6
כל די חזה [להנסקה] למדבחה והי עוד תאב ורזע ידיך ורגליך	BC07-8
ומהקריב אעין מהצלחין ובקר	BC09
[....]מין מן כול [....]ן [אנון] ... [כדן	4Qb102
אינון לקודמין מן תולעא ובאדין הסק [אינון] ארי כדנה	BC10-12
[חזית] לאברהם אבי מיזדהר	4Qb102
[חזית] לאברהם אבי מיזדהר	BC10-12
[.... תרי ע]שר עעין א[מ]ר לי [ל]אסקא מנהון למדבחת	4Qb103
מן כל תריעשר מיני אעין אמר לי די חזין [להסקה] פינתון למדבחה	BC13-14
[.....] זשיט סלק [ואלן] שמההון	4Qb104
די ריה תנהון בשים סליק [ואלין אינון] שמההון	BC15-17
[דפ]רנא ופיגדה [....]	4Qb104
ארזא ודפרנא וסגרא ואטולא ושוחא ואדונא	BC15-17
[ו]ברותא ותכשא [דא אדסא וצעיי] [אעיי] וצעיי	4Qb105
ברותא ותאנתא ואע משוא ערא והדסה [ואעיי]	BC18-19
[..]חא אלן א[ינון] [אלן] אנון די [.....]	4Qb106
רקתא אלין אינון די אמר לי די חזין להסקה	BC19-20
[.....] ל[.....] ל.א על מדבחת # [.....] אלן	4Qb106-7
מנהון ל[חח]זת עלתא על מדבחת וכדי [הסקת] מן אעי אלין	BC21-23
למדב[חא] [.....]	4Qb106-7
על מדבחת ונורא ישרא להדלקא	BC21-23
[.....] על כותלי מדבחת ותוב [.....]	4Qb108
בהון והא באדין חשרא למזוק דמא על כותלי מדבחת וצור רזע ידיך	BD01-2
[.....] [ר]גליך מן [.....]	4Qaa410
ורגליך מן דמא ושרי להנסקה אבריה	BD03
[.....] [ר]אישא [.....]	4Qaa411
מליחי ואשה והי מהנסק לקדמין	BD04
[.....] א ואל יתחזה [.....]	4Qaa412
ועלוהי חפי תרבא ולא יתחזה לה דם נסכת תורא ובתרוהי צוארה	BD05-6

[...] א ובתרהן ידיא [...]]	4Qaa413
ובתר צוארה ידוהי ובתר ידוהי	BD07
[...] ובתרהן ירכתא ושדר [...]]	4Qaa414
ניעצ עם כן דפנא ובתר ידיא ירכתא עם שדרת חרצא	BD08-9
[...] ען עם קרביא וכלהן [...]]	4Qaa415
ובתר ירכתא רגלין רחיען עם קרביא וכלהון מליחין במלח כדי	BD10-11
[...] מסתן # וב[תר] [...]]	4Qaa416
חזה להון כמסתהון ובתר דנה נישפא	BD12
[...] ובת[ר] כלא חמר [...]]	4Qaa417
בליל במשוא ובתר כולא חמר נסך	BD13
[...] י הוא עבדך בס[...]	4Qaa418
והקטיר עליהון לבונה ויהוון [כל] עובדיך בסרך וכל קורבניך [לראו] א	BD14-15
לריח ניחח קודם אל עליון [וכל די] חהוה עביר בסרך הוי עב[יד במדה]	BD16-17
ובמתקל לא תותר צבו די לא [חזה] ולא תחסר מן חושבן חזת[א ו]אע[ין]	BD18-19
חזי[ק] <י> להקרבה לכל די סליק למדב[חא] לתורא רבא כבר אעין ליה במתקל	BD20-21
ואם תרבא בלחודוהי סליק שיתה מנין ואם פר תורין הוא די סליק [%]	BD22-23
ארו מן יקר בא[...]	4Qaa602
אנה די תמרון לי ד[...]	4Qaa603
יקירין מן נשיא [...] ה רבה ו[...]	4Qaa604
כל[...]	4Qaa605

Tobit

- 0701 Q2 ואעל אנון לבייתה ואמר לעדנא אנחשה
 TobitNeub ועלו לביתא אמר רעואל לעדנה אחזיה
- 0702 Q2 כמא דמה עלימא דן לטובי בר דדי #
 0702 Q1 כמא ד[מה עלימא דן לטובי בר דדי
 TobitNeub כמה דמי הדין סליא לדמותא דטובי אחי
- 0703 Q1 ו[שא]לת אנון עדנא] ואמר[ת להון מנאן אנתון א]חי
 0703 Q2 ושאלת אנון עדנא ואשרית להון מנאן אנתון אחי
 TobitNeub שאילת [להון] עדנה מן אתון
- 0703 Q1 ואמר[ו] לה [.....]
 0703 Q2 ואמרו לה מן בני נפתלי [די] שבין בנינוה #
 TobitNeub אחיבו לה מן שביטא דבנינוה משיבטא דנפתלי
- 0704 Q2 ואמרא להון ידעין אנתון לטובי אתונא]א
 TobitNeub אמרת להון הידעתון טובי אתונא
- 0704 Q1 וא[מרין] לה די ידעין אנ[חנא] לה
 0704 Q2 ואמרין לה די ידעין אנ[חנא] לה
 TobitNeub אמרו לה ידענא
- 0705 Q2 השלם הוא ואמרו לה של[ם] [.....] ש[.....]
 TobitNeub דשלם לה
- 0705 Q1 [.....] אבי הוא ו[.....]
 0705 Q2 די אבי הוא
 TobitNeub טובי אבא הוא
- 0706 Q2 ושור רעואל ובכ[ה] בשקה
 TobitNeub רעואל לקדמותיה ובפיף ליה ונשק ליה ובכו

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE LANGUAGE OF ONQELOS AND JONATHAN

Edward M. Cook

Scholars have held two views about the origin of Targum Onqelos and Jonathan: one, that they were written in the East by Babylonian Jews, the second, that they were written in the West by Palestinian Jews. The first view has been defended by A. Geiger, Paul Kahle, Franz Rosenthal, H.L. Ginsberg, and, at one time, by Klaus Beyer. The second view is represented by Th. Nöldeke, Gustav Dalman, E.Y. Kutscher, Jonas Greenfield, S.A. Kaufman, Avraham Tal, and, now, apparently, by Klaus Beyer.

To judge by the various forewords, introductions, and prolegomena to the Aramaic Bible series, the second view is now most generally accepted. Grossfeld, Harrington and Saldarini, Hayward, and Cathcart and Gordon all accept, with varying degrees of certainty, the Western origin of the targumim with which they deal, although Chilton is more cautious. (Levey does not discuss the question at all.)¹

To a large degree, this popularity of the Western view in the series and elsewhere is due to certain linguistic arguments put forward initially by Kutscher, and developed in different ways by Greenfield and Tal. In this paper I want to argue that these linguistic arguments fail at

1. B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible, 6; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), pp. 10-11; D. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible, 10; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), p. 3; R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah* (The Aramaic Bible, 12; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), p. 35; K. Cathcart and R.P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible, 14; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989), p. 12; B. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum* (The Aramaic Bible, 11; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987), p. xxi; S. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel* (The Aramaic Bible, 13; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987)

crucial points and that they do not warrant the conclusions usually drawn from them. I also want to propose a new perspective on the language of Onqelos and Jonathan.

First, a few words on the history of the discussion, as far as it touches upon linguistic issues. Two facts are admitted by all parties: (1) that Onqelos and Jonathan, whatever their origin, had their final redaction in the East and bear a number of linguistic traces of this redaction; and (2) that, despite these Easternisms, the language as a whole is not much like the Eastern Aramaic known from the Babylonian Talmud or from Mandaic. Any theory of Onqelos/Jonathan's language must accommodate these data.

The early attempts to solve the problem relied on crude socio-linguistic models that would allow two dialects to share the same space. Geiger, for instance, who believed in the Eastern origin of Onqelos, asserted that the language of the Targum was a *Vulgärdialekt*, while the language of the Babylonian Talmud was a literary dialect. Dalman, on the other hand, claimed that the language of Onqelos was a Western *Kunstsprache*, while the language of the Palestinian Talmud and midrashim represented the spoken vernacular of the West.² Obviously, such models—which allowed one to ignore similarities and differences between different Aramaic dialects—were flexible enough to fit almost any preconceived idea about where the Targumim might have originated.

The first few decades of the century saw a great increase in the knowledge of the Aramaic dialects of the first millennium BCE, primarily due to the papyrus discoveries at Elephantine but also to the steadily increasing number of inscriptions from Syria. The recognition of the phenomenon of 'Official Aramaic' gave scholars their first look at a real standardized Aramaic dialect instead of a hypothetical one. H.L. Ginsberg was the first to exploit this insight in terms of the language of Onqelos:

[T]he Targum of 'Onkelos to the Pentateuch, and the Targums to the prophets, of whose final redaction in Babylonia there can be no doubt, exhibit, so far as I can see, only Babylonian dialect traits. Those features in them which are ordinarily pointed to as Levant [Western] Aramaic are not peculiar to this branch but common to it and the language of the chancelleries [Official Aramaic]. . . They were no doubt deliberately chosen in

2. G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt, 1981 [1927]), p. 13.

order to make the Targums sound formal and impressive, and perhaps to make them intelligible to both East and West.³

In terms of our basic data, Ginsberg saw Number 1, the Eastern elements, as due to Eastern origin, and Number 2, the non-Eastern foundation, as Official Aramaic. Ginsberg's formulation was to be highly influential as recently as the late sixties and Klaus Beyer's earlier opinions.⁴

The discovery of Aramaic texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls made Aramaicists re-think many of these conclusions. Kutscher linked the Genesis Apocryphon (1QGenAp), an undeniably Western text, with Targum Onqelos and said that 'the vocabulary of the scroll seems to clinch the matter of favor of... a Palestinian and perhaps even Judaeen origin for T.O.'⁵ In view of the great influence of this pronouncement in subsequent studies, it is interesting to note how slender is the evidence Kutscher put forward to support it. There are five vocabulary items: 'nph' (in the meaning 'nose'): 'nš byth 'men of the household'; 'ry 'for, because'; hlt 'valley'; 'kly (Aph'el of kly) in the meaning 'cry out'. There are also three grammatical features: the 3rd fem. pl. perfect, the 2nd masc. sing. perfect ending -tā, and the 3rd fem. sing. pronominal suffix -hā.⁶ Of the five lexemes, the most important one, 'ry, is based on a faulty reading: all occurrences should be read 'rw.

3. H.L. Ginsberg, 'Aramaic Dialect Problems', *AJSL* 50 (1933), p. 6.

4. K. Beyer, 'Der reichsaramäische Einschlag in der ältesten syrischen Literatur', *ZDMG* 116 (1967), p. 253. I have to disagree here with the late Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, whose review of the literature I am following here to some extent. In speaking of this period, he says, 'It should be admitted...that if the Proto-Onqelos was composed in a standardized idiom that by definition was dialectically unmarked, all earlier definitions of the language of TO were left dangling in the air. The basis for labeling the language "Eastern" or "Western" had disappeared, but nobody quite seemed to have noticed' ('The Language of Targum Onkelos and the Model of Literary Diglossia in Aramaic', *JNES* 37 [1978], p. 171). This seems to me inaccurate, at least for the '30s. Ginsberg, at least, and the others discussing the problems, were not thinking in terms of Proto-Onqelos, but of Onqelos pure and simple. The two language elements Ginsberg saw in Onqelos were the 'neutral' Official Aramaic and the definite 'marked' Easternisms. The second element gives the place of origin. Ginsberg's contribution was to explain the non-Eastern element as unmarked for locality, rather than as Western, as Dalman and Nöldeke had done.

5. E.Y. Kutscher, 'The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958), p. 10.

6. Kutscher, 'Language', pp. 10-11.

Another, *hlt'*, has turned up in Targum Neofiti. That leaves only three possible vocabulary words as evidence. Of the three grammatical traits, the latter two (*-tā* and *-hā*) are common survivals from older forms of Aramaic—not shared innovations—and the other (3rd fem. pl. perf.) Kutscher later in the article conjectured to be Eastern in origin!⁷ Despite this slender evidence, Kutscher believed he had proved that the non-Eastern element in Onqelos and Jonathan was not simply Official Aramaic, but Western Aramaic.

How, then, can one explain a document with both Eastern and Western elements? The Eastern elements must be a product of redaction:

The eastern element in the T.O. can easily be explained, as indeed it has been, by the fact of its transmission in Babylonia. But it would be difficult to account for the presence of the western elements if it had originated in the east. (p. 10)

Kutscher's article essentially has evaded criticism for 35 years, and it is perhaps a vague feeling that Kutscher and his followers 'proved' the dialectal connection between Onqelos and Jonathan and Qumran Aramaic that accounts for the popularity of the Western view today.

It should be noted carefully that for Kutscher's view to work, the non-Eastern elements must be seen as specifically Western. If not—if they are defined as belonging to a supralocal standard Official Aramaic—then there is no basis for preferring the Western view to the Eastern view.

The fact is, as I noted, that the grammatical features that link Qumran Aramaic to Onqelos and Jonathan are not specifically Western. They are common retentions from an earlier stage of Aramaic. This fact accounts for the next move made in the discussion, which was precisely to 'de-Westernize', or more exactly, to 'standardize' Qumran Aramaic, defining the texts written in it as either 'Standard Literary Aramaic' or as written in Aramaic *koine*. Jonas Greenfield proposed the first view, Avraham Tal the latter.

Greenfield claimed to recognize a dialect used for literary purposes alongside the Official Aramaic of the Persian period; he furthermore asserted that this dialect was supralocal (although in a given area it might disclose occasional 'localisms') and used on into the first few centuries CE. Targums Onqelos and Jonathan, in fact, were written in it:

7. Kutscher, 'Language', pp. 13-14, n. 65.

The relative neutrality of 'Standard Literary Aramaic' allowed for its being understood and used in a broader area than would be possible for a strictly local dialect. This... would explain the relative position of the various Targums. Targum Onqelos and the Targum to the Prophets were preserved outside of Palestine in Babylonia, not because they were written there, as some scholars have maintained, but because they were readily understandable in Babylonia...⁸

Greenfield has never, unfortunately, given us a list of features (or even a single feature) characteristic of Standard Literary Aramaic. It is therefore a concept of very questionable worth. Moreover, for purposes of pinpointing the origin of Onqelos and Jonathan, it is quite useless. Although Greenfield seems to retain Kutscher's 'proof' of Targum Onqelos's Western origin, he has no basis for not returning to Ginsberg's formulation. If only certain localisms betray the provenance of a Standard Literary Aramaic text, why do Onqelos and Jonathan's Easternisms not point to an Eastern origin?

Tal's book on the language of Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets is the most detailed dialectological discussion on the Onqelos and Jonathan language.⁹ He discussed many morphological and lexical features of the Targum and his conclusion was, besides the difference in terminology, similar to Greenfield's: Targum Jonathan (and by implication, Targum Onqelos) was written in a supradialectal Aramaic *koine* that prevailed in the Middle East up to the third century CE. Although in grammar and vocabulary Targum Jonathan generally displays this neutral *koine* character, the many lexemes it shares with Western Aramaic dialects shows that it originated in the West.

Tal's work has impressed many. R. Le Déaut in a review said that the Palestinian provenance of Onqelos and Jonathan seemed to have been conclusively demonstrated.¹⁰ Nevertheless, I believe that Tal's work is open to criticism at several points. For one thing, although Tal succeeded in pointing out a number of words shared only by Targum Jonathan and by Western dialects, he also discussed words shared only by Targum Jonathan and by Eastern dialects. The latter,

8. J. Greenfield, 'Standard Literary Aramaic', in *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique et Chamito-Sémitique* (The Hague, 1974), p. 287.

9. A. Tal, *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1975 [Hebrew]).

10. R. Le Déaut, *Bib* 58 (1977), p. 114.

especially the sharings with Syriac, he attributed to the *koine*, while the former were interpreted as signs of Western provenance. There seems to be no good reason why he should not have done the opposite: attribute the Eastern words to the point of origin and the Western to the *koine*. In other words, once you start attributing features or lexemes to a supraregional language, you have forfeited any ground for assigning provenance at all.

Furthermore, Tal's *koine* model fails the crucial test of attestation. If Onqelos and Jonathan are written in a standard dialect that represents a *deregionalized compromise* between several related dialects, that is, a *koine*,¹¹ we have to ask, where are the other texts written in this *koine*? None of the dialects presumed to be contemporaneous with Onqelos and Jonathan, such as Palmyrene, Nabatean, Hatran, early Syriac, or letters or contracts from the Dead Sea area, are written in this *koine*. This 'common language' does not seem to have been very common!¹²

The fact is, the language situation for 'Middle Aramaic'—the Aramaic dialects of the period 200 BCE–200 CE—is best described as a dialect continuum, as I have recently argued.¹³ From Nabatean in the West, to Qumran Aramaic, Palmyrene, early Syriac, and Hatran in the East, key morphological features fail to converge in any strong cluster of isoglosses to mark a strong dialect boundary. The Middle

11. For a discussion of the concept of *koine*, see H.H. Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986), pp. 485-91.

12. D. Boyarin, 'An Inquiry into the Formation of the Middle Aramaic Dialects', in Yoël Arbeitman and A. Bomhard (eds.), *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1981), p. 639, offers three criticisms of Tal. The first is that 'there is no reason to assume the existence of an Aramaic *koine* at any time'; this resembles my second point above. Second, he states that Tal's *koine* model 'does not explain adequately the very data for which it was proffered, to wit, innovations shared by Syriac with Palestine and not with Babylonia...[A pan-Aramaic *koine*] would by definition have included Babylonian as well'. This resembles my first point, but I think Boyarin misconstrues Tal slightly here. Tal does not use his *koine* model to explain *innovations* shared by Syriac and Jonathan, but rather the *vocabulary* shared by the dialects. His third criticism is based on the isoglosses discussed in his article, which I will not discuss here.

13. E.M. Cook, 'Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology', in T. Muraoka (ed.), *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Supplements to Abr-Nahrain 3; Louvain: Peeters, 1992), pp. 1-21.

Aramaic period is characterized not by a *koine*, but by the breakup of a *koine*, that is, Official Aramaic. Although the detailed review of individual grammatical features and lexemes retains its value, Tal's study is ultimately unconvincing.

This brief review of the recent discussion shows, I believe, that the arguments for the Western provenance of Onqelos and Jonathan, insofar as they are founded on language, are quite weak. Does that mean, then, that the Eastern view wins by default? Not necessarily. The second fundamental linguistic datum mentioned above—the fact that the language of Onqelos and Jonathan is not the same as the best-known Eastern dialects—still has to be reckoned with. This fact above all is the one that has made linguists so ready to find virtue in a 'Western' theory.

The problem of Onqelos and Jonathan's language has suffered for years—for more than a century—from a tendency, perhaps unconscious, to divide the Aramaic dialects between two poles, Eastern and Western. Part of this may reflect the division of rabbinic academies into the Babylonian and the Palestinian. There is the Babylonian Talmud and then there is the Palestinian Talmud. There is a Palestinian Targum and there is, apparently, a Babylonian Targum—unless that Targum is also a Palestinian Targum. One could hardly guess, reading the literature on the subject, that any Jewish life or letters existed between Tiberias and Baghdad.

Imagine, however, a triangle on a map of the Middle East with Damascus, Edessa, and Assur at the corners. Within that triangle would be found, in the period 200 BCE–200 CE, a clear majority of all speakers of Aramaic, as well as the important urban centers of Palmyra, Dura Europas, and Adiabene, besides the three cities just mentioned. Remember that this triangle encloses the ancestral home of Aramaic, with all its diversity. Remember also that the two Aramaic dialects most difficult to fit into an East–West dichotomy, namely Syriac and Palmyrene, are found therein. The irresistible implication is that the traditional dialectological division is far too simple. There is a vast area of Syria and upper Mesopotamia whose Aramaic dialects cannot be accommodated into an East/West scheme. For lack of a better term, let us call these dialects 'Central Aramaic'.

It is true that Syriac is generally considered an 'Eastern dialect', because it falls on the Eastern side of the classic isoglosses (*l/n* as the prefix of the 3rd person impf. instead of *y*, *ē* instead of *ayyā* as the

masc. pl. emphatic, loss of emphatic force of *-ā*, elimination of *n*-bearing suffixes in the imperfect indicative).¹⁴ However, there is no reason to isolate these four features (actually three, since the first and fourth are due to the same levelling process) as crucial. There are other isoglosses, such as the preformative *mēm* on the derived-stem infinitives, that bind Syriac to the Western dialects. Daniel Boyarin mentions three more: the masculine singular possessive suffix of masculine plural nouns (*-why* instead of *-yh*), the 3rd person plural forms of the perfect, and the *n*-bearing forms of the perfect.¹⁵ I think Boyarin is wrong on the last one, but the point is made: Syriac is neither an Eastern dialect, nor a Western dialect. (Tal also recognizes this possibility.) Given the geographical location of Syriac, that is precisely what we would expect.

Palmyrene presents similar problems. There we also find the masc. sing. suffix on masc. pl. nouns as *-why*, the *y*-prefix on the imperfect indicative, the *m*-preformative on derived stem infinitives, alongside occasional emphatic plurals in *-ē*, a derived-stem infinitive of the *'aqtōlē* pattern, and certain Eastern-Syriac lexemes, like *mṭwl*. It would not be accurate to describe Palmyrene as either Eastern or Western, although it is closer to the Western dialects than Syriac.

The best way to make sense of all this information is simply to propose a dialect continuum, which I have tried to describe elsewhere. The Aramaic of Palestine, represented by Qumran Aramaic, would shade off by degrees into a dialect like Palmyrene, which in turn overlaps with Syriac, which grades off imperceptibly into Hatran and similar dialects, which are connected to the lower Mesopotamian dialects of Mandaic and Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic. In such a context the terms 'Eastern' and 'Western' can be used only to refer to the extremes of the continuum, as indeed they have been. But my 'Central Aramaic' category captures, I believe, the insight that there were dialects in the middle. How many we don't know, since over time the predominance of Edessene, that is, Syriac, for literary purposes probably tended to mask real dialect distinctions.

It will be obvious by now that I propose to place the language of Targum Onqelos and Jonathan in this large 'Central Aramaic' group.

14. H.L. Ginsberg, 'Aramaic Studies Today', *JAOS* 62 (1942), p. 234.

15. Boyarin, 'Formation', pp. 613-49.

There are some important linguistic phenomena that support this conclusion.

In the sketch that follows, I make three methodological assumptions that may well be challenged, but that I think are defensible: (1) to consider only the consonantal form of the text of Onqelos and Jonathan for a basis of linguistic study; (2) to consider the present state of Onqelos and Jonathan as representing, by and large, the original text; that is, I make no presupposition in favor of a Proto-Onqelos; and (3) to take the origin of Onqelos and Jonathan as preceding 200 CE as a given, based on the existence of variant reading traditions from Nehardea, which ceased to exist in 256 CE. That places these Targums in the context of Middle Aramaic, not in Late Aramaic.

First of all, let us examine the system of independent personal pronouns, as in the following chart:

Qumran	Palmyrene	Syriac	Onq/Jon
'nth	'nt	'a(n)t	'at
'nwn	hnn	hnwn/'nwn	'innūn
'nhn'	??	(ana)hnan	'anahnā

Onqelos and Jonathan's 2nd masc. sing. pronoun is closer to that of Palmyrene and Syriac (and Babylonian) than the more archaic form of Qumran Aramaic, while the 3rd masc. pl. form is more like the Qumran Aramaic form than the *h*-initial forms of the other two dialects, which use the *aleph*-initial form as a direct object only. The 1st common plural pronoun of Qumran Aramaic and Onqelos/Jonathan is a common survival from an older period.

We can also examine the demonstrative pronouns. All the post-Official Aramaic dialects go their own way in this system:

Qumran	Palmyrene	Syriac	Onq/Jon
dn	dnh	hn'	dyn/hdyn
dh	dh	hd'	d'/hd'
'ln	'ln	hlyn	'lyn/h'lyn

Onqelos and Jonathan's system here in one respect follows the Western Qumran dialect, in another that of Syriac. Onqelos and Jonathan use the forms without prefixed *ha-* in a nominative function; this series matches the Qumran series. But it uses the *ha*-bearing forms in the attributive function (except in the frozen form *yômâ dēn*, 'today'). In the Middle Aramaic period only Syriac and Hatran use the

ha-bearing forms. (In the Late Aramaic period, the *ha*- prefix spreads to all dialects.)

Pronominal suffixes on nouns and verbs also present a mixed picture. The masc. sing. suffix on masc. pl. nouns is as follows:

Qumran	Palmyrene	Syriac	Onq/Jon
- <i>why</i>	- <i>why/-yh</i>	- <i>why</i>	- <i>why</i>

The fem. sing. suffix on singular nouns presents a somewhat different picture:

Qumran	Palmyrene	Syriac	Onq/Jon
- <i>h'</i>	- <i>h</i>	- <i>ah</i>	- <i>ah</i>

Only in Qumran Aramaic is the final vowel written. The defective orthography of Palmyrene leaves us in the dark about whether the final vowel was pronounced or not. Both Syriac and Onqelos and Jonathan have vocalized texts. The vocalization does not go back to the Middle Aramaic period, however, so purely on the basis of the consonantal texts one might be able to argue for a final long vowel on those dialects before vocalization on the basis of later pronunciation was added. In Onqelos and Jonathan's case, however, the consonantal orthography often does preserve a long vowel, so it seems likely that if the vocalization here matched that of Qumran Aramaic, it would have been preserved. The next category—fem. sing. suffixes on pl. nouns—is a good example of the preservation of long vowels in Onqelos and Jonathan:

Qumran	Palmyrene	Syriac	Onq/Jon
- <i>yh'</i>	- <i>yh</i>	- <i>ēh</i>	- <i>ahā'</i>

Aside from the different realization of the diphthong, here Onqelos and Jonathan coincide with Qumran Aramaic rather than with Syriac or Palmyrene.

The inflection of the imperfect presents a different set of problems. Aramaic once had a double series of the imperfect: one indicative, and one precative. The latter series in some dialects had the preformative in *l-*, as we see in the Tell Fekherye inscription. In the other dialects, the preformative was *y-*, but the precatives continued to be distinguishable by other marks: the 3rd masc. pl. ending in *-ū*, not *-ūn*; the 2nd fem. sing. in *-ī*, not *-īn*; the variation between the ending *yodh* (precative) and *he* (indicative) in the 3rd masc./fem. sing. in final-weak verbs, the absence of the energetic *nūn* on precative forms with

suffixes, the use of 'al as the negative with the precativ.

Throughout the Middle Aramaic period, all the dialects tend to level through one series or the other for all the functions of the imperfect. All Middle Aramaic dialects seem to have leveled out the distinction in the masc. pl. ending *-ū* and *-ūn* and the difference in the final-weak verbs between final *yodh* and *he*. In Hatran, there is only the precativ series, with *l-* and no energetic *nūn*; in early Syriac, the imperfect indicative still has *y-*preformative and energetic *nūn* alongside occasional indicatives with *n-*preformative and no energetic *nūn*.¹⁶ In Palmyrene there are only two relevant examples; one imperfect has *yodh* with energetic *nūn*, another has *yodh* without energetic *nūn*.¹⁷ In Qumran Aramaic, the indicative forms have completely leveled through: all imperfects have *yodh* and energetic *nūn* with suffixes, except for the prohibitions, where 'al is still used, and the masc. pl. forms have *-ū*, not *-ūn*. In Onqelos and Jonathan, the indicative forms have also leveled through including the prohibitions. Thus for the imperfect, Onqelos and Jonathan align with one type of Palmyrene, early Syriac, Qumran Aramaic, except for the prohibitions, where all the other dialects agree against Qumran Aramaic.

Two other special forms in the language of Onqelos and Jonathan require comment. One is the form of the imperfect of the verb *hwh*, 'to be'. In almost every form, Onqelos and Jonathan attest the syncope of the *waw* of the root, producing forms like *yēhē*, *tēhē*, *yēhōn*, *tēhōn*. These forms are unlike the forms of Qumran Aramaic, which usually has for this root preformative *l-* and unsyncopated *waw*: *lhw*', *lhwn*, etc., and also different from Syriac, which retains the *waw*. The only dialect of the Middle Aramaic period that also syncopates the *waw*, at least some of the time, is Palmyrene.¹⁸

The other special form of Onqelos and Jonathan is the ending *-tī*. in the 1st c. sing. perfect of final weak verbs: *hāwētī*, *'ištītī*, and so on. I previously thought of this ending as a Hebraism and let it go at that. But there are some difficulties with that interpretation. Why should this particular Hebraism appear only with one class of verbs,

16. For the *yodh* plus energetic *nūn*, see *ybrkwnh* (H.J.W. Drijvers, *Old Syriac (Edessene) Inscriptions* [Leiden, 1972], no. 2, line 5); for *nūn* preformative with no energetic *nūn*, see *ntrsyhy* (Drijvers, no. 24, line 5).

17. CIS II 3913: *ykylnh*; CIS II 4218: *yptyhy*.

18. See F. Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der Palmyrenischen Inschriften und ihre Stellung innerhalb des Aramäischen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1936), p. 41.

the final-weak? One reason might be that the loss of final vowels in the final-weak verbs would entail a greater communicative loss than with other classes of verbs. The loss of final long vowels in strong verbs would still leave contrasting forms: *qataltā~qatalit(u/i)* > *qatalit~qatalit*. But in final-weak verbs the contrast could be lost: *ḥāzētā~ḥāzēt(u/i)* > *ḥāzēt~ḥāzēt*. Therefore one might think that the final *-î* was borrowed from Hebrew to distinguish 1st c. sing. from 2nd masc./fem. sing. forms.

I still think this is a mistake. I have a hard time imagining speakers of an Aramaic dialect all deciding to borrow a Hebrew morpheme to avoid communication loss caused by sound change. In the case of Onqelos and Jonathan, the contrast was not even lost, because the final long vowels did not fall away in the 2nd person forms. The only solution I can come up with is phonological. The contracted diphthong *-ē* in the second syllable (for active forms) or the long *-î* vowel there (in stative forms of the Peal and all derived-stem forms) may have generated both an assimilation and a lengthening of the final vowel: *ḥāzētu* > *ḥāzētî*, *šawwîtu* > *šawwîtî*. There might indeed have been some kind of reinforcing of this process from a Hebrew substratum or adstratum. In any case, this phenomenon is peculiar to the dialect of Onqelos and Jonathan. Tal does not discuss either of the two features just mentioned.

I will conclude this brief survey with three features, two morphological and one phonological. The two morphological features are the most famous Easternisms in the text of Onqelos and Jonathan: the occasional masc. pl. emphatic ending in *-ē*, and the occasional derived-stem infinitive with *ō-ē* vocalism. Obviously both these features are an acute embarrassment to the view of the Western provenance of Onqelos and Jonathan. However, they are not so predominant in the text of the Targums as to preclude an explanation of them along the lines of copyist error or redactional change. Tal and Dalman both argued for the originality of at least some of the plural emphatic forms. I still think an explanation in terms of copyist error is defensible, but not necessary. For heuristic reasons, I want to explore the possibility that these Easternisms are native to the Onqelos and Jonathan dialect.

As far as the masc. pl. emphatic form is concerned, it can be noted that Palmyrene is like the Targums in having occasional plurals in *-ē*

alongside the prevailing *-ayyā*,¹⁹ even in the same text, such as the Tariff bilingual. For Palmyrene, this could be taken as representing either a change in progress (from *-ayyā* to *-ē*) or a vernacular form (*-ē*) breaking through a habit of historical spelling (*-ayyā*). It cannot be due to transmission error. The same is true of Onqelos and Jonathan. Whether it is a change in progress (as I myself think) or a vernacular form, it still separates Onqelos and Jonathan from the Western dialects, where the form never existed. Tal makes a Herculean effort to restrict these forms to collective nouns and thus to link them to the Aramaic *nisbe*-ending (pp. 83-85). He may be right. Even if he is, however, Onqelos and Jonathan is not 'saved' for Palestine, since collective nouns there do not end in *-ē*. In any case, his theory is weakened by the presence of a good many plurals that cannot be taken as collectives; these he has to interpret as copyist error.

In addition to these plurals, one also finds in Onqelos and Jonathan occasional infinitives in the derived stems with the vocalism *ô-ê*: *qat-tôlê* for the Pael, *'aqtôlê* for the Aphel, etc. These infinitives are a clear link to the east, since they are elsewhere found only in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic and in Mandaic, and one time in Palmyrene. They occur more rarely than the plurals in *-ē*, and also allow an explanation as transmissional phenomena. Nevertheless, there is that one occurrence in Palmyrene, where other infinitives of the derived stems resemble the Syriac type with preformative *mem* and sufformative *-u*. This suggests that in Middle Aramaic the infinitives in the different dialects were in a state of flux. The normal infinitive in Onqelos and Jonathan is like that of Official Aramaic, with *ā-ā* vocalism, an inheritance also shared with Qumran Aramaic.

The phonological phenomenon I want to mention is the contraction of the diphthong *ay* to *a*. In general I would prefer not to use phonological criteria to place Onqelos and Jonathan's language dialectologically, at least insofar as the phonology of the texts is expressed solely in vowel points. One of the presuppositions of this study is that the consonantal text is taken as fundamentally stable. The advantage of this particular phonological process is that it has an effect on the consonantal text. If the diphthong were there, it would be expressed by a *yodh*.

19. Rosenthal, *Sprache*, pp. 76-77.

It is well known that Western Aramaic in some of the same environments preserves the diphthong *ay* uncontracted. Here, then, is yet another feature in common with the Central dialects. The ending of the masc. pl. participle in final weak verbs, for instance, is as follows:

Qumran	Palmyrene	Syriac	Onq/Jon
-yn	-n	-e(y)n	-an

We can assume that the orthography of Qumran Aramaic represents the segment *ayin*, for that is the vocalization in Late Western Aramaic. For Palmyrene, we do not know whether the vowel was *e* or *a* as in Onqelos and Jonathan, but the contraction is still present. We know only the quality, not the quantity, of the Syriac vowel as well. Yet it is clear that all three dialects differ from the Western dialects, but resemble each other.

The last item I shall mention is the question of vocabulary. It is impossible to discuss this aspect fully here. Except for Tal's study of the vocabulary of Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets, we lack comparative dialectological studies of the lexicon of Onqelos and Jonathan. Keyword-in-Context concordances now in the making by the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project may facilitate such studies in the near future. For the present, we have to be content with Tal's in-depth study. But does it not, after all, point to the same conclusion as the grammatical phenomena? Tal presented lists of words found both in Western and Eastern sources. It is unlikely that we know enough right now definitely to categorize every Aramaic word as either Eastern or Western. But even if Tal is right, this catholic use of words from both poles of Aramaic points to a central position between those poles.

I have already suggested that Tal misused his own evidence of a lexical relationship between Syriac and Targum Jonathan. He attributed this relationship to a common *koine* foundation in both languages. Tal's perception of a link was right, but his *koine*-hypothesis was *ad hoc*. Syriac and Targum Jonathan's Aramaic are related because they are both Central Aramaic dialects.

This 'new perspective' may also be supported by two further facts that have been subjects of controversy. The first is the fact that Onqelos and Jonathan never appear in Palestinian literature, but are solely cited and transmitted in the Babylonian academies. This fact stumps even those who otherwise are strong supporters of the Western view. The most straightforward reason for the non-appearance of

Onqelos and Jonathan in Palestine is simply that it is not a Palestinian product. I have argued that it is not a Babylonian product either; but the political and economic connections of lower Mesopotamia to upper Mesopotamia and to Syria were stronger than the connections of the latter to Palestine. That would explain the adoption of Onqelos and Jonathan in lower Mesopotamia.

The second fact that supports, at least in a mild way, the origin of Onqelos and Jonathan in the Central Aramaic area is the undoubted connection of the Peshiṭta to the targumic interpretive tradition. I do not want to press this too strongly, since the Peshiṭta has certain things in common with the Palestinian Targums too, in places where Targum Onqelos is silent. But the Peshiṭta Pentateuch is an example of a Central Aramaic translation of scripture written against the background of the same kinds of exegetical tradition evident in Targum Onqelos.

Obviously much work still remains to be done in the study of the language of Onqelos and Jonathan. I would hope that my suggestion of a new perspective would help to avoid further fruitless arguments based on a simplistic model of Aramaic, and to point out new ways of construing linguistic facts in the light of dialectology.

Part III

THE TARGUMS AND JEWISH BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

THE SCRIPTURES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM*

Martin Hengel

1. *Scripture Production and Scripture Interpretation*

The time-frame of my topic 'Scripture Interpretation in the Second Temple Period', that is, from the return from exile to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, is not only a period of many-faceted exegesis, but first and foremost of scripture production. One cannot separate the two. During this period, the history of interpretation is also the history of the canon. The formation of the canon of the Hebrew Bible took place in a constant process of interpretation.

Only at the end of this process do we have the Pharisaic 'canon' of 22 works which are described by Josephus in *Apion* 1.37-41. This same canon is confirmed in *4 Ezra* 14.45, whose unknown author was a contemporary of Josephus, through reference to the 24 books, which Ezra, the last prophet, is said to have dictated through divine inspiration after the destruction of the First Temple.

We find further reference in *m. Yad*. 3.5, where it is stated which scriptures will defile the hands ritually. This means that soon after the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jewish scholars in Palestine made definitive decisions about the contents of the holy scriptures. On the other hand there was the stern rejection of the so called Apocryphal works, that is, all those works which had been written after Ezra, after the gift of inspiration had come to an end.

The prologue to the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Sirach, deriving from his grandson, constitutes a connecting link. In this prologue he speaks 'of the law, the prophets and the other writings'.

* This essay is a shortened epitome of a study which will appear with the title 'Schriftauslegung' in WUNT. I thank Seán Freyne who prepared the translation.

Here it is evident that, in contrast with the law and the prophets, this third part is not yet clearly demarcated.

At Qumran also, all Old Testament texts, apart from Esther, are attested, but owing to the great number of works written by the sect, no *fixed* canon can be ascertained. Here the number of 'inspired works' was certainly greater than in the rabbinic canon. In an analogous manner no demarcation of a canon in early Christian scriptures is perceptible either. One was satisfied with the formula 'the laws and the prophets', of which the Psalter was the most important part. It is specially to be noted that a listing of the scripture quotations in the New Testament and of the biblical fragments from Qumran can be seen to be very similar. The Psalms, Isaiah and Deuteronomy were most frequent here and there. Another coincident is that for the Qumran Essenes and for early Christianity up to the third century AD, the Old Testament canon was still open, because for the Essenes as for the Christians spirit-inspired revelation continued. Indeed, under the signs of the eschatological time, revelation has intensified in quite a new manner.

We find a totally different situation in Greek-speaking Judaism. Although here also one speaks of a two- or threefold division, contrary to Qumran and early Christianity, the emphasis of scripture use is on the Pentateuch. About 96 per cent of Philo's quotations stem from the five books of Moses, and this same central emphasis is evident also in most of the Jewish-Hellenistic writings. Exceptions we find only in the 'prophetic' Sibyllines and in historical works like Eupolemus and Josephus.

In the following historical overview I will deal with scripture production through scripture interpretation within a time span of around 500 years. Thus I cannot go into details and treat special problems such as the authority of Hillel's seven hermeneutic rules or the 13 rules of Ishmael, especially since these were collected only after 70 CE, even if individual ones were used long before, already in Old Testament texts. Likewise I will only go briefly into the different exegetical methods in the last part of my paper, and finally I have to limit myself to the exegesis in the homeland because it is there that the scripture collection grew and developed.

2. *The Completion of the Pentateuch and of the Prophetic Canon*

Let us begin with the end of the exile. Those who returned from exile were not without 'holy' scriptures during and after the building of the Second Temple. Probably the exiles brought with them an earlier form of the priestly code and in the homeland itself the deuteronomic work had been developing since the middle of the seventh century. This last complex joined with the older historical tradition of the 'Yehovist' and became a mammoth work which already comprised substantial parts of the Torah and of the historical books from Genesis 2 to 2 Kings 25. The earlier prophetic collections were added to these.

Against Wellhausen's opinion that the post-exilic time was an epoch of decline, it must be emphasized that the great theological concepts of Israel matured and found their final written form in Persian and early Hellenistic times. Thus in contrast the post-exilic epoch was a very creative one. In the tiny Judea of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, a spiritual-intellectual concentration took place, which later through Christianity and Islam moved world history, and which can only be compared to the effects of Athens during the same epoch. But in Athens we know the names of the philosophers and poets, in Judea we find anonymous priests and scribes who, in contrast to the authors in the Greek intellectual metropolis, did not feel themselves subject to their own individuality but solely to the divine will which had been communicated to Moses at Sinai and to the word of prophetic revelation. It was in this way that they gave the final form first to the 'Law' and then to the 'Prophets'. The importance of these final scribal redactions, which developed through a long process, is still underestimated today. The decisive step happened towards the end of the fifth century when the priestly code was integrated into the first part of the Yehovist-deuteronomic collection and this first part was separated from the rest of the historical work as an independent unit of five books. It extended from creation to the death of Moses and constituted a continuous 'biographical'-historical narrative with extensive sections on law. From them *a parte potiori* it received its name: the Law (of Moses). The second part, beginning with Joshua, the 'helper of Moses in his prophetic office' (Sir. 46.1) and ending with the exile in Babylon came next after this 'law book of Moses' and was subordinated to it. And after the completion of the prophetic collection from Isaiah to Malachi, about 150 years later, this second historical part

was joined to this new collection of prophetic works. Thereby the historical books were classed within the second corpus as 'former prophets' before the real prophetic scriptures named as the 'later prophets'. That these prophetic books were also classed with the Torah and its author Moses, as the one 'authoritative' prophet, is evidenced at the end of the whole corpus in Mal. 4.4:

Remember the law of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel.

I would see the concluding verses of Malachi and the beginning of the books of Joshua, with the repeated references to Moses and his book of statutes, as a redactional inclusion.

The formation of the Pentateuch and the framing of the prophetic corpus are at the same time an expression of the new shape of the Israelitic-Jewish religion in Persian and early Hellenistic times. It became a religion of the holy book with a strong historical dimension. It also acquired a *new class*, namely the *scribes*.

3. Ezra, 'the Scribe', and the End of Prophecy

Already in Judaism the end of prophetic inspiration and the beginning of scribal learning were connected with the name of Ezra. According to Josephus in his apology *Contra Apionem* the 'authentic succession of the Prophets' lasts from Moses to Artaxerxes. Josephus has in mind Ezra who, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (*Apion* 1.40-41), went up to Jerusalem (Ezra 7.1-2). The rabbis make him a restorer of the Torah. As a pupil of Baruch he becomes identified with Malachi, at the same time he is made author of the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, that is to say, he is for them the last inspired prophet. On the other hand he is reckoned among the men of the 'great synagogue' (*Ab.* 1.1). So he is 'the binding link between the Jewish prophet and the Jewish sage',¹ which means that he appears as the man of transition who concluded the time of revelation and opened up the era of scribal learning.

This then had little to do any more with the 'historical Ezra'. But it would be wrong, to turn Ezra into a merely artificial figure. If the Aramaic letter of the Persian king describes Ezra the priest as a royal

1. L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913), IV, p. 359.

'commissioner (*safra*) for the law of the heavenly God' (Ezra 7, 12.21), and the author (probably the 'Chronicler') interpreted this as 'a scribe experienced in the law of Moses' (7.6), this latter had, by his use of the term *sofer*, a scholar of the law in mind. This is accurate enough because Ezra, the priest, would never have become a royal Persian commissioner 'for the law of God in heaven', if he had not been an expert in this law already before.

It seems to me that historically Ezra's activity in Jerusalem falls in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon 398/7. And I agree with H.H. Schaefer where he writes that 'no important argument can be made against the assumption that the Book of the Torah of Moses, interpreted by Ezra, is identical with the Pentateuch'.² The work of the Chronicler, which was finished about 100 years later at the beginning of Ptolemaic rule, assessed correctly the importance of Ezra as the first 'scribe'. The reception of the Torah in its final form, which is the most important event between the return from exile and the persecution of religion under Antiochus IV in 167 BCE, is bound up with his person.

Ezra appears in this role at the reading of the Torah at the Feast of Tabernacles in Neh. 8.2-8:

And Ezra read from the book, from the law of God, clearly; and gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading.

These proceedings, where the reader stood on a platform and a prayer was followed by a reading, a translation into Aramaic, and an exegesis of the law, have been compared to a service in the synagogue. But the first synagogues appear in Judea only from about the middle of the first century BCE. Furthermore there is mention of a reading only for the seven days of Sukkot, not for a sabbath service. The priests in the small province of Jehud had no interest in competing with the Temple through regular services in a synagogue. I suggest however, that after the introduction of the new Torah, regular readings took place in Jerusalem, which, on the basis of the account of Nehemiah 8-10, were intended as public readings and involved the approval of the whole Jewish community.

Further, it is important that Ezra was a priest and a descendant of

2. *Esra, der Schreiber* (BHT 5; Tübingen, 1930), p. 63 = *Studien zur orientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (Darmstadt, 1968), p. 227.

Zadok.³ In the blessing of Moses it is said about the tribe of Levi: 'They shall teach Jacob thy ordinances and Israel thy law.' On the other hand, in Haggai 1, the prophet is still described as 'Yahweh's messenger', who 'speaks to the people at the commission of Yahweh' (Deut. 33.8-11). But in the so called 'Book of Malachi', on the contrary, both the teaching of the Torah and the function of messenger of Yahweh are exclusively assigned to the priest (Mal. 2.7):

Men should seek law from the priest's mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

The book of Malachi which was originally an addition to Zechariah, was rendered independent through the addition of 1.1 in order to complete the number of twelve minor prophets. The redactor possibly saw a connection between Elijah's mission in 3.20 and the 'messenger of God' (*mal'akh*) as the ideal priestly prophet. The ideal priest, prophet and exegete coincide in this keystone of the prophetic corpus.

The completion of the bipartite 'prophetic canon' thus seems to have been an inner consequence of the approval of the Pentateuch as the authoritative law collection. Once one had come into possession of a binding law text, which was interpreted by the priestly scribes, and after political independence under Persian rule had been reduced to a minimum, the old-style prophet became obsolete. In the small Jewish cult community two religious authorities, one institutionally inherited, the other based on free inspiration, could not exist any longer together. The exegete and scholar, normally of priestly descent, took over the function of the prophet.

The crisis of the prophetic office in Persian times is evident from the fact, that, after Haggai and Zechariah, mention of the prophet by name ceases and new prophetic texts were linked with important older names, especially Isaiah and Zechariah. This anonymous process of continuous writing, which lasted for about 200 years, was, among other things, an expression of the decline of prophetic influence. A last flash of prophecy, although without particular prophet names, came about through the shock of Alexander's expedition and the struggles of the Diadochi.⁴ The mention of the abolition of prophecy

3. Cf. 1 Chron. 5.29ff. = Ezra 7.1ff.; 1 Ezra 9.39-40; Josephus *Ant.* 11.121.

4. Cf. O.H. Steck, *Der Abschluß der Prophetie im Alten Testament* (Biblich-theologische Studien, 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991): Zech 9.1-8; Alexander the Great 9.13f; Wars of Diadochi 14.1f: conquest of Jerusalem by Ptolemaeus I 302 or 312 BC.

in Zech. 13.2-6 documents the end of this institution.

The final fixing of the prophetic corpus at the beginning of the third century took away the *raison d'être* from the institution of prophecy and, as with the Torah, it presupposed an act of approval by the cult community. Thus the high period of 'scripture production through exegesis' comes to an end.

4. *Ben Sira as Scribe*

The first scribal personality we meet is Ben Sira once Ezra had receded into the shadows. The fact that his collection of wisdom poetry went under his name is a sign of the new epoch, although unfortunately it prevented this same collection from being accepted into the Hebrew canon. He appears as author of wisdom sayings in the sense of traditional experienced-wisdom, but he is more, namely a 'scribe', that is exegete of the holy scriptures.

Just as *hakham* and *sofer* are merged in his person, we meet for the first time in his work with a revolutionary identification: true universal wisdom which comes from God and permeates creation is identical with the law given to Israel alone. The 'Creator of the universe' himself has allocated wisdom to Zion as its dwelling place so that it will bear fruit in his people (Sir. 24.1-12). But this is not all; wisdom is put on a level with the deed of covenant which was handed to Moses as holy scripture:

All this is the book of covenant, of the Most High God, the law which Moses commanded us (24.23ff).

This means that the five books of Moses truly 'embody' the unfathomable wisdom of God. The task of Torah exegesis must therefore become an unending and always new exercise. Through interpretation the exegete participates in God's universal wisdom.

This thought proved to be very fruitful in that it not only became the root of the rabbinic idea that the Torah is the 'instrument through which God created the world',⁵ but also that in the Torah, all divine secrets have been revealed. Consequently the rank of scribe was exalted to a metaphysical level.

Because wisdom in the Torah of Moses inspires the true scribe, in a way similar to the spirit of God, so the interpreter of the Torah, that

5. *Ab.* 3.14 R. Aqiba.

is, the teacher of wisdom, exhibits the traits of a prophetic revealer of a new order:

I will again make instruction shine forth like the dawn. . . I will again pour out teaching in prophecy (Sir. 24.33).

We find this 'prophetically inspired' consciousness of the scribe again in the description of the *sofer* in Sir. 38.24–39.12, who can totally devote himself to the study of wisdom. This happens in his scripture research: 'He devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High. . . he will be concerned with prophecies.' In the early morning he begins his studies with a prayer and is filled, like a prophet, 'with the spirit of understanding'. Then he meditates on the secrets of God and finally he glories in 'the law of the Lord's covenant'. Much more frequently than the older wisdom, Ben Sira refers directly to the Torah, that is, the concrete word of scripture.

This leads to a conclusion which contradicts the older wisdom:

It is better to be poor in understanding and God-fearing than rich in understanding and a transgressor of the law.

Therefore the following motto holds:

if you seek wisdom keep the commandments.⁶

The prophetic books are therefore for him no less important than the Torah. Both together form a unity, and together they constitute the quintessence of God's wisdom. This is expressed in the praise of the Fathers, an encomium on the great figures in the biblical history of Israel.⁷ Here not only the rulers of the people but, even more, the biblical authors are praised:

the seers of all things in their prophetic office,
the reflective wise ones in their scribal learning,
the makers of proverbs in their loyalty to tradition (44.3-5).

Here already the grandson's tripartite canon, which also contains the books of Wisdom, becomes visible. The fact that here the Prophets are the centre of interest can be explained through his description of Joshua as 'the helper of Moses in the prophetic office' (46.1), and because he begins the series of prophets with him. In the end the twelve Minor Prophets proclaim Jacob's 'salvation' and 'hope' a

6. Sir. 19.20, 24; cf 33.2.

7. Sir. 44–50.

promise which is fulfilled in the construction of the Second Temple because the rebuilt sanctuary has been 'prepared for eternal glory'.⁸

His high regard for the cult and the priestly office suggest that he was a priest scribe. Therefore he can say that God entrusted not only Moses with the 'Torah of Life' but also Aaron:

In his commandments he gave him authority in statutes and judgements, to teach Jacob the testimonies, and to enlighten Israel with his law.⁹

Ben Sira still understands the exegesis of the Torah as a priestly privilege. The offices of priest and prophet do not exist in opposition to one another because for him prophets had only a temporary function between Joshua and the construction of the Second Temple. In the present time the priestly exegete of the holy scriptures, enlightened by God's Spirit, has replaced the prophets.

Ben Sira thus forms a spiritual-intellectual pivotal point. He is a wise man of synthesis who unites contrary aspects: Wisdom and Torah, universal knowledge and observance of the scriptures, sapiential reason and faith based on revelation, priestly concern with order and prophetic inspiration, Temple cult and ethical action. But he finds himself faced with a threatening crisis. This daring synthesis cannot hold in this form. His emphatic warning to all the priests to remain united¹⁰ and his critical analysis of the *Zeitgeist* shows that his attempted synthesis is connected with a threat. This crisis becomes evident in the experiment of the 'Hellenistic reform' in Jerusalem which was initiated by the leading priests. This reform leads the community in Jerusalem to the brink of self-destruction.

In effect he has arrived at a crossroads: how can it continue to be true that exegesis of scriptures remain a privilege of the priests, if he himself does not any more regard wisdom as a privilege of an aristocratic group, but instead invites all who want to learn into his school?¹¹ And if he himself describes his activity as exegete and poet in prophetic terms and claims to do his work by the divine charism of the Spirit, will this not lead to a new form of 'inspired exegesis', such as one meets in the apocalyptic texts? And if the priestly aristocracy

8. Sir. 49.10, 12.

9. Sir. 45.5, 17; cf. 45.26; Mal. 2.7; Deut. 33.10.

10. Sir. 41.8-9; cf. 2.3; 4.19 etc; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (London: SCM Press, 1974), p. 271.

11. Sir. 51.23; cf. 51.29.

rejects the commandments of the Torah, must not the laity step into the breach and take over the exegetical task? The crisis which soon follows shows that trust in the presence of salvation in the cult and in the traditional action-consequence rule, broke down with the desecration of the Temple and the bloody persecution. New answers had to be found whereby prophetic preaching of the coming of God's kingdom would be of central importance.

5. *The Chasidim in Maccabean Times and the Book of Daniel*

The royal decrees for the abolition of the law, brought in by the high priest Menachem and his friends, were also against the possession and the use of the holy scriptures:

The books of the law... they tore to pieces and burned with fire. Where the book of the covenant was found in the possession of any one... the decree of the king condemned him to death.¹²

Mattathias demanded the reverse with the call:

Let everyone who is zealous for the law and supports the covenant come out with me!¹³

The 'congregation of the Chasidim' who follow Mattathias are 'all devoted to the law' (1 Macc. 2.42).

We find their scribes as the nucleus of religious opposition in 1 Macc. 7.12ff: They gather and meet with the new high priest Alkimos in Jerusalem in order to seek what is lawful. An explanation is given:

The Chasidim were the first who sought... peace. A priest of the line of Aaron... has come, and he will not harm us.

In their total devotion to the Torah they were satisfied that the new high priest was a legitimate descendent of Aaron.

We find these Chasidic scribes in Daniel 11 and 12¹⁴ where the *maškilim* are mentioned who, as teachers and exegetes, 'inform' many among the people and 'lead them to justice' and who suffer persecution because of their actions.

12. 1 Macc. 1.56-57; cf. Josephus *Ant.* 12.256.

13. 1 Macc. 2.27; cf. M. Hengel, *The Zealots* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), pp. 151-52.

14. Dan. 12.33, 35; 12.3, 10.

What the author of the Hebrew Apocalypse Daniel 8–12 and the very different Ben Sira have in common is their absolute adherence to the written word in the Torah and the Prophets. Particularly striking is for instance the style of exegesis in the great penitent prayer in 9.4–19 but also in the last part of the book we find a mosaic style put together from Old Testament allusions. The apocalyptic scribe's work is also intended for the 'education' of the people so as to make the faithful into *maškilim*, teachers and exegetes. This corresponds to the final promise: 'but none of the wicked shall understand, but those who are wise shall understand' (Dan. 12.10).

In contrast to Ben Sira, however, the situation has radically changed. The present is a 'time of distress which has not been since Israel came into existence' (Dan 12.1). If the author lets his hero Daniel 'meditate' on the seventy years of prophecy of Jeremiah¹⁵ and lets him look for an answer 'in the scriptures',¹⁶ it does not happen out of 'apocalyptic curiosity' but under the pressure of terrible distress. This means that the new apocalyptic scripture exegesis emerges under deadly conflict. The allotted prophetic period of seventy years is not yet over because the ominous present proves that Yahweh has not yet changed the fate of his people. The novelty in the exegesis of Daniel lies in the fact that the realization that not seventy years but seventy weeks of years, that is 490 years, are concerned, cannot be ascribed to his own scripture research, but to the revelation of the angel Gabriel.¹⁷ This implies that the anonymous apocalyptic scribe not only hides his authority behind a figure from the time earlier than Ezra but claims furthermore a *revelatio specialissima* for this. In addition he is able to support the fulfillment of the prophetic promise with numerous little allusions. Let me give an example: that the *maškilim*, resurrected into eternal life, are going to shine like the glorious heaven, originates in the song of the Lord's servant Isa. 52.13: 'Behold my servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high.' As in Isa. 53.11b the servant is described as 'the righteous one who makes many to be accounted righteous', so the *maškilim* are spoken of as those who have 'made many to be accounted righteous'. The suffering of the Lord's servant is the model for their suffering of martyrdom. Thus the author

15. Jer. 25.11ff.; 29.10; cf. Zech. 1.12; 7.5; 2 Chron. 26.21.

16. Dan. 9.2.

17. Dan. 8.15–16; 9.21; 10.5–6.

interpreted Isaiah 53 as a prophecy of the fate of the Chasidic teachers during the last persecution. For the scriptural understanding of Daniel the hermeneutic principle of the apostle Paul in 1 Cor. 10.11 could therefore be valid: 'Now these things happened to them (the generation of the Exodus) as an example (τυπικῶς) but they were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come.' It is the growing eschatological crisis which provides a new and urgent force for the old holy texts.

6. *The Essenes of Qumran*

Josephus tells us that the Essenes 'were especially concerned with the scriptures of the ancients' (*War* 2.136), whereas, according to Philo, they 'use as trainers the laws of the Fathers, which can be grasped by humans only because of divine inspiration'. They study the laws at all times and, following the old custom, teaching is carried out in the form of allegory.¹⁸

Josephus and Philo are supported by the Qumran texts: the rule of the sect demands that in any place where there are ten members 'one person has to study the Torah day and night...one after the other. And all shall keep watch during the third part of every night of the year in order to read the book and search in it for righteousness'.¹⁹ Here the book means the Torah. Thus scriptural study in Qumran is no longer the privilege of a few leaders, but the duty of all those who belong to the true Israel. Because of this, the verb *daraš*²⁰ becomes a keyword for scriptural studies. It signifies the search for the secrets which are concealed in the scriptures. But since not all students are able to grasp these secrets in the same way, some must be given prominence as 'successful researchers'.

For that reason the priestly teacher of righteousness in the Damascus document is twice referred to as *dôreš hat-tôrah*, following, among others, Num. 24.17: 'and the star is the researcher of the Torah, the one who comes to Damascus'.²¹ Here the reference to the

18. *Omnis prob. lib.* 80-82.

19. 1QS 6.6-7.

20. Cf. 1QS 1.1-2; 5.9, 11; 6.6-7; 8.12, 24; 1QH 4.6; CD 6.6-7; 7.18. Cf. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT, 6; Tübingen: Mohr, 1960).

21. CD 7.18; cf. 6.6-7, 10-11.

teacher is connected with the reference to the awaited high-priestly anointed one. He will be the researcher of the Torah in the awaited time of salvation.²² The exploration of the infinite secrets of scripture becomes the eschatological task in the messianic reign of the future.

Not only does the priestly messiah become the inspired interpreter of holy scripture, but already the teacher of righteousness himself, inspired by the Holy Spirit, interprets the texts of the prophets as regards their fulfillment in the present time. According to the Habakkuk peshet the teacher is the representative of the new covenant, the priest to whom God has granted 'to interpret (*lifšôr*) all words of the prophets, his servants',²³ because to him alone 'God made known all secrets of his servants, the prophets'.²⁴ Herewith the teacher becomes the model eschatological exegete.

As in early Christianity, the teacher, in order to interpret the inspired texts of the prophets, depends on the gift of the Holy Spirit, a charism which is passed on to all members of the sect because they all shall become 'scripture scholars'. Here we meet with a hermeneutic principle, which we find again in Paul, and which has analogies in Greek thought also: what has been revealed by the Spirit can only be understood through the Spirit. Like can only be known by like.²⁵

As the inspired-'congenial' exegete of the prophetic texts, the teacher initiated a new literary genre, namely the Pesharim, the earliest commentaries which interpret sentence by sentence. The introductory formula *pîšrô*, or *pêšer had-dabar*, has its nearest parallel in Daniel, where in the Aramaic part we find the noun *pêšar*, meaning interpretation, about 30 times. This eschatological 'exegesis' is basically an actualizing allegory which ignores the context and wording. The texts are related to concrete events in the present time or the awaited end. They therefore disclose information, as the book of Daniel does, not only about the eschatological anticipation of the sect, but also about its history.

In addition there is their halachic interpretation of the Torah in which the teacher of righteousness as researcher of the Torah also enjoyed central importance. The characteristics of his Torah exegesis become more evident in the Temple Scroll and most of all in the letter

22. Cf. 4QFlor 1.11.

23. 1QpHab 2.1-10.

24. 1QpHab 7.4-5.

25. Cf. 1 Cor. 2.13.

4Q *Miqsat ma'aséh hat-tôrah*. Here we cannot go into details: the Essene interpretation of the Torah focuses on the strict adherence to the wording of the text, but also on its aggravating interpretation through the teacher of righteousness. This means, that unlike the Pharisees' interpretation, the Essene exegesis does not refer to an oral tradition of interpretation which made the Torah more accessible to the people. This does not exclude the fact that with regard to eschatology, the sect, because of their common Chasidic origin, is more closely connected with the Pharisees than with the Sadducees, though they also have a priestly leadership. Thus an obvious high regard for the book of Daniel is evident in both groups.

Through their rigorous application of the Torah, as, for example, in the area of ritual purity and observance of the sabbath as well as through harmonization and systematization, they created a radical distance from the real world and especially from the cult in Jerusalem, a distance which they intensified through their strict dualism and determinism. Connected with this, and typical for Hellenistic times, is a rational tendency which refers to an 'ideal system' of divine law and history. The Temple Scroll as well as the book of *Jubilees* show these systematizing and idealizing characteristics. The traditional law text which had grown in a long history is newly arranged, gaps are closed, contradictions adjusted, and the picture of the Temple in Jerusalem is idealized in an unreal fashion.

This is also shown in the 364-day solar calendar which made it possible to arrange sabbaths and feasts since the day of creation to a fixed date. Thus the calendar established a frame which was ordained by God so as to cover all events and happenings. Here, contrary to the Greek philosophical systems, the course of history was included and, through the weeks of years and Jubilee cycles, integrated into a universal world order.

This Essene calendar demanded an additional substantiation through God's *revelatio specialissima*, which meant that in Qumran the number of 'revelation books' had to be significantly enlarged. To these belong the writings of Henoah, the 'Temple Scroll', spoken by God in the first person, the book of *Jubilees* which related to Genesis as Chronicles does the book of Kings, and probably also books such as the Rules of the Sect, the War Scroll, the songs for the sabbath sacrifice and still others. In many of them the universal order as expressed in the calendar plays an essential role: those who obeyed the

calendar in a proper manner could live in the knowledge of universal cosmic harmony. In my opinion there is a superior mind and personality behind this universal concept, namely the teacher of righteousness, who has developed his view of creation and salvation history in the spiritual-intellectual contestation with the destructive ideas of the Hellenistic world.

7. *The Pharisees*

The tension between Essenes and Pharisees was thus so strong because both came from the same Chasidic 'family', and family conflicts are the most painful ones. Of course, they developed in opposite directions. The Zadoquite-aristocratic Essenes consciously formed the esoteric elite of the true Israel with strict rules of secrecy. They were separated by a ditch from the *massa perditionis* of the people. The leading Pharisees were indeed also scribes and formed an elitist movement, but similar to the *maškilim* in the book of Daniel, they turned to the people to educate them in the observance of the law.

They tried therefore to extend by gradation the holiness proper to the Temple to the whole 'Eretz Israel'. Furthermore they gradually tried to impose their understanding of the laws on the people. In order to do so it was necessary to interpret the laws in such a manner that they could be practiced in every-day life. Josephus as well as the New Testament emphasize therefore the influence and the high esteem the Pharisees enjoyed among the people. And they both also refer to their ἀκριβεία, that is, thoroughness in exegesis and observance of the laws as being a typical characteristic of them.²⁶

Here a question arises about the special features of this 'accurate' study of the law. The problem is, to what extent can we extrapolate from the later rabbinic texts to Pharisaic exegesis before the destruction of the Temple? Connected with this is the question about the role of the scribes during that epoch. D.I. Brewer has tried in his recent dissertation²⁷ to describe the exegetical methods of the Pharisees on the basis of about 100 tannaitic texts, which are ascribed to experts before 70 or stem from discussions of Pharisees, Sadducees and the

26. Cf. A.I. Baumgarten, 'The Name of the Pharisees', *JBL* 102 (1983), pp. 411-28 (413).

27. *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (Texte und Studien zum Antike Judentum 30; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992).

Schools of Shammai and Hillel. He comes to the conclusion that their 'scribal exegesis' must be clearly distinguished from the 'inspired exegesis' of Qumran, the apocalyptic texts and Philo. The scribes considered the whole scriptures as a law dictated by God, in which the exact wording (*p^ešaṭ*) was all important, and in which every detail was of significance. In this context Brewer speaks of 'nomological exegesis'. Any search for a deeper meaning in a text (*d^eraš*) which went beyond the literal, for example through allegorical interpretation, would have been rejected. Both types of exegesis, the scribal 'nomological' *p^ešaṭ* and the sectarian 'inspired' *d^eraš* proceeded from two identical presuppositions: (1) holy scripture is consistent and (2) every detail in scripture is significant. But for 'scribal exegesis' every text supposedly has only one meaning.

Brewer's observations are worthwhile, but too one-sided. On the one hand almost throughout the 100 texts investigated consist of short remarks and discussions. Here it is the rational point that matters. Almost 80 per cent of the texts quote from the Torah and deal with Halachic problems. Furthermore, it is very doubtful whether the texts were really written before 70. And finally, for the whole second century one must expect censorship of older traditions of the time before 70, especially in so far as they concerned national eschatology and mysticism. The 'mixture' of *p^ešaṭ* and *d^eraš* exegesis, which we find in the later rabbis, probably existed already before 70. From his 100 texts even Brewer still gives seven examples of *d^eraš* and six 'symbolic'-allegorical interpretations, one of which is from the Cantic of Canticles, a book which could only be understood as holy scripture through allegory. Four manuscripts from Qumran show that there it was already understood in this way.²⁸ The reason for the predominantly nomological interpretation among the scribes was that they were most of all jurists of the Torah, and the literal interpretation of law texts was therefore part of their daily praxis as judges or advisers. This does not exclude the possibility that such a scribe could be an apocalyptic or mystic at the same time or, like Paul later, could become a Christian. That the Essenes also were able to argue on this

28. Three manuscripts from 4Q: E. Tov, 'The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11', *BA* 55 (1992), pp. 94-103 (96); E. Ulrich, 'The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran Cave 4', *RevQ* 54.14.2 (1989), pp. 206-28; a manuscript from 6Q, ed. M. Baille, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *DJD*, III (1962), pp. 112ff.

nomological basis is evident in 4 QMMT as well as in the legal parts of the Damascus Document.

On the other hand, the Pharisees accepted the Canticle of Canticles and Daniel as holy scriptures, and in Josephus we find a good many indications that messianic prophecy was effective among them. Indeed Josephus himself claims to have appeared before Jerusalem as a Jeremiah *redivivus*. In my opinion, the apocalypses of the Syriac Baruch and 4 Ezra stem from Pharisaic scribes also. Rabbi Aqiba's interpretation of Num. 24.17 points to Bar Cochba—'A star (*kôkab*) has come forth out of Jacob', which means 'Kosiba has come forth out of Jacob'—is based on a typical play on words (*raemaez*) and can only be understood as inspired exegesis.²⁹

One must conclude that the exegesis of the Pharisaic scribes was surely not as one-sided as Brewer suggests, but that the scribes made use of the multifarious exegetical forms which were current in Jerusalem before 70 CE.

Thus one can hardly doubt that also Pharisaic scribes paid tribute to this many-faceted, prophetic eschatologically 'inspired' exegesis of the time. After all it was they who were divided on the question of national revolt, and this means at the same time, on the actualizing exegesis of prophecy. Zaddok, the co-founder of the zealotic 'Fourth philosophy' together with Judas the Galilean, was a Pharisee.³⁰

The catastrophe of the year 70 CE is a key date and Jamnia marks a new beginning. At this decisive turning point, the period of my *tour d'horizon* ends. The lecture must remain unfinished. Too much has only been mentioned briefly and large areas have been passed over. The translations are part of these areas, foremost the Septuagint whose production spans about 300 years and constituted at the same time an 'attempt at exegesis' in Greek language. The same goes for the Aramaic Targums whose roots surely go back to the time before 70.

I also had to leave out the multiple 'exegetic' literature of Greek-speaking Judaism, which must not have come into being exclusively in Alexandria, but stems partly from Palestinian Jews, especially the great historical works of a Eupolemos, Josephus and Justus of Tiberias.

This literature, beginning with the Septuagint, which reaches its climax with Philo and Josephus and then breaks off, represents a unique spiritual-intellectual bridge to the culturally dominant Greek

29. *Y. Ta'an* 4.8, 68d.

30. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.

world. A religious-philosophical work of exegesis like Philo's is actually without analogy in the whole world of antiquity. Without the Septuagint and these Jewish-Hellenistic scripture interpretations Christianity would not exist.

We come to the end: in Tübingen, in 1949, the systematic theologian Gerhard Ebeling delivered his inaugural lecture entitled: 'Church History as Exegesis of the Holy Scriptures'.³¹ He wanted us to look critically at church history from the viewpoint of the exegesis pursued in the church. Not without good reason Lutheran theology understands the church to be a *creatura verbi divini*. One can say the same about Judaism in the time of the Second Temple: Judaism is the carrier as well as the fruit of the word of God which has become scripture. During that time the Jewish people continually debated about correct exegesis of God's word. When Genesis 32 describes Jacob's struggle with God, through which he received his new name Israel—'because you have fought with God and men'—one may relate this event to the spiritual-intellectual struggle during those 500 years from Ezra to the completion of the Old Testament canon. In this struggle which probably finds no parallel in earlier history, Judaism 'created' the holy scriptures, but it would be even more correct to say that God's word created Israel, and the holy scriptures Judaism. Both forms of exegesis, the 'nomological' and the 'inspired', are thereby present from the start, namely in the Torah and in the prophetic corpus, that is, in the tension between the salvific presence of God in the cult and in the observance of the law, and the expectation of the coming of God's reign. Both types of interpretation were fruitful in universal history. Early Christianity developed with the help of this 'inspired' eschatological exegesis, rabbinic Judaism preferred the nomological interpretation. In both religions this conflict is, of course, still evident today. In the church it becomes visible in the tension between a Pauline-Johannine and a Matthean Christianity, in Judaism in the tension between the institution of rabbis and mystical movements. This tension will remain as long as the two religions exist; in other words, we can only aspire to its disappearance as an eschatological goal because the tension is based in holy scripture itself.

31. *Sammlung gemeinverständliche Vorträge* 189 (Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1947) reprinted in G. Ebeling, *Gottes Wort und Tradition. Studien zur Hermeneutik der Konfessionen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 9-27.

THE QUMRAN HALAKHAH TEXT *Miqṣat Ma'asê*
Ha-Tôrâh (4QMMT) AND SADDUCEAN, ESSENE,
AND EARLY PHARISAIC TRADITION*

Otto Betz

The fragmentary text 4QMMT, not yet published officially, has stirred up considerable controversies and heated debates among some Qumran scholars.¹ Qumran studies are suffering in the present from striking theories which find their way into the public press and to television. Quite a few of them are related to messianic texts, which were discovered among the fragments of Qumran Cave 4 and hailed as forerunners of New Testament christology. 4QMMT did not receive this kind of public attention because it is a legal (halakhic) document, which demands serious scholarship beyond the somewhat limited field of Qumran studies. In connection with it, one has to consider the New Testament, Flavius Josephus, and rabbinic halakhah.

A. The Publication, Content, and Problems of 4QMMT

It is puzzling to see how 4QMMT made its way into the scholarly world. Its first 'publishers', E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, in 1984

* I am grateful to Professor McNamara who invited me to this conference and gave me the title for my lecture. My Tübingen colleagues Professor Dr M. Hengel and Dr B. Ego provided me with a preliminary text of 4QMMT and helped me with many suggestions as did Dr Z. Kapera, Cracow, at the Qumran Meeting at Mogilany, 1991.

1. See the articles in Z. Kapera (ed.), *Qumran Cave IV. Special Report on 4QMMT* (Krakow, 1991): P.R. Davies, 'Sadducees in the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 85-94; R. Eisenman, 'A Response to Schiffman on 4QMMT', pp. 95-105; J.C. Vanderkam, 'The Qumran Residents: Essenes not Sadducees!' pp. 105-13. M.O. Wise read a paper at Mogilany, 1991; '4QMMT and the Sadducees. A Look at a Recent Theory' (cf. *The Qumran Chronicle* 3 [1993], pp. 71-74). See postscript, p. 202 below.

merely disclosed some details of it,² despite the fact that it had been known to the editorial staff in Jerusalem since 1955.³ They whetted the appetite for the publication of the whole document by their assumption that 4QMMT must be a letter⁴ from the Teacher of Righteousness to the officiating high priest in Jerusalem, which means that it is a foundational text of Qumran history. Since the mid eighties Xerox copies of the whole letter have arrived in the hands of some scholars who did not belong to the 'Scrollery Team' around J. Strugnell and J.T. Milik.⁵ It was discussed at several Qumran Colloquia.⁶ I was present at two of them, held at Mogilany near Cracow, Poland in 1989 and 1991.⁷ The script of 4QMMT is quite peculiar; F.M. Cross dates it to the years 50–25 BCE. The *language* has elements of the mishnaic Hebrew, such as the frequent use of the participle and of the particle *š* instead of *'ašer*. The terminology can deviate from that of the Qumran scrolls: We find the verb *paraš* = to separate instead of *hibdîl* (*hibbadel*), *'aḥârît hâ'êt* besides *'aḥârît hayamîm*, *kên* = 'right' where we would expect *'emet*. Therefore N. Golb

2. 'An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran', in *Biblical Archeology Today* (ed. A. Biran; Jerusalem: IES, 1985), pp. 400-407; *Israel Museum Journal* 4 (1985), pp. 9-12. The disclosure was made at the International Congress on Biblical Archeology April 1984 in Jerusalem.

3. See the reports on the Qumran Fragments in *RB* 73 (1956), pp. 49-67 (M. Baillet and others) and P. Benoit, 'Editing the Manuscripts. Fragments from Qumran', *BA* 19 (1956), pp. 75-96.

4. There is no prescript preserved. The sender uses the 1st person plur.: 'We have written, we are thinking...' (B 2). The addressee is spoken of as 'you' ('your people'); the letter is written 'for your benefit' and 'for the benefit of your people' (C 28-30)

5. The text must have been made available by Strugnell and Qimron to a few of their friends.

6. See L.H. Schiffman, '*Miqṣat Ma'asè Ha-Torah* and the Temple-Scroll', in *The Texts of Qumran and the History of the Qumran Community* (Groningen Congress on the DSS. Program and Abstracts, Groningen University, 1989), pp. 13-14; *idem*, 'The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls Sect', in H. Shanks (ed.) *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1992), pp. 35ff., esp. p. 41.

7. Z. Kapera, the organizer of the Mogilany Qumran Colloquia, provided the members of the 1991 Colloquium with the 4QMMT text (with permission of E. Tov and E. Ulrich). Publication has been promised quite often by J. Strugnell; it is up to E. Qimron, who is still consulting scholars. See Z. Kapera 'How Not to Publish 4QMMT in 1955–1991', in *Qumran Cave Four 4QMMT* (Krakow, 1991), pp. 55ff.

believes that 4QMMT confirms his view, that the Qumran caves offer a collection of writings rescued from various libraries in Jerusalem, instead of being Essene productions only. This pluralistic view, which is supported by M. Wise, N. Golb's student and now colleague at Chicago, and by P.R. Davies (to some extent also by L.H. Schiffman⁸), seems to win more and more adherents since the publication of the fragments from Cave 4. However, glancing through the 4Q photographs published by R. Eisenman and J. Robinson, I cannot see anything that is basically different from the theology and ethics of the Essene texts from the Qumran caves known to us for many years.⁹

We have to look at the content of 4QMMT. The editors called it a 'Halakhic Letter', containing prescriptions (*halákhôth*) usually having to do with purity, whereby the sanctity of the temple and of the priests was a special concern.¹⁰ In the eyes of the author of this letter these so-called *halákhôth*, which are based on certain laws for purity in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, were not observed correctly by the Jerusalem priests. L.H. Schiffman, an expert on Qumran law and rabbinic halakhah, compared this controversial letter with the debate between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the Mishnah, especially *m. Yad.* 4.6-7. The judgment, pronounced by the author of 4QMMT, agrees with the strict position, held by the Sadducees of the Mishnah over against the more lenient view of the Pharisees, which must have been that of the high priest and his colleagues, criticized by

8. '... This hoard of manuscripts includes material representing a variety of Jewish groups as well as polemics against other Jewish groups. As a result of this new understanding, much more can be done with the scrolls' ('The Sadducean Origins', pp. 42-43. But see his criticism of N. Golb, pp. 45-46). In my view, it was quite dangerous to hold Golb's pluralistic view over against the Essene theory of the 'Scrollery-Team' that was familiar with the unpublished fragments from Cave 14.

9. Besides many biblical fragments, the world of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is represented there together with texts which agree with the mentality of the major scrolls and some wisdom literature, related to life in worldly business, similar to that in the parables of Jesus. But these texts are quite different from what we have in the Mishnah and from the spirit of the Sadducees of Josephus and the New Testament; the latter did not write much anyway. I think that Josephus and the New Testament give us very good guidelines for the understanding of the Jewish religious groups in the time of the Second Temple.

10. According to L.H. Schiffman, the letter contains 22 *halakhoth*. They do not appear in other Qumran texts with the exception of the 11Q Temple-Scroll.

the Teacher of Righteousness.¹¹ For Schiffman, 4QMMT revolutionizes the question of Qumran origins. It forces us to reconsider the entire hypothesis, that the Qumran community is identical with the Essenes as described by Philo, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder.¹² He holds that the collection of Qumran texts consists of biblical manuscripts, the sect's special texts plus a whole variety of other writings, collected by the people who lived at Qumran. The relationship of these other texts to the sect is unclear. They were apparently brought from elsewhere and held there, because they had some affinities with the beliefs of the Sectarians. These Sectarians were either not Essenes but Sadduceans, or else the Essene movement must be redefined as having emerged out of Sadducean beginnings.¹³

B. *Flavius Josephus on the Three Religious Groups in
Judaism and 4QMMT*

At a first glance 4QMMT and Schiffman's evaluation of it do not fit into the picture of the three religious parties in Judaism during the time of the Second Temple, which is based on the testimony of Flavius Josephus and supported by the New Testament. According to Josephus, the Sadducees and the Essenes are sharply opposed to each other, while the Pharisees stand between them, being closer to the Essenes.¹⁴ This becomes especially clear from the different attitude of these three groups toward the free will of humans and the role of fate (*heimarmene*), that is the decree of God (predestination). According to *Ant.* 13.171-73 (see *War* 2.162-66), the Essenes consider fate as the determining force; for nothing in human life occurs without the

11. L.H. Schiffman, 'Miqsat Ma'āsê ha-Tôrah and the Temple-Scroll', in F. García Martínez (ed.), *The Texts of Qumran and the History of the Qumran Community*, *RevQ* 14.3 (1990 No. 55), pp. 435-57; *idem*, 'The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect', *BA* 55 (1990), pp. 64-73; *idem*, 'The Significance of the Scrolls: The Second Generation of Scholars—Or is it the Third?' *Biblical Review* 6.5 (October 1990), pp. 19-27.

12. 'The Sadducean Origins', p. 42.

13. 'The Sadducean Origins', p. 40; 'I have been able to show, that the origins of the Qumran sect are Sadducean' (p. 41).

14. The *hăbûrôth* of the Pharisees have much in common with the organization and discipline of the Qumran community (C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* [Oxford, 1957] *passim*; R. Marcus, 'The Qumran Scrolls and Early Judaism', *Biblical Research* 1 [1956], pp. 25-40).

decision of fate (§ 172). The Sadducees hold the opposite view: they eliminate fate, for everything depends on humanity. We ourselves are 'the authors of the good and receive the lesser because of our own lack of prudence' (§ 173). This means that the authors of the Qumran scrolls with their outspoken doctrine of predestination (1QS 3.13-4.26) could not have been Sadducees, but must belong to the Essenes.

This becomes clear from another subject of Jewish belief. The Sadducees rejected the 'incorruptibility' of the soul, as Josephus puts it in his Hellenizing fashion; they could not think of a life after death, the resurrection of the body (*Ant.* 18.16; *War* 2.164, see Mk 12.18), and of a final judgment with punishment and reward. In contrast to this conservative attitude, hope for an eschatological future, the expectation of God's judgment, and a new life in glory was essential for the Qumran community (1QS 4.2-14) and for the Essenes of Josephus (*War* 2.154-58). Such a belief in an eschatological future is clearly stated in our text 4QMMT ('the end of days' C 15, 17, 22); it also characterized the piety of the Pharisees (*Ant.* 18.14) and the message of Jesus (Mk 12.18-27). In the eyes of the Rabbis, the denial of eschatology was a kind of atheism (see *Targ. Ps.-J.* on Gen. 4.7-8); Jesus reproached the Sadducees because they 'do not know the power of God' (Mk 12.24).

A third criterion is the study and diligent observance of the law. The polite author of 4QMMT lauds his addressee, the high priest in Jerusalem: 'We have seen that with you is prudence and knowledge of the Torah!' (C 29-30). But an important reason for this letter is to show that this knowledge of the Torah has to be improved; a better understanding and deeper insight into the book of Moses are required (C 10, 30-31). The truth of the Torah is with the sender of this letter; for the service in the temple must be corrected on several points, because the regulations of the law are wrongly interpreted. The Sadducees, as depicted by Josephus and in the New Testament, must have been less enthusiastic for the study of scriptures than were the Essenes and the Pharisees; they acknowledged the written law only (*Ant.* 13.297; 18.16). Jesus told them: 'You don't know the Scriptures!' (Mk 12.24). The Pharisees of Josephus differ from the other two groups because of their diligent observance of the law (*Ant.* 13.297; 17.41; *War* 2.162; *Life* § 38). Such a zeal for the study and fulfilment of the whole law is true for the Qumran community (1QS 6.6-7; 8.11-12). In their judgment, even, the Pharisees are *dôrêshê*

ḥalāqôth (4QpNah 1.7, see CD 1.18), that is, men who study the scriptures with the intention of finding easy solutions, in order to make the commandments of God fulfillable to everyone. In an indirect way, a similar criticism is raised by the author of 4QMMT: the priests in Jerusalem are not rigorous enough in their interpretation of the Mosaic laws of purity. As L.H. Schiffman has shown, the Hasmonean high priest and his colleagues in Jerusalem must have held a view which in the Mishnah is attributed to the Pharisees and rejected by the Sadducees. Josephus reports on disputes and big differences (*diaphorai megalai*) between the Sadducees and the Pharisees from the very beginning (*Ant.* 13.298). The Pharisees teach an oral law, the 'tradition of the Fathers' (see *Ab.* 1.1; *Mk* 7.3, 7), while the Sadducees reject it (*Ant.* 13.297; 20.199). The latter appear to be tough and harsh toward their fellowmen; the former practise generosity and mildness (*War.* 2.166; see *Ant.* 13.294). Therefore, the Pharisees enjoy popularity among the common people (*Ant.* 13.288, 297), while the Sadducees are followed by some members of the upper class only (*Ant.* 13.297). They 'accomplish practically nothing'; even if they assume some office, they have to submit to what the Pharisees say (*Ant.* 18.17). I think that the popularity of the Pharisees had to do with their hermeneutics too. In their oral tradition they could mitigate some of the harsh commandments of the Torah of Moses, especially of the criminal law.

4QMMT reflects a controversy, different from that reported by Josephus and confirmed by the New Testament and some passages in the Mishnah. It is not the dispute between the priestly Sadducees and the Pharisees, who consisted mainly of laymen. If we assume that this letter 4QMMT was actually written by the Teacher of Righteousness and sent to the high priest in Jerusalem, then we must speak of a controversy between priests. The Teacher of Righteousness was a priest (1QpHab 2.7-8), and his colleagues considered themselves as Zadoqites, the genuine priests according to Ezek. 44.15 (CD 3.21-4.4). His addressee, the high priest, belonged *ex officio* to the party which Josephus would call Sadducean. How then could it happen that their divergent judgment on some ritual issues reappears in the Mishnah, where it is reported as a dispute between the Sadducees, defending their rather strict and conservative view over against the more lenient Pharisees (*m. Yad.* 4.6-7) in a way similar to that of the

Teacher of Righteousness who admonishes the (Hasmonean) high priest whom we might consider a Sadducee?

C. The 'Halākhôth' of the Mishnah and the Ma'āse ha-Torah in 4QMMT

How can we handle this rather complicated situation, created by 4QMMT? Must we dismiss the important reports of Josephus on the three (four) Jewish religious groups in the time of the Second Temple as unreliable or even false? L.H. Schiffman does not want to do this.¹⁵ He also believes that the talmudic material on which he comments in his very helpful studies on 4QMMT is much better than some modern critics believe, precisely with regard to its historical reliability. I agree with him on these points. But how can we explain the difficulties and solve the problems which are created by L.H. Schiffman's view that 4QMMT must be a Sadducean document or that the so-called 'Essenes' originated from the Sadducees?

We must consider the method which was applied by L.H. Schiffman. I think that he has done a great job and given us important insights for the understanding of 4QMMT. But we have to examine this text, found in a Qumran cave, above all in the light of the other writings from Qumran, before we can compare it with the Mishnah. It is striking, of course, that quite a few controversial issues in 4QMMT reappear in the Mishnah. But there is the danger of superimposing on such an early text terms and ideas which are much later and alien to it. I believe that this danger was not avoided in the case of 4QMMT. Rabbinic terms were introduced for the interpretation of this text. On the one hand, they helped to clarify some of the most difficult passages; on the other hand, they obscured somewhat its historical 'setting in life'. These terms suggested the view that this document was a Sadducean letter, and led to the conclusion that the origin of the Essenes must be Sadducean. There are points of agreement between the Qumranites = Essenes and the Sadducees. But we should not overlook common views and terms in 4QMMT and the Qumran writings known to us, and in the doctrines, held by the Essenes of Josephus. Above all, 4QMMT's own language should be used for the description and critical evaluation of it.

15. Schiffman praises Josephus for his general accurateness ('The Sadducean Origins', p. 44).

This was correctly done, when the 'editors' chose the Hebrew words *Miqṣat Ma'āsê Ha-Torah* (4QMMT) as a title of this document. For this phrase is mentioned in the epilogue of our letter and can be considered as a summary of its content. The term *Miqṣat* (a part, a portion of [see B 46; Dan. 1.2; Neh. 7.70]) does not occur in the Qumran scrolls; but it is used in the rabbinic writings and seems to be colloquial in 4QMMT. In the Qumran scrolls we find the non-rabbinic phrase *ma'āsê ha-torah*, which forms the latter part of our title and corresponds to the famous Greek term *erga nomou*, 'works of the Law' in the Epistles of Paul (Rom. 2.15; 3.20, 28; Gal. 2.16; 3.2, 10). *ma'āsê ha-torah* designates the controversial items in 4QMMT and is characteristic for Qumran ethics. However, it was interpreted and replaced by editors and subsequent commentators such as L.H. Schiffman by the rabbinic expression *halakhoth*: 4QMMT was called a 'Halakhic Letter', consisting of 22 *halakhoth*. Such a thematic description leads us into a wrong direction. For the author of 4QMMT does not present *halakhoth* in the rabbinic sense, which means rules of an oral law. These rules were believed to have been given as a necessary addition to the written law at Mount Sinai; however, in some cases they can be quite independent from it. The Qumranites seem to have ridiculed the term *halākhôth* when they called the Pharisees *dôrêshê ḥalāqôth*: to them the *halākhôth* appeared to be *ḥalāqôth* ('smooth things') which prevented people from really 'doing' the Torah ('*asâh ha-tôrah*).

The *ma'āsê ha-torah* are not 'precepts' of an oral law. They rather indicate the way in which the written commandments of Moses must be practised according to the judgment of the writers of 4QMMT; see the phrase *mi[ḡṣat dibêrê] ha-ma'āsîm shâ'anaḥnû ḥôshêbîm* (B 1-2). We must remember that according to 1QS 6.14 a man who is willing to join the Qumran community must be examined in his 'understanding and works'. After one year of probation in the discipline of the Union (Yaḥad), he is presented to the 'Many', the full members, who inquire him about his 'matters',¹⁶ 'according to his understanding and his works in the law' (*lêphî sikhîlô uma'asâw ba-tôrâh* 1QS 6.18). *sekhâl* and *ma'āsîm* refer to the theoretical understanding and the practice of the law; both are dependent on the will of God as revealed in the scriptures (see CD 3.14-15). The addressee of

16. See 4QMMT B 1-2: *dêbārênû ba-tôrâh*.

4QMMT has indeed prudence and knowledge of the law (C 29-30). But he needs to consider *miqṣat ma'āsê ha-torah*, which means the exact way by which some of the precepts of the law should be done. He must increase his insight (*sekhâl*) in the true meaning of the commandments of God.

Similarly, people should consider the *ma'āsê 'el*, the way God is accustomed to act in history (CD 1.1ff; 2.14; 13.7-8). This is recommended in 4QMMT C 18-22. The deeds of God are revealed in the scripture, too. The Bible reports how in the history of ancient Israel the blessings and curses of God were realized. Moreover, one has to remember the kings of Israel (C 24) and to consider their deeds (*ma'āsêhimmah*). One must remember David and his life, which was blessed by God (C 27-28), and in contrast to it the fate and the downfall of the kings who followed (C 19-20).

There was no doctrine of a dual Torah at Qumran; at this point we have an agreement with the Sadducees. Quite different from them is the Qumran concern, that people have to search in the written law and to be open for new discoveries and revelations of the hidden things in the Torah. In 4QMMT the principle of *sola scriptura*, of the sole authority of the written law, becomes quite evident: normative is 'what is written (*kātûb*) in the Book of Moses' (C 6.11, 12). And there is much confidence in the truth of one's own exegesis; the opening declarations: 'We hold...' (*'ānaḥnû ḥôshēbîm* B 29.36), 'we say...' (*'ānaḥnû 'ōmērîm* B 55) are written with an authority, which reminds us of the phrase of Jesus used in the Sermon on the Mount: 'I say unto you' (Mt. 5.22ff.).

The understanding of scripture in 4QMMT is quite similar to that in the Manual of Discipline (1QS) and the Zadoqite Fragments (CD). For the task of revering the law and searching in it is emphasized by the writer (see 4QMMT C 10-34). At the beginning of the parenetic section C 10-34 the addressee is admonished 'to understand (*bîn*) the Book of Moses and the words of the prophets, David [i.e. the Psalms], and the Book of Chronicles' (C 10f.). This is a very early description of the canon. One may compare it with Lk. 24.44 where 'the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms' are mentioned; there, too, the necessity of their correct understanding (*synienai* = *bîn* Lk. 24.45) is mentioned. We do not find such a comprehensive designation of the sacred scriptures in the other Qumran texts; there is emphasis on the law which God has commanded through Moses and which has been

revealed by the prophets (1QS 8.15-16). Moreover, the great amount of biblical fragments in Cave 4 confirms 4QMMT description of the canon. People have to respect (lit. 'fear') the Torah (C 25) for it is the law of God (*tôrat 'el B1*). Above all, one has to search in it (*biqqêsh ha-tôrâh C 25*); this means 'to seek God' (C 30). According to 1QS 1.1-2 the greatest commandment is 'to seek God with the whole heart and with the whole soul'; this means 'to seek God in His commandments' and 'to know the hidden things (*nistârôth*) in the Law' (1QS 5.11). The *miqšat ma'ăšê ha-tôrâh*, presented in 4QMMT, are the result of such a concentrated study in the book of Moses. The well-being (*tob*) of Israel (C 29) and the salvation of humanity, their justification in the judgment of God (C 33), depend on the correct understanding and practice of the law. The success of humanity's efforts to unveil the true meaning of the scriptures will become manifest in the eschatological future: 'So that you may rejoice at the end of time, as you find that some of our words are true' (C 32). In CD 6.10-11 we find a similar expectation: 'There will rise a man who teaches righteousness at the end of days'. The terminology of 4QMMT concerning the Torah can sometimes differ from that of the other Qumran scrolls: for searching we have *biqqêsh* instead of *dârash*; but the former occurs in 1QS 5.11, too. The attitude toward the Torah can be expressed by the verbs *yāre* = to fear (C 25) and *bîn* = to understand (C 10) for *sêkhâl*; but the love for God's law is the same.

D. The Case of the *Ṭēbûl Yôm* and the Concern for Purity in 4QMMT

According to L.H. Schiffman, G. Blidstein and others, the case of the *ṭēbûl yôm* is dealt with in 4QMMT B 13.17, 59-67. This technical term does not appear in our letter; it is taken from the Mishnah Tractate *Ṭēbûl Yôm*.¹⁷ It designates the man 'who has immersed himself during the day' (see *b. Yeb.* 74b), because he had become unclean and therefore cleansed himself through a ritual bath before sunset. This ceremony was important for a priest, because the status of impurity prevented him from partaking of the sacred food, the *ṭērûmâh*. The biblical prescription for the *ṭēbûl yôm* is Numbers 19, the pericope of the red heifer: the priests who slaughtered and burned

17. C. Albeck, *Shishshah Sidre Mishnah, Seder Taharoth, Tractate Ṭēbûl Yôm*, pp. 455-69. The case is discussed on, pp. 457-58.

the heifer, who collected the ashes and sprinkled the water of purification, became unclean through this ritual and therefore had to immerse themselves and to wash their garments. Afterwards they could return to the camp of the Israelites, but remained unclean until sunset (Num. 19.7-10; see Lev. 11.32). We have similar regulations in the Temple Scroll (11QMiqd 45.7-10) and in the War Scroll (1QM 7.5.); a man who became unclean by a pollution during the night was forbidden to join the camp of the holy warriors (see Deut. 23.11) or to enter the sanctuary (11QMiqd 45.7-8). According to the Temple Scroll, the status of uncleanness lasted for three days instead of only one in Deut. 23.11-12. Moreover, immersion was not sufficient; the washing of the garments was required too (45.8-9). The model for this new regulation was Israel's preparation for the coming of the Lord at Mount Sinai (Exod. 19.10-14). We also find that the prescription for the lepers are stricter in 11QMiqd and in 4QMMT than in the Mishnah. The latter excludes them from holy places (*m. Kel.* 1.7); according to 4QMMT B 71-72; 11QMiqd 45.17-18; 46.16-17; 48.14-15 they are forbidden to enter the holy city and have to dwell at a place three miles east of it.

In a similar way 4QMMT is more severe in the case of the *ṭēbûl yôm* than the Mishnah. Our letter introduces its prescription with the noun *ṭahārâh* (ritual purity, B 13). This means, that the author is mainly concerned about the purity of the red heifer and the effectiveness of the water sprinkling (B 13.16). This purity, which renders unclean those who had to produce the ashes, is very strong. That is why the priests who had to slaughter and to burn the heifer and to collect its ashes will be pure at sunset, not before that (B 15). The difference between *ṭahôr* and *ṭamē'* is strongly emphasized—as in 1QS 3.4-9—: 'The pure should sprinkle upon the unclean' (B 16; see Num. 19.19). But the Tractate *Ṭēbûl Yôm* in the Mishnah is mainly interested in determining the degree of impurity of the *Ṭēbûl Yôm* during the somewhat awkward period between his immersion and sunset, and especially in the possible damage he could do by touching holy things such as *ṭērûmâh* or *ḥallôth*. I therefore think that one should not introduce the technical term *ṭēbûl yôm* into 4QMMT.

The author of 4QMMT makes it very clear that the neglect or incorrect usage of the laws of purity by the priests is sinful and brings guilt upon Israel: 'the priests ought to beware in this matter, so that the [sons of Aaron] do not cause the people to bear guilt!' (B 12.17

(?), 26-27). In the Mishnah, too, we find criticism of the priests, even of the high priest, because of their handling the *ṭēbûl yôm*. We have to turn to the Tractate *Parah* (3.7-8). There, however, the Sadducees, represented by the high priest, are blamed for their rigorism. They considered the *ṭēbûl yôm* unclean till evening, exactly as in 4QMMT B 15. The *Hakhāmîm*, however, declared him fit for performing the ceremony right after his immersion.¹⁸

The passage Num. 19.7-10 was interpreted in a different way: the Pharisees of the Mishnah related the term, *'ish ṭahôr* (Num. 19.9) to the *ṭēbûl yôm* in Num. 19.7 and concluded: he is clean after immersion (*m. Par.* 3.7). 4QMMT and the Sadducees of the Mishnah were more correct than the *Hakhāmîm* of the Pharisees. For the stereotyped decision at the end of Num. 19.7 and 19.8 is quite clear: 'unclean (*ṭāmē'*) is (the priest) till evening'; see Targum Onqelos; *Wihê mēsā'âb kahāna* 'ad ramshā' (Lev. 11.24, 25, 32). The meaning is purposely changed in Pseudo-Jonathan, where the phrase *qōddōm ṭibûlēh* ('before his immersion') is inserted (Num. 19.7, 8, 10); this means that the ritual bath renders the *ṭēbûl yôm* pure right away.¹⁹

4QMMT is quite consistent with regard to purity and with the application of the formula 'unclean till the evening' (Lev 11.24, 25, 32). The case of the leper who was healed is dealt with in an analogous way (B 64-72, see Lev. 14.7-9). The ceremony of his ritual purification lasts seven days; but he cannot eat from the holy food 'until the sun sets on the eighth day' (B 72). Lev. 14.9 does not say this explicitly; however, the rite of purification is continued by sacrifices on the eighth day (Lev. 14.10-20).

E. 4QMMT, the Temple Scroll (11QMiqdash), and the Longer
Version of the Zadokite Fragments (CD) according to
some Fragments from Cave IV

We saw that 4QMMT and the Temple Scroll are in basic agreement on the issue of the *ṭēbûl yôm*. According to L.H. Schiffman, the same holds true for other controversial themes (= *ma'āsê ha-tôrah*), brought forth in 4QMMT: (a) the *Shēlāmîm* sacrifices must be eaten on the day when they are offered (B 9-12); (b) the skins of cattle

18. See Albeck, *Shishshah Sidre*, pp. 457-58.

19. The Mishnah tells us how the 'Elders of Israel' enacted their more lenient halakhah forcefully over against the priests and even the high priest (*m. Par.* 3.7).

which are slaughtered outside of the temple are considered to be unclean (B 18-22; 11QMiqd 47.11-12); (c) to slaughter pregnant animals is prohibited (B 36-38: see Lev. 22.28; Deut. 22.6-7); (d) the fruits, which a tree has produced in the fourth year, should go to the priest (B 63). Moreover, in 4QMMT B 27-34 and 11QMiqd 52.13-16 (21) the issue of slaughtering outside the temple is dealt with in the same way, but differently from the mishnaic halakhah. The rabbis allowed profane slaughtering outside of the temple according to Deut. 12.20ff. Our letter, however, quotes from Lev. 17.13ff.: a slaughtered animal must be brought to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting as a sacrifice. In 4QMMT and 11QMiqd these two biblical commandments are combined with the result, that the animals within a three days distance from Jerusalem are sacred and must be slaughtered in the temple; outside of it profane slaughtering is allowed.

One may contend, of course, that 11QMiqdash is much different from the other Qumran texts, because they do not deal with the temple and its sacrifices; consequently, it must be a non-Essene document. Supporting this view, L.H. Schiffman²⁰ finds quite a few discrepancies in the Temple Scroll, especially over against the Zadokite Fragments (CD).²¹ But I believe that Y. Yadin, the editor of 11QMiqdash, was right in attributing this document to the Essenes. Moreover, he identified it with the *Sephâr Hä-Hagû* (mentioned in CD 10.4-6; 13.2-3; 14.6-8²²). I like to support Yadin's assumption from hitherto unknown texts. They reveal the close connection between (a) CD and 4QMMT and (b) CD and the Temple Scroll. B.Z. Wacholder has recently reconstructed and published some important fragments from Cave 4, belonging to CD and offering a longer and more original version of its text, preserved at the Cairo Genizah. In CD De fragm. 9.2.12-18 a list of people is given who must be considered as being defiled and rejected by God. A similar list we find in 4QMMT B 39: the Ammonite and Moabite, the bastard and the eunuch, are forbidden to enter the sanctuary (see also 4QFlor 1.4; 1QM 7.5-6; 1QS a 2.3-9); in 4QMMT B 49-54 the blind and the deaf are excluded. In

20. See his article 'The Sadducean Origin', pp. 44-45. According to him, the author of 11QT (Miqdash) used older Sadducean sources.

21. See his article 'Miḡsat Ma'āsê Ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll'.

22. Y. Yadin, *Megillath Ha-Miqdash* (Jerusalem, 1977), I, pp. 301-302, 304-305. See B.Z. Wacholder and M. Abegg, 'A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls', Fasc. I (Washington, 1991), p. 41.

Wacholder's CD version this list is enlarged in a remarkable way. We have there a strange mixture of physical defects and moral sins. First are mentioned those who suffer from leprosy or from a flux (1.12). Together with them we find people who rebel against men anointed with the holy spirit and against the mouth of God; they are followed by those who slaughter cattle and other animals in a forbidden way (1.15). Most remarkable is the man who reveals the secret of his people to the Gentiles or utters a curse against it (1.13). This crime of high treason, not known in the Bible, and its punishment by crucifixion is dealt with explicitly in the Temple Scroll and only there (11QMiqd 62.7-12, based upon Deut. 21.22-23; but see 4QpNah I 7-8 and Josephus *Ant.* 13.380). This means that we have a remarkable connection between the Temple Scroll and the original version of the Zadokite Fragments. Moreover, this Qumran law on high treason can hardly come from the era of Esra; it rather fits the time of Alexander Jannaeus (see 4QpNah I 7-8).

In 4QMMT B 40-49 restrictions of sexual intercourse are mentioned in order to maintain purity. In the larger text of CD (De fragm. 9.2.16-17; De fragm. 9.1.16-18) we have the prohibition of intercourse on a certain day (sabbath? Yom Kippur?); according to CD 12.1-2 it is not allowed in the holy city. Moreover, 4QMMT B 80-82 warns against certain marriages of the priests. In CD 4.15-18 the priests of Jerusalem are accused of being caught in three nets of Belial: adultery (forbidden marriages), wealth, and the pollution of the sanctuary.

According to 4QMMT B 5 the corn and the sacrifice of the Gentiles should not be admitted to the temple. In 4QFlorilegium an allergy against the admittance of Gentiles to the sanctuary is to be felt: the foreigner and the proselyte are excluded from the living temple of the Qumran community (I 4); Ezek. 44.6-9 stands in the background. The rabbis of the Mishnah are more lenient,²³ and quite different is the attitude of the apostles in Acts 15.16-17: The spiritual house of God, the eschatological community, must be built of Jews and Gentiles

23. See L.H. Schiffman, 'Legislation concerning relations with Non-Jews in the Zadokite Fragments and in Tannaitic Literature' *RevQ* 41 (1982), pp. 379ff. As in his articles on 4QMMT, Schiffman gives an excellent comparison of Qumran regulations with rabbinic halakhah. As in 4QMMT the rules in CD are stricter than those of the Chakhamim. See also G. Blidstein, '4QFlorilegium and Rabbinic Sources on Bastard and Proselyte', *RevQ* 8 (1974), pp. 431-35.

alike. Scriptural proof for this decision is found in Amos 9.11-12, which is used quite differently in CD 7.13-20.

In the Qumran texts, especially in 4QMMT and in the Temple Scroll, we see a strong concern for the purity of the temple and an impressive praise for the holy city Jerusalem. This may come as a surprise. According to 1QpHab 12.7-9 the Wicked Priest has done works of abomination in this city and rendered the sanctuary of God unclean; in 4Q179 we hear lamentations over Jerusalem. But such a criticism of the temporary pollution does not diminish the general religious significance of the chosen city. The Temple Scroll is very elaborate on the sanctity of the land and of Jerusalem.²⁴ The Psalm 11QPs^aZion expresses love and hope, blessings and prayer-wishes for Zion. According to the War Scroll, the 'wilderness of Jerusalem' will become the gathering-place of the 'Children of Light', who return from their captivity in 'the wilderness of the nations' (1.3). And the 'Community of Jerusalem' will be the goal and home for those returning in peace after the final war (1QM 3.11). Jerusalem is the 'City of the Temple' (CD 12.1). This means that the holiness of the temple is extended to some degree to the city and to the people of Israel. The uniqueness of Jerusalem is emphasized in 4QMMT B 60-62. It is a holy camp (1.60); God has chosen it from all the tribes of Israel and made it the head of their camps (1.61). The designation 'holy camp' for Jerusalem betrays the influence of the wilderness—and Sinai tradition, which have strongly modelled the life of the Qumran Community: Israel dwelt in camps at Mount Sinai and sanctified itself before the coming of God (Exod. 19.1-2, 10-14). According to 4QMMT B 75f Israel is holy. They are the members of a holy congregation and their priests have a special status of purity (B 79-82); there should be no mating (*hit'ārēb*) of the two species, priests and laymen.

24. The outer court of the temple is for the ritually clean Israelites, both men and women, the next for men only. More sacred is the area of the altar, reserved for the priests, then a place of service in the temple-house (*hēkhāl*), and the Holy of Holies. For the holiness of Jerusalem see the 4Q Aramaic Tobit fragment Tb a^a 15 II 8 to Tob. 13.9: *Jerushalajim qiriat qudshā*.

F. *The Holy Life and the Separation from the Unclean World*
(4QMMT and 1QS)

The purpose of 4QMMT, addressed to the high priest in Jerusalem, was the deep-felt obligation to preserve the holiness of Jerusalem and of the people of Israel. It was enforced by the growing tendency of the writer and his adherents, to separate themselves from the unclean people and to establish a special center of levitical purity, priestly sanctity, and atoning power. This dedication to a life of holiness we find in all Qumran texts and in the description of the Essenes by Josephus and by Philo. In my opinion, the Sinai-tradition has encouraged the sect to transfer the atoning function of the temple-cult to their own community so that its lay-members became a holy house of God and its priests formed the Holy of Holies. There was no temple at Mount Sinai, but the Israelites and the priests (Exod. 19.21-25) were promised to become a holy people and a kingdom of priests (Exod. 19.5-6). Another source for the priestly aspirations of the Qumran Community was the temple program of Ezekiel (chs. 40-48).

According to the major Qumran Scrolls the zeal for a holy life was increased by the belief in the invisible presence of the angels, the holy ones *kat'exochen* and by the expectation of the impending doom, the coming judgment of God. Josephus mentions the important role of the angels for the doctrine of the Essenes (*War* 2.142). According to the War Scroll, the angels of God are the co-warriors of the Children of Light. The worship of the angels in heaven is contemplated and followed up by the saints at Qumran; this we learn from the *Shiroth Ha-Shabbat*, discovered in Cave 4. But the Qumran doctrine of the angels is marked by a sharp dualism: there are the good angels being servants of God and protectors of the pious; in opposition to them are the hosts of demons under the leadership of Belial (1QS 3.13-4.26; 1QM 13.2-6). The antagonism of God versus Belial will be ended by the judgment of God and by the victory of Michael with his angelic hosts over Belial, the prince of darkness, and his lot (1QS 3.16; 4.19; 1QM 17.6).

In 4QMMT we find all these elements of Essene belief, especially in the last section of the Letter (C). However, these theologumena are not yet elaborated as in the major scrolls. In C 30-31 the addressee is admonished to ask God, that he will make firm and straight his counsel and remove the 'evil plans and counsel of Belial' from him

(see 1QH 6.21-22; 1QS 3.21-4.8). Having followed such an advice 'you may rejoice at the end of time'. In 4QMMT strong eschatological convictions are expressed: at the end the blessings and curses in the book of Moses will be fully realized. The zeal for a holy life, the belief in angels, and the expectation of the coming judgment worked out the decision to separate themselves from the ordinary people and to make an exodus out of the unclean world. Separatism and sectarian tendencies become visible in 4QMMT C 7: '(you know that) we have separated from the mass of people (*parashnu mērob ha'am*) and refused from becoming intermingled with these things' (*nimnē'u mēhit'arēb bidēbarim hā'ellāh*). The authors of 4QMMT claim to be the true 'Pharisees', that is, men who are separated from evil, as they are the true Sadducees, i.e. Zadoqites, the genuine Sons of Šadôq. What exactly does the verb *pāraš* mean in our letter? Does it suggest a kind of spiritual exclusiveness or a ritual peculiarity, or must we reckon with a real exodus from the world of civilization and a withdrawal into the wilderness? In 1QS 5.1-2 those who volunteer for repentance have 'to separate themselves (*hibbadēl*) from the congregation of the men of perversion'; this means to leave their dwelling-place and to go to the wilderness (1QS 8.13-14).

G. *The Zadoqite-Sadducean Question in the Light of 4QMMT*

It is interesting, that in 1QS 5.1-2 separation and sectarianism are accomplished under the leadership of the Zadoqites, the 'Bene Šadôq, the priests', who keep the covenant (1QS 5.8). In CD 3.21-4.4 the Bene Šadôq are those 'who repented in Israel (*šābē Jisra'el*) and went out of the Land of Judah'. But there is an inner exodus also: 'The repentant of Israel deviated from the way of the people' (CD 19.29), see 4QMMT C 7: 'We have separated from the mass of the people'. Repentance means to turn away from evil (1QS 5.1) and to return to the law (1QS 5.8).

Josephus confirms the special concern of the Essenes for purity and the peculiar performance of their holy service, which means their separatistic tendency. In *Ant.* 18.19 he mentions their different way of practising rites of sanctification (*diaphorotēs hagneiōn*). The beginnings and the motif of this development can be discovered in 4QMMT. The Greek term *hagneia* is the equivalent of Hebrew

ta-hārāh, which stands for the act and the status of purity in 4QMMT B 3.13.54.

A second sectarian feature of the Essenes and the Qumran writings is their emphasis on the sanctity of the sabbath: They are 'very different from all the other Jews with regard to keeping the sabbath free from any activities' (*War* 2.147). This is confirmed by the long list of sabbath rules in CD 10.14–21.1. The sabbath is mentioned at the beginning of 4QMMT, where the solar-lunar calendar is introduced. The special calendar for the sabbath days and the feasts seems to be the first and therefore very important issue in 4QMMT. In A 1-2 the completion of the solar year with its 364 days is mentioned.²⁵ This solar-lunar calendar was characteristic for the Qumran Community. In the scholarly debate on 4QMMT and other new fragments from Cave 4 sometimes the suggestion is made that other Jewish groups of that period may have used the solar-lunar calendar too. Such a possibility is explicitly denied. In CD 3.14-15 we are told that God has revealed to those who kept his commandments 'hidden things in which all Israel went astray, namely: His holy sabbath-days and the [feast-] times of his glory, his righteous testimonies and the ways of his truth and the wishes of his will which man shall do'. Among the unpublished fragments from Cave 4 we have quite a few which deal with this special calendar. We also find it in the book of *Jubilees*, in 1 *Enoch*, and in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*; of these writings we have fragments in Cave 4.

H. *Historical Conclusions: The Sender and the Addressee of 4QMMT*

When compared with the Qumran writings, 4QMMT is unique with regard to its literary form, style, and terminology. It is the only letter that has been found in the Qumran caves. This uniqueness is to some extent true for the content of this letter also, because it deals with the tasks of the Jerusalem priests and their temple-service; this was not the business of the Qumran community. The peculiar form and content of 4QMMT may perhaps explain the deviations with regard to terminology, style, and attitude toward the addressee from the other

25. *Wēshālēmah ha-shanah*. After the Shabbat, that falls on the 28th of the 12th month, a first day ('*achad*) and the second (*ha-shēnī*) 'come up and a third day has to be added'. There are 31 days in the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th month.

Qumran texts. The author of such an official letter cannot be expected to use simply the somewhat esoteric language—if it was fully developed at his time—of the Dead Sea Scrolls. On the other hand, 4QMMT has so many similarities with the special theology and ethics of the Qumran community and the Essenes of Flavius Josephus, that I am strongly inclined to attribute this document to the Teacher of Righteousness. The first ‘editors’ rightly suggested that its author must have been a leading Qumran figure—he speaks in the first person plural—most probably their great teacher and reformer. They pointed to an interesting passage in 4Q171, the Peshar on Ps. 37. In 4.7-10 the verse Ps. 37.32-33: ‘The wicked seeks to kill the righteous’ is referred to the ‘Wicked Priest’, ‘who tried to kill him (*lahămîṭô*), because...he has sent to him...’ (*shālah’ēlāw*). With the aid of 4QMMT one may restore the lacunae in 4Q171.4.7-10 in the following way: ‘who tried to kill him on account of the letter (*bigēlal hā-’iggeret*) and the law (*ha-tôrah*) which he sent to him...And God paid him [i.e. to the ‘Wicked Priest’] his recompense by giving him into the hands of violent Gentiles (*’ārisê goyyîm*) to execute (judgment) upon him’. The Teacher of Righteousness appears in the context of this passage (4Q171.3.15-16). He must be the sender of the letter and the man whom the ‘Wicked Priest’ tried to kill. The law, mentioned here, could have been the *Sepher Hā-Hagu*, i.e. the Temple Scroll (see 11QMiqd 56.4; 59.9; CD 5.2-3, 5; Deut. 31.26). The immoderate and even furious reaction of the Jerusalem high priest to such a polite letter and the harmonized law of 11QMiqdash may have contributed to the antagonism of the Qumran community against the Jerusalem priests: the title *kohen ha-r’ôsh*, ‘high priest’, was turned into the derogatory designation *kohen ha-râsha*, ‘Wicked Priest’. Moreover, the separation concerning matters of purity and the withdrawal from the official service in the temple, may have been completed by the exodus to the Land of Damascus and finally by the withdrawal to the desert. Josephus gives an interesting parallel to the statement 4QMMT C 7: ‘we have separated (*parašnu*) from the mass of people’ in his report on the Essenes: ‘They excluded themselves (*eirgomenoi*) from the holy place, offering the sacrifices by themselves’ (*Ant.* 18.18-19). After the intervention of the ‘Wicked Priest’ the exodus from Judea may have followed; the separation from the temple was completed by the migration to the Land of Damascus and by the life in the desert.

Who was the addressee, the recipient of this letter? He certainly

belonged to the leaders among the 'Sons of Aaron' (B 15-16). For he is held to be responsible for the purity of the temple and for the exclusion of unclean animals and persons (B 39-74), for the correct handling of the sacrifices (B 9-38) and for the holiness of the priesthood (B 79-C 5). His well-being and that of Israel are interdependent (C 29.33-34); Israel is called 'your people' (C 29). Those data can be related best to the high priest in Jerusalem. One may find some allusions to the office of the king of Israel. In C 19-20 the kings of ancient Israel are held up as examples to be followed: 'Remember the kings of Israel and consider their deeds!' (C 24); 'Remember David, that he was a man of honour!' (C 27). One may conclude that a Hasmonean priest king could be addressed; Alexander Jannaeus = Jehonathan (103-76 BC) appears to be the first choice. He is meant in 4QNahum, because there Demetrios, the king of Javan (Syria) and opponent of Alexander, is mentioned (1.2). Alexander must be the 'Lion of Wrath' who hung up men alive on the tree (1.6-8). These victims of the 'Lion's' wrath belonged to the 'Seekers for Smooth Things', that is, the Pharisees, who had supported the campaign of Demetrius and were crucified by Alexander for the crime of high treason.

The new text 4Q448, published recently (4Q photo nr.79 and 1080), contains a prayer with the name and the title of this Hasmonean priest-king: 'To Jehonathan the king and the whole assembly of your people Israel which is in the four winds of heaven: To all of them may be peace!' The editors hold that 4Q448 is 'the only Qumran document published until now whose author's world view is incompatible with that of the sect's members who opposed the Hasmoneans';²⁶ they are inclined to the possibility that some alien documents were hidden in the Qumran caves. I do not think that this conclusion must be drawn. Of course, the Essenes of Qumran were opposed to Alexander Jannai = Jehonathan, whom they called 'Lion of Wrath'. But they also disliked the Pharisees being the 'Seekers for Smooth Things', that is, the lenient interpreters of the law and the commandments of ritual purity. And they agreed with the political interpretation of the commandment Deut. 21.22-23: betraying the people of God to a foreign nation or uttering curses against it must be punished by hanging the criminal on a tree, that is by crucifixion (see the interpretation of Deut. 21.22-23 in 11QMiqd 64.7-12). Y. Yadin believed that the Qumran Essenes

26. E. and Ch. Eshel, A. Jardeni, 'Prayer for the Shalom of King Jehonathan and his Kingship' (Hebrew) *Tarbiz* 60.3 (1992), pp. 295-327.

may have approved Jehonathan's action against the 800 rebelling Pharisees, who were crucified for the crime of high treason.²⁷ His assumption is confirmed by the hitherto unpublished fragment CD D e II. That is why the Qumran Essenes could have prayed for the *shālôm* of this king, especially in the beginning of his rule. Later on, however, Jehonathan–Jannaeus became a 'Wicked Priest'. Such a change of attitude of the Essenes toward a king of Israel is told by Josephus (*Ant.* 15.373-379). When the Essene prophet Manaemus–Menachem saw the young Herod as a schoolboy, he greeted him as the future king of the Jews (§ 373). But he also predicted that Herod during his rule would forget the cardinal virtues of a king, such as love for justice, piety toward God, and mildness to the citizens (§ 375-376). However, if 4QMMT was actually written in the beginning of Essene history, its recipient cannot be Jehonathan–Jannaeus; we must rather think of Jonathan, the brother of Judas the Maccabee and first high priest after the Interim 159–152 BC.

In a recent article 'The Two Wicked Priests in the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk', I. Tantlewski (St Petersburg) holds that the data on the 'Wicked Priest' in 1QpHab must refer to *two Hasmonean rulers*: to Jonathan, the first high priest (152–143 BCE) and to Jehonathan–Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).

Jonathan is described in 1QpHab 1.13–11.8 as a man of the past: 'He was called in the name of Truth at the beginning of his office. But when he became ruler in Israel, his heart got haughty, he forsook God and betrayed the commandments because of wealth' (8.8-13). He persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness, appeared on the Day of Atonement at the place of his exile (Damascus) in order to swallow him and his community (11.4-8; see 5.9-10; 9.11-12). Because of this sin against the Teacher he was given into the hands of his enemies who mistreated him by blows of annihilation (9.1-2, 9-12). This description of the fate of the 'Wicked Priest', predicted by the prophet Habakkuk, is in agreement with the end of Jonathan the Maccabee as reported in 1 Macc. 12.46 and by Josephus (*Ant.* 13.191–193.209): Jonathan was caught, punished, and killed by the Syrian Tryphon. However, in 1QpHab 11.8-15, 11.17–12.10 a different 'Wicked Priest' must be spoken of. He is introduced by the words: 'You, too' (Hab. 2.16; 1QpHab 11.9). His sins are described in the past tense: his

27. *Megillath Ha-Miqdash* I, p. 289; II, pp. 203-205. Wacholder and Abegg, 'Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls', p. 41.

shame surpassed his glory, he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart, and he walked in the ways of drunkenness (11.12-14). But the divine punishment upon him is foretold as an event in the future: 'The cup of the wrath of God will swallow him up' (11.15); God will judge him to annihilation, because he planned to extinguish the poor (12.5-6). Tantlewski identifies this second 'Wicked Priest' with Alexander Jannaeus; the Peshet of Habakkuk must have been written during his rule.

Tantlewski even thinks that there was a second 'Teacher of Righteousness' who lived during the time of Alexander Jannaeus; he can be identified with Judah the Essene, mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* 13.311-313). The first Teacher of Righteousness could have been Şadoq, a disciple of Antigonos from Socho, who together with Boethos defected from his master (*ARN* 5.2). He lived in the middle of the second century BCE. God had raised him that he should lead the movement of repentant people (CD 1.11). Şadoq proclaimed the message of the coming of God's judgment (1QpHab 2.5-10); he opened the eyes of the penitent Israelites (CD 1.9-12) to the mysteries of the law and the prophets. He became the opponent of Jonathan the high priest. It is most likely that he was the author of 4QMMT and Jonathan the recipient of this letter. For under the rule of Jonathan Josephus mentions the three religious parties of the Jews, including the Essenes, for the first time (*Ant.* 171-173).

Jonathan 'was called in the name of Truth at the beginning of his office' (1QpHab 8.8). But he had the difficult task of restoring the cult in the temple, after a period of acute Hellenization in Jerusalem; he also had to cooperate with the Syrians. He, therefore, may have made compromises; this was criticized as being dangerous and deviating from the correct interpretation of the law by the Şadoqites and their movement of repentance. Our letter 4QMMT is a witness to such criticism, which was rejected by the high priest. At this time the conflict between the two priestly groups may have arisen: the orthodox Şadoqites refused to participate in the temple cult. They developed into the third Jewish party of Josephus, which he and Philo called the 'Essenes', the pious ones different from the 'Sadducees', represented by the high priest and the priestly aristocracy in Jerusalem.

These Essenes with their centre at Qumran originated from priests and wanted to live according to priestly ideals in a communal life

with laymen. They claimed to be the true 'Bĕnê Şadoq'. Their ancestor and great example was 'Şadoq', the priest of David (2 Sam. 15.24-37; 1 Kgs 1.22-39; 2.35); according to CD 5.4-5 this Şadoq had revealed the book of the Law to his king. That is why the priests at Qumran were called 'Bĕnê Şadoq' (1QS 5.2, 9; 1QS a 1.2). But the Dead Sea Scrolls are very careful to distinguish them from the ordinary priests and especially from this serving at the temple in Jerusalem. For the 'Bĕnê Şadoq' are those who kept the covenant and seek the will of God (1QS 5.2, 9); they did penitence in Israel and left the land of Judah (CD 4.2-3). As the ideal of priestly purity was extended to the lay people of the Qumran community, so the designation 'Bĕnê Şadoq': after the priests and Levites the Bĕnê Şadoq represent the laity in the Damascus Covenant (see the interpretation of Ezek. 44.15 in CD 3.21-4.4). And there is a play on the two designations 'Bĕnê Şadoq' and 'Bĕnê Şedeq (1QS 9.14): the Israelites at Qumran are 'Bene Şadoq', too, because they are righteous and faithful members of the Covenant, keeping the law according to the truth, which had been revealed by the Teacher of Righteousness. Therefore the Qumran 'Bĕnê Şadoq' must be distinguished from the Sadducees of Josephus and have to be identified with the Essenes. The 'difference' (*diaphorotēs*) mentioned by Josephus must be taken very seriously: the sacred rites of the Essenes differed from those of the other Jewish religious groups (*Ant.* 18.19). This agrees with the texts of Qumran: the true service for God has to be performed outside of and in opposition to the sacrificial cult in the Jerusalem temple. The sacrifice of the lips and the works of the law (*ma'asê ha-torah*) are the offerings well-pleasing to God, and the living temple of the community, the sanctuary (consisting) of men, makes atonement for the land (1QS 8.6). And under the Teacher of Righteousness (= Şadoq?) the law is revealed again, as Şadoq had done it for king David (CD 5.4-5). As for the Pharisees, the study of the law became the most important duty for the Şadoqite priests, and through such an activity the law and the prophets will be 'revealed' again. This attitude toward the written law is different from the orthodoxy of the Sadducees and from the doctrine of a dual (written and oral) Torah of the Pharisees.²⁸ The ideal

28. There are, of course, Qumran commandments which seem to be independent from the written law such as CD 12.6-11, the laws concerning communication with Gentiles or the regulations for the discipline of the communal life in 1QS cols. 6 and 7. But they are not understood as an oral law in addition to the written law, given by

example for the Qumran study of the law was the *maskil*, that is the wise teacher (Dan. 12.3, Isa. 52.13) and the *mašdîq ha-rabbîm*, the man who leads many to righteousness (Dan 12.3; Isa. 53.11; see 1QS 3.13). The 'Teacher of Righteousness' was such a *maskîl* and *mašdîq ha-rabbîm*, whilst the 'wise man' (*ḥākhām*) became the title for the rabbinic teacher (see 4QMMT C 30). The Sadducees, as described by Josephus, did not develop new methods of searching and interpreting the law and of extending priestly purity to the lay-people. They were responsible for the cult in the temple and for the peace and political welfare in Israel. They had to lead the Jewish nation and to extend its territory even by fighting wars. Later on, they were obliged to cooperate with a king such as Herod the Great and with the Roman prefects. Therefore, they could not separate themselves from the world; they even adopted some Hellenistic ideas.

From a methodological point of view, the search for discrepancies and incompatibilities within the texts from Qumran can be justified, but we should not over-estimate them. In our present situation, where the unpublished fragments from Cave 4 become gradually known and can be studied, we should be cautious and refrain from making far-reaching conclusions and revolutionary theories and from speculating about non-Essenic texts in the Qumran Caves. We do better to study the many fragments of Cave 4 and try to understand them, especially in the light of the other Dead Sea Scrolls and of the reports of Josephus on the Essenes. There were many different opinions among the three religious groups in Early Judaism and even within them, especially on Levitical purity.²⁹ But they must not always be understood as signs for real conflicts and divisions; they rather indicate the difficulty of applying the law of Moses to a changed society and to new situations, of maintaining the ideal of ritual purity in an unclean and hostile world. The Bible, being the foundation of the religious groups in Judaism, provided both unity and diversity;

Moses, but as implications of the written law, which are revealed by the holy spirit to those who study the law intensively.

29. One fundamental problem to those zealous students of the law such as the Pharisees and the Essenes was: do the Pentateuchal laws of purity and Levitical cleanness refer to the temple service and to the priests only or must they be extended to laymen and to eating of non-consecrated food, also? See G. Alon, 'The Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness', in *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 190-234.

therefore we hear many different voices and have different interpretations even within the religious parties. (1) Among the rabbis, who taught in the Pharisaic tradition, we have different schools such as Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai, R. Aqiba versus R. Ishmael; a man called Şadoq, who became the co-founder of the Zealots, was a former Pharisee (*Ant.* 18.3). (2) The Zealots were divided into various groups, who at the end even fought against one another (*War* 5.1ff.). (3) The priestly party consisted of several groups and individuals: the 'Bene Şadoq' = Essenes, the Boethusians and the *Ṭôbêlê Shahărîn* = 'those, who took a ritual bath in the morning' (*t. Yad.* 1.20), then outstanding figures such as John the Baptist (*Mk* 1.1-12) or Bannus (Josephus, *Life* § 11). All these were separated from or stood in opposition to the party of the Sadducees, mentioned in the writings of Josephus and in the New Testament. For the time of John the Baptist, the Pseudo-Clementines (*Recognitiones* 1.53-54) report about a schism in the Sadducean party: 'Erat enim primum schisma eorum, qui dicebantur Sadducaei. Hique ut caeteris iustiores segregare se coepere a populi coetu'. This note on the segregation of the 'more righteous ones' (*iustiores* = *saddîqîm min*) among the Sadducees reminds us strongly of 4QMMT: we have separated from the mass of the people (*mêrôb hâ'am* cf. 'a populi coetu'); the late note may refer to the orthodox Sadducees of the Mishnah (*Yad.* 4.6-9, see *t. Yad.* 1.20). Finally, there were conflicts schisms and different groups among the Essenes–Qumranites, too. In 4QpNah 4.1 the 'House of Peleg' is mentioned; it joined 'Manassee' which means the party of the Sadducees. According to CD 19.33-34 some of those, who had entered the New Covenant in the Land of Damascus, turned and broke away from it; they left 'the Fountain of Life'. We hear in 1QpHab 5.9-11 about the 'House of Absalom' and the men of his council. They remained silent when the Teacher of Righteousness was reproached; they did not help him against the 'Man of Lie' who rejected the law in their whole community. The 'Man of Lie' and the 'House of Absalom' may have been former adherents of the Teacher of Righteousness who had turned to the Pharisees. A legitimate difference seems to be mentioned by Josephus: he speaks of 'another Essene order' (*heteron Essênôn tagma*, *War* 2.160-161), whose members were married, but generally followed the teachings and principles of the monastic community.

Conclusions

I cannot yet believe that the letter 4QMMT will revolutionize our previous understanding of the religious parties during the Hasmonean age and of the origins of the Qumran community in particular. But it certainly can improve and enrich it as this will be done by some other fragments from Cave 4 which still await publication. Above all, the official edition of 4QMMT by E. Qimron will shed fresh light on this important document and on the way how some of the lacunae in this mutilated text can be filled.

Despite its many peculiarities, I believe that 4QMMT breathes the spirit of Qumran. One can link it with the Dead Sea Scrolls and with the reports on the Essenes, written by Philo, Pliny, and Josephus. It is quite surprising that this letter deals with quite a few special cases of levitical purity and with details of the offering of sacrifices and the slaughtering of animals, in a way similar to that of rabbinic halakhah: the criticism raised in these *ma'āsê ha-tôrâh* must be considered constructive. For the author wants to correct the temple service, not to condemn it. But his ultimate concern must have been the service of God's people and the priests, the purity of the chosen city and the holy land. When he wrote on the case of a man who had to immerse himself on a certain day (because of a nightly defilement), he may have thought of the 'union' (*ha-yahad*) of holy men, in which a ritual bath was performed by everyone on every day.

For our letter was issued by a special group that 'had separated themselves from the mass of the people and refrained from becoming intermingled with these things' (C 7-8). Through his criticism of the temple service our author may have intended to justify the 'sectarian' step, taken by him and his followers, in an indirect way. This step must have led to the formation of the Sadoqites (Bĕnê Şadôq) under the Teacher of Righteousness, who was a priest joined by priests, Levites, and lay-people. His group went into a kind of exile (*gālûth*) in the Land of Damascus and in the Judean Desert, in which God revealed (*higlâh*) to them the law of Moses and the books of the prophets (see the interpretation of Amos 5.26 in CD 7.14-17). In opposition to the Sadducean priesthood in Jerusalem and determined by the expectation of the immediate coming of God to the final judgment, these Sadoqites interpreted the sanctuary of God and the holy service of the priests in a spiritual way; they also extended it to the

repentant Israelites. This meant that quite a few Sadoqites–Essenes dedicated themselves to a communal life with a kind of monastic discipline, which was highly praised by Philo and adequately described in the works of Flavius Josephus.

POSTSCRIPT

The text of 4QMMT has now been published: *Qumran Cave 4. V. Miqṣat ma'āše ha-Torah*, by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, in consultation with Y. Sussmann and with contributions by Y. Sussmann and A. Yardeni (DJD X). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. The work gives the texts (pp. 3-63), and treats of the language (pp. 65-108), the literary character and historical setting (pp. 109-21) and the halakha (pp. 123-77). Appendix 1 (pp. 179-200) by Y. Sussmann is on 'The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Preliminary Talmudic Observations on *Miqṣat ma'āše ha-torah* (4QMMT)'. Appendix 2 (pp. 201-202) by E. Qimron is on 'Additional Textual Observations on 4QMMT'. Appendix 3 (pp. 203-206) by J. Strugnell is on 'Additional Observations on 4QMMT'.

THE AGGADAH OF THE PALESTINIAN TARGUMS OF THE PENTATEUCH
AND RABBINIC AGGADAH:
SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS*

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An overall glance at the post-biblical literature bequeathed to us by the Jewish people of antiquity reveals that it evolved mainly in the twin pillars of that society: the synagogue and the academy (Bet Midrash). 'Literature of the synagogue' is brought to our knowledge by means of prayer and liturgical poetry, as well as the Targum and different public sermons incorporated in rabbinic literature.¹ 'Literature of the Bet Midrash' is eternalized primarily in the Mishnah and Tosefta, the Talmud of Palestine and that of Babylonia and in a wealth of midrashim from periods and kinds all and sundry. Differentiating between the two groups of literature, synagogue and Bet Midrash, and between the internal components of both, does not, of course, stand upon the razor's edge, since they were created by the same world of religious thought and orientation. Points of contact draw them closer, by a variety of bonds are they linked together, areas of interest overlap and interweave. Yet this differentiation has much to offer as a working hypothesis, and all in all seems to be fairly on target. My intention is to probe the questions of thematic affinities between two specific clusters from the branches listed above, namely the literature of the so-called 'Palestinian Targums' of the Pentateuch, whose affiliation with the synagogue is well known,² and the literature

* I wish to express my thanks to Ann Brener for translating this paper from Hebrew.

1. For the term 'Literature of the Synagogue' I am indebted to J. Heinemann and J.J. Petuchowski, *Literature of the Synagogue* (New York, 1975).

2. See R. Syrén, *The Blessings in the Targums* (Åbo, 1986), pp. 157-60; cf. R. Kasher, 'The Aramaic Targumim and their Sitz im Leben', in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Panel Sessions: Bible Studies* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 75-85.

of the rabbinic aggadah as expressed in Talmud and Midrash. A vast forest indeed, and it is therefore only natural that we find ourselves dealing primarily with generalizations. A bird's-eye view must of necessity renounce the individual trees. Yet even so, we shall not refrain from plumping out our already broad enough generalizations with a few pertinent examples.

We have before us, therefore, two well-defined groups of texts: on the one hand the so-called 'Palestinian Targums' to the Pentateuch, encompassing the Neofiti MS with its thousands of marginal notes, the Fragment-Targum in its different versions, fragments of Targum from the Cairo Geniza, and snips of targumic quotations by the hundreds in secondary and tertiary sources, not excluding, to some extent, the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.³ On the other hand, we have the sprawling literature of Talmud and Midrash, contemporaries of Targum. Between these two groups are numerous parallels of content.⁴ Side by side with these parallels we also find traditions of aggadah in the Targums that are exclusive to Targum, and to Targum alone, but assumed by many scholars to be taken from lost rabbinic texts. Our discussion will therefore be divided into two parts, and devoted to a consideration of these *haves* and *have nots*; that is, targumic traditions with parallels in Midrash and traditions without.

1. *Parallels between Targum and Midrash*

Thousands of aggadic traditions in the Targums are found in Midrash as well.⁵ Collators, scholars and composers of the various bibliographic tools are usually content to mention this fact, without attempting to divert the channel of inquiry into another direction, namely: which is the original source, and which is the one availing itself of that original? Yet when a scholar is intrepid enough to determine which of the two is the principal one and which is subordinate, the right of primogeniture invariably goes—and almost invariably

3. On Pseudo-Jonathan and its special place within the 'Palestinian Targums' see my recent book, *The Embroidered Targum—The Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 1992) [Hebrew].

4. See for instance the lists of parallels to Targum Neofiti compiled by E. Levine in A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti I* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1968-1979).

5. This is no less true for the Halakhic material than it is for Aggadah, but that is not our subject.

without proof—to Midrash. It would seem that the vast diffusion of rabbinic literature, along with the veneration it has commanded ever since the Geonic period, have combined to create scholarly categorical conclusions such as: 'All targums...[imbibe] from the Talmudic and Midrashic literature *and not the other way around*, as is well known',⁶ or, to cite another example, '*It's known that the Palestinian Targums... are based on the words of our sages*'.⁷

The common assumption, therefore, is that the Aggadot reflected in Talmud and Midrash are the source from which the Targums drew. And this is, in effect, the assumption propelling the disregard with which many scholars—who tread the path of Aggadah or otherwise deal with the world of rabbinic literature and ideas—regard Targum. So for example, the late E.E. Urbach in his extensive work, *The Sages—Their Concepts and Beliefs* (1979). Among the sources creating his painstaking picture of the rabbinic world of ideas does he not mention in the preface to his work—as expected—Mishnah and Tosefta, both of the Talmuds, Halakhic and Aggadic Midrashim?⁸ And indeed, even a casual thumbing through this most comprehensive volume and a peek at its highly detailed indexes reveal that the author was faithful to his word. The Targums are mentioned in passing only. This patent disregard is characteristic also of the literature preceding Urbach's book. It is found in George Foote Moore's *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, first published in 1927, and continues in other books that are still being written to this very day. Oblivion to the possibility that Targum is that which influenced midrashic expression is also at the bottom of the explicit supposition that targumic traditions without parallels in rabbinic literature are undoubtedly 'a vestige of Midrash hoary with antiquity lost to the ages'.⁹ According to such a perception, *the Targums have nothing*

6. E.Z. Melamed, 'A Response', *Tarbiz* 41 (1972), p. 130 [Hebrew].

7. Z.M. Rabinovitz, *Halakah and Aggadah in the Liturgical Poetry of Yannai* (Tel Aviv, 1965), p. 56 [Hebrew].

8. Page 1 (in the Hebrew edition). Urbach unfurls the list of literary forms that he examined in order to write his book, mentioning aphorisms and parables, homilies and anecdotes (p. 2); prayers also find a place in this list, thereby fusing even the ancient strata of liturgy into the rabbinic world described in his book.

9. M.M. Brayer, 'The Pentateuchal Targum Attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel—A Source for Unknown Midrashim', in *The Abraham Weiss Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1964), pp. 201-31 [Hebrew].

they can call their own: borrowed feathers alone do they wear. They are always the vessel catching the overflow, never a flowing source of creativity in their own right.

It appears to me that there is no need to dwell at length on the significance of such a perception. Its ramifications can be felt in the research of many fields: the ancient synagogue, the targumic literature, the rabbinic attitude toward the Meturgeman in ancient society and the diffusion of rabbinic literature in antiquity. Subjects too numerous to mention, each and every one of them is important for anyone who would perceive the ancient literary world in all its vast spectrum and who would portray ancient Jewish society in the richest of detail.

It would seem, therefore, that relegating Targum to the level of perennial handmaid to the material embedded within Talmud and Midrash, has yet to be justified by proof. But not only common sense makes us recognize the possibility that, here and there, those who molded and carved midrash just may have extracted from a targumic quarry. At times the midrash explicitly announces that it is quoting from Targum, using phrases such as כדמתרגמינן or other such expressions:

The Palestinian Talmud Berachot 5.3: ואלין... אמר רבי יוסי ברבי בון... דמתרגמינן 'עמי בית ישראל כמה דאנא חנון ורחמן בשמיא... כן אתון רחמינן בארעה, תורחה או רחלה יתה וית ברה לא תכסין תריוהון ביום חד' לא עבדין טבאות (=Said R. Yose...Those who translate 'My people children of Israel, as I am merciful in heaven... so you be merciful on earth, a cow or a ewe you shall not kill both her and her young one in one day'—do not behave properly...)¹⁰

The late M.H. Goshen-Gottstein has already embarked upon the systematic collection of this type of quotation by the dozen.¹¹

On the question if the Talmud and Midrash derived any material from the world of Targum, it requires little effort to respond upon principle in the affirmative. The difficult part comes in *proving* it, when the Midrash itself does not expressly attribute a targumic source. Let us illustrate the problem in a well-developed tradition

10. See Ps.-J Lev. 22.28 and M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome, 1966), pp. 133-38.

11. See his *Fragments of Lost Targumim*, I-II (Ramat Gan, 1983-1989) [Hebrew].

brought by Targum Pseudo-Jonathan before and after this verse from Genesis:

Genesis 3.4: ויאמר הנחש אל האשה לא מות תמותון (=And the serpent said to the woman, You shall not die).

Pseudo Jonathan: בי היא שעתא אמר חויה דלטור על ברייה ואמר לאיתתא (= At that time the serpent slandered its creator and said to the woman: 'You shall not die, for every craftsman hates his fellow-craftsman').

First we are told that the serpent slandered the words of the Lord, and lastly, we are told the content of his words. The snake reassures the woman: proscribing the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge is but the act of a jealous craftsman, eager to ward off all rivals, eager to protect his trade-secrets. We are not told however why eating from the prohibited fruit will elevate man to be God's fellow-craftsman.

This last point becomes clear by comparing the Targum to the following tradition in Midrash *Genesis Rabbah*:¹²

Genesis Rabbah 19.6: ר יהושע דסיכנין בשם ר לוי: החחיל אומר דילטוריה: לבוראון, אמר: מאילן הזה אכל וברא את העולם והוא אומר לכם "לא תאכלו ממנו" שלא תבראו עולמות אחרים, וכל אומן ואומן סני בר אומנותיה (= R. Joshua of Siknin said in R. Levi's name: He [the snake] began speaking slander of his creator, saying, 'Of this tree did He eat and then create the world; hence He orders you, you shall not eat thereof, so that you may not create other worlds, for every craftsman hates his fellow craftsmen').

The affinity between Targum and Midrash is clear and unmistakable, and it is with the hundreds of such examples that I would shape the first part of this paper. Since it is difficult to believe that Targum and Midrash reached the same tradition and language by taking separate and independent roads, we can of course advance one of two possibilities: (a) direct dependence between Targum and midrashic tradition (in this direction or that); (b) indirect dependence: that is, use of a common source (written or oral) which stood before the author of the Midrash and the Meturgeman. Yet the difference between these two answers is not all that significant. Both postulate an intertextual affinity, whether direct or indirect, based on a written or oral source. And as for the example noted above, we may even succeed in

12. Ed. J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 172-73 [Hebrew]. Cf. M. Maher (trans.), *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (Collegeville, 1992), p. 25, notes 3-4.

proving—as I hope to do later on—that in this particular case the Midrash is indeed first and foremost; the Targum only subordinate. Even so, we shall still have difficulty in deciding if the Meturgeman made use of the midrash in Genesis Rabbah, or whether the words of R. Joshua were known to him from elsewhere. Then again, perhaps both of them—Targum Pseudo-Jonathan as well as R. Joshua—are making use of a known tradition that anteceded them both. The verdict is difficult, if not impossible, in this instance as in many others.

But the real question is not the kind of affinity between sources of Targum and Midrash; not whether the affinity is direct or whether an intermediary is lurking somewhere in between. The question is the direction of the borrowing. ‘Neither a borrower nor a lender be’ is all very well and good, but we must face the fact that if one of these compositions is doing the lending, then the other one must perforce be the one borrowing. And here we have to admit that at the current stage of research, tools suited to untangling this knotty issue have yet to emerge. From the straits of this methodological distress I propose that the issue be approached from a new direction. Our basic premise, of course, is that each case must be examined on its own merits without pre-conception or prejudice. There must be an initial readiness to accept the possibility that the Targum might be reflecting traditions originating in the world of the Bet Midrash, or, conversely, that the Targum is the source for these and other dicta in the literature of Talmud and Midrash.

For the sake of crystallizing a method suited to this important question, tentative and experimental though it may be, we must clarify what is a tradition of Aggadah defineable as targumic in its very essence and from its very beginning, and what is a tradition that must have been imported into the Targum from beyond. In other words, we must set forth the basic principles characterizing the targumic Aggadah or—contrariwise, and this is the method that I propose here—we must search out the traits that cannot be characteristic of the aggadic traditions created by the Meturgeman. And by discussing the negative we will, with time, learn how to build the positive.

The method of research that I now propose is based on the assumption that there are things that a Meturgeman cannot and will not do (in contrast to one preaching in the academy or the synagogue, and in contrast to the pedagogue in the school). Aggadic traditions that are found in the Targums but originate in these exegetical categories—and

I shall list some of them later on—were therefore brought to Targum from the world of Midrash. And this, whether they have a parallel in that world or not. See for example, the case of this Aggadic tradition:

Deuteronomy 32.50-51: ומוח בהר אשר אתה עלה שמה (=and die in the mount into which you go up).

Pseudo Jonathan: ושכוב בטוורא דאנת סליק לחמן...מן יד פתח משה פמיה בצלותא וכן אמר ריבוניה דעלמא בבעו מינך לא אהי מתיל כבר נש דהוה ליה ביר יחודא ואשתבי, אול פרקיה בממון סגי אלפיה חכמתא ואמנותא קדיש ליה איחא...בנא ליה בית חתנותא...זמין ליה שושבני אפא פיתיה נכס ניכסיה מוג חמריה כיוון דמטא למחדי בריה עם אינתחיה ובעו שושבני למכרך ריפתא איחבע ההוא בר נש לבי דינא קמי מלכא ואחוקס דין קפול ולא דלו מיניה עד דחמי בחדות בריה הכדין אנא טרחית בעמא הדין...והאנא מתקנס לממח (= And you will die in the mountain to which you go up... Moses at once opened his mouth in prayer and said, Lord of all the world, I entreat that I may not be as a man who had one only son, who being in captivity, he went and redeemed him with great price; he taught him wisdom and art espoused him to a wife...buildd him a marriage house... invited the bridegroom's attendants, baked his bread, slaughtered (his meat) and mixed his wine; yet, when the time came for his son to be in joy with his wife, and the bridegroom's attendants were about to eat; then was the man required to go to the house of judgment, before the king, and be punished with the judgment of death; neither would they delay his sentence, that he might see the happiness of his son. So have I laboured for this people... and now I am doomed to die?)

The Meturgeman here is using a parable of kings, a literary genre common to rabbinic midrash: a biblical situation far removed from the immediate experience of the Meturgeman's audience is now made part and parcel of their everyday life.¹³ I have not found a parallel in our context to the parable of a father executed on the eve of his son's wedding. Yet the very fact that a parable of this sort does not come elsewhere in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, nor in any other pentateuchal targumic text at all, teaches us that the world of Targum is not wont to don the robes of royal parable. The Targum is leaning here on a source external to the world of Targum, even if by some trick of fate this source has not come down to us. In other words, we have before us a type of aggadic material that is un-targumic in that which concerns manner of expression.

At this juncture we shall return to the aforementioned tradition of

13. For a vast collection of such parables see I. Ziegler, *Die Koenigsgleichnisse des Midrasch beleuchtet durch die roemische Kaiserzeit* (Breslau, 1903).

Targum and Genesis Rabbah. First of all we have to admit, as already stated, that the targumic tradition *per se* is unclear, while the Midrash elucidates the Targum's meaning. We also take due note that the tradition in the Targum first emerges *before* the Meturgeman commences his translation of the scriptural verse (i.e. the phrase **בִּי הָיָא שְׁעָה**, 'At that time'). This kind of preliminary expansion is exceedingly rare in the world of Targum. Of the 5,800 or so verses of the Pentateuch, we find it appended to several dozen alone, and almost always in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.¹⁴ It seems as though the Meturgeman sought to preserve the integrity of the unit to be translated (that is, the scriptural verse), if only by opening his Targum with the same word that opens the verse. The phenomenon of Aggadic or Halakhic expansion preceding the translation of the scriptural verse seems therefore un-targumic by its very infrequency. That the same tradition is found in a clear and more elucidated midrashic parallel should serve as a base for the claim that it was imported from the world of Midrash (and it is immaterial whether that Midrash is Genesis Rabbah or whether some other tradition, either written or oral). We might tighten our argument by noting the existence of the word **דְּלִשׁוּר** (slander) in the Targum, a word apparently not found in the world of Targums to the Pentateuch except in this case.¹⁵ We find the pendulum swinging, therefore, towards the possibility that here the Meturgeman is mobilizing a tradition that he took from Midrash.

And a third and final example:

Exodus 17.15: **וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ ה' נָסִי** (=And Moses built an altar and called it Adonai-nissi).

Pseudo Jonathan: **וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמִיהּ מִמְרָא דֵה' דִּין נִסָּא דִּילֵי דְנִסָּא דְעֵבֵר אַחְרָא** (=and he called its name 'Memra of the Lord, this is my miracle', for the miracle that God [=Aramaic: אַחְרָא] performed in this place was [done] for me).

Mechilta: **אָמַר מֹשֶׁה הֲנֵס הוּא שְׁעָה הַמְקוּם בְּנִי עֲשָׂא** (=Said Moses: This miracle which God [=Hebrew: הַמְקוּם] has performed He performed for me).

It has already been noted¹⁶ that among all the epithets signifying God in the Targums, the rabbinic epithet of **הַמְקוּם** (Aramaic: אַחְרָא) is

14. See Shinan, *Embroidered Targum*, pp. 47-60.

15. Cf. R. Weiss, *The Aramaic Targum of Job* (Tel Aviv, 1979), p. 80 [Hebrew].

16. See A. Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim* (Tübingen, 1986), pp. 352-60.

missing. That אחרת should crop up once (and only once) in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to our verse would therefore seem to imply a mechanical translation of a text containing the word המקום. If so, it is highly reasonable to claim that the Meturgeman had recourse to the tradition in the Mechilta, if not the Mechilta itself.¹⁷

I have brought here only a few single examples to a few single phenomena, and from only one targumic corpus at that. What I wish to illustrate is that considerations of language and vocabulary (such as אחרת or דלסור), of structural pattern (such as the preliminary expansion) or of literary genres (such as the parable of kings), may furnish the scholar with an array of traits *not* characteristic of the material elemental to the Meturgeman. On this basis, the scholar will be able to determine that hundreds of traditions appearing in Targum—with or without a parallel in midrash—were not to the Targum born.

Among the criteria of determination we might add one more: that the Meturgeman will not *create* a tradition of Aggadah founded upon a word-play perceptible to the Hebrew tongue alone:

Genesis 3.15: הוא ישופך ראש ואחז תשופו עקב (= ... it shall bruise your head, and you will bruise his heel).

Neofiti: יהוי כד יהוין בניה נסרין אוריתא ועבדין פקדייה יהוין מתכונין לך ומחיינו יתך לראשך וקשלין יתך וכד יהוין שבקין פקדי דאוריתא תהוי מתכוין יתיה (= And it shall be when her sons observe the Law and put into practice the commandments they will aim at you and smite you [Hebrew: שפס] on the head and kill you; but when they forsake the commandments of the Law you will aim at him and wound him on his heel and make him ill).

Given such examples, I prefer to imagine that the Meturgeman here is rendering into Aramaic a Hebrew tradition born and bred in the world of Midrash, based on a word-play between ישופך and another word from the Hebrew root שוף, translated by the Aramaic root מחי.¹⁸ But an aggadic tradition having an Aramaic word-play as its *raison d'être* (such as the following example) is likely to be targumic, providing that no un-targumic traits are involved.

17. On Pseudo-Jonathan and the Mechilta see also Shinan, *Embroidered Targum*, pp. 168-75.

18. On this verse and its translations see also M. Perez Fernandez, *Tradiciones Mesianicas en el Targum Palestinense* (Valencia, 1981), esp. pp. 40-85; Maher, *Genesis*, p. 27, esp. n. 27.

Genesis 15.11: וירד העיט על הפגרים וישב אותם אברהם (= And when the fowls [= עיט] came down upon the carcasses, Abraham drove them away).

Fragment Targum (Ms. Paris): אילין אינן מלכותא דארעא והוי כד עטון (= They are the kingdoms of the earth and when they *take counsel* [= עיטא] against the people of Israel the merits of Abraham the righteous will cancel them).

Only the Aramaic ear will appreciate the word-play between עיט and עיטא. This tradition could of course be imported into Targum from elsewhere, but its existence in the Targums alone¹⁹ adds strength to the assumption that the Meturgemanim are its progenitors.

Likewise the assumption that the Meturgeman will not render into Aramaic a verse by means of another verse yet to be read and translated; a verse coming later in the sequence of the biblical narrative. The Meturgeman is unable to do many things that the preacher can do with abandon, such as suggest alternative and even contradictory interpretations. The Meturgeman cannot render only one part of the verse and ignore the rest, nor can he be indifferent to context. And he certainly cannot skip over an entire verse or wrest it out of its biblical sequence. All this to name but a few of the qualifications binding the hands, as it were, of the Meturgemanim. Aggadic traditions in the Targums that came into being on the basis of such qualifications could not therefore be considered as targumic in origin.

Differentiation between that which 'is by its nature un-targumic', though embedded in the Targums before us, and between that which does not reveal its un-targumic identifying marks, is to travel, of course, along the *via negativa* of old. Yet the virtues of this method were recognized long before us today. Combing the Targums through and through in the light of such negative deductions will ultimately isolate a group of traditions reasonable claimed as the creation of the Meturgemanim. We shall succeed thereby in bringing these sacerdotal figures of ancient Judaism all the more sharply into focus. This group of traditions will better illuminate the world outlook of the Meturgemanim and the nature of their congregations and will aid in clarifying their affinity to the world of midrash and the Bet Midrash. Lastly, this group of traditions will be of no small help in summoning before our eyes the ancient Jewish community in its full and measured stature.

19. Cf. Brayer, 'Pentateuchal Targum', p. 119.

2. Targumic Traditions without Parallels

Any list of parallels between Targum and the whole of rabbinic literature will indicate scores of aggadic traditions appearing in Targum alone. At times, research has been unable to find parallels not only in the rabbinic literature but even in compositions external to the world of the sages, comb though we may the Dead Sea scrolls, the works of Philo and of Josephus, or the writings of the church fathers.

Two examples are especially prominent here. The first one is an elaborate tradition recurring in manuscript Neofiti and its margins, in the Pseudo-Jonathan and also in various manuscripts of the Fragment Targum to the stories of the blasphemer (Lev. 24.12); the second passover (Num. 9.11); the man gathering sticks on the sabbath day (Num. 15.34); and the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 27.5):

Neofiti to Leviticus 24.12: דין חד מארבעה דינים דקמו קדם משה וסכס יתהון: דין בתעיה דלעיל בתרין מנהון הוה משה זריו ובתרין מנהון הוה משה מתין באליין ובאליין אמר לא שמעיה במסאבין דלא יכלו למעבד פיסחה וברין בנתה דצלפחד הוה משה זריו מן בגלל דהוה דיניהון דיני מסון במקוששה דחלל שבתה בוינו ובמחרפה דפרש שמה קדישה בנרפין הוה משה מתין מן בגלל דהוון דיניהון דיני נפשן ובנין למלפה לדייניה דקיימין בתר משה דיהוון זריוין בדני ממנה וסמתיין בדני נפשטה... דלא יהוון בהתין לממיר לא שמענן דמשה (= This was one of the four legal cases that came up before Moses, and he decided them according to God's view; in two of them Moses was quick, and in two of them Moses was slow. In [the judgment of] impure persons who were not able to do the Passover, and in the judgment of the daughters of Zelophehad Moses was quick, because their cases were civil cases. [In the judgment] of him who gathering wood desecrated the sabbath wilfully, and [in the judgment] of the blasphemer who expressed His Holy Name with blasphemies Moses was slow, because their cases were capital cases, and to teach the judges who would rise up after Moses to be quick in civil cases and slow in capital cases... and that they should not be ashamed to say: 'we did not hear [it]'; since Moses their Master, said 'I did not hear [it]').

For this tradition, and to this extent, we have yet to find a real parallel outside of the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch. Of course, it may very well be buried in some composition not yet discovered. But for now, the judge can only go by what is seen, and that is a lengthy and

well-developed tradition possessing a moral-didactic aspect so immanent to the world of Targum.²⁰

And in a similar fashion:

Genesis 34.31: ויאמרו הכונה יעשה את אחותנו (= Should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?)

Neofiti: עניין תרין בני דיעקב שמעון ולוי ואמרין ליעקב אבהון לא יאה הוא דיהוון אמרין בכנישתיהון ובמדרשיהון עדלין סאיבו בתולן ופלאני צלמין לברתיה דיעקב ברם יאי הוא דיהוון אמרין בכנישתיהון דישראל ובבית מדרשהון ערלין אתקמלו על עסק בחולה ופלאני צלמין על די סאבו לדינה ברתיה דיעקב ... (= And the two sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, answered and say to Jacob, their father: It is not fitting that they should say in their congregations and in their schools: Uncircumcised have defiled virgins and servers of idols the daughter of Jacob. But it is fitting that they should say in the congregations of Israel and in their school-houses: Uncircumcised were slain on account of a virgin and servers of idols because they defiled Dinah, the daughter of Jacob...)

The story of the sons of Jacob in Shechem comes to a close together with the apparent end to a lectionary unit of the Pentateuch; expanding in a wealth of detail, wavering somewhere between apologetics and polemic. Midrashic literature has not a single parallel to show.²¹

This targumic tradition is also of relevance to our subject:

Deuteronomy 24.6: לא יחבול ריחים ורכב כי נפש הוא חובל (= No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone for a pledge).

Marginal notes MS Neofiti I: לית אתון רשאין למיהוי אמרין חתנין וכלתי: מלמקרב (= you shall not tie bridegrooms and brides from approaching each other).

Pseudo Jonathan: ולא יהי גבר אסר חתנין וכלין בחדשין ארום נפשא דעתיד (= Neither shall a man tie bridegrooms and brides by magical incantations; for he destroys what would be born of them).

It would seem that both of these targumic passages (and in a more limited and tenuous way, the rest of the Targums) marshal their forces against an act of magic that is basically a charm for delaying consummation of the marriage.²² The exact nature of this charm 'is not mentioned in the Talmuds or the Midrash'.²³

20. On this tradition see also Shinan, *Embroidered Targum*, pp. 68-69.

21. Cf. Shinan, *Embroidered Targum*, pp. 29-30; Maher, *Genesis*, p. 119 n. 13.

22. See D.M. Splanski, 'Targum Pseudo Jonathan—its Relationship to Other Targumim, Use of Midrashim and Date' (dissertation, Cincinnati, 1981), pp. 89-90.

23. M.M. Kasher, *Torah Shlemah XXIV* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 152 [Hebrew]. It does receive its share of hints, or so it seems, in the Palestinian Talmud. *Ket.* 1.1

We could easily add to these examples, especially from the Targum richest in traditions, that of Pseudo-Jonathan. A partial list of different traditions unique to Pseudo-Jonathan has already been offered by Ginsburger in his edition,²⁴ though Brayer ultimately exceeded him by the breadth of his research into the matter.²⁵ In the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the book of Genesis alone, Brayer notes some 120 'Midrashim and Aggadot, interpretations and translations of words' without parallel 'in the literature of Talmud and Midrash and the rest of the ancient sources'.²⁶ As for the rest of the Pentateuch, a systematic effort has yet to be launched for listing all the traditions unique to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. Even so, the picture emerging from these books seems identical in principle to that which Brayer drew on the basis of Pseudo-Jonathan to the book of Genesis. Since the remaining four books, Exodus through Deuteronomy, are replete with sections of Halakha less quiescent by nature to traditions of Aggadah, it becomes clear that we may venture a number of some 200 traditions of Aggadah that have left nary a shadow in all our ancient literature.²⁷

Let us make do with two examples:

Genesis 2.21: ויקח אחד מצלעותיו (= and He took one of his ribs).

Pseudo-Jonathan: תסיב חרא מעילעוהי היא עילעא תלסרית דמן ספר ימינא (= and He took one of his ribs, the thirteenth rib from his right side).

Not only has the all-important rib been pinpointed to Adam's right side, but it has even been given a serial number—two details without parallels.²⁸

Similarly:

Deuteronomy 21.8: ונכפר להם הדם (= And they will be absolved of bloodguilt).

Pseudo-Jonathan: ויחכפר להון על דמא, ומן יד נפקין נחיל דמורנין מן פרתה דעגלחא ננדין ואזלין עד אחרא דקטולא חמן וסלקין עלוי ואחדין בי דינא יתיה ודיינין יתיה (= And they shall be absolved of bloodguilt; but straight

(24b) permits a man apprehensive of 'enchantments' to marry a woman on Mondays as well, even though Monday was not ordinarily the marrying kind of day.

24. M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo Jonathan* (Berlin, 1903), p. xxi.

25. See Brayer, 'Pentateuchal Targum', and esp. M.M. Brayer, 'Studies in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan' (dissertation, New York, 1950), pp. 82-91 [Hebrew].

26. Brayer, 'Pentateuchal Targum', p. 102.

27. Cf. Shinan, *Embroidered Targum*, pp. 185-92.

28. Cf. A. Shinan, 'The Thirteenth Rib', *Tarbiz* 57 (1988), pp. 119-20 [Hebrew].

way there will come forth a swarm of worms from the excrement of the heifer, and spread forward and move to the place where the murderer is, and crawl over him: and the court shall take him, and judge him).

Indeed, of all our ancient sources, only Pseudo-Jonathan apprehends the criminal with this kind of signs and wonders.²⁹

It appears to me that these examples are sufficient for attempting a general explanation of the whys and wherefores of targumic traditions without parallels. Seemingly, there are two options for describing each and every one of these traditions: (a) tradition unique to Targum is nothing but a tradition once common to rabbinic composition but now lost and unknown; or, it is a rabbinic tradition transmitted orally, having left for some reason or other no written echo except in Targum. (b) A tradition unique to Targum is...a tradition unique to Targum. Or perhaps a folk tradition that, for some unknown reason, never fully penetrated the world of Bet Midrash, and that only the Meturgeman saw fit to inscribe. This possibility infuses Targum with the motifs of folklore and popular belief then hovering just beyond the traditional four ells of synagogue and Bet Midrash. Much more so than the rabbinic literature, even though this, too, is assuredly less than sealed fast against the sway of popular notions.

Scholars who dealt with this issue tended to assume, as I mentioned earlier, that the first possibility is the principal one. According to this opinion, the Targums are leaning on traditions gleaned from the tip of rabbinic tongues; only by sheer chance has memory of them come our way. To me it seems clear that choosing between the two above-mentioned possibilities is not simple, and that each case must surely stand and fall on its own merit. Nonetheless, a verdict there must be, as is obvious to anyone dealing with the rabbinic world of beliefs and opinions, or anyone interested in the folk literature of ancient Jewry. Each tradition of Aggadah will have to be broached separately and in the most exacting detail, without preconceptions, and on a firm basis of language, content, literary form, goals and the like. Such an examination is likely to produce a different response for each and every tradition. But let us remember: a targumic tradition of Aggadah that is consummately un-targumic—even if without parallels beyond the world of Targum—must have drawn from the literature of Aggadah and Midrash! Only a targumic tradition of Aggadah that does not

29. Cf. Shinan, *Embroidered Targum*, pp. 189-190.

reveal any un-targumic sign is worthy of reappraisal in this regard.

מוסכת סופרים (*Treatise of Scribes*), no stranger to the targumic milieu, determines that 'if they translated [in the synagogue] or delivered the sermon, the reader from the prophets can make do with a short reading of three verses'.³⁰ In other words, Targum and the aggadic or midrashic sermon were seen as alternative entities of the synagogue, hand in glove as it were, yet nevertheless different and differentiated; one replacing the other.

I sought to propose a new methodology for clarifying the thematic affinity between Targum and the world of Midrash. I am all too aware that applying my suggestion to each and every case will entail a great deal of work, but לפום צערא אגרא (the more you toil, the greater is your reward). Even so, if I think back to R. Le Déaut's rather despairing: 'Will it ever be possible to draw a division line between Targum and Midrash and to distinguish them radically?'³¹ it appears to me that I have responded, at least in part, to his call of distress.

30. Ed. M. Higger (New York, 1937), pp. 250-51 [Hebrew].

31. R. Le Déaut, 'The Current State of Targumic Studies', *BTB* 4 (1974), p. 19. LeDéaut's discussion of 'Targum and Midrash' (pp. 18-22) was very helpful in formulating my thoughts on this issue.

THE TARGUM: FROM TRANSLATION TO INTERPRETATION

Josep Ribera

It is hard to determine the place of the Targum within the large quantity of rabbinic literature. Should it be understood as a Midrash? Or should it be included among the Jewish translations of the Bible? It is obvious that the Targum is not a halakic *Midrash* with legislative modality, and it cannot be compared with homiletic *midrashim*, in which a biblical verse is developed with a long, haggadic, edifying speech. But the question becomes more complicated when the Targum is compared with the rest of ancient translations. The real issue is to know in what way the ancient people understood the translation of the sacred text as the Bible. For them it was not the simple change of words from one language to another: from the original Hebrew to Greek, Syriac,¹ Aramaic, or Latin.² Their fidelity to original Hebrew consists mainly of making the sacred text as intelligible as possible to people with a social, cultural and linguistic context different from that in which the Bible was written. For this reason every translation tends towards interpretation.³ As the aim of the translation was above all the best possible comprehension of the text written in a language which was foreign to listeners or readers, the translators employed literary devices which are found in all ancient versions and which belong to the Jewish hermeneutic method called *derash*.⁴

1. On the place of Syriac between LXX and Targum see J. Ribera, *El Targum de Isaías* (Valencia, 1988), p. 24, n. 27.

2. For Jerome as a translator of the Vulgate see H.F.D. Sparks: 'Jerome as Biblical Scholar', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. I. From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 510-41.

3. See R. Le Déaut: 'La Setante, un Targum?', in *Études sur le Judaïsme hellénistique* (Paris, 1984), pp. 151-53.

4. For a bibliography on the concept of *derash* and its application to Targum, see Le Déaut, 'La Septante, un Targum?', p. 150, n. 17, 18; A. del Agua, *El método*

Therefore it is interesting, as an example, to take the text of Jeremiah in order to note how this hermeneutic method is applied to ancient translations and to the Targum as well.⁵ To this end I propose some classification of the rules of this method for interpreting the Masoretic Text (MT).

Difficulties in Understanding

When the Hebrew Masoretic Text is difficult to understand the Targum, like other ancient versions, supplies translations which often differ from the original Hebrew and which at the same time are suitable in context. For example, in Jer. 2.31 we read: 'Have I been a wilderness to Israel or a land of thick darkness?'⁶ In Greek and Aramaic this is translated by way of parallelism with the first part of the verse and we read: 'Have I been a wilderness to Israel or an arid land?' However the Latin version follows the Hebrew text closely and has 'an evening land'.⁷ In Jer. 11.19 the MT is meaningless: 'Let us destroy the tree [or the wood] in his bread'. All the ancient versions change in this way: 'Let us cast wood into his bread'; but the Targum explains the meaning clearly adding some words: 'Let us cast deadly poison into his food'.⁸ Jer. 15.18 has an attribute 'incurable' in this context: 'Why is my paining unceasing, my wound incurable, refusing to be healed?', which contrasts in some way with the opinion of translators who believe that the moral location of Israel, symbolized by the wound, can be cured or changed; therefore they mitigate the meaning of the MT by translating in Greek, Aramaic and Syriac: 'my wound is serious'⁹, whereas in Latin the full meaning of the original text (*desperabilis*) is maintained. The use of the verb 'crush' (*dk*) in

midrásico y la exégesis del nuevo testamento (Valencia, 1985), pp. 33-79; Ribera, *El Targum de Isaías*, pp. 27-28.

5. Every book of the Bible has, of course, its own textual evolution and also its translations. Notwithstanding, there are common exegetic rules available in all ancient translations; on this field of investigation see J. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique de judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Israël* (Leiden, 1982). The author discovers in LXX translation the hermeneutic rules of verbal and formal analogy and of textual analogy.

6. In Hebrew: *m'plh*, from 'lp 'darkness'. BHS reads *pělliyah* 'Marvellous'.

7. In Aramaic *ħurba*, LXX: *kekhersōmenē*; it is possible too that LXX and Targum read on the basis of the other *Vorlage*.

8. Vulgate reads *nišlah*, but LXX and Targum *nišlak*.

9. Targum has *tqyf*; P, *hsyn*; LXX, *sterea*.

the sentence 'They have not been crushed unto this day' (44.10) became incomprehensible for translators; thus, Peshitta (P) and Vulgate (V) interpret this verb following the Aramaic meaning of *dk'*, 'to purify': 'They have not purified themselves unto this day'. However, Septuagint (LXX) and Targum render it according to the Hebrew verb *kl'*, 'cease, desist': 'They have not desisted unto this day'. Also the word 'lz, 'to rejoice' in the sentence: 'and I will make them drunk so that they rejoice' (Jer. 51.39) does not seem suitable in the context; therefore LXX and V translate 'to be stupefied', whereas Targum and P adopt another interpretation: 'to be without strength, to faint'. The word *tannim* of Jer. 49.33 is translated differently in all versions; for the LXX it means 'ostriches', V understands it as 'dragons', but for Targum and P it has various meanings: 'jackals', 'onagers', etc. There are several possible explanations for the disagreement between the MT and these translations. It is possible that sometimes the Hebrew text of those translations would be different from the one that we know, but also on other occasions the translators must have found a text which was not easy to understand because it was corrupt, and tried to change the text itself in order to give an interpretation that would be fitting to the context.

'al tiqre

The use of the hermeneutic rule called *'al tiqre*¹⁰ is a very common device in targumic interpretation which is also employed by the ancient versions. Sometimes the translator has apparently read the word with vowels which were different from those of the MT. For example, in Jer. 2.36 the verb *tezli*, 'to be exhausted' (from 'zl) is vocalized by V and P as *tazelli*, 'has degraded' (from zll); the Targum uses a verb ('*stkl*) with double meaning: 'to be foolish', or 'to look into', but LXX adopts the active form: 'to deal contemptuously' (*katafroneô*). Also in Jer. 6.20 the verb 'to come' is used in *qal* form according to MT (*tabo*', 'You will come'), when the other translations

10. This is one of the rabbinic rules or *middot* to interpret the Torah. According to this rule a different reading of any word of the Bible is possible by changing some of its consonants or vowels for another one of similar sound. See R. Le Déaut, 'Usage implicite de l'al tiqre dans le Targum de Job de Qumran', in *Salvación en la Palabra. Homenaje al Prof. A. Díez Macho* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 419-31; D. Muñoz, *Derás. Los caminos y sentidos de la palabra divina en la Escritura* (Madrid, 1987), pp. 92-94.

and Targum vocalize in *hif'il* form ('You will carry'). The word *ḥarob*, 'be dry', of Jer. 50.21, is changed by LXX, P and Targum to *ḥereb* 'sword'. In the same way *yihollelu*, 'they are made', of Jer. 50.38 is changed in all versions to *yihallelu*, 'they boast'. This tendency to read the words with different vowels corroborates the relative value of the Masoretic punctuation.

Consonantal variants appear in Jer. 5.7, in which the verb *ytgwddw*, from the root *gdd*, means 'gash oneself', as P seems to understand¹¹; in LXX the word is derived from *gwr*, 'to take refuge, to live', whereas Targum reads it as proceeding from *gwd*, 'to join'; on the other hand, V seems to give an interpretation of the text: 'In the prostitute house they lusted'.¹² The Hebrew word *ha'ēbarty* in the sentence 'I will make your enemies pass through' (Jer. 15.14) Targum and other versions derive not from 'br but from 'bd ('And you will be enslaved to your enemies', according to Targum).¹³ This change of *dalet/res* is found too in the word 'ebratw, 'his anger', of MT (Jer. 48.30)—V reads 'his boasting'—which becomes 'bdtw, 'his deeds', in LXX, P and Targum. A modification of the verb *ḥšp*, 'strip', into *ḥps*, 'search out', is done by Targum and P (Jer. 49.10); probably *kšl*, 'stumble', of Jer. 18.23 in Targum and P is transformed in *šlk*, 'throw out'. Sometimes the change is very obvious: the participle *mškył*, 'make childless' (MT Jer. 50.9) becomes *mškył*, 'wise' in Targum, P and LXX—V interprets it as 'murder'. Also the word *ḥrwn*, 'rage, anger', which is repeated in MT of Jer. 25.38 ('from before the rage of enemy, from before the rage of his anger'), in the first part of the verse is changed by Targum and LXX into *ḥrb*, 'sword'¹⁴, because of the interpreters' tendency to explain repeated words through synonyms; however P and V maintain the same word in both cases. It is easy to find the interchange of 'alef and he in verbs like *rp*', 'cure', of MT and *rph*, 'weaken', used by all the translations (Jer. 38.4); and *qr*', 'exclaim', which is changed to Targum and P into *qrh*, 'to happen' (Jer. 4.20). Likewise *sry*, 'enemies of', in MT of

11. P uses 'iktš meaning 'to fight' and 'to be afflicted'.

12. It can be explained also by confusion of *dalet/reš*, as happens with *kaf/dalet*, *waw/yod*, etc.

13. It is possible that the translation or interpretation of ancient versions was done in this way to harmonize with the text of Jer. 17.4. In fact, according to *BHS* some mss read *cbd*.

14. Also likely here there is textual harmonization with Jer. 46.16; 50.16.

Jer. 6.28, is read with *šin, śry*, ‘princes of’, by P, Targum and V, and the word *h’mwn*, ‘artisan’, becomes *hhmwn*, ‘crowd’, in Targum and P. According to this criterion the versions follow sometimes the *qēre* instead of *kētib*, as in Jer. 49.30: ‘Over you’ and not ‘over them’ (*‘lkm/‘lhm*).

tarte mašma’

Another hermeneutic device frequently used from the Bible itself, is called *tarte mašma’* by which the translator employs the double meaning of a word.¹⁵ In the phrase *magor missabib*, ‘terror around about’, of the MT (Jer. 6.25), from the root *gwr*, ‘to dwell’, and ‘terror’, LXX translates according to the first meaning, ‘dwells around’ (*paroikei*) and we find something similar in P: ‘she approaches around’.¹⁶ The Targum makes use of both meanings of the root *gwr*, and comments: ‘the sword of the enemy is killing those who are assembled round about’. Related to the same root, the Hebrew word *ger*, ‘resident, alien’ is found, which corresponds in Targum to *gyor* and in the LXX to *proselytos* (Targ. Jer. 7.6; 22.3); both words, *gyor* and *proselytos*, probably also include the religious connotation of ‘proselyte’; thus, I think, the meaning of these words embraces both ‘alien’ and ‘proselyte’.¹⁷ Seemingly the Hebrew word *deber* would be understood in Targum and LXX as ‘plague’ and ‘deadly pestilence’ and the qualifying ‘deadly’ is taken to be a noun so that *deber* is rendered in Targum and the LXX by ‘death’, *mota, thanatos* (Jer. 14.12; 24.10; 38.2; 44.13).¹⁸

Free Translations for Explaining or Specifying the Hebrew Text

In many passages the translator feels the need to clarify the meaning of the Hebrew text so that its contents would be comprehensible in a certain way. For this purpose the original word is usually changed, or another one is added. In line with this Targum and LXX replace the verb ‘sanctify’ by another one more suitable to the context, e.g.

15. See Muñoz, *Derás*, pp. 95-96.

16. P has a paraphrase: ‘the daughter of my people approaches about’; see also Jer. 20.10.

17. The translator, probably, does not refer only to one meaning of the word as Le Déaut (‘La Septante, un Targum’, p. 149 and n. 13) indicates, but he intends to give to the word its double meaning.

18. Also the root *mwm’* of P implies the two meanings: ‘death’ and ‘pestilence’.

'appoint' ('appoint war-makers against her', Jer. 6.4; 22.7); 'lady' becomes 'queen' (Targ., LXX and P Jer. 29.2) 'eunuchs' are modified by 'princes' (LXX and Targ. Jer. 34.19; 38.7)¹⁹, 'the potter's stones' are detailed in the 'potter's wheel' (P, V and Targ. 18.3); 'outstretched arm' becomes 'uplifted arm' (LXX, P and Targ. Jer. 27.5; 32.17); 'enquire' is understood as 'pray' (P, and Targ. Jer. 21.2). Targum and P identify 'the man of God' with 'the prophet of the Lord' (Jer. 35.4). The meaning of *natan*, 'to give', is often emphasized, changing this verb to *mšsar*, 'to hand over' (Targ., P, LXX and sometimes V; Jer. 22.25; 32.3, 4, 24, 25, 28, 43).²⁰ Targum and P stress the juridical value of the phrase 'they proclaimed a fast' (Jer. 36.9) by reading 'they decreed a fast'. The verb *nts*, 'pluck up', twice in the same verse (Jer. 12.14), is rendered by Targum and LXX in a realistic way 'carry away'. Likewise the phrase 'with the dance of those who laugh', 31.4 (in V we find *in choro ludentium*), receives a liturgical feature in other versions: 'with the company or assembly of those who praise'.²¹ By inserting a messianic meaning P and Targum translate '*addir*, 'the mighty one' of Jer. 30.21 as 'king'. We may also mention passages in which the translators give a moral meaning to the text; in this fashion the phrase 'remove the foreskin of your heart' (Jer. 4.4) is understood by LXX 'remove the hardness of your heart' and by Targum 'remove the wickedness of your heart'; and 'sheep' is rendered by Targum and LXX as 'people' (Jer. 23.3).

There is also found the change of Gentilic names ('Ethiopian' in Jer. 13.23 is read by P and Targum as 'Indian'); or topographical ones ('Caftor' of Jer. 47.4 becomes in P, V and Targum 'Cappadocia'; Targum and P render the proper name of Neco by 'the Lame one', Jer. 46.2).

To the same end, the translators occasionally add a certain noun, verb or particle to the Hebrew text. So LXX, P and Targum speak not only of Jerusalem but of 'inhabitants of Jerusalem' (Jer. 4.3); 'thousands' becomes 'thousands of generations' in P and Targum; LXX, P and Targum add the verb 'take' in the phrase 'take with you

19. See R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 153, n. 5. P translates *srys* of Jer. 34.19 as 'faithful'.

20. H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament Greek* (New York, 1968, repr. from 1902), p. 328, notes that LXX has at least 30 ways of translating the verb *ntn*.

21. The Targum and P read *bsy^cubknwšt' mšbhyn*.

some of the elders' of Jer. 19.1. The addition of the particle *kē*, 'as', is similarly used by comparing Israel to a woman in LXX, P, V and Targum (Jer. 3.20) or 'the prophet' to 'a wall of bronze' in Targum, LXX and P (Jer. 15.20). In other passages of ancient versions the addition of a comparative is also found (Jer. 9.6; P and Targum: 'Their tongue is like a sharpened arrow'; LXX, P and Targ. 22.28: 'like a vessel in which there is no use'; all the versions carry the comparative: 'they shall become weak like women', Jer. 50.37.²² On the other hand, the pejorative condition of some prophets is indicated with the epithet 'false' (so Jer. 27.9, 14 in Targ. and P; Targ. and LXX in Jer. 6.13; 34.9; 36.1, 8)²³; or the poor quality of the fruit in Jer. 28.17 according to P and Targum through the adjective. Some phrases are completed in order to become clearer. In Jer. 9.25, the phrase 'in their flesh' is added by Targum, LXX and P to passive participle 'uncircumcised'. The divine punishment is likewise stressed with the complementary phrase 'in his anger' (Targ. and LXX in Jer. 20.16).²⁴

Changes on Account of Theological Ideas

Other changes are caused on account of great reverence to divinity, or of the holiness of the Bible text. We can mention the tendency to reject anthropomorphic expressions related to God. Thus, 'in my eyes' is changed by 'before me' (Jer. 18.10; 32.39; Targ., LXX and P)²⁵; the phrase 'nothing is too wonderful for you' (Jer. 32.12, 27) sounds blasphemous and therefore LXX, P and Targum render 'nothing is hidden from you'. We find also the harmonization of texts which are similar; for example P and Targum adapt the expression 'near every leafy tree' of Jer. 17.2 to MT of Jer. 2.20; 3.6, 13, which reads almost the same expression: 'under every leafy tree'.

These instances are not peculiar to this Targum, but are found in many places of the Bible when it is translated by ancient versions. In

22. See also the comparative found in Targum and P of Jer. 51.30.

23. In Targum: *nēbiyya' dē-šiqra'* and in LXX: *pseudoprofes*. It is worth pointing out that while in Jer. 29.18 P reads 'false prophets'—the same version of LXX translating Jer. 34—Targum interprets as 'scribes'; see Ribera, *Traducción del Targum de Jeremías* (Valencia, 1992), p. 90 n. 13.

24. The translators seem to try to harmonize this passage with Onq. Deut. 29.22.

25. This idiomatic form *qdm/mn qdm* became so current that it is also used when there is no indication of reverence; see Targum and P to Jer. 28.7: 'in the eyes of all the people' is translated 'before all the people'.

any case, from the examples I have given the following conclusions may be drawn.

1. Ancient versions are not a literal translation of every word from Hebrew to another language. They are above all translations of content which become understandable in another language. In order to make the text comprehensible the translators interpret the meaning of the text according to set hermeneutic rules, and following a special ideology.
2. When the translation does not agree with the MT we can find at least two reasons for this disagreement: either because the translator has a *Vorlage* different from the MT, or because the ancient version tries to interpret the MT.
3. In all ancient versions there is evidence of midrashic tendencies, but they do not always appear in the same passage.
4. The origin of the Targum must be found in the necessity of translating the Hebrew text into Aramaic, when the Jewish people from Palestine did not understand Hebrew, just as the Greek translation was made for Jewish people living in Hellenic countries.
5. The double process of translation–interpretation develops especially in the Targum, in which there are some blocks of texts literally translated, while others contain a more less developed commentary.
6. There is no evidence for denying the antiquity of the written Targum, or for speaking only of ancient oral tradition of the Targum. The discoveries of Qumran show the ancient existence of written Targums.²⁶

We can conclude that the origin of the ancient versions and the Targum is the same: the necessity to make comprehensible the original text in other languages through translation and interpretation. The Targum is a result of a more developed process of this interpretative tendency, but following at all times the hermeneutic rules of the Jewish interpretation of the Bible.

26. I do not think that it is right to speak of the community of Qumran as a heretical Jewish group; nor to say that they were the only cultured group; the scribes and other Jewish groups, such as the authors of Apocalyptic literature, were also cultured people. We have found only the Qumran documents, but this does not mean that we should limit Jewish literature, concretely targumic literature, of this epoch to the Qumran group.

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Part IV

TARGUMS OF THE PENTATEUCH

TARGUM ONQELOS, HALAKHA AND THE HALAKHIC MIDRASHIM

Bernard Grossfeld

1. *Onqelos and the Halakha*

This subject has been explored by numerous scholars from as early as 1836 to as late as 1983. Most of these studies were concerned with the problem of the criteria followed by Targum Onqelos in reflecting Halakha in the translation of the Hebrew verse. I will limit myself in outlining the three most prominent of these theories.¹

1. *Z.H. Chajes*² and *S.Y. Rapoport*³

According to them, the criterion is based on the nature of the verse as far as the target audience was concerned. The technical terms employed are: *מסורות לכל* and *מסורות לביד*. Was the biblical injunction directed to the 'courts'/'judges'/'the Heads of the Sanhedrin' in which these agencies were involved, and who would decide and act on the case; or was it directed to all concerned, that is, to the masses for every individual to incorporate into his personal conduct? If the direction was *מסורות לביד* there was no need to reflect the Halakha in the

1. I have used the following editions in this essay: *Bereshith Rabba* (ed. J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck; Jerusalem, 1965); *Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai* (ed. J.N. Epstein. Jerusalem, 1955); *Mekhilta D'Rabbi Ishmael* (ed. H.S. Horovitz and I.A. Rabin; Jerusalem, 1970); *Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel al ha-Torah* (ed. D. Rieder; Jerusalem, 1984-85); *Sifra debe Rab* (ed. I.H. Weiss; Vienna, 1862); *Siphre D'Be Rab* (on Numbers) (ed. H.S. Horovitz; Jerusalem, 1966); *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (ed. L. Finkelstein; New York, 1969); *Siphre Zuta* (ed. S. Lieberman; New York, 1968); *Targum Onqelos* as edited by A. Sperber in *The Bible on Aramaic*, I (Leiden, 1959).

2. Cf. his *אמרי בינה*, pp. 901-29 and *אגרת בקרה*, pp. 495-516 in *כל ספרי מהר"ץ* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: *Dibre Hakhamim*, 1958), II.

3. Cf. his *דברי שלום ואמת* (Prague, 1861), pp. 11-15; and *Kerem Chemed 5* (1840), p. 223; 6 (1841), p. 220.

3. Deut. 25.6—This verse deals with the status of the son born to a couple who underwent a Levirate marriage. The biblical injunction states: *והיה הבכור אשר תלד יקום על שם אחיו המת* which Onqelos translates literally, ‘Now the first son that she will bear shall be accounted in name to the dead brother’. Here too the injunction is directed to the courts whose officials knew how to act in accordance with the Halakhic interpretation.⁶ Thus, the Halakha was not reflected in Onqelos’s translation.

מסורת לכל

1. Exod. 12.46—The Hebrew *יאכל אחד בבית אחד* which refers to consumption of the Paschal Lamb and that ‘it be eaten in one house’ is rendered in Onqelos as: *בחבורה חדא יתאכל*—‘it should be consumed by one group’ in accordance with the Halakha.⁷ This injunction is directed to every individual at large. Consequently, it cannot be rendered literally by the Targum if a Halakha exists which interprets it differently. The possibility was that the masses might misunderstand and act according to the literal translation, since they were not familiar with the Halakhic understanding of it.

2. Exod. 23.19; 34.26; Deut. 12.21—In each of these three verses where the Hebrew reads: *לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו*—‘do not boil a kid in its mother’s milk’, Onqelos translates it: *לא תיכלון בשר בחלב*—‘do not consume meat with milk’. This interpretive rendering is in accord with the official Halakha.⁸ Since this injunction is targeted at every

6. Cf. *b. Yeb.* 24a: *יקום על שם אחיו לתולה*—‘he shall be accounted on behalf of his brother as far as inheritance is concerned’.

7. Cf. *b. Pes.* 86a-b where the following controversy exists on this subject: *ר. יהודה אומר בשתי חבורות, ר. שמעון אומר בחבורה אחת*—R. Juda said: ‘in two groups’, R. Simon said: ‘in one group’, Onqelos siding with the opinion of R. Simon. Cf. also *Mek.* מסכתא דפסחא XV, pp. 54-55 and *t. Pes.* 6.11.

8. Cf. *b. Hul.* 115b: *דבי ר. ישמעאל תנא לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו ג' פעמים*
אחד לאיסור אכילה ואחד לאיסור הנאה ואחד לאיסור בישול

‘The School of R. Ishmael taught: “You shall not boil a kid in its mother’s milk” is stated three times—one is an injunction against eating it, one an injunction against benefiting from it, and one an injunction against boiling it.’ R. Simon b. Yoḥai is author of this view in *Mek.* מסכתא דכספא XX, p. 336. Although the entire Halakha is not actually reflected in Onqelos, where only the injunction on eating is stated in all three verses, it appeared to be sufficient in itself to guide the masses away from understanding the verses literally, and they consequently understood the injunction

individual, the translation had to reflect the Halakha with which they were not entirely familiar. A literal translation by Onqelos at this point would have entirely misled the masses.

3. Deut. 6.9—This example is very representative of the conciseness that typifies Targum Onqelos in general when reflecting a Halakha⁹ within his translation. The Hebrew reads: *וּכְתַבְתֶּם עַל מְזוּזוֹת בֵּיתְךָ* ‘You shall inscribe them on the doorposts of your house’. It is rendered by Targum Onqelos as: *וְהִתְחַבְיִינוּן עַל מְזוּזֵי וְהִתְקַבְעִינוּן בְּסִפֵּי בֵּיתְךָ*—‘You should inscribe them on Mezuzot and affix them on the doorposts of your house’. It is easy to foresee the consequences of a literal translation in Onqelos had he chosen not to follow the Halakha here. The biblical injunction is so simple that the average individual would simply have inscribed the texts on the stone or wooden doorposts of his house. As this injunction, however, was one aimed at the masses, Onqelos felt compelled to insert, through an economy of words, the correct way of carrying out this commandment as reflected in the Halakha.

The problem with this theory is that it is simply not foolproof, as Chajes himself acknowledged in the following three cases; all of which are *מסורה לביד*—‘the concern of the court’, and yet Onqelos reflects the Halakha in his translation, though the court officials knew it anyway.

1. Deut. 22.18, where the Hebrew reads *וַיִּסְרוּ אוֹתוֹ*—‘they should discipline him’, and Onqelos renders *וַיִּלְקֹן יְחִיה*—‘they should flog him’, in agreement with the Halakha.¹⁰

2. Deut. 24.16—The Hebrew has: *לֹא יוֹמְתוּ אֲבוֹת עַל בָּנִים וּבָנִים לֹא יוֹמְתוּ עַל אֲבוֹת*—‘the fathers should not be put to death on account of the children, and the children should not be put to death on account of the fathers’, translated by Onqelos as: *לֹא יִמְוֹתוּן אֲבוֹהֵן עַל פִּיּוֹם בְּנֵי וּבְנֵי לֹא יִמְוֹתוּן*—‘the fathers should not be put to death on the mouth [i.e. testimony] of the children, and the children should not be put to death

against boiling and benefiting from this mixture as well.

9. Cf. *b. Men.* 34a: *חֹדֶר וּכְתַבְתֶּם יִכּוֹל יִתְחַבְתֶּם עַל הָאֲבָנִים נֹאמֵר כִּאֲן כְּתִיבָה*
נֹאמֵר לִהְיוֹן כְּתִיבָה מַה לִּהְיוֹן עַל הַסֵּפֶר אִף כִּאֲן עַל הַסֵּפֶר . . . שְׁנֹאמֵר . . . וְאֵנִי
 כּוֹתֵב עַל הַסֵּפֶר בְּדִיו (Jer. 36.18)

‘Our Rabbis taught “and you shall write them”, I would think you shall write them upon stones, therefore it says here “writing” and there “writing”, just as there it means on a scroll so here it means on a scroll. . . just as it says “and I wrote them with ink on a scroll.”’ Cf. likewise *Sifre* אַחֲזַנֵּן XXXVI, p. 66.

10. *b. Ket.* 46a: *זֶה מִלְקוֹחַ*; וַיִּסְרוּ—also *Sifre* תַּצֵּא כִי CCXXXVIII: 18, p. 270—*בְּמִכְתָּב* וַיִּסְרוּ אוֹתוֹ, ‘they should discipline him’ that is by flogging’.

on the mouth [i.e. testimony] of the fathers'. Here, too, instead of being literal in translation, since the court officials knew the Halakha¹¹ that the testimony of witnesses who are relatives is inadmissible. Onqelos nevertheless reflects the meaning of the biblical injunction found in this Halakha by the addition of the single word פים.

3. Exod. 21.19—Here the Hebrew text deals with a person who has injured another and the various types of compensations he must make to him after the injured party became disabled. If sometime thereafter he regains his strength, he is still obligated to render him some of the compensation. The Hebrew reads: אם יקום ויחלהך בחוץ על משנתו ונקה—'if he gets up and walks about outside on his staff the offender is vindicated, only he must pay for his idleness and his cure'. Onqelos renders it: אם יקום ויחלהך בברא על בוריה ויהי זכאה—'if he gets up and walks about outside on his own health (and his own strength), then the offender is vindicated, except his idleness and his doctor's fees he must pay'. This is certainly a case for the courts, and yet Onqelos reflects two Halakhic points in his translation.¹²

2. N. Adler

He criticized the Chajes–Rapoport theory by enumerating no less than 12 cases of מסורה לב"ד all of which Onqelos translates by adding Halakha; and three additional cases of מסורה לכל where Onqelos is literal in his translation. In addition to Deut. 24.16 already cited above under Chajes's self-criticism, Adler enumerates the following.

11. Cf. *y. Sanh.* 3.10, 21c: לא יומתו אבות—בעדות בנים ובנים לא יומתו בעדות אבות עד כדון כרבי עקיבה.

“The fathers should not die”—on account of the testimony of the children and the children should not die—on account of the testimony of the fathers, up to here is the opinion of R. Aqiba.’ Cf. also *b. Sanh.* 27b and *Sifre* חצא CCLXXX.16, p. 297.

12. The first is stated in *Mek.* משפטים VI, pp. 270 and 293: על משנתו על בוריו—'on his staff' that means restored to his health. This is one of three expressions in the Torah that R. Ishmael used to interpret as being figurative'.

The second is mentioned in *b. B. Qam.* 85a: ישמעאל אומר ורפא—'It was taught in the School of R. Ishmael “and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed”, from here it may be learned that a doctor was given permission to heal.’ Cf. also *y. Sanh.* 8.8, 26c.

Passages מסורות לבד

- Gen. 9.6 (MT) שופך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך
(Onq.) די ישוד דמא דאשא בסהדין על מימר דניא¹³ דמיה יתקד
- Exod. 22.10, (MT) אם לא שלח ידו במלאכת רעהו ולקח בעליו ולא ישלם,
(Onq.) אם לא אושיט ידיה במא דמסר ליה חבריה ויקבל מריה מניה מומחא¹⁴
- Exod. 23.7, (MT) ונקי וצדיק אל תהרג,
(Onq.) ודי זקי ודי נפק מן דינא¹⁵ לא תקטול
- Exod. 23.18, (MT) ולא ילין חלב חני עד בקר,
(Onq.) ולא יבתון בר מן מדבחא¹⁶ תרבי נכסח חנא עד צפרא
- Deut. 21.8, (MT) כפר לעמך ישראל,
(Onq.) בהניא יימרן¹⁷ כפר לעמך ישראל
- Deut. 18.8, (MT) לבד ממכרוי על האבות,
(Onq.) בר ממשרתא דייחי בשבת¹⁸ דכן אחקינו אבהא

13. Cf. *b. Sanh.* 57b—אשכח רב יעקב בר אחא דהוי כתיב בספר אנדהא—
דבי רב: בן נח נהרג בדיין אחד ובעד אחד שלא בהתראה

Gen. R. 34.14— שופך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך אר תניא כולם
כהלכות בני נח בער אחד ובדיין אחד

b. Sanh. 72b— תש רודף שהיה רודף אחר חבירו להרגו
אמר לו ראה שישראל הוא ובן ברית הוא
והתורה אמרה שופך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך
אם אמד יודע אני שהוא כן פסור ע"מ כן אני
עושה חייב. לא צריכא דקאי בתרי עברי דנהרא
דלא מצי אצולי מאי איכא? דבעי לאיתויי לבי דינא,
בי דינא בעי התראה

14. Cf. *b. B. Qam.* 106a— כיון שקבלו הבעלים שבועה, שוב אין משלם ממון—
Cf. b. Šeb. 45a & *Mek.*— XVI, p. 304—

מכאן אמרו כל הנשבעין נשבעין ולא משלמין

15. Cf. *b. Sanh.* 33b— ומניין ליוצא מב"ד זכאי ואמר אחד יש לי ללמד עליו
חובה, מניין שאין מחזירין אותו, חל צדיק אל תהרג

16. Cf. *Mek.* XX, p. 334f.— משפטים מסכתא דכספא
החלבים שהם נפסלים בלינה על גבי הרצפה. יכול
יהו נפסלין בלינה על גבי המערכה תל כל הלילה עד הבקר
על גבי המערכה.

The מערכה being the 'arrangement' of wood on the altar of the Temple.

17. Cf. *m. Soṭ* 9.6; *b. Soṭ* 46a; *y. Soṭ* 43, p. 23d.

[ו]הכהנים אומרים כפר לעמך ישראל— *CCX*, p. 244 שפטים *Sifre*

18. Cf. *b. Suk.* 56a: מה מכרו האבות זה לזה? אני בשבתי ואתה בשבתך

In all of the above cases, Onqelos reflects the Halakha, sometimes subtly while at other times explicitly, even though the passages were directed to ב"ד who knew the Halakha.

Passages מסורות לכל

Lev. 22.13, חרע אין לה, (MT)
ובר לית לה (Onq.)¹⁹

Lev. 11.36, אך מעין ובור מקדה מים יהיה טהור, (MT)
ברם מעין ונוב בית כנישת מיא יהי דכי (Onq.)²⁰

In the latter two instances, Onqelos renders a completely literal translation of the Hebrew when a Halakha is involved which he ignores, although the masses do not know of it, and consequently would not perceive the intended meaning of the verse. Adler therefore

‘What did the ancestors sell to each other? They made, as it were, an agreement of sale saying: I take [the ordinary priestly dues during] my week, and you take [them during] your week.’ They agreed that each group would get its own weeks of service, in addition to the festival offerings themselves, i.e. as the division of the service is equal for all (the *mishmarot*), so is the division of the food. Each *mishmar* shall officiate for one week in rotation. Thus it is only the sacrifices that are specially prescribed for the festival that all the *mishmarot* have an equal share. Cf. also *Sifre* CLXIX, p. 217.

19. Cf. *b. Yeb.* 70a: חרע אין לה—אין לי אלא זרעה, זרע זרעה מניין, תל חרע אין לה מכל מקום, אין לי אלא זרע כשר, פסול מניין, תל חרע אין לה עיין עלה.

Sifra (אמור V.3, 4, p. 97b): חרע אין לה—אין לי אלא זרעה, נרע זרעה מנין, תל חרע אין לה, [כיצד בת כהן שניסת לישראל וילדה ממנו בת, והלכה הבת ונשאת לכהן וילדה ממנו בן הרי זה ראוי להיות כג ועומד ומשמש ע"ג המזבת, מאכיל את אמו פוסל את אם אמו, זאת אומרת לא כבני כג שהוא פוסלני מן התרומה].

אין לי אלא זרע כשר, זרע פסול מנין, ויל זרע אין לה, [כיצד, בת ישראל לכהן, בת כהן לישראל וילדה ממנו בת, והלכה הבת וניסת לעבד, וניסת לנכרי, וילדה ממנו בן, הרי זה ממור יהיה אם אמו בת ישראל לכהן תאכל ברומה, ובת כהן לישראל לא תאכל בתרומה].

20. Cf. *b. Pes.* 16a: מאי יהיה טהור, מטומאתו

‘What does “shall be clean” mean? From his uncleanness’. The verse refers to one who is unclean, and states that if he immerses himself in a ritual bath in the water of a fountain or a pit, he shall be clean. But it does not refer to the cleanness of the water itself, as does Onqelos’s translation.

formulated his own theory in an attempt to explain the *modus operandi* of Onqelos in translating a Hebrew verse—when does he use the Halakha and when does he omit it?

According to Adler, Onqelos translated according to the Halakha in the following three circumstances:

1. When sectarian groups like the Sadducees, Boethaesians, and Epicurians would render that particular passage according to their own ideology against the Halakha.
2. When the Halakha was not cautiously observed by the masses of the people due to ignorance.
3. If a dispute existed among the early Tannaim as to the correct interpretation of a passage. Here Onqelos would in most cases render it in agreement with the view of one or the other of the disputants; or render it literally but with the appropriate Halakhic additions.

Accordingly, Onqelos renders the following passages by reflecting the Halakha for one of the three reasons just enumerated:

1. Exod. 23.19; 34.26; Deut. 12.21—לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו—reason 1²¹
2. Lev. 23.15—ממחרת השבת—reason 1²²
3. Lev. 23.40—פרי עץ הדר—reason 1²³
4. Deut. 6.8; 11.18—והיו לשוטפות בין עיניך—reason 1²⁴

21. Cf. *b. Hul.* 115b: דבי ר' שמעון תצא לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו, ג' פעמים, אחד לאיסור אכילה, ואחד לאיסור הנאה, ואחד לאיסור בישול. ר' ישמעאל בן יוחאי אומר לאחד: XX, p. 336, מסכתא דכספא. *Mek.* and *Mek.* איסור אכילה, ואחד איסור הנאה, ואחד איסור בישול.

22. Cf. *b. Men.* 65a: שהיו בייחוסין אומרים עצרה אחר השבת, ממחרת יום: *Sifra*—(X.12, p. 100b), and *b. Men.* 65b, 66a: ממחרת יום: מכחר יומא טבא = *Onq.* while *Onq.*

23. פרי עץ הדר = אתרוג = (*y. Suk.* III.5, p. 53b; *Lev. R.* 30.8, p. 606f.; *Pes. K.* XXVIII, ולקחתם לכם, p. 183b, *Sifre* אמור XII.16, p. 102b).

24. *b. Suk.* 32a). לולב = כפוח תמרים (understood). *Onq.* = אתרוגין ולולבין והרסין וערבין דגחל = ערבית, ולקחתם לכם (*Lev. R.* XXX.8, p. 607; *Pes. K.* XXVIII, ולקחתם לכם, pp. 183b-84a; *y. Suk.* III.5, p. 53a; *Sifre* אמור XII.16, p. 102b).

24. Cf. *Sifre* אהתני XXXV, p. 63f.: וקשרתם לאות על ידך—כרך אחד של ארבע שוטפות, שיהיה בדיון הואיל ואמרה תורה תן תפילין ביד וכן תפילין בראש... *Mek.* XIII. 9, 10, בא. XVII, p. 66f., XVIII, p. 74 and *Mek. SbY.* *Mek.* ויהוה לתפילין בין עיניך. *Onq.* has *b. Men.* 34b, 37a. *Onq.* has

5. Exod 12.22—ומבלחם בדם אשר בסף—reason 3²⁵
6. Deut. 23.25—כי תבוא בכרם רעך—reason 3²⁶
7. Exod. 12.15—תשביתו שאר מבתיכם—reason 3²⁷
8. Exod. 12.46—בבית אחד יאכל—reason 3²⁸
9. Lev. 19.32—מפני שיבה חקום—reason 3²⁹
10. Lev. 23.43—כי בסוכות הושבתי את בני ישראל—reason 3³⁰
11. Deut. 21.12—ועשחה את צפרניה—reason 3³¹
12. Deut. 22.15—לא יהיה כלי גבר על אשה—reason 3³²
ולא ילבש גבר שמלת אשה

25. Cf. *Mek.* מסכתא דפסחא XI, p. 37 (R. Aqiba vs. R. Ishmael) with R. Aqiba maintaining *אין סף אלא כלי* while R. Ishmael holds the view that *אין סף אלא מסקופא*; Onq.'s *במנא* = R. Aqiba's opinion.

26. Cf. *b. B. Mes.* 87b, 88b, 91b, 92a, where Ise b. Juda argues for a literal translation of the verse vs. R. Jose b. Juda who maintains that we are here dealing with a laborer. Onq.'s *תתגר* is in line with that of the latter.

27. Cf. *b. Pes.* 5a and *Mek.* בא p. 28f. (Rabbi vs. R. Jose vs. R. Juda b. Bethera), the last one maintains that the Hebrew *תשביתו* may be accomplished in any manner, while the other two argue that only through 'burning' must the leaven be eliminated. Onq.'s *תבטלון* parallels that of R. Juda ben Bethera.

28. Cf. *b. Pes.* 86a-b, R. Juda vs. R. Simon, the former maintaining that it must be consumed *בשתי חבורות* the latter that it must be consumed *אחת*. Onq.'s *אפילו בחבורא אחת* is in agreement with R. Simon.

29. Cf. *b. Qid.* 32b, Tanna Qama vs. R. Jose the Galilean vs. Isi b. Judah, according to R. Jose the Galilean 'only one who has acquired wisdom' (i.e. a scholar), while Isi b. Judah understood it as referring to 'any old man'. Onq.'s *באורייתא* is in agreement with the former scholar.

30. Cf. *b. Suk.* 11b R. Eliezer vs. R. Aqiba, where Onq.'s *ענין* = R. Eliezer while R. Aqiba translated it literally 'in booths'.

31. Cf. *b. Yeb.* 48a R. Eliezer vs. R. Aqiba, Onq.'s *ית מפרתהא* is identical with R. Aqiba's view, while R. Eliezer renders *תקין*.

32. Cf. *b. Naz.* 59a (Tanna Qama vs. R. Eliezer b. Jacob):

R. Eliezer b. Jacob: *מין שלא חצא אשה בכלי*
זין למלחמה? תל לא יהיה כלי גבר על אשה
ולא ילבש גבר שמלת אשה, שלא יתקן איש בתקוני אשה

Tanna Qamma: *שלא ילבש איש שמלת אשה וישב בין הנשים*
ואשה שמלת איש וחשב בין האנשים

Onq.'s *לא יהי תיקון זין דגבר על אחתא ולא יתקן גבר בתקוני אחתא* is in agreement with R. Eliezer's opinion.

Onqelos is literal in his translation in the following two circumstances:

1. Where there is no dispute from sectarian groups, all of which agree with the logic of the Halakhic interpretation.
2. Where no rabbinic controversy exists, the Halakha being known to all, consequently no fear of error among the masses.

Accordingly, Onqelos renders the following passages literally:

1. Exod. 21.24—עין תחת עין—reason 1
2. Deut. 25.11—וקצוחה את כפה—reason 1
3. Exod. 21.29—וגם בעליו יומת—reason 1
4. Lev. 22.13—וורע אין לה—reason 2
5. Deut. 25.5—ובן אין לה—reason 2
6. Deut. 25.9—וירקה בפניו—reason 2
7. Deut. 25.6—יקום על שם אחיו—reason 2

Even Adler's theory is not without loopholes. These were pointed out by P. Churgin³³ whose own hypothesis is here summarized in order to bring the background information of the already published literature on this subject to a close. According to Churgin, no conscious selective process existed in Onqelos by which the Halakha was reflected in some verses and not in others.

All this happened coincidentally as part and parcel of the developmental stages in this Targum, which did not appear completed and perfected in all its aspects at one particular time. Rather, it was subject to critical analysis and to shaping as well as to perfection and completion by scholars of various generations until its final completion in late Tannaitic times. These critics made additions, deletions, and changes in order to make it more comprehensible to the masses. It was, after all, for their sakes that it was created in the first place.

The changes were necessitated by the fluctuating needs of the masses at various times. According to Churgin, there is no doubt that Onqelos in its original form was basically a literal translation of scripture for the masses who were unable to understand its language. However, it gradually became obvious that it was impossible to translate without explanations, as literal translations could and would at times lead to erroneous interpretations by the masses of the meaning of a verse.

33. For which see his article *אונקלוס בתרגום ההלכה*: מחקר ואגדה: *Talpiyoth* 2 (1945-46), pp. 417-30, especially 421-22.

Consequently, a process was started by which explanatory notes were inserted into the Targum.

With the widespread growth and popularity of the midrashic interpretations of the Torah, an effort was initiated to intersperse these within the Targum, in order to create within the Targum an area where the oral law and written law existed in intertwined fashion. This would result in the Targum functioning simultaneously as the conveyer of the written law to the masses, as well as its interpretation through the oral law of midrashic exegesis. To accomplish this goal, the Targum text was tampered with, to the extent that here and there Aggadic or Halakhic explanations were inserted, omitted, or altered, even within literal strands of Onqelos, in order to keep up with new demands (of the times). Even though, says Churgin, this type of editing was done slowly and deliberately with great care, it did not include the entire targumic text, but only certain special passages which required a change in the Targum in order to point out the correct intention which lay somewhere in the grey area between 'rendering the verse literally' and 'adding to it'.³⁴

Among the scholars who were involved in this process were undoubtedly some whose approach was one of conciseness, while others were more elaborate. In Churgin's opinion, it was the latter type who were inclined to expand the Targum with Aggadic and Halakhic interpretations; and from whom emanated the so-called Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of a much later period. Nevertheless, the approach of the former type prevailed, resulting in the more concise Targum Onqelos. This *modus operandi*, according to Churgin, was responsible for inconsistencies³⁵ such as Deut. 22.18 and Deut. 21.18—the former passage being Halakhically rendered 'they should flog him' and the latter literally 'they should discipline him'. The insertion of the Halakha in Deut. 22.18 was the result of the blending of the deliberate process of enlarging the general framework of the Targum which eventually lost out to the opposing tendency which emphasized conciseness. Thus the Halakha took hold in one place—Deut. 22.18, and not in another—Deut. 21.18. Likewise in Exod. 21.24, which Onqelos renders literally as 'an eye for an eye', the approach of those who emphasized elaborateness was not accepted in

34. Here see *t. Meg.* IV (III): 4—

דמתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה בדאי והמוסיף עליו הרי זה מגדף.

35. Both reading in Hebrew איתו ויסרו.

favour of those who advocated conciseness.

Thus, the existence of the Halakha in the Targum is based at times on the knowledge of the masses of the Halakhic implication rather than the literal meaning of a particular verse. For example, Exod. 23.19—'do not boil a kid in its mother's milk' was known to the masses by its meaning which bans the simultaneous consumption of meat and milk. Consequently, the Targum renders it 'do not eat meat and milk together'. Yet on account of the prevailing tendency of conciseness, the Halakhically extended ban affecting the act of 'boiling' and 'benefiting' was not incorporated into the Targumic translations of Exod. 34.26 and Deut. 14.21.³⁶ Likewise, for Exod. 13.16, Lev. 23.40 and Deut. 24.3.³⁷ Precisely because these Halakhic interpretations were well known to the masses, no elaborate expansion was necessary.

2. Description of Halakhic Midrashim

The Tannaitic Midrashim are, as is well known, compilations of comments by the early Talmudic authorities on the last four books of the Pentateuch—*Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael* on Exodus, the *Sifra* or *Torat Kohanim* on Leviticus, the *Sifre* on Numbers, and Deuteronomy. They have come down to us in two groups, the one (*Sifra* and *Sifre* to Deuteronomy) from the School of R. Aqiba, the other (*Mek.* and *Sifre* to Numbers) from the opposing School of R. Ishmael. In attributing the Midrashim to either the schools of R. Aqiba or R. Ishmael there is first the well-known statement in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 86a):

דאמר ר' יוחנן: סתם משנה ר' מאיר סתם תוספתא ר' נחמיה סתם ספרא
ר' יהודה סתם ספרי ר' שמעון וכולו אליבא דר' עקיבא.

'R. Johanan said: [The author of] an anonymous Mishna is R. Meir; of an anonymous Tosefta, R. Nehemiah; of an anonymous [dictum in the] Sifra, R. Judah, in the Sifre, R. Simeon; and all are taught according to the views of R. Aqiba' (as all of the above Rabbis were disciples of R. Aqiba).

36. For the former Onq. has בשר בחלב, for the latter it reads לא תיכלון בשר בחלב, בשר בחלב.

37. In the first case, Hebrew טושפת = Onq. תפילין; in the second Hebrew פרי עץ = Onq. אתרוגין ולולבין והדסין; and in the third, Hebrew עץ עבת = Onq. גט פשוטין.

David Hoffmann in his exhaustive analysis of the Tannaitic Midrashim³⁸ firmly established them as belonging either to the School of R. Aqiba or R. Ishmael on the basis of a variety of factors which include: (1) the Tannaim appearing in them who were associated with these schools; (2) the peculiar expressions and interpretative terminology employed in their treatment of the Halakhic passages; (3) the prevailing personality that seems to dominate that particular Midrash; (4) finally, comparative analysis between the Midrashim of one particular school of thought and the opposing one. According to Louis Finkelstein,³⁹ originally there were apparently eight such Midrashim, one from each school for every one of the last four books of the Torah. In the course of time, however, four of the original works disappeared from the European codices. But eventually fragments of the others were recovered from the Cairo Genizah as well as from the citations by older authorities. These include *Mek. SbY.* to Exodus, the *Sifre Zuta* to Numbers, and the *Midrash Tannaim* to Deuteronomy; the first and second belonging to the School of R. Aqiba, the third to the School of R. Ishmael. It was not accidental that the Midrashim preserved in the European codices were drawn alternately from the opposing schools. The authority making the selection considered himself bound to give equal representation to each group. In Hoffman's opinion this selection dates back to much earlier times—during the second generation of Amoraim in Palestine who chose two from the School of R. Aqiba and two from the School of R. Ishmael, so that the students would become acquainted with the midrashic approach of both schools. Thus besides the *Sifra* to Leviticus, they selected the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy as the two representatives of Rabbi Aqiba's School, because next to Leviticus, only Deuteronomy has the most Halakha (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 3.5). For the other two books, Exodus and Numbers, which contained less Halakha, the midrashim from the School of R. Ishmael—the *Mekhilta* and *Sifre* respectively—were selected. The general impression from a study of the Talmud is that the controversy between the opposing schools had ended with a victory for that of R. Aqiba in the early centuries of the Common Era.⁴⁰

38. The classic work is *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midrashim* (Berlin, 1886–87), pp. 41–43, 52–55, 63–64, 66–68, especially the summary on pp. 70–72.

39. Cf. 'The Sources of the Tannaitic Midrashim', *JQR* ns 31 (1941), pp. 211–13.

40. See Finkelstein, 'Sources', pp. 240–41.

As far as date is concerned, it is generally taken for granted that all of the extant Halakhic Midrashim were compiled about the middle of the third century CE, although their final redaction took place some time later.⁴¹

3. *Targum Onqelos: Date, Authorship and Provenance*

The date for the final written redaction of Targum Onqelos is as much a subject of controversy as is its authorship and home of origin. Dates range from the first century CE (S.D. Luzzatto, L. Zunz),⁴² to the second half of the second century CE (A. Berliner),⁴³ through the third century (Z. Frankel),⁴⁴ the fourth century (A. Geiger),⁴⁵ and even as late as the fifth century (G. Dalman).⁴⁶ Authorship is variously attributed to Onqelos the Proselyte, disciple and friend of R. Gamliel II (of Yavneh), R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, R. Joshua ben Hananiah and R. Aqiba (S. Singer),⁴⁷ and to one of Rav's pupils (Frankel).⁴⁸ At times he is referred to as the nephew of Titus (b. Git. 56b) while at times as Hadrian's nephew (*Tanḥ* A. משפטים V). Singer, however, believes that Domitian (81–96 CE) may have been the Roman Emperor with whom Onqelos consulted about his planned conversion to Judaism.⁴⁹

As far as the original home of Onqelos is concerned, Dalman⁵⁰ and Nöldeke⁵¹ believed it was Palestine. Paul Kahle⁵² pointed to an eastern

41. See Finkelstein, p. 211.

42. For the former see אורה נר (Vienna, 1830), p. viii; for the latter, *Die gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden* (Berlin, 1832), p. 62.

43. Cf. *Targum Onkelos: Einleitung in das Targum* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 107-108.

44. Cf. *Zu den Targum der Propheten* (Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars; Breslau, 1872), p. 9.

45. Cf. *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (Frankfurt am Main, 2nd edn., 1928), pp. 163-64.

46. Cf. *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 12.

47. Cf. *Onkelos und das Verhältniss seines Targums zur Halakha* (Berlin, 1881), pp. 3, 7, 8ff.

48. Cf. *Zu den Targum der Propheten*, p. 9 and n. 1.

49. Cf. *Onkelos und das Verhältniss...*, p. 10.

50. Cf. Dalman, *Grammatik*, pp. 12-13.

51. Cf. *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), p. xxvii; *Die semitische Sprachen* (Leipzig, 2nd edn, 1889), pp. 37-38; *Die alttestamentliche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 257.

52. Cf. *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 1959), p. 194.

origin in Babylonia. Kutscher's well-known view⁵³ places its origin in Palestine sometime during the early part of the second century CE as its language is basically Imperial Aramaic colored by Western Aramaic. The eastern Aramaic elements it contains are to be attributed to its eventual transmission in Babylonia. As to the question of why it disappeared from Palestine and survived in Babylonia, Kutscher reasons that after the destruction of the Temple and the subsequent crushing of the Bar Kokhba revolt, events which destroyed the cultural centers of Judea, the literal style of Onqelos—Imperial Aramaic colored by Western Aramaic, vanished and was replaced by the local spoken Western Aramaic dialects which were beginning to be used as a means of literary expression and thus gave birth to the Palestinian Targum. In Babylonia, however, these catastrophic events of the West did not effect it and this Targum was there edited (thus explaining the presence of eastern Aramaic elements in it, according to Kutscher) for the sake of the Babylonian Jews for whom such a need existed at that time (late second-early third century CE).

4. *Onqelos and the Midrash*

In comparing the historical background of both the Halakhic Midrashim and Onqelos with regards to home of origin, authorship, and final date of redaction, it becomes apparent that we are dealing with a common location—Palestine—and a common period—approximately the second to fourth century CE. But even more remarkable is the common possession of a philosophy of exegesis—the school of thought of R. Aqiba. Onqelos's association with the latter (*y. Qid.* 1.1) is agreed upon by most scholars and was set forth by A.E. Silverstone,⁵⁴ against the earlier view to the contrary expressed by M. Friedmann.⁵⁵ The prevailing tendency has always been to invoke the phenomenon of borrowing, and to attribute the existence of material in one text as having been borrowed from the other. Usually it is the Targum which is considered the borrower from the Midrash.⁵⁶ The fallibility of this

53. Cf. 'The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A Preliminary Study', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958), pp. 2-3 and 9ff.

54. See his *Aquila and Onkelos* (Manchester, 1931).

55. For which see his *Onkelos und Akylas* (Vienna, 1896).

56. So for instance Berliner in *Einleitung...*, p. 225. M.M. Kasher, *Torah Shelema* 25 (1974), p. 80 in his discussion of the Halakhic and Aggadic elements in

approach has already been expressed by A. York,⁵⁷ who argued that 'it is very difficult to prove direct borrowings, because there are so many variables that one has to take into account, such as common tradition, oral tradition, and similarities not due to borrowings'. This certainly holds true for Onqelos and the Halakhic Midrashim. However, Berliner adds,⁵⁸ that the most probable explanation would be that both Targum and Midrash drew from a common tradition that was oral and alive at that time.

5. *Some Statistics*

Out of a total of 153 cases where this Targum and the Halakhic Midrashim parallel each other, agreement occurs 149 times as against four instances where it differs from them. A further breakdown shows 41 direct parallels in Onqelos in the *Mek.*, of which 32 also exist in the *Mek. SBY.*, the Midrash of the School of R. Aqiba; 38 parallels with *Sifra* in addition to three cases where Onqelos deviates from it; 16 instances of parallels in *Sifre* to Numbers, of which 11 also exist in *Sifre Zuta*, with one case of *Sifre* and Onqelos going their separate ways. Finally, there are an overwhelming amount of 54 direct parallels in the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy. The four cases of Onqelos deviation are in *Sifra* (3) and *Sifre*—Numbers (1).

6. *Conclusions*

The overwhelming number of parallels between Targum Onqelos and these Halakhic Midrashim, both in regard to Halakhic and Aggadic interpretations definitely point in the direction of a common tradition upon which both genres of scriptural interpretations rest. That common tradition points to the School of R. Aqiba. In Onqelos, it manifests itself very conspicuously in the fact that several of his interpretations equal those of R. Aqiba—of a total of 153, no less than 19 are expressly attributed to him—the remainder probably anonymously so, in the Halakhic Midrashim, not to mention the many parallels to R. Aqiba's sayings in both Talmudim and the early Aggadic

Onq. suggests that it is equally possible, if not more probable, that the Midrash drew this material from the Targum as is the reverse.

57. Cf. 'The Dating of Targumic Literature', *JSJ* 5 (1974), p. 56.

58. Cf. *Einleitung* . . . , pp. 225-26.

Midrashim.⁵⁹ In addition to this is the citation in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Qid.* 1.1.59a) which draws an association between R. Aqiba and Akylas—‘R. Jose in the name of R. Johanan said: Akylas the Proselyte translated in the presence of R. Aqiba...’ That Onqelos and Aquila/Akylas are the same is agreed upon by consensus.

In the Halakhic Midrashim, the method of interpretation in *Sifra* to Leviticus and *Sifre* to Deuteronomy is definitely that of the School of R. Aqiba. As far as the Onqelos parallels to *Mek.* to Exodus and *Sifre* to Numbers is concerned, Midrashim following the exegetical methodology of the School of R. Ishmael, it was already pointed out earlier that equivalent passages occur for the most part in the School of R. Aqiba Midrashim to Exodus in *Mek. SbY.* and to Numbers in *Sifre Zuta*. Both are attributed by Hoffman to R. Simeon bar Johai, the most distinguished pupil of R. Aqiba.

But even where these do not occur, the *Mek. SbY.* and the *Sifre Zuta*, as we possess them today, may only be partial representatives of the Halakhic Midrashim to Exodus and Numbers, respectively, of the School of R. Aqiba mentioned under the name *Sifre* in the Babylonian Talmud.

Furthermore, the general tendency of Onqelos is to adhere to the literal meaning of the Hebrew text, and in this sense he is closer to the School of R. Ishmael rather than to that of R. Aqiba who expounded ‘upon each tittle heaps and heaps of laws’.⁶⁰ This still does not invalidate the contention that Onqelos was influenced by R. Aqiba’s School to a far greater extent than by any other. The silence of R. Aqiba and his disciples in those few cases where we find Onqelos agreeing with statements emanating from R. Ishmael’s School, does not necessarily indicate disagreement with Onqelos’s interpretation. In fact, the *Mek.* occasionally includes R. Aqiba’s teachings in non-controversial matters, and there is no decisive evidence that Onqelos followed one school rather than another. Only where the two schools differ from one another does Onqelos uphold the views of R. Aqiba’s School.

In general, the problem of Halakhic or Aggadic preference would

59. Although Onq. included Rabbi Aqiba’s Aggadic comments only when they did not strain the literal meaning of the verse too much, i.e. when the verse could bear the interpretation.

60. Thus *b. Men.* 29b: שמוּחַד לדרוש על כל קץ וקץ חלאין תלאין של הלכות. Hence there are occasional exceptions where Onq. follows the interpretations of Rabbi Ishmael’s School.

arise only in relatively rare instances, and the normally accepted procedure for the official translation of the Torah was to render the sense of the Hebrew text both idiomatically and as close as possible to the literal meaning, but without being enslaved to it.⁶¹

These situations then would lead one to date the original composition of the Aramaic version of the Torah known to us as Targum Onqelos to a period somewhere between the beginning and the middle of the second century CE. This is not to say that the proselyte Onqelos started from scratch in creating such a translation. There are a sufficient amount of references scattered throughout rabbinic literature that lead us to believe that an Aramaic Pentateuch translation, perhaps even more than one, were in circulation in Palestine, as can be seen from the reference to the existence of a Job Targum during the days of Raban Gamliel the Elder 20–50 CE (*t. Šab.* XIII [XIV]: 2; *b. Šab.* 115a). Now if an Aramaic translation for a Hagiographa book existed, certainly one for the Torah must have been in circulation in oral or written form, and not only during Raban Gamliel the Elder's time, but most probably a few centuries before his time as well. Thus Onqelos had raw material to work with. Utilizing these already existing Aramaic Pentateuch versions, he re-shaped them in accordance with the official line of rabbinic authority, namely that of R. Aqiba. With the crushing of the Bar Kokhba revolt leading to the destruction of the cultural centers in Judea, this Aramaic Pentateuch version, along with that of Jonathan to the Prophets and the Mishnah, were transferred to Babylonia. There Onqelos underwent further edition and development during the following centuries on the basis of the Mishnah and Talmud (Kahle) to serve the needs of the Babylonian Jews. It finally became the authoritative text, which in the official literary Aramaic, established the correct Jewish understanding of every passage of the Torah, and was regarded as of the highest authority among the Jews. As such the Targum was then brought back to Palestine together with the Babylonia Talmud about 1000 CE.⁶² In fact, Z. Frankel⁶³ dates Onqelos to the Early Amoraic Period; specifically to the Beth Midrash of Rab (בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ דְּרַבִּי רַב) in Babylonia. He is probably right in so far as the further redaction of Onqelos is concerned, but not as far as the original composition goes. Consequently

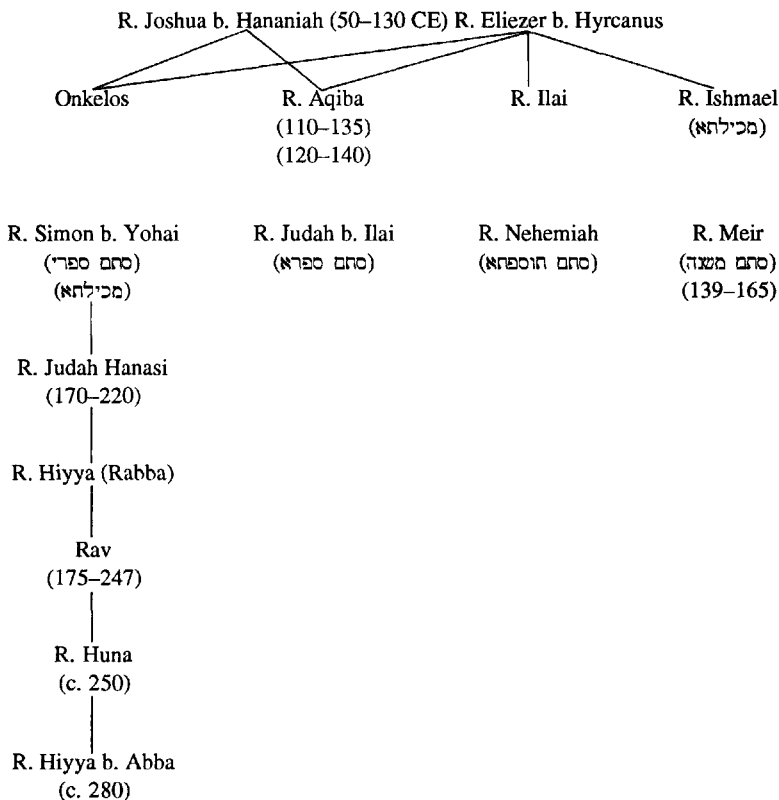
61. See above n. 13.

62. For which see Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, pp. 194-95.

63. For which see n. 26 above.

it probably passed through numerous more hands which contributed considerably to the final shape of Onqelos as we have it today. This accounts for many inconsistencies that exist in the text of Onqelos that we possess at this time.⁶⁴

Rabbi Aqiba Tradition Chart



64. A somewhat similar conclusion is reached by A. Berliner, *Einleitung in Targum Onkelos*, p. 245, where he sums up his study by saying that the evidence of the Halakhic and Aggadic elements in this Targum supports the contention that it was only the predecessors, teachers, and colleagues of Rabbi Aqiba, Rabbi Aqiba himself, as well as his older disciples who were the transmitters of these elements in the Targum. Halakhic traditions of later scholars found no acceptance (see the chart). Thus the dictum in *b. Erub.* 46b עקיבא מחברו כר' הלכה כר' and *b. Ket.* 84b הלכה כר' ע מחברו... ולא מרבו.

MAPPING THE SYNOPTIC PALESTINIAN TARGUMS OF THE PENTATEUCH

Paul V.M. Fleisher

The Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch form a maddening assortment of similarities and differences—similarities that invite delineation of how the texts relate to each other, differences which frustrate that activity. They contain extensive agreements in words, sentences and paragraphs, interspersed with apparently random disagreements in other words, sentences and paragraphs. But one aspect of organization stands out in this confusion: the similarities nearly always appear in the same order—partly because the Targums translate the same text, and partly because they tend to add the same material in the same location within those translations. This parallel character means that the Palestinian Targums are synoptic, that—as the Greek root, *synoraô*, indicates—they can be laid side-by-side and ‘viewed together’. Such viewing reveals the broad extent of their agreements, while at the same time it brings their differences into sharp contrast.

Recognition of the Palestinian Targums’ extensive similarities and differences is not new; Targum scholars have wrestled with this problem for decades. My file cabinets and bookshelves contain hundreds of studies that emphasize the similarities between, say, Neofiti and the Fragmentary Targums, or the differences between, for instance, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti. But scholars have yet to reach any broad consensus regarding the character of each Palestinian Targum or of the Targums’ relationships to each other. This impasse stems in part from methodology. Most studies focus on only a short segment of the text, a few verses or sometimes a chapter or two.¹

1. A. Shinan’s dissertation, B.B. Levy’s study of Neofiti and my own work comprise some of the few exceptions to this generalization. See A. Shinan, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1979); and B.B. Levy, *Targum Neophyti: A Textual Study* (Lanham, MD: University Press of

These intensive, in-depth analyses of short passages, in turn, often use their sample to draw general conclusions about a whole Targum or about the Palestinian Targums as a whole. But there is a problem here; no way currently exists of ascertaining if a particular targumic passage typifies either an individual Targum or the Palestinian Targums as a group. We cannot even show, for instance, whether Neofiti's Cain and Abel story or its elaboration of Jacob's Blessings constitute part of a consistent original plan, part of a haphazard collection, or derive from later insertions. Since the field of Targum studies has yet to answer such fundamental questions, the conclusions of our analyses to date are not merely tentative, but unverifiable. This places Targum scholars in an untenable situation; while their in-depth studies are necessary for a detailed understanding of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, such analyses presently provide valid results only for the passage studied; we do not know how, or even if, they point to the Targums' general nature.

The way out of this *cul de sac* lies in taking advantage of the Palestinian Targums' synoptic character. We need to make the Targums' synopticity the *object* of analysis, instead of presuming upon it as a *basis* for analysis. We need to emphasize the Palestinian Targums' ordered character—which organizes similarities and differences—by undertaking a systematic study of the Palestinian Targums to identify the passages that appear in several Targums and those passages unique to a single one. Such a study would provide a synoptic map of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, which would reveal the common nature of these targums as well as each one's distinctive character. This information would in turn provide the means for determining whether short passages typified the Targums in which they appeared and would thus indicate how far we may legitimately generalize from their analysis.

The main hurdle for such a study is its massive size. To be useful, a synoptic map needs to be comprehensive; it must encompass all five books of each Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch: Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, and the Fragmentary Targums as well as the Cairo Genizah

America, 1986); and P.V. Flesher, 'Translation and Exegetical Augmentation in the Targums to the Pentateuch', in J. Neusner and E.S. Frerichs (eds.), *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism. Judaic and Christian Interpretation of Texts: Contents and Contexts*, III (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), pp. 29-86.

fragments. If we consider that B.H. Streeter's classic analysis of the Synoptic Gospels—just three books—covered over 500 pages, then a similar analysis of the Palestinian Targums would take well over 3,000 pages.² Over the past decade, however, I have developed a more economical way to provide a picture of the synoptic links among the Palestinian Targums. This study, currently in its final stages, delineates a synoptic map that reveals both the shared characteristics of the Palestinian Targums and each Targum's individual nature.³

Given my time constraints, let me give just a brief description of the project's method. My approach focuses on the additional material—which I call expansions—placed into the Targums' translation of specific verses. Because of their added character, the expansions by definition reveal the relationships among the Targums; analysis of the translation, by contrast, often stands in danger of showing only the Targums' relationships to scripture. To ensure the identification of every expansion, I have developed a straightforward definition: a verse contains an expansion if it has at least seven more words than the Hebrew text. Once the expansions have been located, I then check each one for parallels in the other Palestinian Targums. Such parallel expansions occur when two or more Targums have the same *concepts* added into the verse, whether or not they use the same *wording*. The expansions—both shared and unique—are finally tallied, providing a map of the Targums' synoptic relationships.

The synoptic map created through this process is quite informative, revealing information about the character of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch as well as each individual Targum. Let us look first at the Targums' shared nature. The expansions fall into two classifications, which Avigdor Shinan has characterized quite succinctly. The first 'consists of aggadic traditions connected to a particular verse which are common to all or most of the extant targumic texts while the remaining texts to the same verse lack aggadic expansion'.⁴ That is to say, if a verse in one Targum contains an expansion, the other Targums, if they have an expansion at all, will have the same

2. B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1930).

3. The study is tentatively titled, *The Synoptic Targums: Sources of the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch* and will be ready for press in 1995.

4. A. Shinan, 'The "Palestinian" Targums—Repetitions, Internal Unity, Contradictions', *JJS* 36 (1985), p. 73.

one. The second type of expansions are distinctive to a single Targum and have no parallels with any other.

My study corroborates this description, with only minor differences. The two types of expansions clearly characterize the Palestinian Targums. Among Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan and the Paris and Vatican versions of the Fragmentary Targums, there are a total of 2,431 individual expansions, which, when parallels are taken into account, amount to 1,373 different expansions. Of these, 539 are shared by several Targums. By contrast, 834 expansions appear in only one. But whereas Shinan estimates that 95 per cent of these unique expansions appear in Pseudo-Jonathan, my research reveals that only 83 per cent do. The rest occur predominantly in Targum Neofiti.

The synoptic analysis, however, permits more in-depth investigation. If we look at a breakdown of the shared expansions, they initially appear regularly distributed. Of the 539 parallel expansions, 187 appear in all four Targums, 147 occur in three of them, while the remaining 205 expansions appear in just two Targums. But further analysis reveals that Neofiti plays a dominant role among these parallels. Neofiti contains 649 expansions, 515 of which parallel an expansion in another Targum. Those 515 make up 96 per cent of all shared expansions in all Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch. When we look at the two Fragmentary Targums, it is not hard to see why. Vatican has a total of 322 expansions, of which 299 parallel Neofiti, some 93 per cent. Similarly, the Paris Targum has a total of 287 expansions, of which 258 are shared by Neofiti, some 90 per cent.

But the synoptic map most strikingly sets out the relationship between Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan. It reveals Pseudo-Jonathan as both more and less of a Palestinian Targum than all Targums except Neofiti. On the one hand, the largest number of parallels with Neofiti appears in Pseudo-Jonathan. Of the 515 expansions Neofiti shares with other Targums, 461—some 90 per cent—occur in Pseudo-Jonathan. This comprises over 150 more parallels than either Fragmentary Targum. Although these shared expansions constitute less than half of Pseudo-Jonathan's expansions, they still indicate that Pseudo-Jonathan contains more expansions paralleling Neofiti than any other Palestinian Targum. So despite the many features in common with Targum Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan clearly belongs to the classification of Palestinian Targum.

On the other hand, Pseudo-Jonathan contains extensive material

appearing in no other Targum. Pseudo-Jonathan contains 689 unique expansions, making up 59 per cent of all the Targum's expansions. This amounts to over two hundred more unique expansions than shared ones. Furthermore, Pseudo-Jonathan most frequently violates Shinan's first observation, namely, if Targums have an expansion in the same verse, that expansion is parallel. Thirty-nine of Pseudo-Jonathan's expansions appear in verses where Neofiti has an expansion, but its expansion does not parallel Neofiti's at all. These features of Pseudo-Jonathan show that although it clearly belongs among the Palestinian Pentateuchal Targums, its material goes far beyond the other Targums.

Finally, let me observe that Pseudo-Jonathan is not the only Targum with a large number of unique expansions. Neofiti likewise contains a significant number. In fact, Neofiti has 134 expansions distinctive to it. That makes more than one fifth—21 per cent—of Neofiti's expansions unique. So while the unique material appears largely in Pseudo-Jonathan, it makes up a significant portion of Neofiti as well.

The synoptic map of the Palestinian Targums also reveals information about the character of individual Targums. To illustrate just how an analysis of several Targums indicates the character of a single one, let me draw on a sample study I did of Genesis 28–50, which will appear in the first volume of *Targum Studies*.⁵ This example sheds light on Pseudo-Jonathan's nature, through a comparison with the make-up of both Neofiti and the Fragmentary Targums.

In Genesis 28–50 to Neofiti, the expansions appear in two different patterns. In 28–48 and in 50, the expansions appear at a rate of 1–5 expansions per chapter, with an average of 2.73 expansions. In Gen. 49, however, 26 expansions appear. This difference provides an angle for investigating how other Targums engage the shared material.

The Fragmentary Targums treat the two types of chapters differently. Both the Vatican and Paris Targums share a higher percentage of the expansions in Genesis 49 than those in the other chapters. This tendency is most pronounced in Vatican, which contains 54 expansions that parallel Neofiti over these 23 chapters. A full 46 per cent of

5. P.V.M. Fleisher, 'Exploring the Sources of the Synoptic Targums to the Pentateuch', in P.V.M. Fleisher (ed.), *Targum Studies: Textual and Contextual Studies in the Pentateuchal Targums*, I (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992). This article provides all the citations for the verses and expansions mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Vatican's expansions occur in Genesis 49. That is a full 14 per cent higher than Neofiti, which has only 32 per cent of its expansions in Genesis 49. This difference becomes clearer from the opposite perspective; 92 per cent of the expansions in Neofiti ch. 49 also appear in Vatican, while Vatican parallels the expansions in the remaining 22 chapters only 49 per cent of the time. The difference between Neofiti and the Paris Targum is only slightly less marked. Paris's version of Genesis 49 contains 81 per cent of Neofiti's expansions, while in the other chapters, it parallels Neofiti only 56 per cent of the time. Both the Fragmentary Targums, then, are more likely to include an expansion from a large series of expansions than those more isolated within the translation, away from other expansions.

This phenomenon has implications for our understanding of Pseudo-Jonathan's character, for Pseudo-Jonathan's parallels with Neofiti follow a similar pattern. In fact, Pseudo-Jonathan's parallels with Neofiti in Genesis 28–50 suggest that Pseudo-Jonathan derives its expansions from a fragmentary Targum, rather than a complete Targum like Neofiti. In Genesis 28–50, Pseudo-Jonathan parallels Neofiti's expansions in the same pattern as the two Fragmentary Targums; more in Genesis 49, less in the other chapters. Pseudo-Jonathan parallels 24 of Neofiti's 26 expansions in ch. 49—that is 96 per cent—while in the remaining 22 chapters, it parallels 40 of Neofiti's 57 expansions, only 70 per cent.

Other circumstantial evidence supports the suggestion that Pseudo-Jonathan's material comes from a fragmentary Targum. First, dependence on a fragmentary Targum would explain the number of expansions in Neofiti to Genesis 28–50 that find no parallel in Pseudo-Jonathan; the 15 verses that contain expansions in Neofiti but which Pseudo-Jonathan merely translates constitute the expansions which that particular fragmentary Targum failed to include. Secondly, if Pseudo-Jonathan's editor drew only upon a fragmentary Targum, he would have had to compose his own translation. This would explain why Pseudo-Jonathan's translation differs to such a great extent from that of the other Palestinian Targums. Indeed, this might explain why Pseudo-Jonathan's language has such strong links to Targum Onqelos. If these results are borne out by further study, then this would be a step forward in understanding Pseudo-Jonathan.

In conclusion, mapping the synoptic relationships among the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch provides both a new method of

analysis and a new context for understanding the results of studies using current methods. Just the small sample of information discussed here has enabled us to explore the observations by Avigdor Shinan and has provided a new context for evaluating Genesis 49—already the focus of several studies.⁶ Further analysis of the Targums' synopticity will continue to advance our understanding of them.

6. Two studies come immediately to mind: R. Syrén, *The Blessings in the Targums: A Study on the Targumic Interpretations of Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33* (Abo: Abo Akademi, 1986); and B. Grossfeld and M. Aberbach, *Targum Onqelos on Genesis 49: Translation and Analytical Commentary* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

TARGUM NEOFITI AS A PROTO-RABBINIC DOCUMENT: A SYSTEMIC ANALYSIS

Gabriele Boccaccini

1. *Targums as Part of Rabbinic Literature*

Targums are part of rabbinic literature and need to be studied within that literary and ideological framework.¹ All the documents of rabbinic literature present a peculiar mixture of ancient and new traditions and offer an amazing number of parallels among themselves and with documents also belonging to other forms of Judaism, including early Christianity.² Some of the traditions contained in rabbinic documents look very ancient: some actually are, some certainly are not so ancient as they pretend. Parallels are equally placed on a span of one thousand years in apparent disregard of any chronological order and

1. 'La littérature targumique n'est qu'une partie de l'immense littérature rabbinique; elle ne peut s'étudier qu'en référence constante avec les diverses parties de celle-ci, dans le cadre de son développement, en tenant compte de l'évolution des doctrines etc.' (R. le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique* [Rome, 1966], p. 7). See also J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge, 1969).

2. For an analysis of parallels to rabbinic Targums, see E. Levine, 'The Aggadah in Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel and Neofiti 1', in *Ms Neophyti 1* (ed. A. Díez Macho; 5 vols.; Madrid, 1968-78), II, pp. 537-78, III, pp. 419-515, IV, pp. 645-707, V, pp. 575-629; M. Kasher, *Torah Shelemah, Vol. 24: Targumey ha-Torah* (Jerusalem, 1974); A. Shinan, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch* [Hebrew] (2 vols.; Jerusalem, 1979); B. Grossfeld, *An Analytic Commentary of the Targum Neofiti to Genesis: Including Full Rabbinic Parallels* (New York, 1992). The relationships between Targums and the New Testament are obviously of primary importance for biblical scholars; see M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospel and Acts* (Oxford, 1946; 2nd edn, 1954; 3rd edn, 1967); M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome, 1966, repr. 1978); *idem*, *Targum and Testament* (Shannon, 1972); B. Chilton, *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels* (Lanham, 1986).

any ideological boundary. Extant manuscripts are copies of copies; language and style have been submitted to several revisions.³

Dating these kinds of documents may seem like solving an unsolvable puzzle. Scholars have often been tempted to study traditions instead of studying documents, and to compare parallels instead of comparing ideological systems. But rabbinic documents are not chaotic collections of ancient material and parallels; they are consistent ideological documents. Even the most ancient traditions and the most common parallels were set in a context that picked up some traditions among a larger amount of ancient material and made them interact with new material. Both ancient and new traditions were arranged around a generative idea which defined the specific weight and rank of each constituent element. The result was the creation of new ideological systems. Hence, in rabbinic (and targumic) studies, emphasis should be shifted from traditions to documents, and from parallels to ideological systems; in other words, from source-criticism to systemic analysis. The primary question is not 'How old are traditions and parallels in this or that document?' but 'How old is the ideological system created by this or that document and what is the generative idea of each system?'

2. *The Concept of the Oral Law*

One of the pillars of rabbinic Judaism is the idea that on Sinai God revealed to Moses both the written and the oral law. In later documents this idea is attributed to ancient rabbis like Hillel and Shammai and to Moses himself, but this idea is not so ancient. We do not have any evidence of this before the third century CE.⁴

3. Such is the conclusion of textual studies, also in Targums; see B.B. Levy, *Targum Neophyti 1: A Textual Study* (2 vols.; Lanham, 1986-87). Dating languages does not necessarily mean dating documents; 'a late dating...may simply be the unconscious reflection of the time of Medieval copyists' (M.C. Doubles, 'Indications of Antiquity in the Orthography and Morphology of the Fragment Targum', in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* [ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer, Berlin, 1968], pp. 79-89).

4. Despite their different approaches, both J. Neusner (*The Mishnah before 70* [Atlanta, 1987]) and E.P. Sanders (*Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* [Philadelphia and London, 1990]) agree on this. Also S. Safrai admits that 'the unambiguous statement that Oral Torah as such was given at Sinai is found from the early Amoraic period', although his article on 'Oral Law' (in S. Safrai [ed.], *The*

Philo knows the existence of unwritten laws besides the Mosaic law. He emphasizes the significance of these unwritten rules which pursue the same aim as the written law, that is, to make people 'acknowledge the one God, Father and Maker of the world' (*Leg. Gai.* 115). Philo claims that the scripture itself teaches the honouring of the unwritten laws, and he praises those who obey them. However, unwritten laws remain clearly distinct from the written law. First, the source of their authority is neither scripture nor Moses; they are 'customs, decisions approved by men of old'. Second, they are handed down, not written; 'not inscribed on monuments nor on leaves of paper...but on souls of those who are partners in the same citizenship'. Third, they are authoritative but not compulsory; people obey them 'not under the admonition of restraint and the fear of punishment...but according to their free will' (*Spec. Leg.* 4.149-50; cf. *Apologia* 7.6; *Leg. Gai.* 115-18).

Flavius Josephus makes the Pharisees responsible for having 'passed on the people certain rules handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses'. The desire to make compulsory some unwritten laws differentiates the Pharisees from 'the Sadducees who hold that only those rules should be considered valid which were written down' (*Ant.* 13.297).

It is no surprise that early Christians charge Pharisees and later rabbis not only with misinterpreting the written law, but with promoting their own tradition against scripture (*Mk* 7.1-13; *Mt.* 15.1-7; Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 48.2).

The founding document of rabbinic Judaism, the Mishnah, turns the voluntary laws of Jewish tradition and the unwritten laws of the Pharisees into a consistent body of written and compulsory laws, but does not make any effort to relate them to scripture. Honestly, the Mishnah admits that some rules 'have nothing to support them...some are as mountains hanging by a hair, for Scripture is scanty and the rules many...some have that which supports them' (*m. Hag.* 1.8). The mishnaic system of laws acknowledges—besides the written law—many different and independent sources: the Halakah, the words of scribes and prophets, the decisions of lay or priest courts, even local customs (*m. 'Or.* 3.9; *m. Par.* 11.5-6; *m. Yad.* 4.3-4, *passim*). In the

Mishnah we find the tendency to relate some unwritten laws to Moses himself (*m. Pe'ah* 2.6; *m. 'Ed.* 8.7; *m. Yad.* 4.3), to create an uninterrupted chain of transmission starting from Moses (*m. Pe'ah* 2.6), and to found on Moses the legitimacy of later authorities (*m. Roš Haš* 2.9), but no consistent bond between tradition and Scripture is established, yet.

An inner principle of authority of unwritten laws does not exist. Previous rules—such as those in the so-called First Mishnah (*m. Ket.* 5.3; *m. Naz.* 6.1)—may be changed, yet some are declared unchangeable (*m. Yeb.* 8.3; *m. Ker.* 3.9). *M. 'Ed.* 3.9 states that 'the Halakah may be only according to the opinion of the majority', but elsewhere it is claimed that nobody, not even the majority can oppose a Halakah (*m. Pe'ah* 4.1-2).

In the Mishnah the legitimacy and consistency of unwritten laws relies only on the unifying authority of the sages. They are acknowledged as the living trustees of Israelite religion. Nobody but themselves may question their decisions; in halakhic discussions they always have the last word. Their self-sufficient authority affects scripture, too. The sages lay down the rules of how to read, interpret, and translate the scripture. If they cannot change a written law, they have the power to suspend its effects (*m. Hor.* 1.3). 'Greater stringency applies to the (observance of) the words of the Scribes, than to (the observance of) the words of the (written) law' (*m. Sanh.* 11.3). People were to obey the sages even if the decisions of the sages were against scripture; people would not be guilty for that (*m. Hor.* 1.1).

Although the authority of the sages covers both the unwritten and the written laws, tradition and scripture remain totally independent and autonomous: 'You may infer nothing about the words of the Law from the words of the Scribes and nothing about the words of the Scribes from the words of the Law' (*m. Yad.* 3.2). In Mishnah the sages have won their battle for leadership but their tradition has not yet become the oral law.

The first evidence of the concept of oral law is in the treatise *Abot* which was later added to the Mishnah.⁵ This concept is the core, the generative idea of the treatise and inspires and shapes even its literary structure. What in Mishnah was stated only about some unwritten law,

5. See R.T. Herford, *Pirke Aboth* (New York, repr., 1962 [1925]); and J. Neusner, *Torah from Our Sages: Pirke Aboth* (Chappaqua, 1983).

in *Abot* becomes a general rule: both the written and unwritten laws were given to Moses and handed down to the sages through an uninterrupted chain of authorities: 'Moses...the elders...the prophets...the men of the Great Synagogue' (*m. Ab.* 1 1).

After *Abot*, the concept of the oral torah is present—without exception—in all the documents of rabbinic Judaism (Tosefta, Talmuds, Midrashim, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, etc.). The only exception is Targum Neofiti, and in my opinion this is the most striking evidence of the antiquity of its ideological system.

3. *The Concept of the Preexistent Torah*

While Neofiti ignores the concept of oral law, there is in this document another pillar of rabbinic Judaism: the concept of the preexistence of the Mosaic law. Even this concept is not very ancient. Scriptures speak of several covenants and laws (notably, with Adam, Noah, and Abraham) before the Mosaic law. In the second century BCE, Ben Sira placed the Mosaic law within the framework of wisdom tradition, as the highest historical expression of the eternal wisdom that preceded and rules God's creation (*Sir.* 24.1-23). This idea was taken up by the book of Baruch (3.9-4.4) and particularly developed by Philo of Alexandria, who emphasized 'the harmony' between the Mosaic law and 'the will of nature, in accordance with which the entire cosmos itself also is administered' (*Op. Mund.* 3). This view of the Mosaic law as the historical incarnation of eternal wisdom does not imply in the wisdom tradition that the law is also eternal and pre-existent; covenants and laws belong to history, to the relations between God and humanity.⁶ According to Philo, the patriarchs were just, not because they observed the Mosaic law (which was still about to be given), but because they obeyed the law of nature (and in this sense their lives were themselves a sort of anticipated, unwritten law) (*Abr.* 5, 16, 275-6; *Dec.* 1; *Virt.* 194).

In early Christianity the myth of eternal wisdom was replaced by the myth of the preexistent Christ.⁷ The figure of Christ gradually assumed both the atemporal functions of wisdom and the historical

6. See G. Boccaccini, 'The Problem of Knowledge: Wisdom and Law', in *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 BCE to 200 CE* (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 81-99.

7. See G. Schimanowski, *Weisheit und Messias* (Tübingen, 1985).

features of the law. Jesus of Nazareth is the historical incarnation of the preexistent Christ, who preceded and rules God's creation. As witnessed in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, the existence of just people before the gift of the Mosaic law was, in the opinion of second-century Christians, one of the main polemical evidences that, since the beginning, salvation relied on the preexistent Christ and not on the later Mosaic law.

In rabbinic Judaism the myth of eternal wisdom was replaced by the myth of the eternal law.⁸ The Mosaic law gradually assumed the atemporal functions of wisdom. At the end of the second century CE, the Mishnah explicitly stated that, 'Abraham our father performed the whole Law before it was given' (*m. Qid.* 4.14). Christian apologists had to meet the challenge. The *Contra Iudeos* by Tertullian depends on Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* but for one point. Tertullian knows of the preexistence of Torah: 'The Law of God already existed before Moses...for the first time in Paradise' (2.9). The superiority of Christ's law is no longer founded on the delay and particularism of the Mosaic law, as in Justin, but on the many reformations that marked the historical path of the one Torah, until Christ came and the eternal law was submitted to its definitive reformation.

Neofiti is the evidence of a remarkable occurrence in rabbinic Judaism in the second half of the second century—the idea of preexistence of the Torah established itself. 'Two thousand years before the world was created, (God) created the Law...the garden of Eden for the just and Gehenna for the wicked' (Targ. Neof. 3.24). This concept strengthened the centrality of the Mosaic law and gave a higher degree of consistency to the ideas of salvation and retribution that the pharisaic-rabbinic tradition had set up in the previous centuries. Neofiti is much more than an embellished and clarifying translation; it is an ideological narrative. It aims to teach how since the beginning, the destinies of individuals and peoples depend on obedience to the Mosaic law, from Adam and Eve to the messianic age and the last judgment.

The idea of the preexistence of Torah clearly derives in Neofiti from the wisdom tradition. The age of 'two thousand years' corresponds to the time wisdom stood before God 'daily' before creation—

8. See M. Maher, 'Some Aspects of Torah in Judaism', *ITQ* 38 (1971), pp. 310-25; and J. Maier, 'Torah und Schöpfung', *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 6 (1990), pp. 139-50.

a reading of Prov. 9.30 in the light of Ps. 90.4. Neofiti still acknowledges to wisdom a role in creation: 'From the beginning (the Word of) the Lord with wisdom created and perfected the heavens and the earth' (Targ. Neof. Gen. 1.1). In *Abot* also this surviving element of wisdom tradition disappears definitively, and the Mosaic law replaces wisdom as 'the precious instrument by which the world was created' (*m. Ab.* 3.15). The Torah—not wisdom—preceded and rules God's creation.⁹

4. *The Two Trends of Rabbinic Judaism*

Mishnah, on the one hand, and Neofiti, on the other hand, witness to the two main trends that concurred to form rabbinic Judaism. The Mishnah created the myth of Halakha—the idea that religious life of the Jewish people was ruled by a consistent and compulsory whole of written and unwritten laws. Neofiti created the myth of the Torah—the idea that the Mosaic law existed before Moses and since the beginning was the only measure of salvation for humanity.

The treatise *Abot* joined these two trends through the concept of the dual Torah. Scripture and Halakha were no longer linked only by the external authority of the sages, but by a stronger, inner and reciprocal bond. Scripture and tradition were now the two complementary sides of the one, preexistent law. The clear boundaries set by the Mishnah between unwritten and written rules, between Halakha and Haggada, did not make sense any longer. The fusion of haggadic and halakhic elements would mark the developments of later rabbinic literature.

Also from the sociological point of view, Mishnah and Neofiti witness two parallel, autonomous traditions; more elitist the former, more popular—but not less sophisticated—the latter. Mishnah is the product of scribes who consider manual work a curse and condemn idleness only in women (*m. Pe'ah* 1.1). The ideal of the sages is still that of Ben Sira (38.24–39.11)—a life completely devoted to the study of the laws. Unlike the professional scribes portrayed in the book of Sira, the sages work, yet complain that since Adam's sin, human beings are forced to work. 'Have you ever seen a wild animal or a bird practising a craft?...I was created to serve my Maker...But I

9. The double translation of the Hebrew *bereshit* in Gen. 1.1, as 'beginning' and 'wisdom', is replaced in the later rabbinic tradition by the couple 'beginning/Torah'. See *Gen R.* 1.1-4: 'In the beginning by means of the Torah God created...'

have wrought evil, and (so) forfeited my (right to) sustenance (without care)' (*m. Qid.* 4.14).

For Neofiti instead, manual work is a gift from God. Adam prays 'not to be reckoned as the cattle, but to rest from the labour of (his) hands... In this way (God) will distinguish between the sons of man and cattle' (Gen. 3.18).

With his eulogy of manual work joined to the study of Torah ('Excellent is study of the Law with worldly occupation', *m. Ab.* 2.2), *Abot* tries, once again, to find a balance between different trends and, once again, its compromise was to be the winning one in later rabbinic documents.

5. *The Myth of the Palestinian Targum*

An examination of the system of Neofiti as a whole—not as a container of synoptic traditions and parallels—leads one to consider the second half of the second century¹⁰ as the period in which such ideological system took shape around the idea of the eternal Torah. Neofiti is a reliable source of formative rabbinic Judaism.

Certainly, Neofiti was not born from nothing. Targum as a method of exegesis is older, as shown by the Dead Sea Scrolls, and traditions in Neofiti are the fruit of a long exegetical activity, as shown by the numerous parallels with older documents, notably the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Josephus's *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, and the New Testament. However, the presence of parallels proves neither the antiquity of Neofiti nor the existence of an archetype.¹¹ 'The Palestinian Targum' as a document from which the following Targums would be born by adding or subtracting material, is a myth of modern interpreters, from P. Kahle onwards.¹² The risk—very

10. Also A. Díez Macho agreed that 'in its present recension' Neofiti 'seems to belong to the first or second century AD' (A. Díez Macho, 'The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the Other Targums', *VTSup* 7 [1960], pp. 222-45).

11. It only proved the antiquity of *some* traditions in Targums. 'Given the assumption that the New Testament and the Targumim were contemporaneous, one still has to establish that the text of the Targum we have today corresponds to the text of New Testament times, and this is no easy task' (A.D. York, 'The Dating of Targumic Literature', *JSJ* 5 [1974], pp. 49-62).

12. P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 1959).

insidious from the ideological point of view—is to see the one where we have the many. Material from different Targums has been often gathered and combined as if it were part of one ideology—‘the’ targumic thought.¹³ But discontinuity—not less than continuity—characterizes targumic tradition; each Targum has its own personality and defines a distinct ideological system.

The fact that in some cases later Targums, like Pseudo-Jonathan, contain older material than Neofiti, does not imply a generative text as the sum of all the oldest targumic traditions. The reemergence of very ancient traditions is a common phenomenon in later documents of rabbinic Judaism. Out of the original setting and deprived of any disturbing ideology, this material was recycled for new functions, or reemerged as inert matter for legends. This phenomenon occurred in talmudic times when the rabbinic system became mature and strong enough to encompass within its boundaries ideas that in the past had originated rival systems.¹⁴

The quotation in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Gen 6.4) of the fallen angels, Shemahazzai and Azazel, is a case in point. This quotation was made possible exactly by the fact that the memory (and danger) of the original setting of this Henochic tradition was by then completely lost.¹⁵ The mention of fallen angels is absolutely marginal and does not disturb the entire system of Pseudo-Jonathan, to which it adds only a folkloric savour. This would have been impossible in Neofiti: at the end of the second century the competition with the apocalyptic movement and early Christianity was still too strong. It is not by chance that no mention of evil angels is made in Neofiti and Mishnah and that

13. E. Levine's, *The Aramaic Version of the Bible* (Berlin and New York, 1988) offers a good example of this methodology, which parallels analogous approaches to rabbinic sources (cf. E.E. Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs* [Hebrew] [Jerusalem, 1969; Engl. edn, Jerusalem, 1975]).

14. Not surprisingly, Pseudo-Jonathan (7th-8th cent. CE) is the Targum that presents the highest degree of both internal unity and contradictions. See A. Shinan, 'The Palestinian Targums—Repetitions, Internal Unity, Contradictions', *JJS* 36 (1985), pp. 72-87.

15. The angelic sin is one of the founding ideas—if not the core—of the ancient Jewish apocalyptic tradition; see P. Sacchi, *L'apocalittica giudaica e la sua storia* (Brescia, 1991); G. Boccaccini, 'Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Contribution of Italian Scholarship', in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, (ed. J.J. Collins and J.H. Charlesworth: Sheffield, 1991), pp. 38-58.

this idea is among those more harshly rejected by Trypho in Justin's *Dialogue* (79.1).

6. *The Myth of Common Judaism*

Another myth of modern interpreters is that Targums voice the general ideas of first-century Jews—grassroots documents voicing a sort of neutral liturgical or synagogal Judaism.¹⁶ The existence of such common Judaism is made improbable by the pluralism of Judaisms of the time.¹⁷ Even if we wanted to try and define a common-denominator Judaism in the first century, it would certainly be very far from that portrayed in rabbinic Targums. The oldest of these, Neofiti, is one century later and its system, as a whole, reflects the ideology only of one branch of Judaism—early rabbinic Judaism. Traditions in Neofiti either were unknown in the first century, or were not universally shared, or had a different relevance in the many Judaisms of the time.

Parallels among documents do not mean dependence or agreement. We face rival movements in Judaism which, starting from the same unsolved questions and using the same material, built different and incompatible systems. Each one gave to the common bricks of their common religious tradition a different role and a different rank. Source-criticism and parallels reveal the raw matter; ideological relations among the many Judaisms can be defined only through a holistic comparison of documents and ideological systems.¹⁸

16. On the contrary, Targums are highly sophisticated and ideologically oriented documents. This is what York also suggests when he claims that 'in discussing the origin and purpose of the Targum we should widen our horizon to include the school as well as the synagogue as the *raison d'être* for the Targum' (A.D. York, 'The Targum in the Synagogue and in the School', *JSJ* 10 [1979], pp. 74-86).

17. See P. Sacchi, *Storia del mondo giudaico* (Torino, 1976); J. Neusner, *Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984); A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (Wilmington, DE, 1988); J. Maier, *Zwischen den Testamenten. Geschichte und Religion in der Zeit des zweiten Tempels* (Munich, 1990); Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism*.

18. See G. Boccaccini, 'Middle Judaism and its Contemporary Interpreters (1986-1992): Methodological Foundations for the Study of Judaisms, 300 BCE to 200 CE', *Henoch* 15 (1993), pp. 207-33.

TARGUM PSEUDO-JONATHAN OF DEUTERONOMY 1.1-8

Michael Maher

Although Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is closely related to Onqelos and to the Palestinian Targums it does have its own distinctive style and its own individuality as a literary work. We can appreciate this distinctiveness and individuality when we compare Pseudo-Jonathan's version of a passage with other targumic renderings of the same passage. Such a comparison is best done in a text which is preserved not only in Pseudo-Jonathan, Onqelos, Neofiti (our only complete Palestinian Targum), but also in other Fragmentary Palestinian Targums. Such is the case for the targumic rendering of Deut. 1.1-8 where we have several additions to the biblical text, and where the long midrashic development of v. 1 is preserved in several Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br¹), and, in an abbreviated form, in Onqelos.

The Hebrew text of Deut. 1.1 is unclear. Von Rad² says: 'The remaining heading, vv. 1-2, contains a remarkable difficulty, in that it contains statements about places which cannot be reconciled with each other'. One of the most recent translations of the Bible³ acknowledges that it is impossible to make sense of the first verses of Deuteronomy. It translates the first part of v. 1—'These are the words that Moses addressed to all Israel on the other side of the Jordan'—as an independent sentence, and then, beginning a new sentence, adds a

1. Ctg Br = MS British Library Or. 10794, folio 8. A single sheet from the Cairo Genizah, published by M.L. Klein, *The Fragment Targums of the Pentateuch according to their Extant Sources* (2 vols.; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980).

2. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 36. See also J.M. Sanchez Caro, 'Las Recensiones Targumicas, Estudio de T. Deut. 1.1', *Salmanticensis* 19 (1972), pp. 605-34 (607-609).

3. *Tanakh, A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985).

footnote which reads: 'The rest of this verse and verse 2 are unclear'.

The Targums, including Onqelos, solved the problem by stating that Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan, and that he there referred to events that had taken place in the wilderness, in the plain of Moab, at the Sea etc. The Palestinian Targums, and to some extent Onqelos, generally agree in associating the place-names mentioned in vv. 1 and 2 with certain events that had taken place on the journey from Egypt to the Promised Land, as one may see from the following summary:

Beyond the Jordan	All the Targums take HT literally and state that Moses spoke to the people beyond the Jordan
Wilderness	(Law given at) <i>Sinai</i> : Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, P, ⁴ V, ⁵ Ctg Br Onqelos: ' <i>for having sinned in the wilderness</i> '
Arabah	(Law explained in) the plains of <i>Moab</i> ; Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, P, V, Ctg Br Onqelos: ' <i>(For having caused provocation in) the plains</i> '
Opposite Suph	Pseudo-Jonathan : (<i>since you crossed</i>) <i>the shore of the Sea of Reeds</i> Onqelos: ' <i>opposite the Sea of Reeds</i> ' The Palestinian Targums. (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums; Ctg Br) offer a twofold (or threefold) interpretation of 'opposite Suph' a) (signs performed when you were standing at) <i>the Sea of Reeds</i> b) (you provoked him to anger) by the sea, (and you rebelled) <i>by the Sea of Reeds</i>
Paran	Spies sent from Paran (cf. Num. 13): Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br Onqelos: at Paran <i>they talked irreverently about the manna</i>
Tofel and Laban	All the Palestinian Targums link these places with the episode of the manna Pseudo-Jonathan: ' <i>you murmured about the manna</i> ' Neofiti (cf. also P, V, Ctg Br): ' <i>the manna of which you said, "our soul..."</i> ' Onqelos: ' <i>(they talked irreverently about) the manna</i> '

4. P = Fragmentary Targum, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Hébr. 110.

5. V = Fragmentary Targum, Vatican Ebr. 440.

Hazeroth	Pseudo-Jonathan : <i>you demanded meat</i> at Hazeroth (cf. Num. 11.31-34) Neofiti. Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br: at Hazeroth <i>your corpses fell because of the meat</i> Onqelos: at Hazeroth <i>they caused provocation about the meat</i>
Di-Zahab	All the Targums, including Onqelos, associate Di-Zahab with the Golden Calf

Words of Rebuke

These are the words of rebuke that Moses spoke to all Israel. *He gathered them closely to himself when they were on the other side of the Jordan. He began by saying to them : 'Was not the Torah given to you in the wilderness at Mount Sinai, and explained to you in the plains of Moab? How many miracles and wonders the Holy One, blessed be He, performed for you since you crossed the shore of the Sea of Reeds, where he made for you a way for each tribe. But you deviated from his word, and you angered him at Paran because of the report of the spies. You accused him falsely and you murmured about the manna which he sent down to you white from heaven. And you demanded meat at Hazeroth. You deserved to be blotted out from the world, were it not that he remembered in your favour the merits of your righteous fathers, and the Tent of Meeting, the ark of the covenant and the sacred utensils, which you covered with pure gold, and he made atonement on your behalf for the sin of the Golden Calf* (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.1)

Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum to add the phrase 'words of rebuke' (*pytgy 'wkhwt'*) in its translation of the opening phrase of v. 1 of HT, 'These are the words that Moses spoke'. This addition is in agreement with *Sifre*⁶ 1 which says that from the phrase 'These are the words' in Deut. 1.1 we learn that Moses' words were words of rebuke (*dbry twkhwt*). The writer proves this point by referring to several other biblical texts where the formula 'the word of' or 'the words of' refer to words of rebuke. PRK 13.7 makes the same point more clearly, stating that whenever a word or words from the stem *dbr*, as *dabar*, *dibre*, *debarim* occurs curses and rebuke (*twkhwt*)

6. Hebrew Text: *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (ed. R. Finkelstein; Berlin: Jüdischer Kulturbund, 1939; republished by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, 1969). English translation: *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (translated with introduction and notes by R. Hamer; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

follow. The author then goes on to prove this assertion by quoting several verses, including Deut. 1.1. The same work later quotes the words 'These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel' to make the point that Moses' words at the beginning of Deuteronomy were words of rebuke (*mqn̄r*), whereas his words at the end of that book were words of blessing (cf. Deut. 33.1).⁷ *Midrash Tannaim*⁸ quotes the phrase 'These are the words' (Deut. 1.1) and adds the comment: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, said, "Moses' rebuke of (*twk̄t m̄š*) Israel is as dear to me as the Ten Commandments"'.⁹

It seems then that interpretative tradition took the words referred to in Deut. 1.1 to be words of rebuke. When, therefore, Pseudo-Jonathan adds the words 'of rebuke' in his translation of this verse he was alluding to this well-known tradition. This practice of simply alluding to popular midrashic traditions is very frequent in Pseudo-Jonathan, as I have noted in another context.⁹

The idiom 'the words of rebuke' (*pytgmy 'wk̄wt'*) which we find in Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.1 occurs again in Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 28.15 which introduces the series of curses that are recorded in vv. 15-68. One of the characteristics of Pseudo-Jonathan is that it shows a certain consistency in using a particular formula to translate the same Hebrew word in different biblical texts, or, as is the case in Deut. 1.1 and 28.15, to describe a certain activity in different contexts.¹⁰

Sifre 1 understands 'beyond the Jordan' in Deut. 1.1 not as indicating

7. Cf. *PRK*, Supplement 1.5. See also *Qoh. R.* 3,11.1. *Exod. R.* 51.8 says that when the people broke off their golden rings for the purpose of making the Golden Calf Moses rebuked them (*hwkyhn*) with 'And Laban, and Hazeroth and Di-Zahab'. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.4.194-195 reads Deut. 1.1 as a rebuke; also Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 19.1-5, especially 5. On the tradition of 'words of rebuke' in the Targums see J.M. Sanchez Caro, 'Tradiciones del Targum Palestinense a Dt 1, 1', *Salmanticensis* 26 (1979), pp. 109-24.

8. *Midrasch Tanna'im zum Deuteronomium* (ed. D. Hoffmann; Berlin: Poppelauer, 1908-1909), p. 1.

9. See M. Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible 1B; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992), pp. 6, 31 n. 3, 68 n. 32, 103 n. 24, 138 n. 22; see also, e.g., Pseudo-Jonathan Exod. 10.23; 14.24; Lev. 8.33; Num. 12.1.

10. Cf. e.g., E.M. Cook, 'Rewriting the Bible: The Text and Language of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986), pp. 48-51, 108, 272.

the place where Moses addressed the people, but as referring to some unspecified sin which the Israelites committed beyond the Jordan. This understanding of the phrase is mistaken, and it has been ignored by all the Targums, including Pseudo-Jonathan.

Neofiti, V, Ctg Br and Onqelos all follow the introductory words of v. 1, 'These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel', with the statement 'he rebuked them'. Thus these Targums, like *Sifre*, also adopt the tradition that the words of Moses were words of rebuke, but they do so in a manner that differs from that of Pseudo-Jonathan, who as we have seen, introduced the term 'rebuke' earlier in the verse. P is the only one of the Targums that does not explicitly refer to the words of Moses as words of rebuke.

As the verse continues it is to be noted that whereas Pseudo-Jonathan and the Palestinian Targums have Moses address the people directly, Onqelos records his words only in narrative form: 'he rebuked them for having sinned...for having angered etc.'.

Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum to say that Moses 'gathered them closely to himself when they were (on the other side of the Jordan)'. Here again Pseudo-Jonathan is echoing a tradition which is recorded in *Sifre* 1, and which explains why Moses gathered the people to himself. *Sifre* offers three explanations of HT 'unto all Israel'. The first of these says that if all the the people were not present when Moses spoke, those who were absent might later say that if they had been present they would have rebutted his words. The second interpretation is closest to the text in Pseudo-Jonathan which we are considering. It reads as follows:

Unto all Israel: Hence we learn that Moses had gathered them (*knsm*) all together, from the oldest to the youngest, and said to them, 'I am about to rebuke you. If anyone has anything to say in a rebuttal, let him come forth and speak'.

Pseudo-Jonathan offers a condensed version of this tradition or of one very similar to it, a tradition which would have been well known to his audience. Without a knowledge of the midrashic line of thought one would not know why Pseudo-Jonathan felt it necessary to say explicitly that Moses gathered the people around him. Here then we have another example of Pseudo-Jonathan's tendency to make allusions to haggadoth which would have been familiar to his audience.¹¹

11. See above, n. 9.

The verb *knp*, which we translate as 'gathered closely', (the verb is a denominative from *knp*, 'wing') occurs only here in Pseudo-Jonathan although the nominal form (*kynwpy*) is found in a targumic addition to Num. 33.25 that is found only in Pseudo-Jonathan. In that verse the words '*tr kynwpy*', 'the place of assembly', are added as an interpretative gloss to the place-name Makheloth. The Targum linked the biblical place-name with the Hebrew verb *qhl*, 'assemble' (Niph.), 'summon' (Hif.). I know of no source for this addition in Pseudo-Jonathan. What is of interest to us in any case is that Pseudo-Jonathan uses the root *knp* in those two additions in Deut. 1.1 and Num. 33.25 that are special to this Targum. This is another small indication of the consistency that one finds in the language of Pseudo-Jonathan in general.¹² We may note in passing that in Num. 33.25 Pseudo-Jonathan has a double rendering of the Hebrew place-name, first the direct Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew (as in Onqelos and Neofiti), and then the midrashic interpretation. It is well known that such conflate renderings are frequent in Pseudo-Jonathan.

The Address

All the Palestinian Targums introduce Moses' speech with the words: 'Moses began by saying to them', literally, 'Moses answered and said to them'. In Pseudo-Jonathan, as in all the Palestinian Targums, Moses' address begins by recalling *positive experiences* which the Israelites had enjoyed. Taking the words 'in the wilderness' of HT to refer to the giving of the Torah on Mt Sinai, and taking 'in the Arabah' to refer to the explanation of the Torah in the plains of Moab (cf. Deut. 1.5), the targumists remind their audiences of the great gift of the Torah which the people of Israel had received. Strictly speaking the Arabah cannot be identified with the plains of Moab, since technically the Arabah consists of the Jordan valley and its continuation southwards towards the Gulf of Aqabah. But we find this identification not only in the Palestinian Targums but also in *Sifre* 1 which states that from the words 'In the Arabah' 'we learn that Moses rebuked them for what they had done in the plains of Moab'. Num. 36.13, that is to say, the last verse of the book of Numbers and the verse immediately preceding Deut. 1.1, tells us that the commandments and

12. See above, n. 10.

ordinances of the Lord were given through Moses in the plains of Moab, and Deut. 1.5 informs us that Moses expounded the law in the land of Moab. Thus the targumic tradition in Deut. 1.1 that refers to the explanation of the law in the plains of Moab is in line with these biblical statements. See the discussion in *b. Hag.* 6a-b.

Onqelos interprets HT 'in the wilderness' and 'in the Arabah' to refer to some unnamed misdemeanors of the Israelites. This is similar to a statement in *Sifre* 1 which says that we learn from the words 'in the wilderness' that Moses 'rebuked them for what they had done in the wilderness', and that the words 'in the Arabah' teach us that he 'rebuked them for what they had done in the plains of Moab'. Onqelos however links 'in the Arabah' with the following words 'opposite Suph', so that it reads '*he rebuked them for having sinned in the wilderness and for having provoked anger in the plain opposite the Sea of Reeds*'.

In interpreting the words 'opposite Suph' the Palestinian Targums and Pseudo-Jonathan continue their positive understanding of the biblical text. The Fragmentary Targums attribute miracles and mighty deeds to 'the Memra of the Lord', while Neofiti attributes them to 'the Lord'. Ctg Br uses a passive form of the verb and reads: '(How) many miracles and mighty deeds were performed for (you)...!'. Pseudo-Jonathan is alone in attributing the miracles to 'the Holy One, blessed be He'. This particular divine title which occurs frequently in rabbinic literature¹³ is not very common in the pentateuchal Targums. Besides our present text see, for example, Gen. 22.1 (Pseudo-Jonathan); 25.21 (Pseudo-Jonathan; here the title is written in abbreviated form, *qbh*, in both *Lond.*¹⁴ and *editio princeps*); 38.25 (P, Pseudo-Jonathan ['blessed be He' is omitted in *Lond.*]); Exod. 15.18 (V), 20.2 (P, Machzor Vitry; compare Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, Ctg F¹⁵); Num. 21.34 (Pseudo-Jonathan, P; compare V); Deut. 3.2 (V).

Pseudo-Jonathan's reference to miracles and wonders which the Lord performed for Israel 'since they crossed the shore of the Sea of Reeds' might lead us to expect that Targum to mention a number of

13. Cf. e.g., A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, I (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 97-99.

14. *Lond* = British Library MS 27031 of Pseudo-Jonathan.

15. Ctg (A, B, C, etc.) = Cairo Genizah Palestinian Targum Fragments published by M.L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch* (2 vols.; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986)

miracles which God performed for his people in the course of their journey to the Promised Land. However, Pseudo-Jonathan, like the Fragmentary Targums and Ctg Br, mentions explicitly only one miracle, namely, the making of twelve paths in the sea for the tribes of Israel. It must be said then that the reading 'while you were standing at the Sea of Reeds' which we find in Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums and Ctg Br is more appropriate than Pseudo-Jonathan's 'many miracles and wonders...since you crossed over the Sea of Reeds'. The reference in the Palestinian Targums to the many miracles at the sea recalls the tradition that ten miracles were performed for the ancestors at the sea (*P. Abot* 5.4; *ARN A*¹⁶ ch. 33, and *ARN B*¹⁷ ch. 36).

The tradition that the Lord made twelve paths in the sea, a tradition that is well attested in the midrashic literature,¹⁸ has been mentioned already by Pseudo-Jonathan in Exod. 14.21, but not in Neofiti or in *P.* (Only the opening words of this verse are preserved in *V.*) The acrostic poem to Exod. 14.29-31 published by M. Klein¹⁹ also states that the sea was split into twelve divisions corresponding to the twelve tribes. Thus Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum to refer to the division of the sea into twelve paths both in Exod. 14.21 and in Deut. 1.1, although the number twelve is not explicitly mentioned in the latter text. It is characteristic of Pseudo-Jonathan to repeat midrashic traditions in this way, sometimes adding such traditions in places where the biblical text offers no basis for such additions.²⁰ In our present case the targumic mention of the twelve ways through the sea in Deut. 1.1 is more meaningful in Pseudo-Jonathan than in the other Palestinian Targums, since Pseudo-Jonathan takes up a theme that has already been mentioned in that Targum's account of the crossing of the sea. The twofold mention of this tradition in appropriate contexts in Pseudo-Jonathan also fits in with the view that this Targum is a literary work written for cultivated Jews rather than a translation that

16. *ARN A* = *The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan* (trans. J. Goldin; Yale Judaica Series 10; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955)

17. *ARN B* = *The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan* (trans. A.J. Saldarini; SJLA 11; Leiden: Brill, 1957).

18. Cf. e.g., *PRE* 42: 'the waters congealed, and they were made into twelve valleys, corresponding to the twelve tribes...'; *Mekilta* 14.16 (ed. M. Friedmann; Vienna 1870; reprint, 1968), p. 30a; *Deut. R.* 11.10.

19. *Genizah Manuscripts* 1.230-31.

20. Cf. Maher, *Genesis*, pp. 6, 155 n. 9, 165 n. 11.

originated in actual synagogal worship.²¹

The Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums and Ctg Br) add further interpretations of HT 'opposite Suph', and state that the Israelites provoked their God at the sea and that they rebelled at the Sea of Reeds (cf. also Onqelos). These interpretations, which do not tell us how the Israelites rebelled or how they angered their God, may be influenced by Ps. 106.7 ('They rebelled at the sea, at the Red Sea')²² and Ps. 32 ('They angered the Lord at the waters of Meribah'). The words 'opposite Suph' in Deut. 1.1 are linked with Ps. 106.7 in *Sifre* 1 and in *ARN* A 34 (see also *Exod. R.* 1.36; 23.10; 24.1; *Num. R.* 16.24 etc.) and this link was most likely implicit in what Shinan calls 'the targumic tradition',²³ i.e., the common heritage shared by all the Targums. In our present verse Pseudo-Jonathan trims down the 'the targumic tradition' and does not mention any provocation or rebellion at the sea. In doing so this Targum gives us a clearer and smoother text than the other Palestinian Targums. Here we have another example of how Pseudo-Jonathan exercises considerable freedom in his use of traditional targumic material, putting his personal stamp on that material so that his work has its own individual style.

Unworthy Response

Having recalled what God had done for his people Pseudo-Jonathan goes on to outline Israel's unworthy response to God's goodness by saying: 'but you deviated from his word (*mbtr mymryh*)'. This phrase forms an appropriate transition to Moses' complaint against the people. The complaint begins with the accusation 'You angered him (*'rgztwn qdmwy*) at Paran'. We may note that at the beginning of the accusations Pseudo-Jonathan uses two verbs, 'deviate (*sfy*)' and 'anger (*rgz*)'. The Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br) are similar, except that they use the verbs 'anger (*rgz*)' and 'rebel (*srb*; lit. "refuse")', in that order.

21. Maher, *Genesis* pp. 4 n. 29, 10. See however Sanchez Caro, 'Recensiones', pp. 622-23, who regards the reference to the ways through the sea in Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.1 as a later addition to the text.

22. Cf. *b. Arak.* 15a.

23. A. Shinan, "'Targumic Additions' in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan", *Textus* (Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project) 16 (1991), pp. 143-44.

The Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br) and Pseudo-Jonathan link HT 'Paran' with the episode of the spies (Num. 13). Onqelos on the other hand associates it with Israel's murmuring about the manna (cf. Num. 21.5). The association of Paran in Deut. 1.1 with the spies does not occur in *Sifre*. In fact *Sifre* does not associate Paran with any sin. However, ARN A 34 does say that Paran refers to the episode of the spies. The Palestinian Targums refer in general terms to the sending of the spies, presumably to the whole episode narrated in Numbers 13, as is also the case in ARN. Pseudo-Jonathan on the other hand specifically mentions the report (*mymr*'; read *mymr*) of the spies; cf. HT Num. 13.26 *wyšybw 'wtm dbr*, which Onqelos, Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan translate as *w'tybw ythwn ptgm*'; see also HT and Targums of Deut. 1.25.

The Fragmentary Targums and Neofiti marginal gloss have God declare his intention to exclude Israel from the Promised Land as a punishment for the spy episode. See also Targum Song 2.7. Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti and Ctg Br refer to no such punishment.

Tophel and Laban

Pseudo-Jonathan combines its interpretations of the names Tophel and Laban to form one little unit within its midrashic expansion of v. 1. In this it follows *Sifre* where the comment on 'And Tophel and Laban' reads as follows:

This refers to the disparaging words (*dbry tplwt*) that they spoke concerning the manna, as it is said, *And our soul loathed this light bread* (Num. 21.5).

We shall note, however, that the place-name Laban is not clearly represented in this *Sifre* text.

Midrash Tannaïm strengthens this interpretation by adding that 'Laban' refers to the manna which was white.²⁴ ARN A 34 also refers Tophel to the manna, but it links 'Laban' with the controversy of Korah (Num. 16). Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan follow the *Sifre* interpretation of Tophel, both of them representing the play on that place-name by using the verbal *tpl* (Onqelos) or *tpl* (Pseudo-

24. Cf. Hoffmann (ed.), *Midrasch Tannaïm*, p. 2; See also *Midrash Leqah Tob* to Deut. 1.1; Rashi in his commentary on Deut. 1.1. Cf. B.J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), p. 72 n. 4.

Jonathan). The actual idiom in Pseudo-Jonathan is *ṭpltwn 'lwy myly šyqr'*, literally, 'you, plastered (or: smeared) him with lying words', that is, 'you accused him falsely'. Essentially the same idiom is found in Hebrew form in Ps. 119.69 where we read *ṭplw 'ly šqr*, which NRSV renders as 'They smear me with lies'. The same Hebrew idiom occurs again in Job 13.4. In both cases the Targums use the verb *ḥbr*, literally 'join', to translate the Hebrew verb. Obviously Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.1 had to use the verb *ṭpl* to retain the play on the word Tophel. None of the Palestinian Targums uses the verb *ṭpl* so that they fail to represent this play on words.

Having said that the Israelites accused God falsely Pseudo-Jonathan goes on to add that they 'murmured' about the manna, using the verb *r'm*, the verb that is used in all the Targums with reference to the people's murmuring about the manna; see, for example, the Targums of Num. 21.5-7. Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum to use that verb in Deut. 1.1. The Palestinian Targums quote the actual words of complaint uttered by the people, citing Num. 21.5.

Pseudo-Jonathan represents the Hebrew name 'Laban' by 'white', explaining that the manna was white. Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum to take this particular line of interpretation in our present verse. In specifying that the manna was white Pseudo-Jonathan is here echoing what is said explicitly in Exod. 16.31 (HT), and reiterating something Pseudo-Jonathan had already stated in Num. 11.7, where he, and he alone among the targumists, says that the manna was 'white when it came down from heaven'.²⁵ Here again we see an example of Pseudo-Jonathan's tendency to repeat haggadic traditions,²⁶ and this particular example shows how this kind of repetition gives a certain consistency to his text.

Against this, however, we might take an example which one could regard as a case of inconsistency on the part of Pseudo-Jonathan. The Fragmentary Targums say in Deut. 1.1 that the Lord punished the Israelites for their complaints about the manna by sending serpents against them. Pseudo-Jonathan knew of this punishment and recorded it with some elaboration at Num. 21.6 (cf. also Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums), and it would not be surprising if he mentioned it in Deut. 1.1. On the other hand, Pseudo-Jonathan (unlike the Palestinian Targums) does not name a punishment for any other sin of Israel that

25. Cf. *b. Yoma* 75a, repeated in *Midrash Leqah Tob* to Num. 11.7 (p. 200).

26. See above n. 20.

it mentions in this verse,²⁷ and therefore the mention of serpents as a punishment for the grumbling against the manna would break the rhythm of Pseudo-Jonathan's midrash.

The explanation of the names Tophel and Laban in Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums and Ctg Br is rather obscure, since these Targums do not reflect the play on these place-names which is so clear in Pseudo-Jonathan. One can discover the basis for the reference to manna in the Palestinian Targums only when one reads behind the lines as it were, and discovers the play on the word Tophel and the link between the word Laban and the manna. The same is to some extent true of the interpretation in *Sifre*, where the play on the word Laban is missing.

Hazeroth

ARN A ch. 34 says simply that 'Hazeroth refers to the incident of the quail'. *Midrash Tannaim* also associates Hazeroth with a request for meat.²⁸ The quail incident is narrated in Numbers 11, and took place at Kibroth-hattaavah, and not at Hazeroth, which was the Israelites' next stop after the quail episode (Num. 11.34-35).²⁹ It may be that ARN associated Hazeroth with the quails because of the fact that that place-name is mentioned in Num. 11.35 as the next stop after the incident of the quails. Although this association does not correspond to the facts of the biblical narrative, it is an old tradition, being found in ARN A and in *Midrash Tannaim*. It seems to have been known to Josephus who says that the quail episode took place at Esermoth, which may, in a roundabout way, be related to Hazeroth.³⁰ All the Targums, including Onqelos, took up that ancient tradition, and associated Hazeroth with the request for meat.

The Palestinian Targums (Fragmentary Targums, Neofiti, Neofiti

27. But see the comment on Hazeroth below.

28. Hoffmann (ed.), *Midrasch Tannaim*, p. 2.

29. In these verses (Num. 11.34-35) Pseudo-Jonathan renders Kibroth-hattaavah as 'The Graves of those who demanded meat'; cf. also Neofiti, Onqelos. See also the Targums of Num. 33.16, 17; Deut. 9.22.

30. See Josephus, *Ant.* 3.295. Cf. B.B. Levy, *Targum Neophyti 1. A Textual Study* (2 vols.; Lanham: University Press of America; 1986-1987), II, pp. 203-204; See also Malina, *The Manna Tradition*, p. 74; Sanchez Caro, 'Recensiones', pp. 626-27.

marginal gloss, Ctg Br) say that as a result of the people's craving for flesh their corpses fell at Hazeroth. This tradition is based on Num. 11.33 which states that the Lord struck the people with a very great plague because of the quail episode. One could read Pseudo-Jonathan's version as follows: 'And you demanded meat at Hazeroth, so that you deserved to be blotted out...' But since Pseudo-Jonathan does not mention any punishment that was meted out to the Israelites for the other sins mentioned in the midrash I prefer to see the conclusion 'You deserve to be blotted out...' as following from all the sins that have been referred to, rather than to the demand for meat alone.

Di-Zahab

All the Targums, including Onqelos, associate the place-name Di-Zahab (which occurs only in Deut. 1.1) with the episode of the Golden Calf. In this the Targums are following rabbinic tradition: *Sifre* 1; *ARN* A 34; *b. Ber.* 32a; *Sanh.* 102a; *Exod. R.* 51.8.

The Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br) begin this section with an explicit reference to the Golden Calf. Pseudo-Jonathan on the other hand does not mention the calf until the end of the verse, and as a result his text is not as clear as that of the other Targums.

Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum to use the idiom 'and you deserved to be blotted out from the world'. Compare the phrase in the comment on Di-Zahab in *Sifre* 1: 'Since Israel have worshipped idols, they are liable to extinction (*hybym klyh*)'. The idiom 'wipe out from the world (*šyšy mygw 'lm*)' which is used here by Pseudo-Jonathan is not frequent in the Targums; we find it, for example, in Gen. 6.3 (Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti; compare Fragmentary Targums: *lmyštšy*'). In our present verse the Palestinian Targums all say that God declared through his Memra that he would destroy (*lmštšy*'; with orthographical variations) the people.

The Palestinian Targums state that one of the reasons why God spared the people was that he remembered the covenant he had made with the fathers. Pseudo-Jonathan, however, says instead that he remembered the merits of the righteous fathers. The Bible mentions God's remembering his covenant with the fathers in Israel's favour (cf. Exod. 2.24; 6.5; Lev. 26.42, 45; Deut. 4.31; Ps. 105.8-10), and rabbinic literature and the Targums often refer to the merits of the

fathers.³¹ In Deut. 28.15, in a targumic addition that has no parallel in Neofiti (the only other Palestinian Targums of this verse available to us), Pseudo-Jonathan combines both ideas, stating that the merits of the fathers and the covenant which God had established with them would ensure the continued protection of the people. Targum Song 1.13 can say that on the occasion of the worship of the Golden Calf Israel escaped destruction because God remembered the binding of Isaac, that is to say, he remembered the merits of that patriarch. In the same Targum, in 2.17, it is said that Israel's escape on that occasion was due to the fact that God remembered the covenant he had made with the patriarchs. Thus the Targums of our present text, Deut. 1.1, and Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 28.15, and the Targum of the Song of Songs show that the concepts of 'remembering the covenant' and 'remembering the merits of the fathers' can be interchanged or combined on occasion.

It may be noted that in our present verse Pseudo-Jonathan, and Pseudo-Jonathan alone, refers to 'the merits of the *righteous fathers*'.³² The Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums, Ctg Br) mention the patriarchs by name, while Pseudo-Jonathan is satisfied to refer to the righteous fathers in general.

The Palestinian Targums and *Sifre* 1 mention only the gold of the tent of meeting³³ and the gold of the ark of the covenant. Pseudo-Jonathan adds a reference to the sacred utensils.

From what we have said about the targumic versions of Deut. 1.1 it is clear that Pseudo-Jonathan uses the 'targumic tradition' that was also available to the authors of the other Targums of this verse. But he uses the traditional material in a rather independent manner, bringing his own style to bear on it, and putting his own imprint on it. *Sifre* is the source of many of the targumic additions made to this verse, and we have noted a few occasions when Pseudo-Jonathan shows a close similarity even to the language of that source.

31. For the rabbinic literature see, e.g., A. Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature* (London: Jewish College Publications, 1921); for the Targums cf. I. Drazin, 'Targumic Studies' (unpublished PhD thesis, St Mary's University, 1980), pp. 77-97.

32. The same idiom occurs in the Targums (Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums) of Num. 23.9.

33. Cf. also *Tanhuma, Terumah* 8 (p. 281) which also states that the gold of the tent of meeting would make atonement for the sin of the Golden Calf.

Delayed for Forty Years

It is a *march* of eleven days from Horeb, by way of the mountain of Gabla, to Reqem-Geah. But because you turned aside and angered the Lord you were delayed for forty years. (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.2).

The Palestinian Targums and Pseudo-Jonathan make essentially the same midrashic addition to v. 2, stating that because Israel sinned God detained them in the wilderness. The purpose of the addition is to explain why Israel spent forty years in the desert (cf. Deut. 1.3), if, according to v. 2, the journey from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea should have taken only eleven days. The reason given by the Targums is essentially the same as that given in *Sifre* 2. The author of *Sifre* makes the point—at some length—that if the Israelites had been meritorious for even a short time after crossing the Reed Sea they would have entered the Promised Land immediately. But since they acted corruptly, God imposed upon them a delay of forty years and forty days. *Exod. R.* 20. 13-16 gives several different reasons for the delay in the wilderness. See also Targum Song 2.7; 3.5.

The Hebrew text of Deut. 1.2 reads, literally: 'It was eleven days from Horeb...' The more usual Hebrew idiom would be 'it was eleven days journey (*drk*) from Horeb...' See, for example, Gen. 30.36; 31.23; Exod. 3.18; 5.3. In our present verse the Targums supply a word corresponding to the Hebrew *drk*, Pseudo-Jonathan, Onqelos, Fragmentary Targums and Neofiti marginal gloss using *mhlk*, while Neofiti has 'rḥ *mhlk*.

'Seir' of HT is usually rendered by 'Gabla' in the Palestinian Targums and in Pseudo-Jonathan; see, for example, Gen. 14.6; 32.4; 36.8, 9; Num. 24.18; Deut. 1.44.³⁴ All the Targums, including Onqelos, translate 'Kadesh-barnea' by 'Reqem-Geah'; see, for example, Num. 32.8; Deut. 1.2, 19; 2.14; 9.23.³⁵

In the phrase 'because you turned aside (or: deviated) and angered the Lord' Pseudo-Jonathan uses two verbs that it has already used in v. 1: 'turned aside and angered'. Compare Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums and Ctg Br which employ the verbs 'sinned (*ḥt*)' and 'angered (*rgz*)', only one of which was used by these Targums in v. 1; see above under the heading 'Unworthy Response'.

34. See further, Maher, *Genesis*, p. 56 n. 19.

35. Cf. Maher, *Genesis*, p. 56 n. 22.

The verb used by Pseudo-Jonathan for 'delay' is 'hr, the verb that is used by Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan in a similar context in Num. 32.15. In this latter text Neofiti uses the verb !!!!. In our present verse, Deut. 1.2, Neofiti, Fragmentary Targums and Ctg Br all use the verb 'kb.

The Month of Shevat

At the end of forty years, in the eleventh month, that is the month of Shevat, on the first day of the month, Moses spoke to the children of Israel just as the Lord had commanded him (to speak) to them (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.3).

Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Neofiti marginal gloss, Fragmentary Targums (V; P is not preserved) add 'the end of' in the phrase 'in the fortieth year'. See also in similar phrases in Neofiti Gen. 7.11; 8.12.³⁶ However, in translating 'in the thirteenth (fourteenth) year' in Gen. 14.4, 5 none of the Targums adds 'the end of'. But see 'at the end of seven days' in Gen. 7.10 (Neofiti, P); cf. Ctg E: 'at the end of a few days'; Pseudo-Jonathan; 'after (lzmn) seven days'.

Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum of this verse to clarify that the eleventh month is *Shevat*. This is so when Nisan is taken to be the first month of the year (cf. *m. Roš Haš.* 1.1: 'Nisan is the new year for kings and festivals'). It is characteristic of Pseudo-Jonathan to give names to months and seasons that are not named in the Bible. See, for example, Exod. 12.18 (also Onqelos); 40.2, 17; Lev. 23.5 etc., where the first month is identified as Nisan. In Exod. 16.1; Num. 1.1, 18; 9.11 and 10.11 the second month is said to be *Iyyar*. Following a different reckoning according to which Tishri is the first month Gen. 7.11 and 8.14 (also Neofiti marginal gloss) call the second month *Marchesvan*. In Gen. 8.4 the seventh month is identified as *Nisan*; but see Lev. 16.29 (also Neofiti marginal gloss); 23.24; Num. 29.1, 7 where *Tishri* is regarded as the seventh month. In Gen. 8.5 the tenth month is called *Tammuz*.

36. Cf. M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti I: Genesis*. (The Aramaic Bible 1A; Colledgeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 75, n. 10.

Sihon and Og

(This was) after he had defeated Sihon the king of the Amorites, who lived in Heshbon, and Og the king of *Matnan*, who lived in Edra'th (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.4)

In translating the Hebrew verb *nkh* (Hif.), 'strike, smite, defeat', Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos use the corresponding Aramaic verb *mḥ'*, whereas Neofiti employs *qtl*, 'kill'. Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos sometimes agree with Neofiti in translating *nkh* as *qtl*, especially when the object of the verb is a human person (cf. e.g., Gen. 4.15; 36.35; 37.21; Exod. 12.12, 13; 12.29 [here Neofiti marginal gloss also uses *qtl*]; Exod. 3.20). On the other hand Neofiti marginal gloss can join Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan in using *mḥy*, especially when the object of the verb is an inanimate object (cf. e.g., Exod. 7.17, 20, 25; 8.12, 13 [also Neofiti marginal gloss]; 17.5, 6). Neofiti also agrees with Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan in their use of *mḥy* in Gen. 19.11 where HT informs us that the men who were inside Lot's house struck (*hkw*) those who were outside with blindness. Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos often employ *mḥy*, against *qtl* of Neofiti (cf. e.g., Gen. 14.5 [also V which agrees with Neofiti]; 14.7, 17; 32.9 [also Neofiti marginal gloss], 12; Exod. 2.12 [also P and V which agree with Neofiti; but see 2.11 where Neofiti, like Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, has *mḥy*]; 3.20 [here Neofiti marginal gloss agrees with Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan]). Similarly, Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan use *mḥy* when Neofiti has *šyšy* (cf. e.g., Gen. 8.21; Exod. 9.15, 25 [twice]). It can be seen then that Pseudo-Jonathan generally agrees with Onqelos in its translation of Hebrew *nkh*, and that these Targums' rendering of that verb often differs from that of Neofiti (and the Fragmentary Targums).

The Hebrew verb *yšb* occurs twice in our present verse (Deut. 1.4), and on both occasions Pseudo-Jonathan follows Onqelos and translates that verb by its Aramaic cognate, *yṭb*. Neofiti on the other hand renders it as *šry*, 'dwell, encamp'. In fact Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos usually agree in employing *yṭb*, against *šry* of the Palestinian Targums, to translate *yšb* when that verb means 'to dwell, settle'. Cf. e.g., Gen. 4.16 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and [surprisingly] V against Neofiti, P, Ctg B); 11.2 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, P, V); 24.3 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, Ctg KK); 24.62 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, P, V); 29.19

(Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, Ctg E); 34.10a (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, Ctg C); 34.10b (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Ctg C against Neofiti); 34.16 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, Ctg C); 34.21 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan against Neofiti, Ctg C). When, however, Hebrew *yšb* means 'sit' rather than 'dwell' the Palestinian Targums can agree with Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan in using *ytb*; cf., e.g., Gen. 18.1 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, V, P); 19.1 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, V); 21.16 (twice) (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Ctg LL); 31.34 (Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti).

Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with Onqelos in rendering the place-name Bashan as *Matnan*. Neofiti translates it as *Butnin* or *Batanea* (*bwtnyn*). In translating this place-name Pseudo-Jonathan regularly follows Onqelos, against the Palestinian Targums; cf. e.g., Num. 21.33 (twice); Deut. 1.4; 3.1 (twice), 3, 4, 10 (twice), 11. In Num 32.33 Neofiti has *mwtbyn*. Like Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Jonathan of the Prophets also renders 'Bashan' as 'Matnan'; cf. e.g., Josh. 9.10; 12.4, 5; 13.11, 12. *Matnan*, *Batanea* and *Butnin* seem to have been different designations for the territory of Bashan in Talmudic times.³⁷

Like Neofiti and Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan renders the place name Edrei in Num. 21.33 as '*dr'y*' (= *editio princeps*; *Lond.* has '*rd'y*'). In other places in the Pentateuch where Edrei is mentioned (Deut. 1.4; 3.1, 10) Pseudo-Jonathan presents the name as '*dr't*', 'Edra'th'.

The Words of the Law

Beyond the Jordan, in the land of Moab, Moses began to *teach the words* of this law, saying (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.5).

The designation 'the land of Moab' occurs in the Hebrew Bible in Deut. 1.5; 28.69; 32.49; 34.5, 6, and each time Onqelos renders it directly '*r'' dmw'b*'. Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with Onqelos in Deut. 1.5; 28.69 and 34.5. In 32.49 the words 'which is in the land of Moab, opposite Jericho' is omitted in Pseudo-Jonathan, and in 34.6, which

37. Cf. L. Smolar and M. Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (Library of Biblical Studies; New York: Ktav, 1983), p. 115; D. Raphael, 'Geographic and Ethnic Names in Targum Onkelos' (in Hebrew), *Beth Miqra* 96 (1983), p. 73; B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onkelos to Leviticus and Numbers* (The Aramaic Bible 8; Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1988), p. 129, n. 23.

Pseudo-Jonathan interprets midrashically, 'the land of Moab' is not mentioned. Neofiti translates 'the land of Moab' as 'the land of the Moabites' in Deut. 1.5 (also Neofiti marginal gloss); 34.5 (also V), 6 (also V). In 28.69 and 32.49 Neofiti, reads like Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, but in 28.69 Neofiti marginal gloss again has the reading 'the land of the Moabites', as does V in 32.49.

According to Deut. 1.5 Moses 'undertook to expound this law (*torah*) beyond the Jordan'. The Hebrew word rendered as 'expound' (*b'r*) occurs only in this verse, in 27.8, and in Hab. 2.2. In the two latter texts it contains the idea of 'writing' or 'engraving'. In our present verse the meaning 'expound' is derived from the ancient versions, supported by a reference to Akkadian root *bu''uru*, meaning 'prove'.³⁸ The Peshitta translates *b'r* as *psq*, 'explain, expound'. LXX uses the verb *diasapheō*, 'make clear, show plainly'. Neofiti and Onqelos both use the verb *prš*, 'explain'. Pseudo-Jonathan, as is often the case, goes his own way, using the verb 'lp, 'teach'.³⁹

None of the Targums is satisfied with a direct rendering of HT 'this *torah*'. Onqelos renders this phrase as 'the teaching of this Law. Neofiti has 'the book of this Law', while Neofiti marginal gloss has 'the praise (of this Law)'. Pseudo-Jonathan has 'the words of this Law'. Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti and Onqelos add words that are implicit in the biblical text. Neofiti marginal gloss adds something new by referring to the praiseworthy nature of the Law.

On this Mountain

'The Lord God spoke to us at Horeb—and I (*am*) not (*speaking*) on my own (*authority*)—saying, '(Your stay here)⁴⁰ has been sufficient for you, and you have benefitted [*'thny lkwn*] (*from it*) until now, because you have received the Law here, and you have made the Tabernacle here, together with its utensils, and you have appointed chiefs over you; but

38. Cf. A.D.H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (New Century Bible Commentary; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979), p. 116; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), p. 105.

39. I have remarked elsewhere that Pseudo-Jonathan often goes his own independent way in translating a given Hebrew word; cf. Maher, *Genesis*, p. 10 n. 62.

40. These words can be understood from the context. The words *šbt bhr hzh*, of HT are represented by the words 'to delay on this mountain' at the end of Pseudo-Jonathan, midrashic addition.

from now on it would be bad for you to remain⁴¹ on this mountain (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.6).

After the introductory words of v. 6, 'The Lord our God said to us', Pseudo-Jonathan, and Pseudo-Jonathan alone, adds 'and (I am) not (speaking) on my own (authority)' (*wl' 'n' b'anpy npšy*). This addition faithfully represents the *Sifre* comment on the words 'The Lord our God spoke to us at Horeb'. *Sifre* reads as follows: Moses said to them: 'I am not speaking on my own (*l' m'šmy 'ny 'wmr*)—what I am saying to you comes from the mouth of the Holy One'. Pseudo-Jonathan shows an economy of words and does not feel the need to be as explicit as *Sifre* in making the point that Moses is not speaking on his own authority but in the name of God.

Pseudo-Jonathan inserts a longish midrashic addition into his rendering of the words 'You have stayed long enough at this mountain (*rb lkm šbt bhr hzh*)'. This addition is a combination of three interpretations of these same biblical words which are recorded in *Sifre* 5. The first of these refers to the Tabernacle, the Showbread Table and the lampstand as rewards that were received at Horeb; the second—which begins as follows: 'your staying at this mountain has been a benefit for you (*hnyh hy' lkm yšybtkm*; cf. Pseudo-Jonathan '*thny lkwn*)'—refers to the gift of the Torah, the seventy elders, and the leaders of thousands, of hundreds etc., that were appointed over the people; the third states that Israel's staying on the mountain was bad for Israel, since idleness is bad. The first two interpretations understand HT *rb* in the sense of 'gain, reward'. The third interpretation may involve a play on the word *rb* in HT—which in this context means 'long enough'—and *r'*, 'bad', and it reads as follows: 'Your staying at this mountain has been bad for you—Turn and take your journey (Deut. 1.7), for idleness is bad'. In making this third interpretation his own Pseudo-Jonathan modifies it, and does not say that the stay of the Israelites at Sinai had been bad for them, but that further delay there would be to their disadvantage. Pseudo-Jonathan's modified version of this particular interpretation is much more meaningful than the reading in *Sifre*.

We see, then, that Pseudo-Jonathan has incorporated all the essential elements of the *Sifre* interpretations of the words 'You have stayed

41. *l'ytrh'* which M. Jastrow (*A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* [2 vols.; New York: Pardes, 1903; reprint 1950], p. 118) takes to mean 'to sojourn'.

long enough at this mountain', into his rendering of the biblical verse. These interpretations would have been well known to his audience, and Pseudo-Jonathan, with great economy of words, combines them into a little literary unit which he deftly inserts into his rendering of the scriptural text. Neofiti, our only other Palestinian Targum of this verse, gives a literal rendering of HT.

Into the Land

Turn and set out *for Arad and Hormah*, and go to the hill country of the Amorites and to all the inhabitants *of Ammon, Moab and Gabla*, (to all who dwell) in the plain *of the forest*, in the hill country, in the Shephelah, in the south, and by the seacoast, *Ashkelon and Caesarea*, the land of the Canaanites, *as far as Callirrhoe*, and Lebanon, *the place of the mountains of the Temple*, as far as the Great River, the river Euphrates (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.7).

Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with Onqelos in translating Hebrew *pnw*, 'turn', by its Aramaic cognate. Neofiti on the other hand uses the verb *kwnn*, 'direct'. When Hebrew *pnh* means 'turn (one's face)' Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan usually translate it by its Aramaic cognate, whereas Neofiti (and the Fragmentary Targums) use the verb *kwnn*. See, e.g., Deut. 1.7, 24 (also V, P), 40; 2.1, 8 (also Neofiti marginal gloss, V); 3.1. In Exod. 7.23 Onqelos and Neofiti employ *pnv* and *kwnn* respectively; Neofiti marginal gloss uses the verb *skl*, 'look', and Pseudo-Jonathan interprets the Hebrew midrashically. In Deut. 16.7, where Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan again employ *pnv*, Neofiti uses *qdm* (Af.), 'do (something) early', which is appropriate in the context. When translating the words 'I turned and came down' in 9.15 and 10.5 Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with Neofiti in using the verb *kwnn* against *pnv* of Onqelos. The verb *pnh* in Gen. 24.49 is rendered by Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan as *pnv*, while Neofiti and Neofiti marginal gloss have *sty*. In Exod 10.6 Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan use *pnv* as usual; Neofiti has *zrz*, 'hurry', which is an apt translation in the context; Neofiti marginal gloss, however, has the more usual *kwnn*.

In Deut. 29.17 where Hebrew *pnh* is used in the phrase 'whose heart turns away (*pnh*) from the Lord' Onqelos again uses the Aramaic cognate. Pseudo-Jonathan also employs *pnh*, but he combines it with the verb *ty*, 'to go astray'. Neofiti and V employ *sty*, 'turn aside', which is an appropriate rendering in the context. In 30.17, where *pnv*

has the same meaning, Onqelos and Neofiti again use *pny* and *sty* respectively, while Neofiti has *hrhr*, 'contemplate (committing sin)'. In Lev. 19.4, where *pnh* is used in the context of turning to the worship of idols, Onqelos again employs the Aramaic cognate, while Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti use *sty*. However, in Deut. 31.18, 20, where Hebrew *pnh* has the same meaning, Pseudo-Jonathan follows Onqelos and uses the Aramaic cognate, against *sty* of Neofiti. In Lev. 19.31 and 20.6 where *pnh* is used with reference to turning to mediums Onqelos once again has *pny*, while Neofiti⁴² and Pseudo-Jonathan have *sty*.

In Lev. 26.9 where *pnh* means 'look with favour' Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti and Neofiti marginal gloss, as well as Onqelos, render it by its Aramaic cognate. In Num. 16.15, where *pnh* means 'pay attention to (offerings)', Onqelos and Neofiti translate it as 'accept (*qbl*) with favour', while Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti marginal gloss, P and V all employ the verb *skl*, 'look upon'. In Exod. 2.12, where *pnh* means 'turn (to look)', Onqelos again uses the Aramaic cognate, while Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, V and P all use the verb *skl*, which means 'look', and which suits the context admirably. When Num. 12.10 states that Aaron turned towards Miriam and saw that she was leprous Onqelos renders 'turned (*wypn*)' by '*tpny*'. Pseudo-Jonathan employs the root *skl*, as does Neofiti marginal gloss. The phrase in question is omitted in Neofiti. In Deut. 9.27, where *pnh* means 'pay attention to', Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti again use *skl*, while Onqelos employs *pny* as usual. When *pnh* is used in the formula 'towards evening (morning)' in Gen. 24.63 and Deut. 23.12 Onqelos renders it literally, using the Aramaic cognate, while the other Targums of these verses (Gen. 24.63: Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Neofiti interlinear gloss; Deut. 23.12: Neofiti marginal gloss, V)⁴³ employ a more idiomatic Aramaic phrase *l'dwny*, literally, 'at the time of'.

From all of this we see that Onqelos is almost one hundred per cent consistent in translating Hebrew *pnh* by its Aramaic cognate. Pseudo-Jonathan often agrees with Onqelos, as is the case in our present verse (Deut. 1.7). On many occasions, however, Pseudo-Jonathan, in order to bring out a particular nuance of the Hebrew verb, abandons the

42. In 19.31 Neofiti actually reads *ttwn*, which, following Neofiti interlinear gloss, should be corrected to *tsṭwn*. In 20.6 Neofiti marginal gloss has *yskl*, 'watches'.

43. Deut. 23.12 is omitted in both Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan.

reading of Onqelos and chooses a translation that is in agreement with that of the Palestinian Targums. On a few occasions Pseudo-Jonathan goes his own independent way and offers his own personal rendering of the Hebrew.

Pseudo-Jonathan is the only Targum of this verse to mention Arad and Hormah. In referring to these places Pseudo-Jonathan is dependent on *Sifre* 6, which in turn is following the indications of Num. 21.1-3. Like Pseudo-Jonathan, Rashi in his commentary on the Pentateuch also adopts the *Sifre* interpretation of our present verse.

Sifre 6 takes *šknw*, 'the neighbouring regions' (RSV), of HT to be 'Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir'. Pseudo-Jonathan, and Pseudo-Jonathan alone among the Targums, takes up this tradition, replacing the Hebrew name Seir with Gabla, as is usual in the Palestinian Targums (cf. e.g., Deut. 1.2).⁴⁴ Here again Rashi's commentary adopts the *Sifre* interpretation.

Sifre 6 interprets 'the Arabah' as 'the plain of Zoar', or, as we find in some *Sifre* versions, 'the plain of the forest'.⁴⁵ This latter reading is the one that was known to Pseudo-Jonathan, and it is also the one we find in Rashi's commentary on Deut. 1.7. Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.7 is the only place in the Targums where this translation of 'the Arabah' occurs (compare, e.g., Num. 22.1; 26.3, 63; 31.12), and here Pseudo-Jonathan's rendering would seem to be due to the influence of *Sifre*. Zoar, the place mentioned in the *Sifre* text just referred to, is, if we are to be guided by the biblical references to that place (cf. e.g., Gen. 12.2; 19.22; Deut. 34.3), to be located in the southern end of the Dead Sea basin. With regard to 'the plain of the forest' to which Pseudo-Jonathan refers we may note that Josephus tells of 'the forest of Jarden', the place where many Jews who had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus were slaughtered.⁴⁶

Like Onqelos and Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan translates 'the hill country' and 'the Shephelah' literally, ignoring *Sifre* which interprets 'the hill-country' as 'the mountain of the king', and 'the Shephelah' as 'the lowland of Lod and the lowland in the south'. In its rendering of the term 'the seacoast' Pseudo-Jonathan returns to *Sifre*. But whereas

44. See above p. 278 ('on Seir', v. 2) and n. 34.

45. See the *apparatus* in Finkelstein, *Sifre*, p. 14. 'The plain of the forest' is also the reading in *Yalkut Shim'oni* 601 (vol. 1, p. 565) where the *Sifre* interpretation of Deut. 1.7 is repeated.

46. Cf. Josephus, *War* 7.6.5.

Sifre takes 'the seacoast' to refer to 'Gaza, Ashkelon, and Caesarea', Pseudo-Jonathan mentions only two of these names, Ashkelon and Caesarea.

Sifre describes 'the land of the Canaanites' in terms of Gen. 10.19 which states that it extends from 'Sidon, in the direction of Gerar...as far as Lasha'. Pseudo-Jonathan follows the same line of interpretation, but simply says that the land of the Canaanites extended 'as far as Callirrhoe', Callirrhoe being Pseudo-Jonathan's (and Neofiti's), rendering of Lasha in Gen. 10.19.⁴⁷

Having translated 'Lebanon' literally Pseudo-Jonathan goes on to explain that it refers to 'the place of the mountains of the Temple'. Neofiti does not translate 'Lebanon' literally, but simply interprets it as 'the mountain of the Temple'. Onqelos translates 'Lebanon' literally. Thus Pseudo-Jonathan combines Onqelos' literal translation of the place name with Neofiti's interpretative rendering, so that we have here an example of Pseudo-Jonathan's well-known tendency to give conflate renderings of Hebrew words.⁴⁸ *Sifre* gives two interpretations of 'Lebanon'. The first interpretation states that that word can refer to the king or to the Temple. The second interpretation refers Lebanon only to the Temple, and this is the view that is taken up by Pseudo-Jonathan. This particular symbolic interpretation is very common in the Targums and in the Palestinian traditions which are reflected in the Targums.⁴⁹

Sifre gives popular explanations of the terms 'the great river' and the 'the river Euphrates'. Pseudo-Jonathan, like the other Targums, ignores these explanations.

Take Possession

See that I have placed *the inhabitants of the land* before you, and you will have no need to take up arms. Go in and take possession of the land, fix landmarks in it, and divide it, as the Lord swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, to give to them and to their children after them (Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.8).

47. Note however that in Gen. 10.19 both *Lond.* and *editio princeps* read *qldhy*.

48. Cf. e.g., D.M. Splansky, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Its Relationship to Other Targumim, Use of Midrashim and Date' (PhD dissertation, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1981), pp. 23-40.

49. Cf. e.g., G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2nd rev. edn, 1973), pp. 26-39.

In translating the verb *ntn* in the idiom *ntty lpnym*, 'I have set (the land) before you', Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti and Neofiti interlinear gloss use the verb *msr*, while Neofiti marginal gloss and Onqelos use the root *yhb*. The Targums usually translate *ntn* by its Aramaic cognate, or, more frequently, by *yhb*. When, however, *ntn* occurs in the idioms *ntn byd*, 'give into (one's) hand',⁵⁰ and *ntn lpony*, 'give over to',⁵¹ the Targums usually translate *ntn* by *msr*, 'hand over, deliver'. Therefore in our present verse, Deut. 1.8, where the Lord promises to set the land before (*ntn lpony*) the Israelites, that is, to place it at their disposal, one would expect to find *ntn* translated by *msr*, as is the case in Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti and Neofiti interlinear gloss, rather than by *yhb*, which is used in Onqelos and Neofiti marginal gloss.

Whereas HT states that 'the land' was placed before the Israelites, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti refer rather to 'the inhabitants of the land'. Other texts where the Targums add 'the inhabitants' before 'the land' are, for example, Gen. 11.9 (Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, but not Neofiti marginal gloss or Onqelos); 41.30b (Pseudo-Jonathan; not Neofiti; Onqelos has 'm', 'people'); 41.57a (Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Onqelos); 47.13b (Pseudo-Jonathan [twice], Neofiti [once]; Onqelos again has 'm' [twice]); Exod. 34.10 (Pseudo-Jonathan); Deut. 9.28 (Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Neofiti interlinear gloss, Onqelos).

Commenting on the words 'Go in and take possession of the land' *Sifre 7* says: 'He said to them, "When you enter the land, you will need no weapons—just take a compass and divide it up"'. Since the biblical text uses the verb *ntty*, literally, 'I have given', and since it makes no mention of fighting, the midrash takes it for granted that there will be no need to take the land by force. The land will be a gift from God. Pseudo-Jonathan makes this interpretation of the text his own, and so he follows his translation of the words *ntty lpnym 't h'rs*, 'I have set the land before you' (RSV), with the words 'and you will have no need to rake up arms (*wl' tstrkwn lmytwl zyyn*)', which correspond quite closely to the first part of the *Sifre* text just quoted, 'you will need no weapons (*'yn 'tm srykym kly zyyn*)'.

Pseudo-Jonathan follows its translation of the words 'go in and take possession of the land' with the words 'fix landmarks in it, and divide

50. Cf. e.g., Gen. 9.2; 39.4, 8; Exod. 23.31; Num. 21.2 (see also the Targums of v. 3, and note that LXX and Syriac add 'into their hands' to HT); 21.34; Deut. 7.24.

51. Cf. e.g., Deut. 2.33, 36; 7.2, 23.

it', which are also dependent on the *Sifre* text just quoted. The meaning of the words which we have translated as 'landmarks' in Pseudo-Jonathan, and which appear as 'a compass' in the *Sifre* translation given above, is obscure. The word in *Sifre* is *dywptyn*, and in Pseudo-Jonathan (where it is vocalized in *Lond.*) *dypty*' (*diptayâ*). The only examples of the Hebrew word (used in *Sifre*) given in the dictionaries of Jastrow and Levy are our *Sifre* text and *Yalkut Shim'oni* 601 (vol. I, p. 566), which takes over the *Sifre* passage. The only example of the Aramaic word *dypty*' given in these dictionaries is Pseudo-Jonathan Deut. 1.8. According to Jastrow (297 and 317) both words correspond to the Greek *diabêtes*, 'carpenter's level, plumbline'. According to Levy⁵² *dywptyn* in *Sifre* corresponds to the Greek *diabêtes*. But in his *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (I, p. 183) he takes *dypty*' in Pseudo-Jonathan to correspond to Greek *duo phôs*, 'two lights'. Krauss⁵³ takes these words to refer to a kind of landmark.

In any case, what is important for us is that we see that Pseudo-Jonathan has taken over the *Sifre* interpretation of v. 8, and that he has skillfully weaved it into his version of the biblical verse. He has divided that interpretation into two parts ('You will have no need to take up arms' and 'fix landmarks in it and divide it'), and placed the parts in appropriate places in his rendering of the verse.

Conclusion

This study of Pseudo-Jonathan 1.1-8 has allowed us to notice some of the characteristics of this Targum's version of this passage, characteristics which are detectable in Pseudo-Jonathan as a whole. In general, one can say that in translating these verses Pseudo-Jonathan used the same basic traditions that were known to the other Palestinian Targums, and even to Onqelos. *Sifre* seems to have been the main source for Pseudo-Jonathan's haggadic additions to this passage, and on occasion this midrash even influenced Pseudo-Jonathan's choice of vocabulary. Nevertheless, Pseudo-Jonathan has used his sources with

52. J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), I, p. 394.

53. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (Leipzig: Fock, 1910-1912; reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), I, p. 304; II, p. 388. See also *Perush Jonathan* (in a rabbinic Bible) to Deut. 1.8.

considerable freedom, creativity, and originality. Thus, for example, we noticed that the midrash on Tophel and Laban is better presented in Pseudo-Jonathan than in either *Sifre* or the other Targums. His incorporation of the *Sifre* interpretation of the words 'you have stayed long enough on this mountain' in v. 6 is not a slavish copying of his source but a creative reworking of the material. Similarly in v. 8 Pseudo-Jonathan shows himself to have been a conscious literary artist when, as we saw, he divides a *Sifre* comment into two parts and places the parts in two appropriate places in his rendering of the verse. His repetition in Deut. 1.1 of the tradition about the twelve paths which the Lord made through the sea for his escaping people is an example of his tendency to repeat traditions at different places in his work. This kind of repetition gives a certain consistency to the Targum and is an indication that it is a conscious literary creation rather than a translation that took place in the synagogue. By adding the words 'of rebuke' at the beginning of v. 1 Pseudo-Jonathan was alluding to a tradition which associated Deut. 1.1 with words of rebuke. Pseudo-Jonathan is often satisfied with merely alluding to traditions that would be well known to his audience. When dealing with Pseudo-Jonathan's mention of the month of *Shevat* in v. 3 we noted that this Targum frequently names months or seasons that are nameless in the Bible, just as it often names people who are anonymous in the biblical text. In the course of this study we noted on several occasions that Pseudo-Jonathan often agrees with Onqelos in his choice of vocabulary. On the other hand we have seen that on occasion he can agree with the Palestinian Targums against Onqelos, and we have had examples of translations where Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with neither Onqelos nor the Palestinian Targums but goes his own independent way. In short, then, our study of Pseudo-Jonathan's version of this opening passage of Deuteronomy allows us to see this author at work, and it confirms the view that he was a creative literary artist who was able to choose his lexicon and to rework his sources in such a way as to create a Targum that has its own character and individuality.

A PORTRAIT OF THE WICKED ESAU IN
THE TARGUM OF CODEX NEOFITI 1*

C.T.R. Hayward

The striking oddity, if not outright eccentricity, of the delineation of Esau's character and activity in Targum Neofiti becomes increasingly apparent the more that Targum is studied. Most evident, even at first sight, is this Targum's restrained and sparing use of post-biblical material hostile to Esau. Indeed, close examination of the Targum suggests that even such fragments of hostile material as are presently incorporated in the text may, in some cases, have formed no part of the original rendering. Also noticeable is the poor state of the manuscript in many verses which speak of Esau: this is the case, even leaving aside passages which censors have erased or otherwise modified. Finally, we may point to aspects of Neofiti's interpretation which seem vague and even ambiguous; and the rationale behind some of its divergences from the translations of the other Targums is not always immediately apparent.

Each of these peculiarities may, however, help to shed light on Neofiti's character. For Esau was a figure of central importance in Jewish thought from late Second Temple times until the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud and after; and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Targum's presentation of him was determined by its reaction in favour of, or against, other currents of Jewish thinking

* The following editions of Targums of the Pentateuch have been used: A. Díez Macho, *Ms. Neophyti* (5 vols.; Madrid-Barcelona, 1968-1978); E.G. Clarke, in collaboration with W.E. Aufrecht, J.C. Hurd, and F. Spitzer, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (New York: Ktav, 1984); A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. I. The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); M.L. Klein, *The Fragment Targums of the Pentateuch according to their Extant Sources* (2 vols.; Rome, 1980); *idem*, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum* (2 vols.; Cincinnati, 1986). Translations are my own.

about him.¹ Hence it will be important to show briefly something of the depth of the antagonism towards him displayed in postbiblical literature, and to set this alongside the Targum.

Already in the second century BCE, the book of *Jubilees* offers a highly developed re-writing of biblical data about Esau, in which he is described as fierce, illiterate, and dangerous. His mother Rebecca, rather than Isaac his father, knows his true character: he is uncompromisingly depraved, unrighteous, and violent. She catalogues his wickedness, which culminates in the idolatry of his descendants. Although Esau admits to his father that he freely sold his birthright to Jacob, and agrees on a proper division of the inheritance with his brother, he is compelled by his sons to go to war with Jacob once their father is dead. In the course of this war, Jacob kills Esau, and brings his people into servitude.²

Philo, although less concerned about the details of Esau's history, is as convinced as the author of *Jubilees* that Esau is wicked: he is, in short, the very representation of evil, and his descendants were deadly enemies of Jacob's children.³ But Josephus seems to moderate this unrelievedly black portrait of Esau, while managing nonetheless in a diplomatic manner to point to Esau's shortcomings and defects of character. Louis H. Feldman has recently argued that Josephus has deliberately moulded his presentation of Esau to suit his Roman patrons, since the equation of Esau with Rome and the Romans had already been established in his day.⁴ Whether or not he is correct on this matter, it is well known that Jewish texts, including the Talmuds and Midrashim, eventually came to use Esau as a code-name for the hated Rome, the tyrannical destroyer of the Temple and the Jewish state.⁵

1. For a recent survey of postbiblical attitudes to Esau, see L.H. Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrait of Jacob', *JQR* 79 (1988-89), pp. 101-51, esp. 118-33.

2. See *Jub.* 19.13-14 for Esau's illiteracy, which Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrait', p. 119 properly notes as intended to contrast with Abraham's learning, *Jub.* 11.16; 12.27; and *Jub.* 35.8-38.10. *1 En.* 89.12 also describes Esau in uncomplimentary language.

3. See, for example, Philo, *Sacr.* 4 (ii); *Congr.* 129 (xxiii); *Vit. Mos.* 1.239-49 (xliii-xliv).

4. See Feldman, 'Josephus' Portrait', pp. 130-33.

5. See G.D. Cohen, 'Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought', in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 19-48; H. Hunzinger, 'Babylon als Deckname für

As for the Targums, the Fragment Targums, marginal glosses of Neofiti (= Ngl), and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan view Esau as utterly wicked, and are aware of the identification of Esau with Rome. It is not clear, however, that Neofiti is of one mind with them; and to the particulars of this Targum we should now address ourselves. In the discussion which follows, it will be convenient to order the targumic material under four headings: events before and during Esau's birth; events during his lifetime; references to him after his death; and the question of Esau's identification with Rome.

1. *Events before and during the Birth of Esau*

According to Gen. 25.21, Rebecca's lack of children led Isaac to entreat God on her behalf. Neofiti's version is remarkable in three respects. First, it begins by agreeing with Onqelos in translating Hebrew *wy'tr*, 'and Isaac entreated', as 'and Isaac prayed': the Peshitta has the same translation, and so, in essence does Pseudo-Jonathan. But in translating the Bible's succeeding remark that 'God was entreated of him', *wy 'tr lw YHWH*, Neofiti departs entirely from the consistency of Onqelos, which says that 'the Lord received his prayer': Neofiti, and the Peshitta, have instead 'and the Lord answered him'. Second, the Bible says that Isaac entreated God *lnkh* his wife: the literal meaning of the Hebrew word is 'facing', which Onqelos represents as 'opposite', thereby allowing for a tradition attested by *b. Yeb.* 64a that Isaac and Rebecca prayed at opposite corners of the room. But Neofiti parts company with Onqelos by translating the word as 'on account of', in the same way as LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta. Finally, Neofiti has no trace of the tradition recorded in Ngl, Pseudo-Jonathan, and *PRE* 32.3 that Isaac prayed on the Temple mountain where his father had bound him. Neofiti's agreements with the Peshitta, and its translations now with, now against, Onqelos, should be particularly noted.

The Bible (Gen. 25.22) describes Rebecca's pregnancy thus:

And the children struggled together *wytršsw* within her; and she said, If it is so, why am I like this? And she went to enquire of the Lord.

Rom und die Datierung des I. Petrusbriefes', in *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land* (ed. H. Reventlow; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), pp. 67-77; and S. Zeitlin, 'The Origin of the Term Edom for Rome and the Christian Church', *JQR* 60 (1969), pp. 262-63.

All the extant Targums translate *wytrššw* with some form of the root *dhq*, which has the sense of 'press, squeeze, impel'. While Onqelos uses the *Pe'al* of this verb, Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, Fragmentary Targum Paris Ms 110 (= FTP) and Fragmentary Targum Vatican Ms 440 (= FTV) use the *Ithpe'el*, which has the additional sense of 'be oppressed, afflicted'. Possibly these Targums thereby hint that the brothers were enemies even from the womb; for the verb *dhq* is elsewhere associated with affliction (*š'rn*) and servitude (*š'bd*) of Israel in Egypt, as in Neofiti of Deut. 26.7. Rebecca's question in the Hebrew is a little obscure, so Neofiti elucidates and translates:

If the distress (*š'rhw*n) of having sons is like this, why should I now have children?

This clarification coincides for the most part with Pseudo-Jonathan, FTP, FTV, and two glosses in Neofiti's margin, as, indeed, does Neofiti to the rest of the verse:

And she went to the Study House of Shem the Great to beseech mercy from before the Lord.

But Neofiti here contrasts with Onqelos, which translates Rebecca's question literally, has no reference to Shem's Study House, and has Rebecca seek instruction, not mercy, from God. Neofiti appears fully integrated with the Palestinian Targumim here, being closest to Pseudo-Jonathan and FTP; FTV and the second Ngl state that she went to seek mercy and only then add 'in the Study House of Shem the Great'. Interestingly, the Church Father Theodoret of Cyrus (c. 393–c. 466) in his *Quaestiones in Genesim* 77 states that Rebecca went to consult a priest, probably Melchizedek.

The Bible next records (Gen. 25.23) the divine explanation of Rebecca's state:

And the Lord said to her: Two nations (*gyym*) are in your belly; and two peoples (*l'mym*) shall be separated from your innards: and (one) people shall be stronger than (the other) people, and the elder shall serve the younger.

Neofiti understands the first part of this prophecy to mean:

Two peoples (*'wmyn*) are in your belly, and two kingdoms shall be separated from your belly: and (one) kingdom shall be stronger than (the other) kingdom, and the greater shall be in servitude before the lesser.

Neofiti's translation of Hebrew *gyym* as 'wmy'n is not shared with Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan (cf. Peshitta), which have 'mmyn: it is, however, picked up later in the verse by Ngl (cf. Peshitta), which says that one 'wmh shall be stronger than the other 'wmh; and most significantly by Neofiti itself at Gen. 27.29, where the 'wmy' who will be in servitude to Jacob are defined as 'all the sons of Esau'.

But Neofiti certainly agrees with Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, against LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta, that two kingdoms rather than two peoples are in Rebecca's womb, one of which will be the stronger: and it is the view of rabbinic texts such as *Gen. R.* 63.7, *b. 'Avod. Zar.* 2b, and *PRK* 29 that the Hebrew *l'wm* means 'kingdom'. Such an interpretation may be latent in the thought of Philo, who emphasizes that God does not allude to their names, but to the nations which were to arise from them, since they were both patriarchs of great nations which would later appear; and that the one would be *archôn*, *hêgemôn*, and *despotês*, while the other would be *hupêkoos* and *doulos*.⁶

The last part of the prophecy, that the elder should serve the younger, is expressed in Hebrew as *wrb y'bd š'yr*. All the Targums keep close to the actual Hebrew vocabulary, using similar words in Aramaic: Neofiti has *wrbh yhwwy mš'bd qdm z'yr*, which may indeed refer to the two children as elder and younger, but equally may speak of them as greater and lesser respectively. Grossfeld, commenting on Onqelos here, notes the power of the verb *š'bd*, 'to enslave, reduce to servitude or slavery', and thus translates as 'greater' and 'lesser', seeing in these expressions a reflection of the conflict between Jacob-Israel and Esau-Rome.⁷ It is possible that Neofiti should be understood in the same way; but it is not certain, and it should be noted that there is no reference in the text to Esau or to Rome. Possibly to remedy what was felt to be a defect, the Ngl has supplied further information:

because the kingdom of Esau is at an end; and afterwards (will arise) Jacob, his kingdom which shall not be destroyed and which shall not cease from him for the ages of ages. Therefore he called his name Jacob.

6. See Philo, *Leg. All.* 3.88 (xxix).

7. See M. Aberbach and B. Grossfeld, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis. A Critical Analysis together with an English Translation of the Text* (New York: Ktav, 1982), pp. 150-51; B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis* (Aramaic Bible, 6; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), p. 95.

It is not clear whether this marginal note belongs with this verse, although Díez Macho places it here: it might, given its final sentence, belong rather with v. 26, most of which is lacking in the MS of Neofiti. The literal translation given here reflects the awkwardness of the Aramaic; but the gloss, with its allusions to Dan. 7.14 and 2.44, obviously intends to represent Esau as the fourth world empire destined for destruction and replacement by the eternal kingdom of Jacob. The gloss recalls 4 *Esdras* 6.8-10, which derives from the aftermath of the destruction of 70 CE; to whatever verse of scripture it belongs, it seems to be a historical note, designed to counter the vagueness of the other Targumim in these verses.⁸

If we ask what has prompted the Targums to change 'peoples' to 'kingdoms', we should recall that the early church viewed this verse as presaging its own destiny, and used it to argue that Esau represented the old people of God, the Jews, while Jacob represented the younger brother, the church, which would arise to be God's new people with dominion over the synagogue.⁹ The so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* 13 takes for granted such a reading of the verse, offering no proof for it; but Justin Martyr, most interestingly in his *Dialogue with Trypho* 135, absolutely insists that Jacob was never a king; and both Hippolytus and Tertullian base their argument on God's promise to Rebecca of precisely two peoples or nations, not some other entity.¹⁰

8. For the date of 4 *Esdras*, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), III.1, pp. 297-300. 4 *Esdras* 6.8-10 is discussed on p. 298; see also Cohen, 'Esau as Symbol', p. 21. The text, as translated by B.M. Metzger in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London, 1983), I, p. 534, reads: 'From Abraham to Isaac, because from him were born Jacob and Esau, for Jacob's hand held Esau's heel from the beginning. For Esau is the end of this age, and Jacob is the beginning of the age that follows.'

9. On this matter, see particularly Cohen, 'Esau as Symbol', pp. 31-38; and M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. La Genèse* (Paris, 1986), p. 209, who notes other statements of this kind surviving in catena fragments collected by F. Petit, *Catena Graecae in Genesim et Exodum I Catena Sinaitica* (CChr Series Graeca 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), pp. 240-41.

10. Justin's comment occurs in a discussion of Isa. 43.15, where he refers to Christ as everlasting king, saying to the Jew Trypho: 'you are aware that Jacob the son of Isaac was never a king'. See the fragment of sermon by Hippolytus, quoted by Jerome, *Epistle 36 ad Damasum*, where Esau is presented as the devil, and associated with Cain. But Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos* 1, insists at length that the two sons born to Rebecca are *nations, peoples* differentiated only in order of birth;

To refer this verse to 'kingdoms', as the Targums and many Midrashim do,¹¹ effectively annuls the Christian exegesis, by anchoring it firmly in political history rather than in speculative theology. But to say this is not to bring proof that Neofiti, Onqelos, and Pseudo-Jonathan, at some point in their history, exchanged an original literal rendering of this verse, still partially attested by Ngl, for an exegesis determined by opposition to Christianity. For as we have seen, the rendering 'kingdoms' is possibly older than Christianity, being very likely latent in Philo's writings.¹² The most that may be said is that the majority of the Targums may have come to prefer 'kingdoms' as a translation of 'peoples', and that known Christian exegesis may have played a part in this. And the question whether these same Targums, with the exception of the Ngl, implicitly identified Esau with Rome, cannot be answered on the evidence sifted so far.

Neofiti translates literally the description of Esau's birth (Gen. 25.25), but the MS omits his name at the end of this verse, and the whole of the next verse up to the name Jacob, probably by homoioteleuton. The Bible says that Isaac was sixty years old when he fathered them: instead of 'them', Ngl has 'this nation', a curious reading not without interest given our previous observations.

2. *Events during Esau's Lifetime*

The Bible tells (Gen. 25.27) how the boys grew up:

and Esau was a man knowing hunting, a man of the field; but Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents.

Neofiti follows the Hebrew in describing Esau as knowing hunting; but, uniquely among the Targums, translates 'a man of the field' as 'a man, lord of fields', *gbr mry hqlyn*. Neofiti says nothing more in this verse about Esau, so the remark is particularly arresting: Esau is a landowner, a master of territory unspecified in extent, but probably to be understood as great. The expression certainly implies that Esau is

and the designation of the Jews as *people* he uses to convict the Jewish people of idolatry in the matter of the golden calf and the idols of Jeroboam son of Nebat.

11. See *Gen. R.* 68.7; *b. Hul.* 92a; *'Abod. Zar.* 2b; *PRK* 29.

12. See *Leg. All.* 3.88 (xxix); and cf. *Quaest. in Gen.* 4.157, where Jacob and Esau are described as *patriarchs* of two nations.

rich and powerful.¹³ By contrast, Jacob is said to be 'perfect in good deed, dwelling in the Study Houses'.

The pregnant brevity of Neofiti is worlds apart from the two Ngls. The first of these actually offers an explanation of Onqelos, which has used the unusual word *nḥšyrkn* to describe Esau. The gloss expounds this as meaning that Esau had bronze thighs, *nḥwš yrkn*; and goes on to speak of him as a brigand, thief, and kidnapper, thus following lines of thought we have already encountered in other sources. The second gloss hints at his identification with Rome, describing him in punning fashion as a *ramm'ay*, deceiver of a man. Much could be said about these glosses; but our concern is with Neofiti, and they are noted here to emphasize the laconic and peculiar nature of Neofiti's interpretation.¹⁴

There is little to note in the next three verses, beyond Neofiti's agreement with Onqelos that v. 28 means that Isaac used to eat of Esau's venison, and its agreement in v. 29 with Pseudo-Jonathan that Jacob's pottage consisted of lentils, a fact made plain in the Hebrew only with v. 34. The translation of v. 31, however, is of a different order. It is here that the Bible presents Jacob as requesting Esau to sell him his birthright *kayyôm*, that is, literally, 'as on the day'. Onqelos interprets this word as 'on that day', and Pseudo-Jonathan is more explicit, reading 'sell to me today your birthright, as on the day you are going to inherit it'. Both these understandings take into consideration a fundamental point of law, that one cannot dispose of something he does not yet possess. Grossfeld has shown how both Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan appear to assume this ruling as expressed in *b. B. Bat.* 63a, and therefore refer to that day, that is, the day when Isaac dies and the inheritance will legally become Esau's to dispose of as he chooses.¹⁵

Neofiti, however, has interpreted the Hebrew *kayyôm* as *k'n*, 'now', and reinforces its rendering by translating the same expression in v. 33 'as on this day'. Of ancient translations, only LXX compares,

13. LXX and Vg are quite different: the former presents Esau as *agroikos*, a boorish field-dweller, the latter as a farmer.

14. On these glosses, see further R. Le Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque. I. Genèse* (SC, 245; Paris, 1978), pp. 246-47.

15. See Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, pp. 96, 97. The same expression occurs in v. 33, where Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan render accordingly, but Neofiti renders the Hebrew literally, 'as on the day'.

reading *sêmeron*, 'today', in both verses. The implications of these renderings are very serious. Not only does Jacob ask Esau to do something which is illegal and not in the latter's power: he would also appear to be ignorant of the law, even though Neofiti has already told us in v. 27 that he was perfect in good deed and frequented the Beth Ha-Midrash! The Targum seems to contradict itself; and even if references to Jacob's perfection and study were to be deleted from v. 27 as secondary accretions, the problem would still remain, since elsewhere Neofiti portrays Jacob as a righteous man.¹⁶ But here the Targum opens up a horrific possibility, that Jacob may be ignorant, or conniving at a breach of the law, or both these things. We shall return to this problem, noting for the moment that Neofiti here displays an attitude which might be described as anti-halakhic.¹⁷

There are difficulties of a different order in v. 34, which offers the first clear indication that Neofiti regarded Esau as a particularly wicked man. The Targum translates the Hebrew fairly literally: Jacob gave Esau bread and lentil pottage, and he ate, drank, rose up, and went away: so Esau despised his birthright. Neofiti's rendering of the final words of the Hebrew, and its additional material, are set out in literal translation below:

and Esau despised his birthright, and against (or: upon) the resurrection of the dead, and he denied the life of the world to come.

In his careful study of the text of Neofiti, B.B. Levy remarks of this addition that the verb governing the phrase 'against the resurrection of the dead' is lacking.¹⁸ The same author argues in another place that Neofiti can often betray, through difficulties and irregularities in its grammar and syntax, reasonably clear evidence of additions to its text.¹⁹ May it not be the case that, rather than lacking a verb, this section represents a later, rather clumsy addition to Neofiti's original

16. Jerome most likely saw the problem, since the Vg omits a translation of *kayyôm* altogether in both vv. 31 and 33. Neofiti regularly describes Jacob as pious: see, for example, Gen. 33.18; Lev. 22.27; and cf. *b. Šab.* 33.

17. Neofiti does contain rulings which are not in accord with the halakhah: see, for example, its version of Lev. 10.6; 19.3; and the discussion of these, and other passages, by B.J. Bamberger, 'Halakhic Elements in the Neofiti Targum: A Preliminary Statement', *JQR* 66 (1975-1976), pp. 27-38.

18. See B.B. Levy, *Targum Neophyti 1. A Textual Study*, I (New York, 1986), pp. 174-75.

19. See Levy, *Targum Neophyti 1*, pp. 28-43.

literal translation of the Hebrew text? It is true that FTP, FTV, and Ngl show that the Palestinian Targums contained the substance of this addition; but they use vocabulary different from that of Neofiti, and Esau's denial of these things is well known from other rabbinic sources.²⁰ If we also take seriously Shinan's suggestion that this material is not necessarily a polemic directed against a particular group, but a *topos*, a general Targumic 'grouse' of literary-didactic character directed against heresy in general, then we can see how this whole section might indeed represent an addition to Neofiti's original text.²¹ Thus although Neofiti in its present form portrays Esau as a wicked heretic, there are grounds for arguing that, in this verse at least, it may not always have done so.

Genesis 27 tells how Jacob came to receive his father's blessing instead of Esau: Neofiti has little to tell us about the latter that is not in the biblical narrative, until we reach v. 29, where Isaac actually blesses Jacob. He prays that peoples, Hebrew *'mmym*, should serve Jacob: Neofiti speaks of these as *'wmy*', and defines them as 'all the sons of Esau'. In this, it agrees with FTP, FTV, and Pseudo-Jonathan. Of greatest significance for our purposes, however, is Gen. 27.40, Isaac's necessarily limited blessing of Esau, which in the Bible runs as follows:

20. Thus FTP, FTV, and Ngl say that Esau desecrated, *'pys*, the life of the world to come, an expression not used by Neofiti which also avoids the word *hwlq*, 'portion' or 'lot' in connection with the world to come. See also *Gen. R.* 63.14. Pseudo-Jonathan of Gen. 25.29 includes Esau's denial of the world to come among a list of five sins he committed on that day: see *Gen. R.* 63.11; *b. B. Bat.* 16b; *Exod. R.* 1.1. Thus Esau's denial is not uniformly attached by the Targums themselves to v. 34 in particular. Further, Neofiti's literal rendering (*bzy*) of the Hebrew *bzh*, 'he despised', is not shared with the other Targums; but it is precisely this Hebrew verb *R. Levi* in *Gen. R.* 63.14 expounds with reference to resurrection of the dead. Might not Neofiti's present text arise as the result of an addition of the kind of midrash represented by *Gen. R.* 63.14, inspired precisely because Targum Neofiti had retained *bzy* in its translation? On midrashic additions to Targum Neofiti, see Levy, *Targum Neophyti I*, pp. 54-63.

21. See A. Shinan, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch* (2 vols.; Jerusalem, 1979) [in Hebrew], I, pp. 98, 117, where other rabbinic witnesses to the tradition are cited, and attempts to identify the targets of the supposed polemic are critically assessed.

And by your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother: and it shall be, that when you wander [*tryd*], that you shall break his yoke from upon your neck.

Neofiti's version of this is, at first sight, similar to that of the other Palestinian Targums:

And by your sword you shall live, and before your brother you shall be serving and in servitude: and it shall be, that when the sons of Jacob labour in the Torah and keep the commandments, that they shall place the yoke of their burden on your neck; but it shall be, that when the sons of Jacob forsake the commandments, and restrain themselves from labouring in the Torah, you shall have dominion over him, and you shall break the yoke of servitude from your neck.

In three crucial matters, Neofiti differs sharply from the versions of FTP, FTV, and the remains of two Ngls, which in other respects it very closely resembles. First, unlike FTP and Ngl, it does not turn the singular 'your brother' of the Hebrew into 'your brethren the Jews'. Second, the words 'you shall be serving and in servitude' represent a conflate of the readings of, on the one hand FTP and Onqelos 'you shall serve', and on the other FTV and Ngl 'you shall be in servitude'. Finally, Neofiti alone of all the Targums states that Esau will have dominion over Jacob, *wtšlṭ byh*, if the latter fails to keep the commandments of the Torah.

The first two items are closely related. The phenomenon of conflates in Neofiti has recently been studied by Rimón Kasher, who shows how scribes have combined readings particularly of the various Palestinian Targums (rarely of Palestinian Targums and Onqelos) to produce the present text of Neofiti on many occasions.²² If we have such a conflate before us, and it seems likely that we do, then Neofiti has most probably chosen deliberately not to include the further definition of Esau's brother as 'the Jews'. Rather, Neofiti continues to speak of Esau in the singular as 'your brother'; and when we turn to the third peculiarity in its presentation, we note that the singular form in the sentence 'and you shall have dominion over' reappears towards the end of the verse, and fits awkwardly with the intervening plural references to the 'sons of Jacob' and their burden.

One possible explanation of the present state of this verse in Neofiti

22. See R. Kasher, 'Targumic Conflations in the Ms Neofiti 1', *HUCA* 57 (1986), Hebrew section, pp. 1-19.

would suggest that the whole of the section with plural nouns and verbs, from 'and it shall be, when the sons of Jacob labour...' to '...restrain themselves from labouring in the Torah', is a latter addition to a text which originally, like the Hebrew, had only singular nouns and verbs. Levy has pointed to the similarities between this section and Neofiti of Gen. 3.15, where God warns Adam of the consequences which will follow for his descendants should they keep, or not keep, the commandments of the Torah; and his discussion allows for the possibility that Neofiti of Gen. 27.40 has modified this well-known material from Gen. 3.15 before incorporating it into the present text.²³

While Levy's thesis is plausible, more should be said about Neofiti's translation of the difficult Hebrew verb *tryd*, rendered in our translation above as 'you wander' as from the *Hiph'il* of root *rwd*, 'show restlessness'. But the verb may derive from other roots; and the ancient versions offer a wide range of alternative explanations of it, which have most recently been listed and discussed by Alison Salvesen.²⁴ Neofiti alone of all these versions seems to derive *tryd* from the root *rdh*, 'to rule, have dominion', an interpretation of it known also to R. Jose in the name of R. Halafta according to *Gen. R.* 67.7. Two observations are in order here.

First, it is possible that anyone meeting this interpretation of *tryd* in the period, say, 100–500 CE might connect it with Neofiti's understanding that two kingdoms were to be born from Rebecca; and therefrom conclude that Esau in this verse represented Rome, the kingdom which had overpowered Israel. However, Neofiti itself has, up to this point, given no explicit indication that Esau is Rome; and a reader or hearer of the text would have to base the identification on knowledge derived from other sources. Second, if, for the moment, we set aside the consideration that Esau may represent Rome, then the translation of *tryd* as 'you shall have dominion over him', *tšlṭ byh*, should strikingly call to our attention another biblical verse. In Gen. 4.7, God warns Cain of sin, and declares to him: 'you shall have dominion over it'.²⁵ Neofiti translates this with the root *šlṭ* in the course of a

23. See Levy, *Targum Neophyti I*, pp. 183–86.

24. See A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 47–48.

25. Hebrew *w'th tmšl bw*. This expression, with second person masculine singular imperfect Qal of *mšl*, plus *bw*, occurs only here in the whole Hebrew Bible.

paraphrase bluntly warning Cain that evil deeds in this world will receive their reward in the world to come. In the verse immediately following, Neofiti records a famous dispute between Cain and his brother, in the course of which he denies the world to come and the rewards and punishments associated with it.

There can be no doubt that, at some point in its history, Neofiti has linked Esau with Cain: for this we have the evidence of Gen. 25.34, where Esau, like Cain, denies resurrection and the world to come, and that of Gen. 27.41, yet to be discussed, where Esau compares and contrasts himself with Cain. Neofiti's rendering of *tryd* in Gen. 27.40 seems to point in the same direction; Esau will have dominion over Jacob precisely when the latter forsakes the Torah, which in ages past Cain himself should have obeyed so as to retain his dominion over sin. The association of the two characters was bound to arise, given that both hated their righteous brothers, and could therefore be made to represent all that was opposed to the Torah. Most dramatically was this association made by Philo, *De Sacrificiis* 3-4; and in the same treatise (14-18) he demonstrates that in temporal terms vice, being represented by the elder brothers Cain and Esau, is unfortunately senior to virtue.²⁶

As we have remarked, Neofiti makes explicit the link between Esau and Cain in its translation of Gen. 27.41, which in the Hebrew original reads:

And Esau [*wyštm*] bore a grudge against Jacob because of the blessing with which his father had blessed him. And Esau said in his heart: The days of mourning for my father shall approach; then I kill my brother Jacob.

Neofiti translates the first sentence literally, and then addresses the question why Esau should wait before killing his brother, translating as follows:

I shall not do as did Cain, who killed Abel his brother during the life of his father, so that he turned and fathered Seth, and called his name according to his name. Behold, I shall wait until of the days of my father's mourning approach; then I shall kill Jacob my brother, and I shall be called killer and inheritor.

26. See also *Sacr.* 64, 135. *Jub.* 35.8 end-10a, which is represented by a Hebrew fragment from Qumran, links Esau to antediluvian wickedness by saying that Esau's *yešer* had been evil since his youth, like those in the days of Nephilim (Gen. 6.5) and the days of Noah (Gen. 8.21).

This understanding is common to the Palestinian Targums as represented by FTP, the Ngl, and Pseudo-Jonathan, and is expressed in words and phrases which are almost identical in all these Targums. The versions of this tradition found in *Gen. R.* 75.9 and *Lev. R.* 27.11 show different emphases, and in all probability are later developments of the stuff found in the Targums.²⁷ The text of Neofiti runs entirely smoothly. There is, therefore, no indication in the text that Neofiti's interpretation of this verse may be secondary.

In the lengthy account of Jacob's return from Laban and his meeting with Esau, only three aspects of Neofiti require comment. First, the 400 'men' who accompany Esau according to *Gen.* 32.7; 33.1 are defined by Neofiti as 'polemarchs' (32.7) and 'foot-soldiers' (33.1). In the latter verse, the Ngl reads 'polemarchs' again; Pseudo-Jonathan, also uses this word in both verses.²⁸ Esau is here presented as a military commander, an understanding of him which we meet also in *Jubilees* and in Josephus, *Ant.* 1.327 (xx:1). Secondly, Neofiti does not share with FTP, FTV, and Ngl Jacob's suspicion, voiced in a paraphrase expounding the word *mḥnh* of 32.3, that Esau has come to kill him.²⁹ Thirdly, in the Hebrew of 33.8, Jacob says that he has acted to gain favour 'in the eyes of my lord', referring to Esau: Neofiti renders this phrase as 'in your sight', so that Jacob does not appear to acknowledge Esau's superiority.

27. Apart from the fact that these two sources place their versions of the material in settings other than *Gen.* 27.41, it should be noted that their exegetical goals are quite different from those of Neofiti. Thus *Lev. R.* gives only a summary of the tradition. *Gen. R.* makes Esau recall that God did nothing to Cain for killing his brother, and removes an ambiguity in the biblical text, found also in Neofiti, by making Esau plan to kill his father and then his brother. Neofiti's 'I shall wait until the days of my father's mourning approach' is ambiguous: it may imply, but does not state, that Esau intended to murder his father, and the version of *Gen. R.* looks like a further development of a targumic insight.

28. In *Gen.* 32.7, the interlinear gloss of Neofiti reads *pwlmwsyn*, and FTV has *gwbryn pwlmr byn*, a mistake for *pwlmrkyn*. On the relationship of these renderings to *Gen. R.*, see D.M. Golomb, *A Grammar of Targum Neofiti* (Scholars Press, 1984), pp. 4-5.

29. Thus Ngl reads: 'And Jacob said when he saw them: Perhaps they are camps of Esau my brother coming before me to kill me. . . .'

3. References to Esau after his Death

These may be dealt with briefly. Neofiti and other Palestinian Targums of Gen. 49.2 and Deut. 6.4 have Jacob refer to Esau as a blemish or a 'disqualification', root *psl*. Ishmael and the sons of Keturah are described by the same term. The sense is that Esau is unfit to approach God, disqualified from service of the Almighty.³⁰ In Gen. 49.26, he is described as one of the 'great ones of the world' along with Ishmael. The famous midrash which tells of God's offering the Torah to the nations of the world (Deut. 33.2) represents the sons of Esau rejecting the offer on the grounds that the Torah contains the commandment 'thou shalt not kill'; like Esau their father (cf. Targum Neofiti of Gen. 27.41), they are killers.³¹

The description of Joseph's death in Targum Neofiti of Gen. 50.1 includes mention of the 'rulers (*šwlṭny*) from the sons of Esau' and Keturah: the representatives of Ishmael, however, are described as 'kingdoms (*malkwn*) and rulers'. None of the Targumim of this verse apply language of kingship to the sons of Esau at this point: they are spoken of as 'mighty men, warriors' in FTV, Ngl, and GM; and as 'men' in Pseudo-Jonathan and FTP. The military character of these people is again emphasized. And when Israel on their journey from Egypt ask permission from the sons of Esau to pass through Edomite territory, we are struck by the fact that the Edomite reaction described in Num. 20.18 is missing from the text of Neofiti, as is the name of Edom in Num. 20.14. It is possible that the Ngl has preserved the text of Targum Neofiti of Num. 20.18: it notes that the king of Edom, not spoken of in the Hebrew of this verse, but only in the Hebrew of Num. 20.14, will come against Israel with those who draw the sword.³² But given Neofiti's failure to speak in royal terms of Esau's sons elsewhere, we may be justified in questioning whether it is certain that Ngl here represents the original text of Neofiti. Targum Neofiti of Num. 20.21 gives the reason why Israel did not attack the

30. The root *psl* is well known in both rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic as expressing what is unfit for sacrifice or for food.

31. For further discussion of the Targums of these verses, see C.T.R. Hayward, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Anti-Islamic Polemic', *JSS* 34 (1989), pp. 89-91.

32. See Díez Macho, *Ms. Neophyti 1*. IV. *Números*, pp. 184-85.

Edomites on this occasion: God had forbidden them to do so, a view shared by Pseudo-Jonathan, FTV, and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.76-77 (iv.5).

4. *Esau-Edom and Rome*

Nowhere in the text of Neofiti as we now possess it is Esau-Edom explicitly identified with Rome. The *locus classicus* for such identification is Num. 24.18-19, where Balaam prophesies the downfall of Edom and the destruction of the survivors of 'the city', which FTP and FTV unambiguously render as 'the sinful city, that is, Rome'. Neofiti's text speaks only of 'the city: it is the sinful one'. No identification is offered, and the MS leaves a blank line after this notice. Onqelos here refers to 'the city of the nations, Gentiles', while Pseudo-Jonathan's text is greatly confused, although there is clear reference to Constantinople and Caesarea.³³ It is almost certain that Neofiti, like the extant Fragment Targums, originally identified the city as Rome, and that censorship is to blame for the present text and gap in the MS of Neofiti. Most students are also agreed that censorship has probably excised an original reference to Rome in Neofiti of Num. 24.24, which otherwise speaks of the legions of the Roman army.³⁴

At Gen. 15.12, the famous midrash which tells how Abraham was shown the four empires which would enslave Israel is included in Neofiti, as in Pseudo-Jonathan, FTP, and FTV. In Neofiti, the identity of the fourth empire has been scratched out of the MS; but there is little doubt that Edom was intended by Neofiti in this place, as in the other Targums and midrashim which we know. According to these, Edom's kingdom is the one which is destined to fall, never to rise again. Clearly the censor of the MS understood that Edom was here a cipher for Rome, or for the Christian church; but the text of Neofiti,

33. See Levy, *Targum Neophyti I, II* (New York, 1987), p. 148 ('it seems that the gap existed in the text copied by the scribe of N'); R. Le Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque. III. Nombres* (SC, 261; Paris, 1979), pp. 236-37; and Díez Macho, *Ms. Neophyti I. IV. Numeros*, p. 238 n. 6, for a discussion of the textual state of Neof. and the other Targums of these verses.

34. See Levy, *Targum Neophyti I, II*, pp. 151-52; Le Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque*, pp. 240-41. The Latin loan-word *legio* is found in Neofiti again at Gen. 15.1; Num. 12.16.

as restored along the lines of the other Targums, does not make the identification explicit.³⁵

Conclusion

Targum Neofiti's portrait of Esau is confused, inconsistent, and partial. It corresponds to a text which shows clear signs of careless transmission and of interference. The carelessness includes omissions of words, phrases, and whole verses: some of this could be deliberate. The interference manifests itself in the work of the censor, and in tell-tale additions of material not integral to the translation. The commonplace rabbinic equation of Esau with Rome has been influential, not only in the work of the censor, but in other more subtle ways. Thus it is likely that Neofiti has omitted 'the Jews' as a closer definition of Esau's brothers in the conflate expression of Gen. 27.40, and has made Jacob refuse to address Esau as 'my lord' in Gen. 33.8, to avoid any suggestion that Rome might have eternal dominion over the Jewish people. The omission of Num. 20.18, and the name of Edom in Num. 20.14, may also be determined by the Targum's unwillingness to suggest implied conflict with Rome at this point in the scriptural narrative, since God forbids Israel to fight Esau (Targum Neofiti of Num. 20.21).

Yet it cannot be said that the equation of Esau with Rome entirely defines Neofiti's picture of this man. As we have seen, the lines of connexion drawn between Esau and Rome are somewhat indirect in Neofiti, even allowing for the work of the censor. They may also be superficial; because when we look beyond them, a picture of Esau emerges which, in important respects, is incompatible with them. For Esau is revealed as a latter-day Cain. He is so depicted in Gen. 27.41; 25.34; and probably also in 27.40. The note that Esau was a landowner (Gen. 25.27) recalls Cain's profession as a cultivator of the land (Gen. 4.2). The hostility of the two brothers Esau and Jacob was very early related to Cain's attack on Abel: it was certainly known to Philo, and so close was the association of Esau with Cain that the

35. See Levy, *Targum Neophyti I*, I, pp. 139-40; Le Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque. I. Genèse*, pp. 170-71, and, for more detailed consideration of the texts referred to here, R. Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale* (Rome, 1963), pp. 271-72. On the question whether Targum Neofiti of Exod. 12.42, the Poem of the Four Nights, makes mention of Rome, see Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale*, pp. 359-69.

targumic paraphrases of Gen. 27.41 were given as explanations why Esau did not, in actual fact, do what everyone might expect him to have done, and act like Cain in murdering his brother *instanter*. Esau, in this picture, is a killer, and his descendants have the same reputation, as in the ancient exegesis preserved in Neofiti of Deut. 33.2.³⁶

Furthermore, it was notorious that Cain's sacrifice (Gen. 4.5) was not accepted; it was thus *pswl*, like Esau himself, according to Neofiti of Gen. 49.2 and Deut. 6.4. And we should note one further, and crucial, fact of biblical history. As *Gen. R.* 75.9 points out, God did not kill Cain for murdering his brother; rather, he protected him from anyone who sought to slay him (Gen. 4.15). The link between Esau and Cain, therefore, belongs to a world removed from that which could equate Esau with Rome, because in the latter the everlasting downfall of Rome is essential stuff of the equation. As the Palestinian Targums of Gen. 15.12 insist, Edom is to fall, never to rise again: there is no question of this Esau being protected from the wrath of his enemies. We may suggest, therefore, given the evidence of Philo and the observations made here, that the association between Esau and Cain in Neofiti belongs to an older stratum of tradition than the Esau–Rome equation. This study has, we believe, enabled us to see how the one tradition has been superimposed on the other.

It would also seem reasonable to argue that verses which present Esau as a commander of troops, a mighty warrior, and one of the great ones of the world, but do not speak of him in royal terms (Gen. 32.7; 33.1; 49.26; 50.1) may ante-date the introduction of the Esau–Rome equation into Neofiti. These verses do not speak of legions, have no necessary reference to Rome, and echo, albeit faintly, the description of Esau as a military commander found in Jubilees. The failure of Targum Neofiti of Gen. 50.1 to use the word 'kingdoms' in respect of Esau's sons is striking in this regard.³⁷

Different strata are also discernible in the more obviously 'translational' elements in Neofiti. We have noticed places where Neofiti agrees with one or more of the ancient versions over against

36. For the dating of the Targums of this verse, see J. Heinemann, *Aggadah and its Development* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 156-62 [in Hebrew], and R. Syrén, *The Blessings in the Targums* (Åbo, 1986), pp. 144-48.

37. Although this text speaks of Ishmael in royal terms, it is unlikely to belong to the Islamic period, since Esau–Rome–Christendom certainly had 'kingdoms' at that time.

the other Targums, for example in Gen. 25.21 and in Gen. 25.31, 33, where its translation of *kayyôm* as 'now' coincides with LXX's 'today'. This seems to be a very old rendering, and quite naive given the legal point at issue, carelessly preserved, hardly a deliberate anti-halakhic ploy. Such would only involve a major contradiction with the rest of the Targum, and would allow for a favourable view of Esau which is not found elsewhere in Neofiti. And as we saw in the discussion of Gen. 25.23, where Hebrew 'peoples' become 'kingdoms', there is evidence within the Neofiti tradition to suggest that the present rendering may have been adopted in preference to another, for particular theological purposes.

Yet throughout our study we have been careful to exercise caution. It does, indeed, seem possible to separate layers of interpretation in Neofiti's picture of Esau, and to offer some sort of dating of them relative to one another. Absolute dates are quite another matter, and in this instance are probably impossible to determine, since we do not know for certain when the equation of Esau with Rome was actually established.³⁸ What does seem clear, however, is that the text of Neofiti's Esau material, as we possess it, dates most likely from some time in the talmudic period.

38. It was certainly known to St Jerome, *Comm. in Iesaiam* 21.11-12; but how much older than his time it may be is disputed. J. Neusner, *From Enemy to Sibling: Rome and Israel in the First Century of Western Civilization* (New York, 1986), dates it to the fifth century, but Jerome's evidence suggests an earlier origin for it. Feldman ('Josephus' Portrait', pp. 130-33) argues that Josephus knew of it, and that it may be traced back as far as Philo; but it would seem that it became current in rabbinic circles only at the time of the Second Revolt: see Cohen, 'Esau as Symbol', pp. 22-23; and M.D. Herr, 'Edom', *EncJud*, VI, cols. 379-80.

ISHMAEL AND ESAU IN THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES* AND TARGUM
PSEUDO-JONATHAN

Roger Syrén

In the Old Testament, Ishmael and Esau are two of the forsaken first-borns, who had to give up their birthrights to a younger brother. Although they remain outsiders, later generations did not lose interest in their lot and relationship to the 'true' children of Israel. Here, I shall make a brief survey, and some comments, on their appearance in the book of *Jubilees* and *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*.

Jubilees (commonly dated to the middle of the second century BC)¹ contains two large sections on Ishmael, and both are additions in relation to the Hebrew biblical text. One is found in ch. 20 with a blessing of Ishmael, Isaac and Keturah (in that order!), the other in ch. 22, where Ishmael celebrates Pentecost together with his father and older brother in Hebron. Ishmael's birth is briefly reported in 14.24, whereas the oracle in Gen. 16.11-12 does not receive any attention at all. On the other hand, Genesis 21 is retold almost literally with slight alterations or additions. Again, in 20.1-13, *Jubilees* proffers some geographical and 'ethnic' details which seem to sum up several biblical passages:

Ishmael and his sons and the sons of Keturah and their sons went together and they dwelt from Paran to the entrance to Babylon in all of the land which faces the east opposite the desert. And these mixed with each other, and they are called Arabs or Ishmaelites.²

1. Cf. D. Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, 15; Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), pp. 148-49 for relevant data.

2. My quotations from *Jubilees* follow O.S. Wintermute's translation in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), pp. 54-142.

Abraham's blessing in *Jubilees* 20 comes as a supplement to Gen. 17.20 and 25.5-6. The recipients of the blessing are all his children with their families and descendants. None of them is singled out in any special way; all three are addressed under a collective 'you'. They are commanded to guard the way of the Lord, to act justly toward their neighbour, and to fulfil the prescript of circumcision. They are also warned against all sorts of pollution and wrongdoings.

In *Jubilees* 22 Ishmael returns to his father's house and celebrates the Feast of Weeks. He is joyfully received by Abraham and Isaac. Later in the same passage, Abraham prays that his sons (in the plural) become 'an elect people for you' and 'an inheritance' from all the nations of the earth.

Thus, the two passages (*Jub.* 20.1-10, and 22.1-9; cf. also 17.2) integrate all sons of Abraham into one group. Ishmael is not separated from the others.³ The posture of *Jubilees* in these sections accordingly seems to be to treat Ishmael and Isaac together, not separately, and on an equal footing. I do not, however, subscribe to D. Mendels' appreciation of *Jubilees* as projecting 'an extremely positive view' of Ishmael.⁴ A 'positive' projection would have to be deduced from *Jubilees e silentio* only, as when it omits the whole passage of Hagar's eviction from Sarah in Gen. 16.7-14. It is true that there is no conflict between Hagar/Ishmael and Sarah until 17.4-5 (based on Genesis 21, i.e., after Ishmael's birth) and that Ishmael is called 'son' of Abraham and 'brother' of Isaac (22.4), but that does not go beyond the Hebrew Bible itself. Actually, these are the only epithets of Ishmael, appreciative or otherwise, in the whole *Jubilees* section covering his lifespan (chs. 14-15). This fact should warn against any far-reaching conclusions. Furthermore, *Jubilees* in other passages does attest to a more censorious and segregative attitude, as in 15.30-32, rendering Genesis 17 (on circumcision). There Ishmael is put on a level with Esau, and a line is drawn between them and Israel.⁵

3. Except in *Jub.* 20.11-12, which follow the biblical text more closely. In 23.6 Ishmael (who was apparently never absent) learns about Abraham's death and mourns him together with his brothers and children.

4. Mendels, *Land of Israel*, p. 150. In a similar vein, M. Ohana, 'La polémique judéo-islamique et l'image d'Ismaël dans Targum Pseudo-Jonathan...', *Augustinianum* 15 (1975), p. 371.

5. Cf. Mendels, *Land of Israel*, pp. 73, 82, 150.

For the Lord did not draw Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau near to himself, and he did not elect them because they are the sons of Abraham, for he knew them. But he chose Israel that they might be a people for him.

Also 16.17-18 evince a similar segregation.

Also regarding Esau, the attitude of *Jubilees* as a whole is ambivalent. He is talked of as 'a fierce man' (19.13), 'unjust' and 'violent' in his ways (35.9), 'enemy', 'adversary' (38.1) and so on. Furthermore, he is said to have harboured since his youth an 'evil inclination' (Hebrew *yezer*, 35.9) and he is chided for having left his father alone and robbed him of his possessions and flocks (35.10-11). His marriages to Canaanite women were acts of wickedness (25.9). *Jubilees* 26 recounts the blessing of Isaac in Genesis 27; his blessing for Esau eventuates in a curse:

Behold, apart from the dew of the land shall be your dwelling, and apart from the dew of heaven from above.⁶ And by your sword you shall live, and you will serve your brother. And it will happen when you become great, and you will remove his yoke from your neck, that then you will surely sin completely unto death, and your seed will be rooted out from under heaven (vv. 33-34).

However, such outbursts and condemnations are tempered by other passages, such as 35.18-20 where Rebecca entreats her sons to love each other and keep the peace between them. In chapter 36 Jacob and Esau are blessed once more by Isaac, this time in obvious analogy with chapter 20. Isaac too urges them to live in fear of the Lord and in mutual love. He then proceeds to distribute his possessions between them. But, as he intends to give more to 'him whose birth was first', that is, evidently Esau, the latter politely points out to him that seniority no longer belongs to him and passes on his share to Jacob.

From ch. 37 the tone again changes to become almost totally negative. Esau, after some hesitation and inducement from his sons, decides to make war on Jacob and breaks his earlier promise: 'there is no observing of fraternity with you' (37.19). In the ensuing combat, Esau is defeated and killed by Jacob together with his troops. His

6. Mendels, *Land of Israel*, p. 75, asserts this to be in contradiction to Gen. 27.39. This is true if the preposition in *מִלְּפָנָי* and *מִלְּפָנָי* is taken as a privative, so C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36* (BKAT I.2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), p. 539, but cf. translations *ad. loc.*

children bow down their neck to become servants of Jacob's children who put a 'yoke of servitude' on them. This all happens in fulfilment of Gen. 27.29. The report ends with the comment, 'And the children of Esau have not ceased from the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob ordered upon them until today' (v. 14). This comment, like the whole section (37), puts the strife between Isaac's two sons within a contemporary framework, probably the conquest of Idumaea by John Hyrcanus I in 125 BC.⁷ So in the end, *Jubilee's* ambivalence is only an impression—in reality its attitude is, although complex, quite consistent: Jacob and Esau were competitors from the moment of their birth, as the introduction of them in 19.13 as each other's antipoles indicates. The period of peaceful coexistence was only a brief interruption of hostilities.

In Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Ishmael and his children are referred to as 'a people of brigands' in Gen. 21.13. In the light of that verse, and indeed of the entire chapter, it is surprising to find that the metaphoric and consequently rather picturesque language of Gen. 16.12 in the Hebrew did not occasion Pseudo-Jonathan to defame Ishmael in any way. On the contrary, Pseudo-Jonathan sticks to a matter-of-fact style. The Palestinian Targums of the chapter in general agree that an antagonism did exist between Ishmael and 'his brothers'. In Neofiti I of 16.5, Sarai expresses to Abram her wish for an offspring of her own, so that 'we will not need the sons of Hagar the Egyptian, who belong to the sons of the people who cast you into the furnace of fire of the Chaldeans', similarly also Pseudo-Jonathan. This applies to v. 12 as well (Ps.-J.: 'his hands shall take revenge on his foes...'), although a certain bewilderment can be sensed as to the meaning of the last stich: ועל פכי כל אחיו ישכן. Pseudo-Jonathan has 'he will intermingle with his brethren', which agrees with *Jubilees* 20 in the passage quoted earlier, Neofiti I has: 'his hands shall rule over all, and the hands of all will rule over him' (which might be read as an allusion to the shifting conditions under which the Arabs, including the Itureans, the Nabateans etc. lived from time to time—also in relation to the Jews). Targum Onqelos, on the other hand, suggests a relationship of interdependence, rather than one of outspoken rivalry, by

7. I agree with Mendels, *Land of Israel*, pp. 80-81, who prefers 125 rather than 163. Cf. also E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87), I, p. 205; II, p. 194n.

rendering 'he will stand in need of everybody, and men will also be in need of him'. This is a salient point of difference between Targum Onqelos and the Palestinian Targums although Targum Onqelos's מרוד may actually also mean 'rebel'.

For Esau, the situation is different. He receives appellatives, such as 'the wicked' (Ps.-J. Gen. 29.17) and 'slayer'—much in the style of *Jubilees*. The latter is actually his self-designation in Ps.-J. Gen. 27.41, where he fosters plans to slay Jacob (in order to remain Isaac's sole inheritor). Otherwise he is seen as the 'leader' or the 'father' of the Idumaeans: Ps.-J. Gen. 36.8 etc. Targum Onqelos holds fast to the Hebrew biblical toponyms Edom and Seir (Ps.-J, N: 'Gabra').

As in the Hebrew Bible, it is above all in the narrative sections that the 'true' character of Ishmael and Esau is revealed also in the Targums. Their deeds and utterances betray the quality of the inner man. Indicative of this are the utterances put in their mouth at crucial moments. However, as a closer look at the narrative contexts bears out, the variety of stories accentuate different facets of their nature. Often the Targumists' own arguments are thereby brought to the fore, for example, under a certain theologoumenon whereby Ishmael or Esau may act the devil's advocates in verbal disputes. On such occasions Ishmael and Esau seem to take on different personalities in different textual entities.

To sum up, Pseudo-Jonathan shares some traits with ancient sources like *Jubilees* (and also Josephus) regarding Ishmael and Esau. For instance, these three sources show a fair and generous attitude towards Ishmael before Isaac is born. The difference is that Pseudo-Jonathan's attitude undergoes a much stronger shift, from generosity to contempt and even condemnation. The ethno-geographical factor may long have determined the attitude taken towards Ishmael and Esau. The Book of *Jubilees* would seem to reflect periods of changing relationships between the Jews and their neighbours, sometimes at ease, sometimes at war. At least in the case of Esau, however, the peaceful coexistence is seen as a thing of the past, the warlike conditions gradually taking over and terminating that peaceful period. For Josephus, Ishmael and Esau still represented the foreign peoples allocated to regions outside (although adjacent to) the land of Israel. For its part, Pseudo-Jonathan adds a theological motivation for their deposition and removal: Ishmael's idolatry (ch. 21) and Esau's heresy (ch. 25) brought about their dissociation from the true Israel, the community of Abraham,

Isaac and Jacob. It would seem, accordingly, that since both the geographical and theological dimensions are at work in Pseudo-Jonathan, they might conceivably converge and effect a conflation of 'foreign' and 'idolater/heretic'. But such a conflation would in any case be secondary in Pseudo-Jonathan's perspective: Ishmael (Gen. 21.9) and Esau (Gen. 25.32) were still living in the house at the moment of the perpetration. Their offending acts were the immediate cause of their expulsion. And it is logical that Pseudo-Jonathan has Ishmael repent before his return in Gen. 25.8-9 (even though the expansion there does not formally concord with the immediate context).

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Part V

TARGUMS OF THE HAGIOGRAPHIA

TRADITION AND ORIGINALITY IN THE TARGUM
OF THE SONG OF SONGS

Philip S. Alexander

The Targum of the Song of Songs was unquestionably one of the most popular and widely disseminated works of the Jewish Middle Ages. It survives in over sixty manuscripts of diverse provenance and date, scattered through the great Judaica libraries of the world. In addition, we have early translations of it into Ladino, Yiddish, Judaeo-Arabic, Judaeo-Persian, and the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Kurdistan¹—eloquent testimony of the desire to make the work available to the general public. The large number of manuscripts is remarkable. There may be as many manuscripts of Targum Onqelos, but few other texts are so well attested. By way of contrast, Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, which springs most readily to mind as the major Jewish exposition of the Song of Songs, survives in only four complete

1. Ladino: Moses Laniado's version was first published in Venice in 1619, and often reprinted (e.g. Amsterdam, 1664; Venice, 1756 and 1778). See further, A. Yaari, *A Catalogue of Judaeo-Spanish Books = Kirjath Sepher* 10 (1934), p. 3. Yiddish: Freiburg, 1584 (attributed to Jacob Koppelman ben Samuel of Metz). Judaeo-Arabic: Livorno, 1870 and Baghdad, 1914. Earlier Judaeo-Arabic editions are listed in A.E. Cowley's *Catalogue of Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1929), under 'Bible'. Judaeo-Persian: E.Z. Melamed, *Shir ha-Shirim: Targum Arami, Targum Ivri, Tafsir bi-leshon Yehudei Paras* (Jerusalem, 1971). See also JNUL, Jerusalem, ms 28^o 5290. Neo-Aramaic: Yona Sabar, *Targum de-Targum: An Old Neo-Aramaic Version of the Targum of the Song of Songs* (Wiesbaden, 1991) = Columbia University Library ms. X893 M686 and JNUL ms 8^o 925. Sabar (p. 15 n. 14) notes two other Neo-Aramaic versions: JNUL ms 8^o 495 and 28^o 5290. For early Italian and Hebrew translations, see notes 3 and 8 below. A full bibliography of translations of Targum Shir ha-Shirim into 'Jewish' languages is a desideratum (I have offered here only a few random notes, which may be supplemented by consulting standard works such as Cowley's *Catalogue*). The substance of these translations has also not received the attention it deserves. Sabar's is the only attempt to analyse any of them seriously.

manuscripts (excluding some late Persian and Yemenite handcopies of printed Western editions), in three anthologies, and in twelve Geniza fragments, representing the remains of four further manuscripts. Clearly chance plays a part in the survival of texts, and we cannot rely solely on the democratic principle to determine the importance of a work. If we did, then the Babylonian Talmud would be relegated to the lower divisions, which would be a patent absurdity. However, the sheer weight of numbers in the case of Targum Shir ha-Shirim is impressive and should not be lightly dismissed. I believe it correctly indicates that this Targum occupies a more important place within the tradition than it has usually been given, and that its significance has been seriously underestimated.

This underestimation can hardly be attributed to scholarly neglect. Targum Shir ha-Shirim has received more attention over the years than any other Targum of the Writings. The text was included in the first Bomberg Rabbinic Bible, Venice 1517, from where it was taken over into the second and subsequent editions. It appeared in Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica*, and in the great Polyglot Bibles, starting with the *Biblia Regia*, Antwerp 1570. There are numerous translations. The Polyglots contain Latin versions, which essentially go back to Alfonso de Zamora in the early sixteenth century. Alfonso prepared for the Complutensian Polyglot a text of Shir ha-Shirim, with Latin translation, copies of which survive in Madrid and Salamanca. In the event this Targum was not included in the Complutensian Polyglot. However, Alfonso's work was gratefully taken up and utilized by Arias Montano for the *Biblia Regia*. The early Latin rendering made the Targum available to Christian as well as Jewish scholars. Translations into modern languages followed: four into English (by Gill, Gollancz, Pope, who rather obviously cribs from Gollancz, and Schneekloth²); two into Italian (by Piatelli and Neri³), and one apiece

2. J. Gill, *An Exposition of the Book of Solomon, commonly called Canticles... to which is added the Targum... faithfully translated* (London, 2nd edn, 1751 [1728]); H. Gollancz, *The Targum to 'The Song of Songs'; The Book of the Apple; The Ten Jewish Martyrs; A Dialogue on Games of Chance* (London, 1908), pp. 1-90; M.H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (Anchor Bible 7C; New York, 1977); L.G. Schneekloth, 'The Targum of the Song of Songs: A Study in Rabbinic Bible Interpretation' (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977, Michigan: University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1983).

3. A.A. Piatelli, *Targum Shir ha-Shirim: Parafraasi aramaica del Cantico dei*

into German (by Riedel⁴), Spanish (by Díez Merino⁵), French (by Vulliaud⁶), Hungarian (by Schwartz⁷), modern Hebrew (by Rabinowitz⁸), and Dutch (by Mulder⁹). Substantial studies of the content of the Targum have also been written. The English divine John Gill produced an astonishingly competent and pioneering commentary on Targum Shir ha-Shirim as early as 1728. Since then there have been major contributions by E. Silber, J.W. Riedel, Pinkhos Churgin, Raphael Loewe, E.Z. Melamed, Joseph Heinemann and Umberto Neri.¹⁰ Yet despite all these laudable endeavours the nature of this Targum, its originality and its true place within the tradition have not, I believe, been adequately defined.

It is worth dwelling a little on the reasons for the failure to establish the character of this Targum, because they highlight some fundamental problems in the study of rabbinic literature in general, and of the Targumim in particular. These problems are rooted in a

Cantici (Roma, 1975); U. Neri, *Il Cantico dei Cantici: Targum e antiche interpretazione ebraiche* (Roma, 2nd edn, 1987 [1976]). R. Loewe ('Apologetic Motifs in the Targum to the Song of Songs', in A. Altmann [ed.], *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* [Chicago, 1966], p. 195, n. 219) notes that a Judaeo-Italian version of Targum Shir ha-Shirim may be found in the Roth ms. no. 532* (Corfu 1728), apparently translated from the Spanish.

4. J.W. Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1898).

5. L. Díez Merino, 'Targum al cantar de los cantares', *Anuario de Filología*, Universidad de Barcelona, Facultad de Filología (Barcelona, 1981).

6. P. Vulliaud, *Le Cantique des cantiques d'après la tradition juive* (Paris, 1924).

7. M. Schwarz, 'Az Énekek Énekenek Targuma' (dissertation, Budapest, 1928).

8. E.Z. Rabinowitz (Tel-Aviv, 1928), referred to in Y. Komlosh, *The Bible in the Light of the Aramaic Translations* (Tel-Aviv, 1977), p. 77 n. 49. Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 195 n. 221 notes the Hebrew translation of Targum Shir ha-Shirim contained in Cambridge University Library ms Dd. 10.4.3, fol.4a,f (Italian cursive hand): see S.M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS preserved in the University Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1876), p. 219, no. 68.

9. M.J. Mulder, *De targum op het Hooglied* (Amsterdam, 1975).

10. E. Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem* (Czernowitz, 1883); Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes*; P. Churgin, *Targum Ketuvim* (New York, 1945); Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs'; E.Z. Melamed, 'Targum of Canticles', *Tarbiš* 40 (1971), pp. 201-15; J. Heinemann, 'Targum Canticles and its Sources', *Tarbiš* 41 (1971), pp. 126-29, with Melamed's 'Rejoinder', p. 130; Neri, *Il Cantico dei Cantici* (see n. 3).

predisposition of certain scholars to hold the Targumim, particularly the 'unofficial' Targumim of the Writings, in low esteem. They are regarded as popular works designed for popular consumption, and no *hiddush* is expected from them. This attitude is found among Jewish scholars and is epitomized in the case of Targum Shir ha-Shirim by the work of Pinkhos Churgin and E.Z. Melamed. I hesitate to say that these scholars are reflecting a traditional rabbinic bias, since some of the giants of rabbinic literature (notably Rashi) have clearly valued the Targumim. But it is surely fair to say that within traditional rabbinic circles a clear hierarchy exists in which Talmud takes pride of place, followed by Midrash, with Targum coming up a long way in the rear.

Whatever the origins of the bias, its effects are clear: the Targumim tend to be treated as secondary, derivative, unoriginal works. Where parallels exist between Targum and Midrash it is almost automatically assumed that the Targum depends on the Midrash. Much work on Targum Shir ha-Shirim, beginning already with Gill, has been devoted to the search for parallels, and where a parallel is found in a classic rabbinic text it tends to be identified as the source of the Targum. And since by ransacking rabbinic literature from end to end more or less convincing parallels can be found for over ninety per cent of Targum Shir ha-Shirim, the work can be dissolved into a mere pastiche of rabbinic tradition. This view, as I hinted earlier, is implicit especially in the work of Churgin and Melamed. Churgin treats the parallels to Targum Shir ha-Shirim under the heading, 'Sources of the Aggadah of the Targum' (*meqorot ha-aggadah shel ha-targum*), while in Melamed's article the central section on 'Targum Shir ha-Shirim and Talmudic Literature' begins with a discussion of the 'use of the sources' (*shimmush ba-meqorot*).

This position is highly questionable on a number of counts. First, as Heinemann rightly objects in his penetrating criticism of Melamed, it seems to presuppose a very static model of rabbinic tradition, in which the tradition is viewed essentially as a collection of finished literary works. This is manifestly incorrect. Rabbinic tradition was fluid in late antiquity. Each of the classic documents of rabbinic literature (including Mishnah and Talmud) is to a high degree textually unstable, as an examination of the manuscripts will show. Even in the Middle Ages the revered texts of the talmudic period were not simply copied, but were, to an astonishing degree, *recreated*. Moreover, each of these

works had *its* sources, so when we discover a parallel between Targum Shir ha-Shirim and, say, Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, how are we to decide whether the Targum is directly dependent on the Midrash, or on the source of the Midrash? In many instances a given aggadah in Targum Shir ha-Shirim can be paralleled from a number of different midrashic and talmudic texts. How, in such cases, are we to choose which is the 'source' of the Targum? Rabbinic tradition in late antiquity was transmitted not only through written texts, but also orally, through preaching in synagogue and through study and debate in the schools. This mixture of oral and written media vastly complicates the problem of literary dependence, and in many cases makes it insoluble. The complexities of the situation are usually ignored. The best we can do is to collect the attestations of a given aggadah, compare and contrast them, and, hopefully in a few instances, postulate some sort of tradition history.

There is a further objection. Most studies of Targum Shir ha-Shirim suffer from acute parallelomania: parallels are simply thrown side by side with little attempt at serious analysis. The parallels are of very different kinds. They may be classified into two broad groups: (1) aggadic, and (2) translational. The aggadic group comprises parallels to the aggadic substance of the Targum; the translational group comprises texts which parallel the way in which Targum Shir ha-Shirim translates the biblical text, and which use the same, or similar, Aramaic words to render the underlying Hebrew. Aggadic parallels are found mainly (though not exclusively) in the Midrashim; translational parallels are found in the other Targumim.

Aggadic Parallels

In almost every case the aggadic parallels to Targum turn out on closer inspection to be inexact. They usually display small, but significant differences. These differences are important since the Rabbis, unlike ourselves, did not lay great store by originality. Originality in their world was displayed by the subtle manipulation of tradition. The sort of nuancing to which I am alluding may be illustrated from Song 5.1:

I have come into my garden, my sister, bride,
 I have gathered my myrrh with my spice,
 I have consumed my honeycomb with my honey,

I have drunk my wine with my milk,
 Eat, friends, drink,
 Be drunk, lovers!

The Targum renders:

The Holy One, blessed be he, said to his people, the House of Israel: 'I have come into my Temple, which you have built for me, my sister, Assembly of Israel, who is likened to a chaste bride. I have caused my Shekhinah to reside among you. I have received with favour the incense of your spices which you have offered for my name. I have sent fire from heaven and it has consumed the burnt offerings and the sacrifice of the holy things. The libations of red wine and of white wine which the priests pour upon my altar have been received with favour before me. Now come, priests, lovers of my precepts, eat what is left of the offerings, and enjoy the bounty that has been prepared for you!'

As a parallel to this the commentators quite naturally quote Shir Rabba 5.1.1:

I HAVE COME INTO MY GARDEN. R. Menahem, the son-in-law of R. Eleazar b. Abuna, said in the name of R. Simeon b. Jusna: It does not say here, 'I have come into *the* garden,' but, 'I have come into my garden (*ganni*),' as if to say, to my bridal-chamber (*ginnuni*): to the place which was my home originally; for was not the original home of the Shekhinah in the lower realm, as it says, 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden' (Gen. 3.8)?... I HAVE GATHERED MY MYRRH WITH MY SPICE: this refers to the incense of spices and the handful of frankincense. I HAVE CONSUMED MY HONEYCOMB WITH MY HONEY: this refers to the parts of the burnt offerings and the sacrificial parts of the most holy things. I HAVE DRUNK MY WINE WITH MY MILK: this refers to the drink offerings and the sacrificial parts of the lesser holy things. EAT, FRIENDS: these are Moses and Aaron. DRINK, BE DRUNK, LOVERS: these are Nadab and Abihu, who became drunk to their hurt.

Now there can be no dispute that both these texts reflect a broadly similar reading of the biblical verse, but it would be careless to ignore the differences. Shir Rabba refers the verse to the Tabernacle, and so contextualizes it to the wilderness period; the Targum sees a reference to the Temple and so contextualizes it to the reign of Solomon. For Shir Rabba the 'garden' is the world, and the word suggests an allusion to the Garden of Eden; for the Targum the 'garden' is the Temple, an equation which the targumist uses elsewhere. For Shir

Rabba the 'wine' suggests the libations and the 'milk' (*halav*) the fat-portions (*halavim*) of the sacrificial victims; for the Targum *both* 'wine' and 'milk' suggest libations—the former *red* wine, the latter *white* wine. The Targum here, surely, has the exegetical edge, and provides the more coherent reading, since one can hardly 'drink' the fat-portions of the sacrificial animals. The Targum, by the way, is at variance here with *Bava Batra* 97b, which states that white wine was not used for libations. I am not, however, persuaded by Melamed's argument that this constitutes a misunderstanding of the talmudic text, and so demonstrates the reliance of the Targum on the Talmud.¹¹ Finally, note at the end how Shir Rabba distinguishes the 'friends' from the 'lovers', and takes the drunkenness literally, whereas the Targum identifies both the 'friends' and the 'lovers' with the priests and takes drunkenness as a metaphor for enjoyment.

Most of the parallels are of this kind, so that even if we concede that the parallels *are* the sources of the Targum, we must acknowledge that the Targumist does not take over the traditions unchanged, but finesses them in clever ways, often providing a better reasoned, more consistent reading of the biblical text.

Translational Parallels

The translational category of parallels is rather different from the aggadic, in that translational parallels, in principle at least, offer a better chance of establishing a close relationship between Targum Shir ha-Shirim and other texts, and thus of identifying genuine sources for the Targum. For example, suppose we find that Targum Shir ha-Shirim consistently translates certain distinctive Hebrew words and phrases in the same way as Onqelos, then we may well suspect that our targumist knew Onqelos and has used him as a source. This argument will, of course, be strengthened, if, at least in some cases, the Palestinian Targumim differ from Onqelos in their choice of vocabulary or idiom.

In applying this approach to Targum Shir ha-Shirim we should distinguish between primary and secondary translation. Primary translation is direct translation of the Hebrew text of Shir ha-Shirim which

11. Melamed, 'Targum Canticles', p. 211. Actually, Melamed's argument is not altogether clear. He lists this as an example of the targumist misremembering the talmudic texts. See further Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem, ad loc.*

lay before the targumist. Secondary translation is translation of *other* biblical texts embedded in the targumist's paraphrase of Shir ha-Shirim. For a number of reasons the primary translations yield few results. There is little significant overlap of vocabulary between Shir ha-Shirim and the other biblical books. The contrast with Chronicles is instructive. There we have an historical narrative, large sections of which run parallel to the other historical books. Moreover, Targum Shir ha-Shirim often gives an allegorical paraphrase of the Hebrew, rather than a direct translation. However, a few examples will show how this mode of analysis would work.

(a) It can hardly be accidental that Targum Shir ha-Shirim agrees with the pentateuchal Targumim in rendering *degel* (Song 2.4, *wediglo* 'alay ahavah) by *teqas*. This equivalent is found in both Onqelos and the Palestinian Targumim (see, e.g., *ish 'al diglo* in Num. 2.2). Too much should not, perhaps, be made of the fact that Targum Shir ha-Shirim's spelling of the word (which is derived from the Greek *taxis*) agrees with Onqelos rather than with Neofiti (*takhshtekhes*).

(b) Targum Shir ha-Shirim's rendering of *erez* ('cedar') at Song 1.7 by the recherché Persian loanword *gulumish* is noteworthy. The consistent equivalent in Onqelos, Jonathan, Neofiti and the Cairo Geniza texts is *erez*. However, at Num. 19.6 Pseudo-Jonathan has *gulumish*. This striking agreement does not necessarily indicate the dependence of Targum Shir ha-Shirim on Pseudo-Jonathan, since both Targum Shir ha-Shirim and Pseudo-Jonathan may have derived the equivalent from *B. Roš Haš* 23a or *B. Sanh.* 108b.

(c) At Song 2.1 Targum Shir ha-Shirim renders *havašselet* by *narqis*, 'narcissus'. *Havašselet* occurs elsewhere only in Isa. 35.1, and there Jonathan translates *shoshanna*. That translation is clearly out of the question at Song 2.1, since *havašselet* is there in parallelism with *shoshannah*. The well-known passage in *B. Ber.* 43b which distinguishes between the 'garden narcissus' (*narqis de-ginta*) and the 'wild narcissus' (*narqis de-davra*) may be the source of the targumic equivalent.

(d) At Song 2.13 and 6.2 Targum Shir ha-Shirim renders *shoshannah* by *warda*. (At Song 7.3 it treats *shoshannah* metaphorically.) In the only two occurrences of the word outside the Song of Songs, viz., Hos. 14.6 and 2 Chron. 4.5, the targumic equivalent is *shoshanna*.

(e) The botanical identity of the biblical *tappuah* is uncertain, as the diverse equivalents in the ancient versions show. Targum Shir ha-Shirim renders at Song 2.3 *etroga*, and at Song 7.9 and 8.5 *tappuah de-ginta de-eden*. (At Song 8.5 *tappuah* is treated as allegorical.) Since one strand of Jewish tradition identified the forbidden fruit of paradise as the ethrog, the 'apple of the Garden of Eden' is almost certainly another name for the ethrog. So the Targum's rendering is consistent. In fact Rabbenu Tam appears to have had a text of the Targum at Song 7.9 which read *etroga de-gan eden*.¹² *Tappuah* occurs only in two other places outside the Song of Songs, viz., Joel 1.12 (Targum: *harozā*), and Prov. 25.11, in the phrase *tappuhei zahav* (Targum: *hizzurei de-dahava*).¹³

(f) Since all these are examples of 'literal' translation, I shall conclude the discussion of this topic with an example of an 'aggadic' rendering. At Song 2.3 the Targum offers *mal'akhayya* as a translation of the Hebrew *ha-banim*. This surprising equivalent betrays, I suspect, a knowledge of the Old Palestinian Targum's translation of *benei elohim* in Gen. 6.2 by *mal'akhayya*. Cf. also Job 38.7, 'All the sons of God shouted for joy'; Targum: 'All the companies of the angels shouted for joy'.

These few examples are not untypical. They indicate that no consistent pattern emerges from an analysis of the translation equivalents in the primary translation. The most that can be said is that the targumist of Shir ha-Shirim was eclectic in his choice of vocabulary and drew on a capacious knowledge of diverse traditions of translation.

Analysis of the secondary translations is more promising. To illustrate I will take the Targum's rendering of Song 1.9:

MT: To a mare in the chariots of Pharaoh
Have I compared you, O my love.

TARGUM: (1) When Israel went out from Egypt, Pharaoh and his host pursued after them with chariots and horsemen, and (2) the way was barred to them on their four sides. To the right and to the left were (3) deserts full of fiery serpents. Behind them was wicked Pharaoh and his hosts, and in front of them was the Re(e)d Sea. What did the Holy One, blessed be he, do? He revealed himself in the power of his might by the sea and dried up the water, but the mud he did not dry up. The wicked,

12. See L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1968), V, p. 97 n. 70.

13. See I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* (Hildesheim, repr., 1973 [1881]), p. 155, no. 109.

(4) the mixed multitude and the strangers who were among them said: 'He is able (5) to dry up the water, but the mud he is not able to dry up!' At that hour the wrath of the Lord waxed hot against them and (6) he would have drowned them in the waters of the sea, just as Pharaoh and his mares, chariots and horsemen were drowned, had it not been for Moses the prophet (7) who spread out his hands in prayer and (8) turned back from them the wrath of the Lord. (9) He and the righteous of that generation opened their mouths, recited the song and (10) passed through the midst of the sea on dry land, on account of the merit of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the beloved of the Lord.

The targumist, following his normal procedure, contextualizes the un lubricated speech of the Song of Songs to a significant moment in the sacred history. Song 1.9, he claims, was addressed by God to Israel at the time of the exodus. This contextualization is not arbitrary, but is based on the fact that the targumist detects in the Hebrew of Song 1.9 a clear echo of the account of the exodus in the Torah. To him it cannot be accidental that the Song's *le-susati be-rikhevei far'oh* is verbally so close to *kol sus rekhev par'oh* in Exod. 14.9. His retelling of the story of the exodus has, naturally, many echoes of the pentateuchal narrative—the more obvious are marked by underlining in the translation—and these can be compared with the pentateuchal Targumim.¹⁴ Space permits me to highlight only two examples:

(a) No. 3: 'deserts full of fiery serpents' (*madberayya de-malyan hiwayan qalan*) echoes Deut. 8.15, *ha-molikhekha ba-midbar... nahash šaraf*. The rendering of *nahash šaraf* by *hiwayan qalan* is distinctive, and agrees with Onqelos. Neofiti, by way of contrast, has *hiwayan šerafin*, taking over the *šaraf* of the original Hebrew. We appear to

14. The 'quotations', apart from the two discussed in the text (nos. 3 and 6), are as follows: 1 = Exod. 14.8-9, 'Pharaoh pursued after the children of Israel; for the children of Israel went out with a high hand. And the Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses [*kol sus*] and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his host'. 2 = Exod. 14.3, 'The desert has shut them in [*sagar 'aleihem*]'. 4 = Num. 11.4, 'The mixed multitude [*asafsuf*] that was among them'; Exod. 12.38, 'A mixed multitude [*'erev rav*] went up with them'. 5 = Exod. 14.21, '(The Lord) made the sea dry land [*haravah*]; Gen. 8.13, 'The face of the ground was dry [*harevu*]'; cf. Ps. 66.6, 'He turned the sea into dry land [*hafakh yam le-yabbashah*]'. 7 = Exod. 9.33, 'Moses spread out his hands unto the Lord'. 8 = Exod. 32.12, 'Turn from your fierce wrath'. 9 = Exod. 15.1, 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song'. 10 = Exod. 14.22, 'The children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground'; 14.29, 15.19, 'The children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea'; Num. 33.8, 'They passed through [*wa-ya'avru*] the midst of the sea'.

have an alignment of Targum Shir-ha-Shirim with Onqelos and against the Palestinian Targum. Pseudo-Jonathan, as so often, rather spoils the pattern, since it renders: *de-dabberakh be-madbar...atar hiwayan qalan*. Pseudo-Jonathan, however, is by no means a straightforward representative of the Palestinian Targum. It contains large elements of Onqelos, so its translation *hiwayan qalan* here may well be derived from Onqelos.

(b) No. 6: 'He would have drowned them in the waters of the sea, just as Pharaoh and his mares, his chariots and his horsemen were drowned'—*u-ve'a le-shannaqutehon be-moy de-yamma hekhema de-ishannaqu par'oh we-susawatohi retikkohi u-farashohi*. This clearly echoes Exod. 14.27f: *wa-yena'er yhw h et mišrayim be-tokh ha-yam wa-yashuvu ha-mayim wa-yekhassu et ha-rekev we-et ha-parashim lekhol hel par'oh*. Targum Shir ha-Shirim represents the distinctive Hebrew verb *ni'er* by *shanneq*. This corresponds to Onqelos's rendering of Exod. 14.27, *we-shanneq yyy mišraei be-go yamma*. The verb *shanneq* is also found in the Paris manuscript of the Fragmentary Targum *ad locum*, and in the Targum to the parallel passage in Ps. 136.15, *we-ni'er par'oh we-helo be-yam suf*. Neofiti to Exod. 14.27 has *shevaq* ('abandoned'), which makes reasonable sense. However, there is a suspicion that this is a simple graphical corruption of *shanneq* (as Neofiti margin seems to imply). Pseudo-Jonathan, playing on *ni'er/na'ar*, offers a unique aggadic rendering '*allem* (possibly = 'he made them young again', in order to prolong their death throes!¹⁵). Targum Shir ha-Shirim must surely have known the rendering *shanneq* for *ni'er*: It could hardly have hit upon the same equivalent independently. However, since *shanneq* is the common targumic rendering it does not serve to align Targum Shir ha-Shirim exclusively with either the tradition of Onqelos or the Palestinian Targum.

There are clearly an immense number of imponderables in this sort of analysis. We must take account of the targumist's memory, since he may not have had the pentateuchal text actually in front of him. Sometimes he fuses together parallel texts from the Torah, at others he seems to recall the underlying Hebrew and translate it anew into

15. Cf. Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, *Beshallah* 7 (ed. Lauterbach, I, p. 246): '*And the Lord rejuvenated (va-yena'er) the Egyptians: He put into them the strength of youth (koah na'arut) so that they could receive the punishment.*' See further, *Torah Shelemah's* note to Exod. 14.27 (no. 181).

Aramaic. However, having given all these caveats their due weight, the analysis which I have tried to illustrate yields some useful results. Despite its limited scope, it suffices to show that the targumist of Shir ha-Shirim knew and utilized already extant Targumim of the Pentateuch, and, indeed, of the Prophets. Here, unquestionably, we have sources for his work. Some of his renderings reflect the common tradition of all the Targumim; others incline towards the so-called Palestinian tradition; still others incline towards Onqelos (these Onqelos alignments are seriously neglected by Melamed and Churgin). In a few cases he offers a distinctive translation unattested elsewhere. Sometimes (as I have already suggested) this may be due to him remembering and retranslating the original Hebrew. Sometimes, however, he appears to have preserved 'lost' Targumim. The most striking example of this is his rendering of Isa. 30.29, embedded in his paraphrase of Shir 1.1:¹⁶

TARGUM SHIR HA-SHIRIM 1.1: The tenth song will be recited by the children of the exile when they depart from their dispersions, as is clearly written by Isaiah the prophet (Isa. 30.29): 'You shall have a song <of joy>, as on the night when the festival <of Passover> was sanctified, and [you shall have] gladness of heart, like the people who go <to appear before the Lord three times in the year (= Exod. 23.17 etc.)> with all kinds of musical instruments <and [with] the sound of the drum, [who go]> to ascend into the Mountain of the Lord, <and to worship> before the Mighty One of Israel.'

MT Isa. 30.29: You shall have a song, as on a night when a festival is sanctified, and [you shall have] gladness of heart, as one who goes with the pipe, to come into the Mountain of the Lord, to the Rock of Israel.

TARGUM JONATHAN Isa. 30.29: You shall have [a song of] praise, as on the night when the festival was sanctified, and [you shall have] gladness of heart like those processing <with thanksgiving and> with the flute, to ascend into the Mountain <of the Temple> of the Lord, <to appear> before the Mighty One of Israel.

It is very likely that the targumist of Shir ha-Shirim is quoting here from a lost Palestinian Targum of Isa. 30.29.

It emerges clearly from our analysis of both the aggadic and translational parallels to Targum Shir ha-Shirim that the targumist of Shir ha-Shirim had a comprehensive knowledge of rabbinic tradition, and

16. <> enclose explanatory additions in the Targum; [] enclose words added for the sake of the English sense; () enclose biblical references.

that his approach to that tradition was highly eclectic. He was, however, no mere compiler: his work is not a pastiche. His use of the tradition was controlled by a highly detailed and coherent reading of the Hebrew, and he chose only those elements of the tradition which were congruent with, or could be adapted to, that reading. He rigorously applied to the tradition the discipline of the biblical text. It is a failure to stress this point that fatally flaws Churgin's and Melamed's handling of Targum Shir ha-Shirim. In their passion for parallels they have failed to respect the integrity of the text and to read it in its own terms.

I would like to consider briefly the coherence and discipline of the targumist's reading of the biblical text at both the micro- and the macro-levels. To illustrate his micro-analysis we shall look at his rendering of Song 7.3.

Micro-Analysis

MT: Your navel is a round goblet,
Wherein mixed wine is not wanting;
Your belly is a heap of wheat,
Fenced round by roses.

TARGUM: The Head of your College, through whose merit all the world is sustained, just as the foetus is sustained from the navel in the entrails of its mother, shines forth with [a knowledge of] the Law like the disc of the moon, when he comes to pronounce pure or impure, innocent or guilty, and the words of the Law never fail [to flow] from his mouth, just as the waters of the great river which issues from Eden, never fail. Seventy sages surround him, like a round threshing-floor, and their treasuries are full of the holy tithes, votive and free-will offerings, which Ezra the priest, Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, and Mordechai Bilshan, the Men of the Great Assembly, who are compared to roses, ordained for their benefit, so that they might be enabled to engage in the study of the Law day and night.

1. It was a common rabbinic view that the 'navel' here alludes to the Sanhedrin, which is so-called (a) because it sustained Israel as an umbilical cord sustains a foetus, (b) because it sat in a circle, and (c) because it met in Jerusalem, the 'navel' of the earth. The targumist typically nuances the tradition: he notes that the biblical text speaks both of the 'navel' and of the 'belly'. The former he identifies with the Head of the College, the latter with the body of the Sages. This

refinement proves theologically to be of no small moment, because he chooses to link the image of the navel with the sustenance of life. The result is that he assigns to the Head of the College a cosmic role: through his merit the whole world (or, as a variant has, 'all the people') is sustained. He transfers to the individual a function which elsewhere in the tradition is a function of the collective (the Sanhedrin as a whole). The Head of the College thus becomes a great *ṣaddiq*—a pillar of the world. Elsewhere in the Targum there are hints that the targumist assigned to the Head of the College a high position in the scheme of things.

2. The 'round goblet' (*aggan ha-sahar*) suggests to the targumist the disc of the moon (*ogna de-sihara*). He then asks himself: in what sense is the Head of the College like the moon? He answers: because his face shines with the reflected light of the law.

3. The 'mixed wine' also suggested Torah to the targumist: the Head of the College possesses and perpetually dispenses Torah. The comparison between the Torah and the waters of creation issuing from Eden is neither gratuitous nor exaggerated. The waters of creation sustain the world, but so also does the Torah, and it is in virtue of his possession of the Torah that the Head of the College plays his cosmic role.

4. The targumist picks up again the image of the navel: the Sages (the 'belly') sit around 'like a half threshing floor'—a direct quotation of the tradition found in *M. Sanh.* 4.3 and elsewhere.

5. The 'heap of wheat' recalled the ingathering of the tithes into the 'treasuries' (*oṣarot*) mentioned in Neh. 12.44-47 and 13.10-13. These verses gave rise to the tradition that the Men of the Great Synagogue ordained that the tithes and the *terumah* should continue to be given, though according to biblical law the obligation had ceased when the Jews went into exile.¹⁷ However, as Silber rightly notes, 'What has the tithe to do with the Head of the College?'¹⁸ Tithes were given only to

17. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, VI, pp. 448-49, n. 56.

18. Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, *ad loc.* (9a): 'Who will explain to me what business the holy tithe, the vow and free-will offering have with the Head of the College and the Sages who surround him? It is true that Ezra penalized the Levites and ordained that the tithe should be given also to the priests, as is explained in [Bavli] Makkot 23[b] and [Bavli] Yevamot 86b, but what has this to do with the Head of the College? It would be a *mišvah* to give an explanation of this'. Cf., however, Yerushalmi Ma'aser Shenai 5.5 (56b.53): 'R. Yonah used to give his tithes to R. Aḥa

the priests and the Levites. The targumist is clearly thinking of contributions from the community to support the schools. Jacob Mann points out that ‘the bogus Nasi Shem-Tov opened for himself a source of revenue by imposing “tithes”, i.e. fixed contributions, similar to the...“fifths”, levied by the Babylonian schools’.¹⁹

6. The biblical ‘fenced round’ (*sugah*) suggested the rabbinic concept of a ‘fence’ (*seyyag*) round the Torah. Perhaps the rabbinic injunction, ‘tithes are a fence to wealth’, was echoing in the back of his mind. Hence: ‘the Men of the Great Assembly ordained the tithes as a fence (*sayyegu*).’ Having got this far, it was easy for the targumist to identify the ‘rose’ with the scholars, perhaps by linking *shoshannim* with the verb *shannah*, ‘to teach’.

Macro-Analysis

Matching this ingenious and disciplined micro-analysis of the biblical text is a cogent and comprehensive macro-analysis. The targumist offers a remarkably coherent reading of Shir ha-Shirim as a whole, which imposes on the book a consistent and well-reasoned interpretation from beginning to end. He follows the broad outlines of rabbinic exegesis in seeing the Song as an allegory of God’s relationship to Israel. His distinctive contribution was to read it *systematically* as a cryptic *history* of that relationship, starting with the exodus from Egypt and concluding with the messianic age. He detected in Shir ha-Shirim a rhythm in the relationship between the beloved and the bride, a rhythm of fellowship, estrangement and reconciliation. He saw that rhythm replicated in Israel’s history, which moves through a cyclical pattern of communion with God, terminated by sin and exile, leading ultimately to repentance and return.

The Targum opens with a preamble (1.1-3), consisting of a version of the Midrash of the Ten Songs and a benediction. The Midrash of the Ten Songs ostensibly explains the opening words of the Song of

bar ‘Ula, not because he was a *kohen* but because he was a man who studied the law, in accordance with the verse: “Moreover he commanded the people that dwelt in Jerusalem to give the portion of the priests and the Levites, that they might be encouraged in the law of the Lord” (2 Chron. 21.4).’ I am indebted to Zeev Safrai for drawing my attention to this Yerushalmi reference.

19. J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1920), I, p. 274 n.

Songs: *shir ha-shirim asher li-shelomoh*; but more obliquely it helps to establish the historical framework for the subsequent exposition. It cleverly strikes a note of imminent eschatological hope, which will be heard again and again throughout the Targum: Solomon's song is the ninth song; the only song that remains to be sung is the song which the exiles will sing when they are redeemed from captivity.

The first major section of the Targum runs from 1.4 to 3.4 and covers the exodus, the wilderness wanderings and the setting up of the Tabernacle. The same chronological period is covered, in effect, three times over, in 1.4-8, in 1.9-2.7 and in 2.8-3.4. Each of these subsections explores the pattern of deliverance (the exodus), sin (the incident of the Golden Calf) and atonement (the setting up of the Tabernacle).

The second major section runs from 3.5 to 5.1. After a brief allusion to the entry into the land (inspired, no doubt, by Song 3.6, 'Who is this coming up from the wilderness?'), the targumist jumps to the time of Solomon. The account of Solomon's 'litter' and his 'palanquin' made 'from the wood of Lebanon' (3.7-11) is read as a cryptic description of the building and dedication of the Temple. This account of the Temple balances and echoes the account of the Tabernacle in the previous section of the Targum. The praises of the bride in 4.1-15 are interpreted as an elaborate description of the ideal, theocratic polity of Israel, in which the targumist depicts the king, the commoners, the priests and the scholars as living in harmony under the rule of Torah. This is, arguably, the pivot of the targumist's reading of the Song. For him Israel as a polity reached near perfection in the early years of Solomon's reign. Echoes of the language which he uses here can be found earlier in his account of Israel under Moses in Tabernacle times, and later in his account of the Second Temple and of the messianic age.

The third major section runs from 5.2-7.9 and corresponds to the Babylonian exile, the return under Cyrus, and the rebuilding of the Temple. Once again the pattern of sin, exile, repentance and restoration of communion is uncovered. The two long descriptions of the beauties of the bride in 6.4-10 and 7.1-9 are exploited (following the repetition of 4.1-2 at 6.5-6) to assert the re-establishment of the ideal Solomonic polity in the post-exilic period. This leads him, somewhat surprisingly, to a flattering and positive evaluation of the Hasmoneans.

The final major section runs from 7.12-8.14. It covers the 'exile of Edom' and the coming of the messiah, who will, so it is hinted,

restore the ideal polity. There is a marked stress in this section, which chronologically corresponds to the targumist's own time, on the role of the scholars. It is through their devotion to the study of the law that the coming of the messiah will be hastened (see Targum to 7.13-14)—an echo of their role in bringing to an end the Babylonian captivity. The scholars also take pride of place in the account of the polity of the messianic age (8.13), though the restoration of the Temple is also briefly mentioned (8.2).

The Targum concludes appropriately, as it began, on a liturgical note. The biblical verse (8.14), 'Flee away, my beloved, and be like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of spices', is paraphrased:

At that time the Elders of the Assembly of Israel shall say: 'O my Beloved, Lord of the Universe, flee from this polluted earth and let your Shekhinah dwell in the high heavens; and in times of trouble, when we shall pray to you, be like a hart, which, while it sleeps, has one eye closed and one eye open, or like a young roe, which, in running away, looks back. So look upon us and regard our pain and affliction from the high heavens, until such time as you shall be pleased with us and redeem us, and bring us up to the mountain of Jerusalem, where the priests shall burn before you the frankincense of spices.'

The words 'at that time' illustrate the targumist's care to sustain his chosen perspective right to the end. One might at first suppose that the words 'at that time' refer to the messianic age, but it is clear from the rest of the verse that the messianic age has not yet dawned, and that 'at that time', in fact, refers to the targumist's own day. The targumist can only describe his own day thus by adopting the viewpoint of Solomon looking forward in prophetic anticipation from the distant past.

The Targum of Shir ha-Shirim is a *tour de force*, possibly unique within early Jewish exegetical literature in a number of ways. It is one of the few truly systematic readings of any biblical book which treats the book as a whole from a unified hermeneutical standpoint. The midrashim are generally characterized by an atomistic approach to scripture: each unit of the original text, sometimes each phrase or word, is treated on its own with little consideration being given to what goes before or comes after. It is true that some of the midrashim are more cogent and tightly argued works than has sometimes been supposed, but their unity, where it exists, is essentially theological: they reiterate again and again certain themes, ideas and motifs that are

fundamental to the rabbinic world-view. Formally they do not reach a closure, since in principle one could go on indefinitely adding further material on the same theme. Targum Shir ha-Shirim has a coherent theology, but it has more than that: it has also an exegetical schema which is applied to the biblical text with great daring and skill from the beginning of the book to the end.

A very considerable body of early rabbinic commentary on the Song of Songs is extant, but nowhere can I find a schema comparable to that in Targum Shir ha-Shirim. Three substantial midrashim have survived intact. The largest of these is Midrash Ḥazita, better known as Shir ha-Shirim Rabba.²⁰ There is also Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim. Buber first published this work from the Parma ms, De Rossi 541, in 1894. This edition was poorly done. Schechter's rather better transcription of the same manuscript appeared two years later under the title Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim.²¹ Subsequently a fragmentary copy of the work was identified among the Geniza fragments in St Petersburg and published by Rabinovitz in *Ginzé Midrash*.²² The third early commentary on the Song of Songs is Midrash Shir ha-Shirim, which Grünhut published in 1897 from a Geniza manuscript which can now no longer be traced.²³ The Geniza has also yielded two further fragments, which appear to represent two further midrashim on the Song of Songs.²⁴ In addition to all this there are the exegeses of the Song scattered throughout the two Talmuds and the midrashim devoted to the other books of the Bible.²⁵ We have, then, an abundance of exegesis with which to compare the Targum. However, in none of the other expositions is the Targum's consistent, historical reading of the Song to be found. The three large midrashim are all anthological in character and record different interpretations of the different verses.

20. H.E. Steller and M.C. Steller-Kalff are preparing a critical edition of Shir ha-Shirim Rabba. For this article I have consulted the standard printed edition (Vilna, 1878).

21. S. Buber, *Midrasch Suta: Hagadische Abhandlungen über Schir ha-Schirim, Ruth, Echah und Koheleth* (Berlin, 1894); S. Schechter, *Agadath Shir Hashirim, edited from a Parma Manuscript* (Cambridge, 1896).

22. Z.M. Rabinovitz, *Ginzé Midrash* (Tel-Aviv, 1976), pp. 250-95.

23. I. Grünhut, *Midrasch Schir ha-Schirim* (Jerusalem, 1897).

24. J. Mann, 'Some Midrashic Genizah Fragments', *HUCA* 14 (1939), pp. 333-7, and Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I (Cincinnati, 1930), p. 322 n. 47a.

25. Most of this material can be gleaned from A. Hyman and A.B. Hyman, *Torah Hakethubah Vehamessurah*, III (Tel-Aviv, 2nd edn, 1979), pp. 176-85.

It is true that sometimes, particularly in Shir Rabba, parts of the Song are contextualized to specific moments in the history of Israel (usually to the exodus, the wilderness wanderings, and the giving of the Torah at Sinai), but this historicizing is applied only in fits and starts. It is not carried through coherently and chronologically as in the Targum.

There is another way in which Targum Shir ha-Shirim may be unusual. The exegetical schema is so clever and so consistently applied that it is reasonable to postulate behind it a single, creative mind. Here is, possibly, one early rabbinic text to which we can assign an author in the modern sense of the term. Most rabbinic texts are the result of a collective effort: they evolved over considerable periods of time and achieved their present form through the work of compilers and redactors. The author of Targum Shir ha-Shirim, though he commanded an encyclopaedic knowledge of rabbinic aggadah, fused the discrete traditions on which he drew into an organic unity and produced something that was definitely his own. The manuscript tradition seems to bear out the unity of authorship. Despite the multiplicity of manuscripts of Targum Shir ha-Shirim, the textual variants are relatively unimportant. There are two major textual families—the one found in manuscripts of Western provenance (North Africa and Europe), the other in manuscripts from the Yemen. Of the two recensions the Western is, on the whole, superior to the Yemenite. The vast majority of the differences between the families, and between manuscripts of the same family, can be satisfactorily accounted for on stemmatological grounds as resulting from the progressive textual corruption of a single archetype.²⁶

There is a final reason why Targum Shir ha-Shirim may be distinctive. It appears to be the earliest of the consistently historicizing exegeses, and, indeed, it may be reasonably claimed as the founding document of this school of interpretation. Others were to follow its lead. Saadia argues in his commentary on Shir ha-Shirim that 'Solomon relates in this book the history of the Jews commencing with their Exodus from Egypt until after the coming of the Messiah, and he

26. I discuss the problems of the textual transmission of Shir ha-Shirim in my article, 'Stability and Instability in the Transmission of Targum Song of Songs', *Proceedings of the Artefact and Text Conference, Manchester April 1992*, forthcoming as an issue of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, Manchester*.

compares the position of Israel to God to that of a bride to a bridegroom, because she (Israel) is dear to him, and he to her'.²⁷ However, the historical schema which Saadia produces differs in detail from that found in the Targum. Rashi was also drawn to a historical explanation: 'It is my opinion', he writes in his introduction,

that Solomon, with the aid of the holy spirit, foresaw that Israel was going in the future to endure one exile after another, one destruction after another, and that during this exile she would lament for her former glory and remember that first love when she was God's special treasure out of all the nations, saying, 'I will go and return to my first husband, for it was better with me then than now' (Hos. 2.9). And she would call to mind his mercies, and 'their treachery which they committed' (Lev. 26.40), and the good things which he promised to give them in the last days.

Rashi sets out his historical schema in his comments on Song 2.7: 'In my view Solomon prophesied and spoke concerning the Exodus, the giving of the Torah, the Tabernacle, the entry into the Land, the Temple, the Babylonian exile, the Second Temple and its destruction.' His detailed historical schema works out so close to that of the Targum that it must be dependent on the Targum.²⁸ Ibn Ezra also espoused a historical reading, and expounded it in his 'third gloss' to the book, though again his schema is not identical to that in the Targum.²⁹

The historical interpretation was taken up within the Christian church. The earliest clearly attested example of it is in the thirteenth century Latin *Expositio historica Cantici Canticorum secundum Salomonem*—an edition of which was produced by Sarah Kamin and Avrom Saltman.³⁰ This commentary, as Kamin and Saltman show, is simply an adaptation and Christianization of Rashi. Thus there is clear evidence linking the introduction of historicizing exegesis of the Song among Christian scholars with Jewish sources. A little later Nicholas

27. See C.D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs* (London, 1857), pp. 35-38. There is considerable doubt whether the commentary which Ginsburg quotes as Saadia's is in fact by him.

28. I translate JTSA, New York, ms L778, as transcribed in S. Kamin and A. Saltman, *Secundum Salomonem: A Thirteenth Century Latin Commentary on the Song of Solomon* (Ramat Gan, 1989), Hebrew section, pp. 81ff.

29. Ginsburg, *Song of Songs*, pp. 44-46.

30. Kamin and Saltman, *Secundum Salomonem* (see n. 28).

de Lyra wrote a historicizing commentary on the Song in which he argued that chapters one to six cover the Old Testament period, starting with the exodus, while chapters seven to the end cover the period of the New Testament and the early church, down to the triumph of Christianity under Constantine.³¹ The historical approach was popular among Christians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It reached its acme (or perhaps one should say its nadir) in Thomas Brightman's *Commentary of the Canticles*.³² Brightman not only correlated the Song of Songs with a historical reading of the book of Revelation, but produced a detailed historical schema which detected in the Song allusions to detailed events at the time of the Protestant Reformation! The historical reading is by no means dead. It has distinguished contemporary advocates in the French Catholic biblical scholars A. Robert and R. Tournay in their commentary on the Song of Songs in the *Études Bibliques* series.³³

31. *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa Ordinaria... et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani* (Lugduni MDLXXXIX), III, cols 1817ff. See especially col. 1819 for Nicholas's historical schema.

32. Thomas Brightman, *A Commentary on the Canticles or the Song of Solomon* (Amsterdam, 1644). Brightman, for example, relates Song 6.5 specifically to events in Geneva in 1550! 'Thy teeth are as a flock of sheep which go up from the washing: whereof every one bears twins, there is none barren amongst them... At length sound teeth sprung up again, such as were Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Capito, Calvin, Peter Martyr, and many others, whose names are written in heaven. And verily the truth of this Prophecie, seemeth very apparent in the decree made at Geneva, in the year 1550. namely, that the Ministers not only in sermons... but also severally through houses and families, with a Magistrate of the City should instruct everyone, and require a reckoning of every one's faith. And it is scarce credible what fruit followed, as Beza sheweth in the life of Calvin' (p. 353).

33. A. Robert and R. Tournay, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1963). On the history of the interpretation of the Song of Songs, see Ginsburg, *Song of Songs*, pp. 20-102; R.F. Littledale, *A Commentary on the Song of Songs, from Ancient and Mediaeval Sources* (London, 1869), pp. xxxii-xl; Pope, *Song of Songs*, pp. 93-229. Ginsburg writes (p. 67): 'The influence of the Chaldee mode of interpretation seems now to have become more apparent in the Christian Church. Aponius, who is quoted by the venerable Bede, and must therefore have lived in the seventh century, regards the Song of Songs as describing what the Logos has done for the Church from the beginning of the world, and what he will do to the end of it; thus, like the Chaldee, he takes the book as a historico-prophetic description of the dealings of God with his people, only that the Chaldee takes the Jews as the object of the description, but Aponius substitutes the Gentile Church'. If this were true then our

A reappraisal of Targum Shir ha-Shirim is long overdue. The assumption that it is simply a pastiche of rabbinic tradition can no longer be allowed to go unchallenged. Rather, as I have tried to demonstrate, it should be recognized for what it is—a work of a single highly original mind, which established one of the classic readings of the Song and had a significant influence on later Jewish and Christian exegesis.³⁴

thesis that the historicizing exegesis of Canticles was introduced into the church in the Middle Ages under the influence of Rashi, who derived it from the Targum, would be in serious doubt. However, Ginsburg misleads. Aponius does *not* offer a systematic historical exegesis of the Song (see his commentary in *Patrologia Latina, Supplement I* [Paris 1958], cols 800-1031). Aponius is a shadowy figure who may have lived as early as the fifth century, and may even have been a convert from Judaism (H. Riedlinger, *Lexikon für Antike und Kirche*, I [Freiburg, 1957], col.771).

34. For further discussion of the Targum of Canticles see P.S. Alexander, 'The Aramaic Version of the Song of Songs', in G. Contamine (ed.), *Traduction et Traducteurs au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1989), pp. 119-32; Alexander, 'Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures', in M.J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra* (CRINT II.1; Assen/Maastricht, 1988), esp. pp. 234-37.

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF TARGUM RUTH

D.R.G. Beattie

The theme of 'Targums in their historical context' does not relate easily to the Targums of the *ktuvim*, for which there is no agreement as to what their historical context is. This is certainly true of the Targum of Ruth which one opinion, long-established and perhaps still widely held, holds to be a late composition which derived much of its exegesis from the Talmud and Midrash,¹ while another opinion holds it to be very ancient because it mentions crucifixion as an approved form of capital punishment whereas the Mishnah prescribes strangulation.²

When I prepared my translation of Targum Ruth for the Michael Glazier Targum project I was inclining cautiously in favour of an early date. I quoted the Tosafists, who observed that the Targum of the *ktuvim* was made in the time of the *tannaim*,³ and I suggested that this, the oldest known opinion on the origin of this Targum, might very well be right.⁴ I have ventured elsewhere⁵ to suggest further arguments in support of an early date, including one which proposed that the mishnaic *halaka* of two graves for executed criminals originated in a misreading of Targum Ruth.

1. E.Z. Melamed, לחרונים מגילת רות, *Bar Ilan, Annual of Bar Ilan University I* (1963), pp. 190-94; מפרשי המקרא (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975, repr. 1978), p. 341.

2. A. Schlesinger, חיבור רות—חיבור כחתי, כחבי עקיבא שליוגור: מחקרים, חרונים לספר רות (Publications of the Israel Society for Biblical Research, 9; Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 12-17. J. Heinemann, ד וההלכה הקדומה, *Tarbiz* 38 (1968-69), pp. 294-96.

3. Tosafot, *b. Meg.* 21b.

4. D.R.G. Beattie, *The Targum of Ruth* (The Aramaic Bible 19; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1994), p. 12.

5. D.R.G. Beattie, 'The Targum of Ruth—A Sectarian Composition?', *JJS* 36 (1985), pp. 222-29; 'Ancient Elements in the Targum of Ruth', in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies Division A: The Period of the Bible* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), pp. 159-65.

But, while such speculations may be very entertaining, we really ought to establish what Targum Ruth is before attempting to say anything very much about it. So, when I had (more or less) completed that translation, I turned to a careful examination of the manuscript tradition to find out what could be discovered, hoping, perhaps, that whatever might emerge from such a study of a small Targum with plenty of manuscripts all stemming from a single textual tradition, might be of value in other areas of Targum study.

What do we actually know about the Targum of Ruth? It was first cited by Nathan ben Yehiel in 1101, at approximately the same period that Rashi denied the existence of a Targum of the *ktuvim*.⁶ Its earliest extant manuscript (Sassoon 282) dates from 1189. I am aware of the existence of about 30 manuscripts—and there may well be more—dating from the sixteenth century or earlier. So far, I have examined 15 of these.⁷ There is also an enormous number of manuscripts of Yemenite provenance and later dates which I am convinced, having examined 10 of them, are based on European printed texts and are of value mainly for demonstrating that the tradition of revising Targum texts lived on until recent times.⁸

At the first stage of my study⁹ I surveyed the manuscripts listed in the Appendix below, except for the Nürnberg manuscript which I discovered fairly recently and about which more will be said later. On the basis of those manuscripts I formulated the hypothesis that Sassoon 282, which has the shortest text, several distinctive readings and a translation of the Hebrew which is frequently non-literal, represents the earliest stage of a textual tradition reflected in the other manuscripts and distinct in certain ways from the text which appears in the printed editions. Some of the later manuscripts share features with the printed tradition while the Antwerp and Paris polyglots often agree

6. Rashi, commentary on *b. Meg.* 21b.

7. In addition to the manuscripts listed below, these are: three in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York—L125 (14th century German, defective), L610 (15th century Italian, extant only from 3.13), L431 (16th century Yemenite)—and two in the Palatine Library, Parma—nos. 3077 (13th century) and 3189 (13/14th century).

8. D.R.G. Beattie, 'The Yemenite Tradition of Targum Ruth', *JJS* 41 (1990), pp. 49-56.

9. D.R.G. Beattie, 'The Textual Tradition of Targum Ruth: Some Preliminary Observations', *IBS* 10 (1988), pp. 12-23.

with the manuscripts against the text in the Rabbinic Bibles.

The development of the textual tradition may be illustrated by two passages reproduced in the Appendix. The opening words of 1.1 as found in S, 'In the days of the judges', give a good translation of the Hebrew which avoids the literalism encountered in all other texts (or perhaps I should say the midrashic interpretation of most texts, for it is only in the London Polyglot and in Buxtorf that we find the infinitive of MT represented by an infinitive in the Targum). It might, of course, be the case that the word גִּיד has dropped out of S through haplography—that manuscript is by no means free from scribal errors—but in view of the occurrence elsewhere of clearly non-literal translations I prefer to think it was not yet there. In S, the 'famine' had not yet become a 'severe' one (nor had it in the Breslau or Hamburg manuscripts), while the identification of 'the land' as 'of Israel' may possibly have been squeezed in as an afterthought; certainly, the abbreviated דִּשׁ is squeezed in at the end of a line, in a space smaller than many which were left blank. I would not, however, press this last point because I cannot clearly identify a different hand in the word דִּשׁ and S regularly abbreviates the word יִשְׂרָאֵל, although usually to יִשׂר.

In 4.4 we have a straightforward case where S offers a non-literal translation. 'The Court of the Sanhedrin' was, I suggest, the original translation of 'those who sit' and a literal translation of the Hebrew was subsequently added, or 'restored', as would undoubtedly have been the view of the scribe responsible. The further addition of 'the gate', as in the Nürnberg manuscript, the Rabbinic Bibles and Walton, was presumably motivated by the recollection that it was to 'the gate of the Court of the Sanhedrin' that Boaz had gone, according to all Targum texts, in 4.1.

The observation that the Nürnberg manuscript has features in common with the printed texts leads me to the main point of the present paper: the Nürnberg manuscript is the sole source of the text found in the printed editions.¹⁰ The evidence for this suggestion I shall present under four heads.

10. I use this term (or 'printed texts') to refer to the *textus receptus* as found in the Rabbinic Bibles of the sixteenth century and their lineal descendants, and the editions of Lagarde and Sperber. Walton's polyglot belongs in this company, although we have already noted one minor variation between it and the rest, but the Antwerp and Paris polyglots are to be distinguished as displaying features in common with the other manuscripts.

First, those features which are characteristic of the printed texts as opposed to all the other manuscripts I have examined are present in N — אפרתינ רבנין for אפרתינ רבנין (alone) as the translation of אפרתינ (1.2); אסרייא, presumably meaning ‘bundles’¹¹ as opposed to עתרייא, ‘pitchforks’, in the manuscripts as the translation of צבתינ (2.16); the double translation of דמכיה, one or other of which words appears in other manuscripts, for the Hebrew שכבו (ב) (3.4); the extended version of the exegesis of the *ketiv/qere* קניתי (4.5), albeit with some orthographic differences, and the literal translation of הבאה אל-ביתך (4.11). These features suggest immediately that there is *some* connection between N and the printed texts.

Second, most of the features which are unique to N amongst manuscripts occur in the printed texts. I have counted nine instances of addition and 14 of omission, relative to other texts, which occur in both N and the printed texts, as well as 14 other readings shared by these texts and no other. To give a few examples: N and the printed texts add יהודה after בית לחם when it is mentioned as the home of Boaz/Abzan in the *aggada* of the ten famines in 1.1;¹² in 4.4, as we have already noted, both define more precisely the location where ‘those who sit’ sat by adding ‘in the gate of’ (בהרע ד) before ‘the Court of the Sanhedrin’ which is the scene of the sitting in the other manuscripts. Both N and the printed texts omit the statement that Orpah ‘went on her way’ (ואזלה לאורחה) after ‘she kissed her mother-in-law’ in 1.14; Ruth is given only strength (כה) to carry the barley in 3.15 instead of ‘strength and might’ (כח ונבורחא) and Boaz proposes only to uncover the redeemer’s ears (אגלי אורניך) in 4.4 without first stating that he was going to warn him (אדא מהרא בך) as he does in all other texts.

To digress for a moment from my main theme, these omissions may be found to have their points of interest. If we ask why N omits them two possible answers may be available: either the words were not yet part of the tradition as it had been received by N’s scribe, or he was

11. The printed texts have אסיריא; Ant & P have אסרייא in the second half of a doublet.

12. In my article ‘The Textual Tradition of Targum Ruth: Some Preliminary Observations’, *IBS* 10 (1988), pp. 14, 20, I suggested erroneously that this reading is found in the Copenhagen manuscript. The identification of the manuscript ‘J’, cited but not identified by E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Ruth* (Analecta Biblica 58; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), p. 19, thus remains a mystery.

embarking on the process which reached its apogee in the Antwerp and Paris polyglots of evicting elements not found in the Hebrew. I somehow think the latter possibility is unlikely and it clearly cannot apply in the case of גבורה, for a larger portion of 3.15 ought, on this principle, to have been expunged. Nor is the first possibility convincing in the case of אהא מהרא בך, which I think is likely to have been the original translation of the Hebrew אלה אונך. ‘Simple accident’ may be the best explanation.

We may note, by way of returning from my digression, that there is another item in 3.15 shared by N and the printed texts. The verb in these texts is איהי, which has to be the *aphel* of אהא, but a passive form is required by the context. I suggest that איהי arose out of an abbreviated form of איהיהיב, which is the word found in all other manuscripts. The error may not have originated in N, but I am satisfied that the printed texts got it from there.

Some additional points may be mentioned under this head. According to N and the printed texts, stoning (1.17) is done with אבנא instead of אבנין, Naomi describes herself (1.20) as מרירה נפשא, whereas elsewhere she is מרירה נפש, and the foreman tells Boaz (2.7) that Ruth has remained ‘now (כען) rather than ‘here’ (כאן).

My third head complements the second: when features unique to N do not appear in the printed editions, it is usually because the editors have corrected errors or otherwise sought to improve on the text of N. It is at this point that it might be suspected that those responsible for the printed text had recourse to another manuscript or manuscripts, but there is no need to postulate the use of any other manuscript. The points to be considered here would be obvious to an editor working only with N and a Hebrew text. For example, when N reads in 2.6 דאחזיב דאחזמנא עולימא it is clear that the second and third words have been transposed. When Boaz says to Ruth in 2.8, ‘Will you not go to glean ears in another field?’ instead of ‘Do not go...’ it is clear that הלא is an error for לא. The words אמר לי עם are clearly omitted from N’s version of 2.21, but easily restored by reference to the Hebrew. In other cases the remedy may be less obvious, but there is clearly something wrong with N’s text. When Boaz says in 2.11, ‘It has been told to me by of the wise (על דחכימא)’, what was an editor to do but restore a missing מימר—though perhaps he didn’t need to drop the ך, as the printed texts do, in the process. On second thoughts, perhaps there was such a need—if keeping the ך meant that he had to

write *מִמְרָא* instead of *מִימַר* he might have preferred to sacrifice the *ד*. In Ruth's oath of 1.17, where N reads *יְפָרִישׁ בֵּין מִימְרֵי וּבֵינָךְ יְהֵא יפְרִישׁ*, the reading *יְהֵא יפְרִישׁ* cannot be right. Other manuscripts read *יפְרִישׁ* and I would suggest that the *יְהֵא* should be treated as an error (there are other examples of otiose words in N), but the printed texts read *יְהֵא יפְרִישׁ*, producing, as I would suggest, from N a reading not found in any manuscript. Further, the printed texts read *בֵּינִי* in place of *בֵּין מִימְרֵי* in this verse. Although four of my nine manuscripts (L is defective), including Sassoon 282, read *בֵּינִי* it is not necessary to suppose that another manuscript has been utilized here; a sixteenth-century editor might well have felt dubious about the authenticity of the pronominal use of *memra*—it may be recalled here that we have already found reason to suspect that he may have had some compunction about using the word—and so he decided to correct what he saw as an error.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, in two places where the printed texts have a distinctive reading, these readings may be explained on the basis that N, and only N, was the source for the printed texts. The phrase *דְּסַרְיַבְתָּן לְמִסַּב נֹבְרִין בְּחַר מַחֲזִיחֹן* (1.8), which appears also, with minor variations in spelling, in several other manuscripts, and in the Antwerp and Paris polyglots, is orthographically identical in N and the printed texts *except* that the printed texts read *נֹבְרִיא* for *נֹבְרִין* (the form which appears in all other manuscripts which have the phrase). In N, where it occurs at the end of a line, the final *nun* is omitted and it may be suggested that the distinctive reading *נֹבְרִיא* of the printed texts has been derived (or, as we might say, 'reconstructed') from the abbreviated form *נֹבְרִי*. In 1.22 the verb 'they came' (to Bethlehem) is omitted by N; other manuscripts, and the Antwerp and Paris polyglots, have a form of *עָל*, but the printed texts have *אָתוּ*. This suggests that N was the sole manuscript source used in the preparation of the latter; confronted by an obvious lacuna in the text, the editor supplied the obvious Aramaic equivalent for the Hebrew *בֵּא*. The omission of the preposition *ל* from *לְחַם לְבֵיתָא* in both N and the printed texts adds support to the suggestion of the dependence of the latter on the former.

A final note (the fifth of my four heads, if I may so put it, taking advantage of our location in Ireland) should be added. The existence in N of the second half of 1.7, 'and they went on the way to return to the land of Judah', which is characteristically lacking from the printed texts, ought not to be overlooked. If I am right in my identification of

N as the sole source for the printed texts this lacuna can only be explained as resulting from an error on the part of the editor, or typesetter, of the first printed edition. The alternative is that we look for a manuscript identical to N but lacking this half verse.

I think we can see why N commended itself as the source of what was to become the *textus receptus*:¹³ its representation of the biblical text, with its inclusion of אפרחין where the Hebrew has אפרחים and יחבי where the Hebrew has יושבים, and so on, must have made it appear more authentic than other manuscripts in which it might sometimes be difficult to discern the connection of the Targum with its original. Five hundred years on it has a different importance. It shows that the policy of revising the Targum by 'restoring' words apparently omitted at an earlier stage, by revising the translation in accordance with current understanding of the meaning of the Hebrew, and by introducing 'improvements' in the Aramaic, substituting חזא for חמא and מיא for מוי, and the like, was already being practised in the thirteenth century. Perhaps such knowledge is not entirely inimical to identifying the historical context of this particular Targum.

13. However, the lack of any indication that any other manuscript was consulted in the preparation of the printed editions might suggest that this manuscript was chosen on *a priori* grounds, without specific reference to Targum Ruth. Bernard Grossfeld, *The Two Targums of Esther* (The Aramaic Bible 18; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 6, thinks that 'N may well have served as one of the manuscripts that Felix Praetensis used in editing the *First Rabbinic Bible* (Venice, 1515)', and adds that, according to M. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources*, I (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), p. 26, the Fragmentary Targum as contained in the *First Rabbinic Bible* is a direct copy of the Nürnberg manuscript. In the discussion which followed the presentation of this paper, several members of the conference observed that they had noticed strong similarities between N and the printed text of various other Targums.

APPENDIX

Manuscripts

- B Breslau/Wroclaw University, M1106 (1238).
 C Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, *Cod. Hebr.* 11 (1290).
 D Dresden, 14th century ms. collated by Wright (1864), now extant only as a carbon block.
 H Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, *Levi* 19 (1310).
 L London, British Library, *Or.* 2375 (15th century).
 N Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, *Solger* 6.2° (1291).
 O Oxford, Bodleian, *Hunt.* 399 (15th century).
 R Rome, Angelica, *Or.* 72 (1326).
 S Sassoon 282 (1189).
 V Vatican, *Urbinas Ebr.* 1 (1294).

Texts illustrating the development of the Targum

- 1.1 MT יהוה בימי שפוט השפטים ויהי רעב בארץ
 S והוה ביומי נגידא והוה כפנא בארעא דיש
 B, H והוה ביומי נגיד נגוריא והוה כפין בארעא דישראל
 All other texts והוה ביומי נגיד נגוריא והוה כפן תקיף בארעא דישראל
 except Buxtorf, Walton והוה ביומי מגד נגוריא והוה כפן תקיף בארעא דישראל
- 4.4 MT קנה נגד הישבים ונגד זקני עמי
 S ובון כל קבל בית דינא דסנהדרין ולקביל סבי עמי
 All other texts ובון כל קביל יחבי בית דינא דסנהדרין ולקביל סבי עמי
 but N and printed texts קנה כל קבל יחבי חרעא דבית דינא דסנהדרין וכל
 קבל סביא דעמי

Characteristic features of printed texts appearing in N

	Printed Texts ¹⁴	N	Other manuscripts	MT
1.2	אפרחין רבנין	אפרחין רבנין	רבנין	אפרחיים
2.16	אסיריא	אסרייא	עתריא	צבתים
3.4	משכביה דמכיה	משכביה דמכיה	דמכיה or משכביה ¹⁵	(ב)שכבו

14. See above n. 10. In all examples given, except 4.11, the Antwerp and Paris polyglots agree with the mss. but see also n. 16.

15. 7 mss. דמכיה; 2 mss. plus Antwerp and Paris משכביה.

4.5	חייב את למפרוק ובעי ליבמא יתה ולמסכה לאתו	חייב את למפרוק ובעי ליבומי יתה למסכה לאיתו	תהא קי ליבמה יתה	קנייטי
4.11	דאתיא לביתך	דאתיא לביתך	בריא במולא ¹⁶	הבאה אל-ביתך

Unique features of printed texts indicating dependence on N

1.8	Manuscripts in general, Ant, Paris N Printed texts	דסריבתון למיסב נוברין בחר מוהיהון דסריבתון למיסב נוכרי בחר מוהיהון דסריבתון למיסב נובריא בחר מוהיהון		
1.22	Manuscripts in general, Ant, Paris N Printed Texts		ואינן עלין ¹⁷ לביח לחם ואינן ביח לחם ואינן אתו בית לחם	

Other texts bearing on relationship of N with printed texts

1.14	MT N, printed texts All other texts	ותשק ערפה לחמותה ורות דבקה בה ונשיקת ערפה לחמותה ורות אחדבקה בה ונשקת ערפה לחמותה ואולת לאורחה ורות אחדבקה בה		
1.17	MT Most mss ¹⁸ N Printed texts	כי המנח יפריד ביני ובינך ארום מוחא יפריש ביני/בין מימרי ובינך ארום מוחא יהא יפריש בין מימרי ובינך ארום מוחא יהא מפריש ביני ובינך		
2.6	MT N All other texts	ויען הגער הצב על הקוצרים ואתיב דאיתמנא עולימא רב על חצודיא ואתיב עולימא דאיתמנא רב על חצודיא		
2.8	MT N All other texts	אליתלכי ללקט בשדה אחר הלא תהכין למצבר שובלין בחקל אחרן לא תהכין למצבר שובלין בחקל אחרן		
2.11	N Other texts	אתחואה איתחואה לי על דחכימא אתחואה איתחוא לי על מימר חכימא		
2.21	MT N All other texts	ותאמר רות המואביה נם כיאמר אלי עמדיגעים אשרלי תדבקין ואמרת רות מואביהא אף ארום ריביא דילי תתוספין ואמרת רות מואביהא אף ארום אמר לי עם ריביא דילי תתוספין		
3.15	Manuscripts in general N, printed texts		ואיתיהיב לה כח ונברתא מן קדם יי ואיתי לה כח מן קדם יי	
4.4	MT Manuscripts in general N, printed texts		ואני אמרתי אנלה אונך ואנא אמרתי איהא מתרא בך ואגלי ית אודנך ואנא אמרתי אנלי אודנך	

16. *Hunt*. 399 has a double reading: דאתיא לביתך בריא במולא.

17. V עלה H, עלו.

18. 5 mss. including N, have ביני 4, בין מימרי.

SOME SIMILARITIES BETWEEN TARGUM JOB AND TARGUM QOHELET

Céline Mangan

Targum Job which I translated for *The Aramaic Bible*, shares a volume of this series with Targum Proverbs and Targum Qohelet.¹ This has led me to spend some time in the past year considering points of contact between the three Targums. In this short paper I will confine myself to pointing out some similarities between Targum Job and Targum Qohelet. The areas covered are: historical and geographical additions to the MT; Torah study; preoccupation with good and evil and mention of angels and demons. I have also taken a brief look at the question of the avoidance, or otherwise, of anthropomorphisms in both Targums as well as names for God.

Historical and Geographical Additions to the MT

While both Targums insert references to people and events of Israel's past history, it is not always to the same episodes. References common to both include:

	<i>Targum Job</i>	<i>Targum Qohelet</i>
The Garden of Eden:	28.6; 38.18	1.15; 6.8; 9.7
Adam:	28.8	6.10; 7.28
The Serpent:	28.8	7.29
Abraham:	3.19; 4.7; 5.17 14.18; ² 15.10; 30.19	4.13,14; 7.28

1. C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, J.F. Healey, *The Targum of Proverbs*, P.S. Knobel, *The Targum of Qohelet* (*The Aramaic Bible* 15; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991).

2. This variant is in the text of all the manuscripts and in *Miqra'ot Gedolor*; it is not in the *Biblia Regia*; see F.J. Fernandez Vallina, *El Targum de Job* (Madrid: Edition de la Universidad Complutense, 1982).

Jacob:	3.19; 4.7; 15.10	7.19
Edom:	4.10 ³	10.6
Egypt:	5.15, 20	7.19
Canaan:	5.23	4.14
Israel		
(added to 'land'):	5.10; 15.19; ⁴ 18.17; 38.13	1.12; 10.17 ⁵
The Prophets:	3.8; 4.18	1.8; 8.1
Destruction of the Temple:	3.5	1.2; 7.4

Torah Study

The importance of Torah study is emphasized in both Targums. For example:

	<i>Targum Job</i>	<i>Targum Qohelet</i>
Occupied in Study of Torah:	3.17; 5.7; ⁶ 36.33	1.3; 2.25; 5.17; 6.6, 8, 12; 7.7; 9.4; 10.11; 11.8; 12.12
Turning aside from Torah study:	24.13; 30.4	1.15; 6.6; 10.9, 18
Wisdom and Torah:	11.8	5.11; 7.5, 11, 12, 23
The Light of the Torah:	3.16	6.5
House of Study:	5.24	7.5, 17

Good and Evil

Preoccupation with judgment and punishment because of evil doing is evident in both Targums. To a lesser extent mention is made of reward for good living, repentance, redemption and forgiveness. Reward and punishment are often connected with the after-life. Additions of this nature include:

3. In some manuscripts: *El Targum de Job*, p. 157.
4. In some manuscripts: *El Targum de Job*, p. 243.
5. Israel is more often added to 'people' in Targum Qohelet.
6. In a variant in some manuscripts: see Fernandez Vallina, *El Targum de Job*, p. 164.

	<i>Targum Job</i>	<i>Targum Qohelet</i>
The 'Evil' generation:	4.8; 6.17; 22.17; 24.2	1.4; 3.16; 6.8 ⁷
Sin:	4.4; 7.12; 14.4; 24.24; 27.13	1.4, 13, 18; 3.16; 7.9; 8.6, 14
Addition of 'The wicked':	4.19; 5.16; 6.10; 9.13; 12.5; 14.12, 14	3.18; 4.12; 5.6, 7; 7.3
Punishment for Sin:	20.23; 24.17; 27.13	2.12, 14; 4.2, 12; 7.3, 25; 8.6; 11.8
Repentance:	3.17; 14.4-5; 15.20; 24.23	1.15; 3.18-19; 4.17; 7.2, 20; 8.12
Redemption:	5.4; 19.25	10.19
Forgiveness:	14.4	3.18; 7.9; 10.4
Reward/Punishment in the World to Come:	5.4; 15.21	2.11; 4.9; 5.9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18
Judgment:	1.21; 10.16	4.6; 5.5; 9.3; 11.8
Standing in judgment before the Lord:	1.6; 2.1	12.7
(Great) Judgment Day:	1.6; 2.1; 10.15	2.25; 3.15, 17; 7.15; 8.8; 12.14
Gehenna:	2.11; 3.17; 5.4, 7; ⁸ 15.21; 17.6; 20.26; 28.5; 38.17, 23	5.5; 6.6; 8.10; 9.14, 15; 10.11; 11.10

Angels and Demons

Both Targums insert the mention of angels and demons frequently into the text. Those in common include:

	<i>Targum Job</i>	<i>Targum Qohelet</i>
Judging Angel:	33.23	5.5; 12.5
Angel bringing death:	18.13; 28.22	10.9

7. Targum Qohelet qualifies 'generation' by 'evil' while Targum Job links the evil generation to that of the time of the Flood.

8. In a variant in some manuscripts: see Fernandez Vallina, *El Targum de Job*, p. 164.

Demon who reduces hero to misery:	1.6-19; 2.1-9	1.12
Demon associated with birds and trees:	28.7	2.5

Anthropomorphisms

Qohelet does not have many instances of anthropomorphisms but where they are present in the MT Targum Qoheleth, in common with Targum Job, shows the same ambivalence to their correction as do most of the other Targums. For example:

Hand:	Both can allow the hand of God to remain in the text (Targum Job 5.18; 12.10; Targum Qohelet 2.24; 9.1). Targum Qohelet can even insert it where it is not (Targum Qohelet 8.4; 10.2) ⁹ whereas Targum Job tends to add 'plague' (<i>mht</i>) to 'hand' (Targum Job 1.11; 2.5; 12.9) or substitute it for 'hand' (Targum Job 19.21; 30.24). 'From before' can also be substituted for 'hand' (Targum Job 2.10) or 'prophecy' (Targum Job 27.11).
Mouth:	Targum Job allows 'mouth' to stand in the text (Targum Job 15.30; 39.27) ¹⁰ whereas Targum Qohelet adds it to the text (Targum Qohelet 3.14; 6.7).
Anger:	Both Targums allow the 'anger of God' to remain in the text (Targum Job e.g. 9.13; 10.17; 20.23; Targum Qohelet 5.5) and Targum Qohelet even inserts it into the text (Targum Qohelet 1.12; 8.3). ¹¹

Names for God

While Targum Qohelet has titles for God which are not in Targum Job (e.g. 'Master of the Universe', 'Attribute of Justice', 'Great' or 'Good' 'Name') there are also some titles which they have in common:

9. 'Of the Lord' added to 'right hand'.

10. Though there is ambivalence in the manuscripts. In some manuscripts *Memra* is added to 'mouth' in 15.30 or substituted for it in 39.27: see Fernandez Vallina, *El Targum de Job*, pp. 247, 449.

11. 'Anger' used to translate 'presence'.

	<i>Targum Job</i>	<i>Targum Qoh</i>
Memra:	1.21; 2.9; 4.9; 29.5; 42.9, 10, 12	1.12; 2.15; 4.4; 6.6, 7, 10; 8.2, 4; 10.8; 11.3; 12.13 ¹²
Shekinah:	14.18; 34.39	7.3; 11.7
The Lord:	' <i>elohim</i> of the MT is translated by the Tetragrammaton in the Prologue and Epilogue of Targum Job and in Targum Qohelet throughout (Targum Job e.g. 1.8, 16, 22; 42.9, 10; Targum Qohelet e.g. 1.13; 2.24, 26; 3.11 etc). ¹³	
Heaven:	While Targum Job does not use 'Heaven' on its own as a substitute for God, it does have 'Father in Heaven' (34.36) while Targum Qohelet has ' <i>Memra</i> of Heaven' (4.4; 11.3) as well as frequently on its own (Targum Qohelet 7.7, 9; 8.15; 9.2; 10.10; 11.3, 8).	

12. Both also use *Memra* as a personal pronoun: Targum Job e.g. 7.8; 19.18; 20.29; Targum Qohelet e.g. 1.2; 6.3; 7.28; 8.14; 9.16: see C. Mangan, 'The Dating of Targum Job', in K. Cathcart and J.F. Healey (eds.), *Back to the Sources* (Dublin: Glendale Press, 1989), pp. 67-78.

13. A favourite insertion of both Targums is '(from) before the Lord' (*mnqdm* '''): Targum Job, e.g., 1.12, 2.10, 6.4; Targum Qohelet, e.g., 1.13, 18; 2.10, 20, 26.

TARGUMIZATION AS THEOLOGIZATION:
AGGADIC ADDITIONS IN THE TARGUM SHENI OF ESTHER*

Beate Ego

At first sight the biblical story of Mordecai and Esther seems to be quite profane, since there is at no stage any explicit talk about God. But even the Septuagint displays a theological dimension by inserting prayers¹ which demonstrate the piety of the principal figures Mordecai and Esther, as well as God's partaking in the events.² This theological interpenetration of the narrative content finds its continuation and elaboration in the Targums of Esther. In fact, this process is one of the most important tasks which they perform through their numerous aggadic expansions and additions.³

That God acts, intervenes to save, and directs events is made clear

* The quotations from Targums of Esther are cited according to the translation by B. Grossfeld, *The Two Targums of Esther: Translated with Apparatus and Notes* (Aramaic Bible, 18; Edinburgh, 1991). I would like to thank Majella Franzmann and Jo Van Vliet for their assistance with the English translation of my article.

1. H. Bardtke, *Zusätze zu Esther* (JSHRZ, 1: Historische und legendarische Erzählungen; Gütersloh, 1973); J.A.F. Gregg, 'The Additions to Esther', in R.H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. I. Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 665-66, 670; C.A. Moore, *Esther. Introduction, Translation and Notes* (AB; New York, 1971), p. lxi.

2. Cf. Targ. Esth. II 3.3; 4.1, 16; 5.1; 6.1, 11; 8.15, where we also find prayers. In Targ. Esth. II 1.1; 4.11, 13; 5.1; 6.11; 8.15 the power of prayer is emphasized.

3. On prayer in the Targums in general cf. R. Le Déaut, 'Un phénomène spontané de l'herméneutique juive ancienne, le targumisme', *Bib* 52 (1971), pp. 505-25, esp. 516; E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of the Bible. Contents and Context* (BZAW, 174; Berlin/New York, 1988), pp. 131-34; A. Shinan, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch. Literary analysis and description of the Aggadic Material contained in the so-called 'Palestinian' Targums to all five books of the Pentateuch, with examination of this genre against its background within Rabbinic literature and Judaism* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 327-35.

by the Meturgeman, not only by insertions and explanations, but also by the development of the theme directly from the text itself, when formulations which at first glance appear to be of a profane nature are interpreted in a theological sense. Thus a passive construction such as the one found in Esth. 2.1 may be reinterpreted as *passivum divinum*. 'He remembered Vashti and what she had done, as well as what was decreed against her (אשר נזר עליה)' is interpreted by the Meturgeman as follows: 'He remembered Vashti and what she had done, as well as what was decreed against her, *that she was not worth the judgment decree of death, except that it was decreed from Heaven, that the descendents of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, should come to end*'. Vashti's death sentence is decreed by God, Ahasverosh being only the instrument of the divine will.⁴

The interpretation of the term 'king' is along the same line: it is interpreted with reference not only to King Ahasverosh in the simple sense, but also to God himself as the heavenly king. The Midrash *Esth. R.* 3.10 formulates this principle of interpretation explicitly:

R. Judan and R. Levi in the name of R. Johanan said: Wherever there occurs in this book [meaning the book of Esther] the expression 'to king Xerxes' the text speaks of the actual King Xerxes; wherever we find simply the expression 'to the King' it may be either sacred or profane, i.e., sometimes it refers to God and sometimes to Xerxes.

Targum Rishon Esth. 7.3 illustrates the changes and new, even surprising, dimensions which a text can sustain on the basis of this principle. Within the framework of Esther's discussion with King Ahasverosh, the Hebrew text as translated into English reads: 'Then Esther replied and said: If I have found compassion before you, O King, and if it is favorable before the king, let my life be granted to me in my request, and my people in my petition'. In rendering the text into Aramaic, a completely new situation results from a brief insertion. The verse begins with the words: 'Then Esther *raised her eyes toward the heavens* and said: If I found compassion before you, O King, and if it is favorable before the king...' In this context, 'King' can be meant as none other than God.⁵ Thus a scene in the

4. For a similar interpretation of a passive construction cf. also Targ. Esth. II 2.11, 22; concerning the insertion 'by the holy spirit' see Targ. Esth. II 4.1.

5. Cf. also Targ. Esth. I 5.1 with the commentary of Grossfeld, *Two Targums*, p. 62.

palace of an earthly king has been transformed into a prayer of supplication by which Esther's piety and trust in God are portrayed and the meaning of prayer emphasized.

Especially in Targum Sheni this method of interpretation plays an important role: Esth. 6.1 (בלילה ההוא נדדה שנת המלך)—'In that very night sleep fled from the king') is interpreted—as already in *b. Meg.* 15b⁶—as referring not only to the insomnia of King Ahasverosh, but also to the insomnia of the heavenly King, which is caused by the threat and danger to his people. This expression with its inherent outrages and daring anthropomorphism—which the Meturgeman clearly recognizes⁷—shows that God suffers on account of what happens to Israel on earth. The God of Israel is—to use an expression by Abraham Heschel—a God of pathos, one who is directly affected by the fate of his people.⁸ The plight of his people is his plight.

That also the saving of the Jews and the honour which comes to Mordecai is nothing else but God's work is apparent in the interpretation of Esth. 6.11. During Mordecai's triumphal procession thousands of young men of the royal household of King Ahasverosh cry out: 'Thus should be done to the man whom the king wishes to honor'. This same formulation appears in the literal translation of the Hebrew text, but a further explanation of the cry follows when Israel joins in the rejoicing. The text of Targum Sheni reads: 'Thus should be done to the man whom the king, *who created heaven and earth*, wishes to honor'.

6. 'In that very night sleep fled from the king'. R. Tanhum said: 'The sleep of the king of the universe fled... Raba said: It means literally "the sleep of the king Ahasverosh"'.⁶

7. The Meturgeman continues by inserting a midrash based on Ps. 44.24 and Ps. 121.4: 'In that very night the sleep of the Holy One, Blessed be He, was restless in the height of heavens, and if this verse were not written, it would not have been possible to say it, since it is written (Ps. 44.24), "wake, why do you sleep, O Lord", God forbid, since sleep does not exist for Him. Rather, when Israel sinned, He made himself to appear to be sleeping; however, when they do his will, he neither slumbers or sleeps, as it is written (Ps. 121.4), "the Keeper of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps"; cf. *Esth. R.* 10.1; 2 *Panim Aherim* 37a. On the topic of anthropomorphism in targumic literature in general see M. Klein, *Anthropomorphism and Anthropopathism in the Targums of the Pentateuch. With parallel citations from the Septuagint* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1982); Levine, *Aramaic Version*, pp. 47ff, 51-52, 55ff.

8. See A. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York, 1962), pp. 221ff.

As with Israel's victory, so, too, is Haman's punishment finally brought about by God. The news of Haman's hanging in the biblical text of Esth. 7.10—'So they hung him on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai'—is followed by the terse summarization: 'whereupon the anger of the king abated'. Once again a brief insertion in the text suffices for the Meturgeman to illuminate the theological dimension of the event: 'So they hung him on the gallows which he prepared for Mordecai, whereupon the anger of the King of Kings abated'.

The motif of divine kingship which forms the basis of these interpretations is also set programmatically at the beginning of Targum Sheni. In the 'Midrash of the Ten Kings' in Targum Sheni Esth. 1.1 the reign of God stands at the very beginning of time and at the end of history, while the unredeemed world of the present time is characterized by the reign of powers hostile to Israel.

'Now it came to pass in the days of Xerxes' (Esth. 1.1)—one of ten kings who ruled and were destined [to rule]. Now these are the the ten kings. The first kingdom that ruled is that of the Lord of Hosts—may it be speedily revealed to us. The second kingdom is that of Nimrod, the third is that of Pharaoh, the fourth kingdom is that of Israel, the fifth that of Nebukadnezzar, king of Babylonia, the sixth that of Xerxes, the seventh that of Greece, the eighth that of Rome, the ninth that of the son of David, the Messiah, the tenth that of the Lord of Hosts again, may it be speedily revealed to all the inhabitants of the earth.

This short section, which illustrates the close interplay of theology and history, confirms what we know from numerous other examples in rabbinic literature: the victory over Israel's enemies signifies the onset of the reign of God.⁹ An important role within the context of the book of Esther is given to the last member of the list of earthly kingdoms, 'Rome'. In the genealogical statements 'מרדכי איש מיני'—Mordecai, a Benjaminite' (Esth. 2.5) and 'המן בן-המדהא האגגי'—Haman, son of Hammedatha, the Agagite' (Esth. 3.1) the biblical text already explains the historical co-ordinates within which the conflict between Mordecai and Haman is to be understood. The *nomen gentilicium*

9. Cf. my article 'Gottes Weltherrschaft und die Einzigkeit seines Namens. Studien zur Rezeption der Königsmetapher in der Mekhilta de R. Yishma'el', in M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer (eds.), *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Umwelt* (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 257-82.

‘האגגי—the Agagite’ refers to Agag, king of the Amalekites whom Saul spared from the divine command of the ban (cf. 1 Sam. 15). Thus a structure is articulated which moves through Israel’s history, surfacing time and again; that is, the struggle between Israel and the arch-enemy Amalek, who first appears in the book of Exodus (Exod. 17.8-16).¹⁰ The connection of Haman’s lineage with Rome is made clear in his genealogy in Targum Sheni Esth. 3.1, which is striking in its enumeration of numerous ‘Roman’ sounding names like Deyos, Paros, Antimiros or Hadros, and which traces Amalek back to none other than Esau,¹¹ who is identified again and again with Edom.¹² The struggle with Haman therefore symbolizes the conflict with evil Rome; victory over the former is identical with a definite victory over the latter.

It is in this context that we are meant to view the characterization of Mordecai. Targum Sheni hands down this view in its portrayal of Mordecai as a king in the interpretation of Esth. 8.15, in its extensive descriptions of the magnificence and splendour of Mordecai’s clothing, and in his triumphal procession in Targum Sheni Esth. 6.11.

In this passage Mordecai himself reflects on the homage paid to him by King Ahasverosh, by his young men and by the people of Israel by citing Ps. 30.12. However, while the psalm in the Hebrew version reads: ‘You have removed the sackcloth from me and have clothed me with joy’, the version in the Targum reads: ‘and have clothed me *in royal apparel*’. Mordecai’s kingship is founded on the kingship of God.¹³ His peaceful rule, which is also described by analogy to the

10. On Amalek cf. Levine, *Aramaic Version*, p. 213.

11. Cf. also the genealogy in Targ. Esth. I 5.1; *Sofrim* 8.6; *Ag. Esth.* 3.1 (26-27) and the synoptic table in B. Grossfeld, *First Targum to Esther* (New York, 1983), pp. 143-44 (Targum Rishon and other traditions) as well as Grossfeld, *Two Targums*, p. 211 (different manuscripts of Targum Sheni).

12. As in Gen. 36.1; cf. M.D. Herr, ‘Esau. In the Aggadah’, *EncJud*, VI, pp. 857-59.

13. Cf. the description of the reign of Solomon: ‘They called him Yedidiah because he was beloved by the King of Kings the Lord of Hosts’ (Targ. Esth. II 1.2; 1. acrostic); ‘how he offered gratitude and praised the Lord of kings. He opens his mouth, and with the trumpet he exalts and praises the Great King’ (Targ. Esth. II 1.2; 2. acrostic). Cf. also the end of the passage about the Queen of Sheba in Targ. Esth. II 1.2.

reign of Solomon,¹⁴ is manifested as nothing other than the kingly reign of God. The victory of Mordecai over Haman is God's answer to the enmity against Israel and the redemption of the oath which he swore after the struggle of Israel against Amalek: 'מחא אמהא את' עמלק מהחא השמים—I will blot out Amalek from under the Heaven' (Exod. 17.16).

Targum Sheni which must be dated in Byzantine times on the basis of the prominent role assigned to Edom,¹⁵ accentuates and actualizes the traditional biblical narrative content through aggadic expansions and explanations and, in this way, integrates it into the theological concept of salvation of the people of Israel.

14. Cf. the formulations of Targ. Esth. II 10.3 with these concerning the reign of Solomon in Targ. Esth. II 1.2.

15. Cf. P. Churgin, *Targum Ketubim* (New York, 1945), p. 234; Y. Komlosh, 'Targum Sheni', *EncJud*, XV, pp. 811-13; Grossfeld, *Two Targums*, pp. 20-21.

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Part VI

TARGUM AND NEW TESTAMENT

THE ARAMAIC BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Max Wilcox

Research into the Aramaic background of the New Testament practically from its outset has been overwhelmingly concerned with questions of philology, and also to some extent, source criticism.

These quite properly included the following: (a) how to define, identify and isolate, Aramaisms; (b) which dialect or dialects may be reflected in them; (c) which texts provide the most appropriate data for establishing this; (d) whether or not they are all from the same dialect; (e) whether they may not be due merely to conscious or unconscious influence of the [!] translation idiom of the LXX or of one or more of the other known Greek Old Testament versions; or (f) whether the expressions in question may after all be due not to some kind of Aramaic influence on the Greek but simply to the use of the Koine.

The results were then looked at for their contribution to the solution of problems of sources and composition of the Gospels and Acts.

However, none of these approaches paid serious attention to the historical setting within which Jesus and his early followers lived and worked, namely, Jewish society of the first century CE.

This may have been understandable in the first half of this century, but the discoveries in the Judaean desert, from Qumran to Nahal Hever, have changed the ground rules. We now have actual texts, religious, political and personal in Aramaic, Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew and Greek, a good many clearly dated to the first and early second centuries CE. We also have, at long last, the emergence of concern for the social history of that period—the history not only of the so-called ‘great and glorious’ but of the ordinary people who had to grapple with the day-to-day economic, cultural and political upheavals of their society, and who—according to the Gospel record—were the object of so much of Jesus’ attention. Here the Masada evidence, so far as it goes, seems to indicate that Aramaic was the major language and in

particular was that of the ordinary people. Clearly, a proper understanding both of the history of Jewish society in that period (and of Jesus and his movement within it), and of the Aramaic evidence, requires that the two be considered together.

Furthermore, unlike so many other issues in the study of the New Testament, Aramaisms do permit of objective verification. This point was put very well by J.A. Fitzmyer in a valuable essay on the methodology of the subject: the study of the Aramaic problem is 'an aspect or facet' of New Testament studies 'that exposes itself to outside control and that can reflect new gains'.¹ Those 'new gains', once treated and established, can materially affect our understanding of Jesus' life, thought and work. On occasion they can also throw exciting new light on the Gospel tradition and on the more shadowy parts of the history of the primitive Church.

The aim of this paper is first, to examine critically the methodological basis for the search for Aramaisms in the New Testament and, secondly, to show how seeing them in relation to the life, thought and history of first century Jewish society enriches the picture of Jesus and his earliest followers. Indeed, the philological and historical enquiries are mutually supportive and correcting. As a bye-product of this discussion we hope to be able to suggest some revisions of the so-called criteria of language, coherence and dissimilarity familiar to us from redaction criticism of the New Testament.

1. *The Search for Aramaisms*

That Jesus spoke Aramaic is clear from a number of examples of words attributed to him and preserved in the Gospels in Aramaic but expressed in Greek characters. We have dealt with these in detail elsewhere.² Probably the most significant of these is the so-called 'Cry from the Cross', '*Eloi Eloi lema sabachthanei*' (= 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?') (Mk 15.34; cf. Mt. 27.46).³ As these

1. 'Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus' Sayings in the New Testament', in *Jésus aux origines de la Christologie* (BETL 40; Gembloux: Duculot, 1975), pp. 73-102 (101-102).

2. M. Wilcox, 'Semitisms in the New Testament', *ANRW* II.25.1 (ed. W. Haase; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 978-1029.

3. Mk 15.34 = Mt. 27.46 = Targ. Ps. 22.1a. See Wilcox, 'Semitisms', pp. 1004-1007.

words stand, and following ⲛ BC, they come from Ps. 22.1a, but in their use of σαβαχθάνει they agree with the Aramaic text of the Targum to Ps. 22.1a,⁴ which has שבקחני, whereas in both Matthew and Mark, D reads ζαφθάνει, coinciding with the Hebrew text, which has עזבתי. The words themselves immediately suggest that Jesus felt himself 'forsaken' by God. It is hard to imagine the early Church inventing the saying: it is far too embarrassing. That Jesus, in his last moments of anguish, uttered these words in Aramaic strongly suggests that Aramaic was his home-language.

In Mk 5.41 (cf. Lk. 8.54), we have another example of Jesus speaking Aramaic, this time to the comatose daughter of Jairus, a synagogue ruler. The story itself has special interest: as we read it in the Gospels (especially in Matthew and Luke), it appears to be regarded by all three as a 'raising from the dead', despite the statement attributed to Jesus that the girl was not dead, but 'dead to the world', that is, in a coma. The name Thalethi = Talitha occurs on an epitaph from Tiberius in Galilee.⁵ It would make better sense if Jesus, attempting to rouse the girl from her coma, had called her by her own name, and not merely by the impersonal form, 'Girl'. The father's name, Jairus = the Hebrew name Ya'ir, is attested at Masada.⁶ The use of Aramaic, especially in speaking to the girl, is yet another case of resorting to the home-language in time of stress. We have argued elsewhere that this story is particularly interesting for the hints it gives of medical knowledge on the part of Jesus. The diagnosis of coma, not death, given prior to Jesus' entering the room where the girl lay, may be presumed to have been made on the basis of what he had learnt from the parents—from the putative medical 'history' (for

4. Matthew's form ἡλι = 'לי agrees with most MSS of Targ. Ps. 22.1, but Mark's ελωι, possibly = אלהי is found in a few. Interestingly the form λεμα = למ occurs in the Syriac, whereas the Targum mostly reads משול מה, although one MS may present a mixed form. This might suggest that the words of Jesus were his own version of the Psalm. The word *lm*' does occur in 1QGenApoc 2.32.

5. Cf. B. Lifshitz, 'Varia Epigraphica. I. Inscriptions grecques de Tibériade', in *Euphrosyne* (Lisbon), n.s. 6 (1973–74), pp. 23–27, esp. 24–25. The text is on p. 24.

6. *Masada I. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports. The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions*, eds. Y. Yadin and J. Naveh; *The Coins of Masada*, ed. Y. Meshorer (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 28–29, item no. 437(113-772/4).

Hippocrates, a very important step in diagnosis).⁷ After the girl had come out of the coma, and was back on her feet, he told the parents to give her something to eat. All this is highly consistent with her condition being due to an episode of hypoglycaemia, either due to diabetes or just in its own right. Yet this side of the matter is not really what the Evangelist sees as the point of the story, for he seems to think of it as a 'raising from the dead' (and so, of course, it may have appeared to the bystanders).⁸

Yet although Aramaic appears to be Jesus' home-language, that does not mean that he spoke only Aramaic. Moreover, there are other examples of this transliterated Semitic (i.e., Aramaic or Hebrew) speech where the balance of probability leans towards Hebrew. Furthermore, in the Parable of the Wicked Vinedressers (Mk 12.1-12) the quotation of Ps. 118.22-23 in vv. 10-11 is apparently the 'call-line' of the parable, yet there is no obvious cue in it except in Hebrew to link it to its context. Thus, if we think of λίθος as = Hebrew אבן, then we may indeed have a play on words here: the אבן (= stone) which the builders disregarded may recall the pronunciation אבן (for 'son'), sometimes found in Hebrew in place of the better known and attested בן. But this cannot take place in either Aramaic or Greek—but only in Hebrew.

Borderline cases are provided by *ephphatha* (Mk 7.34), *abba* (Mk 14.36; cf. Gal. 4.6 and Rom. 8.15), and *qorban* (Mk 7.11; cf. Mt. 15.5). In all three the language is probably Aramaic, but the words do also occur in Hebrew, and that attested by first and second century inscriptions, as well as the later Targumic and other traditional texts.⁹

When we move away from transliterated Aramaic (and Hebrew), to other Aramaisms (and Hebraisms), we come up against the widely held view that the Semitisms of the Gospels and Acts are basically 'septuagintalisms', that is, words, phrases and idioms, Semitic in appearance, but due to conscious or unconscious influence of the LXX upon the style, vocabulary and idiom of those books. A number of

7. For another example of this, more clearly displaying the 'history-taking', see Mk 9.14-29, the story of the healing of the epileptic boy.

8. Wilcox, 'Ταλιθα κουμ[ι] in Mark 5.41', in *LOGIA. Les Paroles de Jésus—The Sayings of Jesus. Méorial Joseph Coppens* (BETL 59; ed. J. Delobel; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982), pp. 469-76.

9. See Wilcox, 'Semitisms', pp. 995-98, 998-99, 1002-1004, and also *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), s.v.

objections have been raised against this. First, to speak of the style of the LXX is to be confusing, since the style varies considerably from book to book, and from section to section. The work is, after all, not that of one individual, but seems to have been done by a largish number of translators over a period of centuries. Its style varies from the rather literal to the quite polished. Further, we can not be sure that any New Testament writer knew the whole of the LXX, if he or she knew it at all. All that we can really say is that his or her Scripture quotations or some of them coincide or almost coincide in text form with their LXX equivalent, possibly in its A-form. The problem is that even if that New Testament writer does from time to time use 'Semitic looking' expressions which are found in those parts of the LXX which appear to have been known to him or her, they may very well be actual Semitisms and not just conscious or unconscious imitations of its style in the passages concerned. This point seems very widely overlooked. After all, in the LXX it is surely the influence of the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text being translated which has occasioned the 'Semitisms' in its Greek, and we do of course have the Hebrew text with which to check the matter. Again, we are often told that the presence of these alleged 'septuagintalsms' in the Third Gospel and in Acts is part of Luke's literary activity: he has put them into his text to impart a biblical or perhaps 'Jewish' colour to the narratives. But we simply do not know what Luke's aims were in writing, except in so far as he states them at the beginning of his Gospel and of Acts. The matter is even more questionable when the 'septuagintalism' involved is an expression or idiom which occurs in the LXX only very rarely. In such case the words involved may at most constitute a positive and conscious allusion to one or other of those passages in the LXX where the words occur. Yet another unexpressed premise in the argument is that the New Testament documents are essentially those of Greek-speaking people who knew, used and thus alluded to, or whose writing unconsciously reflected, that knowledge of the Greek Bible. However, this is not argued from the text, but taken for granted. In the process, the fact that Jesus of Nazareth spoke Aramaic as his home-language is overlooked or minimized. Further, it must be remembered that the LXX is itself a translation from Hebrew and Aramaic. If there were sets of Aramaic and/or Hebrew sayings and narratives behind parts at least of the Gospel tradition, might not these in turn, on translation into Greek, manifest some of the apparently aberrant stylistic and

grammatical features which appear in the LXX?

In this connection we should remember that certain of the books of the Apocrypha, for example, the Book of Tobit, although in Greek, have presented Aramaisms in their style and thereby encouraged scholars to speculate that the original form of the book may have been Aramaic (or perhaps, Hebrew): here at last the appearance of several fragments of Tobit in Hebrew and another in Aramaic at Qumran has largely settled the matter: the Aramaisms were after all indications of translation-Greek, and the matter has been tangibly proved. This alone should be a warning not to be too dogmatic about the allegedly pervasive influence of the style and language of the LXX upon NT authors. The fact is, the 'septuagintalism' case rests on a series of suppositions, which are then consciously or unconsciously elevated to the appearance of fact, and used to deny the reality of the influence of Aramaic and/or Hebrew. But perhaps the greatest weakness of the septuagintalism-theory is the circularity of its logic.

Here we may refer to the Babatha Archive, officially named *P. Yadin*. These documents, found in the so-called 'Cave of Letters' at Nahal Hever, are mostly dated quite precisely to the day and month of the relevant Roman regnal year, and some also include consular dating and even the Greek month and date. The dates range from 93/4–132 CE. Babatha was a good businesswoman but she does not appear to have written or spoken Greek. The witnesses to the documents give their attestations and signatures in their own language, Aramaic, Nabataean or Greek. A number of the documents attest that they were written by the scribe על פה בבתא, 'at the dictation of Babatha' (literally: 'at the mouth of Babatha'). The fascinating thing is that the Greek documents in this collection frequently display expressions which, if found in the New Testament, would be overwhelmingly claimed as 'septuagintalisms'. But it must be beyond belief that that is what they are here. The documents are not religious texts, and it is clearly highly doubtful that Babatha knew much if any Greek, and in the realms of fancy to suggest that her long-suffering scribes were trying to 'septuagintalize' her documents to give them a Jewish or biblical flavour. Yet this is exactly how we are told that some New Testament writers behaved. That is, the absence of an actual Aramaic or Hebrew original in our hands enables theories to be proposed which are in fact little more than speculation, but which are then exalted to the rank of near fact, on the ground that those who support the Aramaic and/or

Hebrew case must bear the onus of proof. One very striking example from the Babatha material is the use of the expression 'saying' (λέγων, λέγουσα, etc.) to introduce direct speech, equivalent to our inverted commas. In the LXX this very common expression translates the Hebrew לֵאמֹר or the Aramaic לְמִימַר, and of course it is found in the New Testament in the Gospels, Acts and Revelation. Another alleged New Testament 'septuagintalism', the use of ἐκ in partitive expressions appears in the Babatha Greek papyri, which also at times display the idiomatic Greek version without ἐκ. The form with ἐκ/ἐξ occurs at *P. Yadin* 5 b i 2, whereas that with the simple genitive is found in *P. Yadin* 15.29, 14.[23-24], cf. *P. Yadin* 11.10, 35. There is a further development of it in 5 a i. 11-13, ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου ἐκ πάντων ὧν εὗρέθη πατρὸς σου. Compare the Aramaic מן כל מודעם זעיר וסגיא ומן כל די אשכח לאבוך 'of everything great and small, and of all that is found with your father'. There is really so much evidence in the Babatha papyri that demonstrates what happens when Aramaic is being put into Greek, and much of it reminds us of those New Testament Semitisms which are so often attributed to influence of the LXX. Indeed, commenting on an expression in *P. Yadin* 15.6-21, the editors of the documents remark: 'The whole quoted expression sounds like what it is—the work of a writer thinking in Aramaic and remembering sporadically about the definite article as he indites [!] the document in Greek'.¹⁰ One other very well-known New Testament 'septuagintalism' is ἀποκρίνομαι with λέγειν. The examples in *P. Yadin* 25.13, 45 may be true replies, but that in 25.24 looks for all the world like Aramaic in Greek disguise.

The broad language of the New Testament is part of the prevalent koine Greek, but from time to time we see behind it signs of Aramaic and sometimes also, of Hebrew influence. To say this is not to attempt to revive the spectre of 'biblical Greek' or 'Jewish Greek' as though there were such distinct languages or dialects. Apart from some remarks by Nigel Turner, those theories, at least in their more self-

10. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, ed. Naphtali Lewis; *Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions*, eds. Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield (Judean Desert Series 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Shrine of the Book, 1989), p. 14.

contained forms, seem a thing of the past. In recent times J.A.L. Lee¹¹ and G.R. Horsley¹² have argued against such hypotheses, but one would have thought that that battle was over, for the present at least. What would make rather more sense is the use of 'in'-terms and expressions which are not as such foreign to the basic language, but echo some of the special concerns of various groups. The more direct influence of Aramaic and Hebrew words, phrases and idioms is likely to be rather more sporadic, somewhat as we find with bilingual people, who speak both languages well and quite idiomatically most of the time, but in moments of forgetfulness or emotion, occasionally make slips of vocabulary, syntax and idiom. An interesting example of this situation is found in Acts 1.15, 2.44, 46(D), 47, especially 44 and 47. Here we have in the Greek text a use of the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, which in the LXX usually represents represents the Hebrew יחדיו, יחד, 'together'. Now while in Acts 1.15, this meaning may just fit, it will not do in Acts 2.44-47. In 1953, the present writer, while working on the original text of a PhD thesis, came upon the term in Hebrew in IQS to denote 'the fellowship', 'community'.¹³ Further, the very combinations προστιθέναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό and εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, meaning respectively, 'to join the fellowship' and 'to belong to the fellowship' appear in Acts 1.15 and 2.47 respectively.¹⁴ In Acts 2.47 this is a clear solution for a long-known crux where the text-critical data show attempts by early scribes to make sense of readings otherwise quite opaque. This does not, of course, mean that Acts at these points is in any way dependent upon IQS or, indeed, on any other text from Qumran, but merely that we have recovered a new meaning for an otherwise long-known Hebrew word (and phrase), and also for two related idioms. Was the immediate instance of this use Hebrew or Aramaic? To this we can only say that the evidence which we actually have is from Hebrew, not Aramaic, but then, until the discovery of

11. *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SBLSGS 14; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

12. 'The Fiction of "Jewish Greek"', in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 5 (1989), pp. 5-40.

13. 'The Semitisms of Acts i.-xv: a Critical and Linguistic Study' (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 128-38, subsequently published as *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 93-100.

14. להיות ליחד and להוסיף ליחד.

1QS we did not have any evidence at all for it. We do not know whether the idiom is also available in Aramaic or not. Now, in the same general context in Acts we may note that the uses of προσκαρτερεῖν in Acts, and especially in Acts 2.42, 46, are greatly illuminated by that in three Greek synagogue inscriptions from Bithynia, which relate to manumissions.¹⁵ The slave is duly freed, and is under no other obligation than ‘to adhere to the *proseuche*’, that is, ‘to belong to the synagogue’. Does the word προσευχᾶς in Acts 2.42 mean perhaps ‘synagogues’, a thought parallel with ‘in the Temple’ in 2.46?¹⁶ This should come as no surprise. The Aramaic or Hebrew elements do not pervade the whole text, for the need for special language is not constant throughout a text; it is situational and context based. The Greek at first sight is normal enough, deformed only occasionally by the odd infelicity due to a writer or his or her oral or written source reflecting either a term which is not easily represented in Greek or simply a slip in thought such as happens to even the best bilingual speakers.

Infelicities in the Greek may also at times mask allusions to Scripture, or in some cases, to midrashic material linked to Scripture, but not immediately identifiable as Scripture. We have elsewhere pointed out a case of this in Acts 1.16-17, where the text-critical situation indicates that early scribes felt uncomfortable with the Greek text and made attempts to clarify it. The words appear to refer to a Jewish exegetical tradition interpreting Gen. 44.18 (referring to the patriarch Judah) and applied in Acts to Judas.¹⁷

These cases show how right J. Wellhausen was when he observed that although we now have the Jesus material only in Greek, yet the Aramaic original has not been lost: it merely shows through in places: ‘...Spüren genügen als Verräter’ (‘...traces suffice to betray it’).¹⁸

Recently Daryl D. Schmidt has proposed a rather different meaning for ‘septuagintalism’ from what we have been using here. He proposes

15. The three inscriptions date respectively from 80, 81 and 82 CE, *CIRB* 71.6-7; cf. 70.14-15, 73.20-21.

16. Note also that in Acts 16.13, 16 the word also means synagogue (at Philippi).

17. Wilcox, ‘The Judas Tradition in Acts i. 15-26’, *NTS* 19 (1972-73), pp. 438-52.

18. *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 2nd edn, 1911), p. 9.

instead that the term should be limited to 'syntactical peculiarities that are not reflective of Semitic syntax, but used to render Semitic constructions into Greek in one of the translation styles in the Septuagint'.¹⁹ The issues which we are dealing with are quite different. In the present study the aim is to detect expressions which, in NT books, may reasonably be traced to influence of underlying Aramaic or Hebrew material, oral or written. Schmidt's aim seems to be to find expressions which do not reflect Semitic syntax but which the LXX at times uses to translate Semitic constructions. In their New Testament context these expressions most probably would not translate any real Semitic material; their presence would only serve to link the style of the LXX with that of the New Testament passage in question. He also seems to misunderstand the reasoning behind our preliminary exclusion from consideration as a (true) Semitism any word, phrase or expression which occurs with reasonable frequency in the LXX. This was done because, prior to the discovery of the Babatha texts and the comparative material that they provide, it was hard to show that certain expressions, Aramaic or Hebrew in essence, but found in the Greek of the New Testament, were not there because of influence of the LXX: it was only because we could not prove decisively that it was not due to the LXX that we excluded it. The fact that Zech. 5.9 (LXX) uses a participle as a simple indicative, does not make that use in Acts 10.19 a septuagintalism. The use is so uncommon in the LXX and as it is certainly not an allusion to Zech 5.9, there is no realistic way in which we can see it as affecting the actual Greek of Acts.²⁰

2. Midrashic and Historical Factors in the Context in the New Testament

We come now to another line of enquiry. It would seem reasonable to look for some kind of Aramaic and/or Hebrew influence in parts of the New Testament where material may be found which is either (a) derived from or linked with known midrashic or halakic material,

19. D.D. Schmidt, 'Semitisms and Septuagintalisms in the Book of Revelation', *NTS* 37 (1991), pp. 592-603 (594).

20. Wilcox, 'Semitisms', pp. 979, 982; see also *The Semitisms of Acts*, 58-68, 121-123. The *ANRW* article was published in 1984, before the Babatha papyri became generally available for study (1990). We were therefore more cautious with regard to 'septuagintalisms' at that time.

or (b) echoes traditional interpretations of Scripture found in one or other of the Targumim, or (c) links in with other more or less contemporary historical material known to be available in written sources.

At this point it may be useful to take some examples from the New Testament and work through them, using whatever objective evidence is available, be it linguistic, midrashic or historical.

(1) In Lk. 21.20-24, in the Lukan version of the Synoptic 'Little Apocalypse', we have some very precise references to the destruction of Jerusalem. In 19.43 it is stated that Jerusalem's enemies will throw up a siege-wall around it, and encircle it from every side. The thought is continued in 21.20-24, where Jerusalem, surrounded by armies, is on the verge of destruction, its people killed or taken into captivity, 'and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are completed'. Here the term 'the Gentiles' clearly refers to the Romans. For a rather similar use of the term, the letter from the administrators of Beth-Mashko to Yeshua ben Galgula (Mur 42.5) reads: '...were the Gentiles not approaching us, I should have gone up...'.²¹ Again, Yigael Yadin reported that in the Bar Kokhba correspondence, the Romans are referred to by name only once, elsewhere being known as 'the Gentiles' (הגוואים).²² Further, there is the intriguing passage on crucifixion, in 11QTemple 64.[6-9], 9-11. The first part of this, 64.6-9, is really related to the established case in Deut. 21.22-23, where the person convicted of a capital crime is executed and thereafter 'hung upon a tree'. In 64.9-11, however, the person is alive when hung up on the tree, if we press the order of the verbs here: 'And if a man commit a crime worthy of death and flee to the midst of the Gentiles, and curse his people, the children of Israel, then you shall also hang him on the tree and he shall die...'.²³

21. *DJD* 2, p. 158.

22. 'Expedition D', *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 36-51, 46, commenting on an Aramaic letter, which he terms No. 11, and which, unlike the rest of the Bar Kokhba correspondence, calls the Romans רדומיה, instead of 'the Gentiles' (הגוואים).

23. 11QTemple 84.9-11:

כי יהיה באיש חט משפט מות ויברח אל

10 תוך הגוואים ויקלל את עמואחא בני ישראל ותליתמה גם ארתו על העץ

11 וימת

Depending on how we date 11QTemple, this could well suit the period of struggle between the Jews and the Romans. Taken separately, these references may seem to be mere coincidence, but there are other hints in Luke, especially in the special material, of familiarity with some of the hopes and indeed slogans of the Jewish resistance movements against the Romans. These are found in a number of passages which speak of 'the liberation of Jerusalem' or 'the liberation of Israel'. In particular, if we follow up examples of the terms 'liberation', and 'to liberate' (λύτρωσις, λυτροῦσθαι) in Luke, we find (a) in 2.38, the statement that Anna the prophetess was speaking about Jesus 'to all who were awaiting the liberation of Jerusalem';²⁴ and (b) in 24.21, Kleopas and his colleague explain to the unknown person who joined them their dashed hopes concerning Jesus of Nazareth: '...We had hoped that he was *the one who was about to liberate Israel*'. Now, as we have shown elsewhere,²⁵ there is an extraordinary coincidence of the words here underlined with those attributed to Serah bat Asher in reply to the Elders of Israel, confirming Moses as 'the man who is about to liberate Israel', according to a Jewish tradition recorded in *PRE* 48.82-86. Indeed, even the Greek word μέλλει is precisely paralleled by the Hebrew עתה. Moreover, not only do very many coins of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome found at Masada bear the inscriptions 'The Liberation/Freedom of Zion' or 'For the Liberation of Zion',²⁶ but many of the Second, and also regularly the Bar Kokhba documents, present dates given in Aramaic or Hebrew as 'Year x of the Liberation of Israel' or 'Year x of the Liberation of Jerusalem'. In similar vein, the Lukan Infancy Hymns extol the

24. See further the discussion of this in Wilcox, 'Luke 2.36-38. "Anna bat Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, a prophetess..." A Study in Midrash in Material Special to Luke', in *The Four Gospels 1992. Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck, C.M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle, J. Verheyden; BETL 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), pp. 1571-79.

25. Wilcox, 'The Bones of Joseph: Hebrews 11.22', in *Scripture: Meaning and Method. Essays presented to Anthony Tyrrell Hanson* (ed. B.P. Thompson; Hull: Hull University Press, 1987), pp. 114-30, esp. 119-21; and also 'Luke 2.36-38. "Anna bat Phanuel"'.
 26. At Masada the following forms are found: 'Year 2. Freedom or Liberation of Zion', coins 1358-2080, 3000-3489; 'For the Freedom of Zion' 3593-3594. See *Masada I*, pp. 102-19.

impending liberation of Israel,²⁷ seen as the fulfilment of God's promise or oath to Abraham. If now we take all of this together, we may be forgiven for suspecting that running through parts of the Gospel of Luke there is a strand of thought and tradition which coheres surprisingly closely with what we know of how certain movements within first and early second century Jewish society viewed their own role: that of bringing (God's) liberation to Israel/Jerusalem. Given further that the movement under Shimon bar Kosba certainly, and some of the leaders of the First Revolt probably,²⁸ used Aramaic and (Proto-Mishnaic) Hebrew as their preferred language(s) of communication, it may be worth asking whether apparent Aramaisms (and/or Hebraisms) in Lk. 1-2 and 24 may not have a rather greater claim to be taken seriously as such than they might have if they had been found in other settings, whether in Luke or elsewhere. It also emerges that of the two languages Aramaic seems to predominate. However, at Masada all three languages, Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek are found, and in so far as the Greek material can be adequately assessed—it is often in fairly fragmented state—it indicates that that language was on the whole well-written: the editors of the Masada Greek documents comment on 'the most remarkable fact...the apparent absence of barbarisms and solecisms such as we encounter, for instance in the necropolis of Beth Shearim'.²⁹ This is very important for our purposes, since it suggests that where Aramaisms or Hebraisms do occur in the New Testament writings, the chances are that they are all the more significant than they might have been if we had been expecting a generally poorer standard of Greek from the writers. If some of them are bilingual, or if they had good translators, the chances are that the work would be broadly well done—which is exactly what we find.

27. This revolutionary fervour was noted and discussed in detail by Paul Winter in a number of valuable articles published in 1954-56, especially 'The Birth and Infancy Stories of the Third Gospel', *NTS* 1 (1954-55), pp. 111-21; and 'Magnificat and Benedictus—Maccabaeon Psalms?' *BJRL* 37 (1954-55), 328-47.

28. For the First Revolt, the discovery at Masada of a jar inscribed with the name 'Aqavia son of the High Priest H[anania]h' in Aramaic suggests that even people of more prominent social status used Aramaic (Masada No. 461 (1237-878/1)). See *Masada I*, pp. 37-38.

29. *Masada II. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-65. Final Reports. The Latin and Greek Documents*. (ed. H.M. Cotton and J. Geiger, with a contribution by J.D. Thomas; Jerusalem, 1989), p. 10.

The outcropping Aramaisms and/or Hebraisms are then all the more significant.

This brings us to another important point of method. It has been regarded as good practice throughout the history of the investigation of the Aramaic (and/or) Hebrew influence on the Greek of the New Testament to begin consideration of any alleged Aramaism or Hebraism by checking whether the meaning or meanings suspected of the word or expression in question could be documented from Greek, and more especially, from the papyri and inscriptions. That is still good practice, but we must not leave out of account the context of the suspect term, not only within the New Testament document in which it occurs, but more especially within the Jewish society within which it seems to be being used. We must remember that in much of the Land of Israel in the first two centuries CE, Greek, if spoken or written at all, will have been for many people at best a second or even third language. We have seen that some of the Greek documents from the Babatha archive reflect the underlying Aramaic of Babatha herself, despite the efforts of her (at least bilingual) scribes. Moreover, there seems bound to have been some more or less unconscious selection of Greek words and idioms better capable of reflecting nuances of their Aramaic and Hebrew counterparts. Here we should note the recent article by J.A.L. Lee on Lk. 6.7, where he finds fairly widespread documentation for use of the Greek verb εὐρίσκειν with meanings akin to 'to find a way to', 'to be able to'.³⁰ He then argues that in Lk. 6.7 there is no need to ascribe its use there as 'to be able' to influence of the Aramaic verb שָׁכַח, 'to find', which certainly quite normally has the meaning 'to be able' in its Aphel form. If we had found the words of Lk. 6.7 on a stray scrap of papyrus the date and provenance of which we did not know, then it would be most natural to look first and foremost to a purely Greek solution. But here we have another set of considerations. The book is written in Greek but its content belongs within a Jewish environment in which it is now increasingly clear that Aramaic was the first language for one major section at least of the people. When we find further that there are serious echoes of the thoughts, hopes and indeed daily life of some of those people in parts of the Gospel tradition, certainly in Luke, as we have argued above, in Acts and probably elsewhere in the New Testament, it is all the more

30. 'A Non-Aramaism in Luke 6.7', *NovT* 33 (1991), pp. 28-34.

urgent to take account of the Aramaic (and Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew) factor in assessing not so much their meaning generally as their meaning in such contexts. What has been argued here in respect of Aramaic and Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew in the Jewish society of the first and second centuries CE could be expected to hold good for other 'native' languages in other parts of the Greek-speaking world. Bilingualism does not mean that such people speak their 'non-native' language poorly, but that a degree of unconscious (and perhaps conscious) accommodation takes place between both languages as they use them. We may add to that that the people around Bar Kokhba could clearly handle all three languages—Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek, but nevertheless showed a conscious resistance to treating Greek as belonging in their own world. That comes out interestingly in the Bar Kokhba documents, where in the Aramaic and Hebrew texts, the writers feel free to use the first person, whereas in the Greek material they use only the third person. Even Josephus claims to have written the first draft of his *Jewish War* first in Aramaic, and only thereafter to have translated it into Greek.³¹

An encouraging sign that at least an 'integrated' approach is emerging towards the Aramaic question and its relationship to the rest of the search for midrashic material and historical data in the New Testament is the publication of a rather important article by Maurice Casey, entitled 'Culture and Historicity: The Plucking of the Grain (Mark 2.23-28)'.³² In it he seeks to set the story of Jesus and his disciples passing through the grainfields in its proper historical context, and to do so he attempts to put it back into Aramaic, link it in with known Rabbinic teaching concerning the Peah and the Sabbath, and relate it also to the economic and other cultural factors of the time. He concludes by observing that '...existing work on the recovery of the Jesus of history is inadequate because it has not delved thoroughly into the language and culture of Jesus and his contemporaries'.³³ It is certainly the burden of this paper that the whole approach to the Aramaic and Hebrew background of the New Testament must be linked in with as full an historical, social and midrashic perspective as possible, and that the atomistic 'spot the Aramaism' endeavours of the past,

31. *War* 1.3.

32. *NTS* 37 (1991), pp. 1-23.

33. 'Culture', p. 22.

whatever their merits, must give way to that new approach.

We may sum up then as follows:

A. (1) The investigation of the Aramaic (and Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew) factor in the New Testament and its background must continue to pay close attention to every new piece of information and every text available from the New Testament period and thereabouts, and use that as the primary measure of likely Aramaic in the New Testament. However, especially because of the homeliness of the language of the Mishnah and the related Rabbinic texts, we should be careful not to ignore the vast store of information not only Aramaic and Hebrew which may be derived from these sources, but also the valuable insights for understanding the social history of the times.

(2) The material from the Targumim and from Qumran should be utilized to the full, and in the case where a New Testament verse appears to contain a Targumic reading (to the exclusion of one from the MT or the LXX), we should not be put off by the date of the last revisions of that targum, but rather see the New Testament evidence as pointing to the earliness of the date of the element of tradition preserved in that targum. An example is the reference in Eph. 4.8 // Targ. Ps. 68.18.

(3) The use and interpretation of material from the Jewish Scriptures, especially in the form of otherwise concealed or merged elements of midrash should be traced and evaluated, and seen as pointing to a heightening of the possibility of Aramaic and/or Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew material embedded or otherwise transmitted in the sections in question.

(4) All available sources for the social history of the time should be explored and related where possible to problems of original language, so that investigation of these two factual lines of study may proceed hand in hand, and may be able to correct one another where necessary.

(5) Careful attention should be paid to the logic of our enquiry, and also to that of those who seek to deny or minimize the role of Aramaic and Hebrew in the Gospel tradition: in particular, the 'septuagintalism' hypotheses should be seen for what they are, and not allowed to distract scholars from the pursuit of the Aramaic and Hebrew substructure of the Gospel and other New Testament tradition.

(5) We, in turn, should be careful not to go beyond the limits of the evidence we produce. Better one point well made, than ten points with reservations.

B. (1) It can no longer be maintained that if a saying attributed to Jesus is not in Aramaic, it is not authentic. The fact that Aramaic seems to have been his home-language does not exclude the real possibility that he may also have spoken Hebrew and/or Greek.

(2) Where an alleged Jesus-saying fits naturally into a first century Jewish context, it is the more likely to have been genuine than if it does not. Jesus is to be seen as part of his society, not as inherently alien to, or indifferent to it.

(3) If we accept that Jesus and his followers lived and moved within the context of the prevailing Jewish society of his time, then we must realize its complexity and the possibility that he gave differing answers in different situations: the single 'right' solution approach is not only historically unrealistic, it also fails to take account of the whole midrashic way of thinking, which is designed to take constantly new approaches to older questions.

ARAMAIC AND TARGUMIC ANTECEDENTS OF PAULINE
'JUSTIFICATION'

Bruce Chilton

In his monograph on Rom. 3.21-26, Douglas Campbell observed that the concept of 'justification' has been seen by modern interpreters more as a corollary than as a principal category within the Pauline argument.¹ Within his own reading of the passage, Campbell emphasized that the participial phrase, δικαιοῦμενοι δωρεὰν τῆ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, is to be read as a parenthesis:² the principal elements within the entire sentence, from v. 21 through v. 26, are δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ and φανερώω.³ Accordingly, he paraphrases the passage:

But now the final saving righteousness of God has been revealed (apart from works of law, although witnessed to by the law and the prophets): a righteousness revealed through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ, for everyone who believes (for there is no difference: everyone sinned and lacks the glorious image of God, being saved by his grace as a gift); revealed through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God intended to be a supremely atoning sacrifice for sin; revealed through the faithfulness in his bloody death; so that he, Christ, might be the sign of his saving righteousness, because of the release for sins committed beforehand, in God's mercy; so that he might be the sign of his saving righteousness in the present time; so that he (that is, God) might be right in the very act of setting right the one who lives out the faithfulness of Jesus.⁴

The basis on which Campbell renders δικαιοῦω as a statement of salvation is that 'justification, in the sense of a forensic declaration of

1. D.A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21-26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), pp. 141-44.

2. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 166-76.

3. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 184.

4. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 203.

righteousness before God, is not really present within the section', since δικαιούμενοι is 'broader than this, being completely dominated in context by the ideas of eschatology and salvation'.⁵

Campbell is aware that he is joining the company of Adolf Deissmann and Albert Schweitzer in arguing as he does, as well as Krister Stendahl, Nils Dahl and E.P. Sanders.⁶ Each of these scholars characterized the principal argument, within which justification appears as corollary, in a distinctive manner. Campbell argues, as may be seen in his paraphrase of the passage, for 'an eschatological dimension within God's righteousness—and this seems particularly evocative of the righteousness language of Isaiah'.⁷ In the reading he defends, Campbell joins a consensus of critics in positing an almost exclusive focus on the ethics of ultimate salvation within Paul's position.⁸

Thus the rightwizing of the believer is the completion of the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ. God reveals his salvation in order that he might actually save—and such a statement seems a fitting finale to the passage.

The language of 'rightwizing' here is not incidental; it is an example of jargon manifesting an author's ideology. For Campbell, the Pauline Christ is the power of Isaiah's righteousness, the engine of an ethical orientation no longer dominated by 'works of the law'.

Scholars of the historical Jesus are routinely warned of casting their subject into their own image, but it may be that Paulinists are even more prone to that failing. In this instance, there is an indication of a procedural failing when Campbell observes that the language of justification is shared with Paul's 'Jewish precursors',⁹ but does not explore what those 'precursors' said. The work cites Quintilian, Cicero, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Demetrius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aristotle, Pseudo-Aristotle, Plato, Longinus, Tacitus, Hermogenes, and Philodemus,¹⁰ in order to explicate Paul's syntax, but contents itself with general speculations, together with, at most, a

5. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 202.

6. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 142-43.

7. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 159, citing Isa. 5.16; 9.7; 11.5; 16.5; 29.9; 32.16,17; 33.5,6; 41.2; 42.6,7; 45.8,13,24; 46.12,13; 51.5,6,8; 56.1; 59.11,14,17; 61.10,11; 62.1,2; 63.1.

8. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 170, here commenting particularly on the end of v. 26.

9. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 144.

10. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 77-79.

few biblical references, where meanings shared between Paul and his 'Jewish precursors' are concerned. Methodological asymmetry is manifest in the treatment.

Asymmetry of a different sort is evident in Campbell's paraphrase of ἰλαστήριον as 'supremely atoning sacrifice for sin'.¹¹ Initially, he joins those who construe the meaning of the term in respect of general propitiation,¹² rather than in respect of the כִּפּוּר on the ark of the covenant. That is unexceptional: Manson's suggestion that Paul wrote Romans under the specific influence of the festival of Yom Kippur, and that ἰλαστήριον is to be read accordingly, is indeed speculative.¹³ Having rejected Manson's reading of ἰλαστήριον, Campbell nonetheless argues that 'Paul evokes the singular and supremely atoning resonance of *Yom Kippur*, rather than the much more general, pagan idea of propitiatory sacrifice which was repetitive'.¹⁴ This argument is only possible because a notion from the secondary literature, Manson's suggestion, is supported, although the thesis within which the suggestion is a corollary is rejected. The parts are rejected individually, but the whole remains as a phantom.¹⁵

11. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, pp. 107-13.

12. So A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (trans. A. Grieve; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901), pp. 124-35.

13. Cf. 'ΙΑΑETHPION', *JTS* 46 (1945), pp. 1-10. David Hill's attempt to read the letter in respect of Hanukkah represents a further abstraction of such speculation; he argues that since Tabernacles, which was linked with Yom Kippur, was the occasion of 2 Corinthians, another feast must have been the occasion of Romans, cf. *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 43-47). As Campbell points out (*Rhetoric*, pp. 219-28, and cf. p. 109 n. 3), Hill's acceptance of an early dating of 4 Maccabees is credulous. Ulrich Wilkens is perhaps the best representative of Manson's position, cf. *Der Brief an die Römer* (Evangelisch-Katholischen Kommentar; Zürich: Benziger, 1978), p. 193. Campbell supports C.E.B. Cranfield's more sober assessment; cf. *The Epistle to the Romans* 2 (The International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), pp. 214, 215. Campbell also takes up Cranfield's view that the 3.21-26 represents Paul's own prose (cf. *Rhetoric*, pp. 199, 200).

14. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 131, within pp. 130-33.

15. I have argued that a similar failure of exegetical care has plagued discussion of the 'Aqedah' in the New Testament; cf. 'The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition History', *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 514-46 (written jointly with P.R. Davies); 'Isaac and the Second Night: A Consideration', *Bib* 61 (1980), pp. 78-88, and *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels: Essays in the Mutual Definition of Judaism and Christianity* (Studies in Judaism; Lanham and London: University Press of America,

The only direct support Campbell cites for such a reading within Romans is that 'Christ is often depicted in priestly and cultic terms'.¹⁶ Earlier, he had referred to such depictions within a characterization of 'a scarlet thread of Levitical imagery running through Romans'.¹⁷ But the scarlet thread of Christian thought, which conceives of Jesus' death as a replacement of the imagery of Yom Kippur, runs from Hebrews 9, not from Paul.¹⁸ Hebrews is the document which—more than any other in the New Testament—avails itself of cultic language, and it uses that language to argue that an irrevocable change of the sacrificial economy has taken place.

Chapter 9 of Hebrews imagines the 'first' scheme of sacrifice, with the menorah, the table and presented bread in the holy place, and the holy of holies empty but for the gold censer and the ark.¹⁹ The mention of the censer as being in the holy of holies fixes the time of which the author speaks: it can only be the day of atonement (or, as it is preferable to say, appeasement²⁰), when the high priest made his

1986), pp. 25-37; 'Recent Discussion of the Aqedah', in *Targumic Approaches*, pp. 39-49.

16. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 132, citing Rom. 5.2; 8.3, 34; 15.8.

17. Cf. Campbell, *Rhetoric*, p. 17.

18. Similarly, Campbell's emphasis throughout upon 'expiation', as distinct from 'propitiation', is characteristic of debates within Protestantism which are predicated upon Hebrews, cf. especially pp. 188, 189.

19. For a consideration of the terminological problems, cf. H.W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), p. 230 and B.F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Macmillan, 1909), pp. 244-52.

20. The translation of כפר has long been a matter of dispute. The traditional translation, 'to make atonement', is misleading, since it invokes a notion of being at one with the deity, which ties in with the Reformers in England during the sixteenth century, but not with the ancient Hebrews, for whom such a notion (even if conceivable) would be dangerous. G.B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 67-77, establishes that the quest for a rendering along the lines of etymology is fruitless, and suggests that in the Priestly source and Ezekiel the meaning of the term is technical, that is, contextually defined. In contrast, cf. B.A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel* (SJLA 5; Leiden: Brill, 1974), p. 56. Gray proposes 'to make expiation' as a better translation, and this is followed in the New English Bible. The division of sacrificial effects upon the divine into propitiation and expiation, however, frequently appears artificial, particularly as perpetuated by scholars of the Hebrew scriptures. It seems wiser to think in terms of appeasement, and to allow that the mechanism of appeasement is left open. In any case, כפר clearly means this in

single visit to that sanctum, censer in hand.²¹

That moment is only specified in order to be fixed, frozen forever. The movement of ordinary priests, in and out of the holy place, the 'first tabernacle' (9.6), while the high priest could only enter 'the second tabernacle', the holy of holies (v. 7), once a year, was designed by the holy spirit as a parable: the way into the holy of holies could not be revealed while the first Temple, the first tabernacle and its service, continued (vv. 8-10). That way could only be opened, after the Temple was destroyed, by Christ, who became high priest and passed through 'the greater and more perfect tabernacle' of his body (v. 11) by the power of his own blood (v. 12) so that he could find eternal redemption in the sanctuary.

Signal motifs within the Gospels are developed in the passage. The identification of Jesus' death and the destruction of the Temple, which the Gospels achieve in narrative terms, is assumed to be complete; it is not clear what the author made of the period between the two events. Moreover, in the passage, it is taken for granted that Jesus' body was a kind of 'tabernacle', an instrument of sacrifice (9.11), apparently because the Gospels speak of his offering his body and his blood in the words of institution.²² Jesus' 'body' and 'blood' are the high priest's self-immolating means to an end: to enter once for all (v. 12) within the innermost recess of sanctity.

When Paul conceives of Jesus' death sacrificially, it is as a sacrifice for sin (περὶ ἁμαρτίας, Rom. 8.3). Indeed, by the time he composed Romans, he had been referring to Jesus' death in that way for five years (cf. Gal. 1.4, written c. AD 53). (Certain texts read ὑπὲρ for περὶ, but the relationship between Sinaiticus and the first corrector shows the likely direction of change.) Of course, the phrase περὶ ἁμαρτίας by itself might be seen as an odd rendering of the מִזְבֵּחַ

Gen. 32.21 (v. 20 in the English Bible), where the reference is to Jacob's maneuver in order to appease Esau, and the gifts involved are collectively called מִנְחָה. Levine, *Presence* pp. 56-63, supports such a reading, on the basis that כֶּפֶר refers etymologically (cf. the analogy in Akkadian usage), not to covering (as is frequently argued), but to the wiping away of wrath. He also cites Prov. 16.14 and Isa. 28.18.

21. Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 232-35, follows other commentators in taking the θυσιαστήριον as an altar, and so charges Hebrews with 'minor anomaly', but he points out that 'censer' would be the more straightforward rendering, with the diction of the Septuagint.

22. And John, of course, actually has Jesus refer to 'the temple of his body', 2.21; cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 258-60.

of Leviticus, but that is the equation made in the Septuagint (cf. Lev. 16.3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15). Paul cites the Hebrew scriptures in a paradigmatically Septuagintal version, so that the identity of phrasing alone might suggest that he presented Jesus' death as a species of $\Gamma\text{Ν}\Sigma\text{Π}$. In addition, both passages conceive of Jesus' death in a manner which fits with the image of a sacrifice for sin. In Gal. 1.4, the purpose of his death is redemption from the present, evil age, while Rom. 8.3 contrasts God's sending his son to the flesh of sacrifice.

But Paul did not conceive of that death as a replacement of the cult, because he believed he had a role to play within the service of the Temple. His preaching of the Gospel is depicted in Rom. 15.16 as a kind of priestly service ($\text{ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ}$), which will result in 'the offering of the nations, pleasing, sanctified in holy spirit' ($\text{ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, 15.16}$). Contextually, Paul's characterization of his own ministry as sacrificial is associated with his 'serving the saints in Jerusalem' (15.25), through a collection in Macedonia and Asia for the poorer community in return for its spiritual treasure (vv. 26, 27). That done, Paul expects to come to Rome 'in the fullness of Christ's blessing', and to proceed to Spain (vv. 28, 29), there, presumably, to engage in the same priestly service (cf. v. 19). Paul's program is known conventionally as the collection,²³ after Gal. 2.10, 1 Cor. 16.1, 2, 2 Cor. 8, 9, and Rom. 15.26, and the assumption has been that its purpose was purely practical: Paul agreed to provide material support in exchange for recognition by Peter, James, and John (cf. Gal. 2.9), and used priestly language as a rhetorical device.

Unquestionably, Paul was capable of using cultic language as metaphor. Rom. 12.1 provides the example of the addressees being called to present their bodies as 'a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God'. Indeed, Rom. 15.16 itself can only refer to Paul's priestly service metaphorically, as the agency by which the offering of the nations might be completed. But is 'the offering of the nations' itself to be taken only as a metaphor? Two standard commentaries suggest that as a matter of course. C.E.B. Cranfield reads the metaphor explicitly within the context of a cultic theology of the significance of Jesus' death:

23. Cf. V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), pp. 408-13, where the particular focus is upon 2 Corinthians 8, 9.

The sacrifice offered to God by Christ, which Paul has here in mind, consists of the Gentile Christians who have been sanctified by the gift of the Holy Spirit...²⁴

Otto Michel links the passage more strictly with 12.1, and takes it that, in both cases, the cult is transcended eschatologically:

Das Besondere an dieser Bildsprache des Paulus besteht darin, dass der Begriff auf den eschatologischen Vollzug der Heilsgeschichte hinweist. Was der Kultus besagen will, erfüllt sich in der Endgeschichte.²⁵

Both of these exegeses rely upon the invocation of contexts which may be recovered from Paul's theology, but which are not explicit here. It is impossible to exclude Cranfield and Michel's meanings, but it should be remembered that neither commentator considers the possibility that Paul might speak of an actual offering, provided by Gentile Christians for sacrifice in Jerusalem. That meaning should not be excluded, unless the straightforward sense of the words is found to be implausible.

The hope of a climactic disclosure of divine power, signalled in the willingness of nations to worship on Mount Zion, is attested within sources extant by the first century. Chief of these, from the point of view of its influence upon the New Testament, is the book of Zechariah. It has been argued that Zechariah provided the point of departure for Jesus' inclusive program of purity and forgiveness as the occasions of the kingdom.²⁶ Jesus is said to have mentioned the prophet by name (cf. Mt. 23.34-36; Lk. 11.49-51).²⁷ The book

24. Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 757.

25. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 458. He cites Isa. 66.20 (pp. 457, 458), although—as he rightly points out—the issue there in play is the return of those of Israel from the Diaspora.

26. Cf. B.D. Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus: His Sacrificial Program Within a Cultural History of Sacrifice* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), ch. 7, 'The Sacrificial Program of Jesus'.

27. Indeed, the saying (from 'Q') is as securely attested as Jesus' references to Isaiah (cf. Mt. 13.14; 15.7; Mk. 7.6). The importance of Zechariah in assessing Jesus' purpose has been stressed in Joachim Jeremias (trans. S.H. Hooke), *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (SBT; London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 65-70; C. Roth, 'The Cleansing of the Temple and Zechariah XIV 21', *NovT* 4 (1960), pp. 174-81. Many critics suggest that Matthew and Luke may originally have referred to Zechariah the priest in 2 Chron. 24.20-22 (and cf. Zechariah, son of Baris, in *Jewish War*

programmatically concerns the establishment of restored worship in the Temple, especially at the feast of Sukkoth (14.16-19). 'All the nations' are to go up to Jerusalem annually for worship (v. 16), and the transformation of which that worship is part involves the provision of 'living waters' from the city (v. 8, cf. Jn 4.10, 14). That image is related to an earlier 'fountain opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem in view of sin and uncleanness' (13.1). Here is the association of forgiveness and purity which is a feature of Jesus' program, as well as the notion of an immediate release, without any mention of sacrifice, from what keeps Israel from God. (There is, incidentally, also an indication of how the issue of Davidic ancestry might have featured in Jesus' ministry, aside from any messianic claim.)²⁸ God is held to arrange the purity required, so that the desired sacrifice might take place.

Zechariah features the commissioning of a priest (3, cf. Mt. 16.18, 19), an oracle against swearing (5.3, 4, cf. Mt. 5.33-37), a vision of a king humbly riding an ass (9.9, cf. Mt. 21.1-9; Mk. 11.1-10; Lk. 19.28-40; Jn 12.12-19), the prophetic receipt of thirty shekels of silver in witness against the owners of sheep (11.4-17, cf. Mt. 26.14-16; 27.3-10; Mk 14.10, 11; Lk. 22.3-6). It is obvious that the connections between Jesus' ministry and Zechariah do not amount to a common agenda, and Matthew reflects a tendency to increase the fit between the two. But the similarities may suggest Jesus' appropriation of Zechariah's prophecy of eschatological purity, as a final, more fundamental connection would indicate. The climactic vision of Zechariah insists that every vessel in Jerusalem will belong to the LORD, and become a fit vessel for sacrifice. As part of that insistence, the text asserts that no trader will be allowed in the Temple (14.20, 21). In the light of Zechariah, Jesus' occupation of the Temple appears to be an enactment of prophetic purity in the face of a commercial innovation, a vigorous insistence that God would prepare his own people and vessels for eschatological worship.

Notably, the Targum of Zechariah specifically includes reference to

IV.334-44), but the identification with the prophet, the son of Barachiah, is unambiguous in Matthew (and some witnesses to Luke). That the figure in mind is a product of haggadic embellishment, however, appears evident, and may draw upon the recollection of several people named 'Zechariah'.

28. Cf. B.D. Chilton, 'Jesus *ben David*: Reflections on the *Davidssonfrage*', *JSNT* 14 (1982), pp. 88-112.

God's kingdom at 14.9,²⁹ and that might represent another, programmatic link with Jesus. In any case, it is clear that Jesus understood the essential affect of sacrifice to derive from a purity and a forgiveness which God extended to Israel in anticipation of the climax of worship. In this understanding, Jesus was no doubt unusual in his immediate application of a prophetic program to the actual Temple, but not unique. His precise demands concerning the provision of animals as offerings, however, show how the issue of purity was for him pragmatic, as well as affective. It was in that Pharisaic vein that he confronted the authorities in the Temple with the claim that their management was a scandal, and that the direct provision of animals by a forgiven, purified Israel was required for the experience of holiness and the reality of the covenant to be achieved.

Whether or not Jesus' program was a precedent for Paul's, the mere existence of Zechariah, which Paul alludes to (cf. Rom. 8.36; 1 Cor. 2.11; 11.25; 13.5; 14.25), presents the possibility that Paul might have included an actual offering from the Gentiles in Jerusalem as a part of his program, and therefore as part of his meaning in Rom. 15.16. The Targum of Zechariah is particularly pertinent at this point, aside from the question of its relationship to Jesus' preaching. Recently, a consensus has emerged regarding the dating of Targum Jonathan, a consensus which the series, 'the Aramaic Bible', has both confirmed and helped to establish. In 1982, I suggested that the Targum of Isaiah should be understood to have developed in two principal stages, with the gathering and development of translations during the period between AD 70 and AD 135, and then again during the fourth century.³⁰ A version—perhaps incomplete—of Isaiah in Aramaic was

29. Cf. K.J. Cathcart and R.P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible 14; Wilmington: Glazier, 1989). As the editors indicate, the significance of the reference was earlier established in B.D. Chilton, 'Regnum Dei Deus Est', *SJT* 31 (1978), pp. 261-70, cf. *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels*, pp. 99-107.

30. Cf. *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSup 23; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982). In the interests of accuracy, the date printed on the title page is an error. (Churgin's work suffered a similar fate, although the error involved misplacing his book by a decade! Cf. P. Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* [Yale Oriental Series; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927]). My conclusions are available in *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible; Wilmington: Glazier; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), pp. xiii-xxx.

composed by a meturgeman who flourished between AD 70 and AD 135.³¹ That work was completed by another meturgeman, associated with Rabbi Joseph bar Hiyya of Pumbeditha, who died in AD 333.³² Throughout the process, however, the communal nature of the interpretative work of the meturgeman was acknowledged; insofar as individuals were involved, they spoke as the voice of synagogues and of schools. My analysis of the phases of development of the Targum as exegetical frameworks within the document, manifested in characteristic theologoumena, has been a matter for some discussion, but it is gratifying to see that the pattern of phases which I identified in the Targum of Isaiah has been confirmed in the cases of the Targums of Former Prophets, of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets.³³ The emphasis within the fourteenth chapter of the Targum of Zechariah upon the inclusion of the nations in eschatological worship, and that within the tannaitic framework (or phase) of the document, demonstrates that the motif which the Hebrew text and the Septuagint represent translated well within the concerns of the meturgemanin.

The Targum of Zechariah need not be dated as its editors suggest for Paul to have invoked its theme. That theme is present in the biblical text independently of Zechariah, within the book of Tobit (13.8-11 in Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Venetus):

λεγέτωσαν πάντες καὶ ἐξομολογήσῃωσαν αὐτῷ ἐν Ἱερουσόλυμοις,
 Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλις ἁγία
 μαστιγώσει ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν υἱῶν σου.

31. Within that early framework, material was incorporated which reflects the interpretations of earlier periods, including the period of Jesus, cf. B.D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible: Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time* (Good News Studies 8; Wilmington: Glazier, 1986; London: SPCK, 1984).

32. *The Glory of Israel*, pp. 2, 3; *The Isaiah Targum*, p. xxi. For the sections of the Targum most representative of each meturgeman; cf. *The Isaiah Targum*, p. xxiv.

33. The model I developed for the Targum of Isaiah is applied in D.J. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible 10; Wilmington: Glazier; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), p. 3; R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah* (The Aramaic Bible 12; Wilmington, DE: Glazier and Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, p. 38; S.H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel* (The Aramaic Bible 13; Wilmington: Glazier; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), pp. 3, 4; Cathcart and Gordon, *Minor Prophets*, pp. 12-14. Levey's acceptance of the paradigm is especially noteworthy, in that he had argued previously that Targum Jonathan (especially Isaiah) should be placed within the period of the ascendancy of Islam, cf. 'The Date of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets', *VT* 21 (1971), pp. 186-96.

καί πάλιν ἐλεήσει τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν δικαίων.
 ἔξομολογοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἀγαθῶς
 καὶ εὐλόγει τὸν βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων,
 ἵνα πάλιν ἡ σκητὴ αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομηθῇ ἐν σοὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς.
 καὶ εὐφράναι ἐν σοὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
 καὶ ἀγαπήσαι ἐν σοὶ τοὺς ταλαιπώρους
 εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἵωνος.
 ἔθνη πολλὰ μακρόθεν ἤξει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου του θεοῦ
 δῶρα ἐν χερσίν ἔχοντες καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
 γενεαὶ γενεῶν δώσουσίν σοι ἀγαλλίασιν.³⁴

It is evident that, within hellenistic Judaism, the consolation of Jerusalem and the sacrificial recognition of God as king by the nations were motifs which could be and were associated. The significance of the prominence of a similar theme in the Targum of Zechariah shows that the association was not merely hellenistic, and that it survived through the first century.

In Sinaiticus, an alteration is introduced into the reading of v. 11. Instead of ἔθνη πολλὰ μακρόθεν ἤξει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, we find ἔθνη πολλὰ μακρόθεν ἤξει σοὶ καὶ κάτοικοι πάντων τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς γῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιόν σου. The appearance of the parallelism in Sinaiticus is characteristic of the paraphrastic form of the text which Hanhart calls Θ^{II} , but here it makes clear beyond any doubt that worship by Gentiles, not simply Jews living abroad, is at issue.

Both the idea and its phrasing are striking for another reason. The phrase, 'the inhabitants of all the ends of the earth', appears innovatively within Targ. Isa. 24.16:

From the sanctuary, whence joy is about to go forth to all the inhabitants of the earth, we hear a song for the righteous.

The same wording appears in 38.11 (cf. 2.3), within the Song of Hezekiah; typically, the meturgemanin managed to duplicate the diction exactly, by innovating at different points in order to produce the same slogan: 'all the inhabitants of the earth'. (As in the Glazier edition, italics indicate Targumic innovations, as compared to a Hebrew *Vorlage* which was virtually identical to the Masoretic Text.)

34. Cf. the edition of R. Hanhart, *Tobit* (Septuaginta VIII.5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985). *Tobit* is attested at Qumran, but—to judge from the transcriptions presented at the conference by Professor Kaufman—*lacunae* dominate at this point in the book.

The emphatic inclusion of the Gentiles ('all the inhabitants of the earth') within the eschatological worship of the Temple is therefore not only attested in the Targum, as in Sinaiticus's version of Tobit, it is attested as a characteristic motif. And the same phrase is associated with the kingdom of God in Targum Jonathan, notably—and in an innovative fashion—at Zech. 14.9.³⁵ The sanctuary, the kingdom, and all the inhabitants of the earth are therefore associated within the Targum as the climax of God's revelation; Sinaiticus's Tobit demonstrates that the first and third elements could be linked by the first century, while Mt. 8.11, 12 shows that the second and the third were also paired by that time. More generally, *Jub.* 4.26 establishes that the global range of the sanctuary was an expectation within early Judaism.³⁶

Targum Jonathan, together with Tobit and *Jubilees*, establishes that an expectation of global worship in the Temple was a feature of early Judaism, so that it is feasible that Paul aimed to promote a literal offering of the nations by means of his collection for the needs of the church in Jerusalem. The book of Acts is at pains to exculpate Paul from the charge that he introduced Gentiles into the precincts of the Temple (21.27-30). But that accusation, mounted by Jews from Asia who were in a position to know what Paul intended (v. 27), is what in Acts produces the attempt to kill Paul, and his subsequent (as it turned out, definitive) arrest (vv. 31-40). Acts may not be consulted as a straightforward historical source, but the confused picture it conveys at this point may be consistent with the finding from Paul's own letters that he intended that Gentiles should be joined within the sacrificial worship of Israel.³⁷

Paul's assertion in Rom. 3.25, that God appointed Jesus a ἱλαστήριον διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι,³⁸ is not, therefore,

35. Cf. 'Regnum Dei Deus Est', 101 (as published in *Targumic Approaches*).

36. Cf. *The Glory of Israel*, "'Sanctuary' (קֹדֶשׁ)", pp. 18-24, and 130 n. 9.

37. Particularly, the hypothesis explains why Paul, in Romans 9-11, insists upon including all believers within the ambit of Israel at a moment of historic weakness in the Jewish community in Rome, cf. B.D. Chilton, 'Romans 9-11 as Scriptural Interpretation and Dialogue with Judaism', *Ex Auditu* 4 (1988), pp. 27-37.

38. Cranfield (*Romans*, p. 210) rightly asserts that it is only natural to read the phrase concerning blood with the noun ἱλαστήριον. Campbell's attempt to separate them on the grounds that the proposition διὰ is the structural key of the sentence, relies on a mechanical understanding of Paul's rhetoric which is not shown to be Paul's own.

to be understood as positing a formal replacement of the cult by Jesus' death.³⁹ The standard references to similar usages in 2 Maccabees (3.33) and 4 Maccabees (6.28, 29; 17.20-22) ought to have warned commentators long ago against any reading which involves such notions, whether in the key of Hebrews (as in Cranfield's reading) or in the key of a transcendent eschatology (as in Michel's reading). 2 Macc. 3.33, after all, simply speaks of a high priest 'making appeasement' (ποιουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τὸν ἰλασμόν) by cultic means. That usage is an extension of the Septuagintal equation between ἰλεως and such verbs as כָּפַר, סָפַר and כָּפַר, סָפַר, and כָּפַר, where the emphasis falls on the divine affect involved in forgiveness.⁴⁰

Even 4 Maccabees, which is probably too late a composition to be used to represent the milieu which was the matrix of Paul's thought, maintains a distinction between God's pleasure in sacrifice, and the means of that sacrifice. In 6.28, God is asked to be pleased with his people (ἰλεως γενοῦ τῷ ἔθνει) by Eleazar, and on that basis to make his blood their purification and his life their ransom (6.29). Then, in chapter seventeen, it is said of the seven brothers that, in the manner of Eleazar, they purified the homeland in that they became a ransom for the sin of the nation (v. 21, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καθαρισθῆναι ὡς περ ἀντίψυχον γεγονότας τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀμαρτίας). The language of purification and ransom is consistently used, in chapters six and seventeen, to refer to the deaths of martyrs in cultic terms. In chapter six, ἰλεως is used to speak of God's willingness to consider their deaths within those terms; 17.22 presents a résumé of the theme, stating that through the blood of those pious men and the appeasement of their death (καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν), God determined to save Israel. That salvation, of course, did not involve the replacement of cultic sacrifice, but its reestablishment in the Temple.

39. Cranfield's rendering (cf. *Romans*, pp. 214-17), as 'a propitiatory sacrifice', although inspired by an appropriate skepticism of Manson's position, is too redolent of Hebrews to suit the Pauline context.

40. Cf. F. Büchsel, 'ἰλεως...', *TWNT* (ed. G. Kittel; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), pp. 300, 301; cf. the article by J. Herrmann on ἰλάσκομαι, pp. 301-24, where particular attention is devoted to connections with various forms of כָּפַר (cf. Psalms 64[65].3; 77[78].38; 78[79].9). Within the present context, the rendering of כָּפַר by ἰλασμός at Ezek. 44.27, and of כָּפַר by the same term at Lev. 25.9; Num. 5.8, might especially be noted.

The usage of the Septuagint, and particularly of 2 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees, militates against the complete identification of the ἱλαστήριον of Rom. 3.25 with the כפרת of Leviticus 16, as, of course, does the absence of the definite article in Paul's usage. There is a relationship between the two, because the ἱλαστήριον of Leviticus 16 (vv. 2, 13, 14, 15) is where the high priest makes appeasement (ἐξιλάσεται, v. 16, cf. vv. 17, 18, 20); that connection is achieved in both the Masoretic Text and Neophyti by means of the root כפר. Taken together, Neophyti and the Septuagint demonstrate that the כפרת/ἱλαστήριον was understood to be the place where God was appeased,⁴¹ the occasion of efficacious sacrifice. That also explains why the Greek term appears for תְּהִי at Ezek. 43.14, 17, 20.

Jesus for Paul is a ἱλαστήριον because he provides the occasion on which God may be appeased, an opportunity for the correct offering of sacrifice in Jerusalem. This rectitude lies behind the emphasis upon God's righteousness. 'The righteous', after all, are held within the Targum of Isaiah to be the recipients of that joy whose epicenter is the sanctuary (cf. 24.16; 38.11, and 5.17; 66.24).⁴² More particularly, the establishment of correct worship in the Temple is signalled in Dan. 8.14 with the use of the verb קָדַשׁ. Other usages of the root follow (9.7, 14, 16, 18), perhaps most notably with the verb כָּפַר in 9.24. God within this section of Daniel is literally both righteous and making righteous.

The association of those two ideas is by no means innovative. Righteousness and purity are paradigmatically associated in Pss. 18.21 (v. 20 in English versions); 24.3-6; 26.4-7; 51.4,8,9,12 (English vv. 2,6,7,10); 119.9. The reference in Ps. 24.5 to the person who is just receiving righteousness (together with blessing) from God is especially apposite. But the usages of Daniel are striking in that they formally present God as both righteous (cf. 9.7,14,16) and making righteous (9.24, and cf. 12.3) an unrighteous nation (9.7,16,18).

The link to the establishment of correct worship in the Temple in Dan. 8.14 is striking, but such is the tendency to isolate the cult from ethics within Western interpretation that critics have suggested accepting the emendation of the versions to 'cleanse' here. André

41. Cf. also כָּפַר at Lev. 16.2 in Onqelos, and the use of כָּפַר in respect of the altar in 2QJN 8.5.

42. Cf. *The Glory of Israel*, 'II. B "The Righteous" (צַדִּיקִים)', pp. 18-24. For an earlier usage, cf. 4QTestuz.

Lacoque, following H.L. Ginsberg, suggested that the Aramaic (which is taken to stand behind the Hebrew), may have been ܙܒܝ.⁴³ The force of Ginsberg's observation is worth recollecting:

... not even a barbarian but only a translator could have said *wnišdaq qodeš* (8:14). As Zimmerman points out, not only does this phrase represent a poor attempt to render an Aramaic *wyizke quđša*, "the sanctuary shall triumph" but the latter in turn probably represents a confusion... of *wyidke* or *wyddaki quđša* "the sanctuary will become clean (or be cleansed)."⁴⁴

The theory proposes that an initial error confused the root ܕܒܝ with ܙܒܝ, and then the meaning of even the confusion was garbled.

The claim that ܙܒܝ unequivocally means 'triumph' derives from Jacob Levy's observation that it is used to render ܘܕܝܩ in the *Targ. Isa.* 49.24:⁴⁵

ואם-שבי צדיק יקלט
ואם רשבו זכאים ישחינוב.

The notion of being strong or hard is often associated with the root in Aramaic and Syriac, and can never be excised from its meaning. Within the context of Isaiah, the idea of triumphing, or at least of holding on to one's own, is clearly developed, and the link of ܘܕܝܩ in v. 24 to ܦܕܝܢ in v. 25 especially struck Levy. But it is doubtful that these usages establish that ܙܒܝ simply means 'triumph', and Levy himself qualified that sense with the phrase 'etwas erlangen'. Moreover, the construction of the Hebrew text by a meturgeman of Isaiah is no indication of what an alleged source of Tobit in Aramaic might have said.

Nonetheless, the Targum provides many depictions of 'the righteous' as victorious. Indeed, the verse immediately prior to Levy's example is one case, *Targ. Isa.* 49.23:

MT: לא יבשו קני
Tg: דלא יבהתון צדיקיא דמסביריך לפרקאי.

43. *Le Livre de Daniel* (Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament; Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1976), p. 119, where the Aramaic is badly misprinted.

44. H.L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (Texts and Studies; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1948).

45. Cf. *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* 1 (Brockhaus: Leipzig, 1876), p. 534, and 4 (1889), for the usage of ܘܕܝܩ in Aramaic.

The innovative usage of צְדִיקָא in v. 23, and the standard promise of victory for the righteous in the Targum, is the occasion for the usage of זָכָא in v. 24, rather than a tight coordination between the root זָכַי and the meaning 'triumph'. A contextual reading of the Targum might be taken to suggest that צדק in Aramaic may stand as the equivalent of its Hebrew cognate, and that both convey their senses within the general sphere of meaning of righteousness.

In any case, whatever was the case in the transmission of Tobit, the meturgemanin of Isaiah had no difficulty in sorting out the difference between זָכַי and דְּכַי as a consideration of Isa. 1.16 will show:

MT: ... הַצַּדִּיקִים

Tg: תּוֹבֵי לְאוֹרֵיהֶם אֲדָבֵי מְחֻבְּבִילֹן

Even here, where a moral dimension is introduced into the exegesis of זָכָא in the Hebrew text, the Meturgeman renders it with דְּכַי, not זָכַי. זָכַי appears in Palestinian Aramaic of the first century as 'be innocent',⁴⁶ which is the fundamental sense in the Targum, as 5.23 illustrates:

מִזְבֵּן לֵיהּ לְחִיבָא חֶלְף דְּמַקְבְּלִין מֵיהּ קַמֹּן דְּשַׁקֵּר וְהַחַח נִכְאָא בְּרִשְׁעָא מַעֲנֵן מִימְגֹהוֹן

Here the cognate of צדק might have been used, as it is in the Masoretic Text, but it was not, presumably because זָכַי is used more naturally in forensic or legal contexts.⁴⁷

By now, one might suspect that וְנִצְדַק קִדְשׁ in Dan. 8.14 is to be preferred as the *lectio difficilior* which explains the others, and that it is neither a barbarism nor in any significant sense a translation

46. Cf. 11Q Targ. Job 9.[8] (for זָכָא in Job 25.5); 20.4 (for צדק in Job 32.4); 22.3 (for זָכָא in Job 33.9); 26.[1] (for צדק in Job 35.7); 34.4 (for צדק in Job 40.8). The first and third usages demonstrate that the range of meaning tended more towards the sense of cleanness than in the Aramaic of the Targumim. Nonetheless, the rendering 'be clean' in 11Q Targ. Job 34.4 in Fitzmyer and Harrington (where the Hebrew analog is צָדַק!) should be questioned; 'que tu aies raison' is preferable, cf. J.P.M. Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude (with B. Jongling), *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumân* (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen; Leiden: Brill, 1971). The form דְּכִיתָא is instanced, meaning 'clean' (cf. 2Q New Jerusalem 4.[8], [14]). That is not surprising, in view of the pattern just mentioned and contemporary usage of זָכָא in Hebrew, cf. 1QS 3.4-5; 5Q13 4.2 and M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

47. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950).

(supposing there was an Aramaic original). צדק relates simply and directly to what the Aramaic either was or could have been, here associated with the eschatological vindication which involved the sanctuary. That the adjective was so associated in Palestinian Aramaic is shown, for example, by 4QTestuz (first line); an affinity with Targum Jonathan is evident. Dan. 8.14 suggests that the verbal usage of צדק could also be associated with the ultimate 'justification' of the Temple, and such a usage represents a striking discontinuity with Targum Jonathan. Where the Masoretic Text employs the verb, the tendency of the meturgemanin was to use זָכַי, even in contexts in which the issue is eschatological (cf. 43.9; 45.25). By contrast, זָכַי in the Targum of Job might render צדק, but it also serves for זכה in Hebrew, and צדק itself also appears, a natural equivalent of δικαιόω.⁴⁸

That verbal usage is confirmed as a characteristic of Palestinian Aramaic by, for example, the Targum of Job, as at 11Q Targ. Job 9.7, where וְזָכַי וְצָדֵק in Hebrew (Job 25.4) is simply represented by its cognates. A usage of זכה follows in Hebrew, so that there was an opportunity for the translator in Aramaic to use זָכַי for צדק, and then דָּכַי; the fact that he passed that opportunity by would suggest that the equation between צדק in Aramaic and its Hebrew cognate was more stable than it was at a later period. The usage of the Aramaic verb in respect of divine judgment is plain, although precisely because it is a translation, the ordinary usage of the verb may be held not to be attested. Indeed, the so-called 'Targum' of Job is only such insofar as the term means 'translation' in Aramaic. What we have from Qumran here (and in the case of Leviticus) is a rendering, rather than an exegetical paraphrase, the work of a translator, not a meturgeman.

But pap 5/6HevA nab 7, 8 shows that אַצְדֵּק might be used in ordinary discourse to mean 'to have the right', in order to make a claim on property:⁴⁹

ודי אנה אלעזר דנה אצדק וירח ניקרכס אבי ולא שבק (בנים)
בני דדי ולא איתי לה ילד ואנה אלעזר דנה [אצדק]...

48. The pattern is unlike the consistent analogy between זכי and צדק in the Targ. Isa. (cf. J.B. van Zijl, *A Concordance to the Targum of Isaiah* [Society of Biblical Literature Aramaic Studies 3; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979]).

49. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Biblia et Orientalia; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978). For further discussion, cf. Fitzmyer, 'Languages', in *A Wandering Aramaean*, pp. 29-56, 54 n. 76.

In that I, Eleazar, have the right, and am the heir of Nikarchos, my father, and my uncle Bannai did not leave (sons) and has no offspring, I, Eleazar, [have the right]...⁵⁰

Read in comparison with the usage of Targum Jonathan, Eleazar's declaration shows that רצ , rather than זכ , was the natural diction in ordinary, legal contexts, as well as when the issue was more profoundly theological (as in the 'Targum' of Job). In the rendering of רצ from Hebrew, the material from Qumran and Hever represents earlier usage.

Paul's claim to see in Jesus a ἰλαστήριον where God was both righteous and making righteous is consistent with both Greek and Aramaic sources of early Judaism insofar as his expectation was of global worship on Mount Zion. He did not claim that Jesus was a replacement of the cult, but that Jesus provided believing Gentiles with a means of access into the covenant with Israel. Their 'justification' resided in the offering that they themselves might make, rather than in any purely theoretical sense of acquittal. Paul's thought is certainly no repetition of targumic materials, and there is no proof (and no suggestion here⁵¹) that he formulated his argument in Aramaic, but the Targumim are among the sources which illuminate—in the language of a later period—the matrix and milieu of his argument.

In the study of the New Testament, the Targumim have for too long been identified, without remainder, as sources in which 'Aramaisms' might be discovered. Doubtless, evidence of linguistic interruption within the Greek Testament may suggest the influence of Aramaic sources.⁵² But the speaker need not be a Jesus (or a Paul), since there is no evidence that the early church was less creative in Aramaic than it was in Greek. The language of such sources would need to be reconstructed within a continuum in which the Targumim are

50. For the most part, my translation agrees with that of Fitzmyer and Harrington, and with their restoration of the material in square brackets. But I think the syntax of the whole may be cleaned up by supplying what is in round brackets, and that haplography explains why it was omitted. Whatever interest my suggestion might arouse, it has nothing to do with the argument of the present paper.

51. Cf. W.C. van Unnik, 'Aramaisms in Paul', in *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays of W.C. van Unnik*, I (NovTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 129-43.

52. Cf. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); M. Wilcox, 'Semitisms in the New Testament', *ANRW* II.25.2 (ed. W. Haase; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984).

removed—in most cases by some centuries—from the earliest Christian Aramaic. In addition to the analysis of anomalies of language within the Greek Testament, in which the Targumim have a significant (but indirect) role to play, there is also the question of anomalies of meaning: instances in which biblical citations, allusions, or motifs appear outside a generally received, Septuagintal understanding of the Bible. I have suggested elsewhere that the Targumim, and especially Targum Jonathan, may explain why the Bible is so construed.⁵³ But now that the present phase of Dr McNamara's project is nearly completed, one might anticipate that students of the New Testament will read the Targumim, much as they read the Fathers, the Pseudepigrapha, the codices of Nag Hammadi, and the Stoics: not because every phrase can be assumed to antedate Jesus and/or Paul, but because they reflect indirectly what is otherwise a scantily attested period. On the other hand, such an anticipation has been justifiable for more than a century; perhaps, once again, scholars may find a way to exclude the milieu of early Judaism in the alleged quest for historical meaning.

53. Cf. *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible*.

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Part VII

JEWISH TRADITIONS AND CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

JEW, GREEKS AND THE HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN

Gerard J. Norton

The title of this article, echoing a book *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians* by Martin Hengel, and a Festschrift *Jews, Greeks, and Christians* to W.D. Davies, in 1976,¹ will perhaps be provocative if one detects there a tendency to identify 'Greeks' with 'Christians' in Palestine in the first centuries of our era. It will be pointed out that although the Hexapla of Origen was prepared on Christian initiative, and was consulted and cited almost exclusively in Christian circles, the basic problem which the Hexapla tried to resolve was not one of difference between Jews and Christians engaged in debate, but was a natural consequence of a situation created *within* Judaism, following the adoption of a particular Hebrew text, which I shall call proto-Masoretic, to the exclusion of other Hebrew textual forms, in the context of the Greek of the diaspora, and the limited trilingualism of Palestine. This same situation provides the background for the Aramaic Targums.

Examining the Hexapla in this way, we are exploring relatively uncharted waters. The editions of Hexaplaric fragments by F. Field² and his precursors have focused attention on the influence of Origen's Hexapla on subsequent Christian writings. This is not surprising considering that the greatest source of the edition of Field and his precursors were the patristic readings citing one or other authority whose work is compiled in the Hexapla. The Hexapla exercised an influence, not only on the Greek text itself, through the hexaplaric recension, but also on the history of exegesis within the Christian tradition as shown

1. M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the pre-Christian Period* (London: SCM Press, 1980); R. Hamerton Kelly and R. Scroggs (eds.), *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

2. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875).

by the context in which these same patristic citations are found.

From the point of view presented here, the Hexapla is of interest as a secondary source. The Hexapla was a work which assembled already existing texts (with the possible exception of the second column of transliteration). Its originality lay in the comparison of these texts, which are themselves a precious source of information concerning the history of the biblical text and its interpretation in the centuries preceding the work of Origen. With the discoveries of the Hebrew and Greek texts from the Judaean Desert, the focus of interest has been changed to the study of the revisions as such, and what they tell us about the status and state of the text in this crucial period for the history of Judaism and Christianity and the relations between them.

In one sense, the work of Field confused the issues. By his assembly of all material relating to the revisions of the Old Greek, and by his inclusion of 'hexaplaric evidence' for books which may not have been in the Hexapla at all, he merged the specific work of Origen with a more general collection of fragments of Greek biblical translations and their revisions from the centuries preceding the work of Origen.

Outline of the History of the Hexapla

We start with the fact that there existed in the library at Caesarea a work of comparison of biblical texts arranged in columns attributed to Origen. There are several incomplete and tantalizing descriptions of the finished work, nearly all relating to the Psalter. These tell us something about the appearance of the finished work but not how the work was fabricated, or its extent.³ The attribution to Origen may mark his contribution in terms of initiative, organization, and even financial resources (surely through his patron Ambrosius), but tells us less concerning who actually executed the work. Practical considerations must lead us to doubt that Origen himself executed the work. We are familiar with the estimation of Swete that, if written in codex form, the Hexapla must have filled 3,250 leaves or 6,500 pages, exclusive of the Quinta and Sexta which would have swelled the total

3. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 6.16; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 64.3.5 (GCS 31, p. 407, 3 f), *de mensuris et ponderibus* 15 (Aquila), 16 (Symmachus), and 17 (Theodotion) PG 43.3, coll 268c-269a. The texts are discussed in P. Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son Oeuvre* (Christianisme Antique, 1; Paris: Beauchesne, 1977).

considerably.⁴ Swete's estimation is based on a simple multiplication of the number of leaves used for the Old Testament section of the Codex Vaticanus. Given the word-by-word format which seems to be indicated by the samples of fragmentary copies of the Hexapla which have survived, this estimate may be very conservative.

Patristic sources tell us that the Old Greek text commonly in use was included as were the well-known texts of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. In speaking of the Psalms Eusebius tells us that the four known translations were followed by others, but does not tell us the order of the four (*Eccl. Hist.* 6.16). The attribution of the order of the columns found in the modern manuals is recounted by Epiphanius of Constantinople (d. 403), whose gossipy information always needs to be checked, and is frequently inaccurate. He attributes the text found in each column of the first six to the following sources respectively: Hebrew text, transliteration of that text in Greek characters, Aquila, Symmachus, the seventy two, Theodotion (*de Mens et Pond.* PG 43.18, 268-69). Academic controversy surrounds each of these columns, but in general the attribution and ordering of the first four columns is accepted.

One of the features of interest from the point of view of a textual critic is that the Hexapla demonstrates the existence of, and itself forges a link between, the Greek and Hebrew textual traditions long after they had acquired a certain textual independence. This poses problems for the present tendency of text critical studies, to recognize two distinct textual forms and the autonomy of each in its evolution.⁵ This is exemplified by the work of D. Barthélemy, P.-M. Bogaert, and E. Tov. In the Hexapla, lines cross. Its catastrophic influence in scholarly terms by contamination of the textual transmission of the Greek Old Testament has been well stated by Barthélemy.⁶

4. H.B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 74.

5. M. Harl, *La Bible Grecque des Septante* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), pp. 202-203.

6. D. Barthélemy, 'Origène et le texte de l'Ancien Testament', in *Études d'Histoire du texte de l'A.T.* (OBO, 21; Fribourg / Göttingen: Editions Universitaires/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 203-17.

Greek Translations and Aramaic Targums in a Context of Palestinian Linguistic Diversity

The Greek translations of the Old Testament provide a part of the historical and cultural context in which the Targums were made. They provided a precedent for a translation of the Hebrew text. This does not necessarily mean that Rabin is totally wrong when he suggests that the targumic activity in Palestine, although not the Targum as a literary work, inspired the Septuagint undertaking.⁷ However, I agree with Brock that effectively the initiative of translation of the Septuagint was without known precedent, as an enterprise of translation of religious texts in the ancient world.⁸ We are now agreed that the translation of the Septuagint took place as a result of an authoritative decision, and that the origin was not similar to that of the Targums, which see a series of oral translations superseded by a written one, as bilingualism became more limited.

One of the effects of the traditions surrounding the Hexapla was the implication that the revisions of the Septuagint were of a small, known quantity, attributable to historically identifiable individuals. The consensus that Kahle's theory of the origin of the Septuagint as a Targum is to be rejected further strengthened this view. Yet if, on the one hand, our archeological discoveries, and our re-readings of the manuscripts have shown us that the Septuagint originated as a single translation, they have also shown us that the history of the revisions of the Greek translation is more complex than hitherto realized. The information transmitted concerning the mysterious Sexta and improbable Septima, and even the elusive Quinta had already implied this. It now seems that we must recognize the existence of all kinds of shading in the translation and its revisions.

Early Use of the Septuagint Translation

Whatever the relationship between its use and the reason for its fabrication may be, the official Greek translation of the Torah made in

7. C. Rabin, 'The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint', *Textus* 6 (1968), pp. 1-27.

8. S.P. Brock, 'The Phenomenon of the Septuagint', in *The Witness of Tradition* (Oudtestamentische Studien 17; Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 11-36.

Alexandria on official instigation served in Alexandrian liturgy as replacement for the Hebrew text. Martin Hengel reflects a consensus when he says that in Ptolemaic Egypt 'Jewish worship, the spiritual centre of the Jewish community, was probably held in Greek from the first half of the third century onwards'.⁹ In the synagogues of Alexandria, the Septuagint of the Torah replaced the Hebrew, and did not function, as the contemporary Aramaic Targums seems to have done, in conjunction with it. The authority accorded the Septuagint, of the Torah at least, was that of an authoritative text, and not simply that of a translation that refers to such a text, and expresses more or less well what is in that original. This would seem to be confirmed by the researches of Charles Perrot on the reading of the Bible in the synagogue, and in the Hellenistic diaspora, and has also been accepted by Marguerite Harl in her introduction to the French translation of the Septuagint of Genesis.¹⁰ I also note with these authors the possible coincidence of the divisions of the book of Genesis in Philo's questions on Genesis, and the longest paraphrases in the Targum which correspond more or less to the Sedarim as adopted in Jewish tradition. Perhaps this indicates that the same system of reading in sections was developing in Alexandria as in Palestine.¹¹

E.J. Bickermann follows earlier scholars of Judaism when he says that the custom of reading the law in public within a cycle of lessons is not attested before the middle of the second century CE.¹² However, in the first place, it should be noted that the attestation does not suggest that at this time the practice described was an innovation. Secondly, it is to be supposed that even if the precise arrangement in a triennial cycle dates from the second century, the Torah as such was read in sections before that.

News of the use of Greek translation spread easily to Palestinian

9. M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians* (London: SCM Press, 1980), pp. 93-94.

10. C. Perrot, *La Lecture de la Bible dans la synagogue* (Hildesheim, 1973) and 'La Lecture de la Bible dans la Diaspora hellénistique', in *Etudes sur le judaïsme hellénistique* (LD 119; ACFEB; Paris, 1984), pp. 109-32. M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: La Genèse* (Paris: Cerf, 1986), pp. 33-43.

11. Harl, *La Genèse*, p. 36.

12. E.J. Bickermann, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 102.

groups.¹³ The original translation in Alexandria was probably made by people with close ties to Palestine. We know there was a considerable flow to and from Palestine in connection with pilgrimages and there was also a certain to-ing and fro-ing of exiles. It is not impossible that reading of the Greek Torah replaced reading of Hebrew Torah in Hellenistic synagogues, even in Palestine. Even if it cannot be proven that the Septuagint text was actually read in synagogues in Palestine, it is quite possible (even probable) that the practice in Alexandria was reported to Jerusalem, and a debate on the fittingness of the practice took place. Given the innovative aspects, perhaps the practice varied to some extent from one community to another, and from one synagogue to another, especially in Palestine.

The Translation of the Torah and that of the other Books

We must be careful to distinguish clearly between the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, the Septuagint proper, and the Greek translations of the other books carried out subsequently. Perhaps too we should distinguish between the general notion that the Hebrew text may be translated into Greek, and the specific notion that a particular translation, the Septuagint or that of Aquila, may be granted such approval. It is not impossible that in certain circles the principle that the Torah might be read in Greek in place of Hebrew was granted but that the Greek text envisaged was that attributed to Aquila. We know that the process of revision had already begun in the last century before the birth of Christ.

When Aristeas, Josephus, and Philo speak of the miraculous translation of the scriptures into Greek they are dealing with the question of the translation of the Torah. Josephus specifically says, albeit in another context, that it was *only* the law that was translated in Alexandria under Ptolemy (Philadelphus) (*Ant.* 1.13, proem 3). The ascription of the Greek translation of the former and latter prophets to the Seventy and to divine influence is Christian, even though it seems to be of early date. Already Justin Martyr took it for granted that the prophecies as well as the Torah were translated into Greek by the Seventy elders (*First Apology* 31, *Dialogue with Trypho* 68.6-7). I think we have to presume that the Christians made this assumption in

13. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians*, p. 111.

good faith. This would seem to imply that there was, in some circles at least, little or no distinction in the way people thought of, or the community used, the Greek Torah and the Greek translations of other books. In the Christian Church there is no evidence that special weighting was given the Torah over the Prophets. Jerome notes the Jewish reserve on the subject in his day: *tota schola Judaeorum quinque tantum libros Moysis a LXX translatos asserunt* (In Ezech II v; In Gen xxxi; in Mich ii).

The place and circumstances of origin of the Greek translations of the other books vary. Esther was surely not the only book to have been translated into Greek in Palestine, even though it is the only one to say so specifically in a colophon. The first book of Maccabees is another candidate, as indeed is the Psalter. Apart from translations made to serve the needs of pilgrim groups and burgeoning Greek culture in Palestine, there was also a wealth of Jewish Hellenistic literature of which only a fraction has survived.

The distinction between the various histories of the translation and use of different sections of the Old Greek body of literature is perhaps most important in the case of the Torah, where the text was read in synagogue. It is clear that not all Greek translations were made in order to replace the Hebrew text in the liturgy. Some effectively may have been in order to play a subservient place to the Hebrew text in a liturgy. Other translations into Greek may have been made for literary reasons. It is in regard to the Greek translation of the Prophets that the biggest questions arise here. Did they too replace the Hebrew, this time in the reading of the Haphtharot? Or did they serve to translate and explain the Hebrew as the Targum did? Were they read in Greek in the Synagogue, and their status only questioned when Christians used them as proof texts? In what context were translations made of the Kethubhim which were not read in Synagogue at all? Aquila's translation of Qoheleth implies that he was not primarily interested in the liturgical use of his work.

Lack of clarity concerning the extent of the translation to which what we might call 'liturgical' authority was granted may have contributed to the abandonment of the Greek in some Jewish circles. Just as there were groups such as the writers of the books of Maccabees who were willing to defend Jewish tradition using Greek language, literature and rhetoric, there were perhaps groups who were willing to accept the Septuagint translation of the Torah in place of the

Hebrew recital in the synagogues, but not the Greek translation of other books.

Translations and the Proto-Masoretic Text

The diversity of translations and revisions of translations used in Palestine in the first three centuries of our era was directly related to the adoption by the rabbinate of a particular model of Hebrew text as a canon, or principle by which all other texts were to be measured. This chosen Hebrew text was not quantitatively or qualitatively identical with the Hebrew text from which the first Greek translations had been made. It was not a new text, but a text type that has already been valued in certain circles in Palestine. Barthélemy's hypothesis that this text had effectively been imposed and alternative Hebrew texts suppressed by the revolt of Bar Kochba has not yet been disproved, even if we admit that the textual type of the fragments from Wadi Muraba'at is perhaps too narrow a base for the theory to be considered as logically copper-fastened.

The attempts to improve the Greek text to make it conform more closely to the model proposed were *intensified* at the time when one textual type was chosen by the rabbinate. But if the analysis and dating of the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever is correct, these alterations of the text had begun in Palestine even before the adoption of the proto-Masoretic text. At this time, then, we already have reason to doubt that the Greek text of the Minor Prophets was seen as a sacred text in its own right prepared with divine assistance. It was considered primarily as a translation, an indication for the faithful who could not read Hebrew of what was in the Hebrew text, a concession, but in no way a replacement for the Hebrew text of the Minor Prophets.

The movement which led to the Aramaic Targum can in fact be compared with profit to the work of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Palestine. One way of distinguishing between Greek translation and Targum is that the first is orientated towards the fixed text while the Targum is orientated towards the congregation. The comparison is not quite true, because the Greek revisers in regard to the Torah at least also have an eye to the correction of a (Greek) text viewed as authoritative. The simple fact that there was an earlier authoritative translation in existence influenced the revisers of the

Greek. Perhaps it is here too that the proper assessment of the revision attributed to Theodotion belongs. Certainly we may revise Thackeray's patronizing verdict:

The work of Theodotion of Ephesus was little more than a revision of the LXX or of other lost versions. A successful plagiarist, he is best known for his habit of transliteration, in other words the evasion of the translator's function.¹⁴

Thackeray has begged the question. Was it really the intention of the Theodotionic reviser or revisers to produce a new original translation, or did they wish to conserve the old translation which they venerated? Max Margolis, a great Septuagint scholar, compared Theodotion's work to that of the revisers of the English translation in the nineteenth century. 'A certain sacredness imparts itself to the translations, and a translation of Scriptures once established may be recast and improved in accordance with progressive better knowledge, but in a conservative spirit and leaving intact as much as possible.'¹⁵

Possible Functions of the Greek Translation in the Liturgy

The translation of the Torah into Greek is the only translation of the Torah approved by Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel II (*m. Meg.* 1.8). That the same was true as late as the third century is suggested by at least one rabbinic statement when the pronouncement 'The only language into which the Torah can be adequately translated is Greek' *y. Meg.* 1.9¹⁶ is attributed to R. Abbahu. To what extent is this distinguishing between 'translation' and any other activity? Perhaps the clearest conclusion is that only Greek may replace Hebrew for the reading of the Pentateuch (R. Judah, *b. Meg.* 1.8). This statement may also be seen as a rejection of translations into languages other than Greek, such as Aramaic. In the context of what seems to be a rejection of the use of Aramaic altogether we note the remark of R. Jehudah ha-Nasi' in *b. B. Qam.* 82b 'Why speak in Israel the language of the

14. H.StJ. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (London: The British Academy, 1920), p. 14.

15. M. Margolis, 'Presidential address, Delivered at the 21st meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society, January 8th 1925', *JPOS* 5 (1925), pp. 62-63.

16. See N.R.M. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 56 and p. 178 n. 55.

Syrians? One should either speak the sacred language there or the Greek language.' However this should probably be understood more as implying that the Aramaic Targums do not enjoy any status as official texts for use, but are no more than *explanations* of what is in the sacred text. Even though we know that there existed written Targums at the time, it seems that in the liturgy, they could not be read, only spoken. This helped to avoid confusion between the text and its Aramaic Targum.

Some time ago, Rabin further suggested that the reason why the Targums were in transitional Aramaic rather than in mishnaic Hebrew was to avoid any confusion in the minds of a congregation between the sacred text and its explanation by a paraphrase.¹⁷ The situation of the Greek translation is not analogous, for the language used was determined by the needs of the audience, and there are indications that at certain periods and places the Greek was itself used as a sacred text.

It has on occasion been argued that the Greek translation of the Torah functioned in the same way as the Aramaic Targums—as a translation of the Hebrew in the interests of general comprehensibility. Z. Frankel related the famous *Novella* 146 of Justinian (which permits the use of Greek in the synagogues) to the choice between Aramaic and Greek translations after the reading of the text,¹⁸ i.e. in the place of the Targums in Hebrew-speaking synagogues. But even if this is the correct interpretation of the *Novella*, this may be anachronistic. Justinian's ruling is of a different time. It may show us the result of the discussion which led to the Greek being considered as a Targum-type translation in some circles, but it does not throw any light on the discussion of the use of the Greek text in synagogues of an earlier period.

When we discuss whether the Greek was read in the place of the Hebrew Torah in certain synagogues in Palestine, other possibilities also present themselves for reflection. Is it possible that the Aramaic Targums were used in synagogue services in Greek-speaking synagogues in the same way as they were in the Hebrew-using synagogues? The suggestion would have the following advantages: the same liturgical structure would pertain in the Greek as in Hebrew-using

17. C. Rabin, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century', *The Jewish People in the First Century*, II (ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; Amsterdam: van Gorcum, 1976), p. 1030.

18. Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 56-57.

synagogues, the groups exercising control over this semi-official interpretation could also exercise it in the Greek synagogues, there would be no confusion of the sacred text and its interpretation, and explanation would be given to those Aramaic speakers who were not at home in the language of the Greek Torah—especially the stilted literalist or archaic Greek which must have pertained. Note that Eusebius speaks of Procopius (about 286) as a reader and interpreter from Greek into Aramaic in the church at Sythopolis (= Bet Shan).¹⁹ If Zahn is correct in saying that the peasants needed such an interpretation in Christian worship, it is not inconceivable that they were similarly catered for in synagogal worship at a slightly earlier period.

This is as yet only a hypothesis. A complementary hypothesis supposes that in some contexts in Palestine (and we think particularly in terms of the liturgies attended by Greek-speaking pilgrims to Jerusalem) the Greek text did in fact function as a translation of the Hebrew text which occupied a central place in the liturgy. This helps to explain the revisions undertaken. The notion that there may have been Greek 'Targums' is still mentioned occasionally in the literature, but it is a shadowy wraith.²⁰ Does it suppose that the activity of making a Targum is distinct from that of providing an authoritative translation of a text as found in the Septuagint? The difference is not clear. Salvesen finishes her study of Symmachus in the Pentateuch by saying that the work combined the best biblical Greek style, remarkable clarity, a high degree of accuracy regarding the Hebrew text, and the rabbinic exegesis of his day: it might be described as a Greek Targum, or Tannaitic Septuagint.²¹

In part the problem is related to the use of the verb *הרגם* in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Meg.* 1.9). Silverstone argues that used by itself

19. *Mart Pal.* (the Syriac version, ed. Cureton, p. 4) cited in S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life, and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II-IV Centuries C.E.* (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1965), pp. 2 n. 5, 6

ובשכסא דעדחא בתלת צבון ומו הוא:

קדמית קרויא הוא הוא ובשכסא אחרתא לונא יומיא לארמיא מתרגם הוא:

20. G. Vermes in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge, 1970), I, p. 201.

21. A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (*Journal of Semitic Studies* Monograph 15; Manchester, 1991), p. 297.

the verb always refers to an Aramaic translation.²² When a Greek translation is meant, the word בִּיּוּנִית 'into Greek' is added. This would imply that the verb is then connected simply with the activity of translation, and not with any specific quality of translation.

The notion that the Greek text should be revised to fit to the Hebrew is related to the definitive choice of a Hebrew text, but perhaps also to the reading of a Greek text as Targum / explanation in the Hebrew synagogues or (unofficially) in the temple liturgy. Was it, like the Targum, delivered verse by verse following the reading of the Torah, up to three verses in the Prophets (*m. Meg.* 4.4)? In one sense this leads to the increased value given a particular Greek text among other Greek texts because it is closer to the Hebrew, but in fact it is also a lessening of the Old Greek's independent value as a text, and an imposition of the proto-MT as a norm against which the Greek is compared in second place. Note also that the fact that Aquila's revision extended beyond the Torah is already a levelling of the status of the original Septuagint Torah to that of the Greek translation of other books.

A Multiplicity of Greek Textual Forms in Palestine

It is now increasingly clear that the Greek texts of which we speak in the Torah and elsewhere did not exist in a unified textual recension. Although in the case of the Torah and many other books, all seem to be genetically descended from an original authoritative translation, it is clear that there were many changes made in the course of transmission of the Greek text, only a few of them extensive and unified enough to be called recensions, editions or revisions. The confusion multiplied. The situation must have been particularly chaotic in Palestine where there was the greatest possibility of reference to, and quantitative and qualitative contamination by, the Hebrew text.

This diversity of Greek texts in the hands of people for whom the Hebrew text was difficult of access if not inaccessible, naturally made for difficulties in a certain type of religious discussion which seeks to understand or explain a text, or looks to the text for proof material for a theological dispute which is centred on some other issue or event. Further, within Judaism the multiplicity of text-types in Greek

22. A.E. Silverstone, *Aquila and Onkelos* (Manchester, 1931), pp. 57-60.

contrasted strongly with the new uniformity of Hebrew text-type, and must have created a mood which looked for one Greek translation of one Hebrew translation.

Not only were religious discussions taking place within Judaism but also within epicurean groups, Middle Platonists such as Celsus, Gnostic users of Genesis and other Old Testament books, and various syncretistic groups outside Judaism. Both Christians and Jews were involved in the debates surrounding the value of the Greek Old Testament. These discussions were perhaps more pointed in the Greek-speaking diaspora than in Palestine itself.

The Role of the Greek Translations in Palestine and the Diaspora

We cannot simply say that the Greek translation functioned in Egypt in the same way as the Hebrew text in Palestine. Geza Vermes draws a distinction between Palestine and Egypt in respect of the kind of secondary literature which historical circumstances called for.²³ In Egypt, the Septuagint translation made scripture accessible to non-Jews, who used it as propaganda against the Jews. This necessitated a whole series of works to point out the advantages brought to the Egyptians by the Jewish presence.

Some anti-Jewish literature, for which the Greek translation of the Old Testament opened a way in the Diaspora, touched Christians as well as Jews in that it challenged the authenticity of the document common to both religions and in the context of which discussion was taking place between them. This is particularly clear in those sections of the *Contra Celsum* where Origen defends the Jewish people from the slights made by Celsus (*Contra Delsum* 3.5, 5; also Josephus *Apion* 2.8.28).

In Palestine on the other hand, the debate during the early part of the existence of the Greek translation was not between Judaism and groups outside, but within Judaism. Here the continued centrality of the Hebrew text implied that there was a continual need to explain that text. The secondary literature of the Greek translation in Palestine was not so much treatises in defense of the content of the biblical text as revisions of the Greek translation to reflect the Hebrew in different ways. It is important to note that all of the texts assembled in the

23. *Cambridge History of the Bible*, I, p. 227.

Hexapla were of Jewish origin. Justin Martyr had already made just that point when he said in tones of injured innocence *τολμῶσι λέγειν τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἣν ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτεροι παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖ γενόμενοι μὴ εἶναι ἔν τισιν ἀληθῆ* (*Dial.* 68).

The Jewish milieu of Aquila is not in question. That in the Theodotionic column we are dealing with a Theodotionic group of texts subsequently associated with a single personage has been demonstrated by Barthélemy.²⁴ I cannot agree with the judgment of the revised Schürer which (like the original Schürer) omits Symmachus from his history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ, because he 'was not himself Jewish'.²⁵ That the text was in use by the Jews (insofar as it was used at all) before Origen's incorporation into the Hexapla seems incontrovertible. The Jewish affiliation of Symmachus is demonstrated by A. Geiger,²⁶ D. Barthélemy,²⁷ A. van der Kooij²⁸ and A. Salvesen.²⁹ Be that as it may, it is clear that the Hexapla proved a happy means of diffusion of the readings of Symmachus, seen as *σαφεστερον* by the Church Fathers.

This common history and textual heritage made the debate between Jews and the nascent Christian movement particularly pointed when it came to the text they shared. In some cases the debate centred on the interpretation of the messianic and prophetic texts. There was perhaps also an issue of credibility, for how could Christian apologists argue effectively the interpretation of any text held in common with the Jews if the Jewish correspondent could simply deny that the Christian was working from a good or 'authentic' text?

This fluidity of a translation in the face of continued and even increased stability of a text in the 'original' Hebrew language is the

24. D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'aquila* (VTSup, 10; Leiden; Brill 1963).

25. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, III.1 (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), p. 493.

26. A. Geiger, 'Symmachus der Übersetzer der Bibel', *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1 (Breslau 1862), pp. 39-64.

27. D. Barthélemy, 'Qui est Symmache?', in *Etudes d'histoire du texte de l'A.T.* (OBO, 21; Fribourg / Göttingen: Editions Universitaires/ Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 307-21.

28. A. van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches* (OBO, 35; Fribourg / Göttingen, 1981), esp. p. 249.

29. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*.

occasion for further reflection. The discussion between translations can only be fruitful where there is a possibility of reference to a text taken as authority-bearing in the original language. It is not a discussion between authority-bearing texts. I suggest that this fluid approach to the translation equivalences found in the various columns of the Hexapla in one sense devalued the Greek Old Testament as an authoritative independent text, and reminded the reader/audience that this was in fact a translation rather than with an inspired text. The semantic or qualitative discussion between translations is only worthwhile where the common language of debate and reflection is the translation language. If on the other hand the whole discussion of interpretation can stay within the original language of the text, the specific problems posed by the different interpretations in a translation and its revisions do not arise. This was most obvious in Palestine, where reference could be made by at least some of the interlocutors to the Hebrew text.

In Alexandria the question did not arise to the same extent, or in the same way, because of the difficulty of access to a text in the original language. Here, the discussion was even more concerned with groups who questioned the validity of the Old Testament as such, not between groups who shared the books, and differed in their interpretation. Neither had the Alexandrians any reason to accept that theirs was a second-rate second-hand sacred text. It is no surprise that there was a move to consecrate the act of translation and the translation itself and to try to procure for it the same sort of respect for a fixed form that the pre- and proto-Masoretic texts were enjoying in Palestine.

The Judaeo-Christian Polemic and the Compilation of the Hexapla

Origen's stated purpose, in so far as it can be determined, was not to prepare a critical edition in our sense but to compare the texts in common use by Jews and Christians, so that in discussions Christians would know which texts were not accepted by their interlocutors. The Judaeo-Christian polemic is often cited as the most relevant background to Origen's enterprise in having the Hexapla prepared. The issue in so far as it was polemic was quantitative. By his work, Origen could have rendered a service not only to his Christian colleagues, but also to those Hellenophone Jews who must have been as confused as were the Christians about the pluses and minuses at stake. Even if Aquila's Greek was preferred by the rabbinate, to what extent, when,

and how was it imposed in Jewish circles, to the exclusion of other Greek text-types? There is no reason to doubt that the various states of the Greek text continued to circulate even after the approval of Aquila by the custodians of the proto-Masoretic text. The imposition of a proto-Masoretic text by comparison was relatively simple, because the guardians of the text were the same people with the authority to impose it. But the Old Greek had its origins in Alexandria, and it had its advocates such as Pseudo-Aristeas, who was ready to see Jerusalem as a source of authority, and Philo (life of Moses 2.25-34) who most emphatically was not.

There is support for the argument that the quantitative motivation was a strong motivation in the making of the Hexapla in the oft-quoted passage from Origen's letter to Africanus (PG 11, 61, lines 4-6) where Origen states that he had greatly laboured to provide his fellow Christians with an instrument for discussion that would not expose them to ridicule on the accusation of ignorance of what was (or was not) in the Hebrew text. The reverse was less a problem, that is, that controversy arose on the basis of pluses in the Hebrew Bible—because the presumption is that discussions were generated by tendentious interpretations of the Greek text by Christians. The Greek translations of Hebrew texts not found in the Old Greek were however referred to by the Jewish interlocutors. Origen in the same passage of the letter to Africanus is also concerned that the Christians should not display ignorance of any passage held as scripture by the Jews (καὶ ἵνα συγγρασώμεθα τοῖς φερομένοις παρ' ἐκείνοις). In this way the standing of the Christians in discussion is increased, and their vulnerability to ridicule lessened.

The Christian debate, by contrast, valued the familiar text which the communities had received, ultimately from Hellenistic Jewish communities. Because the Christian community did not use a Hebrew text as its point of reference, any debate concerning the text, as opposed to its interpretation, was between the various Greek texts in use by Christians and Jews.

The form of the Hexapla as it is recorded for us is more suited to a comparison of Greek texts than to a comparison of each with a Hebrew text. The Hebrew serves as a grid or gauge, but the focus of interest and comparison is between the Greek columns. In support of this view, we may cite again the explanation given by Epiphanius for the columnar order of the Hexapla:

᾽Ωριγένης πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν οὐβ' ἔκδοσιν ἀκριβῆ εἶναι μέσῃν ταύτῃ συνέθηκεν, ὅπως τὰς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐρμηνείας διελέγη (Eriphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 19)

Motivations Other than Quantitative-Apologetic for the Preparation of the Hexapla

There is a contrast between the quantitative comparison of texts used by Jews and Christians which was the stated reason for the undertaking the Hexapla, and the almost antiquarian collector's curiosity combined with the perfectionist's desire for all-inclusiveness displayed in the execution of the work. If the primary aims were (a) to note which texts in the Greek used by the church did not have equivalent elements in the Greek texts used by the Jewish interlocutors (texts which had the Hebrew text as a touchstone), and (b) in a subsidiary way to supply a reliable Greek text for the Christian Hellenophones of Hebrew texts not hitherto used in their translations, *then* there would be no need to assemble obscure and almost lost versions such as the Quinta and Sexta and possibly Septima of the Psalter, found by chance or purchased in obscure cities. Eusebius was already aware of this aspect (*Eccl. Hist.* 6.16). The Jews in apologetic discussion were unlikely to base any argument on these obscure texts! Some of the better known revisions were already in the middle of the third century viewed askance by the Jewish community, as for example, Symmachus, and perhaps Theodotion, once the name of Aquila had been linked to a Greek text.

The apologetic aspect of the enterprise should not be advocated to the exclusion of other motivations. Origen tells Africanus (*Letter to Africanus*, 9) that he has expended considerable effort in understanding the sense of different editions in use among the Jews in order to understand in what they differed among one another and from the Septuagint. It seems clear from this and from the practice of Origen and those who used hexaplaric material after him that the qualitative issues were not polemic ones for Origen but were seen as a rich resource for exposition.

Neuschäfer has studied Origen's use of the variants recorded in the columns of the Hexapla and concluded that he harmonizes the qualitative differences found in the various Greek columns without *a priori*

preference.³⁰ This of course may be linked with Origen's defective knowledge of Hebrew. The Fathers of the Church were not in the least discountenanced by this plurality, but drew on all the columns for their exegesis. If the quantitative comparison was crucial in the creation of the Hexapla, then in its use the qualitative elements which provided greater opportunities for exegesis were more valued. The debate with the Jewish community gradually tapered off, with a few exceptions, and for Christians comparison with a Jewish Hebrew text was of less interest. Even after Jerome, priority accorded the Hebrew text soon became more notional than real, given the lack of Hebrew learning among the Fathers. In qualitative issues, then, on grounds other than value judgments based on church usage, one or other of the readings in the Hexapla may be preferred as being clearer, or more suitable for the exegesis at hand.

In general, in searching through the Fathers of the Church we find that they were very conscious of the fact that they were working with words which inadequately represented a reality. Although the fact that they were working with a translation contributed to their willingness to pass from one Greek word to another once assured that there was an equivalent in the Hebrew text, we do not find that they place a higher value judgment on Greek words which were perceived to be closer to the Hebrew. The rule of the analogy of faith guided their exegesis, not a concern to express what was in the Hebrew text. If the Fathers had had access to the Hebrew text it is possible that they would not have been any happier with the 'words'. Their mistrust was a fundamental one of word and spirit.³¹

It is probably in this regard that the criticism of the Fathers of the Church with regard to the literalist translations and exegesis of their Jewish contemporaries should be judged. De Lange is correct when he points to a real dependence of Origen and his successors on Jewish exegesis in spite of their deprecation of its literalist tendency. De Lange rightly distinguishes the modern use of the term 'literal' and ancient usage of the term.³²

There is a distinction to be made here which might temper some of

30. B. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18,1-2; Basle, 1987), esp pp. 118-19.

31. So M. Harl, 'La Septante et la pluralité textuelle de l'Écriture: le témoignage des pères grecs,' in M. Harl, *La Langue de Japhet* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), pp. 253-66.

32. De Lange, *Origen and the Jews*, pp. 104-109.

the implication that Origen and his contemporaries were somehow functioning in bad faith. I wonder if this discussion about the literalness of the Jewish community is not tied essentially to the value which in the Jewish community was placed in a particular form of the Hebrew text, and translations were judged, and altered on the grounds of their relationship to this central Hebrew text? The Christian view, partly because of the greater difficulty of access to the Hebrew text, was more eclectic.

Linked to this value given to a fixed text is the rise of allegorical interpretation, which in spite of Christian polemic was alive and well in Jewish circles. In fact Akiba's exegesis is just as free and fluid as that of Ishmael. Yet it is Akiba who insists that every letter, particle and peculiarity of orthography of the Torah (in Hebrew of course) held a deeper meaning which could be unlocked by the rules of exegesis. Once that kind of meaning is attributed to the Hebrew form of the text, the interpreter is freer to expand, for he is already involved in the process of explanation as in the commentaries of the Peshet of Habakkuk. This is the key to the differences between Targum and Greek translation.

A Columnar Comparison of the Targums?

Reflecting for a moment on the parallel phenomenon of Targum and Septuagint revisions, we may ask why a columnar comparison of Targums was never undertaken. Why did Origen not include any Targum in his Hexapla, or even mention it specifically in his discussion of texts? It was not in the interests of Origen to compare the Targum, for it was seen as of an inferior status to the Hebrew, and it is in part for the status of the Greek as sacred writ that Origen is arguing.

There are in fact many possible reasons which may be summarized under such headings as: the expense of the enterprise, the lack of a particular controversy for which such a synopsis would have been useful, the relationship between Targum and Hebrew text, and perhaps crucially, the distinction between the place occupied by the Targum and by the Greek translations in the community. We may also cite a factor of chronological coincidence. The texts compared must be seen as important at the same time, in the same community; otherwise one is seen simply to have superseded the other. A further element is the second motivation mentioned by Origen in the compilation of his own

hexapla: the expanding of the semantic fields of the Old Greek translation takes place much more naturally within the one language. The Greek-speaking user would not necessarily have had any interest in which Aramaic words were used in an oral translation of the Hebrew. Origen himself had no interest in including the Targums in his synopsis from a quantitative point of view. Qualitatively they did not obviously add anything to his discussion.

Concluding Comments

Some day perhaps we will know more about the library of Caesarea and its relationship with the communities there. The Hexapla was executed by Christian hands and remained a Christian work of reference. Yet the Hexapla is not an essentially Christian work in any other sense. In spite of this, there is no record of consultation of the Hexapla by a Jew. The reason for this was not so much restriction on access to the library as lack of interest. In fact although it is not impossible that such a work of comparison between the Hebrew proto-Masoretic text and the various Greek translations in use in Palestine could have been carried out in a Jewish context, neither is it probable. The groups within the Jewish community were not so much in debate with one another concerning their Greek texts, as they were concerned to bring the Greek text into line with the proto-Masoretic text, as a repository of meaning to be interpreted. The focus of interest was not in the comparison of one Greek text with another, but in the provision of a Greek text that would be an adequate translation of the Hebrew. Although the problem had its roots in Jewish history, liturgy and culture, its resolution was more a problem for Christians than it was for the Jewish community.

JEWISH TRADITIONS IN THE WRITINGS OF JEROME

Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein

The man whose work I will be discussing here seems to have a split personality: Jerome obviously never succeeded in reconciling his theology with his philology. On the one hand, he was deeply convinced that the Christian message was to be found in every chapter and verse of the Holy Scriptures—of which, and this is decisive, the Hebrew Old Testament constituted in his view an indispensable part. On the other hand, he was keenly aware of the need to reach a philologically accurate understanding of the text before any message could be derived from it.¹

This dual loyalty, so to speak, explains Jerome's ambivalent attitude towards the Jewish exegesis of the Bible, which in his eyes was basically wrong insofar as it turned a blind eye to christological passages, but which—this grave fault notwithstanding—was based on solid Hebrew erudition. First, let me introduce the theologian.

The Jews, Jerome tells us, explain the call *החרשים שמעו והעורים הביטו* 'Hear, you deaf! And look, you blind, that you may see' (Isa. 42.18), as addressed to the Gentiles; but this is, he adds disparagingly, a foolish interpretation (*stulta interpretatio*)² since they themselves, being deaf and blind as they deny Christ (*negantibus Christum*),³ are apostrophized by the prophet. Thus also the prophet's utterance *והמה מרו ועצבו את רוח קדשו* and *עזבו את יהוה* 'They have abandoned the Lord' (Isa. 1.4), and thus 'rebelled and grieved his Holy

1. On Jerome as biblical scholar cf. H.F.D. Sparks in P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 510-41, bibliography pp. 596ff., and B. Kedar in M.J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra: Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* (Assen/Maastricht, 1988), pp. 313-35, bibliography pp. 335-38. Passages from Jerome's writings are quoted according to Vallarsi's edition (vols. I-XI), pp. 1734-42.

2. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 42.18-22; IV, p. 514.

3. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 2.2-3; VI, p. 14.

Spirit' (Isa. 63.10), refers to the Jews who crucified the Saviour (... *de Judaeis intelligere, qui crucifixerunt Dominum Salvatorem, et idcirco exacerbaverunt Spiritum Sanctum*).⁴ The Jews read the Scriptures but do not understand them (*legunt enim Scripturas, sed non intelligunt*), they have the bread but it does not nourish them (on Prov. 20.13).⁵ Little wonder then that whatever is spoken in Satan's synagogues is but the howling of demons and hairy beasts (Isa. 13.21-22) rather than God's doctrine.⁶ And yet they belch up (*ructare*) with turgid mouth (*inflatis buccis*) their biblical erudition (*scientiam Scripturarum*).⁷ There is no point in adducing further dozens of venomous statements like these; what does concern us, however, is the fact that even Jerome's tirades against the Jews and their faith are interspersed with Jewish traditions. He connects the 'hairy demons', mentioned above, with Esau⁸ without further explanation; but this connection, based of course on the Hebrew word שַׁעִיר (*šā'îr*) which denotes 'a demon' and also describes Esau as 'a hairy (man)' (Gen. 27.11), is patently midrashic (cf. *Gen. R.* 65).⁹ Similarly, Jerome explains the historical context (*iuxta historiam*) of a passage (Zeph. 2.11-15) which mentions the Ethiopians (*kûšîm*) and Assyria and remarks: 'Thus would say a commentary in the Jewish manner' (*haec Judaice dicta sint*);¹⁰ 'Jewishly', so to speak. According to the spiritual sense of the passage, however, the Ethiopians are those whose soul was unclean (*anima polluta*)—as Cant. 1.5 has it, שְׁחֹרָה אֲנִי, 'I am black' (*nigra sum*)—until they repented and became cleansed and white (*iam purgata, dealbata*; cf. Septuagint Cant. 8.5). When Moses, who stands for the spiritual law of the Lord (*Lex Domini spiritualis*), married the Cushite woman, Miriam (i.e. *synagoga Iudaeorum*) and Aaron, the carnal priesthood (*carnale sacerdotium*), attempted to rebel against the law but in vain

4. *Liber Didymi: De Spiritu Sancto*, 48; II, p. 154.

5. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 3.1; IV, p. 47.

6. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 13.21; IV, p. 246.

7. *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 37.1-14; V, p. 432.

8. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 13.21ff.; IV, p. 246.

9. For Jerome Esau symbolizes the Jews while Jacob stands for the Christian people (*quidquid de Esau et Jacob diximus, referamus ad Judaeos et populum Christianum. Illi enim terreni et sanguinarii, persequuti sunt fratrem Jacob qui eos supplantavit et abstulit primogenita eorum*). *Commentarii in Amos*, on Amos 1.11-13; VI, p. 235.

10. *Commentarii in Sophoniam*, on Zeph. 2.12-15; VI, p. 710.

(*murmurant adversus Legem, sed frustra*).¹¹ Beyond the anti-Jewish note one can easily detect Jewish Alexandria in this allegorization of persons and events.

If the hostile theologian makes use of Jewish traditions, what is to be expected from the conscientious scholar? Indeed, in his philological remarks Jerome resorts again and again to information he had gathered from Jews. He constantly needed their guidance from that moment when the unique importance of the Hebrew language had occurred to him and he began to study it in earnest. He recalls his teachers by their proper academic Hebrew titles, duly translated: *scriba*, סופר, *sapiens*, חכם, and Greek *deuterōtēs* which substitutes for תנא.¹² Against those Christian authorities who—like Augustine, his contemporary—maintained the sacred reliability of the Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament, Jerome, quoting ‘Josephus and the Jews’, asserts that the legend of the seventy wise translators refers only to the Pentateuch;¹³ moreover, the Greek version deviates from the Hebrew original, the only trustworthy text (*discordat...ab Hebraica veritate*).¹⁴ This was the original motivation for his persistent Hebrew studies. I venture to claim, however, that in the course of his scholarly life he became enamoured of this language to the point of enjoying playing on its words. How else can it be explained that he once abandoned the standard renditions of רתון, namely *princeps*, *tyrannus* and the like, translating this Hebrew word *secretorum scrutator*, ‘an explorer of secrets’ (Isa. 40.23)? Obviously he wished to bring into relief the component רו, apparently present in the word. Or again, מלונה, satisfactorily rendered *tugurium*, ‘hut’ (Isa. 1.8) but elsewhere *tabernaculum unius noctis*, ‘a tent for just one night’ (Isa. 24.20) because of the etymological connection with לילה, לון, ‘to pass the night’; קמה, ‘corn, grain’, is properly rendered *seges* (Deut. 16.9, 23.26) but elsewhere *stantes segetes*, ‘standing corn’, (Exod. 22.6) in order to reflect the root קים, ‘to stand up’.¹⁵

In Jerome’s view it was of paramount importance to turn to the

11. *Commentarii in Sophoniam*, on Zeph. 2.12-15; VI, p. 710.

12. *Commentarii in Abacuc*, on Hab 2.15-17; VI, p. 623.

13. *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 5.12ff.; V, pp. 53ff. On the discussion between Jerome and Augustine as to the value of the Septuagint, cf. W. Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 17-44.

14. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 15.9; IV, p. 269.

15. For additional examples cf. Kedar, *Mikra*, p. 332.

Jews for elucidation of the Hebrew portion of the Bible, just as it was necessary to consult a Greek-speaking person on the New Testament.¹⁶ But there was more to it: Hebrew was the language of creation. God gave light its name 'day', the firmament its name 'heaven', and called each star by its name (cf. Isa. 13.10; 40.26; Amos 5.8ff.).¹⁷ Consequently, Hebrew was 'the progenitress of all the other languages' (*matrix omnium linguarum*);¹⁸ no wonder that in comparison the Greek and Latin languages seemed deficient (*propter...ad comparationem linguae Hebraeae tam Graeci quam Latini sermonis pauperiem*).¹⁹

I may be forgiven for adducing a somewhat amusing example of Jerome's firm belief in Latin's indebtedness to Hebrew. In Zeph. 3.18 we find the difficult words נְנֻי מְמוּעַד, which may refer to 'those who are far removed (or: sorrowing away) from the appointed feasts'. Jerome's Latin Vulgate reads *nugas qui a lege recesserunt*, that is, 'jesters who departed from the Law'. The second portion of the phrase, namely *qui...recesserunt*, might be considered an acceptable rendition; it also may echo Jewish exegesis: this verse is explained in the Talmud (*b. Ber. 28a*) as a reference to those who do not keep strictly to the prescribed timetable for prayer. But the intriguing question is: why did Jerome add the word *nugae*, 'jesters, fools, truants'? In his commentary he supplies the answer: Hebrew נְנֻי and Latin *nugae* are originally one and the same word.²⁰

What elements in Jerome's work may justifiably be called 'Jewish' and how can they be detected? One has to admit from the start that clear-cut answers to these questions cannot be offered. In the Christian tenets so much of Judaism has been absorbed that many exegetical statements of the early fathers of the church merely repeat older Jewish tradition. Illustrative of this is the status of the Septuagint version: although a work produced by Jews, by Jerome's times its acceptance could no longer be considered a Jewish tradition. On the contrary, Jerome's circumspect attitude towards this version is much more in harmony with the contemporary Jewish view. He points to

16. *Epistola CXII, 20 (ad Augustinum)*; I, pp. 747ff.

17. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 13.10; IV, p. 240; *commentarii in Amos*, on Amos 5.8ff.; VI, p. 288.

18. *Commentarii in Sophoniam*, on Zeph. 3.18; VI, p. 730.

19. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 40.17; IV, p. 488.

20. *Commentarii in Sophoniam*, on Zeph. 3.18; VI, p. 730.

errors in the Septuagint even when these had facilitated christological interpretation. The words *ומגיד לאדם מה שדור* (Amos 4.13) had been rendered into Greek *apangellōn eis anthrōpous ton christon autou* (Amos 4.13), 'He proclaims to men his Christ', but Jerome took exception to this wording. It originates, he explains, from a mistaken reading of the original: the Hebrew text does not exhibit the word MESSIO, 'his messiah', but rather two words MA, *quod*, and SIA, *eloquium*,²¹ and thus has to be understood as 'He proclaims to man his word' (*annuntians homini eloquium suum*).

Consequently, I wish to limit the application of the term 'Jewish tradition' to those exegetical remarks that are irrelevant, or even to some extent contrary, to the teaching of the church. In a great number of cases Jerome makes mention of such traditions expressly as stemming from Jews; more often than not, however, some detective work is needed to uncover them. This applies specifically to the Vulgate's Latin rendition of the Hebrew text. Much of the relevant material has been published before; the examples presented in the following are either less well-known or newly traced ones.²²

Let this brief survey begin with the letters and sounds of biblical Hebrew. Hebrew words when spoken impress Jerome as 'hissing and puffing' (*anhelantiaque verba*);²³ and yet he is capable of appreciating the elegant alliteration (*elegantem structuram sonumque verborum*)²⁴ employed in the prophet's lament that *משפט* 'justice', had turned into *משפח*, 'violence', and *צדקה*, 'righteousness', into *צעקה* 'a cry' (Isa. 5.7).

Jerome explains to his Latin audience the names of the twenty-two Hebrew letters: *aleph* means 'instruction', *beth* 'house', *gimel* 'fullness' and so on down to *resh* 'head', *sin* 'tooth', *taw* 'sign'.²⁵ He returns to this matter within a very different context, namely in his commentary on Haggai: this prophet had proclaimed his first message on the first day of the sixth month, demanding that the Temple be

21. *Commentarii in Amos*, on Amos 4.13; VI, p. 278.

22. For example, M. Rahmer, *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus 1-2* (Breslau, 1861; Berlin, 1902); F. Stummer, 'Spuren jüdischer und christlicher Einflüsse auf die Übersetzung der Grossen Propheten durch Hieronymus', *JAOS* 8 (1928), pp. 35-48; L. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern* (Vienna, 1923); Kedar, *Mikra*, pp. 33-34.

23. *Epistola CXXV, 12 (ad Rusticum)*; I, p. 934ff.

24. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 5.7; IV, p. 73

25. *Nominum Locorum ex Actis*; III, pp. 729ff.

rebuilt; the people started to act according to this message on the twenty-fourth day of the same month. The interval of twenty-two days corresponds to the number of Hebrew letters which constitute the fundamental elements of God's law.²⁶ One cannot help feeling that such a calculation did not originate in Jerome's mind. He knows that a more ancient Hebrew script existed and thought it was still in use with the Samaritans (*antiquis Hebraeorum literis, quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani...*²⁷). This piece of information, although not quite accurate, parallels the Talmud (*Sanh.* 21a), which says that the Jews had chosen the new script but stuck to the Hebrew language, whereas the *kûfîm* (i.e. the Samaritans) had preferred the new Aramaic language while preserving the ancient script. His informant must have drawn for him the ancient ח, 'X', when discussing Ezekiel's prophecy concerning the pious men in Jerusalem 'that sigh and that cry for all the abominations' (Ezek. 9.4) upon whose foreheads a sign (ח) should be set. Jerome is happy to note that this sign looks like a cross (ח... *crucis habet similitudinem, quae in Christianorum frontibus pingitur*): it is the mark that adorns a Christian's forehead.

The claim that Jerome did not distinguish between *shin* and *sin* is unfounded. When he explains that the consonantal sequence שבע could be interpreted either as 'seven' (*šæba* ') or as 'satisfied' (*šābea* ')²⁸ he obviously refers to the text-form of his days, unvocalized and without diacritical marks. Indeed, some textual variants result from a confusion between these two graphically identical consonants. Thus, for example, while גבור משכיל (Jer. 50.9) is understood by the Septuagint, Symmachus and Peshitta as 'an expert warrior' (using *sin*), Jerome translates it as 'a warrior that kills and makes childless (*interfactor*)' (using *sin*); but in this he follows Jewish tradition (cf. Aquila, Targum, rabbinical commentators).

The unvocalized text allows of variant readings: רעים may be read רעים, 'lovers' (*amatores*), or רעים, 'shepherds' (*pastores*), Jerome explains to his Latin readers;²⁹ both readings seem philologically legitimate to him. Thus more than once Jerome comments on variants side by side; one is reminded of the *dābār 'aher* ('another explanation may be offered') and '*al-tiqre* ('a variant reading may be suggested')

26. *Commentarii in Aggaeum*, on Hag. 2.14; VI, p. 752.

27. *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 9.4-6; V, pp. 95ff.

28. *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesin*, on Gen. 41.29; III, p. 366.

29. *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, on Jer. 3.1; IV, p. 856.

expositions put forward by the Jewish sages. Thus he translates the graphic sequence בניך (Isa. 49.17) as *structores* ('builders'), that is 'your builders make haste...', whereas the Masoretic Text has בניך, 'your sons'. Of course, the reading *bônāyik* is a well known 'al-tiqre reading which has now been confirmed by the Qumran text.³⁰ It is noteworthy, however, that in his commentary Jerome manages to bring the 'sons' into play: '...look around and see all your sons gather together' (*ut eleuet oculos suos in circuitu et videat filios qui ei fuerant congregati*).³¹ *p'rh* (Isa. 10.33), in accordance with the context, could easily be derived from *po'rāh*, 'branch, bough' (cf. Rashi), yet Jerome prefers the Masoretic reading as suggested to him by his Jewish teachers: *phura*, 'an earthen vessel' (*haec iuxta Hebraeos, ut nobis ab eis traditum est*);³² while Isa. 3.17 he offers, instead of the Masoretic reading *pōthen*, 'secret parts', *crinem earum nudabit*, 'the Lord... will lay bare their hair', i.e. *p^e'athen*, which preserves a divergent Jewish tradition (cf. Aquila).³³

The interpretation of unvocalized texts may lead to polemics which testify, albeit in a negative way, to Jewish traditions. The continuation of the phrase חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו, 'Cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils' (Isa. 2.22) is the consonantal sequence *bmh*. According to Jerome this should be read *bamah*, 'high place'; it referred to Jesus, and the complete phrase meant 'high and lofty shall he be considered' (*quod autem Christum excelsus vel altissimus*).³⁴ Even the Jews held that this verse spoke of Jesus, Jerome sets forth,

30. The Qumran scroll (4Q Isa) employs *scriptio plena* for our word (בניך) as well as for the following (מהורסיך) which—against the Masoretic accents—enables us to restore the original verse: 'Your builders make haste more than your destroyers...'.
 31. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 49.18; IV, p. 570.
 32. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 10.33; IV, p. 153-55.
 33. There is no reason to doubt Jerome's proficiency in Hebrew; cf. O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus* (Gotha, 1865), pp. 350-53; J. Barr, 'St. Jerome's Appreciation of Hebrew', *BJRL* 49 (1966-67), pp. 281-302; *idem*, 'St. Jerome and the Sounds of Hebrew', *JSS* 12 (1967), pp. 1-36. The apparent translational blunders found in the Vulgate reflect the accepted philology of his times. The most famous example is Moses' 'horned face' (*cornuta*; Exod. 34.29). This translation of the root *qrn*, whether correct or not, was intentionally chosen by Jerome: horns are the insignia of royal power (*moris est scripturarum, ut semper cornua pro regnis ponant*; *Commentariorum in Abacuc*, on Hab. 3.4; VI, p. 639).

34. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 3.20; IV, pp. 43ff.

and therefore they changed the pronunciation of the relevant word into *bameh*: 'what little is he to be accounted'.

Let us proceed to items of the vocabulary. Needless to say, if Jerome knew to equate בית with *domus*, מלך with *rex* and the like—the whole stock of frequently used words—he had learned this from Jews through years of arduous study. Yet Jerome's acquired proficiency becomes more salient when he deviates from what had become a standard lexical equivalent or when he is compelled to translate rare Hebrew words or wishes to comment upon them. The stock example is, of course, the verse in the denunciation of Shebna (Isa. 22.15-19) in which Jerome substitutes Latin *gallus gallinaceus*, 'a poultry-cock', for Hebrew גבר, 'man', because that is what his Hebrew teacher had instructed him to do³⁵ (cf. Rashi and Kimchi) in accordance with postbiblical Hebrew. No less revealing, however, is the translation of Shebna's title סכן, 'steward': *qui habitat in tabernaculo*, 'who dwells in the tabernacle' (i.e. the portico of the Temple). True, Aquila had translated likewise, but Jerome's decision to follow him is clearly founded on the presumed linkage between סכן and סכה. Indeed, he interprets the following word בית, 'house', as denoting 'the Temple' (rather than 'the palace'). In a different context (1 Kgs 1.2-4) any etymologizing of the Hebrew word under review was unsuitable; consequently Jerome steered clear of it.

In the passage on the 'Red Heifer' (Num. 19.2) the Hebrew text has פרה אדמה חמומה. The last word is usually rendered *integer, perfectus* or the like. Here, however, the Latin reads *aetatis integrae*, 'fully grown'. In other words, not the redness nor the physical shape but the age of the cow must be perfect. But that is exactly what Ibn Ezra says: שלא תהיה קטנה, 'she must not be young' (cf. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* סומקתא ברת תרתין שנין).

Just once Jerome abandons the usual equation of Hebrew חול and Latin *arena*, 'sand', in 'I shall multiply my days as *hōl*' (Job. 29.18); 'sand', it seems, would fit the context exceptionally well, and yet Jerome writes down *palma*, 'a palm'. Contrary to appearance, this is no replica of the Septuagint (which has 'the stump of a date-palm') but an echo of the Jewish tradition according to which in this verse *hōl* denotes the miraculous bird that is consumed by fire but comes to life again (*b. Sanh.* 108b; see Jewish Bible commentators). Jerome's

35. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 22.17; IV, p. 318.

Jewish adviser must have told him that in this verse the Hebrew word *ḥôl* corresponded to the Greek *phoinix*; unfortunately this Greek word has two meanings, 'bird' and 'palm tree'. Thus Jerome, perhaps also somewhat influenced by the Greek version he knew, misunderstood the information. Supporting evidence as to the fact that Jerome's Jewish consultants were in the habit of defining Hebrew vocables in Greek can be found in his comments on rare words such as קסח, *atramentarium* (Ezek. 9.2),³⁶ כפים (*lignum*) *quod inter iuncturas aedificiorum est* (Hab. 2.11)³⁷ and the like.³⁸ The word שלש (Isa. 40.12) is generally understood, and translated, as the name of a measure; it seems to parallel the words פלס, 'scales' and מאזניים, 'balance'. Jerome, however, links our word with זרה, 'the span of the hand', and writes *tribus digitis*, 'with three fingers'. A similar explanation is offered by Rashi: מאטרל עד אמה ונו, 'From the thumb to the middle finger'.³⁹

Many a periphrastic rendition seems to point to the instructor who helped Jerome in defining a difficult term: גדיש, *congeries mortuorum* ('a pile of the dead'; Job. 21.32); the same word occurs in the phrase translated *acervus frugum* ('a heap of grain'; Exod. 22.5); גייה, *lapis quadrus*, 'a square building-stone' (Amos 5.11); יונק, *infans ab ubere* (Isa. 11.8) and many more like them. In the latter instance again etymology comes into play and, indeed, such pervasive inclination towards linguistic play is the concomitant of Jewish exegesis. Jerome repeats many a playful explanation of proper names: the name of the Philistines denotes 'those who come to fall because of the cup' (*cadentes poculo*), as derived from (*n*)*pl*, 'to fall down', and ש(y), 'to drink'; the Cherethites are *interfectores*, their name being derived from *krt*, 'to cut off, kill'.⁴⁰

36. *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 9.2; V, p. 94.

37. *Commentariorum in Abacuc*, on Hab. 2.11; VI, p. 617.

38. On *qaesaet* he remarks: *graeco sermone appellari kalmarion* (*Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 9.3; and on *kapis*: *vulgo apud Graecos appellatur himantosis* (*Commentariorum in Abacuc*, on Hab. 2.11; VI, p. 617)

39. Frequently Jerome and his Vulgate translation agree with one of the Targums (e.g. Nah. 3.5 שרלים, 'skirts': V *pudenda*, T *bht*, 'naked parts', and the like).

40. *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 26.15-17; V, p. 293. Jerome is critical of the transliteration THEL ABIB (Ezek. 3.15) offered by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion; one should not pose problems to the readers (*melius esse credentes aliquid dicere, quam imponere quod lectori faceret quaestionem*; *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 3.15; V, p. 32). He had learned from the Jews *Thelabib significare, quando nova frumenta, vel hordea congregantur*, and,

Finally, we should look briefly at the impact of Jewish exegetical traditions on Jerome in relation to larger sense-units, the sentence, the passage, the book. Jerome, of course, ascribes the three Solomonic books to the wise king; what is more, he ascribes each book to a specific period in Solomon's life and thus makes it suitable for the corresponding age group: Proverbs aims at educating the youngsters (*in Proverbiis parvalum docens*); Qohelet should be read by the mature person who should be made to understand how transient the affairs of this world are (*in Ecclesiaste...maturae virum aetati instituens*); and the Song of Songs is reserved for the old and wise who have renounced the vanity of this world and are about to embrace the bridegroom (*in Cantico Canticorum...ad...consummatum virum*).⁴¹ Lest anyone think that Jerome attaches importance only to the latter portion of Christian elaboration, let it be said that he also adduces pagan authorities: the ancient philosophers, he tells his readers, used to teach three different disciplines to the age-groups mentioned: *Ethicam*, *Physicam* and *Logicam* respectively.

Jerome criticizes the Greek translation of the prophet's name Malachi as *angelos*;⁴² the Latin reader should not think that an angel, *angelus*, had come down to proclaim something to the people. The Greek *angelos* should be understood in the sense of 'messenger' (*nuntius*), but in this verse Malachi is a proper name and the person in question is, as the Jews think, Ezra; he, then, is the author of the book.⁴³

I have mentioned Shebna, the palace governor. Jerome quotes his Jewish informants as to the reason (which, he states expressly, is not given in the Bible) why this man was denounced by the prophet: he had made an attempt to betray his king and country, sending messages by arrows to the enemy's commander.⁴⁴ This story is told in the

indeed, the Vulgate exhibits the wording *ad acervum novarum frugum*.

41. *Commentarius in Librum Ecclesiasten*, on Qoh. 1.1; III, pp. 383ff.

42. *Commentariorum in Malachiam, Praefatio*; VI, pp. 939-42.

43. Occasionally Jerome explains to his readers terms or customs of postbiblical Judaism: thus for example the talmudic term for Jewish infidels *minim* (*Minaei*; *Epistola CXII, 13 [ad Augustinum]*; I, p. 740), the mourning rites, the *phylacteries Tefillin* (*decalogum scriptum in membranulis circumdare capiti suo... ante oculos et in fronte pendere*; *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, on Ezek. 24.17; V, p. 280) and so on.

44. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 22.15-25; IV, p. 224.

Talmud (*Sanh.* 26a). When Jerome deems a phrase incomplete he may add some explanatory words; more often than not these reflect some midrash. The question *אייה שקל*, 'where is he that weighs' (Isa. 33.18) sounds somewhat perplexing in its Hebrew terseness. The Vulgate has *ubi legis verba ponderans*, 'where is he who weighs the words of the law'; this corresponds exactly to the Talmudic explanation *שהיו שוקלין קלין והמרוזין שבתורה* (*Hag.* 15b.), 'they used to weigh the easier matters as well as the grave ones in the Torah'. Equally enigmatic seems the isolated participle *המעמיקים* (Isa. 29.15), '...that seek deep'. In Jerome's translation a word is added: *qui profundis estis corde*, '... (in the depth of their) hearts'; the same word is added in Ibn Ezra's commentary: *המעמיקים בעומק לבם*. The popular saying *קצר המצע מהשתרע*, 'too short is the bed to stretch oneself on it' (Isa. 28.20), is rendered *coangustum est enim stratum ut alter decidat*, 'the bed is so narrow that one or the other must fall out'. This slightly changed picture, not a short bed for one but a narrow bed for two persons, stems from the Talmudic exegesis (*Yom.* 9b). In his commentary Jerome elaborates: the husband says to his adulterous wife, 'The one bed cannot hold myself and the adulterer with you'. The Midrash (*Lev. R.* 17.7) offers the same idea: The bed cannot hold a woman and her husband and her lover (*אין המטה אינה יכולה לקבל אשה ובעלה ורעה כאחד*).⁴⁵

Summing up the evidence and thinking of Jerome's impact on Western civilization we may feel entitled to say that this man built the most important bridge between the classic Jewish culture and Western Europe. *Nolens volens* he did it; but then, history is full of such ironic twists. Finally, one of Jerome's remarks may serve as salutation to our venerable friends of the Royal Irish Academy. Jerome is dissatisfied with the improper use of the word *testamentum* (a mistranslation of the Greek word *diathēkē* which has survived in modern idioms, Old and New Testament); the Hebrew word *בריה* means *pactum*, 'a pact, covenant'. The Bible is not 'the last will of the dead' (*non voluntatem defunctorem sonare*), he says, but 'a covenant among the living'.⁴⁶ This conference, generously sponsored by the Royal Irish Academy, has once more demonstrated the Bible to be *pactum viventium*.

45. *Commentarii in Isaiam*, on Isa. 28.20; IV, p. 382: '...qui adulterae dicit uxori; Unus lectulus me et adulterum tecum capere non potest'.

46. *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, on Jer. 31.31-34; IV, pp. 1074ff; *Commentarii in Malachiam*, on Mal. 2.14; VI, p. 957.

JEWISH TRADITION, THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
AND THE CHRISTIAN WEST

Michael E. Stone

Over the years, I have come to concentrate quite a lot of research work on the Pseudepigrapha and on their transmission, together with other legends related to the Bible, in the Armenian tradition. In the course of this research, I have repeatedly encountered the phenomenon of the Western, and often, the Irish transmission of apocryphal traditions. I would like to lay before you, with a sense of deference, some of the things I have discovered over the years. They are, surely, only a small part of what is known, and an even lesser part of what still lies in manuscripts awaiting discovery. What I readily and immediately lack, beyond an intimate knowledge of the Western traditions themselves, is the necessary information to formulate hypotheses to account for the phenomena that I will present to you.¹

Nonetheless, it seems to me, there are certain methodological principles that emerge from the consideration of the histories of traditions which I shall set before you. On the one hand, students of the Pseudepigrapha must be fully conscious of the complexity of transmission. Texts must, first and foremost, be examined in the context in which they were transmitted. Only after that has been done can they

1. Various hypotheses have been formulated over the years to account for the remarkable knowledge of apocryphal traditions in Ireland. Recent discussions of this are to be found in D. Dumville, 'Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73C (1973), pp. 299-338; B. Murdoch, 'An Early Irish Adam and Eve: Saltair na Rann and the Traditions of the Fall', *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973), pp. 146-77; and D. Wasserstein, 'The Creation of Adam and the Apocrypha in Early Ireland', *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy* 88 C (1988), pp. 1-17. The text discussed by Wasserstein in this last article may be an instance of a Jewish tradition transmitted, perhaps orally, via Spain to Ireland.

be assessed as to possible ancient Jewish origins. On the other hand, those studying medieval texts need to be alerted to the results of study of the Pseudepigrapha and the character of their transmission. This perspective can benefit the study both of the the Pseudepigrapha and of the mediaeval tradition.

The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday

The first instance of the intertwining of Western and Eastern traditions that I encountered was in connection with a text called *Fifteen Signs of the Doomsday* or *The Signs of the Judgment*. I was working through the *Catalogue of Manuscripts* of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, when I came across two copies of a document, attributed to 'the Jews', which listed fifteen signs that will take place before the end of days.² Imagining that I had come across a piece of ancient Jewish literature, I commenced to investigate this document and quickly encountered W.W. Heist's exemplary study, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday*.³ Suddenly, what I had fondly imagined to be an unknown ancient Jewish apocalyptic fragment preserved uniquely in Armenian turned into an unusual oriental witness to a document extant in very numerous European versions. The picture was further complicated when a colleague in Jerusalem was kind enough to direct my attention to a Hebrew translation of the same text, extant in the unique manuscript which contains the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* (Oxford Bodleian Heb d.11).⁴ In this Hebrew manuscript, *The Signs of the Judgment* was connected with some extracts from Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, in Hebrew translation.⁵

2. The texts were printed by N. Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St James Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: St James Press, 1969) 6.40-42 (Jerusalem, Ms J1729 of 1741 CE) and *ibid*, 248-254 (Jerusalem, Ms J1861 of 1669 CE). Archbishop Bogharian, with his usual extraordinary acumen, chose to print these texts in full.

3. W.W. Heist, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday* (East Lansing: Michigan State College, 1952).

4. A. Neubauer and A.E. Cowley, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906), II, cols. 209-215 discuss the manuscript in some detail.

5. Most parts of the Hebrew translation of Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, which is embedded in the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* had already been published in D.J. Harrington (ed.), *The Hebrew Fragments of Pseudo-Philo* (Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1974).

From his study of the complex Western transmission of this document, Heist concluded that its oldest Western form was that preserved in the *Saltair na Rann*, the 'Psalter of the Quatrains', with a secondary source existing in another Irish work, *The Evernew Tongue*. He argued that the origin of *The Signs of the Judgment* should probably be sought in Ireland, prior to the twelfth century.

As for the versions I myself had encountered: the comparison of the text of the Armenian documents with a variety of the Western witnesses showed them to be affiliated with the form of the text known from the *spuriosa* of Bede, the *Historia Scholastica* by Peter Comestor and in the writings of Peter Damien. These three sources, we might comment, constitute the chief witnesses to one line of European transmission of the *Fifteen Signs of the Judgment*. Furthermore, the two Armenian versions are not identical with any single one of these witnesses. Some of the differences between the two Armenian versions and the most closely related Latin texts include the attribution of the Latin texts to St Jerome (though, in the West, any work claiming to be translated from a Hebrew source ran that danger), some displacements and other textual corruptions. As for the Hebrew version in the Bodleian manuscript, it is clearly a translation from Latin (it includes some cases of transliteration of Latin words), but its exact affiliation within the textual traditions of the Latin texts of the *Signs of the Doomsday* could not be established. The Hebrew version contains an extensive introduction and a long conclusion not known elsewhere and it incorporates a tradition relating to Mount Olympus, the closest parallel to which is to be found in Isidore of Seville.⁶

The question of the Jewish origin of this text remains somewhat open. If Heist is correct, that it derives from the Irish tradition via a version of *Apocalypse of Thomas* which has not survived, then the attribution to Jerome, to the *Annales Hebraeorum*, or to 'the Jews', as the Armenian would have it, is odd. Yet, it is not demonstrable that the Armenian version actually goes back to a Latin text; nothing in it indicates this (nor, however, does anything in it indicate the contrary). There were, of course, ample opportunities for Armenians to become familiar with Latin texts, the most obvious being during the existence

6. These texts were discussed in detail in M.E. Stone, *Signs of the Judgment, Onomastica Sacra and The Generations from Adam* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, 3; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981). The Spanish connection is, of course, intriguing, but inconclusive.

of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, which was closely connected with the Crusaders in the East. There is also a good deal of evidence for some Armenian presence in Europe in the Middle Ages.⁷ Despite this, I wonder whether Heist has traced the document back to its very origins; it may still incorporate older Jewish material.

Conceptually the document can be compared with ideas to be found in apocalyptic literature, in rabbinic texts, as well as in Christian sources. A schematic enumeration of signs or portents, occurring in a fixed number of temporal divisions and preceding the last judgment, is in itself not surprising: 2 *Baruch* 27–29 and *b. Sanh.* fol. 97a provide good ancient parallels. The *Apocalypse of Thomas*, considered by Heist to be an indirect source of our text, speaks of a week which will comprise seven signs before the ending of the world. However, no ancient parallels were discovered to the idea that the signs of the end will be distributed over a period of fifteen days.

This complexity serves to alert us to the fact that the channels of communication between the Eastern traditions, including the Greek, and the Western traditions, including the Irish, are very convoluted, certainly as far as the transmission of pseudepigraphical materials is concerned.⁸ If indeed the *Signs of the Judgment* is an Irish composition, dependent on the oriental *Apocalypse of Thomas*, a work not preserved in Ireland nor (apparently) known on the Continent, then it moved back to the East at some point, embellished with an attribution to a Jewish source, and was translated into Armenian. As for the Hebrew version, there is a sense in which it can be regarded as part of the European tradition, but it is nonetheless an excellent example of the way such material can wander.

Here, a careful study of the channels of transmission of the *Signs of the Judgment* has shown that a text attributed to 'the Jews' or the *annales hebraeorum*, may not be what it claims. Pseudepigrapha scholars with an understandable interest in discovering ancient Jewish documents have often naively wrested works from their mediaeval

7. The Cilician kingdom is discussed in many studies: a convenient overall treatment is G. Dédéyan, *Histoire des Arméniens* (Privat: Toulouse, 1986), pp. 297–339; on Armenians in Europe in the Middle Ages, see *idem*, 'Les Arméniens en occident fin Xe-début XIe siècle', in *Occident et Orient au Xe siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1979), pp. 123–43.

8. See n. 1, above, for some views concerning transmission of such material to Ireland.

context and attributed them to Jewish antiquity, where a careful contextual study has shown that this is not true.⁹ Yet, it remains possible that the origins of this document do lie in ancient Jewish sources, although such a hypothesis cannot be demonstrated.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch and Adam Octipartite

A major point of interest for the study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is the alleged survival in Mediaeval European, but particularly in Irish sources, of material deriving from *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, also called *Slavonic Enoch* or *2 Enoch*. This work is, itself, more than an enigma: of its original language, a recent English translator, F.I. Andersen, concludes:

An original Semitic composition can still be suspected; but after two stages of translation through Greek to Slavonic, it is not now possible to tell how much written material in a Semitic language might be behind those portions of the text which still have Semitisms, let alone to determine which Semitic language it might have been.¹⁰

Andersen's conclusions on date are no more decisive: 'it is not surprising', he writes, 'that dates ranging all the way from pre-Christian times to the late Middle Ages have been proposed.'¹¹ About

9. Among exemplary studies of these issues, from various perspectives, the following may be mentioned: D. Satran, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine: Reassessment of the Lives of the Prophets* (SVTP; forthcoming); R.A. Kraft, "'Ezra" Materials in Judaism and Christianity', *ANRW* II.19.1, pp. 119-36; *idem*, 'The Multifarious Jewish Heritage of Early Christianity', in *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975), III, pp. 174-99; *idem*, 'Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe', *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme. Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique (Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon)* (Paris: de Boccard, 1978), pp. 207-26; M. de Jonge, 'Hippolytus' "Benedictions of Isaac, Jacob and Moses" and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *Bijdragen* 46 (1985), pp. 245-60; *idem*, 'The Pre-Mosaic Servants of God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in the Writings of Justin and Irenaeus', *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985), pp. 157-70; *idem*, 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Christian and Jewish', *NTT* 39 (1985), pp. 265-75.

10. F.I. Andersen, '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), I, p. 94.

11. Anderson, '2 Enoch', p. 95. The preceding sentences are based on the formulation in M.E. Stone, 'The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on

its provenance, Jewish or Christian, Palestinian or not, he is equally puzzled. And it is an honest puzzlement. *Slavonic Enoch* is attested only in Old Church Slavonic and does not seem to have been known to any of the ancient apocalyptic literature, although it shows certain connections with *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*. This relationship, however, can only serve as an instance of illumination of an *obscurum per obscurius*, for the context, origin and character of the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* itself are no better known than those of *Slavonic Enoch*.¹²

Attention has been drawn to various points in *Slavonic Enoch* which are supposedly known in the West. Chapter 30 of the book, dealing with the creation and naming of Adam, has most frequently been cited in this connection. Certainly the tradition of the creation of Adam from seven or eight elements was widely diffused: one form of it is the text known as *Adam Octipartite* which circulated in a variety of languages.

Adam Octipartite survives in Latin, Old Irish and in Old Church Slavonic, as well as such vernaculars as Old French, Middle Dutch,¹³ Old Frisian,¹⁴ and others. Versions of the text in Anglo-Saxon are related to the oldest Latin manuscript,¹⁵ while M. Förster published the Latin text from a tenth-century manuscript, and investigated its

The Books of Adam and Eve, *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 44 (1993), pp. 143-56.

12. See the comments on *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* by H.E. Gaylord in James H. Charlesworth, (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 653-60. Compare in detail also his doctoral dissertation: H.E. Gaylord, 'The Slavonic Version of III Baruch' (PhD dissertation Hebrew University, 1983). Two dissertations are currently being written on this work in the United States, one by E. Wright at Brandeis University and the other by D. Harlow at Notre Dame University.

13. M. Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung und Namengebung: Ein lateinisches Fragment des s.g. slawischen Henoch', in *ARW* 11 (1907-1908), pp. 483-86. Secondary forms occur in still further European vernaculars; see Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung'; É. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (SVTP, 5; Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 413.

14. Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung', pp. 491-92. He gives a number of texts in the Appendix to his article, pp. 522-529.

15. See also discussion by Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, p. 416. A thorough recent study of the Old Irish and Old English texts is H.L.C. Tristram, 'Der "homo octipartitus" in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 34 (1975), pp. 119-53.

tradition.¹⁶ According to him, the Irish text was translated from Latin and his view is that the origin of this document is to be sought in the Byzantine realm. Turdeanu, like Förster, is of the view that both the Slavonic and the Latin versions go back to a Greek original.¹⁷ Jagič published the Slavonic text which was subsequently discussed at some length in an article by Max Förster in 1907.¹⁸ Turdeanu has also studied a popular Romanian verse poem which includes a rich repertoire of elements drawn from the Adam literature. It includes themes related to the *Adam Octipartite* traditions which entered Romanian culture from Slavonic.¹⁹ *Adam Octipartite* may thus be seen to have had a widespread popularity and a complicated history.²⁰

In Latin, a tradition about the formation of Adam's name is associated with this text, as well as with some forms of the Latin *Vita Adam et Evae*.²¹ The same tradition occurs in Slavonic,²² and in a number of

16. Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung', pp. 477-529: cf. Max Förster, 'Die mittelirische Version von Adams Erschaffung', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 13 (1921), pp. 47-48. See also the discussion of this material by Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, pp. 412-18. The Irish material was surveyed by Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung', p. 485 and details of the editions of the Irish version may be found in M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), p. 21. It was translated into English by W. Stokes, 'The Irish Text of Adam Octipartite', in *Three Irish Glossaries* (London, 1862), p. xl-xli (*non vidi*). Turdeanu (*Apocryphes slaves*, 418-435) discusses in some detail the tradition of this text in the Slavonic and Romanian languages and its affiliations with 2 *Enoch*.

17. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, p. 421.

18. V. Jagič, 'Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen, I, Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuche', *Denkschr. kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Classe*, 42 (Vienna, 1893), p. 60.

19. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, pp. 404-35.

20. Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung', pp. 477-529. He refers to various Slavonic versions on p. 484.

21. Förster, 'Adam's Erschaffung', pp. 514-20 investigates some parts of this theme. See also Tristram, 'Homo octopartitus', pp. 145-49. Further Latin Adam materials, connected with the above, including the 'Octipartite Adam' traditions, the naming, and other features, are incorporated in a Latin dialogue book published by Max Förster, 'Das älteste mittellateinische Gesprächbüchlein', *Romanische Forschungen* 27 (1910), pp. 342-48. The tradition of Adam's name is also discussed by St John D. Seymour, 'The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36 C (1922), pp. 126-27 and its occurrence in the *Hexaemeron* of Bede is noted by R.E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1959), p. 26.

22. Fr. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* (Madrid: Instituto

other languages. Förster considers the ninth-century Latin text to be a translation of the Slavonic.²³ This text is in some ways paradigmatic of the difficulties besetting the task of tracing the transmission of apocryphal traditions from East to West, and occasionally *de retour*. However, the assertion, made often, that *2 Enoch* was known in Ireland seems to me to be as yet unproven. This is the more so when the paucity of witness to *2 Enoch* in Greek is recalled, as well as its generally little-known character, factors of which the scholar of the Pseudepigrapha is very conscious.

The Life of Adam and Eve

The connection of these two units of material with the *Life of Adam and Eve* texts brings to mind the problems connected with that work.²⁴ Students of the Pseudepigrapha generally agree that the oldest form of the apocryphal stories about Adam and Eve is represented by a group of six writings, often known collectively as 'The Books of Adam and Eve' or the *Life of Adam and Eve*. None of them derives from any of the others, although they share a greater or lesser amount of common material.²⁵

In the second volume of Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, L.S.A. Wells presented translations of the Greek (*The Apocalypse of Moses*), Latin (*Vita Adam et Evae*) and Old Church Slavonic versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*

Francisco Suárez, 1950), no. 75.20, p. 34.

23. McNamara (*Apocrypha in the Irish Church*, p. 22) discusses this document in some detail, including the traditions about Adam's creation from the four cardinal points. Förster gives preceding bibliography on the octipartite creation of Adam ('Adam's Erschaffung' pp. 477-529, particularly on p. 483 and notes there).

24. The history of this complex literature is discussed in some detail in M.E. Stone, *The Literature of Adam and Eve: The History of A Tradition* (Early Judaism and its Literature, 3; Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1992).

25. In a paper presented at the annual meeting of the SNTS in the summer of 1991, M. de Jonge attempted to establish certain basic relationships between the versions on the basis of literary and structural criteria. In a forthcoming article, G.A. Anderson, basing himself on the history of exegesis of certain pericopae, would claim that certain of the versions preserve more primitive forms than others. This matter is only now coming to the forefront of scholarly discussion and indubitably the issues will be further clarified as discussion proceeds.

synoptically.²⁶ From his synopsis it is evident that, although the three versions share a very substantial amount of material, each presents its own difficulties and offers its distinctive challenges. Since Wells's time, Armenian and Georgian versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* have also been published: the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* and the Georgian *Book of Adam*. Moreover, fragments of a Coptic version have long been known to exist,²⁷ though little studied. Consequently, a present-day synopsis would have to contain five (and in some places six) columns.²⁸

St John Seymour, studying the sacred history embodied in the 162 cantos of the tenth-century Irish poem, *Saltair na Rann*, concluded that cantos 6–11 make use both of Latin *Vita Adam et Evae* and of *Apocalypse of Moses*. There is, it should be observed, no other evidence that *Apocalypse of Moses* was known in the West.²⁹ A recent study has been devoted by Brian Murdoch to the Adam materials in the *Saltair na Rann*.³⁰ Murdoch stressed the antiquity of the Old Irish material in comparison with the continental and English analogues.³¹ He further noted the primacy of *Saltair na Rann* vis-à-vis the rest of the Irish Adam works. It is his view that *Saltair na Rann* is based upon

26. In fact, Wells did not present the Slavonic version in full, but only its first sections: see L.S.A. Wells, 'The Books of Adam and Eve', *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. R.H. Charles; Oxford, 1913), II, pp. 123–54. The Slavonic version was published by Jagić, 'Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen'.

27. M.E. Stone, *The Penitence of Adam*, CSCO, 429–30; *Scriptores Armeniaci* (ed. R. Draguet; Leuven: Peeters, 1981), pp. 13–14; J.-P. Mahé, 'Le Livre d'Adam géorgien', *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (ed. R. van den Broek, and M.J. Vermaseren; Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 227–60. On the Coptic texts, see Stone, *Adam and Eve*, pp. 39–41.

28. Indeed, the synopsis just published includes the Greek and Latin texts in the original languages, and translations of the Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic versions. See G.A. Anderson and M.E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (SBL Early Judaism and its Literature, 5; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).

29. St John D. Seymour, 'The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36 C (1922), pp. 121–33. He points out, for example, that in Canto 12 a herb called *ornamentum* (i.e., apparently, *odoramenta* or *odoramentum*) is mentioned, a detail not in Latin *Vita Adam et Evae* but occurring in *Apocalypse of Moses* (p. 130). On pages 132–33 he gives a small piece of otherwise unknown Irish apocryphal Adam literature, summarizing the Adam story.

30. B.O. Murdoch, *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair na Rann: Volume 2, Commentary*, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976).

31. Murdoch, *Irish Adam and Eve Story*, p. 29.

an otherwise unknown form of the *Vita Adam et Evae*, which was either 'a composite Latin document which contained both the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* and the *Apocalypsis Mosis*' or else it drew upon the Latin *Vita Adae et Eva* and a Latin version of the *Apocalypsis Mosis*. This view is, of course, very much like that proposed earlier by Seymour. Murdoch himself inclines in the direction of a modified form of the first hypothesis, that of a composite document, though arguing that the role of *Apocalypse of Moses* material is less prominent than had been thought by some in the past.³²

Two comments must be made on this matter. The first is that in view of the now current knowledge of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, a simple comparison of *Saltair na Rann* with the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* and the Latin *Vita Adam et Evae* will inevitably bring about a distortion of the results. In fact, it is the mediaevalist's bias towards the Greek and Latin texts which has led to this, while a deeper acquaintance with the study of the Pseudepigrapha would have modified this view. Since we are prepared to entertain the idea that the Irish tradition might have known a Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Moses* or a (lost) Latin translation of the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*, it is equally plausible that it might have been familiar with a Greek text belonging to another branch of the textual transmission, such as that represented by the surviving Armenian and Georgian works. It is no more difficult to posit a lost Latin translation of this type of Greek text than it is to posit a lost Latin translation of *Apocalypse of Moses*.

Now, it is quite evident that Seymour, Murdoch (in 1973)³³ and others were led to the hypothesis that the *Saltair na Rann* knew both the Latin *Vita Adam et Evae* and the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* by the fact that the *Saltair na Rann* contains distinctive traditions occurring uniquely (as they then thought) in each of those two alleged sources. In 1976, however, Murdoch proposed a different hypothesis, maintaining that a fuller form of the Latin *Vita Adam et Evae* may have existed which contained some features drawn from Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*, as well as other elements, and it was this work that was used by the author of *Saltair na Rann*.³⁴ In part, he based his

32. Murdoch, *Irish Adam and Eve Story*, pp. 33-35; *idem*, 'An Early Irish Adam and Eve', pp. 171-74.

33. Murdoch, 'An Early Irish Adam and Eve'.

34. Murdoch, *Irish Adam and Eve Story*, pp. 32-37 and in the following sections of his book.

argument on the polymorphism of the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, a work which occurs in a bewildering variety of forms.³⁵ However, once we consider the character of the forms of the *Life of Adam and Eve* itself that have been published in recent years, this hypothesis becomes less compelling. Such apparent 'combinations' of material, it should be remembered, are exactly what is to be found in the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* and in the Georgian *Book of Adam*, both of which go back to Greek originals. It would be of interest to know the views of scholars of the Old Irish works, after they study the Armenian and Georgian documents. Perhaps the *Saltair na Rann* (and conceivably some other Old Irish Adam traditions) preserve evidence for yet another 'primary' Adam writing.³⁶

In other words, the interrelationships between the Eastern traditions themselves and between them and the West were far more complicated than would appear on the surface of things. A deeper knowledge of the ancient Jewish literature and traditions might enable the mediaevalists to perceive possibilities that they would otherwise have ignored. Let us take examine another intriguing instance of similar complications which will illustrate graphically the complexity of the 'Eastern' area of Christian production of biblical tales.

The Cheirograph of Adam

It has been commonly asserted that there is extensive Bogomil influence in the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae*. The basis for this has been, above all, the legend of the cheirograph, found in chs. 33–34 of the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae*. Indeed, of all the primary Adam books, the Slavonic *Vita Adam* alone preserves this narrative of Satan's second deception of Adam and Eve and the contract or cheirograph he made with them. This legend, in Slavonic circles, relates that Adam made the contract with Satan either in order to have light, for it had become dark, or in order to gain the right to work the soil: the

35. See M.B. Halford, 'The Apocryphal Vita Adae et Evae: Some Comments on the Manuscript Tradition', in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 82 (1981), pp. 417–27.

36. An interesting further observation is that the Quest of Seth and the Holy Rood material that is sometimes associated with it lacks completely from the *Saltair na Rann* as well. Yet, Murdoch ('An Early Irish Adam and Eve', pp. 171–72) argues that there are reminiscences of this material in the *Saltair na Rann*.

latter form of the legend appears for the first time in the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae*.³⁷ The biblical roots of this legend seem to lie in Col. 2.14. When the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* is studied in isolation—be it by a scholar of the Pseudepigrapha or by an expert in Slavonic literature—the hypothesis of a Bogomil origin of this material or of a particularly tendentious reworking of it in Slavonic seems attractive.

It turns out, however, that the tale is known in a variety of sources beyond the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae* and in other languages, which makes the hypothesis of its Bogomil origin less plausible. For instance, it appears in the long, New Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos (dated ca. 1500). This poem contains extensive traditions about Adam and Eve and the antediluvian generations. The poet knows the tale of the second temptation, the second fall and the contract (χειρόγραφον) between Adam and Satan which, as we said, does not occur in the primary Adam books, except for the Slavonic. Georgios's direct sources for some of his material remain unclear, but from his use of the legend of the χειρόγραφον, we may infer that it was well known to him.³⁸ Moreover, the same story is also reflected in various Greek liturgical compositions,³⁹ while a modern Greek oral retelling of it was recorded early in the present century in Didimoteichon in Thrace and translated into German and discussed by Megas.⁴⁰ The story also was current in Greek and Bulgarian folklore,⁴¹ while in Armenian it occurs in a number of

37. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, p. 116.

38. F.H. Marshall, *Old Testament Legends From a Greek Poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925). G. Megas, 'Das χειρόγραφον Adams. Ein Beitrag zu Col 2:13-15', *ZNW* 27 (1928), pp. 311-12 discusses this text and points out the existence of two further manuscripts of it. It may be observed that there exists yet another, unpublished manuscript of this poem in manuscript no. 1187 in St Catherine's Monastery at Mt Sinai: see K.W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1952), pp. 28-31.

39. Megas, 'χειρόγραφον Adams', pp. 314-15.

40. Megas, 'χειρόγραφον Adams', pp. 305-20.

41. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, p. 116. The form of the story in Modern Greek recorded by Megas in Thrace is particularly striking: see Megas, 'χειρόγραφον Adams', pp. 305-20.

unpublished works such as *The Cheirograph of Adam* and *Adam and Eve and the Incarnation*.⁴²

Another variant of the contract narrative occurs in the *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*. This Christian writing deals with a series of conflicts between the protoplasts and Satan, with the life of Adam and Eve, and briefly with the history of Israel down to the birth of Christ. It was translated from Arabic into Ethiopic later than the seventh century.⁴³ The Ethiopic text has been published and translated into English, French and German, while the Arabic remained unedited until recently.⁴⁴

Furthermore, the legend penetrated religious iconography, as is witnessed by the description of a scene in the seventeenth-century *Painter's Manual* by Dionysius of Fournia which draws on much older Byzantine tradition.⁴⁵ In this scene Christ is shown standing, tearing a

42. These texts will be published in my forthcoming *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Adam and Eve* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities). Turdeanu deals at some length with the connections between the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae* and the *Legend of the Holy Cross*, which is associated with it in the manuscripts (*Apocryphes slaves*, pp. 110-14).

43. This date is proposed by J.B. Frey, 'Adam (Livres apocryphes sous son nom)', *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppléments* (ed. L. Pirot et al.; Paris, 1928-), I, col. 111. Others would set it as late as the eleventh century. A fine survey of all Ethiopian literature dealing with the creation is to be found in R.W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Commentary: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 113-42. J. Simon also provides substantial information about development of Adam materials in the Ethiopic tradition ('Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica' de A. Dillmann', *Orientalia* 10 [1941], pp. 290-91).

44. The other versions are set forth in Stone, *Literature of Adam and Eve*, pp. 98-100 (with bibliography). The Arabic text was published by A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *Il Combattimento di Adamo. Testo arabo inedito con traduzione italiana e commento* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Minor, 29; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982); on the manuscripts, see pp. 14-16. For further details, see A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament* (SVTP, 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970), p. 9. The texts and affinities of these works in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic are complicated and a most helpful chart has been prepared by Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Commentary*, p. 140.

45. Dionysius of Fournia, 5.12.22 (cited in Megas, 'χειρόγραφον Adams', p. 314). See also P. Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournia* (London: Saggiarius, 1974). The passage referred to occurs on p. 52 of Hetherington's translation. Turdeanu (*Apocryphes slaves*, pp. 115-22) discussed the iconography of the contract.

document written with Hebrew characters, at the end of which is written, τὸ τοῦ Ἀδᾶμ χειρόγραφον. Intriguingly, in Slavonic and Romanian iconography of recent centuries, a scene of Christ destroying the cheirograph at the time of the baptism is found.⁴⁶ Turdeanu observes that this scene has no roots in the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae*,⁴⁷ but it exactly reflects the tradition in the Armenian *Adam and Eve and the Incarnation* which says 'He entered...into the Jordan...light descended from heaven. A voice from the heavens testified, "This is my beloved Son". And the contract of Adam he invalidated, he destroyed. And he crushed the head of the Dragon.'⁴⁸

I have not found the contract legend in the West, but its spread in the various branches of 'Eastern' Christendom is striking. In view of its wide attestation doubt must be cast upon the alleged Bogomil influence on the Slavonic *Vita Adam et Evae*. Moreover, its broad diffusion leads one to wonder about the various channels and ways in which such material traveled and functioned. In any case, had this evidence been clear in the mind of scholars, this hypothesis would not have been brought forth.

A further brief aside on the Adam apocrypha may be relevant. Anyone consulting the catalogue of Irish apocrypha prepared by Martin McNamara and the collection of annotated translations recently published by him and Herbert, is struck by the prominent role that the legends about the proto-plasts play in them. They are numerous and rich. A similar profusion is also evident in Armenian. What is clear is a tendency of both the Armenians and the Irish towards creation, preservation, and cultivation of apocrypha. Just why this was so, and whether the same factors were at play in both cultures are questions for the future to address.

46. See also the comments of Megas touching on the relationship of the χειρόγραφον with the Baptism ('χειρόγραφον Adams', pp. 317-18).

47. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves*, pp. 119-20. Megas also mentions a painting of Martin de Vos which also shows the χειρόγραφον ('χειρόγραφον Adams', p. 314).

48. Matenadaran Ms M5571, section 49. The text will be published fully in Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Adam and Eve*.

Vitae Prophetarum

Another body of material in Armenian which was translated from Latin also came to our attention. This appertains to the extensive literature relating to the prophets. The *Vitae Prophetarum* was composed originally in Greek and was translated very early into Latin, as well as into Armenian. In addition to it, two other collections of prophetic biographies exist in Armenian translations from Latin. One of these, entitled *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets*, is found in two late manuscripts. It contains biographical notices on various prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch ben Neriah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, and concludes with a reference to some pagan Greek prophets. In one of the manuscripts, the *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets* is followed by a work on the Sibyls, which claims to have been translated from 'Frankish', i.e., Latin. That *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets* came into Armenian from a Latin original is indicated by a reference to St Jerome in the notice on Habakkuk, by a borrowing from Jerome's preface to Jeremiah in the notice for Baruch, and certain material in the notice for Jeremiah which is apparently drawn from the Latin version of *Vitae Prophetarum*. A second similar work, also seemingly translated from Latin, has been noted to exist in a manuscript in Venice, but has never been rendered into a western language.⁴⁹ It is entitled *The Names of the Prophets and Their Order and in What Times They Were*.

The interest in hagiography is of course common to the Christian churches. The *Vitae Prophetarum* and its congeners I have mentioned can be viewed from the perspective of this shared concern. It seems, however, that lists of the prophets and, for that matter, of the apostles and disciples of Christ, formed a distinct type of hagiographic text. Some such texts were borrowed from East to West, underwent growth and development, and returned to the East again.

Recent researches on the *Vitae Prophetarum* have cast doubt on the

49. The work was first published by B. Sarghissian, *Usumnasirut'iwnk' Hin Ktakarani Anuawer Groc' Vray* (Studies on the Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament; Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1898), pp. 257-58; the names were translated by Stone, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, pp. 174-75. The Latin, or less probably Greek, origin is indicated *inter alia* by the forms of the names.

commonly accepted view that it is a work written in the period of the Second Temple.⁵⁰ If we pay attention to the developments of this literature of lists of prophets, perhaps we can gain insight into the origins of the *Vitae Prophetarum* itself.

The Apocryphon of Elijah

I would like to lay before you a final example of the way in which the movement of Jewish apocryphal material to the West may be observed to have taken place. No complete apocryphon of Elijah has survived from Jewish antiquity, although ancient testimonies to its existence and fragments quoted from it survive.⁵¹ One intriguing citation is found in the strange apocryphal *Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii*.⁵² The sole Latin manuscript of this work known is of the eighth century (Würzburg University, Ms Th f28) and it is uncertain whether the work was composed in Latin or translated into Latin from Greek, though the latter is judged likely.⁵³ In it the idea occurs that sinners in Gehenna are punished by being hung from a limb corresponding to the sin they committed. Thus, to select some of the less gory fates: 'Adulterers and pederasts are tortured in their genitals. Those who hang by their tongues are the blasphemers and false witnesses', and so forth.

The idea that souls suffer agonies according to their deeds is to be found in the Byzantine Hebrew apocalypse, *Sefer Eliyyahu* (ed. M. Bittenwieser) 15. This is a commonplace, however, and even the shared association of it with Elijah would scarcely raise an eyebrow, were it not for the following. An exactly analogous Hebrew text is to be found in a work we have mentioned before, the *Chronicle of*

50. D. Satran, 'The Lives of the Prophets', in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT; Assen/Philadelphia: van Gorcum/Fortress, 1984), II.2, pp. 56-60.; *idem*, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine*.

51. The testimonia and ancient citations of the Elijah apocryphon are assembled in M.E. Stone and J. Strugnell (eds.), *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2* (Texts and Translations Pseudepigrapha Series, 5; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

52. The relevant text was first published by D. de Bruyne, *Revue Bénédictine*, p. 37 (1925), p. 58; it is reprinted and translated in Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah*, pp. 14-15. A previous translation was by A. de Santos Otero in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), II, pp. 141-43 and 158, n. 1.

53. See Stone and Strugnell (eds.), *Books of Elijah*, 25, n. 2.

Jerahmeel (14.4).⁵⁴ This text too is associated with Elijah, while similar material connected with Isaiah is also to be found in the same work (16.1-5).⁵⁵ Both the punishments and their causes given in these texts are very similar to those to be found in the apocryphal *Epistula Titi*. Thus we read of 'man hanging by their hands and men hanging by their tongues and men hanging by their eyes and men hanging by their ears'.⁵⁶ Clearly the *Epistula Titi* and the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* know a common tradition containing hanging punishments which are correlative with the crimes committed. Moreover, both sources relate this tradition to the prophet Elijah. How did such a specific tradition come to be shared by these two Jewish and Christian sources and can it be traced back to an ancient Elijah apocryphon?⁵⁷

The source of this material may be uncertain, but its relative antiquity was maintained and a number of further relevant Hebrew and Aramaic texts were published by Saul Lieberman in 1945. The oldest of these texts is a Geniza fragment attributed to the *Tanna debe Eliyyahu*, 'The Teaching of the House of Elijah', a work mentioned in the Talmud, although actual passage under discussion does not occur in the surviving parts of that work.⁵⁸ The occurrence of talmudic precursors of the 'hanging punishments' material is significant for our discussion, since it highlights the Eastern sources of the *Jewish* material. This might have been doubted because of the fact that the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel*, as we have noted, does contain some

54. M. Gaster's translation is not to be trusted completely, since he has introduced into the text (with no indication) parallel passages from other mediaeval Hebrew works, such as the *Resit Hokmah* by Elijah b. Moses de Vida, a Safed Cabbalist of the sixteenth century. His work contained many selections from earlier works including Hebrew Elianic writings (compare, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, p. 132).

55. Note that in some of the testimonia to the Elianic materials, Isaiah's name replaces that of Elijah: see Stone and Strugnell (eds.), *Books of Elijah*, p. 76.

56. Translation from Stone and Strugnell (eds.), *Books of Elijah*, p. 16.

57. One should, of course, bear in mind the close relationships sometimes existing between Jewish and Christian apocalypses of the Byzantine period. A case worthy of further examination is that of the Daniel apocalypses. Much relevant material has been assembled by K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesis* (Studia Post-Biblica, 26; Leiden: Brill, 1976).

58. S. Lieberman, 'On Sins and their Punishment', in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* in (New York: American Academy of Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 2, 249-267. On *Tanna debe Eliyyahu* see the useful article in *EncJud* XV, cols. 803-804 and further bibliography there.

translations from Latin into Hebrew. It is striking, therefore, how similar material is, which is found in both Jewish and Christian sources, Eastern and Western.⁵⁹

Concluding Remarks

Apocryphal material that migrated from the East contributed to Western knowledge of early Christian writings and older Jewish apocrypha. Well-known apocrypha are preserved in Latin translations, such as the *Vita Adam et Evae* or the *Apocalypse of Ezra*. Such Latin texts may be important for the textual criticism of works known in other languages as well or, as in the case of *Testamentum Mosis* and the Pseudo-Philonic *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, may be the sole surviving witness to a given ancient Jewish document. Even material which has undergone extensive reworking in one or another of the European languages may nonetheless be important at the textual level as the potential contribution of the *Saltair na Rann* to the study of the *Life of Adam and Eve* indicates.

The importance of these works, however, goes beyond purely textual issues. Above I mentioned the particular concern of the Irish tradition with the material relating to Adam and Eve. The almost baroque development of the Latin *Vita Adam et Evae* in its European transmission, and its numerous vernacular translations and offshoots, witness to an analogous tendency. These developments are, of course, important for the history of literature, just as their expression in religious iconography is significant for the history of art. Which ancient apocrypha were preserved and which were not, which were cultivated and developed, which aspects of them were stressed and which suppressed, may serve to indicate matters of concern to the mediaeval people who were reworking the material. Lines of affiliation must be clarified, channels of transmission must be sought and in this search a chapter of the intellectual and religious history of early mediaeval Europe may be written.

59. Note that another major theme, the physiognomic description of the Antichrist, also occurs in a range of Jewish and Christian works, often associated with Elijah. See Stone and Strugnell (eds.), *Books of Elijah*, 28-39; J.-M. Rosenstiehl, 'Le Portrait de l'Antichrist', in *Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament et manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (ed. M. Philonenko; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), pp. 45-60.

Thus, the methodological concerns which were enunciated above may be seen to have their application. Scholars of the Pseudepigrapha need knowledge and sensitivity to the mediaeval context of transmission in order fully to assess and evaluate the Pseudepigrapha. Mediaevalists need the more detailed knowledge of the Pseudepigraphical texts and traditions for a full understanding of the way these works functioned in the Middle Ages.

Here, however, one encounters one of the difficulties of the matter. After all, it is hard enough to control one field of learning moderately well, yet to study the way the Pseudepigrapha functioned, grew and developed in ancient Judaism and Christianity or, for that matter, in mediaeval Christendom, it is necessary to control a variety of fields of learning. By its very nature, such a requirement leads us in the direction of joint research. The students of the ancient apocrypha have a great need of the expertise of the mediaevalists and, I venture to say, the reverse is true as well. The conceptual (and human) variety drawn together by the organizers of the present conference is an eloquent witness to their perception of this need.

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